

Chapter 1

Background

1.1 Introduction

This National Human Development Report (NHDR) is the second in a series prepared by a team of consultants from the Central Statistics Department in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme. The first report was produced in 1997 by the same team. Like the maiden report, the preparation of this NHDR entailed the participation in a task force of the representatives of the Departments of State for Education, Finance and Health, Central Statistics Department, Office of the President, Strategy for Poverty Alleviation Coordinating Office (SPACO), UNDP, UNICEF, Association of Non Governmental Organizations (TANGO) and the NGO Affairs Agency. Subsequently, a workshop involving all the stakeholders was held to subject the document to an in depth review.

Unlike the maiden report, this report has a specific theme which is governance. The theme of governance has been chosen based on the government's commitment and adherence to democratic principles. It is also one of UNDP's thematic areas of focus. As Mr. Koffi Annan, the UN Secretary General once said "*If we are to capture the promises of globalization, while managing its diverse effects, we must learn to govern better, and we must learn how better to govern together*". At the global level, governance has assumed prominence for several reasons. First, the perceived world-wide success of market economies and the failure of centralized control and planning. Second, there is a popular tendency to associate democratic responsive forms of government with economic success. Third, fiscal crises in many countries have drawn attention to inefficiencies in state organs and raised questions about the role and functions of government. Fourth, hard times have heightened popular resentment of wide spread corruption in government. Fifth, the fragmentation of the former Soviet Union and bitter conflicts such as those involving different ethnic and religious groups in Yugoslavia have served to remind development analysts of the extent to which unequal distribution of wealth

and ethnicity can complicate the processes of government and nation building.

This report seeks to give an overview of the progress made in the area of governance, the various initiatives being taken in collaboration with development partners to improve the governance environment, the deficiencies and the challenges the government is facing. In this respect, national and sectoral policies will be discussed from the point of view of promoting good governance.

The Government of the Gambia has always been committed to the principles of good governance. Since the attainment of independence in 1965, the Gambia practiced multi party democracy. Until 22 July 1994, the republican constitution vested the legislative functions of the country in a parliament comprising a speaker, 36 elected members, 5 chiefs and 9 members nominated by the President. Elections were held every five years. The last parliamentary and presidential elections before the military take-over of July 1994 were held in 1992. In addition, it guaranteed press freedom and human rights. As a result, the Gambia has always been considered a stable and democratic country. However, decision making still remains highly centralized thus precluding a large section of the population from the development process.

The government introduced a series of measures to improve the governance environment. One of these measures was the Administrative Reform Programme (ARP) which was introduced in tandem with the Economic Reform Programme (ERP) in 1985. The ARP sought to reduce the size of the civil service and improve public sector management by establishing a small but well motivated, remunerated and efficient civil service while the ERP sought to reverse the declining trend in the economy. Its successor programme, the Programme for Sustained Development (PSD), which was introduced in 1990 aimed at consolidating the gains of the ERP and more importantly providing social safety nets for the most vulnerable groups of the population, particularly children and women who have been most affected by the adjustment process. This component was the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA).

Cognizant of the plight of women and as part of its good governance agenda, the Government established the Women's Bureau in 1980. The Bureau is charged with the responsibility of promoting the interests of the women who, in spite of their numerical strength (51%) and immense contribution to household income and chores, are marginalized. It also co-ordinates the execution of projects which focus specifically on girls education and seek to integrate women in the development process. The Women's Policy has also been formulated and approved by cabinet in 1999. The formulation of this robust policy document constitutes an important milestone for the empowerment and full integration of women in the development process. The number of managerial positions held by women both in the public and private sector has increased tremendously. Similarly, school enrolment for girls has also increased from 47.9% in 1991/92 to 65.6% in 1998/99. For the first time in the history of this country, a woman has been appointed as Vice President. Two other ministerial positions are being held by women in a cabinet of thirteen ministers. The Secretary General and head of the civil service is also a woman. Notwithstanding these achievements, the participation and position of women at grass roots level is still low.

The government is fully aware of the fact that the alleviation of poverty constitutes an important element in the governance agenda. To this end, it has formulated, based on national dialogue, the Strategy for Poverty Alleviation which was endorsed by a donors' conference in April 1994. This strategy comprises four pillars, namely enhancing the productive capacity of the people, improving access to and performance of social services, building participatory capacities at the local level and promoting participatory communication processes. The various components being implemented under phase 1 of the poverty alleviation programme include food security, sustainable livelihoods, functional literacy and rural water supply. Subsequently, a National Poverty Alleviation Programme was formulated in 1997. The second phase of the programme has been approved in May 2000 with the above mentioned components. It is worth mentioning that these components which also feature in the second phase are being revisited in the context of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper recently introduced by the Bretton Woods institutions, as a replacement of the Policy Framework Paper.

1.2 New challenges and opportunities

However, the events of July 1994 threatened the very foundation of Gambian democracy. It is against this background that the donor community, particularly UNDP assisted the government in putting in place a National Governance Framework. This framework seeks to consolidate these achievements by taking advantage of the vast opportunities with a view to addressing the formidable challenges in the new millennium. Some of these opportunities include the advances in information technology, recent developments in economic integration, vast market outlets, efficient communication facilities, massive flows of financial capital and globalization.

The challenges include violation of fundamental human rights, threats to the rule of law, gross inequities, mounting debt, economic recession, declining trade, natural resource depletion, social disintegration, natural calamities, poverty alleviation, HIV/AIDS, environmental degradation, global warming and civil strife.

These opportunities and challenges suggest the need for an alternative or complementary paradigm. The new paradigm is sustainable human development and the means of achieving it is governance. This suggests that sustainable human development and governance must be discussed in tandem, as they are complementary and mutually reinforcing phenomena. Wherever change is for the better, wherever the human condition is improving, people point to good governance.

1.3 Sustainable human development

The concept of sustainable human development was derived partly from the recommendations of the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report, which defined the term to mean meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs of future generations; partly from the Rio Declaration and other UN documents and from work done by Non Governmental Organizations over the past 30 years. It seeks to enlarge the choices for all people in society and makes the central purpose of development as creating an enabling environment in which all people can enjoy a long, healthy and creative life. There are five aspects to sustainable human development, namely empowerment, co-operation, equity, sustainability and security. The 1994 Human Development Report defines sustainable human development as follows: *Sustainable Human development is pro-people, pro-jobs and pro-nature. It brings human numbers into balance with the cop-*

ing capacities of societies and the carrying capacity of nature...it also recognizes that not much can be achieved without a dramatic improvement in the status of women and the opening of all opportunities to women (P4). This definition is consistent with the "rights based approach to development" which UNICEF and other UN agencies are advocating.

1.4 Governance

Governance which is the means of achieving sustainable human development can be defined as *the direct and indirect management by the state of public affairs and the creation of an enabling environment for private activities that impinge on human affairs. Governance can also be defined as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels in a participatory, transparent and accountable manner.* It promotes the rule of law and ensures that political, social, and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the poorest and most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of development. Governance includes the state but transcends it by taking in the private sector and civil society.

The essential ingredient for sound governance is a desire from the people concerned and political leadership of sufficient calibre and integrity to give expression to a national vision and popular demands. High levels of literacy, education and employment, a vibrant private sector, and other institutions and organizations of civic society can strengthen the voice of such demands. The key features of good governance include legitimacy, freedom of association, responsive legal frameworks, bureaucratic accountability and transparency, availability and validity of information, effective and efficient public sector management, and co-operation between government and civil society organizations. Poverty alleviation, employment creation, environmental protection, social integration, economic and population management, which are all aspects of sustainable human development are contingent upon good governance.

1.5 Governance and Sustainable human development

Thus there is a close and mutually reinforcing relationship between sound governance and sustainable human development. The linkage or relationship between sustainable human development and

governance can be seen through the contribution of human resource development. The aspects of human resource development that contribute most to sustainable human development are health and nutrition, general education, vocational training and managerial capability. In each of these areas, all domains of governance play important roles. Health and nutrition are essential to sustainable human development because they have immediate impact on people's dignity, self esteem and productivity and long term effects on increasing their ability to absorb new knowledge. Improvements in health and nutrition contribute to social harmony and well being, as well as increase productivity by reducing worker absenteeism due to illness and lethargy, increase people's energy levels and stamina and improve their mental processes. Economic and social benefits also accrue from the favorable impacts of better education and nutrition on the abilities of children and adults to learn and through prolonging the duration of their active participation in society. Although government has an important role to play in assuring maximum levels of public health, NGOs and civil society organizations are assuming important roles in providing and delivering health care services and in championing the interests of the poor more generally, in both industrialized and developing countries.

Human resource development also has strong impacts on sustainable human development. It improves literacy, numeracy and skills. Primary and secondary education create access to opportunities and can increase labor productivity by increasing people's willingness and capacity to learn. Numeracy and literacy are essential for skill development, especially in technology-oriented activities. Vocational training contributes to sustainable human development by enhancing workers' ability to make more productive use of capital and technology and by better preparing them to work in specific occupations. In order to create a link between growth and human development, the country must develop its human resources to enhance productivity. The 1996 Human Development Report emphatically asserted that there is no automatic link between growth and human development. The link between the two can be strong, weak and unbalanced. In countries within the first category (strong), both economic growth and human development have advanced rapidly reinforcing each other through policy links. Resources generated by economic growth have financed human development and created employment while human development has contributed to economic growth.

Among the most prominent examples in this category are the high performing Asian countries: Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, the Republic of Korea and Singapore. Some industrial countries also fall within this category-Spain, Portugal and Botswana. In countries within the second category (weak), economic growth has been slow or negative and human development slow, one undermining the other. Without economic growth, resources to invest in human development are lacking and with poor standards of health, education and nutrition, rapid economic growth becomes very difficult. Most of the least developed countries are in this category-Bangladesh, Niger and Tanzania. Development in the last category (unbalanced) of countries has been lopsided with rapid economic growth but slow human development. Links have been weak in translating economic growth into human development. Examples of countries in this category include Egypt, Lesotho, and Pakistan. Development can also be lopsided with rapid human development but slow or negative economic growth. Although achieving human development despite slow growth is commendable, it is not sustainable in the long run and causes social tensions because of such imbalances as unemployment among the educated. This category includes such countries as Costa Rica, Jamaica, Peru and Sri Lanka and the state of Kerala in India.

Managerial capability helps the private and public sectors to operate efficiently and effectively at home and, in some cases, to engage in global economic transactions and to create the jobs and income needed for sustainable human development. The growth of national, industrial and service sectors depends on improving entrepreneurial, technological and managerial capabilities. Their ventures create new jobs, sources of income and growth and contribute to sustainable human development. Several initiatives have been taken by the government to involve the local communities in the management of the schools, prime among them is the formation of parent-teacher associations, school boards and committees. These initiatives have engendered a sense of participation in the affairs of the schools.

Health is also considered a prerequisite for sustainable human development. Poor health can cause low productivity, low economic growth, low incomes, poverty and set in motion a vicious circle. Sound health, on the other hand, helps promote productivity and growth, raises incomes and goes a long way in alleviating poverty. Thus sound health is an essential ingredient of sustainable hu-

man development. The Government of the Gambia has been adopting a participatory approach to health service delivery with the introduction of the Primary Health Care (PHC) system and the Bamako Initiative both of which will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

The relationship between governance and sustainable human development can also be seen from the "Rights based approach to development". Sustainable human development is directed towards the promotion of human dignity and the realization of all human rights. Thus programmes aimed at reforming legislatures, enhancing the efficiency of the executive and strengthening the judiciary serve to create an enabling environment, promote human rights and hence sustainable human development.

1.6 Governance as a thematic area of focus

The new leaders who assumed the reins of power in July 1994 had to embrace the new trend in public opinion. The donor community particularly, UNDP, the World Bank and the IMF emphasized the need for greater transparency and accountability as well as press freedom and respect for fundamental human rights as the sine qua non for growth and sustainable development. The Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (APRC) prepared a transition programme which included six specific elements, namely ensuring public accountability and social rehabilitation; creating a viable governance environment; empowerment of the people; restructuring of the security services; and, reconfirmation of the regime of economic policies and priority projects. These priority projects covered almost all the sectors, including in particular education, health, agriculture and natural resource management, infrastructure, energy, youths and sports, communications and town planning. Subsequently, the Government of the Gambia, in collaboration with UNDP, prepared a comprehensive Governance Program Framework. This framework seeks to establish and strengthen democratic and administrative institutions and processes to ensure a participatory, transparent, accountable governance system, based on the rule of law. UNDP assisted the Government of the Gambia in formulating and implementing a people-centered sustainable development strategy focusing on the following six interrelated sub programs:

- reform and strengthening of constitutional and parliamentary processes;
- reform and strengthening of electoral systems and processes;

- reform and strengthening of institutional arrangements for civic education,
- reform and strengthening of the legal and judicial processes;
- reform and strengthening of public management and administration; and,
- decentralization and strengthening local government systems and institutional structures for popular participation and management for development.

The Governance Program Framework within the context of which UNDP has coordinated constitutional reform, electoral process, parliamentary institutional strengthening and decentralization and local government activities have been developed into a National Program on Governance. Subsequently, several consensus-building workshops were held, which culminated in the stakeholder adoption of the policy, program and technical co-operation program in August 1999 thus ensuring participation and national ownership.

The transition to democratic rule entered its final phase in late 1996 with the holding of a referendum on the draft constitution on 8 August 1996 and presidential elections on 26 September 1996. Parliamentary elections were held in January 1997. This was followed by the appointment of a civilian cabinet and the inauguration of the National Assembly of the second republic. Since the end of the transition programme, the government took a number of corrective measures to restore economic stability and normalize relations with donors. A programme of macroeconomic stabilization, accelerated growth and sustained development was put in place. A Vision 2020 document was prepared and a new Policy Framework Paper covering the period 1998-2000 has been agreed upon between the Government and the Bretton Woods institutions outlining the Government's medium term policy framework, which was endorsed at the Round Table Conference held in Geneva in July 1998 at which an amount of \$103 million was pledged. Since this Round Table Conference, the Government has been articulating its sectoral policies and programmes to implement its medium term development framework. It has been recognized that the above gains can only be consolidated if further progress is made in the area of governance.

The government sought the assistance of UNDP in organizing a Round Table Conference on Governance. In response, UNDP financed the engagement of consultants to prepare the necessary docu-

mentation which included a Technical Co-operation Programme (TCP) amounting to US\$66m, of which the Gambia Government contribution was estimated at US\$23m. The external financial requirements for the implementation of the proposed projects is US \$ 42m. The TCP was presented at the said Round Table held in the Gambia in March 2000. The objective of this conference was to seek the endorsement and support of the development partners of the various components of the TCP. Though no firm pledges were made, the development partners endorsed the Gambia's National Governance Program and Policy. It is envisaged that the post-Round Table Conference follow-up activities will result in the mobilization of additional resources for the implementation of the various sub-programmes in the TCP. A Program Support Document on Governance (PSD) has been finalized. This PSD, which constitutes UNDP support to the National Governance Program will cover legal and judicial processes; civic education; and, decentralization and local government reforms. The government has set up an elaborate mechanism to coordinate the preparation and implementation of the programme. An inter-ministerial task force supported by a secretariat at the Policy Analysis Unit, Office of the President and a National Commission for Good Governance have been established to ensure that the objectives of good governance are achieved.

Several other development partners have been and continue to be active in the area of governance. This presupposes the creation of synergies and linkages between the different interventions. The European Union is engaged in decentralized rural development and education; United Nations Volunteers, local empowerment and decentralization; Department of Foreign International Development, records management, poverty and gender mainstreaming; and World Bank, capacity building for economic and financial management, including audit and the judiciary and IMF; capacity building for economic and financial management, including bank supervision. These interventions embrace all aspects of governance, namely political, economic and administrative as well as advocacy and popular participation.

Like the other areas of focus such as poverty and environment, the Gambia's governance program must be seen within the broader context of sustainable human development. It seeks to establish an enabling environment for the empowerment of citizens, particularly women, for investment and private sector development, for press freedom, for the exercise of fundamental human rights, for citizen

engagement, for popular participation, for democracy to take root, for efficient public sector management, for an independent judiciary and for poverty alleviation. In a nutshell, governance will help create the enabling environment for achieving the objectives of Sustainable Human Development.

Chapter 2

Human Development Concepts and Application

2.1 Growth and development revisited

From time immemorial, and indeed throughout the history of economic thought, Gross Domestic Product has always been considered the most important indicator of development. A nation's wealth and, therefore, the welfare of its citizens was determined in terms of per capita income.

Countries were categorized on the basis of levels of income into developed and developing; low, middle and high-income countries; and, first, second and third world countries etc. Development was almost synonymous with growth and the two terms were used almost interchangeably. This obsession with GNP growth and the national income accounts has relegated the human dimension of development to the background. Human development indicators such as life expectancy, infant and maternal mortality and adult literacy were made subservient to national income, notwithstanding its inherent flaws. This mono concentration on a single indicator continued until the 1970s and much of the 1980s. What was particularly lamentable was the fact that, contrary to popular belief, the benefits of growth did not trickle down to the masses.

The Gambia was no exception. With the attainment of independence in 1965, the government felt duty bound to transform a predominantly agrarian society into a middle income country. The first two development decades, (1965-1985) witnessed massive strides in infrastructural development, the establishment of state corporations, the establishment of the Department of Community Development, the formulation of Rural and Agricultural Development projects and preparation of grandiose national development plans. It was characterized by excessive government intervention in the economy in the form of price controls in all mar-

kets-factor, money, commodity and foreign exchange. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the economy performed reasonably well, registering an average growth rate of 3-5% per annum. However, weak internal policies, the oil crisis in the 1970s coupled with economic recession in Europe and the concomitant decline in commodity prices reversed the fortunes of the Gambian economy. The excessive government intervention also resulted in distortions in the economy and crowded out the private sector. Consequently, savings and hence investment declined considerably while the external sector degenerated into disequilibrium due to the overvaluation of the exchange rate. The result was that economic growth faltered, foreign exchange disappeared and the economy went into the doldrums.

It was against this background that the Government of the Gambia sought the assistance of the Bretton Woods institutions for the introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). The objective of the ERP is to reverse the declining trend in economic performance by opening up the economy to market forces and assigning a greater role for the private sector. Its successor, the Programme for Sustained Development (PSD) sought to consolidate the gains of the adjustment process and to cushion off the effects of adjustment on the most vulnerable groups of the population, especially children and women. Both the ERP and the PSD were very successful in putting the economy back on track. Between 1985/6-1990, GDP growth rate averaged 4% per annum. The exchange rate has been stabilized and the rate of inflation reduced to below 10% since 1990/91. The rate of inflation now hovers around 2.5%. Real GDP averaged about 1.4% between 1990/91- 1994/95, while it averaged about 4.9% between 1995-1999. Foreign reserves have been continually maintained at

about five months of import cover since 1986. There has been no built-up of external arrears.

The latest policy document in terms of long term planning is the Vision 2020. The overall orientation of this policy document is contained in its mission statement as follows: "to transform the Gambia into a financial centre, a tourist paradise, a trading export oriented, agricultural and manufacturing nation, thriving on free market policies and a vibrant private sector, sustained by a well educated, trained, skilled, healthy, self reliant and enterprising population and guaranteeing a well balanced eco-system and a decent standard of living for one and all, under a system of government based on the consent of the citizens. The Government of the Gambia, in collaboration with UNDP, sought the assistance of African Futures for the operationalisation of the vision. The operationalisation of this mission will entail the determination or otherwise of the vision with other policy documents such as the PSD, and the development of an action programme.

The government has also finalised the Policy Framework Paper which constitutes the basis of intervention of the Bretton Woods institutions covering the period 1999-2001. It gives an outline of the Gambia's updated medium term economic and financial programme (April 1998-March 2001), supported by a three-year arrangement under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Programme. Currently, plans are underway to replace the PFP with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) while the ESAF has been replaced by the Poverty Reduction Growth Facility.

However, the government realized that the remarkable economic performance has not translated into human development. For example, the ILO study conducted in 1992 indicated that 60% of the population were below the poverty line. It was precisely this reason that the Government of the Gambia formulated the Strategy for Poverty Alleviation (SPA) which was endorsed by a donors' Round Table Conference held in Geneva in April 1994. As mentioned in the first chapter, this strategy has four pillars.

2.2 Alternative development paradigms

Since the benefits of growth did not trickle down to the masses in most developing countries, policy makers began to concentrate on community and rural development, social security systems, housing, urban planning, and the training of profession-

als in all areas related to social welfare. Unfortunately, such programmes focused more on human resource development rather than strengthening individual capabilities for making informed choices.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, it was deemed necessary to provide a critical mass of professionals to man the different arms of government. This brought about massive investments in human capital with a view to acquiring the requisite skills. However, the inadequacy of this approach lies in the fact that it regarded human beings as passive recipients, made economic goals subservient to social goals and failed to place people at the centre of development.

The disenchantment with this approach brought about the basic needs approach which emphasized the provision of nutrition, housing, clean water, health services, education and employment as well as participation. The emphasis on welfare was occasioned by gross income inequalities and the growing impoverishment of rural communities. Though this approach had the advantage of redistributing the benefits of growth, it was soon superseded by the concern over economic recession and mounting indebtedness.

Thus, economic crisis of the 1980s compelled both development thinkers and policy makers to review the basic needs approach. The search for new answers to the crisis, the quest for addressing the economic quagmire coupled with the overriding need for creating the enabling environment for both domestic and foreign investment led to a paradigm shift from the basic needs first to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and then to human development. This paradigm shift was spearheaded by Mahbub Ul Haq, former Minister of Finance in Pakistan and Special Adviser to the UNDP Administrator.

The concept of human development is not really new. Aristotle, for example, maintained that the promotion of "human good" is the ultimate objective of development. He considered income and wealth as a means of achieving ends and that a good social arrangement is one that facilitates people's ability to lead "flourishing lives". Emmanuel Kant also condemned using people as a means only in the following words: "So act as to treat humanity, whether in their own person or in that of any other, in every case as an end withal, never as a means only." Other writers who shared similar views include William Petty, Gregory King, François Quesnay, Antoine Lavoisier and Joseph

Lagrange, the grandparents of GNP and GDP. Other Economists who echoed similar sentiments include Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Robert Malthus, Karl Marx, and John Stuart Mill.

In the 1990s, the question is no longer how much a nation is producing but how its people are faring? The principal reason for this is the growing recognition that the real objective of development is to enlarge people's options. Income is only one of these options – and an extremely important one – but it is not the sum total of human existence. Health, education, physical environment and political freedom, human rights and self respect – to name a few other human choices – may be just as important as income. These are what Adam Smith called the ability to mix with others without being “ashamed to appear in public”. The concept of Human Development goes beyond income and explores the relationship between income and development.

Human development has two sides: the formation of human capabilities – such as improved health, knowledge and skills – and the use people make of their acquired capabilities – for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural, social and political affairs. Development must, therefore, be more than just the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be people.

Human development is, moreover, concerned not only with basic needs but also with human development as a participatory and dynamic process. It applies equally to less developed and highly developed countries. Human development thus embraces many of the earlier approaches to development. This broad definition makes it possible to capture better the complexity of human life – the many concerns people have and the many cultural, economic, social and political differences in people's lives throughout the world.

In a nutshell, the expansion of output and wealth is only a means of enhancing human well-being. Efforts to link the means to the ultimate should be the concern of policy makers and development economists.

As an incidental outcome, the shift in development thinking in the last three decades witnessed a dramatic change in data demands in terms of quality, level of disaggregation and type.

Data needs in the seventies related mainly to population and housing censuses and agricultural sample surveys etc.

In the eighties, data demands related mainly to the need for monitoring Economic Recovery and Structural Adjustment Programmes initiated in collaboration with the Bretton Woods Institutions, which eventually resulted in the introduction of standard measurement surveys.

In the nineties, data requirements related more to poverty monitoring and the quest for more qualitative information based on Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) within the overall context of sustainable human development.

2.3 Growth and Human development

The link between economic growth and human development is an economic imperative as mentioned in the first chapter. There is a need for translating the benefits of growth into human development for a variety of reasons, one of which is their complementarity and mutual reinforcement.

In many fast-growing developing countries, the benefits of growth have not translated into reducing deprivation. High incomes in industrial nations do not necessarily constitute any guarantee against such problems as drugs, alcoholism, AIDS, homelessness, violence and the breakdown of family relations.

However, some low income countries can achieve high levels of human development with the expansion of basic human capabilities, but efforts at that have been frustrated by the economic crisis of the 1980s and the ensuing adjustment programmes.

2.4 Measurement

The Human Development Index is composed of three components of human life:

- Longevity;
- Knowledge; and,
- Decent living standards.

For the first component which is longevity, life expectancy at birth is the indicator. It has been chosen on account of the fact that life expectancy is a reflection of nutritional status and good health.

The second key component, knowledge seeks to capture access to education which increases people's awareness, broadens their understanding,

and deepens their appreciation of the development process in particular and life in general.

The third key component of human development is income which is a means of acquiring other things for a comfortable and decent living. It is perhaps the most widely used economic indicator.

These components though useful in giving us an idea of human development suffer from fundamental flaws. For example, literacy figures are simply averages and do not necessarily reflect the amount and quality of education of an individual. In the Gambia, the adult literacy index for males is 0.544 while that of females is 0.264. Similarly, life expectancy and income are also averages and, therefore, conceal wide variations in the entire population. Female life expectancy index is 0.565 while male life expectancy is 0.525. The male share of earned income is 0.76 while the female share is 0.24. The use of income is also fraught with problems such as the presence of non tradable goods and services, anomalies from exchange rate distortions, tariffs, taxes and subsidies which make international comparisons notoriously unreliable. However, these problems can be resolved by using Purchasing Power Parity figures.

Apart from these shortcomings, the HDI is inadequate in several other respects. The concept of human development suggests that both quantifiable and non quantifiable indicators are needed to reflect its comprehensive character. Fundamental issues such as human freedom, human rights, personal security, interpersonal relations, and the physical environment are scandalously lacking in the index.

Furthermore, the index does not tell us anything about the manner of distribution of income, opportunities, and the overall wealth of a country.

These inadequacies have compelled the proponents of human development to introduce new indices to counteract some of the above criticisms. To this end, the Gender related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Index (GEI) and the Capability Poverty Index (CPI) have been introduced. The first two indices attempt to bring out the gender dimension of development and to indicate the degree of political participation of women, while the CPI attempts to indicate the severity of poverty. But, given the many inadequacies of the index system, it should be reviewed bearing in mind ecological, political and cultural variables. As one commentator succinctly puts it:

the architects of the Human Development Report are gripped with index mania. It is being argued that it would be much more valuable to eliminate the many gaps than to offer ever more new indices with yet more gaps.

In spite of these shortcomings, the HDRs have gone a long way in revitalizing development thinking. These reports have brought to the fore basic social rights in the development dialogue and, at the same time the primacy of the struggle against poverty have acquired renewed weight in international development politics. In addition, they have helped put the issue of human dignity at the center of all human rights struggles.

