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Letter from the Editors

Since 1979 the Martin Institute has facilitated the study of causes of war, conflict resolution and the international system in general. The institute was founded by Boyd and Grace Martin, who, in light of the events of World War II, had a vision for a space where causes of war could be studied with the intent to achieve a more peaceful world. Over the years, pursuit of a safer, fairer world through academic study has become an essential element of the Martin Institute. In 1996, the institute took over management of the International Studies program, and since 2009, the Journal of the Martin Institute (JMIIIS) has showcased the best examples of undergraduate research by international studies students.

The international studies department, under the direction of the Martin Institute, takes a multifaceted approach to education about the international system. Students choose different issue emphases, regional emphases and second languages to study; as well as take courses from a variety of other disciplines, including political science, geography and anthropology. Along with an interdisciplinary approach to learning, the international studies degree offers courses specifically for international studies students, including IS 195, the introductory class for freshman; IS 310, a class on the United Nations; and IS 495, the senior capstone class. Along with the plethora of opportunities for learning afforded to students in the classroom, students are also presented with multiple extracurricular opportunities and learning experiences outside the classroom. International studies students must study abroad in another country, either for classes or an internship, and sophomore students have the opportunity to go to New York as a National Model United Nations Team. All in all, the Martin Institute continues to encourage its students in critical thinking, challenge their perceptions of the world around them and create citizens dedicated to bettering their communities and the communities of others.

Every senior in the Martin Institute is required to embark on a senior capstone seminar class, which focuses the knowledge they have acquired over four years and channels it into papers and presentations related to their emphases. In this class, students write their capstone papers, of which the most well-written and thoroughly researched have been put into JMIIIS this year. The authors of these papers pick an international issue related to their region of emphasis, and they research and articulate both the issue and potential solutions to it. A substantial amount of planning, brainstorming, and passion is put into these papers, and the final products reflect that enthusiastic effort. Put simply, these papers are the culmination of four years of active learning, valuable discussions, and productive research.

As co-editors of this journal, we have worked throughout the summer to evaluate all submissions to the journal and select which senior capstones would be featured in the latest issue of the JMIIIS. We evaluated several facets of each submission, including but not limited to: syntax and readability, use of empirical evidence, completeness of research, and an implementable policy recommendation. With twenty-four submissions but only nine slots, we faced quite the task, considering that each policy paper includes unique perspective and valuable research. Nevertheless, after many hours of reading and discussion, we selected the capstone projects presented here.

Without further ado, it is our pleasure to share the works of last year's International Studies 495 students. We hope that these papers will provide insight and inspiration for future conversations related to these important topics of our day.

Thanks,



Graham Zickfoose



Zachary Lien

It now becomes necessary for us to put our major global problems into a socially relevant global framework. Our world has become too complex, too interdependent, to answer these questions by simplistic answers.

These problems call for creative thinking...

– Boyd A. Martin, founder of the Martin Institute and namesake of the Martin School, at the Institute's inauguration, 1980



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Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Post-Communist Countries of Central and Eastern Europe

– Hailey Stewart

ABSTRACT:

The issue of gender-based violence pervades every area of the world, including Central and Eastern European countries with pasts rooted in communism. Gender-based violence keeps the status of women from rising and hinders overall development. There are many solutions to ending gender-based violence in this particular area, including: the continued work of women's NGOs, gender mainstreaming to increase legislature regarding women's rights, promoting involvement of men and boys, implementing perpetrator programs, and campaigning to raise awareness. Each solution can work on its own, but they work best in tandem. The recommended solution is a combination of both solutions one and five, the continued work of women's NGOs and the continuation of campaigning to raise awareness against gender-based violence. These two solutions work for this region by providing education to the public, resources for victims, and the possibility of implementation of policies regarding the matter thanks to increased activism.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW:

Gender-based violence has always been a persistent problem which robs women of their fundamental rights and aids in the inequality gap between men and women.¹ No country can escape from gender inequality or gender-based violence regardless of its relative position on the Human Development Index² and the issue persists. For example, 33% of women in the European Union have experienced some form of violence since the age of fifteen.³ In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with a history of socialism, gender-based violence continues to be an obstacle for women.

Gender equality has always been a tricky issue for countries of this region. During the

1 European Parliament. *The Issue of Violence Against Women in the European Union*. (pg. 9)

2 "Human Development Index." United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). See Appendix A. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

3 European Parliament. *The Issue of Violence Against Women in the European Union*. (pg. 24)

communist era, the number of women employed reached numbers unheard of and women had guaranteed spots in government.⁴ Because of this, the Soviet government claimed the achievement of gender equality.⁵ Unfortunately, though, achieving gender equality does not come that easily. Discrimination ran rampant even when women worked the same jobs as men, and those guaranteed spots in government turned out to really only be for show.⁶ Gender equality has always been a problematic issue for countries in this area, and solving the problems that come with it, like gender-based violence, never really became a top priority in the past.

Many things have changed since the fall of communism, but gender inequality and gender-based violence remain. Women still face many of the same challenges that they did in the past, including the different forms of gender-based violence, like sexual violence, domestic abuse, or human trafficking.⁷ Women in Central and Eastern Europe face the problem of domestic violence in particular, and it continues to be seen amongst some people as less of a social problem and more of a private family issue that does not require outside intervention.⁸ In Hungary, for example, victims of domestic violence face severe problems when trying to get help from the state, and often end up not getting much help at all.⁹ Because victims of gender-based violence often fear coming forward with their stories, and because this type of violence is seen as acceptable amongst some people, it can be difficult to get sufficient data regarding the issue.¹⁰ Despite this, much has been done to gather information, including an extensive report from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. The report includes a

survey that was given to 42,000 women across the EU, and the results indicate that one in five women surveyed have experienced some form of abuse from their partners, and one in twenty have been raped.¹¹ Despite these high numbers, only 14% of women reported violence from partners to the police, while 13% reported non-partner violence.¹² Gender-based violence can in many ways be invisible, but the issue still persists here. There are many countries in Europe with communist pasts, and each one has had a unique experience since transitioning, but women still face the issue of gender-based violence in this region. Since transition, much has been done regarding this issue, but still more work needs to be put in. The following are prevention-based and response-based solutions to ending gender-based violence in post-communist European countries.

SOLUTIONS:

1. Continuation of the Work of Women's NGOs

Women can face the problems directed at them with women's non-governmental organizations. Women's organizations can be important tools for helping women advance in society from a grassroots level. The NGOs here are meant to act as representatives of women and possibly influence public policy for them as well.¹³ Most of these organizations tend to be low level and focus on issues that affect the immediate needs of women.¹⁴ Violence against women is one of the issues most often focused upon, as evidenced by the fact that it has garnered a lot of activity from women's NGOs in Poland,

4 Susanne Lafont. "One step forward, two steps back: women in the post-communist states" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34 (2001), 205-207.

5 *Ibid.*, 205.

6 *Ibid.*, 206-208.

7 European Parliament, 11.

8 Katarzyna Wojnicka. "Work with Perpetrators of Domestic Violence in Eastern European and Baltic Countries" *Gender, Rovně Příležitosti, Výzkum* 16:1 (2015), 42.

9 Human Rights Watch. *Unless Blood Flows: Lack of Protection from Domestic Violence in Hungary*.

10 *Ibid.*, 24.

11 European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. *Violence against women: An EU wide survey*. (pg. 5)

12 *Ibid.*, 5.

13 Natasha Bingham. "Fighting for Our Cause: The Impact of Women's NGOs on Gender Policy Adoption in Four Former Soviet Republics" *Politics and Policy* 44:2 (2016), 295.

14 Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. *The situation of women in the countries of post-communism transition*. (pg. 10).

Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Germany.¹⁵ A study done in some post-soviet states has found that the number of women's NGOs in a country does positively correlate to the number of policies adopted by the state regarding the issues of violence against women and trafficking.¹⁶ NGOs that focus on these problems also tend to receive more outside funding and can use it to help make actual policy changes.¹⁷ During the socialist era, women's participation in politics was seen as an obligation so that the government could say that it was doing something for women's rights.¹⁸ Because of this, women became disenfranchised with government work and many moved to civil society.¹⁹ Not only can women's NGOs help implement policy, they also give normal women a place to voice their opinions and join with others who want the same things as them. The number of women's NGOs that came onto the scene after the transition period and are still active today shows that women here feel more strongly about fighting for their rights at the local level.²⁰

2. Gender Mainstreaming to Increase Legislature Regarding Women's Rights

The process of gender mainstreaming mainly involves including both men and women at all stages of policy making to ensure the equal consideration of everyone's different experiences and expertise.²¹ Considering the voice of women at all levels of politics for all subject matter has major importance, since women will be affected by any legislation just the same as men. Therefore, a considerable impact on gender

equality can be made if more women participate at every decision making level. Despite the creation of democratic institutions after the transition, which in turn created elective political opportunities for women, underrepresentation remains in political institutions across the region.²² Countries in Central and Eastern Europe usually have a much lower percentage of female representation in legislature than in Nordic countries, for example.²³ Currently, women in Norway hold forty percent of the seats in national parliament, while women in Poland hold twenty-seven percent and in Hungary, only ten percent.²⁴ Due to the socialist history of women's involvement in politics, there are a still a number of women involved in political work here, even if that number fell after the end of political quotas. For example, there have been a number of important women-leaders in the region, like Hanna Suchoka, former prime minister of Poland.²⁵ Despite this, increased gender mainstreaming is still needed in this area, and many others.

3. Promoting Involvement of Men and Boys

Since men are often the perpetrators of violence against women, they too should be involved in the fight against it.²⁶ Bringing men and boys into violence prevention benefits both men and women.²⁷ Gender-based violence, and gender inequality in general, often reinforces other types of inequality which hinders development for all.²⁸ In many Central and Eastern European countries, domestic violence, sexual harassment, and

22 Sloat, 437.

23 Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 8.

24 "Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)." The World Bank Report. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS>

25 Guenther, 871.

26 Juliana Carlson, Erin Casey, Jeffrey L. Edleson, Richard M. Tolman, Tova B. Walsh, and Ericka Kimball. "Strategies to Engage Men and Boys in Violence Prevention: A Global Organizational Perspective" *Violence Against Women* 21:11 (2015), 1408.

27 Ibid., 1408.

28 John Hendra, Ingrid Fitzgerald, and Dan Seymour. "Towards a New Transformative Development Agenda: The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality" *Journal of International Affairs* 67:1 (2013), 107.

15 Katja M. Guenther. "The Possibilities of and Pitfalls of NGO Feminism: Insights from Postsocialist Eastern Europe" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36:4 (2011), 870.

16 Bingham, 305.

17 Ibid., 305.

18 Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 7.

19 Amanda Sloat. "The Rebirth of Civil Society: The Growth of Women's NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe" *European Journal of Women's Studies* 12:4 (2005), 437-438.

20 Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 10.

21 United Nations. *Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview*. (pg. 5).

rape are common.²⁹ There are many different strategies to getting men and boys involved in the fight to help end problems like these. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action from 1995 emphasized the power of men and women working together to achieve gender equality, and since then, many organizations have been focusing their efforts on bringing men into the fold.³⁰ One study found some effective ways of involving men in gender equality include implementing programs that engage in group education, community outreach, and service-based programs.³¹ In Turkey, the United Nations Population Fund has run sexual health programs for 3 million members of the armed forces, and many of them say that the program has changed their beliefs about women's rights, including the right to live a life without violence.³² Bringing everyone into the fight for gender equality can be more quickly achieved with programs like these. Women cannot solve the problems of gender-based violence on their own, the involvement of men is crucial to helping end this and the other problems that come with gender inequality.³³

4. Implementing Perpetrator Programs

Since victims of gender-based violence face many negative consequences, so should those that commit the violence. Perpetrator programs work with known violent offenders to prevent the continuation of violence.³⁴ In general, these programs are often court-ordered and similar to other rehabilitation programs. Some different approaches to these programs include cognitive-behavioral, which associate violence with learned behaviors, and pro-feminist, which see patriarchal values as the cause of violence.³⁵

The main goal of them, though, is to reeducate perpetrators about violence and to change their behavior in the long run. Perpetrator programs vary in size throughout the European Union, but there are decidedly more of them in Western and Northern Europe.³⁶ The Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) is an important convention that has set out new standards for the countries that ratify it, including the setup of these programs for perpetrators of domestic violence.³⁷ This has resulted in an increase of these programs across the EU, but not many countries in Central and Eastern Europe have ratified the convention.³⁸ Some programs do exist in this region, but most have only been implemented in the last decade, making them fairly new.³⁹ Perpetrator programs here vary in size, but most have similar components.⁴⁰ The number of programs will mostly likely continue to rise in Central and Eastern Europe, especially if more countries decide to ratify the Istanbul Convention, because that will lead to more funding for these programs.

5. Campaigning to Raise Awareness

Campaigning is an efficient and effective way of bringing information to the public.⁴¹ In the case of gender-based violence, campaigns can teach the public about resources for both victims and offenders and they can emphasize the fact that gender-based violence is a violation of human rights and not just a private matter, a view that unfortunately many people in this region hold.⁴² In order for campaigns on this issue to be successful, they must promote gender equality, completely condemn all gender-based violence, and provide resources so that victims remain aware of their rights and know where they can get help.⁴³ Information from campaigns can reach the public through press

29 Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, 17-18.

30 Hendra, Fitzgerald, and Seymour, 112.

31 Carlson, Casey, Edleson, Tolman, Walsh, and Kimball, 1409.

32 United Nations Population Fund. *Focusing on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Eastern Europe and Central Asia*. (pg. 3).

33 Hendra, Fitzgerald, and Seymour, 117.

34 European Parliament, 47.

35 Leah Hamilton, Johann A. Koehler, and Friedrich A. Lösel. "Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programs in Europe, Part I: A Survey of Current Practice" *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 57:10 (2012), 1190.

36 *Ibid.*, 1193. See Appendix B.

37 Wojnicka, 35.

38 *Ibid.*, 35.

39 *Ibid.*, 35.

40 *Ibid.*, 37. See Appendix C.

41 European Parliament, 45.

42 *Ibid.*, 45.

43 *Ibid.*, 45.

conferences, various types of media, or the Internet.⁴⁴ One transnational campaign aimed at ending violence against women is the United Nation's UNITE campaign. Started in 2008, some of the goals of this campaign include the adoption of national laws to address gender-based violence, the establishment of better data collection, and the establishment of more local campaigns to get the word out.⁴⁵ An example of a smaller, local campaign is The "Silence is Not Gold" campaign, which ran in Croatia from 2006-2008.⁴⁶ This campaign, backed by funders like the European Commission, studied the prevalence of gender-based violence among teens in Croatia, and then used that research to raise awareness and educate the public.⁴⁷ The results of this campaign include: the education of sixty teachers on gender-based violence issues, 250,000 teenagers that gained important information from a campaign webpage, and 1,200 that gained knowledge that changed their views and beliefs.⁴⁸

RECOMMENDED SOLUTION:

Each solution given here has its own merits, and they can all be helpful in the right place and situation. In order to continue making progress on gender-based violence, however, a suitable solution must implement both preventative and response-based measures. This way, the problem can be scrutinized and tackled from different areas. An advisable solution for Central and Eastern European countries with communist pasts would be to combine solutions one and five; the continuation of the work of women's NGOs, and the continuation of campaigning against gender-based violence. Women's NGOs have already proven to be a good way to get women involved and working

together in civil society, an area that Central and Eastern European women seem to feel more comfortable in, as opposed to the political realm. Not only do these NGOs help local women with their immediate needs, like providing necessary social services, they are also active in the fight to prevent gender-based violence and can also have an impact on policy implementation.⁴⁹ A number of women's NGOs have popped up all over the region since the transition, but it is important that these NGOs continue working hard while advocating for women and providing them with necessary support against violence.

