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## **Editorial**

**Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru**

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The society in which we live and do our work is the result of the conscious and deliberate behavior of those who compose it. In view of this approach, this does not mean that the individuals who compose it have signed contracts, conventions, agreements, by virtue of which they founded the human society. Social cooperation is nothing more than the fruit of some actions that reproduce it over and over, every day, seeking nothing else but the cooperation and help of others to achieve certain specific results. In other words, society is nothing but the ensemble of complex mutual relations created by such concerted actions. Society exchanges relationships in the sense that it prioritizes collaboration instead of the isolated existence of the individuals that compose it. At the same time, society is also a division and combination of work in different ways. The individual, the person, lives and acts in society, which is nothing but the association of individuals for joint activities or cooperation in various social projects. Thus, society will always find itself in the actions of individuals, making it a mistake to seek it out of the action of the individuals that compose it (Ludwig von Mises 1998, 143).

There is always the question of the subordination of goals in the sense that if society or individual should be considered the ultimate goal, and so whether the interests of society must be subordinated to the interests of individuals, or whether the interests of individuals must be subordinated to society. We mention the fact that action is always an action made by individual persons, and the social or societal element is ultimately nothing else but a certain orientation of the actions of the individual persons. In society, the goal is useless unless

when it is applied to actions carried out by social individuals. Taking into account these considerations, as well as the theology and the metaphysics of history, just as the purposes of the other parts of the great universe created are discussed, the purposes of society can also be subjected to the debates of any kind, along with the plans God has and pursues so they can be achieved with respect to human society. Within a society, due to the social, cultural or other interactions of its members, feelings of sympathy and friendship can emerge as well as a sense of common belonging. Such feelings, considered by Ludwig von Mises, are the sources of the most beautiful and sublime experiences of man, being considered the most precious ornament of life that raises man to the height of truly human existence (Ludwig von Mises 1998, 143-144).

Regarding the peculiarity of the necessities, Hegel said, universality is the first to emerge in the fact that the intellect establishes certain distinctions between them, multiplying them indefinitely, both themselves and the means to satisfy those distinctions, also making some and others, more and more abstract. From this point of view, Hegel said, learning about the specific state of abstraction in its way of enjoying work, activities, experiences, knowledge, science, and our conduct is generally the formal culture in this sphere (Hegel 1966, 336-337).

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# **Opportunistic Migration: A Collateral Promise for Development in Seasonal Migration of Southwest Coastal Bangladesh\***

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**ABSTRACT:** Aligning with the broader discussion of migration, seasonal migration also resembled a multifold phenomenon ranging from reasons of temporal movement to settling down process at the place of destination. In this paper, seasonal migration was portrayed in between the ‘alarmists’ view and ‘skeptical’ view of migration, holding a new position called ‘opportunistic migration’ that seemed to offer benefits to the seasonal migrants characterizing by gaining social knowledge and earning money from the place of destination. The empirical data, face-to-face in-depth interviews, showed that both social and economic aspects of seasonal migration were dominated by the pull factors, and environmental aspects were linked with the push factors. This paper

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also highlighted that social network played an active role for seasonal migrants, in particular, the workers who seasonally migrated into the brickfields of southwest coastal Bangladesh. While migrating from the rural to the urban context, two-tier verbal agreements took place in between the brickfield owners with the contractors, and the contractors with the brickfield workers. Though those verbal agreements seemed to contain some extent of the failure of expectations by the above-mentioned actors related to seasonal migration, it also held optimism of development for every actor. Finally, this paper reused the term ‘collateral promise’ with a slighter social tone to understand the informal interactions among the employers, contractors, and the seasonal migrants.

**KEYWORDS:** Seasonal migration, social network, collateral promise, and qualitative method

## 1. Introduction: From Interests to Ideas

There is always an on-going debate between ‘alarmists’ and ‘skeptical’ view of migration. An alarmists or maximalists position holds the idea that environment can be a distinct factor that forces people to leave their homes (Laczko 2010; Suhrke 1994). Simply positioning the opposite side, the skeptical or minimalists argue that environment plays a nominal role in migration decisions, and that ‘pull factors’ in the destination are often more important than ‘push factors’ (Martin 2010; Morrissey 2009). Considering the alarmists position, the deadliest cyclone ‘Sidr’ in 2007, cyclone ‘Aila’ in 2009, and cyclone ‘Mahasen’ in 2013 severely affected the lives of the southwest coastal people resulting both temporal and permanent migration to nearby cities (Etzold and Mallick 2015; Gray and Mueller 2012; International Organization for Migration 2010).

Push factor of seasonal migration exists in Khulna, the third largest city (in terms of area and population) in Bangladesh comprising more than 1.5 million inhabitants (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2011), because more severe and irreversible environmental degradation may necessitate the temporal and permanent relocation of affected populations to safer places (Boncour and Burson 2010). In contrast to the push migration, seasonal migration characterized by pull factor is a common phenomenon in Khulna because of its better connectivity with other regional cities and satellite towns, mostly due to strategic location and economic dominance (Haider 2010). In both cases,



the internally displaced people, either temporarily or permanently, tend to move only within a short distance because of lack resources to move to distant places (Piguet et al. 2010). Docherty and Giannini (2009) suggested nine components, broadly classified into three different categories such as guarantees of assistance, shared responsibility, and administration as guiding instrument to address the macro context of migration. This research contextualizes the macro components of migration into micro aspects, particularly in the context of internal migration due to its similarity in functions-economic betterment and opportunities in the place of destination.

At the place of destination, migrants tend to make an adjustment with their occupation, quality of life, and even their social values. Both push and pull factors play consequential role to migrants when it comes to choose the potential destinations. The push factors of migration are mostly connected to on-set of climatic disasters. In contrast, the pull factors of migration are predominantly associated with direct economic and social benefits. Now, the question arises to what extent they have to make adjustment linked with economic, social, and environmental aspects of migration. In answering this question, brickfield workers of southwest coastal Bangladesh, generally who migrate for certain period of time from their place of origin, have been considered as the prime interest group. It is anticipated that seasonal migration in brickfields is a continuing process for certain people located in certain geographic settings who have food and livelihood produced in locally, but they are prone to migrate in adjacent cities to strengthen their household capital and savings when the regular employment opportunities are not locally available. This research recognizes the different typologies of migration where the issues of seasonal migration, particularly the verbal agreement among the three actors namely seasonal migrants, contractors, and brickfield owners differ from other types of migration. This paper intends to create an in-depth understanding about seasonal migration addressing the aspects of seasonal migration of brickfield workers, driving forces of seasonal migration, settling down process, and level of agreement among different actors related to seasonal migration.

## **2. Theorizing Seasonal Migration: Complexities in Conceptualizing**

Migration indicates the shifting of permanent residence (Week 1989; Newman et al. 1984; Trewartha 1969). However, seasonal migration represents the

transient relocation for a certain time of the year, with or without family members. Migration means a permanent or at least for a considerable period of time, departure for a place which is not just nearby (Srivastava 1983; United Nations 1970). In contrast, seasonal migration occupies temporal dimension, containing any movement for 3-4 months, which does not fit into the very notion of migration. Considering the geographic mobility, both permanent migration and seasonal migration involve a change of usual residence between the defined political or statistical areas (Ross 1982). In case of seasonal migration, the geographic mobility often takes place from the disadvantaged rural areas during the lean period (Islam 2015).

Migration also holds multifaceted understanding and pledges multiple levels of analysis, in addressing fundamental questions such as origin and destination of migration, directionality and continuity of migrant flows, utilization of labor, and socio-cultural adaptation of migrants (Portes 1997). Theories regarding migration mostly targeted and revolved around a single issue – changes in residency; thus it failed to address the aforementioned four issues holistically (Massey 1999; Arango 2000). At present, a variety of theoretical models or perspectives exists in migration research that employs changeable concepts, assumptions, frames and levels of analysis (Arango 2000). As the majority of these theoretical models were developed from definite empirical observations, they often grew in isolation and separated by the disciplinary boundaries (Castles 2008; Arango 2000). But the modern migration literature (Todaro and Smith 2006; Faist 2000; Portes 1997; Massey et al. 1993) argues that although these theoretical approaches offer different hypotheses, they need not be considered as mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary.

To investigate the dynamics of seasonal migration, this research successively considers four macro-theories namely neoclassical theory, new economics theory, dual labor market theory, and social network theory. The neoclassical theory recognizes migration to be driven by differences in returns to labor across markets (Todaro and Smith 2006; Todaro 1969; Lewis 1954). According to the new economic theory, migration decisions are not based purely on individual utility-maximizing calculations but are rather a household response to both income risks and to the disappointments of a variety of markets, i.e., labor, and credit (Stark 2003; Taylor 1999; Massey et al. 1993; Stark 1991). The dual labor market theory (Piore 1979) explains migration as the result of a temporary pull factor, namely strong structural labor demand (Zanker, 2010; Breman 1994;

Lucas 1985). Social network theory understands migration as a portal between individual and their peer groups, i.e., households, friends, colleagues weaved by social threads (Faist 1997). In addition, due to the lack of conceptual clarity and consensus, a large number of seasonal migrants are left unprotected by international law. To work on conceptualizing seasonal migration, this can become extremely challenging for the national government, and international organizations working in developing countries where the aspects of migration are not clearly understood. Contextualizing the above-mentioned dimensions in relation to seasonal migration, this research exemplifies the existing complexities in conceptualizing seasonal migration.

Considering the complexities in understanding and explaining the seasonal migration, this research has adopted four independent but interrelated hypotheses of social network theory. Out of the four hypotheses, the information hypothesis suggests that any information regarding job opportunities, living conditions increases the propensity to migrate (Ritchey 1976; Tilly and Brown 1967). Encouraging hypothesis asserts active encouragement from peer group that might have snowball effects on the potential migrants (Hugo 1981). Conflict/disastrous hypothesis states that conflict between human and environment motivates to migrate (Hugo 1981). Affinity hypothesis argues that social and economic capital commensurate with the probability of migration (Haug 2008; Ritchey 1976). Figure 1 shows the interrelation of the components of social network theory with the aspects of seasonal migration.

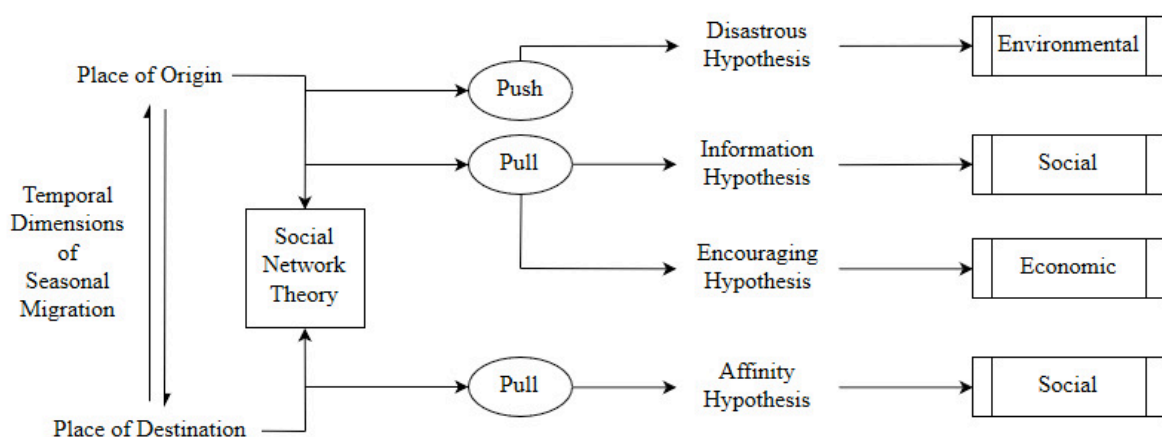


Figure 1. Interrelating components in conceptualizing seasonal migration

In seasonal migration, the connectivity in-between place of origin and place of destination hold relatively a strong network. On top, due to insufficient resources and support, seasonal migrants tend to move only within a short distance. Therefore, the seasonal migration is highly dominated by the horizontal social mobility (movement within the similar society or social class) instead of vertical social mobility for seasonal migrants because they use the same level of their social network. Linking the four hypotheses with the two broad factors of seasonal migration namely the push factor and the pull factor, the conceptual understanding of seasonal migration indicates that the three aspects of migration namely economic, social, and environmental are certainly connected with those four hypotheses along with the factors of migration, but their interconnectedness is not one-dimensional. To portray the dominance of each aspect in relation to the hypotheses of social network theory, the relations are shown as one-dimensional. The analysis of the interconnectivity among the three aspects along with the four hypotheses is beyond scope of this research. This research establishes a connection in between the decisions to migrate seasonally with the aspects of migration.

### **3. Approaching the Seasonal Migrants: Our Methodological Procedure**

Fieldwork experiences can influence a researcher's epistemological premises, including value, attitude, and belief systems, if he or she is open to discovery and change (Saldana 2011). Understanding that, we allowed our respondents to talk freely so that they could share their experiences of migration through their stories. This research is grounded in Rupsha Upazila under Khulna District (Upazila is second administrative tier that performs as sub-units of districts and maintains communication between District level and Union level). Out of 86 brick kiln factories in Khulna District, Rupsha Upazila occupies around 50 percent brick kiln factories, which is the highest in contrast with the other Upazilas of Khulna District (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2013). Therefore, we anticipated huge inflows of seasonal migrants in Rupsha Upazila who migrated from other southwestern coastal parts of Bangladesh. Due to the similar functions and characteristics of brickfields, we chose 4 brickfields on the basis of four criteria namely i) getting easy access to seasonal migrants for conducting the in-depth interviews, ii) number of seasonal migrants, iii) years of operation, and iv) on-site accommodation facilities for seasonal migrants.

After the site selection, we conducted in-depth interviews with 20 seasonal migrants, 5 seasonal brickfield workers from each selected site.

This research focuses on the making sense of underlying issues related to seasonal migration, and in doing so, we have carefully selected a small number of sample size from each site. We adopted a three-stage reconnaissance visit model to collect information from the respondents. In the first stage of reconnaissance visit, we familiarized ourselves with the brickfield workers through making casual discussions in the informal locations such as tea stall, and restaurants. Surprisingly, local people, contractors of brickfields, and many other migrant workers actively participated in the casual discussions to enlighten us about the real scenarios of seasonal migration. Through the discussions, we preliminary selected our initial respondents, and we came in contact with our respondents for the first time.

During the second stage of reconnaissance visit, we collected the socio-demographic information of the respondents from on sites. In the third stage of reconnaissance visit, we asked focused questions related to seasonal migration containing the social, economic, and environmental aspects. The in-depth interviews had been conducted in two phases namely phase-1 (March to May) and phase-2 (September to October). Due to the seasonal variation followed by the availability of migrants, we collected data in two seasons namely before the start of rainy season and after the rainy season. We divided the working intensity and calculated the level of engagement in two seasons, and based on that we proportionately distributed the number of interviews in seasons. In phase-1, we interviewed 15 brickfield workers from the different working backgrounds such as masonry worker/brick arranger, brick cutter, raw brick carrier/transporter, fire thrower, rubbish gather, brick wall maker, and broken brick collector. In the phase-2, we carried out 5 more interviews with soil diggers, and soil preparatory workers because these types of works were not available during phase-1.

We have adopted a qualitative perspective of data analysis that is not concerned with statistical representativeness, but rather with a selection of units of investigation that can generate some theory (Kardorff 2004). Many researchers (Balike 2009; Creswell 2007) have also highlighted that data collection and data analysis need to be informed by research paradigm. While analyzing the data, firstly, we transcribed and translated the data through identifying

the important sections that came from our informed data collection and data analysis relationship. Secondly, due to high flexibility feature in thematic analysis, we adopted thematic analysis to identify and analyze the patterns (themes) within data (Bazeley 2013). From the thematic analysis, several themes related to seasonal migration such as status and identity of migrants, issues of migration, patterns of payment, and collateral agreement.

#### **4. Understanding the Seasonal Migration: Explaining the Data**

Our empirical evidence shows that the brickfield workers tend to migration both with families and without families. The male young seasonal migrants tend to migrate without family, and the relatively older male seasonal migrants prefer to migrate with family. During the data collection, we did not find any female migrant who seasonally migrated without family or family members. The male workers who migrate without family members usually leave their place of origin with a group of people coming from the same village or same geographic settings. This happens due to having a collective nature of migration related to the sense of belongingness. However, both types of migrants have to come through a contractor who may not have the same place of origin. The initial socio-demographic findings of seasonal migrants demonstrate the association of age structure of the migrants with their movement pattern.

##### *4.1 Period of migration offers opportunities*

A seasonal migrant is unable to stay at his/her destination site (in this case, brickfield areas) all the year. He/she tends to come for a fixed period of time when there are not enough working opportunities available in the local environment. This research shows that two third of the seasonal migrants tend to come in-between September and November and stay on the construction sites for the next five to seven months. As the works of seasonal migration are linked with seasonality, mostly based on weather and climatic conditions, the period of migration also contain flexibility. Considering the time, the seasonal migration takes place just before winter season or sometimes after the harvesting season, directly linked with the agricultural production system. This is because it is hard to find diversified working opportunities in the agriculture sector. Therefore, people are confined with limited works and earning opportunities all the year. On top, the brickfield factories start their operations after the rainy season,

and the seasonal migrants who are usually landless labors seem to find better working opportunities in the brickfield factories of adjacent urban areas in compare to the agriculture sector in rural areas.

#### *4.2 Kinship relationship offers opportunities*

Kinship relationship helps to find jobs and the initial settle-down process. Our 9 seasonal migrants mentioned that they migrated with their families. They responded that the flow of information about the working opportunities of the family members in the brickfield sites came through their neighbors and in-laws who previously worked in the brickfield sites. The seasonal migrants mentioned that the availability of information plays a crucial role in decision making while migrating to brickfield sites with or without family members because, in many situations, the other working members of the family do not directly receive money for their works. For example, the workers who carry the raw bricks from the production sites to brick kiln areas require support during the activities. In that case, family members can assist them in carrying raw bricks and get paid for the whole activities. The decision-making along with its interconnectedness to availability of information is reflected in the voice of one of the migrants (Firoz, Male, 36):

*“I have been working in the ‘Zhinuk’ brickfield for the last eight seasons. But I also worked in other brickfields of Khulna District because some of my relatives used to work those brickfields. I collect information through my relatives before getting an employment in a brickfield. This helps me a lot to earn more money with greater flexibility.”*

The interview data showed that the migrants who came without a family tended to form small groups and shared the group activities among their group mates interchangeably. The number of family members held a strong connection with the earnings of the family. However, the single migrants (migrants without families) can also earn more than those who migrate with families because the single migrants do not have to share their income with the family members at their place of destination.