They have also addressed a number of fundamental issues which are currently vying for the attention of policy makers and have been taken up by the highest echelons of power at both the national and international levels. The 1990 HDR introduced the concept of human development, its challenges and the traditional interpretation of development. HDR 1991 expressed the need for and the prospects of restructuring the present expenditure pattern of developing countries and aid allocation to finance human priorities. HDR 1992 examined the international perspective and the external environment for national human development efforts. HDR 1993 emphasized the need for people's participation. HDR 1994 introduced a new concept of human security-the security of people on the jobs, homes, communities and the environment. HDR 1995 introduced the gender dimension of human development with the formulation of the Gender Empowerment Index and the Gender Development Index. HDR 1996 emphatically asserted that there is no automatic link between economic growth and human development. HDR 1997 dealt with poverty and human deprivation. HDR 1998 highlighted the glaring differences in consumption patterns between developing and developed countries. HDR 1999 dealt with globalization and its potential consequences.

Of equal importance is the fact that the publication of the HDRs has culminated in the production of National Human Development Reports.

2.5 National Human Development Reports

The production of the NHDRs is a response to the growing need to adapt the techniques of the global HDRs. The ultimate objective of the former is to inform national policy and further substantiate the global advocacy for increased emphasis on human

development with national statistics on and analysis of indicators related to human deprivation and or progress.

NHDRs have triggered off a lively and insightful debate on human development in both political and civic circles. While macroeconomic indicators are still considered important, the NHDRs have focused the attention of Governments, policy makers and development practitioners on human development indicators such as infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, literacy, access to safe drinking water, sanitation, population density and prevalence of diseases. Thus it has brought to the fore the major development challenges in least developed countries, including in particular, poverty, high population growth, environmental degradation, gender inequality and poor human resource development.

The NHDRs have also broken new ground in bringing in more than just GNP growth as a measure of development. Of equal importance is that they have sought to assist in translating the recommendations made at the Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995 into reality.

The usefulness of the NHDRs can be enhanced by the extent to which they serve to motivate discussions and action programmes in response to observed gaps and deficiencies in human development patterns and trends.

In the context of the Gambia, the production of the NHDR in 1997 has assisted both the government and the donor community in preparing the documentation for the Round Table Conference for the Social sectors held in July 1998. The programmes in the social sectors have been aligned with the National Poverty Alleviation Programme to ensure consistency and complementarity of interventions and maximum impact. This Round Table Conference underlie government's overriding concern for poverty alleviation which the NHDR amply ventilated.

The production of the Gambia's NHDR has also resulted in the poverty study which was sponsored by the UNDP. Consistent with the fundamental principles of Sustainable Human Development, issues of poverty and human development have permeated all policy documents, including the latest, "Vision 2020 The Gambia Incorporated".

A recurring observation in the NHDR is that generally social progress in the Gambia diminishes with

increasing distance from the Greater Banjul Area. This has been shown to be true for individual indicators as well as the composite indices of overall human development (HDIs). Additionally, the female half of the population lags behind in almost all aspects except life expectancy. The report is, therefore, a source of reference that can contribute to social policy debates at all levels of national life (in particular cabinet and in civil society), regarding the way forward towards gender and spatial equity in social development. Indeed, the issue of gender is being addressed and streamlined in all social programmes. A National Women's Policy has been formulated and approved by cabinet, while basic infrastructure such as roads, buildings, schools, telecommunication services and hospitals are being provided throughout the country as part of the government's decentralisation programme, which is aimed at empowering local communities and improving their access to social amenities.

The NHDR has engendered a unity of purpose among the UN agencies to network very closely on issues related to poverty alleviation in the Gambia. This collaborative spirit was naturally reflected in the enthusiastic support that the UN Agency Heads and the entire UN Country team gave to the process of preparing the NHDR.

The NHDR has also served to reinforce the partnership between the UNDP and the Central Statistics Department of the Government of the Gambia and will hopefully serve to enhance capacity among national professionals. The engagement of the Department to undertake once again the preparation of the NHDR and the Common Country Assessment (CCA) underlie this partnership.

Chapter 3

Governance in The Gambia

3. Governance

Discussion on governance will not be meaningful without an attempt to define the term. It must, however, be noted that the term is best understood within the context of a particular country given its political, cultural and socio-economic history. In this regard, the term governance, is used in many different senses.

In one sense, governance is used to describe the type of regime. In others, it is used to describe the nature of relationship between state and society, or as a set of norms to appraise governmental systems and prescribed acceptable practice of the manner in which power is utilized. The term is also sometimes used as a synonym for democracy.

Popular participation thrive on stronger foundation for good governance which is achievable through the following factors, among others:

- An effective and well coordinated national integrity system based on the rule of law, protection of human rights and freedom;
- A functioning parliamentary system;
- An independent and institutionally strong and efficient judiciary;
- An efficient, open, transparent and accountable public service;
- Availability of sustainable resources, including legal, financial, material, institutional and human resources;
- On-going active political and administrative support;
- A well organized and active community-based civil society;
- Well educated and informed citizenry, able and willing to engage in civic activities at national and local levels;

- A and independent media;
- Tolerance and encouragement of diverse views, and,
- Well managed economy.

During the past decade, more than half of Sub-Saharan African countries have undertaken democratic reforms and renewed civil society involvement. Almost thirty multiparty presidential elections have been held since 1990 (and in more than twenty countries for the first time). All these reforms have opened up opportunities for people to take part in the processes that shape their lives. It must, however be emphasized that multiparty elections alone do not mean democracy. Achieving meaningful and durable democracy includes guarantees of human rights, freedom of speech and association, the rule of law, and elected representatives fully accountable to voters.

Against this background, governance, for the purpose of this report, will be used to encompass the institutional and behavioral aspects of the concept of democracy. Governance in The Gambia will, therefore, be assessed from the perspective of how state, private and civil society institutions interact with one another to ensure that state institutions are efficient, responsive, accountable, transparent and bound by rule of law for overall socio-economic development. This will be done in two stages: Pre 1994 and 1994 onwards.

3.1 System of Government in The Gambia

As in many countries, the system of Government in the Gambia consists of three branches: the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Executive, which ensures a non-autocratic system. Each of these three branches, has the same statute, and perform specific functions within the confines of its own jurisdiction. Although overlaps exist especially between the executive and legislative branches; it creates an environment of checks and balances.

3.1.1.1 The Executive

In the Gambia, the Office of the President is established by Chapter 6 part I and II of the 1996 Constitution and part III of the same chapter details out the Executive powers vested to the holder of the office.

Election for presidency is conducted every five years. A president can be removed from office if a motion of no confidence is passed by the National Assembly and is supported by two-thirds of its members.

The vice president is responsible for answering matters affecting the president in the National Assembly. The president can also send messages to the National Assembly through the Vice President.

3.1.1.2 Judiciary

The 1996 Constitution provides for an independent judiciary system and, judicial powers are vested on the Courts as stipulated in section 120(2) of the constitution of the Republic of The Gambia, and,

Section 120 (3) of the constitution, guarantees the independence of this branch where it states:

“In the exercise of their judicial functions the courts, the judges and other holders of judicial office shall be independent and shall be subject only to this Constitution and the law, and, save as provided in this Chapter, shall not be subject to the control or direction of any person or authority”

In spite of this the judiciary especially at the lower levels is reportedly subject at times to the pressures of the executives. The courts, nevertheless, have shown their independence on several occasions, and at times in significant cases. For example, in February 1999, the High Court dismissed charges against some of the defendants in the politically charged dispute concerning a Mosque in Brikama located in Western Division of The Gambia.

These courts are hierarchical with the superior courts as highest comprising the Supreme Court; the Court of Appeal; the High Court and the Special Criminal Court.

3.1.1.2.1 The Supreme Court

The Constitution provides for re-configuration of the courts whereby the Supreme Courts replace the

Privy Council. The implication of this historical move is that The Gambia Government will not have to appeal to the National Committee of the Privy Council in London, the highest court of appeal. The Supreme Courts consist of the Chief Justice, four or more of the justices of the Supreme court, and a Court of Appeal Judge representing the justice of the Supreme Court. At any sitting which can be in any location within the country, an even number of more than five judges of the court should preside. The chief justice presides or in his/her absence, the most senior judge of the court.

3.1.1.1.2 The Appeal Court

Before the setting-up of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal was the country's highest court. The members of this court consist of the President of the Court, three or more justices and a judge of the high court appointed to act as the justice of the appeal court. Presiding in this court is the president of the court, and unlike the supreme court, there is restriction in the sitting location within the country.

3.1.1.2.3 The High Court

The members of this court consist of the chief Justice, seven or more justices of the High Court and any judge of a superior court requested by the Chief Justice to serve as judge for this court. This court sits in any location in The Gambia as determined by the Chief Justice. It has jurisdiction to hear and determine all civil and criminal proceedings, to interpret and enforce the fundamental rights and freedoms as provided in section 18 to 33 and section 36(5).

The Constitution confers power and authority to this court in order to exercise its jurisdiction. For example, in March the High Court intervened between the police and the leading opposition party by ordering the Inspector General of Police to stop violating their constitutional rights by denying them meeting permits.

3.1.1.2.4 The Special Criminal Court

This court is constituted by a panel consisting of a Chairman who is a qualified judge of the high court with the approval of the National Assembly. The jurisdiction of these courts extends to hearing and determining all criminal offenses relating to theft, misappropriation and other similar offenses in connection with public funds and property, the latter being a new provision under the constitution. The power vested in this court is equal to that of the

High Court as the provision is made for the jurisdiction to try all persons.

The second level comprises the Magistrate Courts; the Cadi Court and District Tribunals and yet still lower courts and tribunals do exist, which may be established by the National Assembly through an Act of Parliament.

3.1.1.1.5 The Cadi Courts

This court composes of a panel consisting of the Cadi (the Muslim Judge) and two other scholars of the Sharia qualified to be a Cadi or Ulama for first hearing. A panel comprising a Cadi and four Ulama, are needed to sit for hearing on reviews. The Cadi Court has jurisdiction to apply the Sharia in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance, among other things.

The Constitution empowers the courts to interpret and enforce the provisions of the Constitution and exercise supervisory authority over all administrative tribunals and bodies.

However, some limitations in the system impede the efficient and effective functioning of the judicial system. For example, the judicial infrastructure and access to the courts in the rural areas are poor. The existing court structures and processes also need improvement to remove obstacles to access. In addition, the human resource capacity of the police is weak, while human rights training for the Police and Prison services is inadequate. Also, there is a back log of cases waiting to be addressed – justice delayed is justice denied.

In view of this, the government is currently undertaking reforms in legal and judicial processes within the framework of the National Governance Policy aimed at strengthening the administration of the justice system.

3.11.3 Legislature

In The Gambia, sovereignty lies with the people, as is the case of popular government and, therefore, the legislature is the immediate and direct representation of the people. The legislature consists of a body representing different people with different partisan loyalties. With regards to legislative matters, the National Assembly though autonomous with a Speaker, Deputy Speaker and Clerk, has a subordinate role. This is as a result of the fact that the legislature originates from the executive branch. Its present composition as indicated in the

1996 Constitution - section 88(1) is 49 members and it comprises :

- Thirty-nine elected members from chieftaincy districts or constituencies;
- Three elected from Banjul (North, South and Central) ;
- Three elected from Kanifing Municipality made up of Serrekunda East, West and Bakau and;
- Four members nominated by The President – the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the Majority Leader and a Member.

The Deputy Speaker is the only member who is a female while most of the current members are holding political positions for the first time.

This branch has two main roles, one is representation and the other, law making.

The representative role which takes two forms involves representation of interest groups, for example, farmers, doctors, ethnic groups etc. and geographical representation of various constituencies. The role of the National Assembly members is, therefore, very important, as they are true agents of the citizenry and, therefore, have to be of a certain fulfillment. However, most of the present members lack the capacity to function effectively. Furthermore, partisan politics sometimes over shadow national interest. For example, in debating international agreements signed on behalf of the nation, what is in the best interest of The Gambia should supersede party affiliation when it comes to voting for or against.

In addition to the Members of the House, committees endowed with the responsibility for examining proposed legislation from the Executive are set up. The Constitution makes provision for the establishment of parliamentary committees of which Public Appointments Standing Committee; Finance and Public Accounts Standing Committee; Standing Committee on Privileges, and Standing Committee on Defense and Security.

The National Assembly passes Bills which are then assented to by the President. Such Bills once assented to by the President become laws as an Act of the National Assembly (section 100(1) of the Constitution of The Gambia). The Acts are then published in the Gazette 30 days after they have been assented to.

The fact that APRC has a majority in the house, implies that most bills passed are assented to. Conversely, bills proposed by opposition have very little chance of being assented to. Another weakness of the regime is the centralized nature of government procedures. There is no mechanism for reporting back to the communities and this limits the participation of grass roots in the passing of laws.

3.1.1.4 Ombudsman

The concept of independent bodies to monitor the actions of government in upholding the rights of individuals was initially developed in Sweden where the first-ever ombudsman was appointed in 1809. Ombudsmen only exist in democracies and now present in over seventy-five countries through out the world. As public offices established to safeguard individual rights to proper governance, they help to ensure that public administration is held accountable for its actions.

The focus and nature of their work depends on the political context in which they operate.

In 1997, the Gambia government established the Office of the Ombudsman by an act of parliament that consists of the ombudsman and two deputies. The establishment of the office is in conformity with Chapter X sections 163, 164 and 165 of the 1996 Constitution of the Second Republic of The Gambia.

The functions of the ombudsman are, inter alia:

To investigate complaints of injustice, corruption, abuse of power, maladministration and unfair treatment of any person by a public officer in the exercise of official duties;

To investigate complaints concerning the functioning of the Public Service Commission, the administrative and security organs of the state, the police and prison services in so far as the complaints relate to the failure to achieve a balanced structuring of those services, or equal access by all to the recruitment to those services ,or fair in relation to those services.

The ombudsman is also expected to take appropriate remedial actions on matters that fall within his/her jurisdiction as such:

Recommend appropriate action or steps to call for or require the remedying, correction and reversal of

matters or instances specified in section 3 through such means as are fair, proper and effective;

Notify the person who laid the matter before the ombudsman of the outcome of such inquiry or investigation in such manner and form as the ombudsman may determine and to such extent as the ombudsman may deem necessary in the public interest or that the matter shall not be further enquired into or investigated in terms of section 8.

According to Professor Larry B. Hill "THE MODEL OMBUDSMAN should be legally established, functionally autonomous, external to the administration, operationally independent of both the executive and the legislature, specialist, expert and non-partisan, normatively universalistic, client centred but not anti-administration and both popularly accessible and visible".

The establishment of such an ombudsman is quite demanding especially for a developing country like The Gambia that is undergoing a democratisation process. Nevertheless, attempts should be made to fuse the characteristics embodied in the description of the model ombudsman to the national ombudsman, thus ensuring responsiveness of the office in addressing grievances of clients.

The Gambia's office of the ombudsman is quite recent and as such characteristics identified in the model ombudsman deserve attention.

The issue of the existence of the office and its functions has to be dealt with through sensitisation. Access in terms of those outside the Greater Banjul Area (GBA) has also to be taken care of. There is need for sensitisation in view of advantages that the office has over the courts in terms of speedy and low cost delivery of redress of grievances. Issue of autonomy of the office in terms of funding of its operations is an area that needs scrutiny. In the absence of financial autonomy, it will be impossible to achieve functional autonomy external to administration and, operationally independent of both the Executive and the Legislature. The financial independence of the office is therefore, crucial.

As of date, twenty-two cases are before the Office of the Ombudsman for consideration. The public's confidence in the office will depend on how justly it deals with these first cases.

The question to ask is whether it is worth the citizen's while to seek redress against maladministration through the ombudsman. Given the

provisions of the Act in terms of redress by the ombudsman- enforcement and notification and report to the National Assembly; it is time that will answer this question.

3.2 Governance in The Gambia Pre 1994

Post independent Gambia enjoyed democracy with a multi-party political system until 1994. For nearly three decades, the country was ruled by the People's Progressive Party (PPP) with Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara as the President.

During this period, elections under Westminster-type parliamentary system were held every five years. Administration of elections, including those for local government, was the responsibility of public officers who were appointed by the President in consultation with the Public Service Commission (PSC). Free press existed to some extent, though newspapers had short life spans the Rule of law was the guiding principle and The Gambia championed the course of human rights.

Unfortunately, in spite of these achievements, democratic governance weakened during the last decade of the PPP administration. There was little grassroots participation in the decision-making. Government was often accused of corruption and other mal-practices such as lack of transparency and accountability.

Notwithstanding, the government remained popular. This was made possible partly because of the high illiteracy level in the country and lack of civic education programmes which ensured that majority of the citizenry were ignorant of their rights. Furthermore, the psychological process of influencing elections by deliberate increases in groundnut prices during trade seasons preceding general elections ensured the popularity of the regime especially among the rural populace.

Among some of the educated urban population however, there was apathy inspired by general dissatisfaction with the political system. The result was withdrawal from political activities by many and mushrooming of unregistered opposition.

Thus, in his thesis 'Dual Abdication' cited in Obadare (1999) Nana Kusi Appea Busia Jnr, noted that it was not only the PPP government that let the people down. According to him, the Gambian public 'deepened its own misery by its own passivity and by abdicating its social responsibility almost without a fight. Thus by not being vigilant and by

being unconditionally obedient to political authority, the society also broke the terms of the social contract' (Busia cited in Obadare 1999:348).

As the principles of participatory democracy at national level were defeated, the government became more and more insensitive to the needs of the majority of the people.

In 1993, as one of the requirements for a proposed Economic Management Sectoral Adjustment Loan (SECAL) from the World Bank, a governance survey was conducted. The results indicated serious weaknesses in the governance structure that needed to be addressed to make the proposed reform initiatives meaningful.

Post 1994

On the 22nd of July 1994, The Army took over and the reins of government were assumed by the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) assisted by Cabinet Ministers who were mostly civilians. The four-member council was made up of a Chairman, who was also the Head of State, a Vice-chairman, also the Minister for Defense, and two other military officers responsible for the Ministries of Interior and Local Government.

A two-year transition programme which included a Constitutional reform process, prepared the ground for democratic rule. A new Republican era was ushered in on 2 January 1997, following Presidential and Parliamentary elections within the framework of a Constitution adopted through a referendum in August 1996. The Constitution provides for an Independent Electoral Commission.

Currently, the country is ruled by the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) with Alhaji Yahya A. J.J. Jammeh, the Chairman of the defunct AFPRC government as the President.

While the government recognises the need to encourage popular participation of the citizenry in the political and economic development process as enshrined in the Constitution, its actions are often paradoxical. For example, military decrees enacted prior to the 1996 Constitution have not been revoked by government.

Section 25 of the 1996 Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, conscience, assembly, association and movement. Sub-section (e) guarantees the freedom of association to any political party. This notwithstanding, people who hold views con-

trary to those of Government are often duped as unpatriotic or enemies of the state. Cases of harassment of some opposition members and the press by some members of the security forces have often been reported by the independent media.

Other contradictions are also apparent. For example, section 26 (b) of the 1996 Constitution states that:

“Every citizen of The Gambia of full age and capacity shall have the right, without unreasonable restrictions to vote and stand for elections at genuine periodic elections for public office, which elections shall be by universal and equal suffrage and be held by secret ballot;

On the other hand, Decree 89 under the defunct AFPRC government which is still not revoked, contradicts this right by stating that:

‘all persons who held the offices of President, Vice President and Minister in the Government of the Republic The Gambia during the thirty years preceding 22nd July 1994 are barred from participating in any political activity or in sponsoring any (a) person contesting any election for a political office; (b) political party; or (c) political organization;

Furthermore, Section 207(1) guarantees the freedom and independence of the press, however, the relationship between the government and the private media has not always been cordial. In fact, the private press is hardly invited to cover official government functions. Pressure from security forces, regulatory scrutiny and other laws inhibit the media with the result that journalists practise self-censorship.

Such contradictions often breed clandestine activities and threaten the stability of a country. As noted by the Malian President, Alpha Oumar Konare at the end of his one day visit to The Gambia (on 7th February 2000), African leaders should go beyond condemning coups by correcting the problems that bring about coups in the first place. This was reiterated by President Jerry John Rawlings of Ghana when he had an audience with the ousted president Henri Bedie of Cote d’Ivoire in Accra:

“ We cannot wish away coups by word of mouth but by our deeds— good governance” (J. J. Rawlings).

Cognizance of the fact that governance is not an

event but an evolutionary process, the Gambia Government has taken the initial step to redress the wrong. After various consultative workshops, a national governance policy and a comprehensive governance programme which aims to improve the governance environment have been developed.

The governance policy framework and its broad objectives are being pursued through six strategic and inter-related components. These are :

- ◆ Constitutional Review and Reform of Electoral Processes;
- ◆ Enhancing Parliamentary Structures and Processes;
- ◆ Civic Education;
- ◆ Reform of Legal and Judicial Processes;
- ◆ Public Sector Management and Administrative Reform; and,
- ◆ Decentralisation and Reform of Local Government Systems.

The Constitutional Review aims at re-examining the 1996 Constitution with a view to proposing amendments where necessary. Furthermore, majority of National Assembly members lack the capacity to effectively check the Executive arm of government and represent the interests of the electorate. The parliamentary reform, therefore, aims at building the capacity of members and strengthening the national assembly to assume its responsibility and play its role effectively and efficiently.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of the population are ignorant of their civic rights and responsibilities due to high level of illiteracy. The civic education programme is intended to create awareness so as to increase the level of participation, especially among women, in the decision making process at the local and national levels.

Another component of the governance programme is decentralization. An effective programme of decentralization is expected to improve governance through higher levels of public participation, organizational/managerial efficiency, policy pluralism, public accountability and legitimacy.

Successful implementation of the decentralization

programme, however, depends to a large extent, on committed and sincere efforts of government and all stake-holders to create institutional opportunities for those outside Central Government not only to make inputs but to take critical decisions concerning the organization of public goods and services. Also, the exact nature of the relationship between the political and administrative managers within the framework of decentralized units such as divisions, districts and village levels, needs some careful reflection. This would ensure that transferring functions is not seen as shedding responsibility from Central Government to those without the necessary capacity or resources.

In this regard, the decentralization component has adopted a two-pronged approach. First is the decentralization of central government functions to the divisional level. Secondly, it is proposed to transfer to autonomous elected local governments the responsibility for devolved functions and associated authority, power and resources. However, there is no mention of how decentralization would operate at community level.

Considering the low capacities at local level and other constraints that may hinder effectiveness, the government intends to implement the following activities as priority interventions in order to achieve the Local Government Reforms and Decentralization Programme objectives:

- ◆ Review the local government system, especially the role of Central Government in relation to the functions of yet to be established Local Government Authorities;
- ◆ Decentralize (with full authority) the responsibility for some development functions of central government to local levels including devolution of appropriate levels of political and financial responsibility and accountability;
- ◆ Build institutional capacity and competencies at local levels to bring about effective local development led by locally based people;
- ◆ Re-establish local government authorities with the appropriate legal status, organizational, managerial and financial authority to execute their responsibilities effectively and efficiently;
- ◆ Promote community participation and improve development service delivery to communities; and,
- ◆ Develop a two-way communication strategy to ensure citizen engagement.

Efforts should also be made to ensure that decentralization does not aggravate regional inequalities and poverty. Local elites or those with one particular political affiliation should not be allowed to dominate local participatory organs to the detriment of the wider community. For, if decentralization is to promote human development, it must be accompanied by genuine democracy at the local level.

Public sector management is the most visible among the different dimensions of governance. It involves the capacity of governments to make and implement policies, the effectiveness of public programmes and the strength of public institutions. The subject matter of public service management is the means to achieve the above.

Public sector management is also about the relationship between central government, private, and public enterprises and civil society, on the one hand, and also between central and subordinate tiers of government. Hence where public sector management fails, accountability, transparency, professionalism and efficient service delivery to the public is compromised thus creating a poor governance environment.

Over the years, the government of The Gambia has made efforts in reforming the public sector through its Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), the Programme for Sustainable Development (ERP), and more recently, through its Economic Management Capacity Building Programme (EMCBP). Though these programmes have had positive impact on public service management, a sustainable capacity for efficient and effective public sector management is still lacking.

The Public Sector Management and Administrative Reform component of the governance programme is aimed at consolidating and deepening the gains achieved under ERP and PSD in the areas of budgetary and cost control, revenue generation, investment planning, efficiency, and improved management of public enterprises. The Auditor General's report has indicated concerns for financial management in the public sector.

Furthermore, the component is intended to build capacities to perform core government functions, particularly those concerned with policy formulation, enforcement of the Civil Service code of conduct and performance evaluation would also be strengthened.

In addition, accounts and audit reports are made available for public perusal. In fact, the debate on the first audit report is still going on.

Generally, the 1996 Constitution lays the foundation for the pursuit of good governance but the success of the governance programme, depends to a larger extent, on government's commitment and that of all other stake holders to uphold the constitution and create a people-centred society of liberty through the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, hunger, deprivation, ignorance, suppression and fear.

This is where the media, especially the private media, has a crucial role in enlightening its citizenry based on responsible reporting and not sensational journalism.

There is also the need to improve on transparency and accountability which used to be the government's favorite slogan during the transition period.

Community Based Development Organs

Recognizing the fact that a vacuum exists between the formal institutions at the divisional level and the village communities in terms of developmental instruments, the Government of The Gambia continues to experiment with the establishment of community based development organs such as divisional development committees (DDCs), village development communities (VDCs) and development task forces (DTFs) as vehicles for fostering development at grass root level.

These community based organs are viable structures for grass roots mobilization and organization, as they play a critical role in the training of the communities and represent the vulnerable groups.

These organs function side by side with traditional community organs – kafos, which are usually gender or peer groupings mostly engaged in socio-cultural activities. The functioning of these traditional community based organizations has not been up to expectation due to their weak structures, lack of proper orientation and coordination, over politicization and sub-optimal operational procedures. The executives of such bodies are usually not development-oriented and tend to be elite of the communities that they serve; as such, their commitment to change is questionable.

To render these CBOs more responsive to current demands, such structures have been rehabilitated,

given clear-cut mandates and their capacities enhanced through training and adequate financial provision. It is hoped that the integration of these organizations into the formal institutions envisaged under the current decentralization programme, will yield the desired results.

Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Non-governmental organisations have forged a strong partnership with The Gambia government in overall national development. Currently, there are 95 NGOs registered in the country and have signed a protocol of accord. There is also a code of conduct to regulate the conditions under which NGOs operate in The Gambia.

Over the years, there has been an increase in the development of local non-governmental organisations as vehicles for development at the community level. However, these organisations are weak due to lack of financial and human resources.

The areas of intervention of these organisations spread over a wide spectrum of social, economic and governance issues.