The second part of the recommended solution is to continue campaigning to raise awareness about gender-based violence. Campaigning can help in many ways, such as by teaching victims and survivors their rights and by changing the view of gender-based violence in general. International campaigns are imperative to getting the ball rolling, but more national and local campaigns like the one in Croatia should be implemented so that the message can reach more people. If countries in this region decide to do more campaigning against gender-based violence, whether it be through civil society or government, they will most likely receive outside funding. The European Union and entities within it, the United Nations, and others are invested in the abolishment of gender-based violence, so funding would likely be given to areas that are actively invested in it as well. National campaigns funded from outside sources can be effective as well because the people running them, say in Poland or Hungary, would know how to best get this information out to their fellow countrymen. With funding comes the ability to reach out, help, and educate a greater number of people with campaigns.

Solutions to ending gender-based violence come in many different forms that have been talked about and put into action, but these solutions will most likely be more successful when used together. Gender-based violence has always been, and will most likely always be, a difficult problem to fix, and one that has pervaded the world for a very long time. In post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the issue remains ongoing, but

44 Ibid., 45.


45 "About UNITE." United Nations. <http://www.un.org/en/women/endviolence/about.shtml>

46 "National Campaign to prevent gender based violence - "Silence is not gold" ("Šutnja nije zlato)". European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence/methods-and-tools/croatia/national-campaign-prevent-gender-based-violence-silence-not-gold-sutnja-nije-zlato>

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Sloat, 439.

often continues to not really be seen as one. With the implementation of both preventive and response-based solutions, the region can continue working on ending gender-based violence and possibly set the stage for other regions of the world. 

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Human Development Index (HDI)

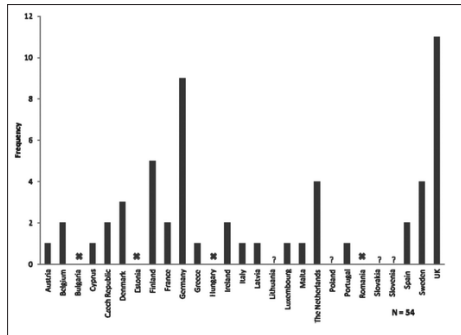
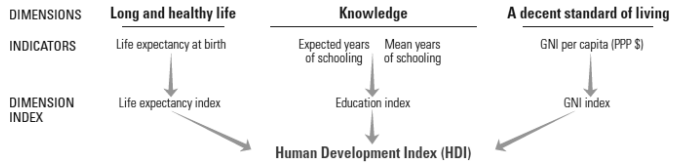


Table 1: Basic information on the programmes in Eastern European and Baltic countries that completed the IMPACT project survey.

	Age (when the programme started)	Size (men in attendance last year)	Combined with alcohol or substance abuse treatment	Combined with victim services (children/ women)	Support for victims of domestic violence (children/ women)	Work with female perpetrator services
Bulgaria	2010	8	YES	NO	YES/YES	NO
Czech Republic	2009	54	YES	YES	YES/NO	YES
Poland	2008	203	YES	YES	YES/YES	YES
Lithuania	2009	70	YES	YES	NO/YES	YES

Source: IMPACT project data.

ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED

Akoensi, Thomas D., Johann A. Kepler, Friedrich Lösel, and David K. Humphreys. "Domestic Violence Perpetrator Programs in Europe, Part II: A Systematic Review of the State of Evidence" *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 57:10 (2012), 1206-1225.

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Addressing Unethical Labor and Manufacturing Conditions within the Supply Chains of the European Apparel Industry

– Halle Gilbert

ABSTRACT

Europe's role as the largest contributor to the global textile industry has resulted in a demand for increased production and trade. The rapidly growing fast fashion market has pushed manufacturing from developed nations to developing, where subcontractor costs are low and profits can be maximized. Outsourced labor occurs predominantly in sweatshops, which function on low wages, high-volume production, minimal labor standards, and poor working conditions. While these economies rely on the textile industry, the fragmented nature of the supply chain results in minimal transparency and ethical compliance. To address these unacceptable practices and conditions, companies can elect to invest in alternative models, such as direct and strategic sourcing to ensure long-term contracting and monitoring, or finance reform via lean production. After thoroughly assessing each level of supply and demand, long-term investment in development and regulation through EU and NGO cooperation will be what best allows the European Union to build a framework for a more transparent and compliant apparel industry.

The European continent is home to the world's most celebrated apparel brands and proprietor of history's most significant textile and clothing (T&C) innovations. Europe's reputation as a focal point of the apparel industry has created pressure for production, progress, and perpetual advancement. The European Union (EU) T&C industry generates an annual revenue of 169 billion euro, comprising one third of the global market.¹

The intensifying movement of capital, technology, and production has resulted in vertical disintegration, whereby multinational corporation (MNC) manufacturing has transitioned from developed to developing nations, subsequently decreasing costs of labor, involvement, compliance, and regulation.² The EU imports nearly half of the world's textile production; nearly 70 percent of which

1 "2013: Textiles and clothing in the EU." European Commission Report.

2 IDE-JETRO. *Aid for Trade and Value Chains in Textile and Apparel*. 2013. (pg. 22)

is manufactured in developing nations by these subcontracted factories.³ Furthermore, fragmenting supply chains decreases risk especially in cases where MNCs contract with hundreds of thousands of different factories abroad.⁴

These workplaces, characteristically defined as sweatshops, function on negligibly acceptable standards of pay along with violations of labor, safety, health, and environmental codes.⁵ With a majority of MNCs having little knowledge of the sourcing and manufacturing methods of their third-party purveyors, public awareness of this information remains scarce. It is often not until tragedy strikes, such as the Rana Plaza collapse of 2013 (1,110 killed)⁶ and the Dhaka factory fire of 2012 (110 killed)⁷ do companies and their consumers become aware of the systemic negligence.⁸

These catastrophes have brought a scattered movement of international anti-sweatshop campaigns, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and trade unions within the EU, all aimed at persuading MNCs to ensure the protection of workers' rights at every level of the supply chain. These efforts bolster public awareness, but a lack of political coordination and synchronization undermine any ability to affect policy change.

From an economic standpoint, sweatshops are observed as an increasingly essential aspect of global supply chains and the economies of developing nations (appendix 1).⁹ In 2016, the International Labour Organization (ILO) noted

the importance of these supply chains and suggested that governments may lack the capacity or resources to effectively monitor and enforce compliance.¹⁰ Efforts to limit sweatshop use have fallen short, as seen with Multi Fibre Arrangement (MFA). This debatably ineffective measure aimed to govern T&C trade by allowing developed countries to adjust imports from the developing world.¹¹ According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the system cost the developing world 27 million jobs and \$40 billion a year in lost exports.

While it is clear that outsourced labor is an inarguable reality of the T&C industry, there must be a required level of compliance and attention to the working conditions of garment workers. As a whole, the EU's inability to properly acknowledge, prioritize, and enforce protocols and penalties upon MNCs perpetuates worldwide ignorance of blatant human rights violations.

SOLUTION ONE

Maintain the Status Quo

The T&C industry is extremely vital to the trade, GNI, and employment of developing nations. It provides openings for export diversification and expansion, navigation of labor cost advantages, and opportunities for emerging niches within a community.¹² At the macro level, T&C is a leading source of foreign exchange, accounting for over half of total manufacturing exports in these nations (e.g. 80% in Cambodia and 83.5% in Bangladesh).¹³ Total national employment for MNC-affiliated manufacturing occupations ranges from 35% in certain developing nations to 75% in Bangladesh and 90% in both Cambodia and Lesotho.¹⁴ On an local scale, sweatshop employees are paid more on average compared to the prevailing market wage for similar

3 European Parliament Research Service. *Workers' Conditions in the textile and clothing sector: just an Asian affair?* 2014. (pg. 2)

4 IDE-JETRO. (pg. 10)

5 "International Labour Standards on Forced Labour." International Labour Organization.

6 Sarah Labowitz. "Business as Usual is Not an Option." New York University Stern School of Business. (2014), 9.

7 Ibid., 9.

8 Magnus Bostrom. "Introducing the Sustainability Challenge of Textiles and Clothing." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 39:4 (2016), 367-375.

9 Benjamin Powell. "Sweatshops and Third-World Living Standards: Are the Jobs Worth the Sweat?" *Journal of Labor Research* 27:2 (2006), 263.

10 International Labour Organization. "Workplace Compliance in Global Supply Chains." 2016. (pg. 5)

11 "Textiles Monitoring Body: The Agreement on Textiles and Clothing." World Trade Organization.

12 Powell. 264.

13 Jodie Keane. "The role of textile and clothing industries in growth and development strategies." (2008), 2.

14 Ibid., 4.

occupations elsewhere in the economy. In the economies wherein sweatshop use is most prevalent, the average income per employee is more than 100 percent of the national average (appendix 2).¹⁵ In 9 of the 11 top-producing countries, the reported sweatshop wages equal or exceed average income, doubling it in Cambodia, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras.¹⁶ Furthermore, the T&C sector offers women employment opportunities that far exceed those found in rural areas or domestic sectors.¹⁷

Economics aside, pushes for transparency within the supply chain have resulted in small but increased MNC effort to regulate sweatshop conditions and promote benefits. As profits increase over time, gains will be shared via job opportunities, familial remittances, bolstered economies, and improved infrastructure, in turn increasing access to education and ability for higher national savings. There is obvious potential of the T&C industry, as is, to contribute to long-term growth and development of developing nations.

SOLUTION TWO

Direct Strategic Sourcing Model

Each of Europe's ten most distinguished apparel brands utilizes third party, developing nation-based contractors to supply their products.¹⁸ The convoluted nature of the supply chain results in minimal transparency and accountability. This diversification reduces risk and ensures collateral. In response to recent demands, certain companies have come forward with information regarding where they source their garments.¹⁹ As the call for transparency and authenticity increases from consumers, however, companies will need to provide information that is not only accurate, but ethically reputable.

The alternative model of direct, strategic sourcing addresses these issues by requiring that the

buyer works with partnered suppliers on a long-term basis. In this model, the buyer provides the supplier with multi-year projection on order volumes, which include quality, delivery, and price expectations.²⁰ This demands awareness and accountability between independent contractors and the MNCs for whom they supply. Long-term perspective provides the supplier with the security to invest in technology and training, thus improving efficiency and decreasing cost.²¹ Open collaboration and remediation will change the landscape from reactionary to preventive.

The direct sourcing model has been successfully implemented in the footwear industry, including German manufacturer Adidas AG.²² This approach allows developing countries to continue to reap the economic benefits of MNC contracting while increasing the accountability and execution of MNC-subcontractor compliance.

SOLUTION THREE

Lean Manufacturing

The largest hurdle in outsourced T&C labor is enforcing subcontractor compliance with external laws and codes. The European Commission (EC) has established several regulatory policies with many of the EU's strategic industry partners, which includes China, Brazil, India, Japan, and the United States.²³ The dialogue aims to further converge the rules of global business participation, yet while they regulate product and manufacturing quality, they ignore quality of workplace conditions. The EC must take advantage of this open conversation by incorporating minimum labor principles and practices. It is conventional wisdom that reform costs money, and therefore undermines any competitive advantage that these companies enjoy. To mitigate this issue, the EC must require that firms replace traditional

15 Powell. 266.

16 Ibid. 267.

17 Keane. 6.

18 "Fashion/clothing retailers in Europe 2016." Retail-Index.

19 Bostrom. 369.

20 Labowitz. 26.

21 Ibid. 27.

22 Stephen J. Frenkel. "Code Compliance at Adidas – The Human Factor." 1:1 (2003), 54.

23 "Cooperation with governments." European Commission.

mass manufacturing with “lean manufacturing” principles, whereby assembly workers learn to execute a variety of production tasks rather than one singular aspect of the large assemblage process.²⁴ This approach increases competition and improves wages, product quality, and terms of employment. Across eleven developing nations, factories that adopted lean manufacturing improved compliance with labor standards by over 15 percent.²⁵ This production system requires fewer, amplified skillsets, but employers have more incentive to retain these valuable workers by improving conditions.

The ILO supports lean manufacturing by promoting upgraded human resource management practices through the Better Work Programme.²⁶ The promotion of subcontractor competition increases wages, demands increased skillsets, and improves working conditions.

SOLUTION FOUR

Increased NGO Coordination and Collaboration

Within the growing anti-sweatshop movement, NGOs are frequently perceived as the liaison between MNCs and the public. The realities of the first tier of the supply chain have resulted in the development of organizations such as the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC), the UK’s Ethical Trade Initiative, and the Netherland’s Fair Wear Foundation.²⁷ These groups aim to coordinate with unions to both pressure MNCs to commit to monitoring labor standards and to persuade states to initiate regulatory regimes. Their loosely formed networks often fail due to lack of support and endorsement, criticism from other NGOs or unions, and general ineffectiveness

and unreliability.²⁸ Organizations must address shortcomings by modifying their mandates and combining resources to establishing a clear and agreed-upon objective, as well as supporting unions—within their limitations—and developing a mechanism that can quantify and broadcast MNC improvement. This increase in reliability will therefore help to mobilize support and investment. Additionally, companies will make long-term commitments resulting from the new found financial prosperity. The positive effects of NGO reform have been seen in India and Pakistan, where companies, auditors, and trade unions report that company-controlled monitoring systems were improving compliance with legal requirements.²⁹ Public awareness of abuses will demand accountability which will allow NGOs and unions to leverage the consequences as a means of fostering sustainable reform practices. Combining adequate uses of time and resources will promote cooperation and help organizations and MNCs build a foundation of confidence and transparency.

24 P.G. Saleeshya. “Lean manufacturing practices in textile industries – a case study.” *Int. J. Collaborative Enterprises* 3:1 (2012), 18.

25 *Ibid.*, 20.

26 “Applications invited from locally based Lean / Kaizen/ Productivity management Consultants” International Labour Office.

27 Tim Connor. “Time to scale up cooperation? Trade unions, NGOs, and the international anti-sweatshop movement.” *Development in Practice* 14:1-2 (2007), 63.

28 *Ibid.*, 66.


29 *Ibid.*, 68.

RECOMMENDED SOLUTION

Unethical T&C labor practices and manufacturing conditions present a multitude of challenges that can only be addressed through the efficient coordination of multiple players. Reformation must begin with a thorough assessment of the entirety of the garment sector from every tier of the supply chain. As the predominant stakeholder in foreign subcontract agreements, the firms and governing bodies that form the European apparel industry will enhance governance through a combination of private and public mechanisms. The EU, via the framework laid out by the ILO Better Work Programme, must commit to forming mutually beneficial agreements between its own MNCs and their consumers, as well as the governments of developing nations and other NGOs as a means of promoting greater transparency in business relationships and infrastructure development (appendix 3).