#### *4.3 Payment structure offer opportunities*

The thematic analysis of interviews shows that three types of payment structure such as fixed, flexible, and the mixture of fixed and flexible exist in seasonal



migration in brickfield sites. The fixed payment is entirely contractual based on the agreement between the migrant worker and the contractor. The flexible payment works based on production, which is the most preferred one to the seasonal migrant workers. The last one is the mixture of fixed payment and flexible payment that depends on the contractors' decision. Including all types of payment structure, 16 out of 20 seasonal migrants responded that they took advanced money for their works from the contractors. After arriving at the brickfield sites, their advanced payments were deducted through their regular earnings. Although there exists a potential risk of slavery due to the advanced payment system in seasonal migration, both the migrants and the contractors undertake similar works symbolizing maximum flexibility in decision making. In fact, both the pull and push factors of seasonal migration influence the payment structure. These two factors-push and pull factors of seasonal migration in relation to payment structure are reflected in the voices of two migrants respectively (Sharwarar, Male, 45- push factor; and Kabir, Male, 30- pull factor):

*"I receive money for my work on daily basis. I migrated to this brickfield site to work and earn money that I could not earn from my place of living (village). It is totally impossible for me to save some money during the non-working season because life is very difficult in our village." - 'Difficulty to save money at the place of origin' (thematic code related to push migration).*

Again,

*"At the end of every season, I am able to earn a big amount of money from my work. Besides, after the completion of each season, I can increase the amount of advanced payment for the next season. This is what I can do, and I know, my payment will be more in the next season." - 'Smooth payment and easy earnings for future' (thematic code related to pull migration)*

Table 1 explains the structure of payment according to different activities performed by the seasonal migrants in brickfield sites.



**Table 1. Types of engagement according to payment structure**

Structure of payment	Types of engagement in brickfield
Fixed payment	Arrangement of raw bricks for drying
	Bring coal to construction sites
	Arrangement fire to brick kilns
	Make brick walls for production
	Clean broken bricks from construction sites
Flexible payment	Carry raw brick carrying for firing
	Prepare and cut brick according to size
Both fixed and flexible payment	Collect and prepare soil for building bricks
	Carry soil for making bricks

*Source: Field data, 2018*

Carrying the raw bricks into production sites for firing requires the assistance of other seasonal migrants; therefore, this activity contains flexible payment structure. This is further reflected in the voice of one of the migrants (Yousuf, Male, 52):

*“I am used to carrying/transporting raw bricks, and sometimes my wife helps me to carry bricks into production sites. Being a male, I drive the van (manual tri-cycle) and my wife pushes the van from behind because the van sometimes gets heavier with raw bricks. In this activity, my wife is a non-paid worker as I am supposed to do that by myself.”*

Fixed structure of payment is conventional and easily accepted by the migrants; therefore, most activities in brickfields hold fixed payment structure. When the seasonal migrants make the verbal contract with the contractor, they take advance money from the contractors. As mentioned earlier, once the migrants start working in the brickfields, the contractors deduct money from the weekly or monthly payment of the migrants. This represents only the limited pictures about the income of seasonal migrants. During the thematic analysis, four categories related to earnings were emerged. The first category was the ‘productionist view’ of earnings that reflected through the fixed rate of earnings. The second category was the ‘rewarding view’ of earnings that incorporated the aspects of extra work with extra earnings. The third category was the ‘encouraging view’ of earnings that included the working opportunities

of the other family members. The fourth was the ‘hierarchical view’ of earnings that reflected through the hierarchy of works in brickfield sites linked with the hierarchy of payment structure. Table 2 exemplifies how the seasonal migrants discussed their payment structure under different themes.

**Table 2. Thematic illustration of payment structure in seasonal migration**

Coded category	Reflection through empirical data
‘Productionist view’ of earnings	<i>I earn around 1200-1500 BDT weekly. Thus I monthly earning is roughly 6000 BDT. I receive 140 BDT daily for carrying 1000 bricks (Yasin, Male, 50).</i>
‘Rewarding view’ of earnings	<i>Within my regular schedule, I can earn 40 BDT in an hour. If I work after hours, I can earn 10 BDT for every trip which is not possible within my regular schedule (Ashraf, Male, 35).</i>
‘Encouraging view’ of earnings	<i>I earn 130 BDT daily through my activities. So, I can earn 900 BDT per week. My husband also works here and earns around 1500 BDT per week. My father-in-law gets 1000 BDT per week. Their works are different from mine; therefore, we hold different earnings (Jahanara, Female, 30).</i>
‘Hierarchical view’ of earnings	<i>I am a contractor, and I am responsible for the overall supervision of the activities of the workers. For this, I receive 25000 BDT per month (Khalilur, Male, 45).</i>

*Source: Field data, 2018*

#### 4.4 Collateral promise: Working procedure in seasonal migration

During the data analysis, we observed a tri-party agreement to construct the opportunistic migration. However, unlike the collateral promise which is substantiated through written documents, the tri-party agreement in opportunistic migration is formed by the mutual trust and the verbal agreement. In stage one, brick-kiln owner hires contractor to ensure consistent supply of cheap labors. During that stage, the contractors make the verbal agreement with the seasonal migrants. Due to illiteracy and fear about the bindings in the written agreement, seasonal migrants only prefer verbal agreement. Though it seems very risky because anything can happen if it is not written anywhere, it is working perfectly for every actor in the seasonal migration activities. Through this agreement, seasonal migrants hope to get persistent working

opportunities for the next 5-8 months, and contractors hope to manage the number of working migrants for their assigned works.

In stage two, contractors enlist the migrants to work in brickfield sites. Within the agreement, most of the seasonal migrants receive advanced payment from the contractors. The migrants choose from whom they would like to take that advanced payment. In contrast, the contractors consider the working abilities of the migrants. As the agreement holds flexibility and subjectivity, the migrants make their own decisions. Our field data shows that the contractors make an advanced payment of 15000 BDT on an average. However, the amount of payment changes as the number of workers within the family increase.

In stage three, migrants appear to the brickfield sites and start working there. It is the task of a contractor to mediate between owner and migrants and to be answered by both parties. If a contractor deviates from agreement, migrant workers continue to work for their employer till the end of original agreement. Here, the collateral promise works as a failsafe tool to secure supply-chain for brickfield migrants. Figure 2 shows the conceptual understanding of the tri-party agreement to construct the opportunistic migration in brickfield sites.

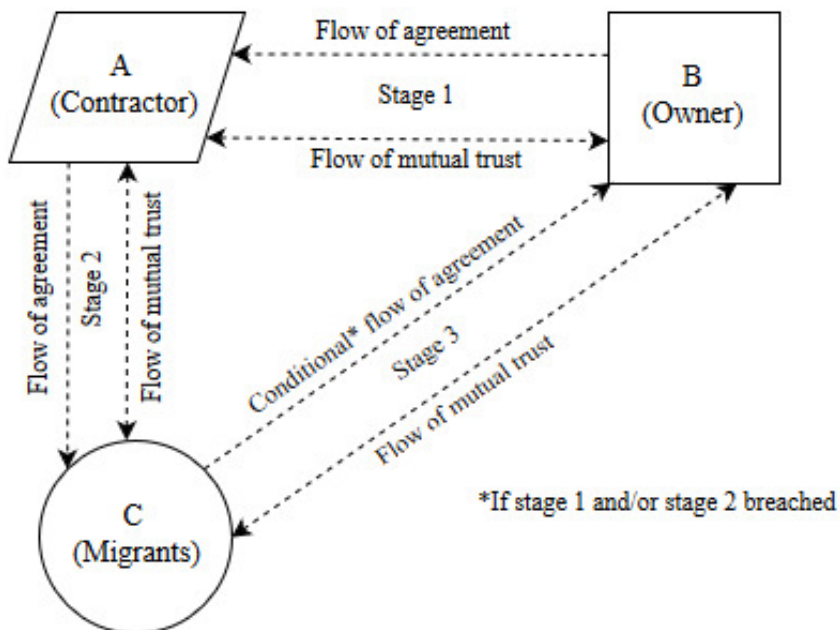


Figure 2. Triangle of collateral promise in constructing opportunistic migration

The agreement between either brickfield owners and contractors, or contractors and seasonal migrants works on the collateral basis. For example, making the advanced payment to the seasonal migrants, the contractors secure the working obligations in a particular brickfield site. The empirical evidence shows that the advanced payment system is a strategy to involve workers in the brickfields, different from bondage labor because the migrants can leave their works if they are able to return that advanced payment to the contractors. The brickfield owners also make advanced payment to the contractors hoping that the contractors would be able to collect the workers for the upcoming brick production. Knowing that there are risks of uncertainty in the agreement, the main deposit of the agreement is the 'mutual trust.' Surprisingly, the mutual trust has gained the momentum of belongingness that has made the collateral agreement effective. The format of the agreement is verbal and flexible which also indicates the effectiveness of mutual trust among the actors of seasonal migration. Though there arise some issues like the conflict with locals, substandard living conditions, and overall safety issues, which may be hard to accept, these challenges are promptly discussed by the seasonal migrants. Due to lack of proper communication and profit-centric approach taken by the higher actors, the seasonal migrants sometimes experience deprivation resulting frustration. This terrifying perception can undermine the positive effects of collateral working approach to seasonal migration. Therefore, the persistent interpersonal relationship is crucial for the sustainability of collateral promise, seasonal migration in general.

## **Conclusion**

This research explores the existence of the collateral agreement in seasonal migration. This is a new exploration in overall migration research particularly referring to create opportunities through the informal and verbal agreements coupled with mutual trusts among three actors of seasonal migration namely brick-kiln owners, contractors, and migrant workers. This research also establishes that social network holding the peer-trust can become a dominant proponent in the local labor market. It is to claim that, the social class contains an immense effect on the collateral agreements. Migrants from marginalized and lower income group are more accommodating towards verbal collateral agreements. Nonetheless, formal education is also influential when agreements

placed between employer and employee. This study suggests that people with higher education outreach tend to put themselves more into formal and written agreements when it comes to employability. This paper reused the term ‘collateral promise’ in with a slighter social tone to understand the informal interaction between employer and seasonal migrants. This study discloses that seasonal migrants adopt the positive life events during their stay at job-place and carry and transfer their social and technological skills to their places of origin. Because of the nature and types of the benefits received by the seasonal migrants, this research has envisioned seasonal migration as ‘opportunistic migration.’ Considering that we have concluded that ‘opportunistic migration’ is a positive phenomenon linked with socio-economic development, especially from the viewpoints of seasonal migrants.

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## **The Immediate Demand for an Efficient Protection of Witnesses of Justice in Albania**

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**ABSTRACT:** In spite of the abundant information regarding Albania's struggle from transition towards the integration into the European Union, envisioning common international justice affairs still remains insufficient and it seems that any close connection to the international criminal courts and tribunals has been largely ignored. This paper gives a picture of the alleged 'internationalisation' of the witness protection legislation and touches two aspects: *firstly*, the issues of the current legal framework in relation to procedural and non-procedural witness protective measures and challenges to ensure their effectiveness and *secondly*, the incorporation of new provisions in the domestic laws related to the best practices on support and assistance for witnesses at international and regional levels. In order to comprehend Albania's compliance with the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and other European legal instruments, an analysis of official documents was carried out, and a range of interviews were performed with staff of the International Criminal Court, the Courts of Serious Crimes and a District Court in Albania. This study draws conclusions and develops a set of recommendations on the steps that Albania has to take in relation to providing adequate protection and assistance in support of witnesses testifying in serious crimes cases.

**KEYWORDS:** witness protective measures, international criminal court, judicial effectiveness and efficiency, process of familiarization

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## 1. Introduction

There is a special judicial and public awareness of the criminal proceedings involving individuals who are accused for committing serious crimes especially homicides, organized crime, corruption, and trafficking in Albania. The novel dimension of witnesses testifying in organized crime, trafficking and terrorism cases has created a climate of serious intimidation, thereby limiting the State's capacity to provide adequate protective normative measures. As Albania is a State Party to the most relevant international legal instruments concerning the protection and intimidation of witnesses, Albanian authorities shall take appropriate measures to effectively protect witnesses from potential retaliation or intimidation, and to enhance international cooperation in this area. This obligation is also in line with Council of Europe (CoE) Recommendation (2005) 9 on the protection of witnesses and collaborators of justice which States that governments of Council's member states be guided, when formulating their internal legislation and reviewing their criminal policy and practice, by the principles and measures appended to the Recommendation. It also recommends that States should ensure that all these principles and measures are publicized and distributed to all interested bodies, such as judicial organs, investigating and prosecuting authorities, bar associations, and relevant social institutions (ECtHR - European Court of Human Rights, *R.R and others v. Hungary* 2013, § 20). The Criminal Code regulates this matter in the Article 312(a) which reads:

*“Intimidation or other violent acts to a person to secure false declarations or testimony, expertise or translation or to reject carrying out their obligation to the criminal prosecution bodies and the court is punished with a prison term of one up to four years.”*

The scope of the Albanian criminal procedure legislation, pursuant to Article 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CCP) is to guarantee fair, equal and due legal proceedings, in order to protect the freedoms and lawful rights and interests of citizens, to contribute to the strengthening of the legal order and the implementation of the Constitution and other domestic legislation (Unified Criminal Judicial Practice 1999-2015, 346). Thus, pursuant to the Preamble and Article 15 of the Albanian Constitution, the protection of fundamental human rights, freedom and dignity, and the participation in criminal proceedings has a *constitutional dimension* as it stands at the basis of the entire juridical order.

The legal framework which guarantees the protection of witnesses of serious crimes is as following:

1. The Constitution of the Republic of Albania;
2. UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Good Practices for the Protection of Witnesses in Criminal Proceedings, Involving Organized Crime and the Protocols among which the Protocol to prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Specially Women and Children;
3. United Nations Convention against Corruption, 31 October 2003, UNTS 2349, 41;
4. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (Article 68);
5. European Convention of Human Rights and its Protocols;
6. European Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters and its Protocol (1959);
7. Council of Europe Criminal Law Convention on Corruption (1999) (Article 22);
8. Recommendation (97) 13 on intimidation of witnesses and rights of the defence (1997);
9. Recommendation (2001) 11 concerning guiding principles on the fight against organised crime;
10. Recommendation (2005) 9 on protection of witnesses and collaborators of justice;
11. Code of Criminal Procedure of the Republic of Albania;
12. Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania;
13. Law No. 10173 dated 22.10.2009, "Protection of Witnesses and Collaborators of Justice" amended by Law 32/2017 dated 30.03.2017 and came into force on 1.08.2017;
14. Law No. 9110 dated 24 July 2003, "On the Organisation and Functioning of the Courts for Serious Crimes";
15. Law No. 97/2016, "On the Organising and Functioning of the Prosecution Office in the Republic of Albania";
16. Law No. 8677, dated 2.11.2000, "On the Organisation and Operation of Judicial Police";
17. Law No. 10193 dated 03.12.2009, "On the Jurisdictional Relations with Foreign Authorities in Criminal Matters";
18. Law No. 192, dated 03.12.2009, "On Preventing and Clamping down

on Organised Crime, trafficking and Corruption through preventive measures against Assets” the so-called “Anti-Mafia” Law (Article 37(2)(b));

19. Law No. 37/2017, “Code of Criminal Justice for Children” (Article 18);

20. Law No. 95/2016, “On the Organisation and Functioning of Institutions for Combating Corruption and Organised Crime”.

The question which arises is whether the existing legal framework provides adequate normative witness protection and whether the procedural and non-procedural measures are effectively and efficiently applied and implemented by the competent institutions. Another issue is whether witnesses with dual status (victims-witnesses) are protected from any recurrence of trauma or re-traumatization before, during and after their testimony in the proceedings. How does the court address cases of witness intimidation, fear of revenge against the witness and his or her family; and what are the legal consequences of refusal to testify and false testimony? In answering these questions, the analysis is limited to the provisions of the CCP, Law No. 10173 dated 22.10.2009, “Protection of Witnesses and Collaborators of Justice” (Law on witness protection) and the Law No. 95/2016, “On the Organisation and Functioning of Institutions for Combating Corruption and Organised Crime”.

Despite the 2017 judicial reform, the amendments incorporated in the CCP aiming to improve the status and the legal position of the victims in the criminal process, and other participants such as witnesses, remain mostly unknown and unprotected by the law in force. The importance of witness testimony in criminal proceedings is substantial to the fact finding process. There is no doubt that witness testimony represents one of the most important sources of evidence in the Albanian judicial system. Thus, as all the more discussed in the parliamentary debate concerning the drafting of the 2009 Law on witness protection, the physical protection of witnesses contains an essential element for the functioning of the justice system (Punime të Kuvendit, Legjislatura e 18-të no.3 2009, 754). Hence, in addition to the *imperative obligation* to ensure fair, true and public testimony in compliance with the rights of the accused, the law should also provide for the obligation upon the judiciary to take precautionary measures for witnesses in case of any intimidation, threat or attempted murder by the perpetrators or persons related to them (Article 79(c) Criminal Code).

In the ECtHR case *R.R and others v. Hungary* (Application no. 19400/11, 2013, §28-29) the Court noted that “*the first sentence of Article 2 para. 1 [of the Convention] enjoins the State not only to refrain from the intentional and unlawful taking of life, but also to take appropriate steps to safeguard the lives of those within its jurisdiction*”. It further stressed that “*the State’s obligation in this respect extends beyond its primary duty to secure the right to life by putting in place effective criminal-law provisions to deter the commission of offences*” against the person protected by the enforcement authorities. In the instant case, the applicants submitted that their exclusion from the Witness Protection Program entailed the risk that criminal elements might take vengeance on them due to their role as collaborator of justice. Despite the level of life threat, the authorities terminated the protection program. Thus, the Court found a violation of Article 2 of the Convention which implies the positive obligation on the authorities to take preventive operational measures to protect witnesses and collaborators of justice whose lives are at risk from the criminal acts of another individual.

Even though the witnesses are not considered as ‘a party’ to the proceedings, unless they have a dual status of victim-witness, their important role and rights should be clearly established and implemented by the judicial bodies to protect their interest as truth-tellers. In both the ECtHR cases of *Doorson v. Netherlands* (§ 70) and *Van Mechelen v. Netherlands* (§ 53), the Court took into account the importance of intimidated witnesses as an important category. It noted the following:

*“It is true that Article 6 does not explicitly require the interests of witnesses to be taken into consideration. However, their life, liberty or security of person may be at stake, as may interests coming generally within the ambit of Article 8 of the Convention. Such interests of witnesses and victims are in principle protected by other, substantive provisions of the Convention, which imply that Contracting States should organise their criminal proceedings in such a way that those interests are not unjustifiably imperilled. Against this background, principles of fair trial also require that in appropriate cases the interests of the defence are balanced against those of witnesses or victims called upon to testify.”*

Mindful that there is no definition of the terms ‘witness’ and ‘testimony’ in the CCP, this legal loophole certainly ‘gives leave’ to potential misinterpretation

of these terms. However, Article 155 of the CCP provides that everyone has the right to testify, except for those with mental or physical disabilities. Other categories excluded from testifying are provided in Article 156. Meanwhile, the Law on the “Protection of Witnesses and justice collaborators” first adopted in 2004 and further reviewed and promulgated in 2009, amended in 2011 and recently in 2017 has a comprehensible definition for “*justice witness*” meaning “*a person, who, in the capacity of witness or aggrieved person, declares or testifies about facts and circumstances that constitute evidence in a criminal proceeding, and who is in a situation of danger, because of these declarations or testimony*”.

The Albanian law on witness protection provides the protection of life and health only to certain categories of persons such as the witnesses and collaborators of justice, their relatives and other persons close to them; and to “aggrieved persons” i.e. victims who testify as witnesses (UNODC *Country Review Report on Albania* 2016, 6). The Article 3 of the Law on Witness Protection fails to address the new amendment of the term “*aggrieved person*” with the term of “*victim*” in line with Article 284 of Law 35/2017. As a consequence, the 2017 amendments failed in terms of:

1. providing *direct* protection to experts who testify, to their relatives or other persons close them;
2. expanding its scope to crimes or offences committed intentionally, namely: active corruption of persons exercising public functions, active corruption of foreign public employees, active trading in influence, active corruption in the private sector, assault to an official on duty, threatening a public official on duty, assaulting family members of a person acting in exercise of his State duty, and threat to a judge.