Critical issues that deserve attention in NGO partnership with government include monitoring and evaluation, optimal programming of activities to avoid duplication and enhanced utility of resources. Under the anticipated Decentralisation Programme and Local Government Reforms, the partnership between NGOs and government should continue to be within the broad policy parameters of government and increase popular participation. Effective use of dwindling international finance coupled with the change in development discourse that favours channeling development funds through such bodies, demands proper monitoring of these organisations. Participation of target groups through proper sensitization, consultation, etc. should be encouraged to increase effectiveness of interventions. The NGO Affairs Agency established by government to coordinate and monitor NGO activities, has to be fully developed to carry out its mandate.

The planned decentralisation programme recognises these structural deficiencies on community participation and development, and tries to address them through the following strategies:-

- ◆ Establish and operationalise a Programme Coordination and Management, Monitoring and Evaluation Mechanism within the De-

- partment of State for Local Government and Lands;
- ◆ Develop the appropriate legal and institutional frame work for the establishment of democratic, autonomous Local Government Authorities by redefining the roles and functions of Central Government, Local Government Authorities and other local level institutions;
 - ◆ Capacitise the authorities and ensure the provision of the requisite human, material and financial resources for the effective and efficient discharge of their mandate;
 - ◆ Create the conditions for a continuous dialogue with the population by developing and implementing a communication strategy. This would assist in nurturing full understanding of the concepts of the reform, provide information on the progress of the process to all involved, and obtain feedback from all levels;
 - ◆ Create and capacitate development institutions at local level; adopt bottom-up development planning procedures and, establish mechanisms for financing local investments early in the process; and,
 - ◆ Define Central and Local Government responsibilities and transfer such responsibilities and functions based on the capacity assessment needs of Local Government Authorities influencing human, financial and technical capacity.

Although progress towards these strategies is being made, the enactment of the Local Government Act 2000 is still pending.

3.3 Human Rights

In general, Human Rights are those rights which are inherent in our nature and without respect for which people cannot live as human beings. They are rights belonging to every human being at all times regardless of country of origin, sex, religion, language and race.

Human rights as a tool for dignity and equality are contained in a number of international conventions such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against

Women (CEDAW) of 1979 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) of 1989. While the UDHR addresses human rights in general, CEDAW focuses on gender-based discrimination and the CRC on children below age 18 years. The Government of The Gambia became a signatory to the CRC in 1989 but it was not until 1990 that it became signatory to the CEDAW. State parties to such international conventions are urged to provide political support and an enabling environment for their implementation. These conventions form the basis for the analysis of The Gambia's human rights situation. Specifically, this sub-section will look at achievements and constraints in the implementation of these conventions.

Generally, The Gambia is a relatively well established democratic constitutional state. There exists a stable political and administrative system with procedures to provide checks and balances on the exercise of power and rights of individuals.

As mentioned earlier, the fundamental rights and freedoms of all persons are enshrined in the Constitution of the second republic. The issue is whether such provisions are upheld and respected.

In February 2000, a human rights practices report on The Gambia for 1999 was released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (US State Department). The Report indicated many human rights violations that need to be addressed in order for The Gambia to continue to enjoy the peace and tranquillity it is known for. At a recent Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) held in Durban, South Africa, both human rights activists and the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) criticized the Gambia Government for gross human rights violations, political incorrectness and lack of press freedom.

3.4 International Instruments and Conventions

International instruments and conventions are general treaties, usually on human rights issues, binding on all state parties. They also deal with social, political and cultural issues. It is incumbent on state parties, after signing such conventions to ratify and provide an enabling environment for their implementation in their specific countries.

This sub-section catalogues the status of some of the international human rights instruments that The Gambia is party to. An attempt will also be made to evaluate government's commitment to such conventions.

To date, The Gambia has signed and ratified the following right-based conventions:

- ◆ 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide;
- ◆ 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees;
- ◆ 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;
- ◆ 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
- ◆ 1966 International Convention on 1.75 all Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- ◆ 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; and,
- ◆ 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The civic education programme should raise awareness among the population on the contents of the conventions that have been ratified by the government. Though The Gambia is a signatory to the 1984 Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, it is yet to be ratified.

3.4.1 Government Commitment to International Instruments and Conventions

Generally, government is highly committed to international instruments and conventions. This is demonstrated in principle by the enunciation in the Constitution. The 1996 Constitution makes provision for protection of fundamental rights and freedoms. Sections 17 through 33 provide for various rights and protection ranging from rights to freedom, education, political rights, protection and discrimination, among others.

Section 17(1) requires the Executive organ and its agencies to respect and uphold the fundamental human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution. According to the Constitution, these fundamental rights and freedoms are enforceable by the Courts.

Sub-section (2) states that:

“Every person in The Gambia, whatever his or her

race, colour, gender, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, shall be entitled to the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual but subject to the respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest”.

Notwithstanding, some of these constitutional provisions have not been respected. For example, the ban on political activities of some politicians remains in force. This implies that political freedom is restricted.

3.4.2 Women’s Rights

Women’s rights are human rights and their violation constitutes violation of human rights. Women’s rights issues, as seen earlier, are mainly embodied in the CEDAW. It requires state parties to provide:

Equal access to education;

Non-discrimination in employment and earnings;

Job security during marriage and maternity;

Equal responsibility with men for family life and care;

Supportive social services to support women’s reproductive and productive roles;

Equal access to women-centred health programmes and family planning;

Equal legal representation;

Integration of rural women in the development process;

Eradication of traditional practices which are harmful to women; and,

Freedom of choice of marriage and the right to marry and found a family.

With regards to the Convention on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), state parties are required to show political commitment through legislation, socio-economic measures and other means to ensure that women enjoy full human rights and fundamental freedoms at par with men.

The government has responded with the establishment of the National Women’s Bureau and Council to provide an institutional framework for planning

and coordination of gender mainstreaming. Donor assistance was also sought to fund a Women in Development Project.

More recently, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 has raised issues such as gender empowerment through management and skills training. This concern has been taken up at national level.

A National Policy for Advancement of Women aimed at providing guidelines for mainstreaming gender issues in the development processes has also been formulated. Government has secured funds from the United Kingdom Department For International Development (DFID) to mainstream poverty and gender in policies plans and budgets. The gaps that persist mainly in the areas of women and property rights and economic empowerment, can be eliminated through advocacy and sensitization programmes.

In order to fully implement the CEDAW, State parties are required to bring their municipal laws in conformity with this particular convention. Until this is done, no case citing discrimination or infringement of women's rights under the CEDAW, can be invoked in the courts for redress.

In consonance with the CEDAW, section 28 of the 1996 Constitution provides specifically for women's rights. Sub-section (1) stipulates that:

"Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men"

and (2) *"Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men, including equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities"*

Article 7, of the CEDAW calls for political representation of women. This right is provided for in principle, by the constitution. Generally, however, because of ascribed gender roles, women see themselves as supporters of political parties rather than active members who could be voted for. Women's participation in politics, with regards to contesting for political positions has, therefore, been limited. Since independence only one woman has ever contested and won a parliamentary election. Women's political representation has been limited to nomination by the president.

The right to marry by men and women of mature age is provided for in both the 1970 and 1996 constitutions which conforms with Article 27 of the CEDAW.

The Constitution includes 'gender' to the list of reasons on account of which discrimination should not be practised (sub-section 4 of Section 33 of 1996 Constitution).

However, section 33(5) stipulates that:

'Sub-section (2) shall not apply to any law in so far as that law makes provision (c) with respect to adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other matters of personal law; (d) for the application in the case of members of a particular race or tribe of customary law with respect to any matter in the case of persons who, under that law, are subject to that law'.

For about 95 per cent of Gambians who are Muslims, personal law is premised on Islamic principles which are often misinterpreted in favor of men. This makes many women victims of patriarchal authoritarianism, forced marriages and male dominance in decision-making. These prevent women from fully availing themselves of the status enhancing concepts enunciated in the CEDAW.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is still practiced by most ethnic groups of The Gambia at ages varying from shortly after birth to below 18 years. GAMCOTRAP and BAFROW researches estimates that at least 65 per cent of all rural girls and women have been subjected to this practice which has been found to have negative health implications on women.

The most negative consequences of the practice range from immediate symptoms such as shock, hemorrhaging to permanent deformity and tightening of the vaginal orifice as a consequence of unhygienic wound dressing, post-operative sepsis, which lead to permanent scarring. The ultimate result is fatality of babies, owing to long, constricted deliveries.

The use of unsterilized and common knives and razors further aggravates the possibility of reproductive tract infections.

Some of the reasons advanced for the practice include religion and cleanliness. However, the psycho-cultural determinants of its perpetuation shows gender-biased features which seek to promote the interest of men at the expense of the health of women.

Efforts made by UN agencies and alliances of women NGOs and other activists at eradicating

FGM have been thwarted by opposition from its female practitioners, the excisors, who fear loss of earnings and social status and, the prejudice of both men and women who are reluctant to change traditional practices. Fear of diminished marriage opportunities for uncircumcised daughters is another set-back to the elimination of FGM.

Furthermore, recent debate between pro FGM and anti-FGM religious factions has sent confused signals to the Gambian populace as to whether the practice is sanctioned by religion. In February 1999, the President stated publicly that his Government would not ban FGM because it is part of the country's culture. He further indicated that the decision to undergo FGM or not should be left with the people. On the other hand, recognising the harmful effect of skin bleaching on the health of women, the President did not leave the decision to bleach or not in the hands of women but rather placed an outright ban on the practice.

The Government of The Gambia has made great strides since 1975, which was declared the International Women's Year by the United Nations, to mainstream gender issues in the development processes. This has not been easy because of the patriarchal nature of the society. In the past, gender mainstreaming had been mere rhetoric not backed by a Gender Policy that provides a framework for gender mainstreaming. However, in September 1999, the government adopted a National Policy for the Advancement of Gambian Women. The policy provides the necessary framework for effective gender mainstreaming. The policy could be rendered more meaningful by charting a way forward for its implementation.

3.4.3 Child Rights

The Gambia government is committed to children's welfare and in harmony with some of the Articles in the CRC, the 1996 Constitution of The Gambia provides for some rights of the child. This notwithstanding, an initial evaluation of conformity of Gambian Laws with the CRC indicates emphasis on protective rights rather than their developmental needs. Although some of these concerns are embodied in the Constitution, they are not easily enforceable by law.

For example, section 30, provides for the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities to all persons. With the view to achieving the full realization of that right, the Constitution makes basic education free and compulsory, secondary education,

including technical and vocational, generally available and equally accessible to all persons in pursuit of higher education.

One of the stumbling blocks to the realisation of the goal of free and compulsory basic education is the lack of a legal framework for its enforcement. Also indirect cost of basic education such as development fund, transport fares, are deterrent to enrollment of children from poor households. Furthermore, distance to and from schools – especially in the rural areas acts as deterrent to girls enrollment.

Section 29 (1) makes provision for the right of the child to a name from birth, the right to acquire a nationality, and subject to legislation enacted in the best interest of children, to know and be cared for by their parents.

Section 29 (2), provides that children under the age of sixteen years are entitled to protection from economic exploitation and employment in work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with their education or be harmful to their health, physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

The reality is that children from poor households often have to work in abhorrent conditions to supplement family income. For example, children become exposed to all kinds of abuse and young girls especially, become vulnerable to sexual harassment and abuse. ILO considers apprenticeship as training, however the environment for such training are sometimes a health hazard. For example, apprentice in metal fabrication are most often without protective device.

Sub-section 3 of the said Constitution also stipulates that 'a juvenile offender who is kept in lawful custody shall be kept separately from adult offenders'. In fulfillment of this requirement, a juvenile Rehabilitation Center has been established at the New Jeshwang Prison. **The Gambia has gone a step further to establish a Commission on Juvenile Justice.**

Section 31 (1) of the Constitution provides that "the rights of the disabled and handicapped to respect and human dignity shall be recognized by the state and society". In spite of this, cultural stigma, inadequate institutional support and the economic realities of households, and the nation as a whole often deny most disabled persons their right to dignity. Most disabled persons, who are often illiterate and lack skills to be gainfully em-

ployed, resort to begging for sustenance.

It is, however, worth mentioning that the growing social awareness of the abilities and professional care for the disabled is opening new opportunities for The Gambia's disabled children. In 1998, the Government with UNICEF's assistance conducted a National Disability Survey to determine the forms and geographical distribution of disabled persons. This would facilitate programme planning for disabled persons.

Sub-section 2 of section 31 provides that the disabled person shall be entitled to protection against discrimination, in particular as regards access to health services, education and employment. Sub-section 3 provides that "in any judicial proceedings in which a disabled person is a party, the procedures shall take his or her condition into account". This includes disabled children.

The Constitution, however, fails to make provision for other children in need of special protection such as street children (mostly "almudos") and orphans. The care and welfare of children in distress is considered primarily a family responsibility.

Though Articles 3-5 which pertain to the best interest of the child is explicitly dealt with by the Adoption and Maintenance Acts, the duty of parents and guardians to provide proper nurturing of children needs is not categorically stated by any law in the country.

Article 6 on the right to life is enshrined as a fundamental provision of both the 1970 and 1996 constitutions and provides a legal basis for prosecuting "baby dumping" parents and their accomplices. Recently, there has been several cases of baby dumping mainly by young unmarried girls. This is often the result of refusal of paternity by men responsible for the pregnancy.

In consonance with the country's obligation under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the initial report has been submitted to the committee on the Rights of the Child. However, the absence of a body of corporate laws that focuses entirely on children is one of the major obstacles to the implementation of the CRC.

Though The Gambia's laws conform with the CRC in certain areas, there are other areas that the laws are silent on. Several obstacles hamper implementation of the CRC. Among these are:

Lack of results oriented institutional framework and mechanism for monitoring, advocacy and coordination; cultural insensitivity to the liberal concept that children have rights like adults;

Lack of adequate human and material resources to implement the CRC, especially to provide free education;

Legal bottle-necks or grey areas in the national Constitution and statutes are not sufficiently children-friendly or explicit 'in the best interest of the child'. For example, the Sharia, which is the personal law of about 95 per cent of the population, gives custody of the girl child of over nine years and a boy child of over seven years to the father in case of divorce whether it is in the best interest of the child or not.

Lack of special facilities and support to disabled children in order to integrate them to mainstream society has reduced a majority of them to begging for a living.

Lack of a standard definition of the age of a child poses another bottleneck to the implementation of the CRC. Different definitions are assigned to a 'child' depending on the subject. The 1996 Constitution fixed maturity at 18 years for franchise purposes. In the case of criminal offense, the lower age limit for exemption from punishment is under 7 years, yet persons under the age of 12 years also enjoy impunity if just cause of ignorance of wrongful nature of his or her action can be adduced.

Under the Children and Young Persons Act, all persons below 14 years are considered children, while a young person is said to be below 17 years. For effective implementation of the CRC, there is a need to harmonize all these contradictions in the definitions of the status of a child.

Chapter 4

Status of Human Development

4 Status of Human Development in The Gambia

'The basic objective of human development is to enlarge the range of people's choices to make development more democratic and participatory. The choices should include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health, and a clean and safe physical environment. Each individual should also have the opportunity to participate fully in community decisions and to enjoy human, economic and political freedom' (HDR 1991:1). This chapter examines the status of human development in The Gambia at national level within the context of governance.

The population of The Gambia currently estimated at 1.3 million, is one of the fastest growing in the world (at 4.2 per cent per annum). With over 121 persons per square kilometer, it is also one of the most densely-populated countries in Africa. Nearly 40 per cent of this population live in the urban areas. The population is a youthful one with 44 per cent below age 15 whilst 17 per cent are children below age five. This population structure and growth trends, coupled with the inability of the economy to absorb the rapidly growing labor force, have serious human development implications.

The Gambia's small area, narrow physical configuration and geographical location in the drought threatened Sahelian scrubland limits its natural resource base. This factor has adverse social and economic repercussions. For example, the prevailing climatic conditions and related vegetation dictate a rain-fed agrarian production which is short (three months a year, on average). It is mainly this agrarian regime that dictates the rural productive activities which provide sustenance and employment for about 80 percent of the rural population.

This notwithstanding, The Gambia has a great potential for growth because of its proximity to the West, comparative advantage in re-export trade and relative political stability. Growth can be achieved through human development, expansion of the tourism sector, development of the fisheries

and horticultural sub-sectors and development of the transport sectors as a regional hub for transportation. Also, the Gambia can be transformed into a financial center for the West African sub-region. The proximity to Europe can be tapped for importing cheap commodities that can be re-exported to other countries in the sub-region. In this regard the successful implementation of the Gateway Project will go a long way in boosting the country's economy.

Population Growth

Rapid population growth is at the root of global poverty, international migration and environmental degradation. Most countries, of which The Gambia is one, adopt multifaceted approaches as a measure to solve the problems brought about by this growth. Since 1973, The Gambia has been faced with a very high population growth rate. This is more significant in growth centres such as Kanifing Municipal area, Brikama, Kerewan and Basse. The percentage change of the population for the intercensal period 1983-1993 is observed to be as low as 39.2 percent in Basse and, as high as 124.8 percent in the KMA. The Gambia is one of the countries to seize the opportunity of designing a population policy after the 1994 International Conference for Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo. Sound population management is a basic pre-requisite to address food security, environmental stress, social and political unrest, etc. The National Population Programme had three main sub-programmes:

- Population Development Strategy (PDS);
- Reproductive/Sexual Health and Family Planning; and,
- Advocacy

These sub-programmes have a total of seven component projects. Most of the projects have been implemented, but few have been completed. For example, the PDS has four components of which three have been implemented but only one

Box 4.1 The Gateway Strategy

The government of the Gambia in recognition of the advantages that the development of the seaport, airport and road and waterway network could bring to The Gambia has embarked on a gateway project.

This involves upgrading the seaport to render it more efficient and competitive to cater adequately for transshipment needs of countries in the sub-region. It is hoped that transformation of the Port of Banjul into an industrial and entrepot Freeport would provide major investment opportunities in the maritime industry. This multi-modal transport initiative should play a crucial role in international trade.

Furthermore, the improved facilities at the airport in terms of security and modern facilities would provide increased passenger and cargo traffic and serve as transit point from Europe and America into and out of Africa.

Development of inland road and waterway transport network would also improve connection to regional trading centres.

Furthermore, nearness to the west, makes The Gambia a potential manufacturing country for the assembly of electrical appliances which can be exported to neighboring countries. However, irregular power supply acts as a disincentive for such foreign investors.

Potential exists for the fisheries sub-sector that needs to be tapped. The Gambia is endowed with large fisheries resources, both river-wise and marine. It enjoys a 200 kilometers exclusive economic zone as agreed by the UN conference on Law of the Sea, 1982. The tourist industry which could also boost the economy as a major foreign exchange earner is dominated by foreign operators who repatriate their profits to their countries of origin. As a result, the country is not realizing the benefit that it should from this industry. Furthermore, the potential for growth is not being fully realized because of the lack of an enabling environment. For example, the current status of energy sector is not attractive to private investors. The infrastructural base also leaves a lot to be desired.

completed.

data to guide the programme's activities.

Some of constraints advanced for low implementation are:

- Limitation in the co-ordination capacities of National Population Commission Secretariat (NPSC);
- Insufficient technical expertise at the NPSC to enable it assume its duties efficiently;
- Inefficient government mechanism for overall co-ordination of the population programme and donor support;
- Inconsistency in providing counterpart contribution by the government;
- Personalisation of the implementation and management of the project;
- Limited technical back-stopping, monitoring and evaluation process both on behalf of UNDP and government and;
- Absence of adequate and reliable baseline

4.1 Manifestations of Poverty

The nature of poverty varies with the social and economic conditions of the country under study. Studies the world over have found that issues such as hunger, illiteracy, epidemics and lack of health services and safe drinking water; are major determinants of poverty. In the Gambia, poverty is also aggravated by high dependency ratio, lack of skills, lack of appropriate technology and high fertility rates. Qualitative studies have found that people believe that poverty is predestined for some people and nothing can change this.

According to the Participatory Poverty Assessment conducted in 1999/2000, most rural communities attributed increase in poverty levels to low crop yields as a result of soil infertility, soil salinity and lack of agricultural inputs and implements. In the urban areas on the other hand, poverty is mostly attributed to unemployment.

4.2 Profile of Poverty

Poverty from the human development perspective

means the denial of those opportunities and choices that lead to a long, healthy and creative life. It also includes the denial to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect and the respect for others.

Poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that cannot be reduced to a single dimension of human life. In The Gambia, attempts at measuring poverty have been expenditure-based poverty lines. Although expenditure/income focuses on important dimension of poverty, it only gives a partial picture of various ways that human lives can be impoverished. For example, an illiterate person is cut off from learning, communication and interaction with others. The poverty profile will therefore, be examined from both income/expenditure and human poverty dimensions.

4.2.1 The Expenditure Distribution

According to the 1998 National Household Poverty Survey, the national mean per capita expenditure per adult equivalent unit (AEU) which is D5926 is greater than the median (D4414). This indicates a distribution skewed to the right, that is, more people are below the mean than above it. In other words, 60 per cent of the population have expenditures below the mean.

4.2.2 Incidence of Poverty

The incidence of poverty presented in this subsection is the head count ratio, that is, the proportion of households below the poverty line.

The sum of the extremely poor and the poor represents the proportion of households or population below the overall poverty line. This is the incidence of overall poverty. In The Gambia the poor constitute 55 per cent of households and 69 per cent of the population.

According to the survey, 37 per cent of households are food poor and 18 per cent are non-food poor. Wide variations exist in the incidence of poverty between households and persons in different geographical locations with higher incidences in the rural areas. Sixty per cent of households in the rural areas are extremely poor. The corresponding figures for Greater Banjul and other urban areas are 13 per cent and 28 per cent respectively.

With regards to overall poverty levels, 40 per cent of households in Greater Banjul, 46 per cent in other urban area and 70 per cent of households in

the rural areas are below the overall poverty line.

More than 70 per cent of the extremely poor are destitute as their annual expenditure per AEU is less than 75 per cent of the food poverty line and they account for about 37 per cent of the population. Of the destitute, 82 per cent live in the rural areas.

Wide variations exist in the incidence of poverty between households and persons in different geographic locations with higher incidences in the rural areas. While 60 per cent of households in the rural areas are extremely poor, 13 per cent and 28 per cent of household in Greater Banjul and other urban areas respectively are extremely poor.

Greater Banjul has 27 per cent of its household being poor and the corresponding figures for other urban and rural areas are 18 per cent and 10 per cent respectively. Greater Banjul area has a significant proportion of persons being poor (33 per cent of its population), compared to 20 per cent and 9 per cent of the population in other urban and rural areas respectively are poor.

Incidence of poverty is highest in Lower River Division with 60 per cent of the households being extremely poor. Compared to the rest of the divisions, the proportion of households in Banjul experiencing food poverty is very low, as evidence revealed that 11 per cent of them are found below the food poverty line. The division with the highest incidence of population below the food poverty line is URD with 73 per cent of it households in this category.

Banjul and KMA have the lowest proportion of female headed households below the poverty line with 36 and 40 per cent respectively, whilst North bank Division and Lower River Division have the highest per cent of female headed households below the poverty line with 61 and 71 per cent respectively.

According to the 1998 National Household Poverty Study (NHPS), the incidence of poverty among Socio Economic Groups (SEG)s which is a more homogeneous grouping shows alarming levels of poverty among persons in groundnut farming households, ranging from 80 per cent among persons in large groundnut farming households to 85 per cent among persons in medium farming households. The high incidence of poverty among groundnut farmers could be attributed to irregular rainfall patterns and the near collapse of the groundnut industry since the era of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). Presently, the situation is even

more aggravated since farmers have still not been able to sell the bulk part of their groundnuts harvested during the last trade season. This has serious implications for the groundnut producing households.

The gender dimension of poverty indicates that female headed households are better off than their male counterparts. However, it must be noted that female heads of households have been found to be economically well-to-do women and they form only a small proportion of the population. Furthermore, female headed households is more an urban phenomenon and are often supported through remittances. For example, the 1998 NHPS indicated that 51 per cent of female headed household expenditures are financed by remittances.

4.2.3: Depth and Severity of Poverty

The head-count index only gives an indication of the proportion of households/population that is below the established poverty line. Though it answers a very salient question for policy makers by giving the number of people who are poor, it does not give indication of the depth and severity of their poverty.

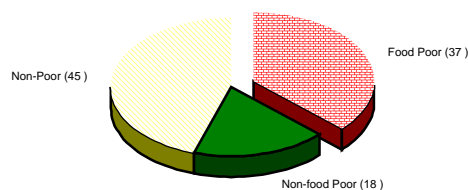
The depth of poverty for any individual is defined as the degree by which that individual is below the poverty line. This indicator measures the magnitude of poverty considering both the number who are poor and how poor they are. This indicator is also known as the poverty gap index.

In the 1998 Household Poverty Study, the poverty gap index for the population, that is the sum of the depth of each individual divided by the total number of individuals in the population was 0.229. This means that permanent income of all poor persons is 22.9 per cent below the overall poverty line. In addition, wide disparity exists between the extremely poor and the poor - whilst the poverty gap index of the extremely poor is 0.523, that of the poor is 0.188. The poverty gap index is 0.242 and 0.159 for male and female headed households respectively.

The poverty severity index, otherwise called the squared poverty gap index, gives an indication of the distribution of poverty among the poor. It combines the incidence, depth and the income distribution among the poor and is defined as the weighted sum of the squares of the resource shortfalls of the poor. The lower the resources of the poor are the higher the index value since the shortfall is used as the weight. Thus, the poverty severity index is

0.122 for all the poor population, 0.302 for the extremely poor and 0.051 for the non-food poor. Variations of poverty severity exists among different geographic locations: 0.068, 0.086 and 0.176 for Greater Banjul, Other Urban and rural areas respectively. This variation holds true for gender

Fig. 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Households by Poverty Category



(1.314 for males and 0.755 for females). Unlike the poverty gap index, the poverty severity index does not have a simple, intuitive definition but rather, provides extra information on the distribution of poverty. It can be used to set priorities in reducing poverty or evaluating anti-poverty programmes. The divisional variations is presented in Table 4.1.

The discussion of poverty cannot be concluded without mentioning the number of children affected by poverty. The 1998 Poverty study found that a high proportion of children under 18 years (56 per cent) in The Gambia live in extremely poor households and a majority of them are in the rural areas. These children are very vulnerable as poverty has serious implications on their nutritional status as well as their access to social services (education and health).

4.2.4 Household Consumption Pattern

In the Gambia, expenditure patterns are influenced by socio-cultural factors. Households may prefer to spend on clothing and other social ceremonies rather than on food. Findings from both quantitative and qualitative studies have confirmed that households spend high proportions of their incomes on these items.

Generally, 66 per cent of their permanent income goes to food. This relatively high proportion of income spent on food conforms to Engel's Law, which states that in low-income societies, the proportion of income that goes to food is always high.