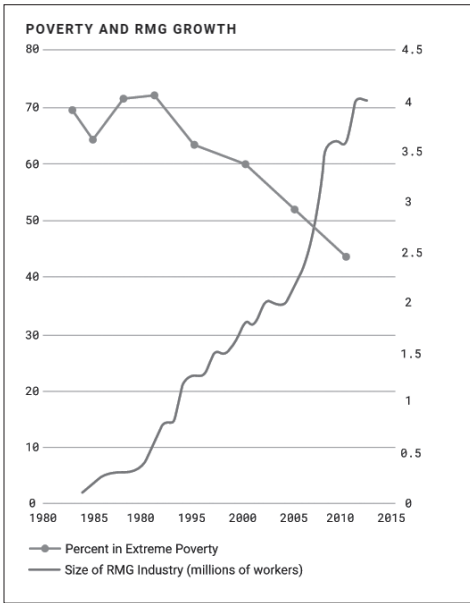
These institutions and their members must combine resources to effectively determine how many factories and facilities participate in manufacturing and exportation, regardless of their level of productivity or legitimacy. This running list should be available to the public and updated periodically to ensure accuracy. Transparency from supply facility to storefront will provide financial and reputational benefits to brands that will be far more effective and profitable than the empty rhetoric that exists today. Drawing upon the codes of conduct outlined by the Better Work Programme, the EU and relevant NGOs will provide a standard model of compliance for MNCs, which will include wage minimums, weekly hour limitations, benefits, and adequate health and safety regulations.

Furthermore, retailers should continue to invest in outsourcing, but do so by establishing long-term commitments. Investment will be financed using the same methods that subcontractors are currently promised, however, it will be on a uniform and limited scale. Minimizing diversification increases risk, but the hazards are far outweighed by the benefits of investing long-term, which can be seen in infrastructural development and technological advances.

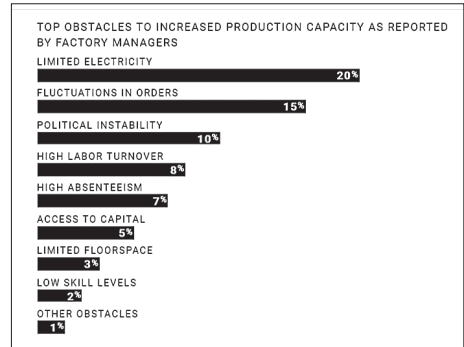
The private sector will not be expected to bear the burden of reforming labor conditions alone. In nations where the T&C industry accounts for more than 75% of the gross domestic product, government funding should be allocated towards improving facilities, transportation, and social security. Pressure will come from the EU, drawing from the minimum labor standards outlined by the ILO to implement regulatory monitoring and auditing apparatuses within existing foreign trade policies and dialogues. Infrastructural safety and general labor practice minimums should be added to the United Nations agenda, asking that every involved country and MNC commit resources and long-term funding to address gaps and improve infrastructure. By combining long-term investment in infrastructural development, establishing monitoring systems, and bolstering NGO and IGO coordination, the European Union will be able to lay the groundwork for a more transparent, compliant, and decent global apparel industry. 

APPENDICES

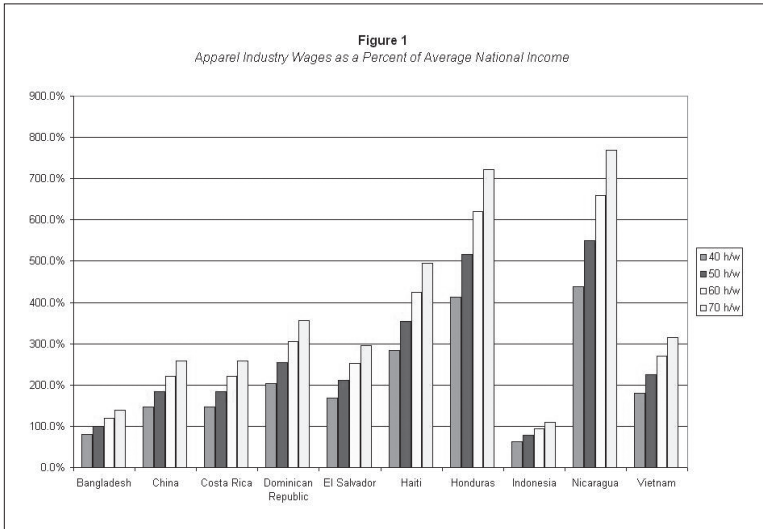
APPENDIX 1: BANGLADESH (RMG = READY MADE GARMENTS)



APPENDIX 3:



APPENDIX 2: APPAREL INDUSTRY WAGES AS A PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE NATIONAL INCOME





Ending the Maltreatment of Indigenous Oaxacan Migrant Farm Workers

– Ashley Jensen

ABSTRACT:

Indigenous populations from the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca are becoming more prominent in migrant farm work in the United States. Indigenous farm workers are often subject to discrimination and harsher maltreatment as they often are illiterate or unable to communicate due to language barriers. The indigenous migrants of Oaxaca are of Mexico and the US's poorest and require immediate response to their growth and ending maltreatment. In this paper, I will explore the contributing factors that lead to the discrimination of indigenous peoples and create development approaches with hope to end maltreatment, ultimately concluding to a suggested course of action that will work toward the development of these indigenous communities both in Oaxaca and in the United States.

OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND:

Since the start of the Bracero program in 1942, migrant farm work has been a growing field in the United States.¹ More recently, indigenous populations from the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca have become more predominant in the farm work industry.² Due to structural racism and language barriers, these indigenous populations have been subject to harsher maltreatment, both in their home country of Mexico as well as in the farm work field of the United States in comparison to their mestizo (mixed race of indigenous and European descent) peers. There are currently 16 distinct indigenous groups in Oaxaca, each with their own subculture and variation of languages. The three most prominent indigenous groups that migrate to the U.S. for farm work are the Zapotec, Mixtec, and Trique.³ Although efforts

- 1 "About." Omeka RSS. Accessed May 11, 2017. <http://braceroarchive.org/about>.
- 2 Kresge, Lisa . "INDIGENOUS OAXACAN COMMUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA: AN OVERVIEW ." California Institutes for Rural Studies, November 2007, 6. file:///C:/Users/ashni/Downloads/Pub1107.1.pdf.
- 3 An estimated 52% of Oaxaca's population of 3.802 million is of indigenous descent although it may be much higher. Schmal , John P. "The indigenous people of Oaxaca." Mexconnect . <http://www.mexconnect.com/articles/371-the-indigenous-people-of-oaxaca>.

have been made by both the Mexican and United States' government, these indigenous communities are among both nations' poorest as they lack access to education, health care, and sanitary needs such as potable water and decent living conditions. Aside from lacking basic needs, these indigenous groups are notably discriminated against and are subject to various acts of violence and abuse.⁴

Although land rights were granted to many indigenous citizens after the Mexican Revolution in the early 1900's, many of these farmers have since experienced severe land degradation.⁵ In addition, agriculture in Mexico took more of a down fall after various trade agreements were established, such as the North American and Central America Free Trade Agreements (NAFTA and CAFTA, respectively), while the United States agricultural sector became a booming industry that required a larger, more demanding work force, urging indigenous populations to migrate north.⁶ There are many high-risk factors, such as kidnapping or murder by human and drug traffickers, abuse from immigration officials, death by lack of sanitary food and water, or even encounters with dangerous animals, that hinder the transitional process of migrant workers.⁷

Oaxaca has the highest illiteracy rate in Mexico, with an estimated 18% of the population that cannot read or write, and an average of four years of education.⁸ Illiteracy among indigenous migrant farmworkers has been a crucial factor to their inequality, contributing to the huge

disadvantages they face, derived from language barriers. Structural racism has also influenced oppression in indigenous communities, as these farms often create their own caste systems leading to indigenous peoples being held subject to more abuse than their mestizo peers.⁹ Alongside abuse and discrimination, they face very poor living conditions, and the work conditions of these farm workers are also of low standards, especially for illiterate indigenous peoples, as they are not able to read warning labels, contracts, or express their needs. These factors ultimately leading to long-term physical and mental health effects¹⁰. It is necessary to address the hardships faced by indigenous migrant farmworkers to improve development in these communities, both in Mexico and the U.S.

APPROACH 1:

Education Programs Focused on Indigenous Populations

Illiteracy and language barriers are strong contributing factors to the poor quality of life for the indigenous peoples of Oaxaca.¹¹ Indigenous migrant farm workers with little education and no multi-lingual skills are more subject to discrimination, displacement, and are often unable to defend their rights. By providing more accessible education institutions, creating educational incentives, and implementing multi-lingual programs, the opportunity for growth of these indigenous groups will expand immensely.

One main reason many indigenous youth do not carry out their education past the first four years

4 Holmes, Seth M. "An Ethnographic Study of the Social Context of Migrant Health in the United States." *PLoS Medicine*. Accessed May 11, 2017. <http://journals.plos.org/plosmedicine/article?id=10.1371/journal.pmed.0030448>.

5 "NOGALES: When the Land No Longer Gives." *Berkeley Journalism*. Accessed May 11, 2017. <https://journalism.berkeley.edu/projects/border/nogales.html>

6 Orenelas, Carolina. "The Health of Migrant Oaxacan Farm Workers in California." *Stanford*: 1. http://med.stanford.edu/schoolhealtheval/files/CarolinaOrenelas_HumBio122MFinal.pdf.

7 Holmes, Seth M. *Fresh fruit, broken bodies migrant farmworkers in the United States*. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 2014.

8 Press, From Associated. "Illiteracy in Oaxaca Called Mexico's Worst." *Los Angeles Times*. June 11, 1989. Accessed April 03, 2017. http://articles.latimes.com/1989-06-11/news/mn-3259_1_oaxaca-illiteracy-southern-state.

9 In the case of bias on American farms, it tends to be cultural (e.g., mestizos speak Spanish while the indigenous do not) rather than a preference for mixed-race people. (Holmes pg. 54)

10 Donlan, William, and Junghee Lee. "Screening For Depression Among Indigenous Mexican Migrant Farmworkers Using The Patient Health Questionnaire-91." *Psychological Reports* 106, no. 2 (2010): 419-32. doi:10.2466/pr0.106.2.419-432.

11 The indigenous population of Mexico has an illiteracy rate of 44% and only 27% of the population have obtained a high school diploma. (Heath, Hilary. "Mexico's Indigenous Population Continues to Face High Rates of Poverty." *Panoramas*. May 26, 2016. <http://www.panoramas.pitt.edu/health/mexicos-indigenous-population-continues-face-high-rates-poverty>.)

is lack of incorporation of indigenous beliefs and practices. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples discusses in article 14 the right of indigenous people to an education that is culturally centered and accessible at all levels of the state with no discrimination.¹² Ensuring this shift in educational structures can prolong the education of these groups, thus improving literacy rates.

As many Oaxacan indigenous migrant farm workers are limited to knowing their native languages, it is important for the job outlook and security of these populations to expand their lingual knowledge. In 1946 the Independent Department of Native Affairs created a Spanish program for indigenous children under the Ministry of Education. Expanding on this program with indigenous culture incorporation will open the window of success for indigenous youth.¹³

APPROACH 2:

Revising Trade Agreements to Fit the Needs of Indigenous Peoples

One of the many reasons indigenous people of Oaxaca choose to migrate and risk their lives and human rights is because their previous roles in Mexican agriculture have diminished due to trade agreements that have undermined the Mexican agriculture sector.¹⁴ Revising these trade agreements to comply with needs of indigenous peoples can contribute to the economic growth of indigenous groups in Oaxaca.

Currently there has been no indigenous contribution to drafting trade agreements across North and Central America. It is shown that these trade agreements have little contribution

to growth of GDP and ultimately target Mexico's poorest, i.e. indigenous groups. Although there have been many efforts for indigenous protection policies, many times these policies can be "...rendered void by investment treaties."¹⁵ Recreating these agreements will largely impact indigenous communities in Oaxaca as the state's economy is largely based on the agriculture of goods such as corn and beans.¹⁶

The growth of the Oaxacan economy will reduce the need for dangerous migration, in turn avoiding the lack of basic needs provided to illegal migrant farm workers in the United States. Enduring the harsh effects farm work has, both physically and mentally, along with being away from home, has strong negative impacts on workers' health.

APPROACH 3:

Adjusting the Labor Laws of the Agriculture Sector

Although the U.S has a set of strict labor laws created for the safety and well-being of America's workforce, many times these laws are over looked or hardly enforced in the agriculture sector.¹⁷ These laws have failed to protect the rights of many indigenous migrant farmworkers as many are illiterate or face language barriers, thus making it difficult to ensure the enforcement of these laws. The Department of Labor in the U.S. is working toward the enforcement of labor laws in the agricultural sector with hopes to provide benefits to those whom have been

12 "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." United Nations , 2007, 10. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfi/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.

13 "Mexico - Indigenous peoples." Minority rights group international. 2017. <http://minorityrights.org/minorities/indigenous-peoples-4/>.

14 Alvarado, Emmanuel. "Poverty and Inequality in Mexico after NAFTA: Challenges, Setbacks and Implications." Estudios fronterizos. Accessed May 11, 2017. http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0187-69612008000100003.

15 "UN Official Warns Trade Deals Could Have Major Implications for Indigenous Peoples." Cultural Survival. Accessed April 03, 2017. <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/un-official-warns-trade-deals-could-have-major-implications-indigenous-peoples>.

16 Ornelas, pg. 1

17 "Workers' Compensation and the Exemption for Agricultural Labor I Center for Agricultural Law and Taxation." CALT Center for Agricultural Law and Taxation. July 24, 2015. Accessed May 11, 2017. <https://www.calt.iastate.edu/article/workers%E2%80%99-compensation-and-exemption-agricultural-labor>.

violated against, and to deter employers from violating labor laws.¹⁸

An important part of improving the enforcement of labor laws is to include the union, or organization of workers, in the policy drafting process. Thus, allowing the voice of the workers to be heard and to address specific issues that often go unnoticed. It is also important to ensure the protection of those in the union to ensure they won't lose their jobs over speaking against the injustice imposed by their employers.¹⁹

Many current labor laws exclude farm work, such as The National Labor Relations Act and The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938. Even laws on living conditions, such as the Housing Act of 1949 and Occupational Safety and Healthy Act of 1970, have not pertained to living conditions on the farms that many indigenous farmworkers endure.²⁰ It is important to review these laws and incorporate the needs of farm workers in fairness to include all aspects of the workforce in the United States.²¹

APPROACH 4:

Supporting the Union of Indigenous Workers

In recent years, indigenous migrant farmworkers, more commonly from Oaxaca, have begun unionizing to represent the needs of their community. These indigenous unions have helped give voice to many workers that are illiterate or have language barriers.²² Through the union, we see the perspective of the workers and can work toward ending their mistreatment and inequality. Current indigenous union

groups are often ignored by their farms and the government due to lack of proper registration and organization. Supporting and formalizing these unions of workers will further ensure success in improving the lives of indigenous farm workers.

There are current laws that support and define unions. The process of being recognized as a union can be long and difficult for many indigenous workers as many lack the confidence and resources to begin them²³. Adjusting these laws to easily facilitate the indigenous workers will ensure the advancement of these unions, thus supporting the indigenous migrant farm worker.

APPROACH 5:

Access to Culturally Incorporated Healthcare

Farmworkers' health when in the United States is often ignored, leaving farmworkers with long-lasting physical conditions and mental health issues that are hardly addressed. Many indigenous farmworkers have language barriers and illiteracy that prevents them from understanding their rights to healthcare or the opportunity to go to a medical facility and be understood.²⁴ Often, indigenous peoples in migrant farm work do not consider U.S. healthcare, as it does not incorporate their indigenous practices such as the use of Shamans. The Office of Special Population Health within the Bureau of Primary Health Care at the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA) has created centers for migrant farmworkers health, but they are often not accessible to indigenous groups due to these barriers.²⁵

18 "U.S. Department of Labor Enforcement in Agriculture." Farmworker Justice (2015): 2. Web. [https://www.farmworkerjustice.org/sites/default/files/armworkerJusticeDOLenforcementReport2015%20\(1\).pdf](https://www.farmworkerjustice.org/sites/default/files/armworkerJusticeDOLenforcementReport2015%20(1).pdf).