Witness protection is being provided mainly in cases related to organized crime, drug trafficking and prostitution but no corruption related cases (UNODC, *Country Review Report of Albania*, 2016:83-84). In such circumstances, the relevant authorities should take the appropriate measures to extend the scope of the protection which can be provided to all the aforementioned offences to experts, their relatives and other persons close to them (UNODC, *Country Review Report of Albania*, 2016:83-152). Meanwhile, the purpose of the law is very comprehensive as its aim is to regulate the special, temporary and extraordinary measures, the manner and procedures of the protection of

witnesses and justice collaborators, as well as the organization, functioning, competences and relationships between the institutions charged with proposing, assessing, approving and implementing the protection program. One of the Judges of the Court of Serious Crimes noted that Albanian law on witness protection and the Statute of the Courts for Serious Crimes contain provisions for a high standard of protection for witnesses with the aim to ensure that victims can participate in proceedings and witnesses testify freely and truthfully without fear of retribution or suffering of further harm.

The criminal legal provisions dictate the procedure of the questioning of the witnesses when they come to testify in criminal proceedings in a manner that aims to assist somehow the witnesses. The Courts for Serious Crimes and the Courts of Appeal for Serious Crimes in particular have the discretion to determine the cross-examination in accordance with the legislation on the protection of witnesses collaborators, thus diverging from the general principle that all evidence must be produced in the accused person's presence during a public hearing with a view to allow adversarial argument (*Kostovski v. The Netherlands* 1989, § 41). For instance, cross-examination and the reading of witness previous statements (in order to help the witness refresh his or her memory), can be performed in the presence of the accused and the Defence counsel (Kramberg 2017, 501). In such cases, there will be no visual contact between the witness and the accused or in other cases the identity of the witness will not disclose to the accused and the Defence counsel in accordance with the Article 8 of the Law No. 9110.

Some of the witness legal responsibilities are envisaged in the CCP such as compellability of appearance before the Court, the observation of Court's orders, and the requirement of answering truthfully to the questions addressed to him or her, except for self-incriminating facts (Article 157 of the CCP), kinship relations, facts related to professional secret (Article 159 CCP), and State secret (Article 160 of the CCP). In accordance with Article 165 of the CCP, a witness is liable for false testimony or refusal to testify when during the questioning he or she makes contradictory or incomplete statements or statements which are in contrast with the evidence, or refuses to testify. After the warning of the Court to charge the witness of criminal liability for false testimony, the Prosecutor can proceed with the case pursuant to Article 307 of the Criminal Code which reads:



*“Refusing to answer questions concerning knowledge of a criminal offence or its perpetrator, constitutes criminal contravention and is punishable by a fine or up to one year of imprisonment. When the refusal to testify is made for purposes of profit or any other interest given or promised, it is punishable by imprisonment from one up to four years.”*

This provision is not applicable to witnesses exempted by law to give information or who are enrolled in the protection program.

The District Court in Shkodra does not have any case where the Judges applied sanctions against witnesses for refusing to testify and there is no indication why sanctions do not apply. In an international context, a close analysis of the definition of the provision on false testimony and a comparison to Article 70 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court namely “*Offences against the Administration of Justice*”, shows that Article 312 of the Albanian Criminal Code is very vague and does not clearly address proper legal terms such as ‘corruptly influencing a witness’, ‘obstructing or interfering with the attendance or testimony of a witness’, ‘retaliating against a witness for giving testimony’ or ‘destroying, tampering with or interfering with the collection of evidence’.

## **2. The Application of Procedural Measures In the Code of Criminal Procedure**

Effective prosecutions related to organized crime, corruption or trafficking depend on the willingness of the witnesses to come testify. Indeed, testifying in such criminal proceedings cases is an act of courage in an insecure environment, however, fear of reprisals, intimidation and life threatening acts require careful consideration from the Judges, the Prosecutors, and the Defence.

In terms of legal provision, witness protection is guaranteed through procedural and non-procedural measures. Procedural measures are provided in Articles 165(a) and 361(b) of the CCP and Article 8 of the Law No. 9110 on the Organisation and Functioning of the Courts for Serious Crimes. The Court, upon the request of the Prosecutor and when the witness protection program is not applicable, decides on the application of protective measures for a witness in cases where giving testimony might put him or her, or his or her family members at serious risk for his or her life or health. The determination on the



application of procedural measures is made when specific elements are met such as:

- a. The nature of the crime (organized crime, trafficking, terrorism, corruption);
- b. The type of witness-victim (child, victim of sexual assault, co-defendant etc.);
- c. The relationship with the defendant (relative, defendant's subordinate in a criminal organization);
- d. The degree of fear and stress of the witness;
- e. The Importance of the testimony (UNDOC 2008, 32).

Therefore, the confidential request of the Prosecutor shall be substantially reasoned on the use of one or more of the special questioning techniques and shall be submitted to the Presiding Judge of the panel in a closed envelope, with the note: "*Confidential: witness with hidden identity*" (Article 165(a)(2) of the CCP). Additionally, the Prosecutor shall insert also the sealed envelope containing the full identity of the witness with hidden identity. This provision entitles only the Presiding Judge to know the real identity of the witness with hidden identity in order to verify the capacity and incompatibility with the witness role. Following this assessment, the envelope with the real identity of the witness with hidden identity shall be returned to the Prosecutor. The Prosecutor's request is assessed in closed session and followed by a reasoned decision within forty-eight hours following the request. If the Court rejects the request, the Prosecutor may appeal the Court's decision within forty-eight hours from the notification of the decision. The Court of Appeals examines the Prosecutor's complaint in closed session and decides on the complaint within forty-eight hours. The Court of Appeals' decision is subject to appeal. If the request is accepted the Court decides on the pseudonym of the witness and the procedures for hiding the identity, notification, appearance and participation in the proceedings.

To resolve the question as to whether hidden identity or anonymity should be allowed or not, the rationale should consider that the law is not an exact science. The law accommodates general rules but also some exceptions. It is not possible to have only one formula and give the same interpretation to every case. For that reason, the courts should interpret the protective measures on a case-by-case basis and the use of anonymity should be considered as an

exception to the rule (Betancourt, 2010). The justification for undisclosed identity requires the Court to verify whether the reasons invoked for witness's fear are convincing and genuine. The ECtHR case-law established that to be granted protective measures such as anonymity, the witnesses have to be in a real danger, and the threat must be real (*Kostovski v. Netherlands* 1989, 19).

During the investigation, the questioning of the person with a hidden identity and the assignment of the pseudonym shall be done by the Prosecutor, while the documents or statements shall be signed by his or her ascribed pseudonym. In addition, the witness shall participate in all stages of the proceeding only with the pseudonym ascribed by the Court. Pursuant to the rules referred to in Article 361(b) of the CCP, the questioning of the collaborators of justice, infiltrated or undercover persons, protected witnesses and witnesses with hidden identity is conducted under special measures for their protection, which are determined by the court, *ex officio* or upon the request of the parties. When technical means are available, the court may determine that the questioning is conducted at distance, within the country or abroad, through telephonic or audio-visual connections. In the Article 58(b)(c) of this Code, the sexually abused victim and the victim of human trafficking shall also be entitled to request to be heard during the trial through audio-visual tools. The use of communications technology as provided for in the Articles 361 and 361(a) of the CCP, and Article 12(d) of the Law on witness protection is in compliance with international instruments and enables the views and concerns of victims to be presented and considered at appropriate stages of criminal proceedings. Pursuant to Article 361(7) of the CCP, the procedure requires that a person authorized by the Court shall remain at the witness's location, certify his or her identity in order to ensure the correct process of questioning and of the implementation of protective measures.

Apart from the hidden identity, the Court shall also order appropriate measures for the voice and face distortion. If the recognition of identity or the examination of the person is indispensable, the Court orders the summoning of the person, or his forced accompaniment for the fulfillment of this act. Consequently, the Court orders necessary measures to be taken to avoid the appearance of the face of the person whose identity is modified. The right and obligation to order protective measures for the witnesses and the active role of the Judges to control the cross-examination when the questions asked may reveal the witness identity, are related to Judges' exercise of their judicial discretion. During the

cross-examination, the Judge(s) take(s) an active role by intervening when they consider such intervention would serve the interest of protecting the witness and the interest of justice.

Furthermore, the CCP provides that vulnerable persons such as the victims of the sexual criminal offences, trafficking or other domestic violence offences, upon their request, may be questioned as witnesses through audio and audio-visual tools. In such cases, when requested by the parties, the Court may decide to proceed with the hearing in closed session when it deems necessary to protect the witnesses in accordance with Article 340 of the CCP. Disclosing confidential and classified information to the public and media might endanger seriously the life, physical integrity, the liberty and health of persons protected by the Law on witness protection (Article 313(b) of the Criminal Code). Thus, the Criminal Code sanctions such disclosure with fine or imprisonment up to three years and when the offence has caused the death as a consequence, it is punishable by imprisonment up to ten years. Further, the Criminal Code sets out consequences for disclosing secret data related to the identity, collaboration or protection process, or location of witnesses and justice collaborators, who benefit special protection. Disclosing a secret that resulted in death, serious injury or serious danger to life and health of witnesses or justice collaborators, their family members or police officers in charge of their protection, is punishable by imprisonment from three up to eight years.

### **3. Witness Protection Program and the Application of Non-Procedural Protective Measures**

In relation to the non-procedural protective measures, the framework of protection programs includes: change of identity; change of residence; furnishing false documents; temporary protection of identity, data and documents; giving testimony under another identity and administration with special means for voice and image distortion, and other forms set according to law, in compliance with Article 361(a) of the CCP; physical and technical protection, in the place where the protected person resides, as well as during his movements; social rehabilitation; provision of financial assistance; professional retraining; and provision of advice and specialised legal assistance.

The measures envisaged above are applicable without prejudice to the rights of the defendant. Establishing procedures for the physical protection of witnesses,

relocating them and limiting the disclosure of information concerning their identity is a State responsibility. As a protective measure of last resort, Albania has signed relocation agreements with 20 European countries, pursuant to article 27 of the Law on the protection of witnesses (UNODC, *Country Review Report of Albania* 2016, 86).

The Law on Witness Protection establishes two bodies responsible for the preparation, assessment, approval and implementation of the protection program for justice witnesses and justice collaborators:

- a) the Commission for the Assessment of the Protection Program for Justice Witnesses and Justice Collaborators (the Commission) and,
- b) the Directorate for the Protection of Witnesses and Justice Collaborators (the Directorate).

The Commission is responsible for assessing and approving the proposals of the Directorate for admission into the protection program, concrete protection measures, interruption and the conclusion of the program (Article 9(1) of the Law on Witness Protection). The Commission is also responsible for the appeal procedures for the complaints regarding the variation of a particular protection measure (Article 26 of the Law on Witness Protection). The Commission is chaired by the Deputy Minister of the Interior who covers issues of public order, and is composed of four other members such as a judge proposed by the High Council of Judiciary in the capacity of deputy chairman; a prosecutor proposed by the Prosecutor General, a judicial police officer proposed by the Director General of the State Police and the Director of the Directorate.

The Directorate for the Protection of Witnesses and Justice Collaborator is a special central structure of the State Police, within the Department for Investigation of Crimes, at the State Police Directorate General. The substantial personnel changes have been reported to be “*disruptive to an overall performance of any established unit*” (*Witness Protection IPA II 2014-2020*, 4). Even though the Directorate manages its own budget, activities and operational information very confidentially, its self-financing remains a major problem and as such would need a substantial amount of work within current legislation. The Directorate has duties and special competences regarding the preparation of proposals for the acceptance into a protection program, the following up of the implementation and on the application of special and auxiliary protective measures. In addition to the conduct of psychological and physical assessment of the conditions of the

person proposed to be admitted to a protection program, an assessment of the situation of danger has to be performed so that the commission is able to evaluate whether the person is suitable for admission into the protection program.

In specific and urgent cases, upon the request of the proceeding prosecutor, the Directorate decides on the immediate implementation of “*temporary protection measures*” pursuant to Article 18 of the Law on Witness Protection. The temporary protection measures are established in compliance with the situation of danger, and in such forms that guarantee, temporarily and preliminarily, the necessary level of protection. For this purpose, the Directorate and the protected person sign a temporary protection agreement. The Prosecutor General or the Chief Special Prosecutor should submit the proposal for acceptance of the person into the protection program within 30 days from the date of the start of implementation of the temporary measures. The Directorate is also responsible for the administration of the database related to its activities and the progress of the protection program. Periodic reports, mainly statistics, are made available to the Commission every six months. There is no legal provision obliging the Directorate to disclose information, whether in a summary or reduced manner, to other state institutions, media or the public.

In addition to the common non-procedural measures and the temporary protection measures, Article 22 of the above law provides also “*extraordinary protection measures*”. It is the responsibility of the State Police, pre-trial detention institutions or institutions of the execution of criminal decisions to order and implement such measures according to the level of the situation of danger for witnesses, justice collaborators and related persons.

One of the characteristics of protection programs is that they are implemented for an indefinite time period. The CoE Resolution 2038 (2015) and Recommendation 2063 (2015) on Witness protection as an indispensable tool in the fight against organized crime and terrorism in Europe reaffirm that witnesses who stand up for truth and justice must be guaranteed reliable and durable protection, in particular legal and psychological support and robust physical protection before, during and after the trial. However, protective measures can be extended throughout the phases of the criminal proceedings, as well as after its completion depending on:

- the existence of the situation of danger;
- the suitability of the protected person in relation to the special protection measure applied;

- the implementation of the obligations provided in the protection agreement by the protected person.

Meanwhile, the protection measures can be interrupted by the Commission in the following circumstances:

- a) if during the investigation and trial of the criminal case, it is proven that the witness or justice collaborator is giving false testimony;
- b) if the protected person commits an intentional criminal offence;
- c) if the protected person is involved in a criminal activity and he didn't declare it while under the protection program;
- d) if the witness, justice collaborator or other protected persons do not respect the obligations mentioned in the protection agreement and/ or the conditions of collaboration with justice;
- e) if an authority of another State seeks the termination of the protection program implemented in its territory.

The termination of the protection program occurs when the situation of danger no longer exist or the protected person has died, or at the written request of the protected person or his or her guardian. Pursuant to CoE Resolution 2038 (2015, 9), any decision to terminate a witness protection measure or program should be taken "*only after a comprehensive examination of the existing threats to the life of the protected persons*". Following the end of the protection program, the protected person may choose to keep his or her new identity, if he or she has been given one, or to take back his or her true identity. Financial assistance is provided to the protected person or his/her dependent family members in case the person under a protection program is killed or physically injured to the degree that becomes incapable of working because of the failure of protection measures implemented.

#### **4. Challenges to Ensure Effectiveness of the Witness Protection Program**

The success of witness protection in Albania is largely dependent on political, cultural and proper investigative practices. The lack of availability and effectiveness of judicial protection, the expediency of the investigative and judicial process, but also the cooperation with the witness himself or herself are

reasons of concern. The Albanian justice system is not yet at the point where investigative and judicial functions are perfectly operating. District Courts, in particular, face greater obstacles regarding protective support and assistance services for witnesses than other European or Balkan countries. This is mainly due to the limited professional and financial capacities to provide protection, despite the fact that Article 37(2)(a) and (b) of the Anti-Mafia Law (2016) established a special fund for the prevention of criminality which is meant to serve for the development of witness protection programs and assistance to the victims of organized crime.

While the Judicial System's perception (including the Judges, the Prosecution, and the Defence) towards the importance of witnesses in the process of truth-finding is considerable, it is not satisfactory yet. Notwithstanding the participation of victims-witnesses in criminal proceedings, the confrontation with the accused and the process of narrating their personal experience as victims or eyewitnesses might cause painful memories during the testimony. Still, the Judges prefer to be guided by the principle of the primary consideration of the rights of the accused (the cross-examination and public trial) than granting protective measures to the witnesses.

Lack of adequate legal provisions addressing witnesses' needs, limited public information on the role and purpose of witness testimony, the deficiency of assessing a substantial danger of threat or intimidation in a small country when "everyone knows everyone" and the delay in the length of criminal proceedings for various reasons (lack of addresses, refusal to testify for fear of reprisals, intimidation or revenge) are a serious indicator of the incapability of relevant judicial bodies.

Another reason of the failing witness protection is that the Court of Serious Crimes case-law experiences problems where protected witnesses abused or violated the security measures granted by the Court. For instance, the Court ordered procedural protective measures for witness X, on the credible existence of a real risk of threat related to his testimony. Despite the fact that the police were ordered to guard him within the house for an unlimited time, the witness was secretly leaving his house to meet with persons. As a consequence, the Court considered that indeed the protection of a witness is its concern, but the safety is the witness' responsibility. Such an obligation (to protect the witnesses) must be interpreted in a way which does not impose an impossible



or disproportionate burden on the authorities to protect the life of a witness (ECtHR *R.R and others v. Hungary* 2013, § 29).

Therefore, protected witnesses have to cooperate fully with the Court and a future Witness Protection Unit (WPU) in order to conduct a complete risk-assessment and to minimize security threats. Witness confidence in addressing their needs and concerns to a WPU contributes to their feeling secure at all stages of the proceedings. As a care provider with professional staff and friendly and supportive attitude, the WPU has a particular value in the outcome of a fair trial and the wellbeing of a witness.

The 2016 EU Commission Report on Albania noted that the implementation of basic procedural rights in practice, such as the right to information, access to legal aid and specific safeguards for victims-witnesses of crime is ineffective and the competent authorities need to increase the level of protection provided in the existing legislation (EU Albania Progress Report, 2016:67). Despite the 2017 justice system reform, there are no legal provisions in place which ensure fully witnesses and victims' right to access assistance and support services including procedural, emotional and psychological support, in proportion to their needs. Moreover, the Report noted that on access to justice, "*the State Commission for Legal Aid has not yet developed effective mechanisms for outreach and access to its services, including at regional level. The vast majority of cases involving vulnerable groups are still handled by civil society organisations, with donor support*" (EU-Albania Progress Report 2016, 67).

In relation to EU integration, Albania is part of the witness protection Balkan network. Witness Protection in the Fight against Serious Crime and Terrorism (WINPRO) and Witness Protection in the Fight against Organised Crime and Corruption (WINPRO II) have identified numerous problems in the Western Balkans such as deficiencies in techniques, training and procedures; disparities between the legal arrangements of the various jurisdictions, inadequate national and cross-border cooperation between the relevant witness protection units, and financial sustainability of protection programs (IPA II 2014-2020 Multi Country Witness Protection, 3). Some significant solutions to minimize these problems would be the mutual recognition and the unification of protective measures. Also, exchange of information with other international law enforcement agencies would encourage witnesses of crime to come forward to denounce and report criminal acts since they feel assured that their lives and livelihood are duly protected and secured throughout the country, the region and abroad.



Considering that Albanian witness protection aims to adhere to the best practices or standards developed by the UN, ICC and EU, it is a precondition to perform a correct detailed examination of how to improve legislation and practical support measures for the protection of victims and witnesses, with due regard to the real needs of protected witnesses. Additionally, the application of special comprehensive and comprehensible protection measures on the basis of social, cultural, political, ethnic, or religious backgrounds of witnesses following the example of EU (Directive 2011/99/EU, 2011) would be of help. In addition, the lack of a special Unit within the Albanian Court to provide support and assistance to the witnesses and victims will be discussed below.