It is interesting to note that in The Gambia, clothing receives priority next to food irrespective of geographical location or poverty status. Generally,

Box 4.2 1999/2000 Participatory Assessment of Poverty for The Gambia

The participatory approach is now becoming increasingly popular as a means of exploring issues of poverty. Participatory Poverty Assessment allows the poor to analyze their situation, focusing on their realities, needs and priorities. In The Gambia, two assessments were conducted: in the wet season (August) of 1999 and the dry season (February/March), 2000. It was designed such that it complements the 1998 Poverty Study which followed the more traditional approach.

A wealth of information on the socio-economic conditions of the poor was collected. The poor themselves in their own perception cited a number of definitions of poverty, some of which were supplemented with characteristics to identify who are the poor.

According to informants for the wealth ranking, the “very poor” are those households that cannot afford to feed themselves, do not have enough children to work as farm hands and cannot afford to hire farm-hands, no domestic animals, no money, no farming implements and depend on rudimentary tools. The very poor person also works as hired farm hand to earn income or gifts from neighbors and relatives for survival.

The “poor” are slightly better off and are described as people who can feed their households, clothe and take care of the family for at least 6 months of the year. Even though the person cannot support others, he/she rarely requests for outside assistance.

The “non poor”, on the other hand, have sufficient food for the family's consumption throughout the year with food surplus; have a herd of cattle and several small ruminants; and are held in high esteem by others and, therefore, command a lot of respect and authority

Specifically, the key findings of the exercise are as follows:

- Ø Poverty is many things to many people but in the main, it was defined as the lack of means to take care of basic household needs and powerlessness in the decision-making process.
- Ø According to the wealth ranking, poverty is widespread with 919 and 666 out of a total of 1723 households, constituting about 53 per cent very poor and 39 per cent poor respectively. Overall, 92 per cent of the sample households are considered poor with only 8 per cent non poor.
- Ø There has been an increase in the incidence of poverty over the past 20 years.
- Ø Poverty is caused by various factors including laziness; illiteracy; insufficient rainfall; inadequate farming implements and inputs; lack of knowledge and skills; mismanagement of available resources; unemployment; predestination;
- Ø Key coping strategies adopted against poverty include reducing the number and quantity of household meals; selling/mortgaging assets such as livestock and jewellery; hiring labour out; resorting to begging; engaging in petty trading; obtaining credit; production of early maturing crops; mixed cropping; backyard gardening; and child labour.
- Ø Food constitutes the largest expenditure item for most households in the sample while income from farming is quite significant, especially for rural households. Non farm activities constitute the main source of income for urban dwellers.
- Ø Food insecurity is rife, as many households cannot feed their families all year round, whether from their own produce or purchased food.
- Ø Land is communally owned but women have only usufructuary rights.
- Ø Education and health costs are considered high and services provided are not of a very good quality in terms of availability of drugs and personnel.
- Ø Development oriented institutions are evident in almost all the villages covered in the study, many of which are predominantly female in membership.
- Ø Urban and rural differentials are areas of concern in this PPA exercise. With regard to access to social services, most of the physical infrastructure is found within the urban centers, thus enhancing accessibility compared to the rural communities.

Source: Participatory Poverty Assessment, National Summary Report 1999 – 2000

Poverty Index	Division							
	Banjul	KMA	West-	North	Lower	Central	Upper River	The Gambia
Gap	0.089	0.137	0.209	0.302	0.307	0.304	0.313	0.229
Severity	0.039	0.066	0.098	0.166	0.164	0.182	0.188	0.122

Source: 1998 National Household Poverty Study, CSD

households spend nearly five times as much on clothing than on education and health combined. Findings from the participatory poverty assessment also show that a high proportion of household expenditure is allocated to ceremonies. These statistics which conform with the results of the 1991 Priority Survey, have very serious implications on human capital formation. This calls for an intensive awareness raising campaign on the importance of education and health as important human development issues, and saving and investment (see Figure 4.2).

4.2.5 Financing of Consumption

Distribution of households' expenditure financing shows that the major source of financing household expenditure is from cash earnings irrespective of poverty category (53 per cent). Inter household transfers feature prominently as a source of expenditure financing, accounting for 28 per cent of financing sources.

Looking at the finance source by gender, it is interesting to note that for female headed households, inter household transfers are the most important source for expenditure financing (51 per cent). For male headed households, this source accounts for 24 per cent. This reaffirms the inter-dependency of the African extended family system (1998, National Poverty Study).

4.3 Growth, Employment and Sustainable Development

The importance of economic growth to sustainable human development (SHD) cannot be over emphasized. The issue is whether the chosen path and mechanisms for fostering such growth are compatible with SHD. Furthermore, human development without economic growth is not sustainable. The rest of this sub-section discusses the interrelationships between economic growth, employment and development trends in The Gambia.

Economic Growth

The Gambia is one of the least developed countries in the world with a real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita estimated at US \$456 (CSD 1998). Between 1993 and 1999, the average growth in GDP at constant market prices otherwise known as deflated GDP was 3 per cent.

The service sector (distributive trade, Hotels and restaurants, transport communication, etc.) continues to contribute significantly to GDP. Its contribution to GDP rose from 67.9 per cent in 1990/91 to 70.6 per cent in 1998.

The agricultural sector, which employs about 57 per cent of the labor force, provides seasonal employment and on average, contributed about 22 per cent of GDP during the period 1990/91-1998. Factors that constrain the effectiveness of development in this area include over-dependence on traditional implements and tools. This issue of poor technology in the agricultural sector has implications for productivity levels. It is therefore crucial to address these problems if The Gambia's development aspirations as indicated in the vision 20/20 is to be achieved.

The tourism sector has emerged, since the beginning of the nineties as a potential source of rapid growth for the economy. The Gambia's mild climate, the long stretches of sandy beaches, and its close proximity to Europe make it an attractive destination for tourists of European origin. In terms of employment and foreign exchange earning, the sector is vital and continue to account for between 10 to 12 per cent of GDP. Recent introduction of the 'all inclusive' package could act to undermine some of the potential gains from tourism in terms of direct benefit to nationals operating in the industry. It was not surprising that government took the right steps to stop its continued operation. Additionally, to make adequate contribution to overall development and act as a source of rapid economic growth, this sector needs to forge stronger linkages with other productive sectors of the economy.

The industrial sector in The Gambia, made up of the manufacturing, construction and utilities sub-sectors, is rather small and accounts for about 11 per cent of GDP. The industrial sector is yet to exploit in full the potential in the manufacturing sub-sector. Presently, items manufactured in the country include soap, plastics products, steel and metal fabrication, as well as groundnut decortication. The growth of the sector is constrained by a number of factors, notably lack of skilled personnel. In addition, continuing shortages of basic utilities, such as reliable electricity and water supply, and other infrastructural base, hamper growth in this sector. Finally, the sector lacks meaningful linkages with other sectors of the economy, such as agriculture and tourism.

Employment

An important indicator of the economic welfare of a nation's people, is the employment level of its labor force. The formal sector which consists of the public sector, the parastatals and a limited private sector employs only 11 per cent of the labor force. The government is the biggest employer in the formal sector. In addition, employment opportunities in the formal sector are gender biased in favor of men. A majority of the labor force is, therefore, engaged in subsistence farming, informal sector (mostly self employed), or as unpaid family workers because the economic growth discussed above did not translate into creation of enough new jobs.

This is the most important sectoral activity in terms of employment and its contribution to GDP. It is a sector that should be reviewed in its entirety to enhance human resource development within the framework of good governance.

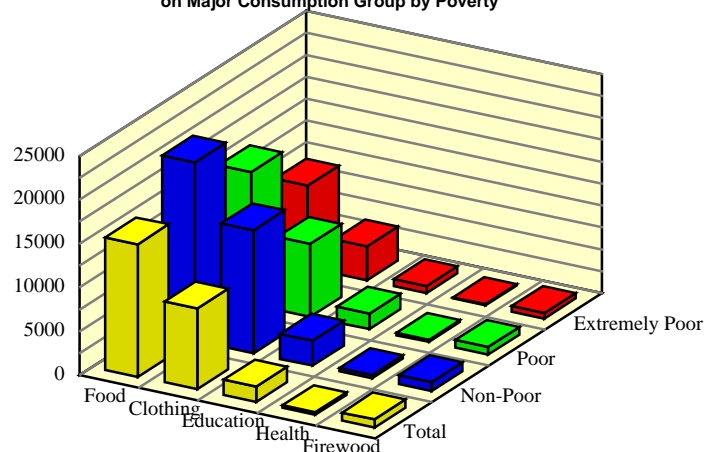
Over the years, the agriculture sector has been contributing between 22 per cent and 25 per cent to GDP. Groundnut production contributes most in terms of percentage share. In fact groundnut production, marketing and processing contributes about 24 per cent of national value added. The agricultural sector also accounts for about 82 per cent of total employment as indicated in the 1993 population census report.

Although production, marketing and processing of agricultural commodity has been liberalized during the ERP and PSD period, constraints still remain for optimal productivity of the sector.

At the production levels, such constraints include high cost of inputs, lack of appropriate technology and skilled labour and fluctuation in rainfall patterns and access to capital and credit. These constraints have resulted in a decline in productivity, rural-urban migration and the slow human resource development. These conditions are favouring rural-urban inequalities as indicated by the levels of HD in urban and the rural areas. These structural issues reflect limited economic and social opportunities i.e. governance issues of unequal or limited choice. The CSD, SDA reports and the 1998 Household Poverty Study Report indicate that large groundnut farming households form the bulk of the poorest households in the Gambia both in terms of production per capita, food consumption per capita and access to social services. Likewise, in terms of access to social services, urban socio-economic groups fare better compared to rural socio-economic groups.

Furthermore, the high illiteracy rate and high fertility rate which is a characteristic of a majority of the farming population are structural factors that limit the impact of socio-economic interventions. The lack of education and information greatly limits proper decision making and internalization of new agricultural methods for increased productivity. High fertility is an indirect or proximate determinant of agricultural productivity in that access to social services and higher per capita incomes are limited for large households. In fact, both the 1993 HES

Fig4.2: Mean Household Expenditure on Major Consumption Group by Poverty



and the 1998 National Poverty Study reveal a high correlation between poverty and large groundnut farming households.

Marketing of agricultural produce suffered in the re-

cent past due to inadequate planning and government's interference in an already liberalised market system. This drastically affected groundnut marketing in the last two years thus resulting in low earnings for farmers. Notwithstanding, the fact that a liberalized system exist, over "taxation" of farmers through retention of surplus between producer price and export price should be monitored and regulated. The bulk of such "taxes" should preferably be ploughed back to their areas of origin for further agricultural and rural development purposes. Such strategy will supplement the almost non-existing NON-TAX revenue base in the rural areas. The issue of broadening the non-tax revenue base should be carefully examined to enhance revenue collection for the planned decentralization programme. Absence of adequate revenue limits development.

It is hoped that the budgeting process envisaged under the planned decentralization programme and the poverty reduction strategy programme would address critical elements of good governance through pro-poor taxation and revenue allocation procedures. The current centralized budgeting process is not conducive for such planned interventions in terms of its functional and economic classification and observance of the principle of subsidiarity

The Gambia's experience with cooperative movements and agricultural development banking has not been encouraging in view of the highly politicized nature of such establishments or organisations. The issue of high interest rates and lack of adequate collaterals were identified as bottlenecks for the demise of the Agricultural Development Bank. The Gambia Cooperative Union (GCU) was once described as the financial arm of the previous ruling political party.

The experience with financial resources mobilisation schemes such as village development trust funds, women's finance schemes, and VISACA have been mixed in terms of their effectiveness in mobilising adequate resources and targeting credit worthy clients for sustainability. This underscores the need for proper policies in the areas of rural finance.

Services

Over the past two to three decades, the Gambia executed major employment focused development projects both in the rural and urban areas. Notable

among these were the Rural Development Project (RDP), Urban Management Development Project (UMDP), the current GAMWORKS, the National Youth Service Scheme and various NGO interventions in the rural areas. Impact of such national interventions has been limited in terms of sustainable livelihood criteria. Constraints identified as critical elements for sustainability include lack of seed capital, high cost of product, poor management etc. Such constraints have to be addressed for meaningful increases in productivity and sustainability if the plight of the target groups – women and unemployed youths is to be improved. The mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens articulate their interest, exercise their legal rights, meet their legal obligations and mediate their differences should be pro-people i.e. should foster participation from programme development to execution. Internalization of project / programmes will ensure good governance and sus-

Table 4.2 Human Development Index by Division , 1997 and 2000

Division	1997	2000
The Gambia	0.350	0.363
Banjul	0.519	0.509
KMA	0.433	0.474
Western	0.328	0.321
Lower River	0.274	0.244
North Bank	0.287	0.246
Central River	0.255	0.264
Upper River	0.210	0.216

tainable livelihood.

Distributive trade industry contributes about 38 per cent of GDP. Recently, the sector suffered due to decline in re-export trade, depreciation of the Dalasi and the introduction of pre-shipment inspection. Such a development will result in a decline in terms of trade between rural and urban residents thereby fostering more inequality. Such a state of affairs should be corrected in the best interest of the economy.

Tourism

Although the industry has been growing over the years in terms of tourist arrivals, the recently introduced all inclusive package tours has been criti-

cized for limiting employment creation and income generation in tourism related activities thereby dampening government's policy for development of linkages of the industry with other economic activities. The result of such a trend is an increase in urban poverty especially for households in the informal sector.

The above review leads to the question as to whether 'home grown' sustainable development is attainable under the current globalization trends.

Several factors account for the current state of employment. First, the labor force grows at a faster rate than the economy's capacity to generate employment. Lack of appropriate skills, especially among youths also limit their job opportunities. Furthermore, in the informal sector where the majority of the urban labor force is engaged, human capacity is often under-utilized. Physically able persons, for example, spend their days selling a few packets of cigarettes because there is no better alternative. Finally, in terms of rural employment, the 1998 Poverty Study found that 66 per cent of the rural residents are employed, only one per cent are unemployed and 33 per cent are inactive. Looking at the industries in which the rural people are employed, 59 per cent of the employed are engaged in agriculture, livestock and hunting industries, one per cent each in fishing, construction and retail trade in food.

These statistics indicate the prevalence of agricultural activities in the rural areas as the main means of livelihood. As such, governance issues centering on marketing such produce should be addressed to ensure proper producers outlets.

Secondly, over the period 1990/91 to 1999, mixed developments were observed in the agricultural sector (crop production fisheries, livestock and forestry) in terms of growth, diversification within the sector and linkages with other industrial activities.

Over dependence on rain fed agriculture and the increasing unreliability of rainfall and its uneven distribution limits agricultural productivity. Average national rainfall is about 765.8 mm per annum and it lasts for about five months in the year. The Gambia river has a huge potential for irrigation purposes, however, it is still under utilized. The river can also be further exploited for cheap transportation of agricultural produce. Lack of funds and technological know-how are some of the limiting factors to its full utilization.

Constraints such as thin vegetation cover and poor soil conditions and as stated earlier, low fertilizer use also, result in low production. Frequent bush fires and salt water intrusion compound the problem further causing deforestation/desertification to the extent that the last two decades have laid waste certain areas of The Gambia, notably the North Bank Division.

The result of the above scenario is a growing movement of labor from agriculture to other industries, especially the service sector, more so distributive trade. This has implications on local food supply. Mechanization of agriculture is a primary policy option for The Gambia if food self sufficiency/food security is to be achieved and the welfare of rural populace is to be improved.

Strategies employed include provision of appropriate mechanical innovation packages that are adaptable to modernized agriculture. Such provisions include a reliable and affordable animal traction and development of wind and solar power devices.

The traditional land tenure system does not encourage agricultural productivity and development. Land is predominantly communally owned and is mostly controlled and managed by men. People have usufructual rights to land and as such its development/husbandry is limited. Such traditional norms limits women's agricultural productivity and general welfare in that the asset cannot be used as collateral for loans. Moreover, since men are the decision-makers, women have been consistently allocated inferior land on which they cultivate rice. For example, during the 1999/2000 Participatory Poverty Assessment Study, the issue of poor quality of land was cited by women in almost all the communities covered.

Equally important is the use for greater productivity. Recent studies have shown that high prices for fertilizer have been a major deterring factor for its use on their farms. At the same time, they have associated low yields to the lack of fertilizers. This calls for the revisiting of some of the decisions made at the macro level and its effects on the farmers, particularly, the impact of the removal of subsidies in the agricultural sector.

Another area of concern is the constraints faced by commercial farmers. For instance, identifying suitable markets for their produce, transportation of their produce to the identified market and recently, lack of assurance that they get paid for their

groundnuts.

4.4 Education, Health, Water Sanitation and Environment

Deprivation in basic capabilities translates into low life expectancy, poor health, lack of knowledge, low participation, personal insecurity and environmental degradation, among others. These different kinds of deprivation interact to severely constrain human choices.

Over the past few decades, The Gambia has made great strides in overcoming deprivation in basic capabilities and some improvements have been registered even though the country still lags behind many others. This subsection discusses human development in terms of education, health, water and sanitation and environment.

4.4.1 Education

The role of education in sustaining human development is becoming increasingly important more so in this millennium. Education enables individuals to enjoy fulfilling lives. In view of this, government has undertaken reforms in the education sector with the view to meeting the challenges of the new millennium. There is a renewed emphasis on providing solid foundation for life-long learning responsive to the needs of the nation, especially competencies in science and technology.

Recently, there has been an upsurge of school structures, especially in the rural areas reducing the constraints of physical access mainly to middle and secondary school education. Notwithstanding, economic access remains a constraint to poor households.

Attention is also being focused on functional literacy through non-formal education programmes. This is because of the positive relationship between illiteracy and poverty. Within the framework of the National Poverty Alleviation Programme, government, supported by its development partners, has embarked on an integrated mass literacy programme.

Remarkable improvements have been registered in the education sector as a result of government's commitment to giving the sector the pivotal position it deserves in the national development drive. For example, between 1983 and 1993, adult literacy rates increased from 24 per cent to 37 per cent.

Additionally, there has been tremendous increase in access to primary school education. Between 1990/91 and 1996/97, average annual growth rate in primary enrollment was eight per cent compared with the targeted 5 per cent and a school aged population growth rate of 4.3 per cent. This resulted in an increase in Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) from 59 per cent in 1990 to 70 per cent in 1996/97 also exceeding the policy target of 65 per cent. By 1998/99 GER had risen to 71.7 per cent, slightly above the sub-Saharan African average of 69 per cent.

This notwithstanding, there remains significant differences between enrolment of girls and boys. For instance, only 61 per cent of girls of primary school-going age are enrolled in primary schools against 79 per cent of boys (Education Sector Public Expenditure Review, 1998).

Secondary level education, despite improvements, is still below acceptable levels. In The Gambia, secondary education is at the moment divided into junior and senior each of three years duration. The first three years forms an integral part of nine year basic education.

Government junior secondary schools increased from 12 to 24 accounting for an increase in transition from 30 per cent in 1990/91 to 70 per cent by 1996/1997. The Gross Enrollment Ratio rose from 22 per cent to 39 per cent during the period under review.

The gross enrollment rate in senior secondary schools increased from 11 per cent to 15 per cent during this period. However, due to a large number of over-aged students at this level, partly due to repetition at the previous levels and late entry into primary schools, the net enrolment ratio is a low two per cent.

Tertiary education is provided by four institutions – The Gambia College, Gambia Technical Training Institute (GTTI), the Management Development Institute (MDI), Gambia Telecommunication and Multimedia Institute (GTMI), Rural Development Institute (RDI) and the University of the Gambia. Prior to the establishment of a university in September 1999, St. Mary's University of Canada operated an extension programme in the Gambia. Unfortunately, statistics on the number of students enrolled in tertiary institutions are not available. It is, however, believed that there has been an increase in enrollment at this level over the years.

Community Participation in Education

In the rural areas, Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) play very important role in the education sector. For example PTAs are actively involved in the campaigns to raise awareness for girls and boys education. The associations also mobilise community members to cultivate school farms the produce of which is sold and invested in school development projects.

In some communities, PTAs are also involved in procurement of learning materials and in school construction work. They also ensure that teachers are properly housed in the villages.

Quality and Relevance

The concept of quality education is easily understood but attempts at clear cut definition often poses difficulties. Despite the difficulty in pinpointing what quality is in education, its absence in any educational system is quite conspicuous. The provision of quality education is, therefore, necessary for effective development, and as such, its provision is high on government's agenda.

Thus, access to quality education is more and more being recognised as a developmental right issue. This is more so at the primary level in view of the fact that education at this level is to develop basic life skills and basic learning skills for sustainable development. The Gambia has attached prime importance to this sector through improvement in access, quality and relevance of the service.

Any definition of quality must take into consideration student's learning outcomes and the learning environment that will bring about the attainment of these outcomes. The acquisition of such an environment includes enforcement of set standards, outcome measures such as examination results, availability and proper use of teaching and learning materials, sufficient instructional time, parental support, care and concern for pupils and students, a well balanced curriculum and good school infrastructure as well as good school management and leadership.

The Gambia provides a four-tier education system namely Early Childhood Development (ECD), Basic, Secondary and tertiary allowing for the achievement of the education policy and programme covering the period 1998-2003.

The education policy emphasizes both quality and relevance. It is geared towards developing the physical and mental skills necessary for contribution to nation building. One way of measuring quality of education is by looking at the pupil/teacher ratio. This shows the average number of pupils per teacher at the different levels of education. However, since this measure is only a simple average and there might be wide variations from the mean, it is also prudent to use other indicators to examine quality. These include the proportion of trained teachers, learning materials, furniture, outcome measures, among others.

Trained Teachers

A number of studies have shown that school leadership and homework have positive correlation between learning achievements on one hand and teacher subject knowledge on the other. One important measure of quality, therefore, is the number of trained teachers available in the system.

Apart from the school year 1990/91, the proportion of qualified teachers in the primary schools has not varied much –from 54 per cent in 1991/92 to 63 per cent in 1994/95. In 1995/96, the proportion of qualified teachers in primary schools was 58 per cent. This decline in the proportion of qualified teachers suggests that the rate of increase in enrollment is not at par with the rate of increase in trained teachers. Fifty-eight per cent trained teachers, means that over half the teachers employed in primary schools have the necessary skills to teach and use the available instructional materials effectively in primary schools.

By 1997/98, however, the proportion of qualified teachers in the primary school has again, increased to 67 per cent .

In Junior and Senior Secondary Schools, on the other hand, comparatively higher proportions of trained teachers exists. However, there is over dependence on foreign teachers which makes the system vulnerable when such teachers leave abruptly. It is note-worthy that attempts are being made to alleviate the over dependence on foreign teachers. This includes an increase in the share of development expenditure allocated to teacher training from two per cent in 1990 to between 25 per cent and 45 per cent from 1994 to 1996.

Examining qualified teachers from the gender perspective shows very little difference between male and female teachers. For example, in

1992/93 school year, 53 per cent of female teachers were qualified against 56 per cent of their male counterparts. By 1997/98 the proportion of qualified female teachers in the primary school has outnumbered males (68 per cent and 67 per cent respectively), they formed 29 per cent of all qualified

Box 4.3: Child Survival — a Function of Location

It has been observed that urban residents have a comparative advantage in terms of their children's survival, although the gap between urban and rural areas has been narrowing throughout the 1980s. The rate of child mortality in urban areas is 15 per cent lower than in the rural areas. The closing of the gap between rural and urban infant and child mortality rate is an encouraging sign, which is partly brought about by increase coverage in health delivery.

Child mortality differs quite noticeably between LGAs, and the level is lower for those closer to the coast. Over time, the disparity between Banjul and the outlying LGAs such as Basse and Kuntaur has narrowed only slightly. For example, child mortality in Banjul in the late 1970s was half the level in the outlying LGAs. The relative difference was the same in the early 1990s. A possible explanation is the fact that a lot of women with little or no education migrate to growth centres like Kanifing, Brikama, Kerewan and Georgetown.

teachers at the primary school level.

As indicated earlier, a majority of teachers in junior and secondary schools are qualified. Looking at the gender dimension, reveal very few female teachers at these levels. For example, over 91 per cent of female teachers at junior secondary school are qualified, they constitute only 15 per cent of all qualified teachers in junior secondary and 13 of those in senior secondary school.

Between 1991/92 and 1998/99, regions 1 and 2 had the highest proportion (30 per cent) of certified teachers compared to four per cent, and six per cent in regions 5 and 6 respectively. Female teachers in this category are mainly found in region 1 (55 per cent) whilst only two per cent in regions 5 and 6.

In our endeavors to encourage the education of the girl child, efforts should also be made to train more female teachers, especially for the second cycle institutions to serve as role models to girls. Efforts should also be made for career development in the teaching field through up-grading programmes.

Pupil-Teacher Ratio

This indicator is used to measure the level of human resource inputs, in terms of number of teachers, relative to pupil population. A high pupil/teacher ratio suggests less interaction between individual pupils and teachers. On the other hand, a very low pupil/teacher ratio implies inefficient utilization of resources. An optimal pupil/teacher ratio coupled with the teacher's academic qualifications, pedagogical training and professional experience, etc. provides an environment that positively affect the quality of teaching /learning resulting in better pupil performance.

The pupil-teacher ratio is, therefore, a good indicator for assessing quality. Over the years, there has been a significant improvement in the pupil-teacher ratio. In the primary school system, for 1993/94, the ratio was 38:1, for 1994/95 it was 34:1 and in 1995/96, 30:1 pupils per teacher. This has implications for quality. In the secondary school cycle, the ratio were 21:1 and 20:1 in the middle and senior secondary schools respectively, during the 1995/96 academic year.

It is not surprising that regions 1 and 2 have the highest pupil teacher ratio considering the foregoing observations. The average pupil/teacher ratio for these regions was a little over 35 pupils per teacher compared to 27 and 30 for regions 4 and 3 respectively. The results of the introduction of female teachers in the education system to serve as role models are very disappointing, especially in the rural areas. In region 1, there are 39 students to every qualified female teacher while in region 6 the ratio is one qualified female teacher to between 200 and 151 female students.

Although in general the indicators are encouraging, the picture could look even better if in computing the ratios for 1994/95 and 1995/96, specialized teachers were excluded as was done in the previous two years for the primary cycle.

The tremendous improvement in pupil-teacher ratio during the 1995/96 academic year is an indication of the increase of teachers although it must be noted that there exists a high proportion of untrained teachers at this level (about 60 per cent).

One critical issue that needs to be looked at is the definition of optimal pupil-teacher ratio in the Gambian context, for achievement of better results. Currently, lower basic level pupil/teacher ratio is 33, 26 for upper basic and 21 for senior secondary school. According to the education sector master plan, the targeted lower basic pupil/teacher ratio is

45. This is because research has shown that there is no significant difference in learning level whether the ratio is 33 or 45. Secondly, considering the human resource base in the third world economies, a pupil/teacher ratio of 1:45 at the lower basic level ensures efficient use of resources.