19 "Labor Laws -" National Farm Worker Ministry. N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Apr. 2017. <http://nfwm.org/education-center/farm-worker-issues/labor-laws/>.

20 Ornelas, pg. 4

21 Farmworker Justice, pg. 3

22 Zlolniski, Christian . "Uneven Power Landscapes: Growers, Unions, and Farm Laborers in Mexico's Baja California." Continue to Learn, August 9, 2015. Accessed April 18, 2017. <http://www.continuetolearn.uiowa.edu/conferences/pdfs/IowaPaperCZlolniski.pdf>.

23 "Mexico." U.S. Department of State. April 13, 2016. Accessed April 16, 2017. <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2015/wha/253027.htm>.

24 Hindawi. "The Impact of Invisibility on the Health of Migrant Farmworkers in the Southeastern United States: A Case Study from Georgia." Nursing Research and Practice. July 01, 2012. Accessed May 11, 2017. <https://www.hindawi.com/journals/nrp/2012/760418/>.

25 "Migrant Health Centers." Migrant Health Centers | Farmworker Justice. Accessed April 03, 2017. <https://www.farmworkerjustice.org/content/migrant-health-centers>.

Healthcare is extremely important in the agricultural sector, considering the conditions the endure daily, having many negative impacts on the quality of life of these farm workers. Mental health issues are extremely prominent in indigenous groups as family and strong community ties are a large part of culture and often lost while working in the U.S.²⁶ First, implementing health care policies to protect from physical disabilities, then incorporating indigenous practices into healthcare, will have strong positive effects on mental health of indigenous farmworkers, thus making the physical healing process much smoother. It is important to recognize both the physical and mental health of indigenous farmworkers to improve their quality of life and ensure their rights.

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION:

Indigenous Oaxacan farm workers are subject to harsher discrimination than their mestizo peers, often held to the lowest positions in the work force. The largest contributing factors to their maltreatment are language barriers and illiteracy. Implementing culturally centered educational programs will help combat their maltreatment and gain a better quality of life.²⁷ Better access to education for these indigenous groups will positively affect their job outlook, their opportunity for inclusion in policy drafting, and equality in the workforce.

Incorporating indigenous practices in educational programs in Mexico will create incentives to continue education and instill confidence in indigenous youth. Many current educational facilities in indigenous Oaxacan populations lack proper requirements and 90% of the indigenous teachers in Oaxaca do not fit

the required academic background.²⁸ Improving education quality in these communities is necessary to further validate indigenous incorporation in education and lead to higher success rates. Higher education levels within the indigenous communities of Oaxaca will have a great impact on local economic growth, lowering the rate of illegal migration across the border and creating more opportunity within their home state. Continuing education programs in the U.S. for migrant workers that have already made sacrifices for steady labor will impact their quality of life as well as increasing the likelihood of contributing to the defense of their rights, ensuring their safety in the migration process.


For the case of migrant farm workers, the chances of enduring harsher maltreatment are much lower if the farmworker can communicate with their peers and can express their needs. Education also empowers the farmworkers to know and exercise their rights, enhancing the chance of having voice in the policy drafting process. Often, injustices go unreported, but with an educational background, migrant workers are more likely to be aware of their rights and can speak against infringements. Through bilingual and educational programs, farmworkers are better able to communicate with employers and hold them accountable. Improvements in indigenous educational programs can make the indigenous community more credible in fields such as law and medicine, creating a safer, more comfortable environment for the indigenous population, strengthening unions and encouraging inclusion for workers.

Education is an empowering tool that is a human right and should be accessible to all beings. Indigenous communities of Oaxaca are of Mexico's and the United States' poorest, requiring immediate response. To ensure sustainable development in these communities, we must empower citizens through education, ultimately combatting discrimination and abuse in both Mexico and the United States. Culturally centered education will provide opportunity for growth in these communities, inspiring indigenous peoples to defend their rights and

26 "The Mixtec, Zapotec, and Triqui Indigenous Peoples of Mexico." The National Center on Cultural and Linguistic Responsiveness: 3. <https://eclkc.ohs.acf.hhs.gov/hslc/ta-system/cultural-linguistic/docs/ind-culture-background.pdf>.

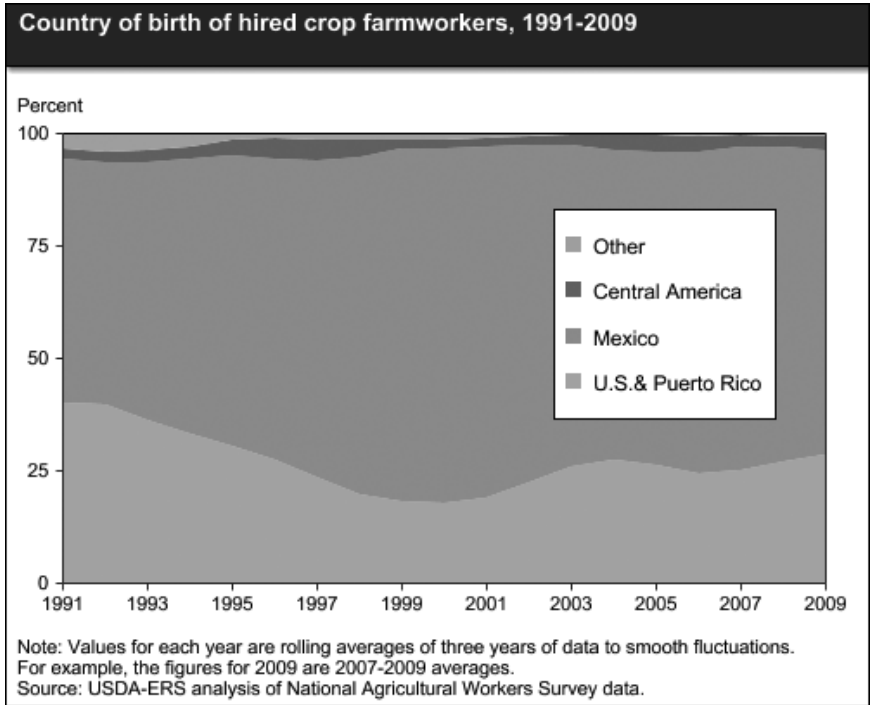
27 "Ericdigests.org." Literacy Education for Adult Migrant Farmworkers. ERIC Digest. Accessed May 11, 2017. <https://www.ericdigests.org/pre-9220/migrant.htm>.

28 "About Oaxaca" The Oaxaca Fund Initiative- About Oaxaca, Accessed March 24, 2017. <http://oaxaca.icf-xchange.org/aboutoaxaca>

end maltreatment across the board, enhancing physical and mental health and overall livelihood for the community. 

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: ²⁹



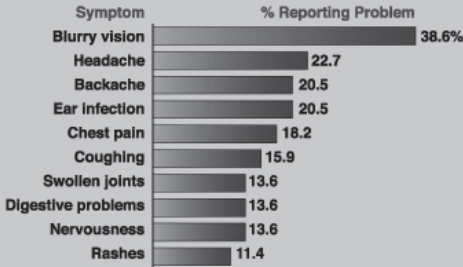
²⁹ “Background” United States Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, September 27, 2016, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/farm-economy/farm-labor/background.aspx>

APPENDIX 2:³⁰

The Hazards Farmworkers Face

Nearly 40 percent of California farmworkers reported blurry vision, which experts blame on proximity to pesticides and drinking contaminated water. A third reported musculoskeletal conditions, such as backache and swollen joints. Farmworkers also have higher risks of leukemia and stomach cancer compared to other Latinos.

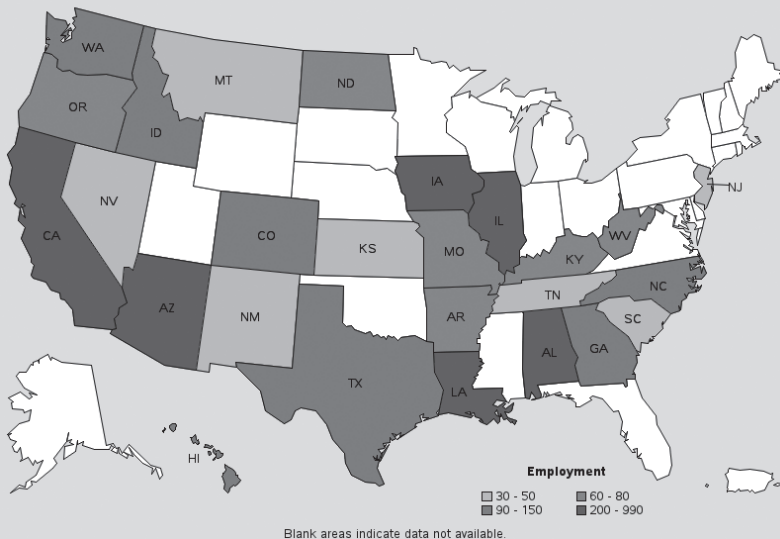
Health Problems Reported by California Agricultural Workers



Source: U.S. Department of Labor, "Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey, 1997-98," March 2000

Appendix 3:³¹

Employment of agricultural workers, all other, by state, May 2016



30 Triplett, William, "Migrant Farmworkers: Is the Government Doing Enough to Protect Them?" CQ Researcher, October 8, 2004, <http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/document.php?id=cqresrre2004100800>

31 "Occupational Employment and Wages" Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 2016, <https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes452099.htm>

State	Employment (1)	Hourly mean wage	Annual mean wage (2)
California	990	\$16.81	\$34,960
Iowa 450	0.29	\$14.70	\$30,580
Louisiana	300	\$26.79	\$55,720
Arizona	280	\$21.34	\$44,400
Alabama	280	\$13.14	\$27,320

ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED:

“Farming – Agriculture”, BK 101 Knowledge Base, 2017, Accessed March 30th, 2017, <http://www.basicknowledge101.com/subjects/farming.html>

“Indigenous Peoples’ Right to Education”, EDUCA: Servicios Para una Educacion Alternativa, August 9th, 2016, accessed March 28th, 2017, <http://educaoaxaca.org/english/2046-indigenous-peoples-right-to-education.html>

“10 Ways to Protect Undocumented Migrant Workers”, Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants, accessed April 1st, 2017, http://picum.org/picum.org/uploads/file_/PICUM_Ten_Ways_to_Protect_Undocumented_Migrant_Workers.pdf

Gonzales, Eduardo “Migrant Farm Workers: Our Nation’s Invisible Population”, Extension, October 05, 2015, accessed March 22nd, 2017 <http://articles.extension.org/pages/9960/migrant-farm-workers:-our-nations-invisible-population>

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Text, David Bacon photos and. “Indigenous Migrant Farmworkers Demand Change in the Fields.” Earth Island Institute. Accessed April 16, 2017. http://www.earthisland.org/journal/index.php/eij/article/indigenous_migrant_farmworkers_demand_change_in_the_fields/.



Finding a European Energy Alternative to Russian Natural Gas

– Victor Atkinson

ABSTRACT

In the wake of Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea, Europe scrambled to wean itself off Russia's immense natural gas reserves. Europe, however, remains critically dependent on Russian energy, and the situation worsens with time. This paper compares six possible policy approaches for increasing European energy security in the terms of financial cost, time needed for implementation, environmental cleanliness, and market flexibility. Indices created show Eastern and Central Europe to be especially vulnerable in a variety of critical values such as percentage of energy consumed sourced in natural gas, among others. This paper is made to highlight the current geopolitical crisis across Europe and to offer a thorough analysis of available courses of action. Observations and recommendations produced in this paper may replenish zeal to expedite Europe's hunt for energy alternatives as well as design a framework for future energy security policy.

OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

In 2006, 2009, and 2014, European countries suffered at the hand of Russia's steeled grip on the natural gas market.^{1, 2} In 2006 and 2009 Russia turned off natural gas pipelines and price gouged Ukraine and Belarus because of their pro-western politics and for trying to negotiate lower prices. These conflicts also effected gas prices downstream in the rest of Europe.³ However, in 2014 Europe discovered the true danger of Russia's natural gas dominance. Following the popular ousting of pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich in Ukraine, the Kremlin mobilized to maintain control of the Crimean gas infrastructure and naval base of which Yanukovich had previously permitted generous Russian use.⁴ This resulted in an

- 1 Alexander Ghaleb. *Natural Gas as an Instrument of Russian State Power*. (Carlsile. The Letort Papers, 2011), 90.
- 2 Andreas Goldthau and Tim Boersma. *The 2014 Ukraine-Russia crisis: Implications for energy markets and scholarship*. (Harvard. Energy Research and Social Science, 2014), 13.
- 3 "Factbox – 18 countries effected by Russia-Ukraine gas row." Reuters, Jan 7, 2009.
- 4 Ghaleb, 85.

incursion and effective Russian annexation of the peninsula. When the new Ukrainian government decried the invasion and the EU announced sanctions on Russia, the Kremlin responded by threats to shut off gas and raise prices for the entirety of Europe.⁵ At this point, more than fifty percent of Europe's natural gas reserves came from Russia, and Europe's heads of state began to realize that their dependence on Russian natural gas imposed a critical handicap that gave the Kremlin far too much leverage over the Eastern states.^{6,7}

The European response lacks coherence. While Norway and the Netherlands focus on their own North Sea resources, France reinforces its nuclear energy infrastructure, Spain builds itself as a liquified natural gas (LNG) middle-man, and certain eastern states such as Poland and Romania return to dirty hydrocarbons such as coal and oil.^{8,9,10} However, the energy policy of the EU administration and Germany maintains environmental quality standards by phasing out coal, oil, and nuclear energy.¹¹ Natural gas from Russia, as the cheapest, cleanest, and most accessible alternative, will naturally fill the void left by these abandoned energy sources.¹²

Russia has built four major pipelines into Europe: Nord Stream which connects to Germany; Yamal which passes through Belarus; Brotherhood which passes through Ukraine, and Blue Stream which enters Europe via Turkey.¹³ This gives Russia alternatives should one country disallow Russian natural gas to flow through

their territory. Additionally, Russia currently sells a great deal of natural gas to Japan and constructs the Altai Pipeline to connect to China in the hopes of developing an alternative market in Asia, giving Russia even more leverage over European markets.¹⁴

In Eastern Europe the dependence on Russian natural gas has prominently established itself and few alternatives exist as geography and economy restrict them.¹⁵ Russia has shown that it is not afraid to utilize its natural gas reserves as leverage against European countries. To defend themselves from potential energy crises and from outside market manipulation, Europe needs to diversify its energy sources.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Approach 1: Maintain the Status Quo

Following the European Union's call to phase out nuclear and coal-based energy, the current path assuredly promises strong benefits for the environment. In this scenario, each country in Europe carries responsibility for their own energy provision, guided but not forced by the EU. Due to the relative freedom for the individual countries, this option provides strong economic benefits as well, as countries can choose to spend nothing to change their current energy providers and infrastructure. Appendix D shows that the Eastern European countries benefit economically from receiving most of their natural gas from Russia at drastically lower prices both industrially and domestically when compared to their western counterparts.

However, this solution for the most part ignores the geopolitical end energy security aspects of the present situation. If Europe freely allows Russia to dominate their energy market in both oil and natural gas, the Kremlin could utilize that as a geopolitical weapon to retake former soviet lands and manipulate European economies

5 Valentina Pop. "Russia threatens Europe with higher energy prices." euobserver, Jul 31, 2014.

6 "Russia announces start of military exercises near Ukrainian border." The Guardian, Mar 13, 2014

7 See Appendix A for charts

8 Tobias Buck "Spain positions itself as alternative to Russian energy supply." Financial Times, Mar 27, 2014

9 "Detailed monthly production (in GWh) for a specific country." ENTSO-E, accessed February 2017.