## **5. The Benefits of the Process of Familiarisation in Albanian Courts**

The assessment as to whether a court has been successful in delivering justice depends on *firstly* its ability to procure the testimony of witnesses, and *secondly* its ability to protect witnesses. William Reisman, Stegfried Wiessner and Andrew Willard (2007) have argued that in order to attain a clarified world public order and human dignity, the law should at all times serve the human beings. This means that the State authorities should establish the proper bodies in order to interpret, apply and implement appropriately the witness protective measures. As already mentioned, the efficiency of ICC prosecutions depends greatly on the fulfillment by States Parties of requests or ICC witness protection orders (Oosterveld, Perry, and McManus 2001, 808).

The duty to cooperate with the ICC imposed on Albania as a State Party in terms of witness protection and support can be understood not only as a general commitment to cooperate, but also an obligation to amend its domestic laws to permit cooperation with the Court. Hence, it is necessary for Albania to learn from the witness protection and assistance experience of international tribunals, in particular, the ICC and reflect on steps that should be taken in this respect. Although international courts and tribunal mostly deal with the international context of witness testimony and protective measures, the national practice should be in consistency with international development in case there is a domestic legislative gap in this respect. International and national courts do not operate in isolation from the larger international legal system (Fauchald and Nollkoemper, 2014). Hence, domestic legislation and policies should develop witness supportive services in accordance with the common practice of ICC, ICTY or SCSL (Best-Practice Recommendations for the Protection and support

of witnesses – Special Court for Sierra Leone – An evaluation of the witness and victims section 2008, 13-14). Therefore, witnesses testifying in national courts should benefit from practices before international tribunals in terms of:

1. being made familiar with the statement they have given;
2. an explanation of the legal process and what will take place in the courtroom;
3. an explanation of the questioning process, and how witnesses should respond to different types of questions, and
4. familiarisation with the courtroom and most importantly to their rights and responsibilities.

In this context, Albania's compliance with the Rome Statute requires, alike successful cooperation agreements between the ICC and countries such as Canada, UK, Switzerland or Belgium which have created a new law on the implementation of the Rome Statute, to amend its existing legislation in order to fulfill its obligations under Article 93(1)(j) of the Rome Statute or Court's orders:

1. for the physical protection of witness, and
2. for the protection of the witnesses during the evidentiary and testimonial phases of ICC proceedings.

Revisiting the existing law may lead to amendments including the eligibility for protection of ICC witnesses in Albania, relocation, accommodation, change of identity, familiarization, the use of video-link, financial support to ensure the security for persons receiving protection, facilitate persons' re-establishment or assistance to become self-sufficient. The best solution to cope with such an issue is to try to seek a balance; as Koskeniemi (1990, 19) correctly stated that "*balancing seems inevitable in order to reach a decision*". For instance, for determining whether witnesses qualify for assistance because of their fear or distress about testifying, the UK's courts are required to take into account, *inter alia*, the nature and alleged circumstances of the proceedings, and the social, cultural, ethnic, or religious backgrounds of witnesses (Oosterveld, Perry, and McManus 2001, 816). This balancing approach by the UK's courts may serve as an inspiration to Albania and would, therefore, provide some criteria or characteristics for the eligibility of witnesses for protection and assistance.

In terms of support and assistance, to date, the Albanian witness protection law does not provide clear support and the relevant assistance components.

The process of familiarization is inexistent for both victims and witnesses in the legal framework or practical aspect. There is no protocol or policy which includes informing the victims or witnesses on their rights, responsibilities, confidentiality, support and trial's procedure when they arrive in the Court to testify. The process of *familiarization* is one particular form of support for witnesses who come to testify before a court. The establishment of a WPU would make it possible that this process would be under its responsibility, in consultation with the Office of the Attorney General. This practice would include as follows:

- a. Assisting the witnesses to understand fully the court proceedings and the roles that they and the participants play in them,
- b. Reassuring the witness about his or her role in proceedings before the Court;
- c. Ensuring that the witness clearly understands he or she is under a strict legal obligation to tell the truth when testifying;
- d. Explaining to the witness the process of examination first by the Prosecution and subsequently by the Defence;
- e. Discussing matters that are related to the security and safety of the witness in order to determine the necessity of applications for protective measures before the Court; and,
- f. Making arrangements with the Prosecution in order to provide the witness with an opportunity to acquaint himself or herself with the Prosecution's Trial Lawyer and others who may examine the witness in Court.

Even though the WPU might not address all the needs of victims and witnesses, its creation would definitely improve the victims and witnesses participation in criminal proceedings and it would positively influence the successful outcome of a trial. It is of essential concern that apart from the Courts of Serious Crimes where there is a separate room for witnesses, other District Courts lack logistic and operational strategies to ensure safety for the witnesses. Further, the Court should *proprio motu*, in coordination with the Office of the Attorney General and the Registry, establish "*A Victim/Witness Information Form*" in order to provide operational and support for the victims and witnesses for instance: psychological, physical protection and medical needs.

The fact that trials are frequently delayed for extended periods of time, especially when carried out in the absence of defendants or as accelerated trials,

and that no measures are taken to protect witnesses from threats or intimidation when they come to Court is another challenge. Obviously, in serious crime related cases, there is a high potential of risk that intimidation and stigmatisation start the moment witnesses appear before the Court. Hence, the practice of familiarisation can be considered very profitable for the Courts in Albania. Bearing in mind that the application of witness preparation is mostly limited in the ICC, witness preparation in the Albanian courts is a common practice, justified sometimes by the parties as a process of *re-examining the witness's evidence to enable more accurate, complete and efficient testimony*" (Ambos 2009, 599-614). The Article 361(4) of the CCP allows the Court to help the witnesses refresh their memory by reading previous statements; however, sometimes the parties rehearse and interfere with the witness's testimony. In many cases, the testimony was declared inadmissible and rejected by the Judges in the Courts of Serious Crimes. The adoption of a familiarisation process in the Albanian courts should not include witness preparation for they are both distinguishable; the first aims to familiarise the witness with the rights, responsibilities, support and assistance services, while the latter aims to prepare a witness to trial, coaching and correcting their statements or stories.

To conclude, the establishment of neutral Witness Protection Unit within the Registry of District Courts and the Courts of Serious Crimes aiming to carry out the practice of witness familiarisation from the moment the witness arrives at the Court to give oral testimony (*The Prosecutor v. Dominic Ongwen*, ICC-02/04-01/15-504, § 10 and 24), would ensure that the (vulnerable) witnesses can testify in a secure manner and also take into consideration their privacy, dignity and well-being. It should be emphasised that it is the Judges who owe independent obligations towards witnesses and when needed would order special measures to protect their well-being without making witness preparation a general rule. This is because witnesses are perfectly capable of: (i) reviewing prior statements; (ii) confirming their accuracy or explaining any inaccuracies when testifying, and (iii) asking questions on the process of testifying and what to expect in court. Therefore, the Judges should take a more active stand in order to avoid any witness interference (*Ongwen*, ICC-02/04-01/15-504, § 16).

## Conclusions

Despite the committed work of many organs and sections of the Court for Serious Crimes and District Courts, the Albanian judicial system continues to

struggle in a number of areas related to organised crime, human trafficking and corruption. It also faces new challenges which have arisen with the triggering of the Courts protection mandate. While the amended Witness Protection Law and related by-laws or policies represent a significant step forward, much remains to be done to ensure the security of other witnesses and increase the credibility of witness testimonies in Albania (OSCE 2006).

In my view, it is of importance to reconsider the role that the witnesses play before any criminal court by: *firstly*, clearly defining what a witness's role and position is in the legal instruments of a Court and *secondly*, providing adequate protection by maximizing the consideration of harm and intimidation. Unlocking witnesses' rights in international and national tribunals is a first step towards adequate procedural and non-procedural protection. To achieve this, States should invest in outreach activities to educate their citizens on the basis of respect for life, rule of law and justice. Every court should invest in the familiarization process to assist the witnesses so that they can fully understand their rights and responsibilities and feel secure and confident before the court.

Misperceptions of the role of witnesses in the Albanian courts, the lack of a witness support unit and lack of information related to witness protective measure in criminal proceedings have led to lots of cases of intimidation and refusal to testify. Therefore, one of the effective solutions is the timely and accurate information on the protection measures and support services in order to adequately manage the witnesses' expectations but also sanction them in case of infringing the protection measures.

Furthermore, Albania's integration process requires the government to be responsible, by including the main stakeholders and the national public opinion in a straightforward debate with respect to the ICC. It also implies the responsibility for Albania to keep itself updated of the development of witness protection programs. The necessity of political will at the national level for national complementarity programs is very important towards exploring responses to new challenges connected to Albanian criminal issues. The challenge remains the shaping and implementing of national prosecutions for organized crime and the need to raise awareness for an efficient and functional national Witness Protection Program.

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# **Role of Identity Crisis and Relative Deprivation as Catalysts of Political Violence and Terrorism: Case Study of Kurd Fighters in Turkey\***

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**ABSTRACT:** The role of identity and collective conscious is crucial for the understanding of social mobilization and orientation in any nation confronted with terrorism and political violence. Identity plays a crucial role in the lives of citizens may it be ethnic, cultural, religious or social aspects of a group or community as it can be an effective instrument for mass manipulation and propagation of ideology and conduct of a society. A challenged, deprived or marginalized group identity can be a precursor for politicization and violent manifestation in form of aggression and political violence by the challenged group or community. The paper intended to discuss the interplay and manifestation of identity and sense of deprivation at societal levels in modern nation states. It analyzed identity crisis as a catalyst for turning a deprived and vulnerable and insecure segment of the society, into a violent group, performing terror activities inflicted upon state as evident in case study of Kurds vs. Turkish state in the contemporary scenario.

**KEYWORDS:** Turkey, Kurds, identity, deprivation, nationalism, terrorism

## **Introduction**

The incidents of 9/11 lead all the global powers to come on the same page regarding the stance about the phenomenon of terrorism as an absolute threat to

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the whole world. Where it was very clear to all the powers that in order to deal with the curse of the terrorism appropriate coercive and non-coercive strategies has to use, but the most important challenge was to dig out the main causes of the terrorism. As with every disease to be cured the root cause has to dig out so that it could be prevented in the future. Terrorism has to be fight is the same manner but unfortunately, the fight against terrorism is often remained in the countering posture rather than understanding and addressing the root causes that caters it the success in dissemination, propagation and intensity over the period of time (Bjorgo 2004,1-5). Uncovering and exploring the factors that lead to terrorism are equally important as are the counter measures taken to tackle its ill effects and atrocities. The leading factors explain that how to curb the terrorism and its geographical and ideological growth. Without studying the reasons, circumstances and causes that lead to the emergence of feelings of discontent and negative sentiments that could be used by the terrorist factions to define the “just cause “for the terrorist activities, it would be impossible to envision the end of this menace.

Understanding the phenomenon as an umbrella term has been for long a debate that has occupied academia and practice in anti and counter terrorism spheres. In the past, the basic notions of terror were often associated with revolutionary, rebellious or backstabber approach which was considered as the resultant of some ‘ultra-natural or ritualistic’ beliefs of supremacy, indispensability or ‘moral duty’ by a group of motivated individuals. The new wave of global terrorism that swept the classical one encompassed the ‘nation-state’ aspect of politics and identity as evident in it nature that evolved with time. The political motivations resulting from unaddressed and justified concerns (subjective or objective) gave rise to the new face of the phenomenon having following elements as explained immediately in the 1980’s by Schmidt & Jongman in their book ‘Political Terrorism’(Alex-P et al. 1988, 4-5).

The primary elements identified that were persistently observed in terror incidents that gave the researchers a new understanding in the field were violence and power projection that started showing up in almost 83.5 % of the definitions at that time. Moreover, the aspect of political interests/ gains for a particular agenda was seen to be persistent in 65% of the total terror incidents of that time. Other features that were observed by the researchers included elements of fear, dread and threats of execution by the terrorists. The psychological impacts were observed with each incident that was in form of an

intentional, arranged, efficient and composed activity. However the methods of combat, the strategy and tactics showed efficiency in 30.5% if considered out of 100 % of the incidents by terrorist organizations and groups like the FARC and Popular Liberation Army (EPL) in Columbian conflict, PLO in Palestine, UDA in Northern Ireland, and also by the lone wolf, lone-wolf terrorist like the Barend Hendrik Strydom, known as ‘White Wolf’, who was a part of terrorism in Africa in those years (Simon, Lone & Wolf 2016, 58).

### **Understanding at the phenomenon with ‘Root cause’ Lenses**

Terrorism is a much-debated phenomenon in all spheres be it socio-political, religious or economic spheres, it is regarded as a tool to achieve ends with coercion and fear projection for a specific motive in the contemporary era. Group of individuals having converging insecurities and grievances often build up aggression that reaches heights and is articulated by terrorist activities in society or states (Copeland 2001, 5). This aggression sometimes embeds in an individual till they find like-minded individuals who have similar discontent or motives shaped by different situations that they experienced. Terrorism is a phenomenon in which all the responses to the internal and external structural inequalities by the state and societies that lead to the insecurities, discontent and aggression are accumulated. These factors make an individual or a group vulnerable and susceptible to terrorist recruitment and manipulation and provide the fertile ground for the perpetrators to generate violence and extremism. Hence, it is crucial to investigate and highlight how the socio-psychological processes like identity crisis, relative deprivation and empathy are associated with the reconstruction of challenged socio cultural identity that impact group behavior (whether directly or indirectly). On the other hand, it is also important to find out that how these factors contribute and catalyze mass group mobilization and make these groups susceptible to be used by political actors to be politicized and violent and ultimately turning them into terrorist organizations.

The interesting fact about this phenomenon is that it prevails in all societies historically as well as in contemporary settings. Whether countries are rich or are developing, having authoritarian or democratic regimes; this phenomenon is affecting the countries equally in different manners. This implies that the root causes that shape the minds and social attitudes of the vulnerable individuals

or groups can exist in all sorts of environments, provided that there must be certain ‘trigger factors’. These factors cause extremist behaviors which are later exploited by politically, ideologically or economically motivated terrorist factions. In this context, the study is intended to explore the three different root causes that contribute to the mindset that facilitates the recruitment, financing, execution and dissemination of terrorist activities globally. Following are three root causes that proved to be foremost sociological factors to drive terrorist motivations for vulnerable individuals. These are:

- a) Relative Deprivation,
- b) Identity Crisis
- c) Empathy

Relative Deprivation, identity crisis, and empathy prove to be sociological catalysts that influence and boost the radical and extremist motivations in susceptible individuals. These individuals are then become the easy targets for the terrorist organizations to use them for the accomplishment of their own political, ideological and economic objectives. These factors include socio-economic exclusion, structural violence, marginalization and discrimination (real or perceived) or historical baggage of identity clashes. Identity crisis is the by-product of all the above mentioned factors leading to susceptibility of the affected group or individuals of a state that enables reinforcing solidarity with radical, extremist groups pursuing terror acts in the long run. A close analysis is needed to curb the issue in a general sense which has always played an important role as a root cause for terrorism in different conflict zones of the world.

### **Manifestation of identity in state institutions and society**

Identity has come to refer to several things to population in a state or any communal setting. It can be argued that identity serves many purposes; it may involve the attainment of maximum happiness for collective good and performing as an active member of the setting. Despite these aspects, identity is considered to be the source of contest and conflict in many multi-cultural societies. More importantly, the fact that the exploitation of identity for acquiring an edge over others or resources has been the major challenges confronting the concept of peaceful society. Alubo explores the identity crisis in Nigeria

and explains identity as a concept having multifaceted aspects relating to both objective and subjective nature. According to him, identity is a distinguishing label that objectively exists, is subjectively felt, and enables its bearers to experience individually and collectively a sense of solidarity (Alubo 2009, 88).

Building on this context, and according to Kelman, human identities are taken and debated as intentionally and socially constructed, liquid and variable. A group of people may identify themselves with ethnic, religious, occupational, national traits of the respective groups. Generally, when we see the social fabric of any nation/state, the social structure of an identity draws influence from some authentic elements namely; a common history, ideology, language, traditions, experiences, values and collective goals. Consequently if mistreated or challenged, these clans, groups, communities result in having common grievances and discontent that makes them bond stronger than before. This association of joy and challenge is shared and the course of union becomes a continuous process within any group having a common shared identity (Kelman 2001, 38-40).

Conflict having the context of identity that generates shared grief and deprivation is often followed by a struggle for possession of the state resources as explained by Adeyeye in his study relating to identity conflict leading to terror in Nigeria. His study narrates that the identity based conflicts erupt when groups or its members perceive that their identity is facing a threat and which could only be curbed, protected or boosted by the struggle against the inequalities in different segments of the society or state .without the exercise of identity and recognition, and representation in all fields of a society (Adeyeye & Idowu 2013, 118-120). This realization motivates acts capable of projection and support of awareness for owning and accepting a particular identity.

However, identities challenged by factors like territory, right of self-determination, political representation in decision making, or economic purposes generate more conflicts because their social as well as biological survival, is dependent on these aspects as members of that state. For instance, it is argued that discrimination based on aspects such as citizenship against a group or community could lead to the powerful struggle because it is the basic component that will affect the material and non-material resource distribution, especially the political representation. Such inequalities hamper the perceptions and the struggle start with the ideology of the “we” vs. “you” (J.J & D.J 2008, 1136-1137).

In the context of the individuals or groups having psychological as well as sociologically violent approaches leading to the recruitment by the terrorist organization by manipulating their ideology and as a result the collective identity is a result which is crucial for mobilization as a new entity. The radicalization process capitalizes on existing unfavorable conditions, and projects them with augmentation to create false and propagandist narratives, and thus its social acceptance. May it be poverty, unequal resource distribution, ethnic discrimination, territorial disputes, without successful motivations having the potential to mobilize groups; the ideology is unlikely to attract followers to pursue the collective acts of violence and terror. Almost all extremist factions that supply material and manpower to terrorism powerhouses use social and psychological manipulation tactics on vulnerable individuals and groups which feed on social ills and failures in order to justify and strengthen their narratives (Littman 2016, 18).

Many social psychologists have endeavored to examine how challenged identities and relative deprivation contributes toward intractability and violence, which leads to terrorist activities when socio-political degeneration of a society starts. In her article about identity in Yugoslavia, Franke Wilmer posed certain questions that incite debate and exploration of the sociological factors of group violence and terror. These questions include: How are individuals persuaded to abandon peaceful coexistence and resort to brutality? What factors lead to the buildup of aggression to such an extent in a group of a specific identity that they develop empathy for terrorist factions? These questions further form the basis of this paper as it examines the relationship between identity, and factors that mobilized violence based measures in identity and conflicts involving terrorism (Wilmer 1997, 14).

The net resultant sentiments of deprivation in response of territorial sabotage, political under-representation, economic marginalization or ideological discrimination has the potential to create a fraternal feeling of injustice in comparison to 'others' who are perceived as the receiving end for superiority and advantages. When there is comparison with others, the sociological forces are augmented in a negative way and manifested with either violence or empathy with terror tactics in the long run. The sense of inflicted injustice incites the potential for violent activities by affected individuals as well as groups, as a way to dispose of the aggression, revenge, insecurity or frustration (Agbiboa 2013, 150).

## **Identity and Terrorism - Interplay of identity dynamics**

The term ‘identity’ encompasses the three levels of interaction among individuals in any society setting. These levels of interaction determine the perceived collective goals and the course of actions that a community undertakes as a collectivity. These three complex theoretical constructs are (i) cultural (ii) social and (iii) personal identity domains.