Teaching/Learning Materials

Teaching materials are provided from Education recurrent budget while text books are provided under book rental scheme. Teaching/learning materials received, on average five per cent of recurrent for education between 1990 and 1996.

Under the book rental scheme, textbooks are supplied to pupils and students in primary and junior secondary schools for a token amount. However, students are not allowed to take the books home under this scheme. This means that books are not available for home work except for children whose parents can afford to buy text books. However, buying textbooks does not exempt one from paying the book rental. There is a need for economic analysis on the book rental scheme on both the side of government and parents. Presently, government's expenditure on exercise books is sufficient to provide free text books. An important decision to be taken by government is whether to shift expenditure on exercise books and other school supplies to parents and provide free text books given the importance of textbooks in learning.

Positive strategies that should be adopted to improve the quality of education in The Gambia include the following:

- ◆ Improve the efficiency of expenditure on learning materials by properly targeting the items to be purchased and clearly defining the role of government and parents in the provision of textbooks and other pedagogical materials;
- ◆ Setting performance standards linked to learning objectives and monitoring them;
- ◆ Conduct standard tests on teachers to evaluate their knowledge and skills in their subject areas; and,
- ◆ Competency test for all pre-service teachers.

The lack of good libraries nation wide which should provide materials for students and lack of good bookshops marginalize the resources required for self advancement. This is where the private sector

can come in to provide these facilities to complement government's efforts in the area of education.

Relevance

In the past, national development policies have focused on human resource development for white collar and peripheral service sector to the detriment of the areas of science, technology, agriculture and industry. This resulted in mis-match between demand and supply in the labor market. The country had to depend on importation of human capital to manage the development of national productive resources with no firm foundation for sustainability.

Consequently, the focus on education had to be changed to meet its development needs. The present school system, in line with the 'Vision 2020' aims at providing relevant education in the context of producing graduates armed with skills and training suitable for the country's socio-economic development needs. The private sector has also been contributing to education in terms of providing educational facilities almost at all levels.

In order to ensure relevant education, there has been a continuous effort in tailoring the school curricula to suit the nation's needs. The current school curricula is much more broad-based. Rather than being strictly academic, more technical subjects such as woodwork and technical drawing, among others, have been introduced to make education functional for those who are not academically inclined. Population and Family Life Education is also being gradually introduced into the formal educational system and the 'Madrassah'. The on-going sensitization programmes aimed at creating awareness among pupils and, especially parents about the importance of non-academic subjects, need to be strengthened to remove the stigma attached to these subjects.

In addition, restructuring of the school system to 6-3-3-4 and further efforts to introduce 9-3-4 system confirms this effort. The aim is to provide nine years of uninterrupted basic education, (DOSE, 1997 Policy Documents).

Financing of Education

Total government expenditure in the education sector during the 1990s reflected an increased allocation. Between 1990/91 and 1996/97, total government expenditure in the education sector grew in real terms at an annual average rate of 9

Box 4.4: Addressing the Geographical and Gender Variations In Education

The number of educational facilities reduces as one moves eastward into the Gambia resulting in low enrolment ratios both at primary and secondary levels. In 1988, there were 55 pre-school institutions in the country and it increased to 125 by 1995. A recent study done in 1998 established the number of such institutions at 265. Five per cent and 6 per cent are located in regions 6 and 4 respectively compared to 39 per cent and 29 per cent in regions 2 and 1 respectively. The same picture is depicted when the distribution of education institutions at higher levels is examined.

The Education System aims at promoting broad-based education so as to accelerate the pace of nation building in a sustainable manner. Focus was, therefore, on regional priorities to address these imbalances that resulted in low enrolment and literacy rates. Low priority was accorded to Region 1 located in the capital and its environs (KMA), while Region six located in Basse (URD) was given the highest..

The overall participation at Early Childhood Development level shows a very high rate in region 1 of 53 per cent compared to regions 5 and 6 of 11.3 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively gaining entrants to grade 1. In 1998/99, the Gross Enrolment Rate for regions 1 and 2 was estimated to be slightly over 60 per cent for both areas, compared to region 3 (NBD) with 37 per cent (see Table 6.). Female participation is higher in regions 2 and 4 while male's dominate in other areas. The same pattern is observed across region and gender for the previous years (Education For All (EFA) 2000 Assessment Report).

The possibility for a student to survive up to grade 5 is higher in Banjul and it environs (region 1) compared to other areas. A survival rate of 100 per cent suggest that students are guaranteed to complete this cycle, whereas students in region 6 have only 36 per cent chance of survival at this level. According to the EFA 2000 Assessment, survival rate at primary level is slightly higher for female students compared to male students. The average survival rate for male ranges from 83.5 per cent to 89.7 per cent whilst for females the rates range form 83.7 per cent to 90.7 per cent.

Government's effort in increasing gross enrolment ratio of girls from 45 per cent to 61 per cent through scholarship programmes hopefully will be realised through establishment of 'trust funds' aimed at making education more affordable for needy girls. Such trust funds have been launched in almost all the administrative divisions in the country.

Marked disparities across divisions exist in terms of educational attainments. The educational attainment index for Banjul residents is estimated at 0.600, and for KMA, Western Division, Lower River Division and North Bank Division their respective indices are 0.54, 0.35, 0.30, 0.223. The corresponding statistics for CRD and URD are 0.207 and 0.190.

The quality of education being delivered is also another major concern for government, especially in the rural divisions. In an attempt to address this aspect of the education system, institutions of higher education are being strengthened. In addition, the intakes of Higher Teachers Certificate, Primary Teachers Certificate and Bachelors of Science Degree into the University Extension Programme (UEP) are being doubled to produce better trained teachers.

The relevance of the education system to the labour market is given special consideration in the education strategy, hence assistance through technical education in skill and technical vocational training centres are being provided right across the country in collaboration with the private sector. It is worth noting that the participation of the private sector in the education arena is not limited to this level as they play an active part in pre-primary (ECD), Primary and tertiary levels also.

The above state of affairs of the education system in the Gambia borders on governance issues of inequity in access to quality service, which has to be addressed if sustainable and holistic development is to be ensured.

per cent, almost doubling both in nominal terms from 98 million Dalasis in 1990/91 to 186 million Dalasis and in real terms to 174 million Dalasis in 1996/97 (The Gambia Education Sector Public Expenditure Review, 1998).

However, salaries account for 75 per cent of education sector recurrent expenditure whilst operational maintenance and teaching/learning supplies receive only about 5 per cent each. This disproportionate distribution does not reflect the stated policy priority of increased expenditure on books and other learning materials.

During this period under review, the education sector's share of government expenditure averaged 21 per cent. This constituted an average of 5.2 per cent of GDP during the period. In comparison with sub-Saharan African average, The Gambia's education expenditure has been higher both as a share of total government expenditure and as a share of GDP (sub-Saharan African average of 20 per cent and 4.2 per cent respectively). Primary education received the bulk of the expenditure (an average of 45 per cent).

Although development expenditure on education averaged 31 per cent of the sectors total expenditure, its share fluctuated during the period. For example, the development component's share of total expenditure dropped from 35 per cent in 1991 to 23 per cent in 1992. It picked up again in 1993 to 36 per cent and dropped to 23 per cent in 1994. The main reason advanced for the fluctuation was the lack of co-ordinated planning of resources. This could partly be explained by lack of sector-wise planned investment programme in terms of level or function. Currently, the public expenditure plans are such that 27 per cent of the national budget will be allocated for education.

Other Financing Sources

Since 1992, there has been consistent patterns of support to primary school education as a priority by donors. For instance, 65 per cent of externally financed development expenditure were allocated to the construction of primary schools, expansion of facilities for teacher training and in-service training of unqualified teachers as mentioned earlier.

Civil Society also plays a very important role in the education sector, especially in the rural areas. Community-based Organizations such as Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), and NGOs undertake self help project usually in the construction of

classrooms and facilitation of adult literacy classes, as mentioned earlier.

Household Expenditure and benefit incidence

Though education in itself does not increase economic growth, it is a vital ingredient in that process. It is a necessary input in the production process and, therefore, an important social service needed by the poor to escape poverty. However, the poor are more often unable to meet their share of the education expenditure. According to the 1998 National Household Poverty Study, cost of secondary education (D2400) is higher than the per-capita permanent income of the poorest 20 per cent of the population (D965).

4.4.2 Health

Cognizant of the importance of a healthy population for the well-being of the nation, the Gambia Government formulated a comprehensive health policy. Using the primary health care strategy, the government's goal is to provide primary health care services to all by 2000. In the light of this, post independence Gambia has seen marked improvement in the health status of its people. These gains have been consolidated since the implementation of the primary health care programmes (PHC).

Over the years, infant and child mortality rates have seen marked improvements. For example, between 1973 and 1983 infant mortality rate fell by 23 per cent from 217 per thousand to 167 per 1000 and were estimated to be 85 per 1000 by 1993, a decline of almost 50 per cent between 1983 and 1993. These statistics compare favorably with neighboring countries especially when differences in Gross National Product (GNP) per capita are taken into account. Infant and under five year mortality rates (85 and 137 per 1000 respectively) are the lowest in the sub-region next to Senegal (63 and 120 per 1000) which has a per capita income twice that of the Gambia.

However, recent infant mortality information from the 1998 NHPS shows a reverse in the improvement of infant mortality. According to the study, infant mortality rate is currently estimated at 144 per 1000 and 122 per 1000 for male and females respectively. This retrogressing infant mortality levels could be partly explained by the overall increase in poverty levels.

Health Care Services

In the Gambia, development programmes are being progressively geared towards improving the quality of life of the people through the provision of health services amongst other things, through subsidiary and cost recovery programmes.

Primarily, formal health care services in The Gambia are delivered in the health facilities funded by government, NGOs and private practitioners. Additionally, large numbers of private pharmacies, drug sellers and traditional medical practitioners do exist though little information is available on their activities.

The strategy for the Health Care Delivery System which follows the PHC strategy is organized into three levels with emphasis on preventive rather than curative care. The three levels are:

- ◆ Primary;
- ◆ Secondary; and,
- ◆ Tertiary.

The primary level or the village health services, is made up of nearly 400 primary health care (PHC) villages covering 60 per cent of the rural population. This community-based services have trained Village Health Workers (VHWs) and Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs). The role of the VHW is to maintain the supply of essential drugs, provide outpatient care, make home visits and carry out health education. The TBAs, on the other hand, conduct deliveries, identify and refer at-risk mothers. The service is financed by the communities. Both the VHWs and TBAs are supervised by the Community Health Nurses (CHNs). Each CHN supervises about five PHC villages. The CHNs are in turn supervised by the out-reach services of the nearest health facility (health centre or dispensary) and by the Divisional Health Teams (DHTs).

The Secondary level or basic health services (BHS) include the 7 major health centres, 12 minor health centres and 19 dispensaries. Major health centres are staffed by doctors, registered and enrolled nurses as well as other technical staff. Minor health centres have all the same staff as Major health centres except that the former does not have a doctor. Dispensaries are staffed by enrolled and community health nurses.

Tertiary level services are presently provided by three hospitals. These are Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH) in Banjul, Bansang Hospital, in Bansang, Central River Division and the Farafenni General

hospital in the North Bank Division. Provision is made for people with special conditions such as physiological problems, communicable diseases, the aged, etc. although these facilities are very inadequate and not conveniently located. For example, there is only one psychiatric hospital in the Gambia located in Banjul.

Also, the services rendered by traditional healers in curative medicine are increasingly being recognized. For example, the 1998 National Household Poverty Study shows that four per cent of persons who reported illness/injury two weeks prior to the study, consulted traditional healers. Thus, a nation-wide sensitization campaign followed by training of traditional healers has been accomplished. The emphasis of their training is on acute respiratory infection (ARI), diarrhea, malaria and malnutrition. Plans are underway at the Department of State for Health to organize them into associations so that their activities can be closely monitored. An Association of Traditional Healers has been formed in some of the divisions. It is hoped that gradually, all the Divisions would form their associations.

Achievements of the Health Care System

Between 1992 and 1994, as a move to decentralize primary and secondary services, six geographical health divisions were created, each managed by a Divisional Health Team (DHT). The DHTs are responsible for the day to day administration, management and supervision of the secondary and primary level health facilities within their respective divisions. However, for effectiveness and efficiency, there is the need to devolve authority, budgetary functions and financial management at both divisional and district levels.

Within the PHC strategy, an integrated maternal and child health and family planning programme (MCH/FP) was introduced as a component. A country-wide expanded program of immunisation campaign was initiated for the eradication of smallpox, measles and other childhood diseases. Consequently, significant achievements have been made in reducing childhood diseases, thereby increasing life expectancy at birth.

According to the Department of State for Health (DOSH), between 60 to 80 per cent of the population at divisional level live within the catchment area of Village Health Services (VHS). About 90 per cent of the population live within the recommended distance (a radius of 7.5 km) of a health

facility, while 80 percent lived less than one-hour travel time from a facility. This translates into 95 per cent and 85 percent of the urban and rural population respectively having access to health services (1990 GCPFD Survey).

Health Financing

The Gambia adopted the Bamako Initiative (BI) in 1992. This approach fosters governance in that it calls for involvement of the people in the management of their health services as well as cost recovery for sustainability. This approach, emphasises delivery of quality Basic Health Service (BHS).

Generally, the public health sector is financed by three principal sources:

Government through the allocation of general revenue funds in recurrent and development budgets;

Donors through contributions in development budgets and other external assistance; and,

Communities through cost recovery system.

Between the periods 1990/91 and 1998/99, total government expenditure on health increased by nearly 61 per cent, from D 59,910,492 to D 96,415,340. In terms of government recurrent expenditure, an increase of 160 per cent was registered during the period under review (from D 34,185,636 to D 88,766,340). This represents nine per cent of total government recurrent expenditure and translates into a per capita recurrent expenditure of D68 in 1999.

The health sector is also financed through other external assistance. These include a number of bilateral aid agencies such as USA, UK, Germany, China, Taiwan, Nigeria, etc. and a number of NGOs such as Christian Children's Fund (CCF), Save the Children Fund (SCF), and Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and the Ah-madiya Mission.

It is worth mentioning that NGOs play an important role in the provision of basic health services in The Gambia mostly in the rural communities. These private facilities complement government's efforts. According to the Health Sector Requirement Studies, 1996, it is estimated that the NGO/private – for profit sector, provide approximately 20 per cent of all health services in

The Gambia. Furthermore, NGOs operate four major Health Centres (by the Department of State for Health's categorization). All of these are located in the rural areas.

Over the last few years, external assistance has been dwindling. For instance, between 1997 and 1998 external assistance to the sector declined by nearly 53 per cent (from US \$ 14,782,000 to US \$ 6,996,000) and over 80 per cent between 1998 and what was planned for 1999 (US \$ 6,996,000 to US \$138,000).

Households incur by far the largest expenditure in the health sector in the form of user charges and other cost recovery schemes. During the period 1991/92 to 1995/96, household expenditure accounted for an average of 44 per cent of total health expenditures. These expenditures constitute a significant buffer to protect health services and delivery when government and donor support fall. However, these user charges deter poorer households from accessing health facilities. For example, nearly 60 per cent of food poor households indicated that they did not seek health consultation during their illness because of the cost involved (1998 Household Poverty Survey).

Constraints in the Health Care System

Despite aforementioned achievements registered, evaluation of the Bamako Initiative showed mixed performance. Indicators like infant and child mortality, total fertility and maternal mortality rates are still relatively high. The Gambia's maternal mortality rate of 1,050 per 100,000 live births (1990 estimate) is one of the highest in the sub-region. For example, the maternal mortality rate for Senegal is 600 per 100,000 live births (Ndiaye et al 1990) and 577 per 100,000 in Mali (Coulibally et al, 1996).

In 1988, user charges were introduced in the health system as a strategy to increase funds and to ensure regular supply of drugs and other medical supplies. The question of affordability of these user charges, especially by the rural poor, is a critical issue and may deter access to the health services.

The process of decentralization has not been fully achieved. For example, decision-making on resource use is still done at the central level. As a result, Divisional Health Teams (DHTs) and other health personnel have no administrative autonomy in decision-making. If this status quo persists, it will have serious implications on the efficiency of the system, more-so on resource allocation. Participa-

tion of community based organizations in the planning, implementation and evaluation of health care programmes is crucial for sustainability and ownership.

Ambulance services are non-existent in most of rural Gambia, therefore, the burden of evacuating patients, particularly women and children, to basic health facilities can, therefore, be extremely strenuous. In most cases donkey or horse carts are the only means of transport available to patients from the more remote villages to the major roads leading to these referral hospitals.

The rapid population growth also places pressure on the existing health services. For instance, the 1997 Public Expenditure Review of the Health Sector indicates that per capita health expenditures have not been able to keep pace with the rapid population growth despite increases in overall government health expenditures.

Also, the high illiteracy rate, especially among women, is a constraint on the health care system in terms of its potential success levels: a highly literate mother can positively impact indicators such as infant mortality, total fertility and maternal mortality rates of the country. In short, educated women are more effective in their reproductive roles.

Finally and most importantly, the health care delivery system depends heavily on donor assistance. Thus, sustainability of the programme achievements is at stake whenever donor funding phases out.

Infrastructure

Most of the facilities in the health sector (over 84 per cent of the 219 facilities) are owned by government. In addition to the 3 referral hospitals, the government also owns 7 Major Health Centres, 11 Minor Health Centres, 17 Dispensaries and 150 Sub-Dispensaries. However, three out of the 150 Sub-Dispensaries are not operating.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and/or Private concerns also own 7 hospitals, 5 Major Health Centres, 4 Minor Health Centres, 10 Dispensaries and 8 Sub-Dispensaries.

According to the Public Expenditure Review of the Health Sector, 1998 there were a total of 887 nurses in the country. Of these 742 were in public health sector. Furthermore, there were 143 doctors out of which 128 were in the government health

services. It is estimated that around 60 per cent of doctors in the government health services were expatriates.

Furthermore, the total number of nurses (887) is slightly lower than the 972 nurses given in the 1997 National Human Development Report. This is a result of the high staff attrition rate in the health sector due to lack of incentives coupled with the closure of a private clinic, Jai Sarr Memorial Clinic, at Banjulinding.

At any rate, using the 1993 population of 1.04 million, the 887 nurses and 143 doctors translate into one nurse to 1,170 persons and one doctor to 7,259 persons respectively.

From the above indicators, it is apparent that the manpower resources of the health sector are quite inadequate, particularly, given the fact that The Gambia is heavily dependent on technical assistance doctors (both junior and specialised) mainly from Nigeria, Cuba and Egypt. Only seven Gambian medical specialists currently work in the Royal Victoria Hospital (Public Expenditure Review, 1998). Moreover, if the 1999 population estimate of 1.3 million is used, the above ratios would even be more appalling.

Overall, the population per bed ratio was 872 in 1997. There is a dire need for improvement on this indicator too. On a more encouraging note, the rapid decline in the infant mortality rate from 217 per 1,000 in 1973 to 167 and 85 per 1,000 for 1983 and 1993 respectively, have been attributed to the mass immunization campaigns.

Moreover, The Gambia ranks first among 10 sub-Saharan African countries with the fastest rate of change in child deaths per 1,000 births from 1980-95 according to *The Progress of Nations, 1997* (pp. 28-9) published by UNICEF. Nevertheless, going by definitions such as population per bed, population per doctor or nurse, interpersonal relationship between the provider and the client, availability of essential drugs among other things, quality of services is generally a major constraint that needs to be addressed. For example, in a focus group discussion to assess quality of family planning service delivery in North Bank West Division, one of the participants stated:

"Some family planning providers are so aggressive that it seems as if they are at war with you" (GGFPP, 1997:18).

Nutrition

Malnutrition is an important part of the complex and widespread problem of poverty and deprivation that affect millions of people in the developing world particularly, sub-Saharan Africa.

Nutritional status is increasingly being used as a measure of the health status of a population because of the relationship between the two. Malnutrition has been found to be one of the causes of high infant and maternal morbidity and mortality in the Gambia.

In an attempt to improve the nutritional status of the Gambian people especially children, a number of initiatives are being undertaken by government and non-governmental organizations. The emphasis is on improving food security.

Anthropometrical measurements for nutrition in The Gambia have been: weight for age (a composite indicator on nutritional status), weight for height (an indicator of wasting or current malnutrition) and height for age (an indicator of stunting or chronic malnutrition). Indicators on nutritional status have been obtained from research on children under five years of age.

Malnutrition in The Gambia is caused by various factors. Among these are low income, low food availability, especially during the rainy season, poor feeding practices, and socio-cultural beliefs and practices which prohibit women and children from eating certain foods and giving the best part of the food to male household members. Seasonal variation in levels of malnutrition is attributed to food shortages during the rainy season (referred to as the "hungry season").

Improvements have been recorded in the nutritional status of the population in the recent past but malnutrition is still prevalent. Findings from the 1998 National Household Poverty Study shows that 27 per cent of children between the ages three and fifty-nine months are malnourished in terms of height for age. Amongst these, nine per cent are stunted.

Unlike previous studies such as the 1993 Household Economic Survey (HES) which showed that female children are more malnourished than boys, this survey did not indicate significant differences between male and female children. The improvement in the nutritional status of females could be partly explained by attitudinal change as a result of sensitization programmes undertaken by govern-

ment and other actors in the nutrition field.

Divisional disparities reveal a high incidence (12 per cent and 13 per cent) of severe wasting for children between 3-59 months located in North Bank and Lower River Divisions respectively.

Factors that affect nutritional status can be attributed to the purchasing power of households, decline in agricultural production, especially groundnut and their effects on the income of farmers. Food security programmes are being encouraged both by Government and non-governmental agencies to ameliorate the prevalence of malnutrition. These include projects like the Food Security Project, Tele-food Project. These efforts are focused on the provision of rice and horticultural crops in particular.

However, there is need for a food security strategy and action plan that looks at food security from various angles such as production; access; distribution and emergency relief .

It is generally recognized that nutritional status is both a cause and effect of poverty, state of human development and degree of governance. As such, programmes envisage for improvements in nutritional status should be well integrated with other development programmes, for example, the drive for food security at the household level and increased access to quality health services.

The above trends in the social and economic factors translate into disparities in life expectancies at birth across divisions. Residents in Banjul have a life expectancy of 57.6 years, whilst residence of KMA have a life expectancy of 54.0 years, Western Division, 50.24 years , Lower River 44.7 years, North Bank 48.3 years, Central River Division 46.2 years and Upper River, 44.8 years.

Reproductive Health

Reproductive health is a generic term that includes HIV/AIDS, STIs, maternal health and births, contraceptive use and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The term became popular after the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). The health policy contains a set of objectives aimed at improving maternal health, reducing the incidence of adolescent births, STIs and infertility among couples.

Both the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) 1994 and Platform of Ac-

tion for the World Conference on women held in Beijing 1995, underscored the importance of reproductive health, sexual health and family planning as critical components in overall human development. Strategies developed in recognition of the above fact include strong IEC messages on reproductive rights and increased access to quality services.

In recognition of the importance of reproductive health in development, the National Population Action Plan allocates about 60 per cent of its budget to this component.

The platform of action states in paragraph 96 that reproductive rights of a woman entitles her to decide freely and responsibly on matters relating to her sexual and reproductive health.

HIV/AIDS

The spread of the AIDS pandemic worldwide is quite alarming. In spite of the relentless search for a cure, this killer disease still continues to threaten human survival. In The Gambia, unlike most sub-Saharan African countries, the incidence of AIDS is low. According to the 1991 nation-wide Serological Survey, the HIV prevalence rate among the adult population, (15 and above) was 2.2 per cent or 2,200 per 100,000 people. However, the number of AIDS cases is increasing steadily.

The first cases of AIDS in The Gambia were diagnosed in 1986. The cumulative reported cases from 1986 to 1999 were 1000. Of these, over 90 per cent was transmitted by heterosexual means and the remaining, transmitted from mother to infant. Of these, HIV 2 constitutes the majority. In the 0-4, 15-19, 20-29, 50-59 and 60 and above age groups, females account for the highest proportion of AIDS patients. The incidence of AIDS among females could be attributed to incidence of polygamy among adult women which makes it possible for one infected man to infect more than one woman. Cultural factors having to do with women's sexuality increases the incidence of AIDS amongst this group. Also, as mentioned in Chapter three, the use of unsterilised and common instruments for FGM, aggravates the possibility of contracting HIV. By contrast, the proportion of AIDS is highest among males in the age groups 30-39 and 40-49. Overall, the number of AIDS cases has increased from 544 in December 1997 to 606 in June 1998 and 1000 in 1999 showing a cumulative increase of 84 per cent.

Other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)

Sexually transmitted infections (STI) is one of the major causes of morbidity and mortality among women in Sub-Saharan Africa. STIs can damage the reproductive organs which can lead to infertility in both men and women and complications of pregnancy such as miscarriage, stillbirth and premature on-set of labour. Furthermore, STIs are also known to increase the risk of cervical cancer which is one of the most common cancers among women. Moreover, STIs can cause congenital and perinatal infections among babies which can be fatal.

Maternal Mortality

The Gambia has one of the highest maternal mortality rates (1,050 per 100, 000 live births) in the world.

The most common causes of maternal mortality in The Gambia were eclampsia, puerperal sepsis, anaemia, ante-partum haemorrhage, post-partum haemorrhage and heart failure. The 1990 Maternal Mortality Survey which is the only information available, showed that eclampsia and anaemia accounted for 18 per cent and 12 per cent of maternal deaths respectively. Heart failure, post-partum and anti-partum haemorrhage accounted for 10 per cent each. It was also found that the proportion of maternal deaths were highest among women less than 20 and 40 years and above. Mortality among mothers under 20 years of age, often results from physiological immaturity whilst among older women, it is the result of high parity.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning (MCH/FP) Unit of the Department of State for Health and Social Welfare has developed strategies to reduce the high incidence of maternal mortality. These include the early identification of mothers at risk, improved case management of both ante-natal and postnatal clients, and adolescent sexual health. Also, the Gambia Food and Nutrition Association (GAFNA) gives nutrition supplement to pregnant women in order to reduce malnutrition during pregnancy which results in anaemia and mortality.

4.4.3 Water and Sanitation

Studies have shown that diseases due to poor water supply and sanitation have been ranked the third killer disease in the country. Improving water supply and sanitation facilities is therefore, high on the Gambia government's agenda. For sustainable water and sanitation facilities, both government and

the NGO community have made effort to involve civil society in the provision and maintenance of water and sanitation facilities. For example, Water and Sanitation Committees have been established in villages and charged with the responsibility of the day to day administration of water and sanitation issues within their communities. They also undertake public health education programmes by creating awareness of the importance of domestic hygiene to the health of household members.

Constraints faced by these committees are :

- deterioration of the climate;
- lack of equipment and inadequate maintenance and repair facilities;
- high foreign exchange, high population growth;
- Lack of ownership;
- Lack of maintenance budget;
- Lack of coordination at all levels; and,
- Unsuitable Location of communal wells.