10 James Kanter "Switzerland Decides on Nuclear Phase-Out." The New York Times, May 25, 2011.

11 Richard J. Anderson. *Europe's Dependence on Russian Natural Gas: Perspectives and Recommendations for a Long-term Strategy*. (Garmisch-Partenkirchen. George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Occasional Paper Series, 2008), 5.

12 Anderson, 8.

13 See Appendix B

14 "Altai Project." *Gazprom*. www.gazprom.com/production/projects/pipelines/altai/ (February 2017)

15 See Appendix C

without serious international repercussions.¹⁶ In the past Russian gas manipulation has occurred in EU countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Lithuania with little to no response from the rest of the union, or, in Poland's case, it actually went as far as to spark conflict between itself and Germany.¹⁷

Recent history shows that when left to their own devices to determine their energy provision, the European states abandon each other to acquire better gas deals from Russia, eroding the concept and the integrity of the European Union itself.

Approach 2: Find alternate pipeline gas suppliers

As it stands, only the UK, the Netherlands, and Norway export significant amounts of natural gas in Europe.¹⁸ However, their dwindling supplies pale in comparison to the natural gas reserves of Russia.¹⁹ To compare, the combined reserves of Norway and Netherlands equal about 2.5% of the global total production of natural gas, while Russia produces over 27.5%.²⁰ The North Sea trio cannot compensate for Russia's gas in Europe, therefore this approach assumes that neighbors in adjacent regions help make up the large remainder.

Europe lies proximal to three other gas-producing regions: North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia. However, these alternative sources come with problems. The first issue resembles the problem facing Europe's exporters; that most gas-exporting states sell at capacity or suffer diminishing production and need

infrastructural expansion or an administration overhaul to export more.^{21,22} Secondly, the need to diversify is not Russia-specific. Trading dependency on Russia for dependency on another state relocates the problem rather than solves it. For example, Spain and Portugal buy disproportionate amounts of natural gas from Algeria.²³

Gazprom, Russia's government-controlled gas company, complicates the issue as it has made deals with almost all other gas producing countries and in some cases, owns the gas infrastructure in those countries. Europe abandoned the once hailed Nabucco Pipeline that plotted its course from Middle Eastern gas fields to Europe, bypassing Russia, after a few key states accepted Gazprom offers for cheaper gas via a new pipeline that they never constructed.²⁴

Approach 3: Develop a Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) purchasing scheme

Natural gas ships overseas by first undergoing liquification at -162°C which reduces its volume six-hundred times, allowing exportation via special cargo ships.²⁵ When it arrives, the LNG then undergoes regassification. Both liquification and regassification require expensive facilities as well as supporting infrastructure.²⁶ Naturally, liquification/regassification fees, infrastructural adaptation, and shipping costs lead to higher prices for LNG when compared to pipeline gas.²⁷ However, measured by cost over distance, LNG cuts costs when crossing very long distances.²⁸

Regardless, the cost for LNG lingers at an undeniably high price compared to that of

16 *Renewed Focus on European Energy Security: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, 2013 Leg.. (Washington D.C. 2014), statement of Edward Lucas, Contributing Editor, Center for European Policy Analysis

17 Zeyno Baran. *EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage*. (Washington D.C. Washington Quarterly, 2007), 134.

18 "nrg_10." Eurostat. Accessed February 2017

19 *Renewed Focus on European Energy Security: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, 2013 Leg.. (Washington D.C. 2014), statement of Andras Simonyi, Managing Director, Center for Transatlantic Relations at the School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University. 29.

20 Anderson, 6-8.

21 Simonyi, 29.

22 Ali Aissauwi. *Algerian Gas: Troubling Trends, Troubled Policies*. (Oxford. The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2016), 4.

23 See Appendix C

24 Antto Vihma and Umur Turksen. "The Geoeconomics of the South Stream Pipeline Project." *The Journal of International Affairs*. Jan 1, 2016.

25 Anderson, 6.

26 Brian Songhurst. *LNG Plant Cost Escalation*. (Oxford. The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2014), 8-12.

27 Stuart Elliot and Fabio Reale. *US LNG vs Pipeline Gas: European Market Share War?* (London. Platts Special Report: Natural Gas, 2016), 5.

28 See Appendix K

pipeline gas. To counter the high cost that hinders the eastern states from fully supporting LNG as an alternative, this scheme incorporates EU leadership to develop a continental buying system. The coastal states receive subsidies to build and maintain LNG regassification centers and then, via the existing European pipeline system, the LNG can be sold inland at reduced prices.

While LNG bypasses certain geographic restrictions by allowing for overseas imports, it nevertheless relies on willing and able suppliers. This grants Europe a diversification in natural gas sources, however reliance on external sources in general remains high. Additionally, Europe would have no say regarding the extraction method. Purchasing from large exporters such as the United States and Canada promotes fracking, potentially worsening the global environment.

Approach 4: Reinstate Dirty Hydrocarbons and Nuclear Power

While preservation of the environment and human health feels worthwhile, an imminent energy crisis damages Europe and the sovereignty of its states far more in a short-term scenario. Therefore, the full permission to reinstate dirty hydrocarbons such as coal and oil, or nuclear energy, with less regulatory burden potentially solves the energy dependence issue. Additionally, it bypasses the Eastern European dilemma that many states cannot afford further investment into renewable energy or LNG infrastructure. Fracking, a new method for natural gas extraction, while very successful in North America, seems to garner little interest in Europe despite its capability to alter the energy scene. Yet fracking, especially in Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland, could cut European dependence on Russia by a significant margin.²⁹

This approach, however, poses a strong threat to environmental quality which the EU has radically championed the improvement of for decades. Furthermore, the backpedaling on policy and loosening of regulation weakens the coherence of the European Union and increases

the difficulty of ever establishing a Europe-wide entity for energy security.^{30,31}

Finally, this approach possibly produces a null effect on Russian dependency because the cost of rebuilding energy grids to accommodate cheaper hydrocarbons and nuclear power may exceed the threshold to abandon the low-cost natural gas Russia provides to Eastern Europe.³² This plan favors highly dependent countries with greater wealth such as Germany and Italy, but as an approach to cover all of Europe, this plan could prove ineffective.

Approach 5: Increase Investments in Renewable Energy

Ideally, renewable energy satisfies all requirements for an acceptable European alternative to Russian natural gas. It removes the need for sustained purchasing from Gazprom, maintains environmental quality, compliments the Paris Agreement, and builds reliable energy security for the individual countries. Additionally, this approach would recognize the fulfillment of one of the EU's foremost goals, likely increasing unity and influence in the process.

However, heavy costs limit investment in renewable energy. Even in its cheapest forms renewable energy costs nearly three times as much per watt as low-cost hydrocarbons.³³ It also requires an extensive reconstruction of the energy grid and infrastructure, and renewables do not possess the versatility of natural gas, in that natural gas produces electricity, vehicle fuel, and provides heating as well.³⁴ A wealthy state such as Germany can more readily declare and implement the increased use of renewable energy, but Bulgaria, Hungary, and others simply cannot truthfully make that promise. Furthermore, mandatory renewable energy investments decrease the market price of coal and other hydrocarbons, inadvertently raising

30 Anderson, 37-38.

31 Goldthau and Boersma, 14.

32 Steve Kidd. "New reactors – more or less?" Nuclear Engineering International. Jan 21, 2011.

33 Anderson, 9.

34 Anderson, 46-47.

29 Rebecca Lawson, Luca Bergamaschi, Ingrid Holmes, and Tom Burke. *Shale gas: four myths and a truth*. (London: E3G, 2014), 2.

emissions by relocating them to countries who would gladly purchase cheaper coal.³⁵

That being said a slow but steady investment by all countries into the development of a renewable energy infrastructure would eventually disable the possibility of an opposing power holding such leverage over Europe all while improving the environment. Yet, the matter of Russian control over Europe's energy is an issue for today, not decades down the road.

Approach 6: Development of Technology

Europe seems to hold out on the hope that some breakthrough in renewable energy technology will render the entire notion of energy security based on strategic resources as irrelevant. And assuredly, some breakthrough that made renewable energy far cheaper, or that completely created a new form of energy production such as fusion-based energy or orbital solar panels would undoubtedly change the geopolitical landscape of the world regarding strategic resources.³⁶ However, not only is this approach far too expensive to be considered by the most at-risk states, but, similar to investments in renewable energy, the time and money needed for implementation renders it unachievable within the time it could take Russia to acquire enough political capital to absorb another piece of claimed land into its expanse.

Relying on massive technological advances carries too much uncertainty, however, minor technological improvements for existing domestic energy sources would help curb natural gas use significantly. Augments to existing extractive processes in the East would make national energy production more efficient and decrease reliance on foreign

energy.³⁷ In addition, this approach applies to grid technologies to increase efficiency in the transmission of energy to the consumers. Although this approach seems attractive, it delivers minimal results to countries that have already advanced their energy technology or countries with low energy production.

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION

Investing in liquified natural gas trade and infrastructure stands alone among the options that Europe has to consider in order to achieve more reliable and clean energy security at a reasonable cost and within a narrow timeframe.

LNG reduces the need to consider geography as a limiting factor. Therefore, troubles finding adequate suppliers fade away as any country with liquification capacity can ship LNG to Europe. With the natural gas boom in the United States, they appear as the most cost-efficient and geopolitically unchallenging partner to trade in LNG with Europe, coupled with other exporters such as Nigeria, Canada, and Venezuela to avoid another single-supplier.^{38,39,40} Furthermore, this approach has preceding success in Japan where LNG imports replaced the energy lost after the abandonment of nuclear energy following the Fukushima incident.⁴¹

While funding renewable energy projects for all of Europe demands unreasonable costs and uneven distribution of economic benefits, a natural gas purchasing scheme requires relatively small subsidies and balances benefits. Additionally, as countries follow Spain's example, more coastal countries will establish

35 *Renewed Focus on European Energy Security: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, 2013 Leg.. (Washington D.C. 2014), statement of Dr. Brenda Shaffer, Professor, Center for Russian, Eurasian, and Eastern European Studies at Georgetown University. 46.

36 Jeff Hicke. "Global Climate Change." Class lecture, University of Idaho, Moscow, ID, Dec 6, 2016.

37 *Renewed Focus on European Energy Security: Hearings before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, 2013 Leg.. (Washington D.C. 2014), statement of Amos Hochstein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Energy Diplomacy at the US Department of State. 7.

38 Elliot and Reale, 6.

39 Nick Snow. *US Urged to Export more LNG in Response to Russia-Ukraine Crisis*. (Washington D.C. Oil and Gas Journal, 2014), 1.

40 Goldthau and Boersma, 1-2.

41 Masumi Motomura. *Japan's need for Russian oil and gas: A shift in energy flows to the Far East*. (Tokyo. Energy Policy, 2014), 71.

themselves as LNG importers and sell their excess to inland Europe at reduced costs through more EU subsidies, thus creating an internal and competitive LNG market, boosting the European economy, and providing jobs. This approach also rewards an increase in European unity through the establishment of an EU-led LNG-purchasing scheme as well as giving time for Europe to develop renewable energy for increased longevity of energy security.

Actions by individual countries, such as Germany signing for the Nord Stream or Hungary leaving Nabucco for Russia's South Stream pipeline, thwarted attempts by the European collective to diversify gas sources in the past.^{42,43} The LNG option, to some extent, negates Russia's attempts to pit Europe's countries against each other due to the lack of fixed geography. For example, if Poland accepts a Russian offer for cheaper gas, Czechia would not lose their LNG imports as they have Germany as a coastal alternative. While not invincible, this approach provides geopolitical safety nets should a few countries decide to abandon the project.

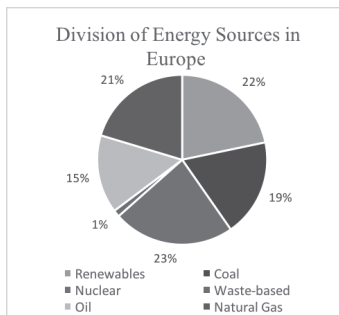
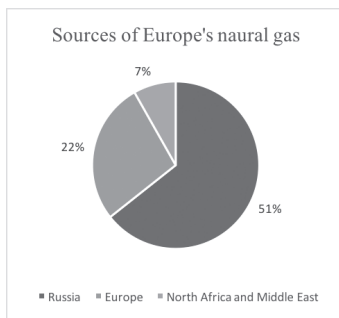
To pinpoint critical regions, a series of maps (Appendixes E-I) highlight the degree of vulnerability for each of Europe's countries. Appendix J cumulates vulnerability by region. Focusing spending on the most vulnerable areas first will stagger costs and ease transitional burdens. These maps also reveal that Russia's influence manifests itself as a clear west-east division. Championing energy security and protecting the economies and sovereignties of Eastern Europe provides the EU with a legitimate claim to represent the interests of all Europeans.



APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Data source: Eurostat and the International Energy Agency



APPENDIX B

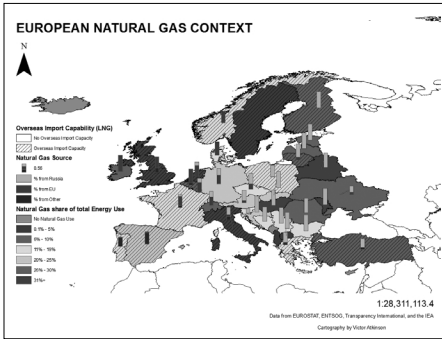
Source: Samuel Bailey. "Major existing and planned natural gas pipelines supplying Russian gas to Europe." Wikipedia. Retrieved March 29, 2017.



42 Anderson, 37.

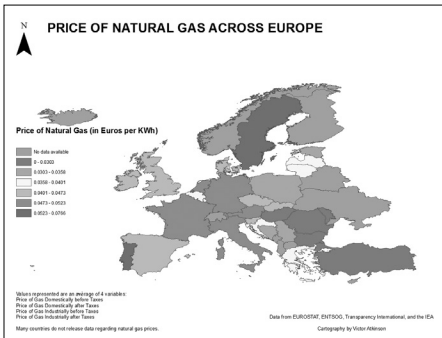
43 Baran 138-139.