The *cultural identity* refers to the cultural norms and traditions that an individual adopts as guiding principles for his life such as collective knowledge, actions and beliefs about religion, family and tribes. This identity includes aspects such as ethnicity, language, history, and all cultural linkages that a communal group shares promoted and preserved by travelling through generations (Jensen 2003, 190).

The *social identity* refers to the self-proclaimed devotion to the social groups in which individuals interact with each other. The mindset associated with participating in these groups’ activities show the bond among members of the group, who perceives the other groups as “not us.” (Henri & Turner 2004, 54).

The *personal identity* is of different nature and dimensions than the previous two discussed, as it indicates one’s own chosen goals and values and perceptions about oneself. These personal beliefs are used by an individual to make sense of the world and him (Cote 2000, 150-153).

A wholesome study of approaches and perspectives on terrorism requires a holistic understanding about the ‘terrorist’ and what constitutes his beliefs and attitude development caused by the manifestations of each level of identity. Feelings like those relating to marginalization from mainstream social spheres are common in youth who face aggression and get involved in violent activities at some point but in very rare cases does this factor leads to becoming a suicide bomber.

However, such feelings carving out deprivation and marginalization coupled with passionate devotion to traditions, the “us vs. them” religious principles and revenge can lead to the formation of justification for violence. The others are then seen as a threat to one’s ideological or cultural identity or group (Silberman 2005, 770-772). The belief that one’s own group or clan is challenged and the deprived although superior group who is being targeted makes terrorist activities



and violence a legitimate means to achieve ends by the perpetrator group. The study of interactions among the various levels is complex and requires a theoretical analysis which can untangle the phenomenon in an integrative approach (Smith 2004, 428-429).

A review of the ever evolving and transforming literature on terrorism and conflict escalation explain that the role of identity is central to the understanding of this phenomenon. Identity is regarded as the 'black box' within and among individuals, communities and groups having little explanation about how it operates and in what manner. The identity dynamics, however, have the inherent potential to act as trigger, perpetrator and a catalyst towards grief, discontent and ultimately violence which may be terrorism in some cases. Different levels of identity provide space and operating forums for group sentiments to be fostered may they be positive or negative due to some factors. These identities can be classified into the following main classes; cultural, social, and personal, identity (Fathali 2005, 160).

Any disruption or challenge posed to these identity dimensions can lead to aggravation of grievances, turning violent manifestations into terrorist aspirations and activities at any stage. Also, it is the interplay between the cultural, social, and even personal identity which determines the role of an individual or a group and the likelihood for engagement in terrorism.

### **Sense of deprivation: Perceiving oneself as 'the have not's'**

The concept of relative deprivation has its roots in the broader spectrum of political violence. Ted Gurr explains that a collective discontent and feeling of resentment is created as a result of the gap between the expected and achieved welfare among certain individuals or groups in a society (Gurr 1970, 76). This deprivation can be self-perceived or even prevalent in the real sense in a society at cultural or socio economic levels. The violence that comes in the wake of this discontent justifies the fact that the vulnerable group perceives themselves to be treated as 'inferiors' by those who get more benefits or opportunities in a setting. Cases of political violence prevalent around the world in form of movements and conflicts show that the collective action in form of violence has often led groups to turn into terror activities in later stages of escalation and aggression (Fathali 2005, 161).



The analysis of the relative deprivation theory as a root cause for terrorism might be effective in understanding the phenomenon if we take in account the role of globalization in the contemporary times. The role of globalization on countries has hugely affected the role it has on terrorism too because of the advancements and the economic development that plays a vital part in propagating and expanding the terrorist activities both geographically and morally by using high technological advancements of information dissemination and financing. Relative deprivation also can be used to explain an inconsistency in what an individual's economic and socio cultural standing is in his country compared to what he believes he is justly entitled to after having a look at other groups or even countries for that matter.

The public awareness of identity, living, territory, and preservation of socio economic conditions prevalent in nations thousands of miles away has the tendency to create a new benchmark for individuals of a country as compared to themselves. Certain citizens of a nation may feel deprived of their identity or territorial power that they once had that might have been decreased or lost due to transforming global or regional scenario. This might trigger a sense of deprivation that might not be relative but in some cases according to activities of that group, can be taken as having relative nature by the host country.

### **Politicization of identity & deprivation for catalysis of terrorism**

The role of any root cause of violent extremism leading to terrorism at some stage cannot come into play without aggravation of that cause to an extent that it serves the purpose of projection and propagation of violent activities by a group. This aggravation needs a certain level of mobilization of mass and sensitization of the issues or the perceived goals related to a clan, ethnic group or population in order to set in motion a terrorist approach. Politicization is the most effective and the only means by which large masses of the population can be driven for a particular cause or motive.

Elites play a central role in this politicization process by which they can manipulate the dynamics of group identities and associate it to certain event, issue, aspect or instrument of disagreement, may it be a potential or an already existing one. They influence the group formation and cohesion by making use of the symbols, narratives and myths to fabricate the boundaries of identity specifying who 'We' and 'Them' are in order to identify the future targets of

aggression. This construction of the out-group (Them) who is enemy and anti-in-group (Us) is the part of the process of politicizing an issue to the extent that it becomes functional to be a driver of violence, aggression and at any point terror activities.

In the contemporary world, where societies experience changes dependent on global as well as local factors, the politicization of issues results in the breakdown of social cohesion and integration in a country. The politics play an active role in issues relating to breakdown of social bonds, economic regression, deprivation and challenged or vulnerable identities. Power plays are then incorporated along with the external as well as internal factors that drive the flow of conflict and aggression, exhibiting terrorist incidents every now and then (Brown 2007, 111). The elites are the leaders of this process and often tend to represent the whole community by using strong narratives, emerging as a part of the deprived and challenged group's, to show themselves as the main representatives of that group. They assume the predetermined role setting in motion, the shared understanding of history and myth in order to link the social situations to the group identity in order to steer the movement or terror activities (Kohn 2005, 380).

While politicization of the group identity can often be undertaken for the material or non-material interests of the in-group, it is widely debated that among other aspects of a mass movement, the political maneuvering can be sometimes pursued only for securing the interests of elite leaders. The demands of the rebel, or terrorist group may be different at the start of the conflict but the nature of demands are often seen as transforming gaining depth and weight according to different direct or indirect beneficiaries. The next section of the paper discusses Kurdish population and its activities as it is perceived as a population that is facing identity crisis along with deprivation in the Middle East and beyond. The manifestation of violence and aggression leading to terror tactics and insurgents movements is a symbol of the Kurdish frustration shaped by history. The Kurds are among the fighter population in many conflicts of the world may they be considered as a proxy force, freedom fighters or terrorist in the case of Turkey and AL Qaeda Kurdish battalion. A closer look at the role of Kurdish identity crisis and deprivation is important to understand the possible reasons after group motivations, dynamics and future trajectories.

## **Identity crisis and Relative deprivation: The Case of Kurds in Turkey**

Kurds happen to be the indigenous people belonging to Mesopotamian plains and the mountainous region expanded to five countries. They are scattered ethnic population now inhabiting the now south-eastern Turkey, north-eastern Syria, the northern part of Iraq, north-western Iran and the south-western parts of Armenia. They form a unique population that is closely knit and united because of their race, culture and language, and goals. Kurds have a number of religious clans belonging to different creeds but the majority of the population is Sunni Muslim cadre.

*Figure 1: Distribution of Kurdish population map*



Source: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-10/kurdish-map/6763626>

The Kurds are concentrated in five countries with respect to population. Since the sixteenth-century, Kurds have been surviving between dysfunctional states and bitter enemies from the Ottomans and the Persians to modern manifestations of these empires. Kurdish populations were always challenged identity bearers and were dealt with by forced resettlements, genocide, and the suppression as an ethnic minority group.

The bitter history of Kurd deprivation starts from the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement between the United Kingdom and France that shaped the future of an entire region, thus creating fragmented and dysfunctional states like Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and others. Sykes-Picot ultimately caused the formation of these new states without considering the human connections and ethnic, historic and cultural linkages just on the basis of geographic dimensions the land was divided. This set the stage for a century of political instability, senseless violence, insurgencies, terrorism and socio cultural as well as ethnic disjoint in the region, all trends that show no signs of reduction till now. Furthermore, notably absent from the agreement was any provision for the third largest ethnic group of the region the Kurds. As they were a large population scattered in different states now, without a nation of their own, without borders left to protect their own identity and safeguard their rights in respective countries.

Much of Kurdish heritage and culture has been lost or destroyed, valuable records have been withered in secret archives, as a whole, many people are scared to talk about their Kurdish identity in some countries which depicts the worst identity crisis of all times.

### **The development of a challenged and deprived Kurd identity in Turkey**

In early 20th Century, the Kurd nation developed aspirations to have their own homeland which they named as ‘Kurdistan’, the land of the ‘Kurds’. After the World War One, when the Ottoman Empire had faced defeat, the western allies made an endowment for the ethnic Kurd population involving an independent ‘Kurdistan’. A territory in which they can exercise their own rules and regulations with cultural and structural freedom along with preserving their distinct identity as an indigenous race evolved into a stable nation. The provision was made under the Treaty of Sevres in 1920 and hopes for an independent Kurd homeland were high, however, three years later these hopes were shattered with the signing of Treaty of Lausanne, in which boundaries of the ‘Modern Turkey’ had no trace of the Kurd homeland, leaving the Kurd population in deep dismay and a minority status in their own country. Hence, the first wave of ‘identity-crushing’ structural violence inflicted upon Kurds was evident in the violent war phase when Turkey had rose from the remnants of Ottoman Empire.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was the leader of a revolutionary process of reconstructing the country in a manner that the process was called ‘Turkification’. The nation building process the Kurd discontent population was crushed at all fronts wherever they tried to raise their voice as an ethnic group having challenged identity and deprived conscious. The ‘Kemalist’ ideology involved cleansing of all the other ideologies including Kurdish identity and merging it into the Turk nation as a whole. The Kurds were given the status of ‘Mountain Turks’ which was strongly opposed by the Kurd ethnic masses as they faced deep regression in their own country. During the next 80 years, any move that was taken by the Kurds as a manifestation of aggression and violence resultant of the negation of the right of territorial determination was brutally quashed. It was in 1978 that the Kurds finally took arms against the Turkish state and formed the Kurdistan Workers Party PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) and the beginning of armed conflict was evident.

Figure 2: Kurdish-Turkish Map 2017



Source: <https://southfront.org/turkish-kurdish-conflict-map-update/>

To this date, Kurds and Turkish state are in animosity with each other, as they are not given their due rights as a separate identity despite constituting 15-20% of the total population. Kurds received very harsh treatment from the state as a response for their uprisings. Kurd language was restricted, with their ethnic identity denied, Kurd costumes and names were also banned (Natali 2001, 257). The PKK and Turkish authorities have seen a long history of armed aggression, conflict and ceasefire violations in a quest to gain and regain territory in South East part of the country. It has the larger goal to establish an independent Kurd nation state on Marxist Lenin ideology, by combining all Kurdish populated regions of Syria, Iraq, Iran and Turkey. However, PKK has also tried to negotiate with the state and urged for greater cultural and political autonomy along with fighting the state forces (Yavuz 1998, 16). Their goal has now transformed in the form of leaving separatism and advocating integration into a democratized, co federalized Turkey (Akayya & Jongerden 2011) has always interpreted the ceasefire urge and peace agreement proposition by the PKK as their weakness and have labeled them as a terrorist organization.

The PKK sense of betrayal by the Turkish authorities and lack of recognition for their justified demands leaves Kurd population no option than to resort to violence and terror activities. The frustration is evident as their demands are meant to be understood keeping in mind the suffering and sacrifices made by the Kurd population in the conflict, provided this ethnic population is suppressed and negated the basic rights in all the states in which it is scattered as a nation less inhabitants may it be Iraq, Syria or Iran.

The foremost urge of the Kurd population in all the host countries is to live in autonomous regions inside the respective countries in order to live their lives according to their 'Kurd Identities'. They seek peaceful coexistence rather than causing violence and terror in Turkey or any country. The designation of Kurds PKK as a 'Terrorist organization' has made it appear as a perpetrator rather than victim of identity crisis and structural as well as cultural violence by the state. Thus the collective feeling comes into being that relates to being let down and misunderstood that is being confirmed by their popular proverb 'Kurds have no friends but the mountains'. This saying also depicts their resolute to retain their armed struggle through its armed guerrilla forces and negotiation tactics through force and terror activities across the country. According to them, 'PKK is not the cause of terrorism, it is the consequence... And if the cause will not change, the consequence will not change, we can lay



down arms but in the past it was always left unanswered' (Abdullah Demirbas, then DTP Kurdish Party's Mayor)<sup>1</sup>.

The Turkish government launched a violent tactic in form of a well "coordinated war on terror" against the PKK as a result; thousands of people including civilians have been the target of this aggression that is due to the ignorance and intentional suppression of the Kurd ethnic population. The clashes in south-eastern Turkey ignited clashes in Syria and Iraq too with Kurd armed militias active and declared as terrorist organizations by Turkey. According to Turkish government the armed Kurd groups active in violence and political terror in other host countries are all terrorist organizations. YPG and PYD in Syria and the KDP in Iraq are parts and factions of the PKK, have its goal of terrorism through armed struggle, and are all terrorist organizations. (Somer 2005, 620). The designation of terrorist organization by Turkey is a form of mistreatment and has repercussions in form of violence and terrorist activities by the PKK causing collateral damage to human and material resources.

The PKK seeks national as well as global recognition as the central representative of Turkey's Kurd population. A continued negation of this status leads to increase in the extent and force of demands leaving them no choice than adopting terror tactics to put pressure on the host government. The present day persistent refusal to enter into peace or negotiation with the 'terrorists' (PKK) agreements by the Turkish government provides no advantage in case of leaving armed struggle as a reserve. Therefore it continues as a low intensity conflict with Turkish forces killing PKK militants all over the region including Iraq and Syria, but the terror attack attempts are also pursuing as the recent bombing of the OIC Summit in Istanbul was made unsuccessful by the Turkish police<sup>2</sup>. Similar incidents of terror attacks as well as killing of PKK militants is undertaken often in cities of Turkey which shows that the violence is continued on both sides. This brings new grievances on both conflict parties as it revives the Kurdish and Turkish nationalist sentiments and then translates into further violence and societal friction in form of civil unrest in Turkish cities.

## **Conclusions**

The identity crisis and relative deprivation in case of Kurd population in Turkey and other countries is an evident example of how the sociological root causes contribute to mobilize and organize the group aggression leading to the

possibility of declaring the group as a terrorist organization. The ethnic Kurds perceive that their homeland is the solution to their identity crisis and in case they do not succeed, their identity will remain challenged and diminish in future. They face structural as well as cultural suppression in host countries due to the movement that is steered by strong identity collectiveness and ethnic in-group association. The labeling of PKK as a terrorist organization has transformed the Kurdish nationalist movement into an aggression based violent group exhibiting terror activities across the host states via splinter groups and associated Kurd armed factions. The Kurdish Diaspora all around the world has a strong affiliation with the Kurd ethnic identity and supports the cause of a separate 'Kurdistan' that underlies within the entire Kurdish parties in action in the region. The problem of identity crisis and deprivation lies at the heart of the Kurdish question and needs to be understood as mistreatment and mishandling continues at large scale in Turkey and other countries. Any anti-terrorism or counter terrorism undertaken by the Turkish forces are prone to achieve temporary results for the future also, if the deep rooted Kurd identity and provision of all the rights is not being considered as an option.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> From a speech that was given at the EU-Turkey accession process related conference held in partnership with the Kurdish Institute in Brussels at the House of Parliamentarians, Brussels, and Oct, 2008.
- <sup>2</sup> Police foil planned PKK attack on Organization of Islamic Cooperation summit in Istanbul, News Hurried, and December 15 2017. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/police-foil-planned-pkk-attack-on-organization-of-islamic-cooperation-summit-in-istanbul-124197>, (accessed on 16 December 2017)

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## **Maternal Participation in Agricultural Production and Population Growth in Cameroon**

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**ABSTRACT:** This study attempts to investigate the effects of maternal agricultural production on Population Growth in Cameroon. We have as objectives: (a) explore the determinants of Women in Agriculture, (b) assessed the effects of women working in Agriculture on population growth and (c) derived policy implications on the basis of our analysis. To tackle these objectives, we shall make use of instrumental variable (2SLS) model. Empirical results are based on 2011 Demographic and Health survey collected by the government's statistics office and Department of statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. Regarding the determinants of women participation in agricultural production, we observed that mother's health status, farm size, mother's education in complete years, urban residence and married women are positively and significantly correlating with women participation in agricultural production. We observed that women participation in agricultural production strongly affects population growth. Other factors positively affecting population growth in Cameroon include: mother's age in complete years, family size, married mothers and father's presence in the house. This is a gateway towards economic growth, food security and poverty alleviation in Cameroon.

**KEYWORDS:** Maternal Participation, Agricultural Production, Population Growth, 2SLS, Cameroon

## 1. Introduction

The challenges of women participating in agriculture in relation to their fertility rate are a call for concern. The struggle of women to have children and to increase family food supply has resulted to what the International Labour Organization (ILO) term as the violations of fundamental worker rights such as: the right to join unions and bargain collectively, the elimination of forced labour, the ending of child labour and the reduction of discriminatory hiring (ILO 2003). Generally, women participating in agricultural production are more vulnerable to these abuses because of the nature of precarious work. Other problems faced by women working in agriculture includes: no pesticide safety training, thus creating an unsafe exposure to pesticides which is a serious hazard for the agricultural women; a low number or absence of breaks during the working hours. At times their husbands and family size/composition will often pressure women in agriculture to work faster than a reasonable pace and without breaks. Women farm workers reported lack of water at their agricultural farm site, or that which is provided most often is dirty. In addition to environmental hazards, such as overexposure to sun light, poor topography of their farms, they equally suffer from difficult working conditions that can arise directly from themselves due to long distance trekking to the farm, poor farm working tools, hard method of farming, inadequate farming tools and insufficient assistance. Women farm workers are also at risk of human trafficking because their work sites are often geographically isolating areas and they represent one of the lowest resource work forces in terms of annual income and occupational benefits.

Fertility, as revealed in the literature, is the driving force of population growth in the world today and fertility is higher where infant and child mortality are high. It is not hard to understand the motivation of parents who keep bearing children, in fear that some of them will die in childhood, in order to achieve the family size that they really want. Principally the determinants of fertility are health status of mothers, age of first marriage, breast-feeding, contraception, abstinence and rhythm, social status, labour participation, household size, education and culture (Cramer 1980).

According to Johnson et al (2011), broader social, cultural, and economic conditions also influence fertility levels. High fertility is usually found in countries where poverty is widespread and deep. Where women do not often

work for significant wages, bearing and raising children is easily integrated into their traditional unpaid work: producing, processing, and preparing food, gathering fuel and water, and other work in and near the home. The wages for women who work outside the home in these countries are always low; a mother can take time out for childbirth without sacrificing much pay, and another child can in just a few years easily make up such a minor loss with its own labor. The need for child labor also drives fertility up, especially in agricultural communities but also anywhere that families rely on the physical environment for subsistence, as for gathering wood for fuel and drawing water. A lack of schooling opportunities reinforces this effect. Another important condition of high fertility is a culture in which women have little or no prestige except that gained by bearing children, especially sons. A preference for sons also increases fertility, as couples keep having children until they achieve the number of sons that they want. High rates of infant and child mortality have the same effect. Finally, in societies without public old-age pensions, children represent the only opportunity a couple has for support in old age.