The above constraints, including lack of sustainability, poor management of facilities and lack of basic skills are structural bottlenecks that cut across all spheres of Gambia's development.

In The Gambia, the main source of water is groundwater. Wells without concrete lining, usually located in private residences, have been the major source of water for most Gambian households in the past. Improvements have, however, been recorded over the years, with a dramatic increase in reticulation systems and wells fitted with pumps.

Access to and Quality of Water

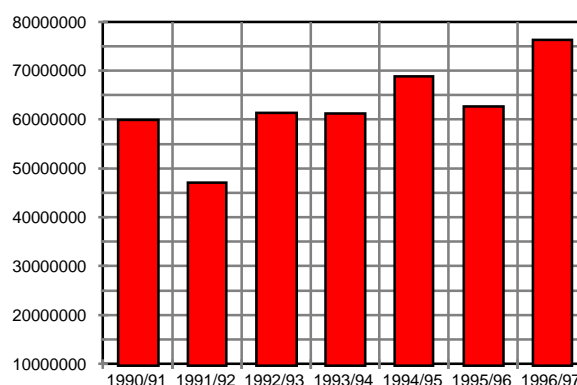
Safe water supply is mainly from pipe-borne water and wells fitted with pump. By this definition, 79 per cent of Gambian households have access to safe drinking water according to the 1997 Water and Sanitation Study.

Proximity of water source is a major determining factor in the choice of water used by households. Acceptable distance to water source should not be more than 100 metres according to international standards. Considering distance to safe water source, the study indicated that only a little over half Gambian households have access to safe

drinking water.

The quality of water from sources considered safe are affected by a number of factors such as salt intrusion and bacterial contamination. Bacteria contamination could be at source, during transportation and at point of use. Human activities around wells such as the use of fertilizer also affect water qual-

Fig 4.3: Total Government Expenditure on Health (in Dalasis) 1990/91-1996/97



ity.

The Government of the Gambia has placed the provision of an improved water supply system high on its agenda, so as to reduce the incidence of water borne diseases especially at divisional and lower administrative levels of government. Notably among these are the Rural Water Supply Project jointly financed by The Government, bi-lateral and multi-lateral agencies and NGOs. This led to an upsurge in the installation of various reticulation systems and wells fitted with pumps.

Upper River Division is the most disadvantaged in terms of incidence of water borne diseases. The national disease trends (DOSH, 1997) show that 19 per cent of children under five, 9 per cent of those between 5 – 18 years and 7 per cent of those 19 years and over had diarrhea. Other areas with slightly similar experiences are NBD and CRD where the 7 per cent, and 8 per cent of children less than five years, 5 – 18 years and 19 years and over respectively had diarrhea.

Given such statistics, hygiene education should be re-enforced more so in areas with low levels of education. This participatory approach to the provision of water supply is important in ensuring that communities develop a sense of ownership. Efforts should be made to encourage communities without

Water and Sanitation Committees to form one. Also, the mandate of such committees and the role of the communities in the provision and maintenance of such facilities should be clearly defined.

4.4.4 Sanitation

Adequate sanitary facility is also a prerequisite for health and, a safe sanitary facility that meets minimum criteria, is defined as any installation used for excreta disposal and have a concrete slab with a squat hole and a cover or a vent pipe to prevent flies moving in and out and is free from stagnant water (i.e. improved pit latrine).

In 1992, with the support of UNICEF, other Government institutions, and NGOs, the Department of Community Development (DCD) initiated a pilot Rural Sanitation Project. Initially, this project concentrated on improving the system of excreta disposal at the household level at 18 PHC Villages in three divisions. Since then it has extended to 28 PHC villages across all the divisions. Services relating to modern sewage and drainage system were available only in Banjul, the present sewage system pumps raw sewage through a 1 kilometer long out-fall. In Banjul, this facility is available to only 60 per cent of the compounds, while the rest relied heavily on pit latrines or flush toilet with septic tanks. In the Urban environs, frequently blocked pipes, especially at the household level, often hamper the drainage system for other liquid waste. Apart from being a source of unpleasant smell, it serves as a breeding ground for mosquitoes. In the rural areas, human excreta disposals are scarce, due to poor technology used in the construction of toilets in these areas.

According to the mid-decade Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) assessment, only 40 per cent of Gambians have access to safe sanitary facilities. This state of affairs is unacceptable for meaningful development of basic health.

The 1997 Water and Sanitation Study indicate that 26 per cent of Gambian households have access to sanitary toilet facilities. Ordinary pit latrine is the most available facility to Gambian households (65 per cent).

Drainage of liquid waste continues to be a major environmental problem, especially in the urban areas. Services related to modern drainage system are limited. In the urban and peri-urban areas, the constructed concrete storm and waste water drains are often blocked by solid household waste resulting in pools of water which serve as breeding

ground for mosquitoes and a source of unpleasant smell. There is an absence of a comprehensive policy on the sanitation sub-sector.

4.4.4 Environment

Being a sahelian country, The Gambia is faced with the threat of desertification. For this reason, it had signed several protocols prior to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. Within the framework of Capacity 21, the Gambia developed an Environmental Action Plan, with the aim of providing a framework for continuous policy planning and decision-making for sound environment and natural resource management.

The physical environment is an integral part of the development process because of the interdependencies with other development factors such as population. Environmental and natural resources degradation have serious socio-economic consequences on human population and sustainable development.

Over the years, rapid population growth and increased urbanization have posed a threat to the environment and natural resources of The Gambia.

Environmental problems such as soil degradation, loss of forest cover, loss of bio-diversity, coastal erosion and poor sanitation caused by indiscriminate solid waste disposal are intricately linked with other crucial national issues such as poverty alleviation. For The Gambia, this is particularly critical as it depends on its meager natural resources for survival. The Government has demonstrated its commitment to sustainable use of the environment and natural resources through the development of the Gambia Environmental Action Plan (GEAP). The aim of the GEAP is to salvage the environment and natural resources, thereby alleviating poverty through a number of strategies. The main goals of GEAP are to:

- Improve economic performance and quality of human life in a sustainable way; and,
- Restore, maintain and enhance ecological processes, natural resources and cultural and natural heritage.

The GEAP identifies three main programmes – natural resources management, environmental health and energy that would address the seven policy goals. In the area of natural resource man-

agement, coastal erosion is being addressed through protection strategies such as:

- Retreat: the area is abandoned and no erosion control measures are taken.
- Conditional retreat: the area is abandoned except for areas with high economic, ecological and cultural values that are (temporarily) protected.
- Defend: the area is protected against erosion by appropriate measures, provided it is economically justified.

In areas where relocation costs are low such as Buniadu and Barra, costly interventions are not economically justified. In such areas the retreat strategy is adopted. Where relocation costs are high, such as the stretch from Banjul to Oyster Creek and Cape Point the defense strategy is adopted.

For effective management of the environment, an information system has also been put in place. At the national level, a coordination framework for implementation consists of nine thematic Technical Working Groups (TWGs) which are constituted by major stakeholders.

Though the GEAP has made very positive strides in terms of raising environmental awareness among the average Gambian and providing technical tools for effective decision-making in environmental and natural resources management, etc., there exists key constraints such as weak implementation capacities, lack of integration of environmental considerations into the macro-economic framework and lack of a decentralized government policy. The combined effects of these constraints for GEAP coordination and implementation constitute one of the major challenges. However, these problems have been addressed in GEAP Two.

It is increasingly being recognized that emphasis should be placed on strategic and participatory approach to the implementation of national strategies for sustainable development, by integrating environmental issues into national development programmes. Implementation in the Gambia is done through the establishment of a number of working groups consisting of various institutions. A participatory approach through the Environmental Education (EE) Strategy (covering the period 1992-2001) was adopted in order to promote the involvement of stakeholders in the protection of the

environment. This strategy covered all levels of Gambia society including all levels of the education system in the country, decision-makers, and community leaders and others. In an attempt to measure the outputs, as well as progress of the GEAP, the National Environment Agency (NEA), established to oversee the implementation of this policy conducted a sample survey. From this study, it was observed that Janjanbureh (CRD) had the highest proportion (15.3 per cent) of inhabitants being aware of the management of the natural resources, compared with 2.7 per cent in Mansakonko (LRD).

There are other challenges apart from environmental ignorance. One of the challenges to the attainment of the primary objective of the nation's *Vision 2020*, is the absence of a Disaster Preparedness Plan. Government is aware of this and an Inter-Agency Committee has been established to devise an institutionalized response mechanism to disasters.

Another challenge is Ship Dumping and the Export of Old Ships to countries which lack adequate facilities and technical expertise to carry out dismantling activities in an environmentally sound manner. Apart from hazardous cargo carried on board ships, inherent in the structure of ships or forming an integral part of their machinery and/or equipment are potentially hazardous materials. It is for this reason that rich and developed countries attach stringent environmental standards for ship dismantling activities.

In order to avoid the costs associated with meeting these environmental standards, unscrupulous persons or firms turn to poor countries with weak environmental laws to dump or dismantle these old ships. It is necessary that countries such as The Gambia put in place measures to safeguard against the prevailing practice of rich countries exporting their old vessels to poor unsuspecting countries for dumping or dismantling.

The Gambia is a signatory to the Bamako and Basel Conventions and furthermore, it does not have the required facilities or the technical expertise to dismantle ships in an environmentally sound manner. Given the human and environmental health implications of ship dumping and dismantling activities, the Gambia should as a matter of policy ban all such activities within its territory. The Waste Management Act currently being drafted should contain provisions to this effect and should be finalised by the NEA as soon as possible. All

concerned authorities, particularly the Gambia Port Authority (GPA), the Navy, other security agents and the NEA should be vigilant in this regard. The public should be sensitized on these matters and encouraged to report activities that may be connected to ship dumping and dismantling activities.

There is also the importation of second hand appliances including vehicles which is a common phenomenon in most developing countries given the fact that they are much cheaper than new ones. However, old vehicles present waste and pollution problems due to inefficient engines and the fact that they have already gone through a lot of wear and tear, consequently becoming scrap in a relatively short time.

Therefore even though the importation of second hand vehicles is spurred by economic reasons, if a proper economic analysis were carried out taking into account the costs associated with frequent repairs and replacement of vehicle parts, the fuel consumption rate of old cars compared to new ones, the findings would reveal that it is more economical in the long term to purchase new vehicles.

However, the control of the importation of second hand items including vehicles requires a concerted effort from all concerned. The Department of State for Finance has already instituted a fiscal disincentive for the importation of second hand vehicles in the form of an environmental tax. The adequacy/inadequacy of this needs to be reviewed. The Department of State for Trade should consider establishing standards for goods imported into the country to prevent the country being used as a dumping ground for obsolete products thus creating environmental and economic problems. The Gambia Police Force should effectively monitor vehicle emissions and enforce relevant regulations.

4.5 Human Security

The concept of human security means different things to different people depending on their immediate circumstances. Nonetheless, human security in the final analysis, means a conducive environment to exercise choices safely and freely and to be relatively confident that the opportunities today are not going to be lost tomorrow. Therefore, human security implies:

“the child that did not die, the disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, and an eth-

nic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced” (HDR 1994:22).

Even though human security is not synonymous with human development, there is a link between the two in that progress in one enhances the chances of progress in the other and vice versa. For example, failed or limited human development leads to a backlog of human deprivation such as poverty, hunger and diseases.

Generally, there are two main components of human security:

Freedom from fear;

Freedom from want.

In 1945, the US Secretary of State reported to his government on the result of the conference in San Francisco that set-up the United Nations in the following words:

“the battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of enduring peace ... No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and in their jobs” (HDR 1994:24).

Countries in the developing world such as The Gambia, are seeking security from diseases such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, malnutrition, soil degradation, poverty as well as civil and political strife/conflict. There are seven broad areas in which human security can be threatened:

- ◆ Economic Security
- ◆ Food Security
- ◆ Health Security
- ◆ Environmental Security
- ◆ Personal Security
- ◆ Community Security and
- ◆ Political security

4.51 Economic Security

Economic security requires an assured basic income usually from productive and remunerative work. In the Gambia, economic security among

Box 4.5 Economic Opportunities

In the Gambia, economic security for the majority of the Gambian populace is limited mainly to agricultural activity.

Wealth is important for human life as it give freedom from want, which is one of the major components of human security. However, accumulation of wealth is not necessary for the fulfillment of some important human choices, as human choices do extend beyond economic well being.

Economic security at the national level demands a buoyant and strong economy that can absorb shocks resulting from non-performance of some sectors. Such shocks lead to decline in productivity and income as the Gambian economy is still dominated by agriculture, distributive trade and tourism. Diversification is a strategy that has to be pursued to minimize impact of such shocks. This diversification should be between and within sectors in order to spread shocks thereby minimizing their impact or effect. The crisis experienced during the collapse of the groundnut production and marketing in 1998 and 1999, the drop in tourism in 1994 and 1995 as a result of the EU travel advice and the current drop in re-export trade are reminders for the need to diversify the economy.

In agriculture particularly, diversification into other crops such as sesame and increased production in horticulture are viable options. With regards to tourism, diversification of countries of origin of tourists and attraction of high spending visitors will guard against shocks in the industry. Development of the informal sector through access to seed capital, skill development and provision of reliable social service are ingredients for ameliorating unemployment and poverty. A strong policy analysis, evaluation and monitoring mechanism is needed to ensure this holistic strategy for development.

The government has as its overall objective to improve quality of life and satisfaction of basic needs through self-reliance. This commitment is manifested in the formulation of polices and programmes in the areas of sustainable livelihood, etc.

According to the recently conducted Household Poverty Study (1998), 66.2 per cent and 45.9 per cent of the female and male population seven years and over in KMA are economically inactive. Western Division follows next with 54.8 per cent and 51 .8 per cent of this cohort of females and males respectively being economically inactive. The same study also reveals that incidence of poverty is highest in North Bank, Lower River and Upper River Divisions with 80 per cent of their population in this poverty category. Banjul has 53 per cent of its population classified in this poverty category. Workers in agriculture, Forestry and fishery sectors have the lowest mean earning. High proportions of population working in these sectors are found in the rural areas.

The Social Development Fund (SDF) has been mandated to alleviate the status of vulnerable groups, through provision of grants and micro-financing of projects across the country.

The structure of the population also has an impact on the type of economic opportunities available. The Gambian population is notable for its youthful structure. These youths, most of them unskilled, constitute 47 per cent of the population. The National Youth Policy and Action Plan, 1999 to 2008, and the National Youth Service Scheme (NYSS) has been established to provide the youth with gainful employment by equipping them with useful skills. For example, summer sports camps are being built to provide the youths with the necessary skills needed to explore their varied potentials.

me urban households has been lost as a result of rampant dismissals of many bread winners from the Civil Service. In the rural areas too, many groundnut farming households have suffered greatly as a result of lack of markets for their produce.

Traditional land tenure systems compound the problem for women farmers especially, those who do not usually own land. GDP growth in the past few years has not resulted in creation of enough new jobs to keep pace with the growing labor force. Unskilled urban youth are the most affected by unemployment. Without the assurance of a social safety net, some of them have resorted to the use of drugs.

The most insecure working conditions are those in the informal sector where 89 per cent of the labor force are engaged. Fifty-one per cent of these are females (HES, 1993). Though this sector has a great potential in providing employment for a majority of the labour force, there are no municipal laws that encourage its growth. Furthermore, risks such as high cost of start up capital and unpredictable incomes impairs the growth of the sector.

Nominal wages have risen slowly over the years but inflation has eroded the value of the Dalasi. As a result, real wages have declined.

Some sections of the population face a particularly difficult situation. For example, disabled persons who are generally poor, in the Gambia, depend on begging for survival in the absence of social security benefits.

4.5.2 Food Security

Food security means that all persons at all times have both physical and economic access to basic foods. In other words, people have the right to food either by growing it themselves or by buying it. The availability of food is thus a necessary condition for food security. Diversification is becoming increasingly important in view of the recent marketing problems besetting the groundnut sub-sector. The last few years have witnessed increased production in both rice and maize though diversification process is slow. However, food availability is not sufficient as

those without the necessary purchasing power can still starve. Thirty-seven per cent of Gambian

households lack the means to meet basic food expenditure and of these, over 70 per cent are destitute (as their permanent income per capita is less than 75 per cent of the cost of the basic food basket). In order to address this situation, the government has developed a food security strategy and a task force charged with the responsibility to address this issue.

4.5.3 Health Security

Like many other developing countries, the major causes of death in The Gambia are infectious and parasitic diseases such as malaria, diarrhea and acute respiratory infections. In fact, the three together account for 60 per cent of childhood deaths. Most of these deaths may be linked to poor nutrition and unsafe environment, especially polluted water which is a major contributing factor to diarrhea. Also, the introduction of user charges in the health sector in 1988 posed a threat to health security, especially among the poorest households.

Safe and convenient water source is available only to a little over 50 per cent of the population, whilst ordinary pit latrine remains the only facility for 58 per cent of households.

Though the poor in general, have less health security, the situation is much more difficult for poor women. One of the most serious hazards they face is child birth in The Gambia. It is estimated that more than 1000 women die out of every 100,000 life births. Maternal mortality has been found to be the widest gap between North and South in any human indicator (18 times more in the South, HDR, 1994:28). Most of these deaths could be avoided through access to health services including safe and affordable family planning. HIV/AIDS is another increasing source of health insecurity. Between 1986 and 1999, about 1000 people have died of this disease in The Gambia.

4.5.4 Environmental Security

In The Gambia, one of the greatest environmental threats is that of desertification resulting from deforestation and poor conservation methods. Soil salinity is another threat to the environment. Salt water intrusion has destroyed many farm lands making farming households poorer.

In order to address the problem of soil salinity, government has embarked on a programme to train farmers using low cost technology to minimize soil degradation both on low-lands and up-lands.

For example, contour bonds are constructed to minimize soil erosion in the up-land. In the low-lands, dykes are built to prevent salt water intrusion and enhance water impoundment for rice production. Government is also providing basic training to farmers and land users on soil conservation. Regular soil surveys and land evaluation are also carried out.

Recently, air pollution resulting from importation of old second hand cars from Europe, dumping of ships is also a threat to our environment. Liquid and solid waste disposal remains a major environmental hazard in this country.

Between June and August 1999, prolonged and heavy rainfall caused heavy flooding in The Gambia, affecting 27,000 people and damaging roads and bridges in Western, Central River and Upper River Divisions. This is as a result of loss of ground cover over the years. About 70 per cent of mud brick homes in Kaur were washed away.

4.5.5 Personal Security

The most vital aspect of human security for many people is personal security. Some of the common threats to personal security in The Gambia are threats from state security machinery, domestic violence and rape.

Section 25 (d) of the 1997 Constitution guarantees '**freedom to assembly and demonstrate peacefully and without arms**'.

However, the confrontation between students demonstrators and security forces on April 10th and 11th, and its resultant effect is contrary to this constitutional provision.

Domestic violence is often treated as personal and, therefore, not even reported in most cases. A Women's Bureau research on violence against women conducted in 1996 indicated that over 45 per cent of the female respondents have been victims of battering by their husbands.

Rape is another threat to personal security. However, it is difficult to quantify the number of rape cases in our society because of the stigma attached to it; victims do not usually want to seek redress from the courts. The unfortunate thing is that most often victims of rape are blamed by society for what happened to them. They are accused of tempting the men by wearing short, sexy and seductive clothes.

Community Security

Traditionally, the extended family system in Africa including The Gambia offers support (in terms of material, financial and moral) to their weaker members. In the Gambia, the 'kabilo' (clan) and the 'kafo' (community groups) systems have continued to be safety nets for their members. In the urban areas, however, some of these traditional practices are breaking down as a result of the process of modernization and its attendant individualism. The extended family, is presently unable to provide the support because of the economic realities of our times.

This notwithstanding, The Gambia continues to be a closely-knit community and this has spared her from ethnic clashes that have plunged many countries in the region, into chaos and conflict often with brutal results.

Political Security

Another important aspect of human security is that people should be able to live in a society that honors their basic human rights. In the past, The Gambia championed the human rights cause but recent events, leave a lot to be desired. For example, there have been reports of alleged arrests and torture of opposition members. Constant harassment of journalists and private media personnel has become common in the society today. The 1999 Human Rights Report on The Gambia released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Office of the United States, points to various violations of human rights, including political freedom, freedom of speech and press, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, among others. The National Intelligence Agency (NIA), and other security personnel have been used as agents of repression rather than protection.

What do these security issues mean to governments in terms of costs, capacities of service institutions, partnerships with donors and NGOs and general willingness to change? These issues are not just national problems but discourses that need global efforts.

4.6 Participation

As stated earlier, good governance is one of the most important components of democracy. Decentralization provides the environment for people's participation in the development process. There is

Box 4.6 The Concept and Measurement of the Human Development Indices

The Human Development Index

Since 1990, the Human Development Report has presented the human development index (HDI) to capture as many aspects of human development as possible in one simple composite index and to produce cross-country rankings of human development achievements. The HDI is a composite index of achievements in basic human capabilities in three fundamental dimensions - a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. Three variables have been chosen to represent these three dimensions - **life expectancy, educational attainment and income**.

The HDI value for each country indicates how far it has to go to attain certain defined goals: **an average life span of 85 years, access to education for all, and a decent standard of living**. The HDI reduces all three basic indicators to a common yardstick by measuring achievement in each indicator as the relative distance from the desirable goal. (For further details, see **Technical Notes** in the Annex).

Refinements and Related Measures of the HDI

There have been several refinements of both the human development concept and its related composite indices. The dimensions of human progress included in the HDI have been revised and improvements on the HDI have covered the introduction of other related measures. The latter include: the **gender-related development index (GDI)** and the **gender empowerment measure (GEM)**, both introduced in 1995; and, the **capability poverty measure (CPM)**, which was introduced in 1996.

The Capability Poverty Measure (CPM)

The 1996 Report introduced a new, multidimensional measure of human deprivation, the capability poverty measure (CPM). The CPM considers the lack of three basic capabilities: the capability to be well nourished and healthy - represented by the proportion of children under five who are underweight; the capability for healthy reproduction - proxied by the proportion of births unattended by trained health personnel; and, the capability to be educated and knowledgeable - represented by female illiteracy. For each country these measures are added together and divided by three to give a simple arithmetic mean. The lower the average, the less the capability poverty. (see **Technical Notes** for details).

The Gender-related development index (GDI)

The gender-related development index (GDI), introduced in *Human Development Report 1995*, attempts to capture human development achievement through the same set of basic capabilities included in the HDI - life expectancy, educational attainment and income - but adjusts the HDI for gender inequality. A value of 1.0 reflects a maximum achievement in basic capabilities with perfect gender equality. (see **Technical Notes** for details).

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

The gender empowerment measure (GEM), also introduced in *Human Development Report 1995*, concentrates on participation, measuring gender inequality in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making. It thus differs from the GDI, an indicator of gender inequality in basic capabilities. (see **Technical Notes** for details).

an interrelationship and an intricate link between democracy, good governance, decentralization and participation. It is pertinent to address all the necessary elements of good governance for an effective discussion of participation. Therefore, this subsection will examine the extent of participation within the context of good governance.

People's Participation

Participation means that people have access to decision-making and power - in terms of involvement in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives. Moreover, human development is concerned with widening people's choices - and participation in terms of development, emphasizes the central role that people should play in all spheres of life. This participation in the development process, creates a conducive environment that enables people to gain access to much broader range of opportunities. In short, greater participation helps maximize the use of human capabilities and hence a means of increasing levels of social and economic development – provided for by a good governance environment.

Community-based Organizations are becoming more and more active in the development programmes within their communities. They are articulated in their needs, problems and often find solutions to them. However, women needs are often left out because they are often not represented in the community's executive committees which is the decision-making body.

Economic Participation

Economic participation is biased in favor of men, especially in the formal sector. This is as a result of low levels of education among a majority of Gambian females resulting from cultural bias in education. These issues will further be dealt with in chapter 5.

This attempt by society to separate the sexes on social grounds has resulted in unequal opportunities in formal sector employment where education is a prerequisite. For example, there were 15,029 (based on summary of salary print-out), employees in the civil service in 1998 but only 20 per cent were females. In 1992 females constituted 18 per cent of employees in the public sector. This implies an increase of two percentage points over a seven year period.

Despite the fact that 40 per cent of all employed persons are females, only about six per cent of

managerial positions are held by females whilst only 24 per cent of

Professionals, Technicians and Associate Professionals positions are held by females (1998 National Household Poverty Study).

Though there are no written laws preventing females from holding top positions, various socio-cultural factors such as unequal access to education inhibit the upward mobility of women on the employment ladder. Demands of children and family care, parental and marital obligations are some of the factors that reduce a woman's flexibility in pursuing further long term training. As a result, most women lack the relevant qualifications for top decision-making positions in the formal sector. Furthermore, traditional stereotyping often bars them from taking decision-making positions within their communities. As mentioned earlier, traditional land tenure system that places the control and management of land in the hands of men limits women's effective participation in the agricultural sector.

Political Participation

Political participation in a highly decentralized environment helps improve human development - it increases local decision-making. At the local level, officials and politicians can be much more open to public scrutiny than national government and in effect more accountable to the communities and individuals they are supposed to serve. Public projects such as health, schools, roads programmes become more effective if the women and men in the communities they serve equally have a real say in their planning and implementation. Therefore, political participation can only be regarded as a positive factor which can help improve human development only when democratization is well in place.

As mentioned earlier, The Gambia's decentralization programme is two-tiered. First is the deconcentration of central government functions to the divisional levels, Second, is the transfer to autonomous elected local governments the responsibility for devolved functions and associated authority, power and functions. However, no mention is made of how decentralization will function at the village level.

Private Sector Development

The private sector's role as an engine for growth cannot be over-emphasised. In this regard, within the framework of the national Vision 2020, the pri-

vate sector is being provided with the necessary enabling environment for it to be responsive to the development needs of the country. Free market forces is being allowed to play without unnecessary regulations. On the external front, maintenance of a steady exchange rate is being pursued.

Human Development Index

In the 1990 Human Development report, the Human Development Index (HDI) which is a composite measure for socio-economic progress, was developed. It integrates life expectancy, adult literacy and income to produce a yardstick for measuring the progress of a nation. All three components are given equal weight. The HDI ranks countries (developing and industrial) on a scale ranging from zero to 1. The concept of HDI is summarized in Box 4.6; its measurement is discussed in the **Technical Notes.**

The Human Development Index for the Gambia as a whole is .363. It is worth mentioning that the process for computing this index makes it (and the division-specific HDIs) comparable with those reported in the global Human Development Report (see Technical Notes). The computed national HDI (0.363) and that reported in the HDR 2000 (0.396) are slightly different. This can be attributed mainly to the reported decline in the adult literacy rate (34.6 against 28.0).