APPENDIX C



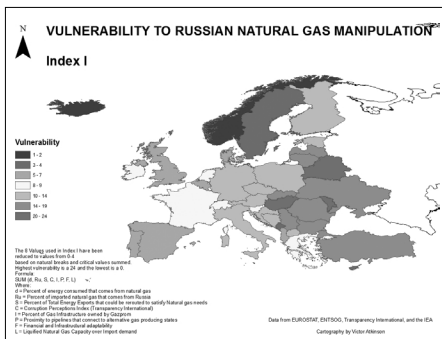
Source: Victor Atkinson. "European Natural Gas Context." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX D



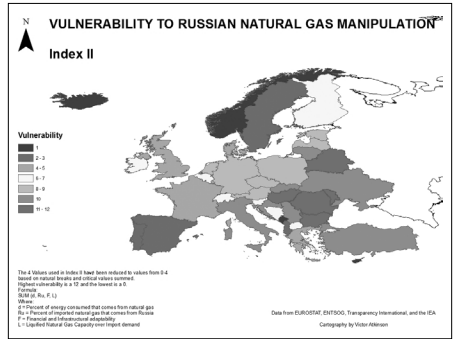
Source: Victor Atkinson. "European Natural Gas Context." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX E



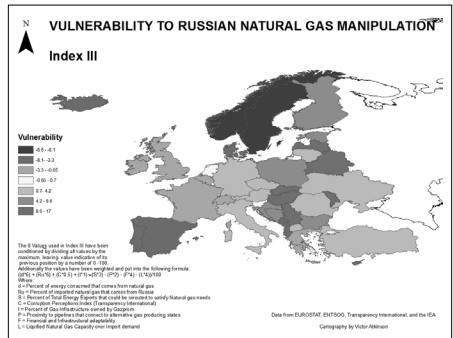
Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Index I." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX F



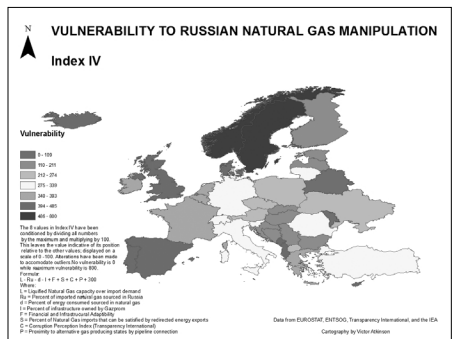
Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Index II." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX G



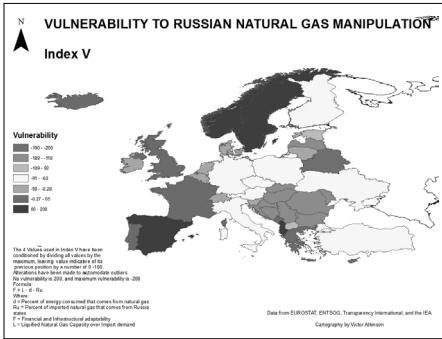
Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Index III." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX H



Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Index IV." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX I



Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Index V." University of Idaho Geography Department. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX J

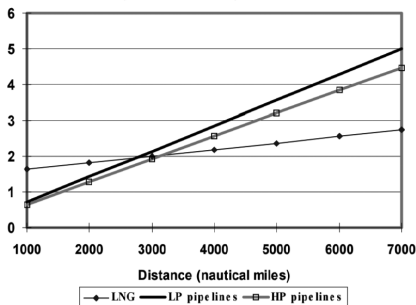


Source: Victor Atkinson. "Vulnerability Summary." University of Idaho Geography Dept. Retrieved March 2017.

APPENDIX K

Source: Sylvie Cornot-Gandolphe, Oliver Appert, Ralf Dickel, Marie-Francoise Chabrelie, Andre Rojey. The Challenges of Further Cost Reductions for New Supply Options (Pipeline, LNG, GTL). (Tokyo. 22nd World Gas Conference, 2003), 13.

Pipes/LNG competition for 10 10⁷ m³/year capacity (US\$/million Btu)



ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED

Impact of natural gas on the consumption of energy in the OECD European member countries. (Paris. OECD, 1969)

Jakub M. Godzimirski. European Energy Security in the Wake of the Russia-Ukraine Crisis. (Warsaw. The Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2014)

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Okan Yesilot. The Crimean Crisis in the Context of New Russian Geopolitics. (Ankara. Insight Turkey, 2014)

The Exploration for and Exploitation of Crude Oil and Natural Gas in the OECD European Area Including the Continental Shelf: Mining and Fiscal Legislation (Paris. OECD, 1973)



Gender Mainstreaming Among the European Union's Refugee Population

– Kendall Varin

ABSTRACT

The accelerated increase of refugees entering European Union (EU) member states in the last decade has resulted in an urgent call from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individual member states to include gender mainstreaming initiatives amongst refugees. Gender equality remains an influential human rights issue amongst many EU member states, but intentions to include gender mainstreaming in refugee integration and education have been overall ineffectual and infrequent. United Nations (UN) and EU policies and strategies were appraised to determine possible approaches to solve the issues of gender mainstreaming. Possible approaches were selected due to probability of implementation, existing funding, the concerns of NGOs and experts, and the ability to maintain protection of all gender rights. After discussing the possible requirement of basic refugee gender programming by the EU, the creation a database to increase communication about social programming, reinforce gender-aware legal infrastructure, or the provision of opportunities for male refugees, a recommended course of action was generated. The final recommended course of action is to encourage Collaboration Between Member States to Construct Basic Gender Mainstream Programming. The final recommendation provides an opportunity for collaboration and to streamline refugee cultural integration and gender mainstreaming in the EU and its member states.

OVERVIEW AND HISTORY

European Union Refugees and the Gender Mainstreaming Approach

Since its founding in 1993, the European Union (EU) has developed from a solely economic alliance to a political and social policy inclusive union. Inclusion of human rights topics, such as gender equality, refugee integration, and multiculturalism, have been introduced through judicial policy and holistic models.¹ In conflict with the assured sovereignty of the 28 member states, the EU treated the refugee crisis of

¹ Clíodhna Murphy et al, *Immigration, Integration and the Law* (Taylor and Francis, 2013), 1.

the early 2010s as a social issue instead of requiring consistent legal structure. Despite urging from the United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) to streamline the legal integration process or support social program models,² inconsistency exists amongst member states to establish a refugee integration process. Due to the overwhelming and unexpected volume of refugees from unstable states, social integration into new settlements in most European states has been unsuccessful.³ Significant events of violence and sexual assault perpetuated by male refugees have occurred in multiple EU states, due to condoned acts of gendered violence in home cultures of the Middle East and Africa. With twelve European Union member states in the top twenty of the Global Gender Gap report, gender equality and women's empowerment are imperative to these states who accept refugees from other states that rank significantly lower.⁴

The Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming⁵ (AGDM) approach of the UNCHR provides the structure to protect differences between peoples, acknowledges the social construct of gender and its different cultural definitions, recognizes the lack of rights many refugees face, and integrates perceptive work and lifestyle practices.⁶ Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to approach gender inequality and promote attention to policy development, advocacy, research, and implementation of gender sensitive programming.⁷ Supported by the fifth UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG),⁸ the United Nations has provided a legal and social program structure for education and integration of male and female refugees. However, the lack of accountability from the UN and EU has

resulted in overwhelmed and unstructured refugee reception centers. The EU has provided neither a structure for gender equality education nor support for the adherence to the UN AGDM approach when resettling refugees.

The majority of gender sensitive refugee programming by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the EU address female-specific issues, providing support and education for post-traumatic events and expected discrimination.⁹ The EU recognizes that female refugees have specific needs and therefore created the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). “[AMIF] does not explicitly mention programmes or measures addressing refugee and asylum seeking women’s needs; nonetheless, it has been created to take into account, among other priorities, the needs of vulnerable groups, such as women, and to foster gender mainstreaming.”¹⁰ Some member states seek individualized solutions to integration and gender equality education. However, it is apparent that a unified and straightforward approach to increase refugee cultural integration by the EU would serve all member states.¹¹

APPROACH ONE

Implement Framing for Refugee Gender Programming

To provide consistency throughout all member states of the EU, implementing basic practices for refugee gender programming would benefit those providing the programs and the refugees receiving the information. A basic framework would include gender-sensitive integration policies, increased access to learning materials, guided professional counseling for women, host culture study, and acknowledgement of male refugee-specific issues.¹² UN-Women, UNHCR, and multiple NGOs have created basic gender-

2 Ibid, 1.

3 European Parliament, *Reception of female refugees and asylum seekers in the EU, case study Germany* (European Union, 2016), 24.

4 Appendix A

5 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Age Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Forward Plan 2011-2016* (United Nations, 2016), 1.

6 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, “UNHCR Age, Gender and Diversity Policy: Working with people and communities for equality and protection” (United Nations, 2011), 1.

7 “Gender Mainstreaming” (UN-Women, 2017), 1.

8 “Gender equality and women’s empowerment” (United Nations, 2016), 1.

9 Dale Buscher, “Unequal in Exile: Gender Equality, Sexual Identity and Refugee Status” (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Law Forum, 2011), 99.

10 Silvia Sansonetti, *Female refugees and asylum seekers: the issue of integration* (European Union, 2016), 20.

11 Nira Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 8.

12 Sansonetti, *Female refugees and asylum seekers*, 10-11.

specific guides to the reception and integration of refugees, specifically for those leaving patriarchal-centered states and resettling in pro-gender equality states.¹³

The EU currently has AMIF to provide funding from 27 member states to invest in gender-specific social programming. The inclusion of male and female targeted programs and basic educational guidelines for multiple age groups would encourage the principles of gender equality.¹⁴ In alignment with the fifth SDG, the EU would be able to offer member states the structure to educate and successfully integrate male and female refugees. However, it would require a well-developed level of understanding of gender awareness from policy-makers who are not experts in gender equality. The requirement to educate and inform policy-makers is a viable solution but has been met with resistance from multiple officials who require prompt results.¹⁵

APPROACH TWO

Increase Communication of Member States' Successful Social Programming

Without specific guidelines from the EU, member states created procedures and programs of their own to adequately integrate refugees. Member states who accept fewer refugees strongly present reception centers, educational programs, and community assimilation, in contrast to member states who struggle with overcrowding in reception centers and communities.¹⁶ Issues of discrimination and the implementation of restrictive and targeting laws has not eased tensions between native citizens and asylum seekers.¹⁷ Educational programs have proven to be more successful

than antagonistic policies in successful refugee integration. Despite that the majority of refugees are male,¹⁸ gender education and support programs target adult female refugees instead of both male and female refugees of all generations.

A few member states, such as Belgium and Denmark, have implemented programs to educate refugees about appropriate social conduct in the host state.^{19,20} To increase communication between EU member states on the topic of successful refugee programs and education, an easily accessible database could be established for the benefit of all member states. By sharing information on effective refugee policies and programs, increased support amongst EU member states would assist struggling member states and promote collaboration to solve issues of ineffectual programming, lack of effective policy and law, and dysfunctional reception centers.²¹

APPROACH THREE

Gender-Aware Legal Infrastructure

The issues of refugee integration have been treated by the EU as social matters, often leaving the legality of refugee status non-gender specific. To ensure that women and men do not suffer discrimination on the grounds of gender or race, the EU should amend humanitarian rights of refugees to include gender rights.²² Given that the social and political agendas of EU member states include gender equality, it should also be included in legal agendas. The UNHCR emphasizes that the risk factors for refugee women world-wide include gender-based violence, sexual violence, forced displacement,

13 “Women, Girls, Boys, and Men: Different Needs – Equal Opportunities” (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2006)

14 UNHCR, *Age, Gender, and Diversity Mainstreaming*, 1.

15 Emanuela Lombardo et al, “Gender mainstreaming and resistance to gender training: a framework for studying implementation” (Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research, 2013), 298.

16 European Parliament, *Reception of female refugees and asylum seekers*, 24.

17 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, “CCPR/C/106/D/1852/2008” (United Nations, 2008), 6.

18 Appendix B

19 Andrew Higgins, “Norway Offers Migrants a Lesson in How to Treat Women” (The New York Times, 2015), 1.

20 Jake Alden-Falconer, “Belgium to launch ‘respect for women’ classes for refugees and migrants” (The Independent, 2016), 1.

21 European Parliament, *Reception of female refugees and asylum seekers*, 24.

22 Linda Cipriani, “Gender and Persecution: Protecting Women Under International Refugee Law” (Georgetown Immigration Law Journal, 1993), 513.

gender discrimination, and domestic abuse.²³ By recognizing that these crimes can be gender specific, the EU can further protect and support female refugees through implementation of legal infrastructure.

The promotion of gender equality through legality should be the priority of policy discourse amongst all levels of government in the EU and within member states.²⁴ By not limiting humanitarian policy to ungendered rights, increasing the framework of gender mainstreaming from social to legal policy addresses issues of inequality and lack of personification. The establishment of gendered policy not explicitly for gender equality initiatives allows for increased awareness of gender outside of women's issues.²⁵

APPROACH FOUR

Employment Opportunities for Male Refugees

Until recently, advocacy for gender equality and mainstreaming in humanitarian policy and operations has been focused on women's access to education, assistance, and resources. The noticeable shift from women's equality to gender equality emphasizes the existence of issues for all genders, including the recognition of male refugee issues.^{26, 27} The UNHCR asserts that positive participation and interaction with male refugees is a fundamental movement towards gender equality.²⁸ By recognizing refugee men as potential allies and power-holders in the familial realm, the EU and its member states reinforce positive practices of gender equal integration of refugees.²⁹

Male refugees' inability to provide for their families is a significant source of frustration

and sense of failure amongst refugee men.³⁰ Providing incentives to employ or engage refugee men in a trade that is beneficial to the community in which they are placed fosters resettlement and cultural integration of refugee families. By acknowledging the importance of male provision in refugee settings, a fundamental part of Middle Eastern and African cultures, member states and local communities can better integrate male refugees through employment and inclusion.³¹ The long-term success of all genders in a host state relies on the placement of refugees of all genders where they can easily access vocational, linguistic, and cultural education to gain employment.

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION

Collaboration Between Member States to Construct Basic Gender Mainstream Programming

The refugee crisis that European states experience continues to overwhelm reception centers and communities in many member states. Issues of gender rights and unsuccessful cultural immigration for refugees has led to disruptive practices by both native citizens and refugees. All approaches discussed have the potential to be successful long-term, depending on the commitment and support of EU member states. However, the recommended course of action is to combine Approaches One and Two and construct an approved strategy to implement gender mainstreaming programming through member state collaboration.

The current issue that the EU and its member states face is the lack of consistency and accountability in social programming, alongside problems of overwhelmed communities and lack of funding. There are multiple member states, such as Belgium and Finland, that have had success integrating refugees through gender equality programming and community interaction. However, member states, like France and Germany, that are most overwhelmed by the volume of incoming refugees lack

23 European Parliament, *Reception of female refugees and asylum seekers*, 23.

24 Elisabeth Olivius, "Refugee men as perpetrators, allies or troublemakers? Emerging discourses on men and masculinities in humanitarian aid" (Women's Studies International Forum, 2016), 57.

25 Ibid, 58.

26 Olivius, "Refugee Men", 57.

27 Buscher, "Unequal in Exile," 99.

28 "The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality" (United Nations, 2004), 2.

29 Olivius, "Refugee Men," 60.


30 Buscher, "Unequal in Exile," 99.

31 Ibid, 99.

the resources to provide the same quality of education and integration.³² While some of these states already had favorable programs for refugees, by accepting millions of new refugees each year the programs are not prepared for the increasingly overwhelming population. Through collaboration between member states and reviewing the favorable and unfavorable outcomes of integration centers and programs, a recommended set of gender mainstream programming initiatives should be formed and reinforced by the EU.

The funding from AMIF exists to provide such a structure and therefore implement it with measures of accountability. While it is not viable as a single source of funding, AMIF should be implemented through required programming measures and basic responsibility from member states. By enforcing accountability, refugees would receive an education and social integration reflective of the values of the host state.³³ Member states should be reminded of the existing importance of gender equality amongst native citizens, which therefore should influence the relevance of program funding and community involvement. Incentivizing member states to reconsider treatment of the current refugee crisis through calling attention to political, social, and economic positions should be readily considered.

By keeping gender mainstreaming integration policies at the forefront, the goal of empowerment and independence of refugees of all genders is feasible. Social programming and language education classes that meet the fundamental gender mainstream initiatives ought to be tailored to different genders to address issues of both male and female refugees.³⁴ Instead of gender-neutrality, policies concerning refugee rights should consider the dimensions of exclusively male and solely female issues.³⁵ The EU and its member states should continually raise awareness towards the needs of refugees of all genders. The collaboration and open communication between EU member states

to create a recommended set of fundamental gender mainstream initiatives is vital to the well-being and independence of refugees and asylum seekers. 