Research indicates that women's employment participation may be adversely affected by childbearing/rearing (Norris 1996). That is, having children typically involves a discontinuity of employment and/or a change in employment status, resulting in a move from full-time to part-time work or leaving the labour force for a period of time. This discontinuity of employment and/or decreased level of labour force participation may have profound implications for Cameroonian women as individuals and for the broader Cameroon society. For example, decreased labour participation can exert downward pressure on women's wages and benefits, both in the short and long-term (McDonald 2003). However, there may also be substantial personal, family and societal implications for a mother who decides to remain continuously full-time employed following the birth of a child. For example, there is evidence that even full-time employed mothers retain a larger share of childcare and household duties than their partners, resulting in role overload (Fisher, 2002) or what has been termed by Hochschild (1989) a double shift. Also, recent evidence suggests that early, extensive and continuous formal child care poses some developmental risks for young children (Belsky 2002). Finally, fertility rates appear to be inversely related to women's attachment to the labour force (Fisher 2002) and falling fertility rates have implications for the ratio of working adults compared to the dependent population and subsequent economic growth (Barnes 2001).

In defining issues, demographically, fertility refers to the actual production of offspring, rather than the physical capability to produce which is termed *fecundity*. As noted earlier, fertility is the driving force of population growth in the world today. Population growth took off on its dramatic rise when death rates started to fall with the advent of industrialization and even more importantly, the development of the germ theory of disease, healthy sanitation practices, and antibiotics and other medicines. Demographers estimated that, as a matter of physical possibility, the average woman is capable of bearing 17 children in a reproductive lifetime stretching from 15 to 50 years of age. This can only be achieved by individual women, and on a country-wide basis does not occur in the world today even in the highest-fertility countries. What prevents humans from reaching this theoretical maximum? In some cases biological conditions reduce fertility. Some portion of any population is sterile, and another portion is sub fecund, or less fertile than it would be, because of malnutrition or disease, especially sexually transmitted disease. Even among fully fertile people, in most countries in the world today, women marry some years after age 15 or the onset of fertility.

Tsafack and Zamo-Akono (2010) in revealing the problems associated with fertility rate vis-à-vis agricultural production noted that in 2004, the fertility rate was 5.0 in Cameroon, the highest (6.1) being observed in rural areas (INS/DNSC 2004). About 45% of women suffer from anaemia; those who have a child are almost 49%, the highest rates being observed in urban areas (54% in Yaoundé, 44% in Douala, and 42 % in rural areas). Female nutritional status (measured by the Body Mass Index), an important determinant of female mortality (WHO 1995), is also a concern in Cameroon: 7% of women have a BMI less than 18.5 and 29% are over 25, the highest BMI being observed in Yaoundé and Douala (25.5). These results in high maternal mortality rates: between 1998 and 2004, the rate was evaluated at 669 female deaths for 100,000; this rate is far higher than that observed in developed countries. Further, the value for fertility rate (births per woman) in Cameroon was 4.41 as of 2011, over the past 51 years this indicator reached a maximum value of 6.43 in 1980 and a minimum value of 4.41 in 2011. Total fertility rate represents the number of children that would be born to a woman if she were to live to the end of her childbearing years and bear children in accordance with current age-specific fertility rates. The act of child bearing is still look upon in Rural Cameroon as a source of power and wealth so an average woman has about 07

children. This means that women in rural communities of Cameroon relatively contribute so much in population growth and particularly in promoting the labour market of the country.

In this perspective, Logo and Biekie (2003) underscore that rural women in Cameroon spend most of their time on crop production activities (cultivating, harvesting, weeding, and processing) and domestic tasks (home improvement, and child rearing) with little rest for recreation. This observation was later confirmed by Fon and Edokat (2012), firstly that SSA women contribute a significant amount of their time in weeding, harvesting, animal husbandry, cleaning, fetching water, baking, cooking, sewing and childrearing, they have not received adequate recognition for the intensive time spent on their dual roles as producers and reproducers. They also observed that the bulk of the production processes are carried out by women, but they have the least access and use of those resources that lead to the final output. In addition, Anunobi (2003) said it is estimated that women in Africa spend about 15-18 hours a day performing these essential chores for the livelihood of the farming households. While in analyzing a United Nations document, Staudt, (1991) states that women represent half of the world's population and perform nearly 66 percent of all working hours but receive only one tenth of the income generated and own less than one percent of the property (Staudt 1991).

Despite the pressing need to reconcile the mother agricultural food and children productive roles, we observed that major study have attempted to quantify mother food production and population growth rate in case of Cameroon using the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). Tsafack and Zamo-Akono (2010) attempted to link fertility, health and female labour force participation in urban Cameroon. This study is actually different or opposite to our attempt to quantify women effort in terms of work and reproduction. Secondly, our data and methodology use in this present study is different from theirs. For instance they used a cross-section data set obtained from a survey of the urban Cameroon population while we in turn to use DHS. We are not aware of another study attempting these issues as us. To address therefore, the above develop issues, we exploit the following objectives: (a) assess the effects of women participation in agricultural production on population growth; (b) find out the determinants of women participation in agriculture and (c) derived policy implications on the basis of our analysis.



## 2. Literature Review

Owing to this literature, Weller (1977) and Cramer (1980) gave four possible explanations of the association between fertility and female labour force participation: women's fertility influences their labour force behaviour; women's labour force behaviour influences their fertility; a reciprocal relationship exists between the two variables; and the association is spurious, reflecting other factors. If some evidence supports the first three hypotheses, the fourth one has proven more difficult to support. Furthermore, most estimates of this relationship have found a negative relationship between the number of children and a woman's labour supply (see Brewster and Rindfuss, 2000 for a review). The problem with these estimates is that they cannot say anything about causality.

Still in the last few decades, the labour force participation of mothers with young children has increased dramatically. However, in Cameroon the labour force participation of mothers with very young children is relatively low in comparison to other countries, this may be due to individual factors such as poor health that can present obstacles (Wolfe and Hill 1995) leading to higher physical and mental health risks at childbirth and increased stress in everyday life due to childcare on the one hand, and on the other, poor health of the child can create increased demands regarding childcare. On average, the care giving burden for children with health problems is higher, and their mothers can thus be expected to show a higher preference for staying at home to carter for the sick child. Apart from this direct effect, we might also expect to find indirect effects due to the lower availability and higher costs of daycare for unhealthy children (Brandon 2000) also resulting in additional time costs (Dunkelberg and Spiess 2007) all of which may produce a negative impact on women participation in agricultural production.

In relation to productivity, the absence of women in basic food crop (yams, rice, maize, potatoes) agricultural production may result to untold malnutrition. As noted in the literature, malnourished children are much more likely to die due to a common childhood disease than those who are sufficiently nourished. Many studies have shown that malnutrition is highly associated with high child mortality and therefore child survival could be accelerated by reducing the general level of malnutrition. On the other hand, better nutrition during early childhood improves educational attainment and post-schooling performances. Amongst recent studies, Hoddinott et al (2008)



found that a nutrition intervention in early childhood (food supplementation during 0 - 24 months) led to 46 percent increase in the average wage in the male sample in Guatemalan villages.

About 61 percent of all mothers are working within three months after their child's birth, with about half of these mothers returning to work in agricultural production within the first two months after giving birth (Klerman and Leibowitz, 1990). Many of these women found that child health production, agricultural production and domestic activities increasingly compete for their time. Consequently, many employed pregnant women return to work quickly after giving birth to keep their families, taking only a brief period of time off from work. Johnson et al (2011) revealed that Cameroon has a relatively high proportion of births to mothers under age 18, about 11 percent; this figure has not changed over time. Similarly, about 11 percent of births are to mothers over age 34, marginally lower than in most other countries in this analysis; this figure also has a flat trend. The median birth interval has increased marginally over the course of the three survey periods. However, the median birth interval of 32 months observed in 2004 still does not fall within the recommended range of 36-59 months (3-5 years).

Broeck and Maertens (2014) hypothesize that female wage employment may lower fertility rates through an income effect, an empowerment effect and a substitution effect, and address this question empirically using household survey data and two different regression techniques (a Difference-in-Differences estimator and an Instrumental Variable approach). They found that besides education, female employment has a significant negative effect on fertility rates.

Given the critical importance of the agricultural sector to the national economies, and in view of the important productive role of women within this sector, economic development and food security are affected by the degree of commitment shown by governments to the agricultural sector and to rural women. As emphasized in the literature (IFAD 1993), gender disaggregated statistics that accurately illustrate the nature and role of women's involvement in agriculture are indispensable in gaining this commitment and for the formulation of successful policies, programmes and projects in the agricultural sector. Generally, In Sub-Saharan Africa, agriculture accounts for approximately 21% of the continent's GDP and women contribute 60-80% of the labour used to produce food both for household consumption and for sale. In-addition, IFAD (1993) reveals that In Africa, several regional trends have

had an impact on women's productive role in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, including: (1) structural adjustment policies adopted by many governments over the last ten years, in the face of global recession, decreased commodity prices and growing foreign debt; (2) population pressure and environmental degradation; (3) high rates of male rural-to-urban migration in search of income earning employment opportunities; and, (4) increased attention to the importance of women in national agricultural plans and policies. This literature is important in the understanding of women role in agriculture in general and population growth in particular.

### 3. Theoretical Framework, Empirical Specification and Methodology of study

#### *Theoretical Framework*

We use the fertility production function model as proposed by Rosenzweig and Schultz (1983) and Mwabu (2009), here, the demand behaviour for children services by a women in agriculture is analyzed within the framework of utility maximization behaviour of mothers in agriculture will be as follows:

$$UWA = UWA (HNG, HRG, HSM) \quad (1)$$

$$HSM = HSM (HRG, MI, \Pi) \quad (2)$$

$$Ex = HNGP_{hng} + HRGP_{hrg} + HSM P_{hsm} \quad (3)$$

Where  $UWA$  is utility derived from the consumption of goods and services, is  $HNG$  is health neutral goods that yield utility to a women in agricultural production but has no direct effect on reproductive health status of the mother,  $HRG$  is health related goods or behaviour that yields utility to mothers in agriculture and also affects fertility while  $HSM$  is the health status of the population measured by the fertility rate, this is reflected in the reproductive health function as shown in equation (2). Further,  $MI$  is purchased market inputs such as medical care (agricultural inputs, time spent by mother taking care of the child, disease incidence), nutrient intake, that affect child health directly,  $\Pi$  is the component of mothers' health due to either genetic or environmental conditions not influenced by behavior or character of the person. It's also a vector summarizing all unobservable characteristics of the mother in agriculture, child, household or community that affect mother's fertility. As observed from the utility maximization behaviour of the mother (equation 1) and the reproductive health production function (equation 2), the mother maximizes (1) and (2) subject to the budget constraint as seen in equation (3).

From equation (3),  $Ex$  is the exogenous income (including the value of the time endowment of the household and non labour income),  $P_{hng}$ ,  $P_{hrg}$ ,  $P_{hms}$  are the prices of health neutral good  $HNG$  (such as clothing), health related consumer good  $HRG$  (such as quitting smoking) and health investment good  $HMS$  (such as agricultural product) respectively. The health investment goods are purchased only for the purpose of improving the fertility, so they enter the mother's utility only through  $HMS$ . The health production function (equation 2) has the property of constrained utility maximization behaviour of the mother (equation 1 and 3) (Bategeka et al., 2009). Equations (1)–(3) can be re-expressed to yield reproductive health care demand functions of the form:

$$HNG = D_{hng}(P_{hng}, P_{hrg}, P_{mi}, \Pi) \quad (4a)$$

$$HRG = D_{hrg}(P_{hng}, P_{hrg}, P_{mi}, \Pi) \quad (4b)$$

$$MI = D_{mi}(P_{hng}, P_{hrg}, P_{mi}, \Pi) \quad (4c)$$

The effects of the changes in the prices of the three goods on health input demand can be derived from equations (4a) – (4b) since from equation (2) a change in child health can be expressed as follows:

$$HSM = F_{hrg} dHRG + F_{mi} dMI + F_{\Pi} d\Pi \quad (5)$$

Where  $F_{hrg}$ ,  $F_{mi}$ ,  $F_{\Pi}$  the marginal products of health are inputs  $HRG$ ,  $MI$  and  $\Pi$  respectively computed as:  $F_{hrg} = \delta HSM / \delta HRG$ ;  $F_{mi} = \delta HSM / \delta MI$ ;  $F_{\Pi} = \delta HSM / \delta \Pi$ . From equation (2), the change in health can be related to changes in respective prices of health inputs:

$$dHSM / dP_{hng} = F_{hrg} dHRG / dP_{hng} + F_{mi} dMI / dP_{hng} + F_{\Pi} d\Pi / dP_{hng} \quad (6a)$$

$$dHSM / dP_{hrg} = F_{hrg} dHRG / dP_{hrg} + F_{mi} dMI / dP_{hrg} + F_{\Pi} d\Pi / dP_{hrg} \quad (6b)$$

$$dHSM / dP_{mi} = F_{mi} dHRG / dP_{mi} + F_{mi} dMI / dP_{hng} + F_{\Pi} d\Pi / dP_{mi} \quad (6c)$$

Here  $d\Pi / dP_{wa} = 0$ , for  $i = hng, hrg, mi$  so that the terms  $F_{\Pi}(\cdot) = 0$  in equation (6) as  $\Pi$  is a random variable unrelated to commodity prices.

### ***Empirical Specification and Methodology of study***

Viewing the determinants of women in agriculture (principally education, family size, participation in women group, age, income, landholding, place of residence, occupation of partner, marital status, culture, health status and farm size) and the determinants of fertility (principally determine: health status of mothers, age of first marriage, breast-feeding, contraception, abstinence

and rhythm, social status, labour participation, household size, education and culture) as empirically demonstrated in the literature, we observed that they are closely related. It appears the same principal factors explaining women participation in agricultural are similar to those explaining fertility rate in Cameroon. Women in agriculture are noted to be more in rural areas with low level of education, fertility is observed to be high in rural areas and among low level of education, this clearly shows the strong influence women in agriculture on population growth. To clearly understand this relationship, econometrically, the relationship between population growth and women in agriculture can be express as follows:

$$POPG_i = l + \Phi WAP_i + \sigma E_i + \varpi_i \quad (7)$$

In this equation *POPG* is simply population growth and our outcome variable of interest, *WAP* is women in agricultural production which is the principal endogenous variable, *E* is the exogenous demographics of the mother in agriculture, father, environment and community characteristics,  $\Phi$  and  $\sigma$  are parameters to be estimated, however,  $\Phi$  represent the actual effect of women in agriculture on population growth,  $\varpi$  and *i* represent the error term and the unit of observation such as population growth as capture by fertility rate, given that fertility is the driving force of population growth in the world today. Noting that some, because of omitted variables, *WAP* and  $\varpi$  may not be necessarily zero, hence our estimate of  $\Phi$  may be inconsistent resulting to the problem of endogeneity (Morrill 2008). Further, estimating the causal impact of women in agriculture on fertility rates is not straightforward, because employment is probably endogenous. These sources of endogeneity may lead to an under- or overestimation of the impact: omitted variable bias and reversed causality. According to Broeck and Maertens, (2014) social norms and values in a traditional, rural setting such as in ours, might prevent that women participate in the wage labour market.

Unobservable characteristics, such as the bargaining power of women before they engage in work as for those that are not working in their own farms, influence whether they are allowed to participate in the labour market or not (Basu 2006). Broeck and Maertens (2014) also reveal that; firstly, one cannot observe initial bargaining power directly, while this is probably also correlated with fertility rates. Secondly, female employment status on agricultural activity has an effect on fertility rates, but the presence of children might also determine whether a woman is able to participate in the labour market or not (Cramer 1980).

To tackle the endogeneity problem, we apply an Instrumental Variable (IV) approach, an instrumental variable is one that partially determines women participation in agricultural production but is uncorrelated with  $\varpi$ . This IV is also known as treatment variable ( $T$ ), with such an instrument, a two stage regression model can be estimated with the first stage equation (8).

$$WAP_i = l_{FS} + \Phi_{FS}T_i + \sigma_{FS}E_i + \mu_i \quad (8)$$

Following this equation, the consistency of  $\Phi$  the estimate of strongly relies on the validity of the instrument  $Cov(T, \varpi) = 0$ , thus, if  $\Phi$  is uncorrelated with  $\varpi$ , then the IV estimate of  $\Phi$  is consistent, however, as indicated earlier, this will depend on the assumption that (a) the unobservable variables are uncorrelated with excluded instruments or that the correlation is linear; (b) the estimation sample is randomly selected among households. The model can be estimated by taking the predicted (fitted) value of  $WAP$  from equation (2) and substituting it in for  $WAP$  in equation (1) in a 2SLS model. In this case, the IV estimate of  $\Phi$  can also be thought of as resulting from the division of the “reduced form” estimate,  $\Phi_{RF}$  below, by the first-stage coefficient derived above,  $\Phi_{FS}$ . The reduced form equation is the regression of the women in agriculture outcome on the instrument (Morrill 2008):

$$POPG_i = l_{RF} + \Phi_{RF}T_i + \sigma_{RF}E_i + \theta_i \quad (9)$$

Equation (9) indicates whether the instrument is correlated with population growth. The interpretation of the treatment variable estimate ( $\Phi_{IV}$ ) as the causal effect is reliant on the assumption that the effect of the instrument on population growth ( $\Phi_{RF}$ ) operates solely through women participation in agricultural production. Given that the fertility variable is a continuous variable gives an advantage to its 2SLS estimation. Other variables which could serve as good instruments include adjustment programs and government policies but these are not available. It is therefore important to acknowledge that simultaneity, heterogeneity, measurement errors and omitted variables may still be issues to contend with in this type of analysis (Mwabu 2009).

#### 4. Data Presentation

We have made use of the fourth Cameroon demographic and health survey (DHS 4). The Ministry of Economic Affairs, Programming and Regional Development is the executing agency of the DHS and it is the National Institute

of Statistics that collects the data. The fourth Cameroon demographic and health survey (DHS 4) was realized in 2011 after the first (DHS I), second (DHS 2) and (DHS 3) in 1991, 1998 and 2004 respectively. The DHS 4 was aimed at a national representative sample of about 42312 households, 11732 children (0-59 months); 42312 women (15 – 49 years). While in 2004 there were 10,462 households, 10,656 women, (15–49 years), 5,280 men (17 - 97 years), 8,125 children (0 - 59 months) with women of reproductive age, alive and living within the selected zones of sample as well as a sub sample of about 50% of households for the men. The results of these surveys were presented for Cameroon, Yaounde and Douala (two great metropolitan cities), other towns, urban and rural zones and each of the 12 areas of study (constituting the 10 regions (formally provinces) plus Douala and Yaounde. All the members of households drawn are registered in household questionnaire.

In this study, the outcome variable is population growth (as capture by fertility rate). The main endogenous variable is women participates in agricultural production and the endogenous instrument is log of size of farm while the exogenous demographics are: mother's age in complete years of living, mother's education in years of schooling, labour market participation, family size, member of professional association, cultural background identity, health status of the mother, marital status, ownership of land, father present in the house, social status and place of residence. It should be noted that variable such as size of farmers farm were imported from the department of statistics of the ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

## 5. Empirical Results

We present the empirical result such that in section 5.1 we have the sample descriptive statistics; in 5.2, we have the determinants of women participation in agriculture and population growth from where we derive the results of (1) factors influencing women working in the agricultural sector (FSLs) and (2) the implications of women in agriculture on population growth in Cameroon (OLS and 2SLS). Finally in 5.3 we have women participation in agricultural production and food security in rural Cameroon as revealed in OLS and 2SLS.