The divisional HDIs can, therefore, be viewed both against the background of the national HDI and within an international context. As will be expected, variations do exist between divisions. Banjul and Kanifing Municipal area, have indices above the national average (0.509 and 0.474 respectively). The remaining divisions have indices below the national average with URD having the lowest 0.216. Though CRD has a higher human development index compared to LRD, NBD and URD, variations do exist between CRD north and south in terms of development in general with the north being better off.

Compared to 1997, the Gambia's human development index showed a slight increase at national level from 0.350 to 0.363. KMA, CRD and URD registered slight improvement in the human development index.

Chapter 5

Globalisation

Introduction

In this second edition of the National Human Development Report for The Gambia, the theme has been Governance. The authors are, however, cognizant of the fact that The Gambia is not an island, and as such must participate in the global economy. For active and effective participation in the global fora on globalization it is necessary for The Gambia to ensure full implementation of a comprehensive human development strategy. Moreover, The Gambia needs to embrace information technology amongst other things, to enhance its human development efforts. It is against this background that the current chapter is dedicated to globalization within the context of human development.

The 21st century has brought with it a new phenomenon – the irreversible trend towards globalization with its opportunities and challenges. In order to fully maximize the opportunities and adequately address the challenges, it is absolutely necessary to establish an international regime premised on global governance. This entails harmonizing global competition and free market approaches with steady and expanding support for human development and human rights in all countries, developing as well as developed. Events such as the East Asian crisis and its global repercussions; the failures of governance itself in getting the most from the opportunities and in avoiding the pitfalls; weaknesses in global markets for capital; restricted access to markets of developed countries for exports and technology; and, restrictions on migration point to the need for global governance. The 1992 Human Development Report estimated the total cost of denying market opportunities to developing countries at roughly \$500 billion a year, almost 10 times the amount they receive each year in aid. Such a revelation underscores the need for global governance.

5.0 Overview

The term globalization refers to the trend of increasing integration of economies in terms of goods and services, ideas, information and technology. Globalization involves trade liberalization, free capital mobility, privatization, commercialization and the empowerment of Trans-National Corporations (TNCs). As a result of globalization, it is

now common place for anonymous institutions to influence currency rates, the availability and price of international capital, and interest rates miles away from their operational bases.

Globalization is also said to be the cause and a consequence of the information revolution. Other technological forces behind this phenomenon include the rapid and dramatic improvements in telecommunications; exponential increases in computing power coupled with lower costs; and the development of electronic communications and information networks. These communication technologies are helping to overcome the barriers of physical distance. As a result, people's lives around the globe are linked more deeply, more intensely and more immediately than ever before (UNDP, HDR 1999, 30).

The deliberate policy factors driving globalization include the advocacy for and implementation of the new free-market economic order that followed the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates in 1971 (UNDP, HDR 1999: 29). The tools for enforcing this approach to international economic transactions include the **liberalization** and **privatization** reforms. These were carried out under the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) implemented by many developing countries with the support of the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) since the late 1970s and early 1980s. The objectives of these reforms have included the achievement of allocative and productive efficiency through the rationalization of market prices and the removal of policy-based barriers to competition in all sectors of the economy as well as in external transactions.

Under globalization, economic activities now take place within the framework of the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the G-7 Summits. Economic activity is also influenced by regional trading blocks such as European Union (EU) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Major features of the new rules of the game include multilateral agreements on trade, services and intellectual property, backed by strong enforcement mechanisms. Because the latter are more binding for national gov-

ernments, these new features reduce the scope for national policy (HDR 1999: 1)

The positive and dynamic aspects of this unprecedented trend towards rapid global integration include the steady expansion of exports. Globally, exports in 1997 reached three times their value in the 1970s in real terms. Their growth rates averaged 10-13 per cent per annum in countries such as Botswana, China, the Dominican Republic and the Republic of Korea during this period (HDR 1999: 30). Other benefits include the rising share of manufactured exports even for some developing countries (e.g., Mauritius, Mexico and Tunisia); and the rising tide of foreign direct investment globally. They also include increased employment generation even in developing countries such as India and Costa Rica that tapped into global markets for high-tech services and products such as computer software programming and computer assembly; and expanding opportunities for migration by those with the right skills.

It is worth noting that there are negative, disruptive and marginalizing dimensions to globalization. Several arguments have been advanced for liberal trade policies. One of them is that free trade increases competition in the domestic market and increases pressure on domestic producers to be innovative. It also provides consumers with a wider selection of goods and services. Thus, globalization rides on the back of and the momentum generated by the reign of free market forces and a high degree of protection for the rights and freedoms of the large corporations (TNCs) that dominate the world market.

However, this approach ignores concerns for equity or the negative results of market forces such as: increasing unemployment in some sectors or for some socio-economic and skills categories; falling incomes and rising poverty; as well as the non-fulfillment of basic needs, especially in poor countries such as The Gambia. Under the new rules, governments are not supposed to interfere with the free play of market forces. Social development concerns and related remedial measures, such as obtaining grants from developed countries (to aid social sector programmes critical to productive efficiency in developing countries), are down-played.

Moreover, according to the 1999 **Human Development Report** published by the United Nations Development Programme (HDR 1999: 30-31), the benefits of globalization are unevenly distributed globally as well as within nations. This is because,

while global integration is moving at breakneck speed, the current process is unbalanced. For example, while world exports rose threefold in real terms between the 1970s and 1997, they actually declined in Bulgaria, Niger, Togo and Zambia; and while foreign direct investment rose sevenfold, nearly three-fifths went to the industrial countries.

In addition, while the share of manufactures in total exports rose even for some developing countries, manufactures still account for less than 10 per cent of exports for 28 countries; and, while global migration opportunities are opening, the high mobility and standardized wages benefit only the highly-skilled. Furthermore, there is a gender dimension to current migration trends, with the unskilled (mostly women) and often illegal immigrants having to accept wages and conditions that do not meet minimum labor standards.

5.1 The liberalization experience in The Gambia

In order to participate in the global economy, countries, including those in Africa and, for that matter, The Gambia, are expected to open up to international trade, remove barriers to foreign investment, reduce corporate regulations and taxes, as well as other disincentives to vibrant economic activities. The SAPs of the 1980s and 1990s have been implemented with these goals in mind.

In order to participate in the global economy, the Gambian Government has effected trade policy measures that could, to some extent, be termed liberal, in order to create the required environment for a truly open economy. In 1985, under the World Bank supported Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), The Gambia moved towards liberal and free market policies driven by the private sector. Agricultural subsidies were removed, the Gambia Produce Marketing Board (GPMB), which was responsible for groundnut purchasing, processing and marketing, was privatized along with other measures.

The Gambia has since maintained a liberal trade regime featuring the absence of import or export licensing requirements. There are also no restrictions on the quantity of goods that can be imported or exported. Foreign exchange transactions have also been liberalized since the floating of the Gambian Dalasi in 1985. The Gambia's trade policy before May 1998 was classified in the category of a 'moderate' trade regime, according to IMF defini-

tion. That is, it had an average tariff rate between 11 and 25 per cent, this made The Gambia's trade policy in reality, not a fully open economy. However, in May, 1998, a customs tariff reduction exercise recommended by the IMF, resulted in a reduction of the average rate to 9.9 per cent. This has in effect, placed The Gambia in the open economy (a rate of 10 per cent or below) category according to IMF definition. Demonstrating yet another move towards integration into the global economy.

Paradoxically, globalization increases the demand for social insurance whilst decreasing the capacity to provide it. The removal of agricultural subsidies resulted in expensive agricultural products which could not compete in the world market, thereby worsening the welfare of Gambian farmers. In the aftermath of liberalization, and in the face of rapid population growth, poverty increased by 36 percentage points (from 33 per cent of the population in 1992/93 to 69 per cent in 1998). Social conditions deteriorated, weakening the foundation for human development. For example, infant mortality rate increased from 92 per thousand for both sexes in 1993 to 144 and 122 per thousand for male and female respectively in 1998 (1998 HPS). In addition, export performance declined from D540.6 million in 1992/93 to D228.4 million in 1995/96. The country's balance-of-payments (BOP) situation worsened from -D516.7 in 1992/93 to -D787.2 in 1996/97 and the debt burden increased.

5.2 The privatization experience in The Gambia

As part of the SAPs implemented by The Gambia with the support of the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs), a number of strategic parastatals were privatized.

In the past, the Gambia Produce Marketing Board (GPMB) was responsible for purchasing groundnut which on average, accounted for 21 per cent of all export earnings.

The privatization of GPMB had an adverse impact on the Gambian economy. In fact the sale of the enterprise took place under not too transparent conditions. In terms of total value added to the overall economy, national incomes that were created at the marketing and processing stages were completely lost. The processing of groundnuts and its derivatives formed the backbone of the manufacturing sector during the 1970s and 1980s.

The privatization also resulted in retrenchment of workers at almost all establishments of the enterprise. This resulted in poverty increase and creation of "Ghost Towns" in potential growth centers in the rural areas that is, Kaur and Kuntaur in the Central River Division.

The privatization of GPMB resulted in replacement of locally produced oil with cheap imported vegetable ones. This undermines local production and entrepreneurship and reduces job opportunities for Gambians.

Privatization of the Gambia Utilities Corporation (GUC) to various companies did not achieve the desired results. Despite the various hands they passed through, with corresponding changes in names and acronyms (from GUC to MSG to UHC) the utility sector continued to deteriorate with ever-worsening quality of service delivery. This impacted negatively on manufacturing/agro-processing, businesses, and investors' perception of the environment for foreign direct investment, and on individual households.

5.3 The extent of The Gambia's integration into the global economic system

Good governance is a prerequisite for globalization. There needs to be not only clear policies but such policies must be adhered to. Adherence to the rule of law is another major requirement and once policies are made they should not be reversed. These are some of the most essential requirements for maximizing benefits from globalization.

The question that needs to be asked is: What are the choices and opportunities available to The Gambia and Africa in general, under the changing global environment where corporations define research agendas and control findings through benefits and lay claim to intellectual property under the rules set out in the agreement on trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights (TRIPS). To explore these questions further, it is necessary to ascertain the extent to which The Gambia is integrated into the global economy.

The degree of openness of an economy is used to ascertain the extent of its integration into the global economy. Proxy indicators for openness include: the proportion of total domestic production or consumption that is imported plus export ((import + export)/GDP) plus the volume of monetary flows into the country on account of remittances by nationals abroad or foreign investment capital, as a ratio of

GDP. Other indicators of openness are: the volume of monetary flows out of the country on account of repatriation of business profits by non-nationals and businesses, as a ratio of GDP. Recently, the volume of international travels, telephone calls or other such transactions which depend on technological advances in transport and telecommunications, also serve as proxy indicators of openness.

Since 1991/92, the value of imports have been over 50 per cent of GDP. For example, in 1992/93 import/GDP ratio was 77 per cent. In addition, export/GDP ratio have shown decline since 1991/92. For instance, export/GDP ratio declined from 17 per cent in 1991/92 to seven per cent in 1998 (see Fig. 5.3).

Furthermore, increasing tourist traffic to The Gambia was stimulated by the proximity to the west, the weather, safe beaches and relative cheaper prices. Except for the brief period immediately following the overthrow of the Jawara regime in 1994, tourism has become an added dimension to the country's openness to the outside world. The number of tourists rose from 42,919 in 1994/95 to 78,049 in 1996/97.

However, given its poor backward and forward linkages with the rest of the economy, tourism's full potential to growth in agriculture, industry and services is yet to be exploited. As a result of the large volume of imports required to service the tourist trade (meat, poultry, fruits, dairy products, linen, etc.), and the dependence of package tour operators on foreign flights, the net gains of the tourist industry to domestic employment and incomes is very marginal.

During the period 1995 to 1998, foreign direct investment in the country rose substantially from D66.3 million to D93.0 million (Central Bank The Gambia). It is worth noting that these figures are crude estimates based on vague information hence, must be used with caution. Since the objective is to demonstrate the degree of Gambia's integration into the global economy and in the absence of more robust information, the above data would suffice.

Though there is no statistics on total amount of remittances from abroad, this is very substantial and has been increasing over the years. For example remittances through Western Union alone, increased from \$2,292,804 to \$15,989,540 between 1997 and 1999.

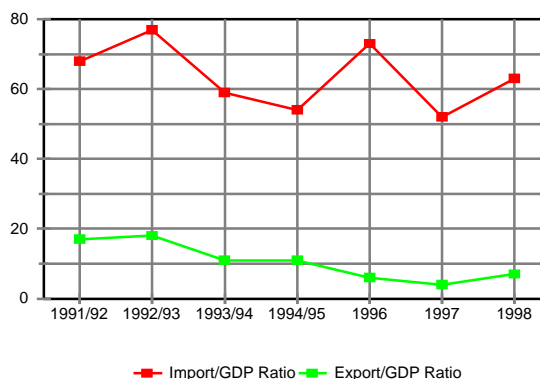
Finally, one major indicator of The Gambia's increasing integration into the global economy is the volume of international travels and, more importantly, international telephone transactions. For example, the volume of incoming calls increased from 8,253,737 in 1992 to 18,553,401 in 1997. In the same period, outgoing calls increased from 2,901,339 to 3,745,528 (see Fig. 6.1). Volume of international air travel has also increased over the years. For instance, between 1994 and 1999 embarking passengers increased from 135,039 to 146,345 whilst disembarking passengers increased from 129,531 to 151,943 during the same period (see Fig 5.2).

Overall, The Gambia seems to be on the right track in its integration into the global economy. To maintain this trend, the authorities should ensure that there is good infrastructure and maintain the liberal telecommunications policy. Cumbersome licensing policies should be avoided since these will not provide a conducive environment for investment ventures.

5.4 The implications of globalization for sustainable human development in The Gambia

Sustainable human development (SHD) is defined as the '*enlargement of people's choices and capabilities through the formation of social capital so as to meet as equitably as possible the needs of current generations without compromising the needs of future ones*' (Banuri et al., 1994:21). This definition encompasses both sustainable development (which places emphasis on consideration for environmental and natural resource conservation and regeneration) and human development (which focuses on the enlargement of people's choices). SHD explicitly recognizes the

Fig.5.1 Import and Export as a Percentage to GDP, 1991/92-1998



role of social capital in the development process.

Sustainable human development depends to a large extent on the nation's stock of capital, which includes man-made, natural, social and human components. The various components must ideally be increased for sustainability to be assured. This sub-section examines the implications of a globally integrated economy for The Gambia's capital stock.

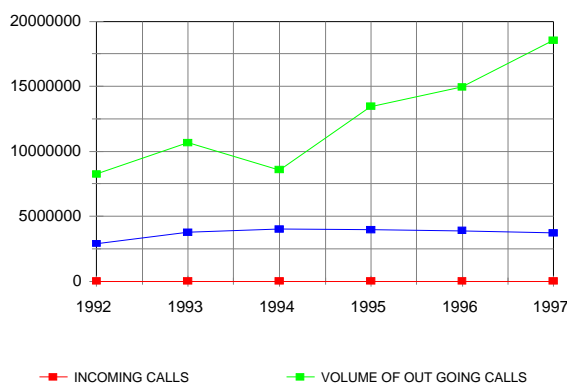
The above review begs the question as to whether endogenous sustainable development is attainable under the current globalization trend. The Gambia's experience has been growth in overall GDP that did not trickle down to the masses in terms of sustainable development. Recent poverty studies confirm such a state of stagnation and regression. This is mainly due to lack of internalization, participation and ownership of development by the population.

The Gambia shares such an experience with many developing countries, especially in Africa which had been experiencing globalization since the colonization and post colonization periods. Such non-responsiveness or inadequate response of development thinking and praxis leads to the questioning of globalization as a vehicle for sustainable development.

Man-made Capital

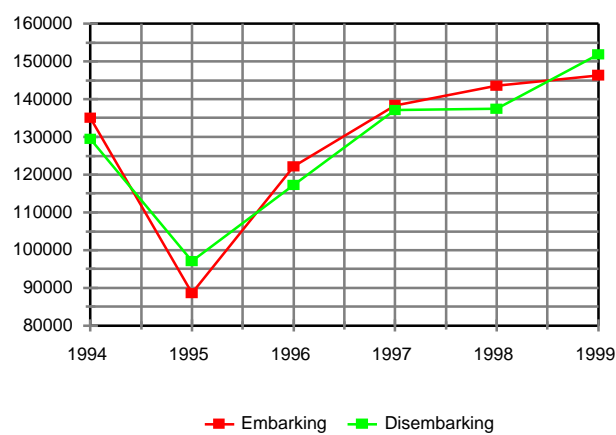
The Gambia has experienced a lot of physical infrastructural development through out its history, more especially during the post independence period. Such development took the form of road construction and other communications

Fig.5.2: Volume of Incoming & Outgoing Telephone Calls, 1992-1997



systems development. As at independence, these facilities were built to facilitate the center-periphery relationship of our colonial experience. As such endogenous development was not favored. This state of affairs still continues to obtain despite about 35 years of nationhood. The road and communications network does not satisfactorily serve the needs of the greater segment of the population, especially as they relate to transportation of agricultural produce to markets. Such a state of affairs limits pov-

Fig. 5.3: Volume of Embarking and Disembarking Air Passengers, 1994-99



erty alleviation interventions.

Depreciation of man-made capital, such as roads and other infrastructure occur through wear and tear, loss or obsolescence. However, this is not a threat to sustainability if and only if there is the financial resource or the technological know-how to repair or replace them. In this regard, the effect of globalization on the country's man-made capital may be positive. This is because capital mobility is expected to increase under financial liberalization. Foreign investors may move financial capital into The Gambia, especially if efforts are made to pursue the objectives of the country's **Vision 2020**.

Also, the increase in the freedom of Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) will mean greater permeation of the African continent, including The Gambia, thereby increasing the pace of technological transfer. However, strict adherence to WTO rules on property rights raises the price of technology transfers, blocking countries like The Gambia from fully exploiting the benefits of modern technological advances. The trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS) agreement enables multinational corporations to dominate the global market. In this context, globalization may constrain The

Gambia to the use of outmoded techniques and retard its progress.

Natural Capital

In addition, globalization poses a serious threat to natural capital. There is no other region in the world that depends on natural commodity exports as much as sub-Saharan Africa. Though The Gambia is not endowed with minerals resources such as gold and diamond, it is endowed with lots of fishes which it intends to tap under Vision 2020, to maximize foreign exchange earnings, together with exports of groundnut, cotton, horticultural products and livestock. It is hoped that liberalization will bring about increased international trade. However whether this increase in trade will affect The Gambia positively will be a difficult question to answer. Already, it is believed that the new WTO rules are expected to erode preferential trade status (Lomé Convention Series) under which goods from Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries were granted liberal access to European markets.

If the current world market system is anything to go by, the question cannot be answered in the affirmative. The experience so far is that the world market system denies African nations higher prices for their agricultural products and limits their access to Western markets. This is partly responsible for the current ecological degradation as countries strive to over-exploit the natural resources to maximize foreign exchange earnings. The usual response to increased production is further decline in prices. This is where the issue of regional integration could be used to minimize the effect of such reduction in prices.

The result of a decline in foreign exchange earnings consequently constrains the capacity to import agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and farm machinery. Thus in a more integrated global economy, the rate and quantity of resource outflow from African countries such as The Gambia is expected to grow. So will the pace of ecological degradation; while the prices of natural commodities will continue to fall. The benefits of the global economy will not, therefore, be equally distributed.

In The Gambia, the agricultural and natural resources sector employs over 70 per cent of the labor force and contributes, on average, 22 per cent of GDP. Given this setting, disregarding environmental degradation and natural resource depletion is likely to be detrimental in the short run to the welfare of the poor who rely on these natural re-

sources. In the long run, degradation and depletion are constraints on the sustainability of The Gambia's agricultural development and income.

Natural resource management and use demands active participation of the state, the private sector and civil society. Government's primary role is that of a facilitator in developing the institutional requirements for sustainable management of these resources. The institutions developed should facilitate participation of communities in resource management, and be pro-poor and sustainable.

Human Capital

The implications of globalization for human capital will be very crucial to sustainability. The global labor market is increasingly integrated for the highly skilled corporate executives, scientists, entertainers and many others who form the professional elite, with high mobility and wages (HDR 1999:3). The Gambia possesses a stock of grossly underdeveloped human capital in terms of the knowledge and skills required to take advantage of opportunities in the West. It has an adult literacy rate of over sixty per cent and a highly unskilled labor force.

Patent laws at best pay very little attention to the knowledge of indigenous people. For example, Gambian farmers' rights to the exclusive use of original and indigenous seeds and medicinal herbs are not protected under TRIPS. Whether the new rules for technological transfers affect societal sustainability positively or negatively, however depends on whether TNCs would be made to extend the same operational standards to their operations in developing nations such as The Gambia. It is only in that context, globalization may not pose much threat to the sustainability of The Gambia's indigenous knowledge, which is part of our human capital.

Furthermore, it is believed that globalization may put our economies at a greater risk of income inequality. Inequality between rich and poor countries has increased over the years. For example the income gap between 20 per cent of the world's people living in the richest countries was 74 times that of 20 per cent living in the poorest countries as at 1992 (HDR 1999). Bringing this closer home, the richest 20 per cent of The Gambia's population has income nearly 14 times higher than those of the poorest 20 per cent (1998 National Household Poverty Study). The condition of the poor has deteriorated further as the government is compelled to cut public expenditure and to introduce user charges in

the health sector, as part of the imperatives of the SAPs.

Social Capital

Social capital includes among other things, the relationship between individuals, organizations, kinship and charitable behavior. According to Pearce, social capital is the 'glue' that holds society together without which societies are themselves unsustainable. According to Banuri and others (Banuri et al, 1994:19-20), the moral commitments that constitute the core of social capital evolve only in the context of meaningful social interactions. It is based on reciprocity, the moral foundation which allows individuals to defer gratification to some future point in time, rather than immediate *quid pro quo*, the notion of exchange that is so central to market-determined transactions. Social contract is guided by covenant rather than contract.

What are the implications of globalization for social capital formation in the The Gambia? First, it must be noted that the Gambian society, like many in Africa, is founded on close kinship ties (the *kabilo* system). Inter and intra household dependency is recognized as a fact of life. In the past, communities work in concert to protect common forest and other natural resources on which their livelihoods depended. However, under the rapidly increasing exchange system based on immediate *quid pro quo*, this feeling of inter-dependency, driven by altruism and sense of communal responsibility, is disappearing. It is gradually giving way to individualism, and attitudes driven by the principle of "survival of the fittest" which is the social philosophy of the emerging global economic order. With time, this societal 'glue' will become weaker and weaker.

Globalization also continues to open people's lives to different cultures. Unfortunately, the flow of culture is biased -- from rich to poor countries. Western culture is putting The Gambia's culture at risk as more and more people are being exposed to foreign movies, attitudes and other ways of dressing. Though exposure to other cultures enhances the learning process, it is important that The Gambia's culture is allowed to flourish alongside foreign cultures rather than the latter riding over the indigenous culture. Thus, if current trends in globalization are not moderated by appropriate governance arrangements, social capital formation in countries like The Gambia will be greatly undermined.

5.5 Gender concerns under globalization

Trade, investment and competition policies like macro-economic, fiscal and monetary policies are not gender-neutral. More often than not, trade policies are formulated by men and have strong male bias. Such policies often have tremendous implications for women employment, poverty and social burden and ultimately on their overall well-being.

For example, lack of education among women limits their opportunities in the world labor market where skills are required. The illiteracy rate among women 15 years and over is about 81 per cent (1998 National Household Poverty Survey). Trade policies and trade agreements may tend to reproduce the status-quo or in the worst cases, introduce new forms of inequality and biases as trade liberalization is not inherently welfare producing. Some of the ways in which this gender-based inequality may be worsened are worth exploring further in this sub-section.

For instance, as a result of the shrinking livelihoods situation under globalization, men who are traditionally considered bread-winners, may become increasingly unemployed. Their predicament may put increasing pressure on women's time in the household, worsening the plight of women who are already over-burdened with family-related chores. There is also the real and present danger of the relatively more skilled male household heads leaving their families behind as they migrate to seek greener pastures abroad. The result will be a further increase in the burden carried by wives left behind to cater for kids and the weakening of family ties.

Furthermore, in the increasingly skill-intensive structure of the emerging global labor market, the relatively less skilled females in any society may be marginalized. In The Gambia, this is a real possibility in the not-too-distant future, unless greater attention is focused on the skills relevant to the information technology (IT) age. Already, many females who have opted for careers as secretaries are availing themselves of the job market imperatives to take computer and IT-related courses. While this is commendable, there is need for a review of the vocational and technical training curricula to reorient it towards greater skills development for females in the requisite fields.

Finally, there is also the remote possibility that the increasingly circumscribed livelihoods situation that will ultimately emerge if current trends in globaliza-

tion persist may push some women currently on the margin of subsistence into acts of desperation. Such acts of desperation may include: acting as couriers for drug traffickers; participating in international prostitution networks; or engaging in other acts demeaning to their persons (e.g. pornography).

5.6 The threat of globalization to social cohesion and human security in The Gambia

All the foregoing negative, disruptive and marginalizing dimensions of current trends in globalization have implications for social cohesion and human security in The Gambia. These include: failing traditional social security systems-- including weakening extended family support system and informal social safety nets system, increases in crimes against the person -- mugging, rape, murder, etc.-- especially those involving the use of weapons. Though there are no available statistics these are often reported in the media.

5.7 The way forward for The Gambia's survival in the global village

As noted in the overview section of this chapter, the survival strategy for developing countries such as The Gambia in this rapidly integrating world economic system has two components:

First, there is need to minimize the negative, disruptive and marginalizing threats of globalization.

In The Gambia, this will require:

- Diversification away from over-dependence on groundnut production in particular and primary exports in general;
- Engaging increasingly in agro-processing activities to add value to primary products destined for the export market;
- Increasing the backward and forward linkages of tourism, in order to increase domestic value added; generate employment and greater incomes; as well as reap and retain a higher proportion of tourism-related foreign exchange earnings.
- Imposing special levies on short-term speculative foreign exchange transactions to minimize potentials for disruptive massive overnight capital flights.

The second component of the survival strategy involves maximizing the positive and dynamic aspects of globalization. For The Gambia, this will involve, among other things:

- Positioning the country as an "entrepot" for the Sahelian sub-region (a la Vision 2020 -- featuring bulk-breaking of imports destined for neighboring landlocked countries by capitalizing on The Gambia's faster sea link to Europe, based on cheaper shipping costs, as well as on higher quality air and sea port facilities);
- Acting as a major sophisticated service centre for banking, insurance, etc, for the Sahelian sub-region, taking advantage of a relatively well-developed and reasonably cheap telecommunications infrastructure, (GAMTEL runs one of the best telecommunications systems in the West African sub-region) ;
- Undertaking some selected specialized sub-contract services for industries in the ECOWAS sub-region (e.g., bulk billing on behalf of firms in Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, and, ultimately, for firms in some neighboring Francophone countries).