32 European Parliament, *Reception of female refugees and asylum seekers*, 31.

33 Ibid, 30.

34 Sansonetti, *Female refugees and asylum seekers*, 49.

35 Ibid, 32.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Global Gender Gap Report 2016³⁶

Table 3: Global rankings, 2016

Country	GLOBAL INDEX		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION AND OPPORTUNITY		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Iceland	1	0.874	9	0.806	1	1.000	104	0.970	1	0.719
Finland	2	0.845	16	0.794	1	1.000	1	0.980	2	0.607
Norway	3	0.842	7	0.818	28	1.000	68	0.974	3	0.576
Sweden	4	0.815	11	0.802	36	0.999	69	0.974	6	0.486
Rwanda	5	0.800	8	0.817	110	0.958	89	0.972	8	0.452
Ireland	6	0.797	49	0.709	1	1.000	54	0.979	5	0.502
Philippines	7	0.786	21	0.780	1	1.000	1	0.980	17	0.386
Slovenia	8	0.786	19	0.784	25	1.000	76	0.973	18	0.385
New Zealand	9	0.781	24	0.765	40	0.999	104	0.970	16	0.390
Nicaragua	10	0.780	92	0.632	1	1.000	1	0.980	4	0.506
Switzerland	11	0.776	30	0.745	61	0.993	72	0.974	15	0.391
Burundi	12	0.768	1	0.865	124	0.917	66	0.974	28	0.314
Germany	13	0.766	57	0.691	100	0.966	54	0.979	10	0.428
Namibia	14	0.765	20	0.781	35	0.999	1	0.980	31	0.299
South Africa	15	0.764	63	0.677	55	0.995	1	0.980	13	0.404
Netherlands	16	0.756	76	0.659	60	0.994	103	0.970	14	0.401
France	17	0.755	64	0.676	1	1.000	1	0.980	19	0.365
Latvia	18	0.755	18	0.785	1	1.000	1	0.980	38	0.255
Denmark	19	0.754	34	0.735	1	1.000	106	0.970	29	0.309
United Kingdom	20	0.752	53	0.700	34	0.999	64	0.974	24	0.335

APPENDIX B:

Gender Breakdown of Arrivals to Greece and Italy³⁷

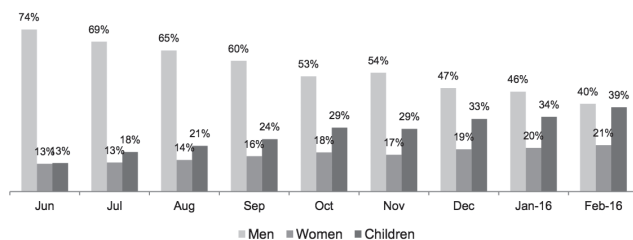
GENDER BREAKDOWN OF ARRIVALS TO GREECE AND ITALY

Based on Government data from June 2015 to February 2016

Total Arrivals in 2015 - Greece: **856,723** Italy: **153,842**

Total Arrivals in 2016 (as of 29 Feb, 2016) - Greece: **124,481** Italy: **9,100**

Breakdown of Men, Women and Children by month – Cumulative arrivals to Greece and Italy



36 *Global Gender Gap Report 2016* (World Economic Forum, 2017), 10.

37 “Gender Breakdown of Arrivals to Greece and Italy” (UNHCR – Mediterranean, 2016), 1.



Improving Conditional Cash Transfers in Latin America and the Caribbean

– Rachel Goodman

ABSTRACT

Economic disparity remains one of the most pressing social issues facing Latin American and Caribbean nations. Policy-makers across the region have developed and implemented conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs to combat the rampant economic inequality, and on the whole, the programs have been successful. However, issues of exclusion and leakage have lessened the positive impact of CCTs and acted as a drain on program funds. This paper offers solutions that seek to reduce both overcoverage and leakage, thereby enhancing the efficiency and sustainability of CCT programs. By establishing clear program graduation policies and incorporating self-selection in targeting processes, policy-makers can ensure that CCTs reach the appropriate beneficiaries and continue to reduce poverty rates.

OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

Regional poverty rates in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) have steadily declined in recent years, falling from 25.2% to 15.7% between 2001 and 2010.¹ This reduction results from economic growth coupled with the implementation of increasingly effective social programs, such as conditional cash transfers (CCTs).² CCTs provide direct cash payments to low-income households that comply with specific behavioral requirements. These requirements, referred to as “co-responsibilities” or “conditionalities,” are designed to encourage ongoing investment in human capital and generally relate to education or healthcare. Education conditionalities often require that children meet a minimum school attendance rate, usually set between 80 and 85%.³ Health conditionalities most commonly compel vaccinations and regular medical check-ups for children as well as their mothers.⁴

1 Marco Stampini and Leopoldo Tornarolli. “The Growth of Conditional Cash Transfers in Latin America and the Caribbean: Did They Go Too Far?” *IZA Policy Paper* No. 49 (2012), 10.

2 *Ibid.*, 10.

3 Ariel Fiszbein and Norbert Schady. *Conditional Cash Transfers: Reducing Present and Future Poverty*. (Washington, D.C. World Bank, 2009), 1.

4 *Ibid.*, 1.

This model of conditional financial assistance has led to a wide variety of positive outcomes. As stated by the World Bank, CCTs “alleviate poverty in the short-term while fostering human capital development in the long-term.”⁵ The programs have improved education levels and increased the use of health services by beneficiaries throughout the region.⁶ Additionally, because most programs deliver cash transfers directly to the female head-of-household, CCTs foster gender equality and have been shown to decrease the incidence of domestic violence.⁷

These effects sparked a proliferation of CCTs in the early 2000s, and by 2011, 18 countries in LAC had implemented such programs.⁸ By 2013, the total number of CCT beneficiaries in the region reached nearly 135 million.⁹ The largest CCT program in LAC is Brazil’s *Bolsa Família*, which covers 25% of the nation’s total population.¹⁰ Since the program’s inception in 2003, extreme poverty in Brazil has fallen from 9.7% to 4.3%, and the country’s Gini coefficient has decreased by 15%.¹¹ These benefits come at a relatively low cost to the Brazilian government, which only spends 0.5% of its GDP on the program.¹²

The cost-effective nature of CCT programs makes them highly attractive to policy-makers. However, as with any social welfare program, CCTs are subject to problems of exclusion and benefit leakage. Studies show that CCT programs only cover an average of 50% of a nation’s poor population.¹³ Correspondingly, the average CCT leakage rate, defined as the

portion of beneficiaries that are not poor, sits at 39.2%.¹⁴ These rates indicate a flaw in the program design, as a large number of non-poor beneficiaries receive payments that should instead be allocated to excluded households. Yet this problem cannot be solved by merely expanding coverage. Stampini and Tornarolli find that “on average, leakage increases by 0.46 percentage points for each additional percentage point of coverage.”¹⁵ Exclusion and leakage are therefore inextricably linked and must be addressed jointly. The following approaches seek to mitigate both issues by resolving the common flaws of CCT programs.

APPROACH 1:

Redesign Targeting Techniques

CCT program implementers most often utilize a two-phase targeting system in which they first identify geographic areas with high levels of poverty, then attempt to identify eligible households within the designated area.¹⁶ Household targeting most commonly relies on proxy means tests, which take into consideration a wide range of observable factors to determine eligibility.¹⁷ This approach can be highly effective, but only if programs properly weight proxy means scores.¹⁸ Additionally, because proxy means tests use precise formulae, they are susceptible to statistical errors.¹⁹ Therefore, CCT program implementers need to routinely investigate levels of leakage and exclusion in order to evaluate test effectiveness and accuracy. They should also compare their weighting system to those used by CCT programs with minimal leakage and high levels of coverage. Implementers must then adjust their proxy means test accordingly.

In the case that reweighting proxy means scores does not alleviate under-coverage or leakage to a sufficient degree, it is necessary to redesign targeting processes to include a self-selection

5 World Bank Social Protection Unit. *Control and Accountability in Conditional Cash Transfer Programs in Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Topics and Areas for Further Improvement*. (pg. 1)

6 Fiszbein and Schady, 16-18.

7 Elizaveta Perova. “Three Essays on Intended and not Intended Impacts of Conditional Cash Transfers” (PhD diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2010). (pg. 29)

8 Stampini and Tornarolli, 2. See Appendix A.

9 Marcos Robles, Marcela G. Rubio, and Marco Stampini. “Have Cash Transfers Succeeded in Reaching the Poor in Latin America and the Caribbean?” *Inter-American Development Bank Policy Brief* No. IDB-PB-246 (2015), 2.

10 Deborah Wetzel, “Bolsa Familia: Brazil’s Quiet Revolution,” *World Bank*, 2013.

11 Ibid.

12 Fiszbein and Schady, 5.

13 Robles, Rubio, and Stampini, 8. See Appendix B.

14 Ibid., 14.

15 Stampini and Tornarolli, 14. See Appendix C.

16 World Bank Social Protection Unit, 3.

17 Ibid., 3. See Appendix D.

18 Fiszbein and Schady, 77.

19 Robles, Rubio, and Stampini, 10.

option. Self-selection allows households to identify themselves as potential beneficiaries in order to avoid exclusion. Program implementers must then conduct a means test to determine if the household truly meets eligibility requirements. The combination of the two targeting mechanisms effectively expands coverage while limiting the potential for leakage to middle- and upper-income households.²⁰

APPROACH 2:

Establish Effective Exit Policies

Most CCT programs lack clearly-defined exit strategies, also referred to as graduation policies. These policies dictate how and under what circumstances a household should transition out of the CCT program and cease to receive cash transfers. Without precise exit rules, households that rise above a program's specified poverty threshold may continue to collect payments, leading to benefit leakage.²¹ The implementation of transitional graduation policies mitigates overcoverage and decreases beneficiary dependency upon CCTs.²² Policies and criteria for exit (such as time limits or benefit caps) must be clearly dictated so that implementers can accurately determine eligibility and remove non-poor beneficiaries from the program.

To facilitate the transition out of a CCT program and minimize the negative impact of a payment cessation, implementers should seek to link beneficiaries to complementary social programs. Effective exit policies include some form of program integration to ensure that beneficiaries continue to receive social assistance if necessary. Program integration provides beneficiaries the opportunity to participate in programs such as job training workshops and literacy initiatives, thereby increasing their human capital and

their prospects for the future.²³ Complementary programs encourage graduation from CCTs—and thus decrease leakage—by providing beneficiaries with the skills they need to boost their household income.

APPROACH 3:

Improve Access to Services

A primary contributor to exclusion in CCT programs is the absence of high-quality services—or services of any quality—in certain regions of LAC.²⁴ During the geographic targeting phase, program implementers simply exclude any areas that lack the necessary education and health services. Thus, some of the most impoverished sections of LAC lie completely outside the reach of CCT programs. This is especially true for isolated rural communities.²⁵ The solution is to construct the necessary services in the most advantageous location in terms of accessibility. However, building projects are extremely costly and often stand to benefit only a small portion of the population.

If the construction of services is too cost-prohibitive for a state to undertake, the alternative is to focus on improving services that already exist.²⁶ CCT programs should provide training and technical assistance to schools and healthcare facilities that do not meet satisfactory quality standards. Some programs currently offer subsidies or bonuses to the facilities that achieve high levels of performance and quality.²⁷ This incentivizes the development of such services and provides better education and healthcare options not only to CCT beneficiaries, but to all citizens in the area. In addition, access to high-quality services will make the benefits of CCT programs more salient, encouraging more impoverished households to participate.

20 David Coady and Susan Parker, "Targeting Social Transfers to the Poor in Mexico" (working paper, International Monetary Fund, 2009), 1.

21 Stampini and Tornarolli, 22-23.

22 Kathy Lindert, Anja Linder, Jason Hobbs and Bénédicte de la Brière. "The Nuts and Bolts of Brazil's Bolsa Família Program: Implementing Conditional Cash Transfers in a Decentralized Context" *World Bank Social Protect Discussion Paper* No. 0709 (2007), 91.

23 Ibid., 93

24 Robles, Rubio, and Stampini, 10.

25 Fiszbein and Schady, 75.

26 Ibid., 24.

27 Ibid., 24-25.

APPROACH 4:

Adjust Urban Payments

While a lack of available services limits the impact of CCT programs in rural areas, an entirely different set of problems diminishes the impact in urban zones. The cash transfers provided to beneficiaries offset the potential income that is lost by sending a child to school instead of work. In rural areas, the payments are generally large enough to compensate for these lost wages. However, living costs in urban sectors are inflated, and children there have far more income opportunities than their rural counterparts.²⁸ This not only indicates that cash transfers in large cities are worth less, relatively-speaking, but also that there is less incentive for urban children to choose school over work in order to receive program benefits.²⁹ As a result, large portions of poor urban populations voluntarily choose not to participate in CCT programs, thereby expanding exclusion rates.

Familias en Acción, Colombia's CCT program, seeks to overcome this obstacle by adjusting transfer amounts based upon city size.³⁰ Colombia's CCT program divides cities into four discrete size categories and adjusts payments accordingly. As a result, families living in large cities receive slightly higher payments than beneficiaries residing in rural areas. While the dollar amounts of the transfers differ, the actual purchasing power of payments is designed to remain equal. Adopting similar adjustment policies can encourage urban participation in CCT programs. In turn, this will decrease exclusion and ensure greater equity between rural and urban CCT recipients.

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION

The application of any of the aforementioned solutions would result in a decrease of leakage and exclusion, and all serve as viable options. However, a cost-benefit analysis of the four

approaches suggests that the most effective course of action involves the implementation of improved exit policies and the use of self-selection in targeting processes. The outcomes of these particular approaches align closely with the main objective of conditional cash transfers: to eliminate poverty for all. While the alternative approaches can also play a role in expanding poverty alleviation efforts, their goals fall too far outside the normal scope of CCT programs. For example, CCTs do not purport to solve infrastructure problems, and therefore they should not expend their limited resources on the construction of new schools and healthcare facilities. While the building of such facilities is both laudable and necessary, such an undertaking would be a massive burden on program budgets. Consuming less than 1% of their sponsoring nation's GDP, CCT programs cannot be expected to sustain regular investments in infrastructure projects.³¹ Ultimately, this responsibility falls to other state entities.

In contrast, exit policies and self-selection processes are highly cost-effective solutions to the issues of leakage and exclusion. Clear exit policies efficiently and cheaply reduce benefit leakage to families above the poverty threshold. By reducing budget drains, exit policies allow program implementers to allocate more funds to households that have yet to escape poverty. Moreover, by integrating complementary social programs into CCT exit policies, program officials can ensure that beneficiaries have the necessary skills to succeed without the assistance of CCTs.³² Examples of useful complementary programs are those that provide job training, home economics courses, and literacy classes.

Self-selection also stands out as a useful technique in addressing the obstacles that face CCTs. It minimizes exclusion rates by allowing households to determine their own eligibility, which is then verified by program officials.³³ While there are obvious administrative cost increases associated with this approach,

28 "Brazil and Mexico Combat Poverty and Inequality," *globalsherpa.org*, last modified May 15, 2012.


29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Fiszbein and Schady, 5.

32 Lindert et al., 93.

33 Coady and Parker, 1.

the expansion of coverage justifies the expenses incurred. In addition, due to subsequent verification of eligibility by program implementers, self-selection manages to expand coverage without markedly increasing the risk of leakage. Therefore, by implementing self-selection processes alongside exit policies that integrate corresponding social programs, CCT programs can effectively combat leakage as well as exclusion. 

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PROLIFERATION OF CCT PROGRAMS³⁴

Conditional Cash Transfers in the World: 1997 and 2008

1997



2008



³⁴ Fiszbein and Schady, 4.