### 5.1 Sample Descriptive Statistics

As noted in the data, we have about 11732 observations, in which 1.8 percent of households including women are involved in the production of rice. Critically,

rich is one of the staple food crops in Cameroon that is most consumed by most Cameroonians especially the children. The quantity of rice production looks small but in terms of consumption very high, if most Cameroonians get to be producing rice, considering the financial and consumption value then the food security problem will not be an issue again in Cameroon. About 62.4 percent of women are participating in agricultural production revealing the fact that there are more women in agricultural production than men; this may be caused partly by culture and educational reasons.

**Table 1: Summary of Descriptive Statistics**

Variable	Observation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Food Security (rice production)	11732	0.01811	0.0226
Population growth (capture by fertility rate)	11732	4.3191	2.6172
Women in Agriculture (1 = woman participates in agricultural production, 0 otherwise)	11732	0.6240	0.1532
Mother's age in complete years of living	11732	28.4959	6.9755
Mother's education in years of schooling	11732	4.5933	4.0461
Labour market participation (1= Mother currently working, 0 otherwise)	11732	0.6845	0.4647
Family size/household size	11732	10.2125	5.5991
Member of professional association	11732	0.0273	0.3603
Cultural background/ethnicity	11732	4.6148	2.6887
Health status of the mother	11732	1243.72	1226.735
Marital status (1= married women, 0 otherwise)	11732	0.6877	0.5140
Ownership of land	11732	0.4616	0.4985
Father present in the house	11732	0.7243	0.4468
Social status (1= non poor, 0 otherwise)	11732	0.5383	0.4985
Place of Residence (1 = urban, 0 otherwise)	11732	0.3943	0.4887
Log of size of rice farm	11732	-7.7268	4.0603

*Source: Author*

Most rural women are fertile with about 59 percent at-least completed the primary school, while 68 percent are fully participating in the labour market with only 2.7 percent involve in professional association having a relatively



stable health status. In addition, 39 percent of women live in urban centers and on the total 53 percent of the women are living in non-poor households, of which 72 percent are actually married and 46 percent own farms with an average size. All these statistics reveal that there are more women in the agricultural sector in Cameroon than the men, the women engage in this sector are relatively full time though their activities might constantly be interrupted by other domestic activities such as child bearing, washing, serving, cooking fetching water and firewood. Generally, most men in rural Cameroon married women according to their ability to do these things than otherwise.

## *5.2 Determinants of Women Participation in Agriculture and Population Growth*

From table 2 presented below, we present the results of: (1) factors influencing women working in the agricultural sector (first stage least square, (FSLS)) and (2) the implications of women in agriculture on population growth in Cameroon.

### *5.2.1 The Implication of Women Participation in Agriculture on Population Growth*

Table 2 also presents the result of ordinary least square and two stage least square. The result of the two estimates shows that women participation in agricultural production has a great impact on population growth. The OLS and 2SLS are based on the assumption that: (a) the unobservable variables are uncorrelated with excluded instruments or that the correlation is linear; (b) the estimation sample is randomly selected among households. Comparing the two results, we observed that the result of the ordinary least squares has a higher magnitude than those of the two stage least square. However, the Durbin-Wu-Hausman chi-square statistic test (21.963 [0.0000]) as shown in table three rejects exogeneity of all fertility inputs (women participation in agricultural production) indicating that OLS is not a valid estimation method.

Considering the two stage least square, we observed that women participation in agricultural production strongly affects population growth to about 15.88 percent, significant at five percent level. In Cameroon, this result sounds strong for the following reasons:

- Inadequate knowledge of family planning,
- Children are still believed to be an asset/source of riches or manpower (supply of labour),

- Considering that agriculture required much energy and efforts, most couples in villages always go to bed early after each extortive day of work, from the medical literature, the closeness of being together increases the proximity of having sex and consequently many children.
- The quest for having another sex of a child or the last child being a boy or otherwise always result to having many children.
- In the case of polygamy, having many children is wining the interest of the husband and in-laws or gaining control of the household ownership.
- The age of marriage is another problem with women in agricultural production. Most women in this sector of activities easily get married early and so having many children early.

Other factors positively affecting population growth in Cameroon include: mother's age in complete years, family size, married mothers and father's presence in the house while factors such as mothers education in complete years of schooling, cultural background, mother's health status, member of professional association, health status of the mother, non-poor household and urban residence are negatively correlating with population growth.

Still in table 2, from the joint F test, we realized that the instrument used in this study is valid both for the input equation. The first-stage F statistic on excluded instrument is about 16.542 ( $p\text{-value} = 0.0000$ ), while the statistic for the R-squared is 0.6214 ( $p\text{-value} = 0.0000$ ). The Sargan statistic (0.000,  $p\text{-value} = 0.0000$ ) proves that the instrument is valid and so relevant, however, looking at the Cragg-Donald F-statistic we realized that though the instrument are relevant, they are marginally weak (6.574 [16.38]). This is necessary in the sense that, since there is an endogenous regressor and an instrument, there is need to check that the problem is exactly identified. In addition, diagnostic tests indicate that the input into population growth function is endogenous, since the Durbin-Wu-Hausman Chi-square Statistic, which indicates that the OLS estimates are not reliable for inference. Stock et al (2002) argued that an instrument is relevant but weak if their joint effect is statistically significant but at a low F statistic, typically less than 10. When the instrument is relevant but weak the 2SLS estimator is biased toward the OLS estimator, which is known to be inconsistent (Bound et al., 1995). However, if the bias of the 2SLS estimator, relative to the inconsistency of the OLS estimator is small (at most 10%) weak instruments are still reliable for inference as seen in our case. This result is shown in table 2:

**Table 2: Women in Agriculture; Determinants and Population Growth in Cameroon**

Variable	FSLs	OLS	2SLS
	Women in Agriculture	Population Growth	
Women in Agriculture	n/a	0.3091*** (3.42)	0.1588** (2.29)
Mother's age in complete years of living	0.0005*** (2.60)	0.2670*** (128.71)	0.2574*** (42.46)
Mother's education in complete years of schooling	-0.0017*** (-3.51)	-0.1533*** (-31.58)	-0.1231*** (-7.32)
Labour market	-0.0071** (-2.25)	-0.0497 (-1.61)	0.0711 (0.85)
Family size	-0.0018*** (-6.81)	0.0321*** (12.52)	0.0625*** (4.30)
Member of professional association	-0.0001 (-0.04)	-0.0773** (-2.00)	-0.0783 (-0.97)
Cultural background/ethnicity	0.0004 (0.61)	-0.0216*** (-3.27)	-0.0374** (-2.42)
Health status of the mother	0.22e-06*** (3.03)	0.0000 (0.96)	-0.0000 (-1.42)
Marital status	0.0149*** (4.39)	-0.0232 (-0.70)	0.2880** (2.1)
Father present in the house	-0.0099*** (-2.84)	0.4473*** (13.03)	0.6318*** (5.81)
Social status	0.0024 (0.58)	-0.1274*** (-3.03)	-0.1827** (-2.01)
Urban Residence	0.0207*** (5.01)	-0.2063*** (-5.12)	-0.5574*** (-3.15)
Log of rice farm size	0.0009** (2.56)	n/a	n/a
Constant term	0.0200** (2.16)	-2.9480*** (-36.06)	-3.1227*** (-16.70)
R-squared/Uncentered R2	0.0357	0.6748	0.6214
Chi square	11.64[12, 11666; 0.0000]	2017.28[12, 11666; 0.0000]	465.35 [12, 11666; 0.0000]
Cragg-Donald Wald F statistic Test	n/a	n/a	6.574 [16.38]
Sargan statistic	n/a	n/a	0.000 [0.0000]
Durbin-Wu-Hausman $\chi^2$ Statistic	n/a	n/a	21.963 [0.0000]

Angrist-Pischke multivariate F test	n/a	n/a	16.57 [1, 11666; 0.0004]
Number of observations	11679		

Source: author; *F*SLS = first stage least square, *O*LS = ordinary least square and *2*SLS = Two stage least square.

### 5.2.2 The Determinants of Women Participation in Agricultural Production

Table 2 reveals that mother's health status is a major determinant of women participation in agricultural production significant at one percent level. Health has been proven to be significantly correlating with labour, everything being equally whenever one is ill, the strength and energy to work is lost. Therefore our result supposes that whenever women participating in agricultural production are in good health, they work more in their farms so as to produce in large quantity and hence, reducing the problem of food insecurity. However, the problem of food security may be interrupted if the woman's health permits them to conceive and give birth, since health is the first principal condition that permits any one to do work in life. This result is consistent with the issues raised by Aguayo-Rico et al (2005), that health is one of the most important assets a human being has; it permits us to fully develop our capacities and if this asset erodes or it is not developed completely, it can cause physical and emotional weakening, causing obstacles in the lives of people (Smith 1999). Nowadays, it is possible for every person to expect to live a long and healthy life from which its economic value is huge, given that health gains have many economic consequences widespread in economic well-being. Meaning an escape of ill-health traps is greatly associated with increase agricultural productivity, domestic savings and investment (WHO 1999).

Mother's age in complete years of living is positive and significantly influencing women participation in agricultural production, age plays a major role in terms of participation in agricultural production. Farm activities require much effort implying that the younger population can do more work than the aging population. However, ironically though farm activity required efforts; this effort is more of being patient, persistent and consistently working hard putting longer hours and persevering until the harvest is due. These qualities are mostly possessed by women most often more than 30 years of age. The youths, on the other hand, are very hard working and can use a shorter time to do greater works but *ceteris paribus* they generally lack the endurance to stay on duty doing the same thing.

Married women correlate with participation in agricultural production. In most parts of Cameroon, married rural women are more involve in agriculture. The situation is worse when the man is uneducated even those living in the cities, will prefer to take agriculture for a living especially where the plot of land is available rather than doing another thing else. Agriculture has been a long term activity in Cameroon, so even educated mothers working and living in the city take agriculture as a secondary activity to meet up with basic necessities and so alleviating poverty and the food security problem while increasing the population for a better labour market.

Urban residence is a major factor positively influencing women participation in agricultural production, agriculture in Cameroon have recently taken another turn since the introduction of the concept of second generation agriculture by the president of the republic via the prime minister and as popularized by the minister of Agriculture. The idea of this type of agriculture is based on mechanization, good seeds, improved varieties and irrigation in farming, in an effort to triple crop yields for consumption and the market. The government of Cameroon recently supported many farmers of both sex located around the urban centers with seeds and other farm inputs to bolster their activities in the farming sector. This gesture has motivated many urban women to engage in participating in agricultural production.

Farm size plays a major role in productivity if proper input is applied. Households with much farm land in Cameroon, often either participate in agricultural production themselves or they can give out the land for rents for others to cultivate. This is exactly what happens in most urban centers where land is relatively expensive, so most women resolve to rents and carry out their agricultural production. Other factors negatively and significantly influencing women participation in agricultural production include: mother's education in complete years of schooling, father's presence in the house and family size of households.

## **Conclusion**

This study seeks to: assess the effects of women working in Agriculture on population growth, discussed the factors influencing women working in agriculture and to derived policy implications on the basis of our analysis. To tackle these issues, we make use of 2SLS model. Empirical results are based

on 2011 DHS collected by the government's statistics office and Department of statistics of MINADER. The OLS and 2SLS are based on the assumption that: (a) the unobservable variables are uncorrelated with excluded instrument or that the correlation is linear; (b) the estimation sample is randomly selected among households. Comparing the two results, we observed that the result of the ordinary least squares has a higher magnitude than those of the two stage least square. The Durbin-Wu-Hausman statistic test rejects exogeneity of all fertility inputs indicating that OLS is not a valid estimation method.

Regarding the determinants of women participation in agricultural production we observed that mother's health status, farm size, mother's education in complete years, urban residence and married women are positively and significantly correlating with women participation in agricultural production. We observed that women participation in agricultural production strongly affects population growth to about 15.88 percent, significant at five percent level. In Cameroon, this result sound strong for the following reasons: inadequate knowledge of family planning, children are still believe to be an asset/source of riches or manpower (supply of labour), considering that agriculture required much energy and efforts, most couples in villages always go to bed early after each extortive day of work, from the medical literature, the closeness of being together increases the proximity of having sex and consequently many children. The quest for having another sex of a child or the last child being a boy or otherwise always result to having many children. In the case of polygamy, having many children is wining the interest of the husband and in-laws or gaining control of the household ownership. The age of marriage is another problem with women in agricultural production. Most women in this sector of activities easily get married early and so having many children early. Other factors positively affecting population growth in Cameroon include: mother's age in complete years, family size, married mothers and father's presence in the house.

From the above analysis, one can undoubtedly understand the major role of women in relation to population growth. Fon and Edokat (2012) intimated that the underestimation of women's contributions to crop production makes them invisible to planners and policymakers, hence making it difficult to advocate appropriate policies and programs that recognize and compensate women based on their level of contribution to the growth of the national economy. Women Participating in Agricultural Production are indeed working

machine in terms of reproduction and other activities in Cameroon, like any other machine, they need fuel to function well. The decision makers must put at the top of their agenda women empowerment and support programs, as well as medical services at the disposal of women to permit them do their job effectively. This is a gateway towards economic growth, food security and poverty alleviation in rural households.

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## **Flipping the Script for Skilled Immigrant Women: What Suggestions Might Critical Social Work Offer?\***

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**ABSTRACT:** Research on skilled immigrant women revealed that they are losing their professional skills and career identity due to lack of employment and underemployment, postmigration. These negative outcomes in employment are reported as key factors in the economic instability they face in host countries. On the other hand, reports indicate that economic growth for host countries have increased through skilled immigration. In fact, countries such as Canada, United States, Australia and others, continue to revise their immigration policies to attract more highly skilled immigrants, due to reported benefits. So how are skilled immigrant women in particular, coping with the negative impact of skilled migration that is more favourable for host countries? More importantly, what suggestions for changes and action might critical social work offer to transform current disproportionate outcomes?

This paper provides a brief discussion on the reported labour market outcomes for skilled immigrant women in Canada. It includes a critical assessment of the challenges they face to re-enter the labour market in Canada and argue that the current outcomes are direct manifestations of discriminatory practices, beyond the scope of the labour market alone. The paper highlights reported economic benefits of skilled migration for host countries such as Canada, and raise questions about possible systemic actors in the substandard results for skilled immigrant women. The paper draws on a critical social work perspective to discuss alternatives to improving outcomes for skilled immigrant women and concludes with suggestions for changes in the current social and employment prospects for skilled immigrant women.

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**KEYWORDS:** skilled immigrant women, critical social work, economic migration

## **1. Introduction**

This paper provides a brief discussion on the reported labour market outcomes for skilled immigrant women in Canada. It includes a critical assessment of the challenges they face to re-enter the labour market in Canada and argue that the current outcomes are direct manifestations of discriminatory practices, beyond the scope of the labour market alone. The paper highlights reported economic benefits of skilled migration for host countries such as Canada, and raise questions about possible systemic actors in the substandard results for skilled immigrant women. The paper draws on a critical social work perspective to discuss alternatives to improving outcomes for skilled immigrant women and concludes with suggestions for changes in the current social and employment prospects for skilled immigrant women.

Individuals who gain entry to Canada as skilled workers secure permanent residence under the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) administered through the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA). Successful applicants require a minimum score of sixty-seven out of a total of one hundred allocated points to be eligible for the program. The assessment of skills for allocation of the accumulated points, is based on education at the college or university level or the completion of a skilled trade, ability to speak French or English, work experience, age, ability to adapt to Canada and pre-arranged employment in Canada. Immigrants who enter Canada as skilled workers are expected to settle faster and make greater contributions to the Canadian economy (Phythian, Walters and Anisef 2009, 365).

The increasing demands on immigration to supplement population and economic growth for developed countries such as Canada, placed skilled migration squarely at the forefront of public policy and socioeconomic discussions (Adsera and Chiswick 2007, 496). The issue gathered further traction in the literature, as a result of the reported struggles that skilled immigrants in particular, continue to face to re-enter labour markets. The ambiguous nature of their skills, make them ideal immigrants for admission to Canada on one hand but not enough to re-enter their professions once they arrive in Canada. The barriers that skilled immigrant women face are reported to be

high on this list of ambiguity. Considering that in 2013 alone, women make up approximately 40.9% of the applicants admitted to Canada as economic class migrants, the number of women impacted is significant (Hudon 2015, 5). A critical discussion of some of these issues will add to the demand for change.

Hick and Pozzuto believe that there is no single understanding of critical social work, however, the general consensus is that a better social world is achievable through changes to the current relations in society (2005, ix). Woodward pointed to the theoretical basis of critical social work that aligns with confronting social injustice in areas of race, gender and ethnicity as examples of sites to contest (Woodward 2013, 137). Despite the numerous and different perspectives of critical social work, the quest to achieve social justice for individuals and collectives, remain at the core of these approaches (Campbell and Baikie 2012, 67). The concern with issues such as oppression, domination, discrimination, power structures, social injustice, inclusion and exclusion and other forms of social inequities, also remain at the core of understanding of critical social work. The key outcome is to create effective responses from a critical lens, to tackle issues that negatively impact groups and individuals in society.

Regardless of the approach however, critical social work is synonymous with critical reflective thinking as a way to critiquing unjust social, economic, ideological and structural systems in society. As Hick and Pozzuto pointed out, “critical social work does offer an analysis of the social context that includes an identification of oppressive elements and potential paths for their elimination” (Hick and Pozzuto 2005, x). The intent is to create change that will foster social justice. By shedding light on the current circumstances that impact skilled immigrant women in Canada, systemic change can become a closer a reality (Pozzuto 2000, 32). The issues of oppression need to be at the centre of the critique so that efforts for fundamental and systemic change can be initiated.

## **2. Skilled immigrant women and Canadian labor market**

Schellenberg and Feng reported that despite the increase in the number of immigrants in Canada with university degrees, their transition to the Canadian labour market has been quite difficult (Schellenberg and Feng 2005, 49). The lack of recognition of their credentials and lack of “Canadian experience” impedes their access to comparable employment after they migrate. Similarly, Ikura attributed the under-utilization of the labour market potential of skilled immigrants to the lack of recognition of their credentials despite their higher

levels of education (Ikura 2007, 17). Khan pointed out the lack of access to social and economic capital as one of the many challenges that skilled immigrants face to enter Canadian labour market (Khan 2007, 64). These noted struggles are prevalent for many skilled immigrants and Canada is lagging behind with comprehensive measures to address these known issues.

Reports on labour market re-entry for skilled immigrant women in Canada showed similar challenges faced by skilled immigrant groups. In addition, the loss of acknowledgement of their skills in the labour markets, force many to accept care work and domestic work. This is despite them having the training, work experience and skills to qualify for higher skilled employment (Man 2004, 135 and Raghuram and Kofman 2004, 95). This erosion of the strides that some women have made in securing qualifications and skills beyond the gendered categories of the domestic realm, raises many questions about the gendered setbacks of migration for skilled immigrant women. Iredale pointed out that for women to be able to participate in the skilled migration category in the first place, gendered considerations must be present within education systems of migrating countries (Iredale 2005, 157). In which case, the current struggles that skilled immigrant women face to enter the Canadian labour market, is unravelling the gains that were made towards gender parity in previous countries. For a developed country such as Canada, these erosions should be condemned and every effort should be made to increase measures for gender parity rather than eroding them.