The success of the foregoing strategies requires the design and implementation of some policy and institutional measures. These include:

- An aggressive improvement in delivery of services related to general, technical, vocational and professional training (with specialized attention to females) in the necessary skills, especially those which are in line with modern high-tech services;
- Creating incentives for private participation in building or strengthening the infrastructure for those service-based activities and related skills;
- Improving on the current work ethics which leaves much to be desired;
- Granting concessional terms to borrowing for procuring and/or waivers on imports of related equipment.

One important factor in the globalization survival strategies is the forging of strategic alliances for improved bargaining power at international

negotiation fora such as the WTO. One such alliance is the formation of a regional economic cooperation bloc. Regional integration is an intermediate step toward the integration of developing

Box 5.1 The Agenda for Global Governance

In order to complement local initiatives in governance within the context of globalization, it is important to look at global governance. The agenda for global governance, according to the 1999 Human Development Report, should consist of the following, among others:

- 1 Strengthen global ethics and responsibility
- 2 Bring principles of human development and social protection into concepts and practices of global economic governance
- 3 Adopt regional and global agreements to prevent races to the bottom
- 4 Develop a global code of conduct for multinational corporations – and a global forum for their monitoring
- 5 Strengthen the global commitment to human governance
- 6 Reducing financial insecurity
- 7 Preventing future financial crisis
- 8 Protecting people during periods of crisis and adjustment
- 9 Controlling global crime
- 10 Protecting cultural diversity
- 11 Preserving the environment
- 12 Promoting fairer trade especially for the poorest countries
- 13 Reducing the debt of the poorest countries
- 14 More aid, better allocated, more useful
- 15 A multilateral agreement on investment — for people
- 16 Narrowing technology gaps

Source: Human Development Report, 1999

countries into the world economy. It serves as a vehicle for nondiscriminatory liberalization of multilateral trade and integration into the globalized economy.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, many African countries saw the emergence of regional organizations such as the OAU, ECOWAS, CILSS, etc. However, few have achieved any tangible results. There has been renewed interest in Regional Integration and Cooperation (RIC) within and outside Africa as a tool for promoting sustainable development and economic growth. The Gambia is a member of such organizations: OAU, ECOWAS, and the ACP, among others.

RIC is becoming more and more important within the African region for many reasons. Most African countries are emerging from crisis and undergoing transformation. In this regard, regional integration has much to offer. For instance, the ECOMOG Peacekeeping Force provided support to Liberia and Sierra Leone during the crisis.

Secondly, such cooperation is essential for long term sustainable development. Strong and effective cooperation will provide a bloc for bargaining in the global economy. However, in order to compete with other world blocs such as EU, NAFTA, there is the need for the sub-region to accelerate its regional integration and cooperation processes. ECOWAS is the most recent attempt by African leaders in the West African sub-region to fight against marginalisation on the international scene.

Notwithstanding this, RIC can only be effective if African economies, including that of The Gambia, are stronger. This is because **'periods of economic weakness are not the best time to formulate plans to promote intra-regional trade, liberalized national markets, establish multinational sectoral links, and to harmonize policies on a regional or sub-regional basis'** (Bax Nomvet cited in Laporte, 1995:2).

5.8 Conclusion

Accordingly, globalization amongst other things, creates new economic opportunities for developing economies such as The Gambia's although it has some accompanying costs. This notwithstanding,

"...developing countries cannot escape globalisation, and they should not try to avoid it", (Alison D. Tuatara, 1999).

This statement is a confirmation of the necessity for countries all over the world, Gambia inclusive, to be part of the globalization process. Globalization is here to stay. It has both negative and positive aspects – we need to minimize the negative aspects and maximize the positive ones. In this regard, there is need to have policies and programmes in all sectors that enhance the maximization of the positive benefits from this globalization trend. Included among the key areas are the private sector development, education, technology. The Gateway Project should be encouraged to be a reality and a sustainable one. Regional integration is also another area that can be further utilized as a means of becoming part of the

global economy.

Conclusion & Recommendations

Conclusion

The strong association between Good Governance and Human Resources Development is inherent in the fact that, the discourse of both paradigms centres on the inter-relationships between the state, the market and society. This report clearly shows the cause-effect relationships between the two discourses and establishes the truism that Good Governance is an essential pre-requisite for Human Resources Development and sustainable growth.

General development discourses currently hold that the role of the state should be that of a strong facilitator in overall development through institutionalisation, empowerment and fostering of participation. Notwithstanding such a role, the state should be active in the promotion of quality education and health services. Universal education creates the conditions for a more just and egalitarian society and a healthy population which is a *sin-qua-non* for overall human development. Government has also to ensure a stable financial system through creation of the necessary institutions to finance equitable growth. The state should also intervene in the development of basic infrastructure such as roads and communications networks as well as promote sound environmental management for sustainable growth.

In the last decade and a half, particularly during the transition to the second Republic, The Gambia registered tremendous achievements in access to education. Net primary enrolment increased from 45 per cent in 1990 to almost 50 per cent in 1998. Gender wise, female enrolment at the same cycle increased from 37 per cent in 1990 to 51.3 in 1998.

The health sector also witnessed remarkable gains in some areas, notably, the infant mortality rate decreased from 167 per 1000 live births in 1983 to 92 per 1000 live births in 1993. Likewise the rate of immunisation now stands at 76.6 per cent.

In fact according to the 1999 World State of Children Report, The Gambia ranks first in terms of immunisation coverage.

Environmental health and sanitation still remain problem areas in that access to safe sanitary services at national level is still at a dismal low of 7.4 per cent.

The above roles of the state were extensively discussed in chapter four of the report referencing achievements so far made, constraints that exist and future directions and plan as outlined in National Policies and Action Programmes such as the National Health and Education Policy, the ERP and PSD, the GEAP, NPP etc.

Proper functioning of the market and its catalytic effect in the achievement of sustainable development were dealt with in various parts of the report. Chapter 4, section 4.2 discussed the inter-relationships between growth, employment and sustainable livelihood. Issues relating to fair pricing, utilisation of surplus, adequate infrastructure and institutionalisation of market of agricultural produce, the tourism product and constraints in the distributive trade are equally important. All these point to the fact that proper functioning of the market is a critical ingredient for HRD and Good Governance.

Society's role in HRD and good governance are also dealt with in different parts of the report and the discussions centered on participation, empowerment, conducive legal environment-institutionalism and informed choices. These issues are structural factors identified in all sectors of development. Correcting of the above structural deficits calls for genuine partnership between government, donors, communities, CBOs and NGOs. This partnership should be within the broad parameters of national policies and programmes. The need for strong coordination/collaboration at all levels is essential for success of such an approach.

For the past twenty years, beginning with the ERP, The Gambia succeeded in ensuring a stable economic and financial system that has been internationally acclaimed. The ERP and the PSD were

successfully executed and gains registered in the performance of the economy. The PRSP which is currently being formulated to ensure more holistic developments and synchronisation of social, economic and financial policies for the over-arching aim of poverty reduction is a step in the right direction.

Strategies of Good Governance and Decentralisation are also currently being implemented.

Two mutually reinforcing strategies are implicit in the argument for globalisation i.e. 'Corporate Governance' and 'Social Governance' or 'Strong Society'. Corporate Governance embodies thematic issues of privatisation, liberalisation, deregulation, financial supervision, fighting corruption and improving accountability of public institutions. Social Governance, on the other hand, deals with thematic issues bordering on clear Vision and appropriate and responsive national programmes and action plans that ensure holistic and sustainable development. The Gambia's vision 2020 and the envisaged PRSP are policy prescriptions in this direction. It is hoped that these policy instruments will yield the desired objectives of maximising gains from the globalisation process as well as ensuring sustainable development..

The marked disparities in the levels of development in terms of locality, gender access to quality services and resources have to be corrected for equitable growth and development.

The report underscores the need for deepening and widening Good Governance through increased access to human and developmental rights, and awareness of obligations to the community and state.

The chapter on globalisation acknowledges the benefits of integration into the global economy as well as questions the disadvantages of this phenomenon in the achievement of endogenous sustainable development.

Peace and human security can only be attained by a society if its basic human needs and rights are satisfied.

It is generally observed throughout the report that HRD, Poverty Alleviation and Good Governance are issues that are mirror images of each other and, there exists potential synergies between them that should be recognised, guided and promoted for the attainment of holistic Sustainable Develop-

ment. The Gambia's socio-economic development experiences shows that though there has been major achievements in this holistic approach to development, much more has to be done in these triads of development. This requires a clear vision, long term commitment and participation by Government, the private sector and civil society - a willingness to change for a more egalitarian and highly developed Society.

Recommendations

Thus, against the background of the thematic issues discussed, the following are recommended:

- The promotion of a culture of respect for human rights, peace and development for all segments of our society through information, education and communication and awareness raising;
- Increased commitment to the implementation of universal respect for human rights, drawing upon the positive values of our history and tradition;
- Promotion and guarantee of the independence of the judiciary from any undue influence;
- The recognition, promotion and protection of a vibrant civil society for the realisation of human rights;
- The creation of an enabling environment to ensure effective participation of women and youth at all levels of social, political and economic life;
- Ensure the independency of the Independent Electoral Commission in conducting free and transparent elections; and,
- The encouragement and support for a free independent and responsible press.

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TECHNICAL NOTES

Constructing a Human Development Index for The Gambia

The construction of the Gambian HDI has followed the approach used for the construction of the global HDI as closely as possible to allow for international comparability. The Human Development Index is based on three indicators: Life Expectancy at birth, Educational Attainment, and Income.

For Educational Attainment, a composite index based on Adult Literacy and combined Primary and Secondary Enrollment Ratio was computed. This allows for consistency and comparability with the approach in the global Human Development Report.

The indices for each of the indicators for the national human development index, have been computed using the following general formula, :

$$\text{Index} = \frac{\text{Actual } x_i - \text{minimum } x_i \text{ value}}{\text{Maximum } x_i \text{ value} - \text{mini. } x_i \text{ value}}$$

Life Expectancy at birth:

Minimum value - 25

Maximum value - 85

$$\text{Index} = \frac{55 - 25}{85 - 25} = 0.50$$

Adult Literacy

Minimum value - 0

Maximum value - 100

$$\text{Index} = \frac{28 - 0}{100 - 0} = 0.28$$

Combined Primary and Secondary Enrolment Ratio

Minimum value - 0

Maximum value - 100

$$\text{Index} = \frac{53 - 0}{100 - 0} = 0.53$$

Education Attainment Index

$$2/3 [0.28] + 1/3 [0.53]$$

$$= 0.364$$

Real GDP Per Capita (PPP\$) = 1470

Real GDP Index

$$(1470 - 100) / (6154 - 100)$$

$$= 1370 / 6054$$

$$= 0.226$$

Computing the Human Development Index for The Gambia

$$1/3 (0.50 + 0.364 + 0.226)$$

$$= 0.363$$

GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDEX

Percentage share of total population (Gambians only)

Females 0.51

Males 0.49

Life Expectancy at Birth (years)

Females 57

Males 54

Adult Literacy Rate (Per cent)

Females 18

Males 34

Combined gross enrolment ratio

Females 46.6

Males **59.6**

Computing the equally distributed educational attainment index

Adult Literacy Index

$$\text{Female} \quad (18 - 0) / 100 - 0 = 0.18$$

$$\text{Male} \quad (34 - 0) / 100 - 0 = 0.34$$

Combined Gross Enrollment Index

$$\text{Female} \quad 46.6 - 0 / 100 - 0 = 0.466$$

$$\text{Male} \quad 59.6 - 0 / 100 - 0 = 0.596$$

Educational attainment index

$2/3(\text{adult literacy index}) + 1/3(\text{combined gross enrolment index})$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Females} \quad & 2/3 [0.18] + 1/3 [0.466] \\ & = 0.12 + 0.1553 \\ & = 0.275 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Male} \quad & 2/3 [0.34] + 1/3 [0.596] \\ & = .227 + .199 \\ & = 0.426 \end{aligned}$$

The equally distributed educational attainment index

$\{(\text{female population share} \times (\text{educational attainment index})^{-1}) + (\text{male population share} \times (\text{educational attainment index})^{-1})\}^{-1}$

$$\{0.51(0.275)^{-1} + 0.49(0.426)^{-1}\}^{-1} = (1.855 + 1.992)^{-1} = 0.260$$

Computing the equally distributed life expectancy index

$\{(\text{female population share} \times (\text{female Life Expectancy index})^{-1}) + (\text{male population share} \times (\text{Male Life Expectancy index})^{-1})\}^{-1}$

Maximum for females : 87.5 and minimum 27.5
Maximum for Male: 82.5 and Minimum 22.5

Life expectancy index

$$\text{Female} \quad 57 - 27.5 / 60 = 0.565$$

$$\text{Male} \quad 54 - 22.5 / 60 = 0.525$$

$$\begin{aligned} & [0.508 (0.565)^{-1} + 0.492 (0.525)^{-1}]^{-1} \\ & [0.8001 + 0.9371]^{-1} \\ & 0.5446 \end{aligned}$$

Computing Proportional Income Share

% Share of Economically Active Population

$$\text{Female} \quad 49\%$$

$$\text{Male} \quad 51\%$$

Average Male non-agricultural Earnings per

$$\text{annum} \quad = \quad 10971$$

$$\text{Female} \quad = \quad 5905$$

Therefore, Ratio of female non-agricultural earnings to male = 53.8 % = 1: 0.538

Real GDP Per Capita PPP\$ 1470

Ratio of female wage to the average wage (W) and the male wage to the average wage (W)

$$\begin{aligned} W &= 0.49 (0.644) + 0.51 (1.197) \\ &= 0.316 + .610 \\ &= 0.926 \end{aligned}$$

Female wage to average wage

$$0.644 / 0.9169 = 0.702$$

Male wage to average wage

$$1.197 / 0.9169 = 1.305$$

Share of earned Income

Note: $[(\text{female wage} / \text{average wage}) * \text{female share of economically active population}] + [(\text{male wage} / \text{average wage}) * \text{male share of economically active population}] = 1$

$$\text{Female} \quad = 0.49 (0.702) = 0.344$$

$$\text{Male} \quad = .51(1.305) \quad = 0.666$$

Female and Male Proportional Income Share

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Female} \quad & = 0.344 / .508 \\ & = 0.677 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Male} \quad & = 0.666 / .492 \\ & = 1.354 \end{aligned}$$

Applying the Gender Equity Sensitive Indicator (GESI)

Note: We Assume that e, the parameter of inequality aversion equals 2

The equally distributed Income Index

$$\begin{aligned} & [0.508 (0.677)^{-1} + 0.492 (1.354)^{-1}]^{-1} \\ & [.750 + 0.363]^{-1} \\ & 0.898 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Therefore, Income} &= 0.898 * 1470 \\ &= 1320 \end{aligned}$$

$$= (1320 - 100) / (6040 - 100)$$

$$= 0.205$$

Computing the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI)

$$1/3 [0.260 + 0.205 + 0.545] = 0.340$$

Gender Empowerment Measure

Calculating Indices for Parliamentary Representation etc

% Share of Parliamentary Representation

Female = 2.2
Male = 97.8

% Share of Administrative and Managerial Positions

Females = 29%
Males = 71%

% Share of Professional and Technical positions

Females = 24%
Males = 76%

% Share of Total Population (Gambians only)

Females 0.508
Males 0.492

Unadjusted real GDP per capita: PPP\$ 1470

Female and Male Proportional Income Share

Female = $0.677 * 0.49 = 0.332$
Male = $1.354 * 0.51 = 0.691$

Female = $0.332 / 0.508 = 0.654$
Male = $0.691 / 0.492 = 1.404$

The Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage (EDEP)

for Parliamentary Representation

$$[0.508 (.022)^{-1} + 0.492 (0.978)^{-1}]^{-1}$$

$$= (23.1 + 0.5031)^{-1}$$

$$= 0.0424$$

for Administrative and Managerial Positions

$$[0.508 (29)^{-1} + 0.492 (71)^{-1}]^{-1}$$

$$= (0.0175 + 0.0069)^{-1}$$

$$= 40.98$$

for Professional and Technical Positions

$$[0.508 (24)^{-1} + 0.492 (76)^{-1}]^{-1}$$

$$= (0.0212 + 0.0065)^{-1}$$

$$= 36.10$$

INDEXING THE VARIABLES

For Parliamentary Representation

$$0.0424 / 51 = 0.0008$$

For Administrative and Managerial Positions

$$40.98/51 = 0.803$$

For Professional and Technical Positions

$$36.1/51 = 0.707$$

Computing the Combined Index for Economic Participation and Decision- making

$$[0.803 + 0.707] / 2 = 0.755$$

% Share of Economically Active Population

Female 49%
Male 51%

Average Male non-agricultural Earnings per annum
= 10971
Female = 5905

Therefore, Ratio of female non-agricultural earnings to male
= 53.8 % = 1: 0.538

Real GDP Per Capita PPP\$ 1470

Ratio of female wage to the average wage (W) and the male wage to the average wage (W)
 $W = 0.49 (0.644) + 0.51 (1.197)$
 $= 0.316 + .610$
 $= 0.926$

Female wage to average wage

$$0.644 / 0.9169 = 0.702$$

Male wage to average wage
 $1.197 / 0.9169 = 1.305$

Share of earned Income

Note: [(female wage / average wage) * female

share of economically active population] + [(male wage / average wage) * male share of economically active population] = 1
 Female = 0.49 (0.702) = 0.344

Male = .51(1.305) = 0.666

Female and Male Proportional Income Share

Female = 0.344 / .508
 = 0.677

Male = 0.666 / .492
 = 1.354

Calculating the EDEP of the female and male proportional income share

$$(0.508 [0.677]^{-1} + 0.492[1.354]^{-1})^{-1}$$

$$= (0.750 + 0.363)^{-1}$$

$$= 0.898$$

Computing the Income Index

0.898 (1470) = 1320

(1320 - 100) / (40,000 - 100)

= 0.0306

Computing The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

1/3 (0.0008 + 0.755 + 0.0306)
 = 0.262

Capability Poverty Measure (CPM)

% of Females 15+ who are illiterate
 = 82

% of Births unattended by trained Health Personnel
 = 22.7

% of Under 5 children who are underweight = 9

Therefore CPM
 = 1/3 (0.227 + 0.820 + 0.09)
 = 0.379
 = 37.9

Calculating The Human Poverty Index

The human poverty index (HPI) concentrates on deprivation in three essential elements of human

life: longevity, knowledge and decent standard of living. The first deprivation relates to survival-vulnerability to death at relatively early age (before age 40). The second is being excluded from the world of reading and communication (illiteracy). The third relates to a decent living standard in terms of overall economic provisioning. This is a composite of three variables: the percentage of population without access to safe water, health service and percentage of under five children who are moderately or severely malnourished.

Percentage of persons not expected to survive to age 40 (P₁) = 34

Population without access to safe water (P₃₁)
 = 79

Population without access to health services (P₃₂)
 = 10

Adult illiteracy (P₂) = 72 per cent

Under 5 children moderately or severely malnourished (P₃₃) = 9 per cent

The composite variable P is constructed by taking a simple average of the variables P₃₁, P₃₂ and P₃₃. Thus

$$P_3 = 1/3 [(P_{31}) + (P_{32}) + (P_{33})]$$

$$= 1/3 [79 + 10 + 9]$$

$$= 32.7$$

HPI = $[1/3 (P_1^3 + P_2^3 + P_3^3)]^{1/3}$
 = $[1/3 (34^3 + 72^3 + 32.7^3)]^{1/3}$
 = 1/3 [(39304 + 373248 + 34966)]^{1/3}
 = (149173)^{1/3}
 = 52.8 per cent

Table 3.2: Percentage Distribution of Ever Married Teenage (13 - 19 Years) Population, female 15 -49 and Population Aged 50 Years and Over by Local Government Area.

Local Government	Teenage Population		Women 15-49	Population Aged 50 Years +	
	M	F	F	M	F
Banjul	1.2	11.4	56.1	91.7	93.1
Kanifing	1.1	18.9	66.0	93.8	94.5
Brikama	1.0	25.1	78.1	95.5	96.9
Mansakonko	1.3	39.1	86.3	95.4	97.2
Kerewan	1.6	34.0	82.4	94.6	95.4
Kuntaur	2.5	44.0	86.0	95.1	94.5
Janjabureh	2.4	44.7	87.2	94.7	96.8
Basse	2.5	38.3	84.1	95.0	95.8
Urban Gambia	1.1	21.0	68.5	93.6	94.6
Rural Gambia	1.8	35.3	83.4	95.2	96.3
Total	1.6	29.4	77.5	94.8	95.8

Table 1: Divisional Distribution of Human Development Indices For The Gambia

Geographical location	Life Expectancy Indicators		Educational Attainment Indicators					Income Indicators			Human Development Index
	Life Expect (years)	Life Expect (index)	Adult Literacy (%)	Combined Enrolment Ratio (%)*	Adult Literacy Index	Combined Enrolment Index	Educational Attainment Index	Mean Income Per Capita (Dalasis)	Real GDP Per Cappita (PPP\$)	Real GDP Per Capita (Index)	
The Gambia	55.0	0.50	28.0	53.0	0.28	0.53	0.363	5926	1470	0.226	0.363
Banjul	57.6	0.54	60.0	60.0	0.60	0.60	0.600	9785	2427	0.384	0.509
Kanifing	54.0	0.48	51.0	60.0	0.51	0.60	0.540	10106	2505	0.398	0.474
Western Division	50.5	0.43	22.0	61.0	0.22	0.61	0.350	4975	1234	0.187	0.321
Lower River	44.7	0.33	20.0	50.0	0.20	0.50	0.300	2935	728	0.104	0.244
North Bank	48.3	0.39	15.0	37.0	0.15	0.37	0.223	3466	860	0.125	0.246
Central River	46.2	0.46.2	12.0	38.0	0.12	0.38	0.207	3445	855	0.125	0.264
Basse	44.8	0.33	15.0	27.0	0.15	0.27	0.190	3553	881	0.129	0.216

Table 2: Profile of Human Development Index

Indicator	1983	1993	2000
Life Expectancy	44	55	55
% of population with access to health services	NA	90 ¹	90 ¹
% of population with access to safe water	23	50	79
Adult Literacy	23	37	28
Combined	38.2	35.5*	53**
Real GDP	842	1,190	1470
GDP Per Capita (US\$)	165	360	456

Source: Population and Housing Censuses, 1983 and 1993

⇒ *1995/96 Education Statistics

⇒ **1998/99 Education Statistics

⇒ ¹ Department of State for Health and Social Welfare

Table 3: Gender related Development Indices

Gender- related Indicator	Index
Gender-related Development Index (GDI)	0.340
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)	0.262
Capability Poverty Measure (CPM)	37.9
Human Poverty Index (HPI)	52.8

Table 4: Health Profile

Indicator	
% of one year olds Fully Immunized against Tuberculosis	96.8
% of one year olds Fully Immunized against Measles	83.4
AIDS Cases (per '000 people)	0.42
Population per Doctor	12,977
Population per Nurse	1,068
Population per hospital bed	1,199
Public Expenditure on Health as % of Total Govt. Expenditure	6.2

Table 5: Distribution of Health Indicators and Facilities by Local Division

Local Government	Health Indicators and Facilities				
	Per Capita Income (1998)	Annual Per Capita Expenditure on Health	Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000)	Minor Health Center	Hospital
Banjul	9785	114	65	0	
Kanifing	10106	273	71	0	7*
Brikama	4975	92	90	7	1
Mansakonko	2935	45	108	1	1
Kerewan	3466	118	92	2	1
Kuntaur			92	1	1
Janjabureh	3445	64	107	2	1
Basse	3553	103	103	2	0
Total	5926	145	92	14	11

Note : * Indicates that figures are for Banjul and K M A, Central River Division com-

Table 6: Distribution of Education Indicators by Local Government Area.

Local Government	Education Indicators					
	Per Capita Income (1998)	Annual Per Capita Expendi-	Com-bined Enrol-ment	Adult Lit-eracy Rate	Number of Primary Schools	Proportion of Qualified Teachers
Banjul	9785	1275		60.0		
Kanifing	10106	1380	60.3*	51.0	34*	87*
Western Division	4975	641	60.5	22.0	70	79
Mansakonko (LRD)	2935	300	49.6	20.0	60	74
Kerewan (NBD)	3466	396	37.1	15.0	38	61
Kuntaur (CRD)						
Janjabureh (CRD)	3445	251	38.2	12.0	69	63
Basse	3553	294	28.8	15.0	60	49
Total	5926	766	53.0	28.0	331	72

Note : * Indicates that figures are for Banjul & KMA, Central river Division Comprises

Table 7: Percentage Distribution of Households with Access to water by Source and LGA

Local Government	Source of Water						Total
	Public Tap	Own Tap	Pumped Well	River or Lake	Tradi-tional Well	Other	
Banjul	46.5	51.5	1.0		1.0	-	101
Kanifing	47.9	31.4	0.8	-	13.1	6.8	497
Brikama	35.0	4.1	12.0	-	46.4	2.5	516
Mansakonko	37.1	1.0	45.7	-	16.2	-	105
Kerewan	42.6	6.4	34.8	0.3	14.9	1.1	377
Kuntaur							
Janjabureh	15.3	1.9	47.2	1.6	33.4	0.6	320
Basse	43.3	3.9	22.0	0.3	30.3	0.3	338
Total	38.2	12.1	20.9	0.3	26.1	2.4	2254

Source: Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), 1996

Table 8: Percentage Distribution of Households With Access to Sanitation Facility by Type of Facility and Local Government Area.

Local Government	Type of Toilet Facility			
	WC	Pour Flush	Improved Pit	VIP Latrine
Banjul	25	56	-	58
Kanifing	67	32	51	26
Brikama	3	10	15	5
Mansakonko	0	2	5	11
Kerewan	2	2	22	-
Kuntaur				
Janjabureh	1	-	6	-
Basse	2	-	1	-
The Gambia	235	63	275	6

Source

Note : * Indicates that figures are for Banjul and K M A

Table 9: Percentage Distribution of Persons with Knowledge of Gambia Environmental Act (GEAP) Broad Objective by LGA

Local Government	GEAP Broad Objectives						Total Persons
	Management of Natural Resources	Health and Quality of Life of Gambians	Ecosystem	Participation of Stakeholders, Govt, NGOs, Donors,	Environment Education	Alternative Source of Energy	
Banjul	5.6	-	-	-	5.6	-	53
Kanifing	5.0	8.7	3.3	2.0	4.3	10.7	362
Brikama	10.5	7.5	10.0	3.32.5	8.0	1.7	407
Mansakonko	2.7	21.0	0.8	10.012.3	5.7	3.3	122
Kerewan	14.2	18.8	9.1	4.0	15.4	14.2	239
Kuntaur	7.6	34.7	21.8	8.9	21.8	23.0	112
Janjabureh	15.3	12.8	5.1	10.2	5.1	5.1	107
Basse	13.4	32.5	19.1	25.8	31.4	29.0	180
Total	11.6	14	5.3	5.9	10.1	6.9	1582

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