Re-entry to regulated fields such as dentistry, law, medicine and engineering for skilled immigrants in general proved to be especially challenging and expensive, with limited opportunities for re-entry. Many skilled immigrants do not realize that the assessment of skills for the Canadian immigration points-based process prior to migration, is independent of the occupational licensing process of assessment that is required to re-enter regulated professions postmigration. For many, the realization that they cannot re-enter their (regulated) professions in Canada, happens only after they have migrated. Zietsma found that in 2006, it was less likely for immigrants who belonged to regulated professions prior to migration to be working in a regulated profession after migration to Canada (Zietsma 2010, 19). The study found that immigrants who managed to re-enter regulated professions, lagged well behind their Canadian counterparts in these professions. This is the case for up to as long as 10 years after they have been living in Canada. In addition, skilled immigrant women who are in

traditionally male dominated occupations that are regulated face even greater challenges. Iredale pointed to overt forms of discrimination and gender bias in skilled employment fields such as engineering, that deliberately screens out female jobseekers even after they manage to get an interview for vacant positions (Iredale 2005, 164). She further noted that even when women secured employment positions in certain fields, they are overlooked for promotions and other forms of recognition of their skills and contributions. Since hiring decisions are made by employers, biases towards women and skilled immigrant women in particular, in certain professions can certainly go undetected.

The focus on the re-entry of skilled immigrant women into professions considered male dominated, takes away from the broader conversation of the priority given to male dominated professions in skilled migration. Mollard and Umar called attention to the ideological construction of competencies in current migration conceptualizations considered as skilled, that focus on stereotypically male dominated occupations. They pointed out that many feminist scholars take exception to these stereotypical definitions that exclude occupations in the social production sector, which are usually linked to 'women's work' (Mollard and Umar 2012, 13-14). This exclusion further renders immigrant women as casual labourers who can only compete in informal sectors of employment. The authors call for the definition of skills beyond the current gendered constructs, to allow for deeper understanding of the issues related to non-recognition and loss of skills.

Mollard and Umar pointed to findings from Creese and Wiebe's 2009 study, that revealed a lack of acknowledgement of educational credentials attained in Africa, among Canadian employers and professional regulatory bodies (Mollard and Umar 2012, 24). Creese and Weibe further put forth that the lack of recognition of credentials should be considered as part of the process of gendered deskilling, that associates unskilled labour as synonymous with Black or African immigrants (Creese and Weibe 2009, 69). Similarly, Mollard and Umar found that the deskilling of skilled immigrant women in Canada, is not as a result of labour market requirements alone; instead, issues of gender, nationality and systemic racism are key factors in the deskilling process (Mollard and Umar 2012, 24). Bernhardt called attention to racial discrimination as a perpetual feature within the Canadian workforce that creates economic consequences of poverty for racialized individuals (Bernhardt 2015, 3-4).



Furthermore, Canada's history of ethnic and racial bias is part of a legacy that is evident in Canada's preference for European immigrants over immigrants from non-white source countries. In fact, Elabor-Idemudia highlighted recent practice in Canadian immigration system, where Blacks from Africa and the Caribbean were not considered suitable immigrants to enter Canada (Elabor-Idemudia 1999, 38). She pointed out that immigrants were excluded based on their ethnicity, for economic reasons and the belief that they could not withstand the Canadian weather (38). Despite changes to immigration policies to allow lessen restrictions on entry for immigrants from these regions, the foundation of racialized power structures in Canada remains unchanged. As a result, issues of race and racism still plague the settlement, integration and access to employment for racialized immigrants in Canada. The struggles that skilled immigrant women from non-white source countries encounter are reported to be plagued by these encounters as well. The issues of discrimination extend well beyond the Canadian labour market and into the wider Canadian society.

### **3. Economic benefits of skilled migration for Canada**

Bannerjee reported on the dramatic increase in the demand for highly skilled workers in Canada as a response to the growth of the "knowledge economy" (Bannerjee 2009, 482). Canada is also considered to attract higher skilled immigrants than the U.S., primarily because of its FSWP points-based system selection program (Aydemir 2011, 454- 461 and Clarke and Skuterud 2014, 1). The anticipated benefits of attracting highly skilled immigrants include the replenishing of an aging Canadian population and the filling of highly skilled positions (Bannerjee 2009, 482). Immigrants with higher levels of skills are also considered to adjust more quickly to the labour market, thus meeting skill demands and contributing to the Canadian economy faster (Aydemir 2011,452). Overall, a key feature of skilled immigration for host countries including Canada, is the enhanced economic potential and integration of skilled immigrants, for faster economic contributions over longer periods.

Clarke and Skuterud stated that research in both the U.S. and Europe points to higher levels of innovation and productivity among immigrants than natives, especially in areas of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) fields (Clarke and Skuterud 2014, 1). Despite the customary male dominated professions highlighted above, the exceptional skills and talent that immigrants provide is beneficial in any sector. The higher levels of education

that skilled immigrants possess, provides an advantage to not only local economy but even if by perception alone, on the global platform as well. In addition, despite the economic challenges that skilled immigrants encounter in the Canadian labour market, they are less likely to seek certain government (financial) benefits, due to conditions and terms of their migration. The reported benefits for host countries are not on par with reported outcomes for skilled immigrants. However, Canada continues to capitalize on the available and steady source of immigrant and skilled immigrant labour.

Despite its preference for European immigrants, Canada touts itself as one of the most culturally diverse countries that offers immigrants a smoother transition into culturally diverse communities (Reitz 2012, 521). Canada also boasts a multicultural policy that recognizes minority culture in Canada that many critics believe creates silos of difference to separate immigrants from Canadians. Both Australia and Europe have drawn on Canada's example of multiculturalism and Canada continues to promote multiculturalism as a key component of its national identity. Reitz pointed out that the actual effect of Canada's multicultural policies on immigrants' integration is not clear, however there is minimal indication that it may be attributed to higher citizenship achievement rate (Reitz 2012, 530). The current issues of racism and sexism that skilled immigrant women and skilled immigrant groups face, are at odds with this image of Canada. Nevertheless, Canada considers a multicultural society as one of its key attributes that allows skilled immigrants to feel more like they are a part of Canadian society.

#### **4. Critical perspective and possible alternatives**

The inequitable, sexist and prejudicial relationship that Canada currently has with skilled immigrant women, is a social justice issue. Chatterjee noted Sakamoto's argument that the expectation that professional immigrants should possess "Canadian experience" is a human rights violation (Chatterjee 2015, 366). In addition, their ability to be competitive in the Canadian labour market is undermined by systemic barriers, many of which are based on their ethnicity and where they acquired their credentials. Danso pointed out that it is "...discriminatory, oppressive and unjust" to deny the access of an individual to employment opportunities on grounds that are not related to their abilities or sector in which they were trained (Danso 2009, 539). Inroads that skilled immigrant women have made are being eroded and their means

to move beyond feminized roles are being compromised. Canada fervently recruits skilled immigrants to build its economic and social structures but is yet to address the discriminatory, racist and sexist barriers that they encounter. Instead, Canada is keen on refining immigration programs to attract even higher skilled immigrants, even though reports indicate that many who are already in Canada are not faring well.

Chatterjee aptly pointed out that the traditional focus of social work on immigrants, looks at the challenges that individuals and families encounter in the settlement and migration process, their resilience and the navigation of systemic barriers in the labour market (Chatterjee 2015, 364). The focus on professional immigrants in the labour market for social work she pointed out, is fairly new (364). In addition, the new focus is similar to existing scholarly and policy attention that attends to professional immigrants as "... self-deficient subjects" who require policy and program interventions (Chatterjee 2015, 364). She further pointed out that the opportunity is ripe for critical engagement of these issues to move attention beyond structural interventions and deflections of exploitation, accumulation of capital and immigrants as deficient (364).

A critical social work perspective provides focus on changes to the current oppression and discrimination that skilled immigrant women face in the Canadian labour market. The concern is with addressing the social injustice that create the issue in the first place, rather than just the problems it created. As a discipline, social work can spearhead scholarship to call out the racist, sexist and ethnic forms of discrimination that skilled immigrants face that are at the root of these issues. By leading the charge to develop a deeper understanding of the injustices that skilled immigrant women face, it will move attention towards creating a society that is more equitable and just. The dynamics of power and the current social relationship are intertwined to produce the barriers that skilled immigrant women encounter. The social reality for racialized immigrants (and minority groups) that is constructed in a settler colony such as Canada, needs to be called out and addressed.

## **Conclusion**

Discussions on the issues of oppression and discrimination that skilled immigrant women face focus on the challenges that they encounter within the Canadian labour market. The professional-paraprofessional focus distracts

attention from the social rights that is being taken away from skilled immigrant women. Canada needs only to look to a similar points-based immigration program in Australia that is more transparent and include regulatory bodies in the pre-immigration assessment process, for more effective outcomes for skilled immigrants. If the issue is indeed about the recognition of skills and credentials, then the structural fix should be undertaken with the vigour that is afforded to the ongoing revisions of the Canadian points-based program to select suitable skilled immigrants.

This paper by no means provide a comprehensive assessment of the different aspects of the issues that impact the experiences of skilled immigrant women in Canada. However, it makes clear that Canada has taken great steps to attract highest caliber of skilled immigrants but has fallen short in doing the same to recognize their social rights. It makes it clear that it is crucial for social work to challenge the issues that skilled immigrant women currently face, without normalizing or individualizing their skills as the root cause of the issue. The systemic issues of race, racism, sexism and other discriminatory factors that shape their current experiences need to be the primary focus. Canada needs to be held accountable for its role to provide a socially just and equitable society for skilled immigrants and skilled immigrant women.

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## **The Status of the Social Sciences in Romanian Educational System**

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**ABSTRACT:** In Romania, "the social and humanistic sciences" is a general concept that includes the social domain and mostly the topics that the students study in those 12 years of school. In the next few pages, I'm going to present the situation of the Romanian school concerning the teaching of those subjects. Besides that, it's important to know that the social area should be more important nowadays especially in the context of the actual social and political crisis all over the world.

**KEYWORDS:** school, society, culture, social and humanistic sciences, Romanian educational system, civic life, level of study

### **1. The specifics of the social sciences**

The concept of social sciences is very often used nowadays, mostly to express the social reality that we live in. First of all, we should know that the social sciences are those humanistic domains that help us to better know and to deeply understand these times, the present realities and the main problems that concern the society: war, disease, poverty, terrorism and so on. The social sciences have to fulfill the expectations of the individuals, to find theoretical and practical solutions for urgent problems.

As a science, the social area has, first of all, an informative side. It has to explain the given reality and mainly to suggest some possible solutions. Also, it has a normative dimension that means that through them the people receive some references about how they should act, what should and shouldn't do at the time. It's important to mention the interrogative aspect which is essential in social sciences concerns. They offer the possibility to have a



critical opinion about some specific problems. They teach us that we have to study a social situation and then to find all sorts of arguments to support or to contradict an idea or an opinion.

If we refer to social sciences in the educational area and how they could help the students to develop themselves and to become active citizens, we can say that there are a lot of advantages studying them. First of all, they give the students the possibility to express their opinion and to bring arguments for it. Also, they have the possibility to learn how to contradict an idea of another student. In this manner they can have a productive dialogue and a real debate. This helps them to better express themselves, to become more self-confident, and to have the courage to fight for their rights and for their country. The students can also have the chance to analyze in a critical way the decisions of the power, to decide which person is better to be elected in a public function and also to pay attention to corruption. With all this fulfilled, a society would function much better.

## **2. The distribution of the social sciences in Romanian educational system**

In Romania, the educational system is mostly based on school's activities. The school is subordinated to the Ministry of National Education which provides the curriculum for all learning domains. The Ministry decides which domains will be studied, how many hours/week will be studied and also, they set the content for each subject. The students have less opportunity to decide what to learn or to choose how to be their classes. That's why the Romanian educational system is included in the category "in course of decentralization". Basically, the given curriculum represents around 70% while the chosen curriculum is around 30%<sup>1</sup>.

In this context, the social sciences have one hour per week at almost each level of education. In some specializations like "Social sciences" or "Philological studies" there are two or three hours per week but such specializations exist only at theoretical high schools.

In Romania the educational system is divided in few levels:

1. The first level is the *primary school*, from 6 to 10 years old. This includes the reception class, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> grade.

2. The second level is the *gymnasium/secondary school*, from 11 to 14 years and has the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade.
3. The third level is the *high school* from 15 to 18 years and has 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade.

In this division the students have a minimum and a maximum number of classes per week. In the primary and in the secondary level almost all the students have the same number of classes and study almost the same disciplines because this stage is considered the compulsory one<sup>2</sup>.

So, the number of school hours per week (including all subjects) can vary like that:

- For the 3rd and the 4th grade there are around 20 hours per week;
- For the 5th grade there are from 26 hours/week, the minimum – to 28 hours/week, the maximum;
- For the 6th grade, there are from 28 hours/week to 30 hours/week;
- For the 7th grade, there are from 31 hours/week to 33 hours/week ;
- For the 8th grade, there are from 31 hours/week to 34 hours/week;
- For the 9th grade, at the theoretical field there are from 31 hours/week to 32 hours/week;
- For the 10th grade, at the theoretical field there are from 31 hours/week to 32 hours/week;
- For the 11th grade, at the theoretical field there are from 31 hours/week to 32 hours/week;
- For the 12th grade, at the theoretical field there are from 31 hours/week to 32 hours/week.
- For the technical high schools, from 9th grade till 12th grade the students have around 30 classes per week.

The study of social sciences begins in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and ends in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade the name of the social subject is *Civic Education*, in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade it is called *Critical Thinking and Children's Rights*, in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade they study *Intercultural Education*, in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade we have *Education for Democratic Citizenship* and in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade it is *Economic and Financial Education*.

In high school, in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, the name of the subject is *Logics, Argumentation and Communication*, for the 10<sup>th</sup> grade it is *Psychology* and also *Entrepreneurial Education*, for the 11<sup>th</sup> grade there are also two possibilities: *Economics* for any type of high school and *Sociology* only for those high schools that have humanistic studies. Finally, in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade, children from technical high schools study *Applied Economics* while those from theoretical high schools study *Philosophy*. Also, the students from humanistic profiles like “Social Sciences” study both *Philosophy* and *Social Studies* (See the Table 1).

Table 1: *The social discipline*

The level	The social discipline	Number of hours/ week
<b>Primary school</b> -3 <sup>rd</sup> level	<i>Civic Education</i>	1
	-4 <sup>th</sup> level <i>Civic Education</i>	1
<b>Secondary school</b> -5 <sup>th</sup> level	<i>Critical Thinking and Children's Rights</i>	1
	-6 <sup>th</sup> level <i>Intercultural Education</i>	1
	-7 <sup>th</sup> level <i>Education for Democratic Citizenship</i>	1
	-8 <sup>th</sup> level <i>Economic and Financial Education</i>	1
<b>High school</b>	<i>Logics, Argumentation and Communication</i>	1
<b>1. Theoretical field</b>	<i>Psychology</i>	1
<b>1.1. Realistic field</b> -9 <sup>th</sup> grade	<i>Entrepreneurial Education</i>	1
	-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	
	-11 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Economics</i>	1
	-12 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Philosophy</i>	1
<b>1.2. Humanistic field</b>	<i>Logics, Argumentation and Communication</i>	2
	-9 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Psychology</i>	2
	-10 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Entrepreneurial Education</i>	1
	-11 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Economics</i>	2
	<i>Sociology</i>	2
	-12 <sup>th</sup> grade <i>Philosophy</i>	2
	<i>Philosophy</i>	3
<b>1.3. Humanistic field - social and humanistic sciences</b>	<i>Social Studies</i>	1

<b>2. Technological field</b>	<i>Logics, Argumentation and Communication</i>	1
-9 <sup>th</sup> grade	<i>Psychology</i>	1
-10 <sup>th</sup> grade	<i>Entrepreneurial Education</i>	1
-11 <sup>th</sup> grade	<i>Economics</i>	1
-12 <sup>th</sup> grade	<i>Applied Economics</i>	1

So far, the social sciences seem to have an important place in the Romanian schedule of learning. But, let's see the next situation. As we can see in the table, the number of the classes at social sciences is mostly one hour per week. In total, the number of possible classes of social sciences per week is 24 in all those 12 grades. If we make a simple calculation, an average between the minimum and maximum number of classes to all levels, we will see that there are **276 hours per week**. Out of these, the social sciences have a number of **24**. More than that, if we calculate the percentage of the social studies throughout all levels, we will see that this is around **8,69%**. But we get these results if we take into account all the classes from all levels. Instated, if we take each year of study separately, we will see that the percentage is even smaller. For example, in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, with an average of **27** hours per week, and one hour of social sciences, the percentage is around **2,7%**, while another subject, like mathematics, has around of 8%.

Besides that, if we refer to the classes specialized in social and humanistic sciences, we observe that the maximum number of hours is **4** (in the **11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade**), while if we will look at the technical classes, there are at least 5 or 6 hours per week of specialized subjects and some extra classes of practical learning at the end of the school year. This is an example for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade, but if we go further, in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade, there are around 10 classes per week of such subjects and some extra classes of practical learning.

On the other hand, as we could see before, with each higher level, the number of classes is higher. This means two things: one is that the number of hours for some subjects is higher now and also, the other one is that there are new subjects introduced that weren't there before. But, even if we talk about the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade or about 12<sup>th</sup> grade, for social sciences, the number of hours is the same, one hour per week, while with other subjects, the situation is different.

Then, concerning the Baccalaureate exam, the social sciences have two difficult positions: the first one is that at the realistic and technical specializations the

social sciences are included neither in the compulsory subjects nor in the optional ones. The second one is that for the humanistic specializations the social sciences are optional for the Baccalaureate exam even if they are part of the specialized subjects of the field.

In this case, **the conclusions** are obvious.

Firstly, while the 70% of the curriculum is made by the Ministry of Education and the teachers and the students don't have the possibility to choose what to study, it's obvious that there is not that much interest in studying social sciences in Romania. It's considered that the students are not and shouldn't be that interested of their own social life. There are other more important things like realistical or technological domains. Secondly, the present distribution of the social sciences in the national curriculum, doesn't allow the students to study them better, to find out important things about the society they are living in, about their rights, about the political situation of their country. Most of them don't even know who the prime minister of Romania is or which are the economical or political goals of our country.

Then, it's sad that in Romania, except for the ones who are specialized in humanistic and social sciences (and not even them all the time), the students can't have the chance to get involved in the social and civic life because they don't know how. Most of the students don't know how to formulate an idea or how to analyze, in a critical way, a social situation. The employers are not willing to employ students who graduated and have "social sciences" on their diplomas as the name of the specialization, because this means nothing to them. These students don't even have the chance to work with people after graduation because they were not trained properly and the reason for this is mostly the small number of classes per week and the fact that in our country we don't give much importance to the humanistic side. All of these situations and other like them, made the status of the social sciences to be a less important one and induced the idea that those domains are not that important and we don't really need them, which is obviously completely false.

## Endnotes

1. We have to mention that in the chosen curriculum, the number of hours and the domains are set by the Ministry also. Only the content and the name of such a curriculum are decided by students, teachers and parents.
2. Even if the compulsory stage is considered till 10<sup>th</sup> grade, the students study different subjects in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade because this depends on the chosen high school.

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