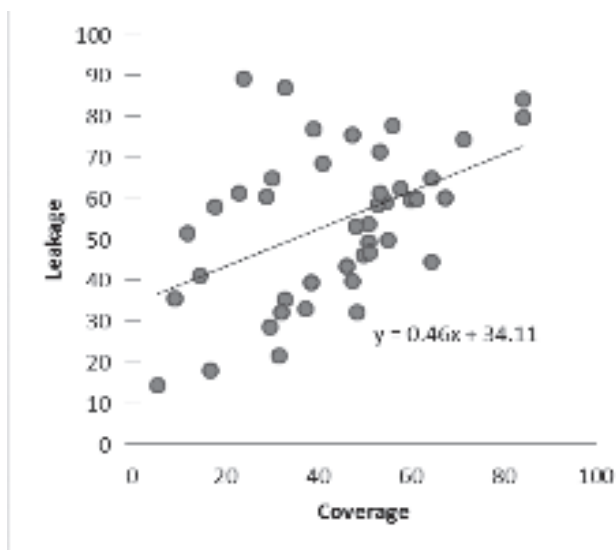
APPENDIX B: CCT COVERAGE OF POOR IN LATIN AMERICA³⁵

Table 1. Variables and Weights Used to Estimate the Discriminant Proxy-Means Score

Variables (x)	Definition	Coefficient
HACINA	Number of people / Number of rooms in the house	0.138*HACINA
DEPEND	Total number of people in the household	0.178*DEPEND
SEXO	The head of the household is a woman	-0.02*SEXOJ
SS	Does not have access/right to medical service	0.475
NINOS	Total number of children <11 years	0.255*NINOS
ESC ^a	Years of education of the household head (0=never went to school or didn't reach any level)	If (ESCJ1=1), mpESC=0.380 If (ESCJ2=1), mpESC=0.201 If (ESCJ1=0 & ESCJ2=0), mpESC=0
EDAD	Age of the head of the household	0.005*EDADJ
BAC	BAO11=does not have bath BAO12=have bath but without water	If (BAO11=1), mpBAC=0.415 If (BAO12=1), mpESC=0.22 If (BAO11=0 & BAO12=0), mpBAC=0
PISO	Floor is not paved (1/0)	0.475
ESTGAS	Do not have gas heating system (1/0)	0.761
REFRI	Do not have a refrigerator (1/0)	0.507
LAVA	Do not have washing machine (1/0)	0.127
VEHI	Do not have vehicle (no car nor truck)	0.158
RURURB	House is rural area	0.853
REG	Region (19 regions)	Various dummy coefficients
CONS	Constant	-1.879

Note: The "weights" attached to variables were calculated by the program based on national household survey data using discriminant analysis. The underlying score was used to identify beneficiary households that applied to program offices.

APPENDIX C: CORRELATION BETWEEN COVERAGE AND LEAKAGE (USD PPP 2.50 POVERTY LINE)³⁶



35 Robles, Rubio, and Stampini, 8.

36 Stampini and Tornarolli, 16.



Managing the Environmental and Health Impact of Growing Pesticide Use in Latin America

– Michael Lowe

ABSTRACT

The people of Latin America suffer incredible health and environmental impacts due to the wide spread use of hazardous pesticides. These effects include acute pesticide poisonings, neurological disorders, different cancers and more. The viable solutions for mitigating these effects are 1) Removal of Bans and Moratoriums of Genetically Modified Organisms, 2) Globally Binding Maximum Residue Limits, 3) Subsidies and Targeted Taxing, and 4) Education and Promotion of Latin America Oriented Integrated Pest Management. After reviewing these solutions, I recommend a mixed solution of subsidies and targeted taxing with the Education and Promotion of Latin America Oriented Integrated Pest Management. Combined these solutions will not disrupt Latin American food production, while giving a sustainable solution to the problem.

OVERVIEW

The United Nations estimates that globally 795 million people suffer from undernourishment.¹ With the goal of ending hunger by 2050 policy makers are pressing farmers to produce more at lower costs. Pesticides are a simple answer to the immediate need with a with a 1.8% increase in pesticides associated with a 1% increase in production.² However, their use causes harmful effects that need to be addressed.

Globally over seventy thousand chemicals are available on the market with 1,500 new chemicals introduced annually making legislation and management incredibly difficult.³ The pesticide market in Latin America has exploded over the past twenty years into a \$3

- 1 "Hunger and food security - United Nations Sustainable Development." United Nations. 2015. Accessed March 20, 2017. <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/hunger/>.
- 2 Pepijn Schreinemachers, and Prasnee Tipraqsa. "Agricultural pesticides and land use intensification in high, middle and low income countries." *Food Policy* 37, no. 6 (2012): 616-626.
- 3 Jimmy Langman. "The Global Pesticide Pushers in Latin America." NACLA. Accessed April 02, 2017. <https://nacla.org/article/global-pesticide-pushers-latin-america>.

billion industry.⁴ To curtail the use of the most hazardous chemicals 151 countries signed The Stockholm Convention in 2004.⁵ Most Latin American countries signed onto the agreement and banned certain pesticides. Even prior to the convention in 1995 Colombia banned endosulfan and in 2001 the Dominican Republic banned the “dirty dozen” pesticides.⁶ However, these bans failed. Banned pesticides make up 30% of the market in Bolivia and similar numbers hinder countries throughout the region.⁷ Widespread human exposure to these chemicals plagues the region through all stages of pesticide use; production, storage, and usage.⁸ The increase in pesticide usage has led to a parallel increase in acute pesticide poisoning in the area. In a Peruvian study 22% of respondents reported themselves or an immediate family member suffer from pesticide poisoning. The most common pesticides reported contain powerful neurotoxins that negatively impact cognitive and motor development in children and adults.⁹ These effects are irreversible leaving those exposed impaired for life. Studies link exposure to pesticides in mothers to leukemia, visual motor problems and blood pressure issues in the babies.¹⁰ Beyond their debilitating effects many pesticides do not simply go away after use. Persistent Organic Pollutants or POPs are still in use in Latin America and stay in the environment

for years after application.¹¹ Studies associate long term exposure to pesticides with multiple neurological symptoms including impaired vision and decreased motor ability.¹³ Long term usage has also lead to an array of resistances in pests making them less effective. Seventy-seven member countries of the World Organization for Animal Health (OIE) took part in a study revealing that the pests which most impact production also bear high rates of resistance.¹⁴ Lastly, the use of pesticides threatens important species. Bees play a key role in the production of 1/3 the food supply, yet are suffering a pandemic of colony collapse disorder directly linked to pesticides made up of neonicotinoids.¹⁵¹⁶

Governments must radically reduce the use of the most harmful pesticides to prevent increased rates of cancer, neurological disorders, long term environmental degradation, buildup of resistances, and other impacts. Additionally, governments must manage all pesticides for sustained reduction of the above impacts. A multi-faceted approach must be taken to begin pesticide reduction immediately while sustainable long term solutions are employed.

- 4 Laborde, Amalia, Fernando Tomasina, Fabrizio Bianchi, Marie-Noel Bruné, Irena Buka, Pietro Comba, Lilian Corra et al. “Children’s health in Latin America: the influence of environmental exposures.” *Environmental Health Perspectives (Online)* 123, no. 3 (2015): 201.
- 5 Paul E. Hagen, and Michael P. Walls. “The Stockholm Convention on persistent organic pollutants.” *Natural Resources & Environment* 19, no. 4 (2005): 49-52.
- 6 James Langman. “Latin America struggles to reduce illegal pesticide use.” *The Christian Science Monitor*. September 08, 1999. Accessed March 15, 2017. <http://www.csmonitor.com/1999/0908/p7s1.html>.
- 7 Langman, “The Global Pesticide Pushers in Latin America.”
- 8 C.G. Castill, M. Montante, L. Dufour, M. L. Martinez, and M. E. Jiménez-Capdeville. “Behavioral effects of exposure to endosulfan and methyl parathion in adult rats.” *Neurotoxicology and teratology* 24, no. 6 (2002): 797-804.
- 9 Courtney Hammond Wagner, Michael Cox, and José Luis Bazo Robles. “Pesticide lock-in in small scale Peruvian agriculture.” *Ecological Economics* 129 (2016): 72-81.
- 10 Fabrizio Laborde, Marie-Noel, Irena, Pietro, Lilian, 201.

- 11 “Persistent Organic Pollutants: A Global Issue, A Global Response.” EPA. December 09, 2016. Accessed March 23, 2017. <https://www.epa.gov/international-cooperation/persistent-organic-pollutants-global-issue-global-response>.
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- 13 Carlos L. Cespedes, Julio Alarcon, Pedro M. Aqueveque, Tatiana Lobo, Julio Becerra, Cristian Balbontin, Jose G. Avila, Isao Kubo, and David S. Seigler. “New environmentally-friendly antimicrobials and biocides from Andean and Mexican biodiversity.” *Environmental research* 142 (2015): 549-562.
- 14 A. Nari, and J. W. Hansen. “Resistance of ecto-and endo-parasites: current and future solutions, 67th General Session.” *International Committee* (1999): 17-21.
- 15 “Environmental Impacts.” Pesticide Action Network. Accessed March 20, 2017. <http://www.panna.org/resources/environmental-impacts>.
- 16 Dina, Spector. “Scientists May Have Finally Pinpointed What’s Killing All The Honeybees.” *Business Insider*. May 13, 2014. Accessed March 22, 2017. <http://www.businessinsider.com/harvard-study-links-pesticides-to-colony-collapse-disorder-2014-5>.

1. REMOVAL OF BANS AND MORATORIUMS OF GENETICALLY MODIFIED ORGANISMS

Throughout the past thirty years Latin American Governments banned Genetically Modified Organisms or GMOs. Ecuador fully banned them in their constitutional revision in 2008, while Mexico and Peru enacted moratoriums.¹⁷ Contrarily, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay adopted GMO practices with over 120 million hectares of GMO crops. Allowing GMOs throughout Latin America with the removal of bans and moratoriums could lead to a substantial drop off in pesticide use. Genetic modification has made soybeans and other products resistant to glyphosate which has low toxicity levels and deteriorates in the environment leading to less health and environmental concerns.¹⁸ Additionally, producers make crops resistant to certain pests causing a reduction in pesticide use as well. Small farmers make up most of the Latin American market and are ready for this change with over fifty percent preferring pest resistant varieties of potatoes in Peru.¹⁹ With customers willing to buy combined with the reduction in pesticide use opening the GMO market in Latin America would allow for a rapid drop off in many harmful pesticides. However, this solution could prove problematic as the WTO recently listed glyphosate as a potential carcinogen.²⁰ Additionally, plants can develop glyphosate resistances reducing the

beneficial impacts of these GMOs.²¹ GMOs that are specifically resistant to pests pose a middle ground in reduction of pesticides without the problems listed. Governments could immediately allow these types of GMOS while allowing restricted usage of glyphosate resistant strains to avoid pest resistance buildup.

2. GLOBALLY BINDING MAXIMUM RESIDUE LIMITS

Maximum Residue Limits are the allowed amount of certain pesticides to be present on imported foods. The Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Agreement of the World Trade Organization allows for countries to develop their own standards for MRLs.²² Instituting progressively stricter and universally binding MRLS would force producers to move away from pesticides and seek other options over time. MRL regulations strongly effect pesticide use. A study of Kenyan farmers reveals that safety standards employed by the European Union had a direct effect on their practices.²³ Authors credit the progressively stricter MRLs in the European Union with breaking the circle of poison and creating a circle of virtue in African farming. In the 1980's under threat from the United States of banning all imports from Costa Rica due to high levels of DDT, the Costa Rican government implemented harsh bans on DDT and quickly reduced their use to zero.²⁴ The Food and Agriculture Organization already produces a list of voluntary standards for

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18 Bonny, Sylvie. "Genetically modified glyphosate-tolerant soybean in the USA: adoption factors, impacts and prospects. A review." *Agronomy for Sustainable Development* 28, no. 1 (2008): 21-32.

19 Jasper Buijss, Marianne Martinet, Felipe De Mendiburu, and Marc Ghislain. "Potential adoption and management of insect-resistant potato in Peru, and implications for genetically engineered potato." *Environmental biosafety research* 4, no. 3 (2005): 179-188.

20 Daniel, Cressey. "Widely Used Herbicide Linked to Cancer." *Scientific American*. March 24, 2015. Accessed March 25, 2017. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/widely-used-herbicide-linked-to-cancer/>.

21 Jennifer Hsiao, and Krissy Lion. "GMOs and Pesticides: Helpful or Harmful?" *Science in the News*. November 24, 2016. Accessed April 02, 2017. <http://sitn.hms.harvard.edu/flash/2015/gmos-and-pesticides/>.

22 "WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION." WTO | Understanding the Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures Agreement. Accessed March 14, 2017. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/sps_e/spsund_e.htm.

23 Julius J. Oskello, and Scott M. Swinton. "From circle of poison to circle of virtue: pesticides, export standards and Kenya's green bean farmers." *Journal of agricultural economics* 61, no. 2 (2010): 209-224.

24 Ryan E. Galt "Beyond the circle of poison: significant shifts in the global pesticide complex, 1976-2008." *Global Environmental Change* 18, no. 4 (2008): 792.

MRLs in their codex.²⁵ Further the World Health Organization's Sanitary and Phytosanitary Agreement aims to harmonize standards and encourage countries to follow the FAO codex. However, it is non-binding. Additionally, it is key that the treaty allows for further restrictions by countries. Currently if a country bans chemicals or sets limits lower than the codex they risk lawsuits for a technical barrier to trade as was the case with Canada when they attempted to ban Lindane.²⁶ This stifles progressive legislation. By further standardizing and making the codex binding the world market would quickly conform to the new demands and a drastic reduction in pesticide use would occur.

3. SUBSIDIES AND TARGETED TAXING

Subsidies are often villainized in agriculture and associated with increased use of pesticides and increased emissions.²⁷ However, subsidizing bio pesticides and ecosystem friendly technologies that cause a lessened effect on health and the environment can encourage farmers to adopt these techniques. Many Latin American countries already fund large subsidy and farm programs with over 27 billion spent annually throughout the region.²⁸ Capital input subsidies dominate the subsidy market. However, weak regulation combined with subsidies that aim to accelerate output also increase pesticide

use.^{29,30} This proves obvious as the pricing of pesticides and fertilizers heavily effect market decisions. By funneling even a fraction of the 27 billion in subsidies into environmentally friendly options there would be a decrease in the negative effects of these subsidies with an increase in buying of environmentally friendly options. These subsidies, or green payments, are easy to implement and often find wide public support.³¹ Governments often fund green payments through the taxation of environmentally harmful products. By raising taxes on pesticides per toxicity to further fund these subsidies the demand for bio pesticides will rise staggeringly. Although policy makers should realize that taxation increases should be nominal on these products to avoid an increase in black market activities as seen with previously instituted bans.³² By increasing prices of undesirable pesticides and moving subsidies directly to ecosystem friendly practices and bio pesticides we will see a multiplied reduction of pesticide use in the region.

4. EDUCATION AND PROMOTION OF LATIN AMERICA ORIENTED INTEGRATED PEST MANAGEMENT

Integrated Pest Management is an ecosystem-based management system that uses information and science-based knowledge to manage pests instead of eliminating them.³³ IPM utilizes a multifaceted approach applying biological, cultural, mechanical, and chemical controls, while considering the environmental and health impacts of pesticides. Many countries including

25 Caroline E. Handford, Christopher T. Elliott, and Katrina Campbell. "A review of the global pesticide legislation and the scale of challenge in reaching the global harmonization of food safety standards." *Integrated environmental assessment and management* 11, no. 4 (2015): 525-536.

26 Langman, "The Global Pesticide Pushers in Latin America."

27 John Lingard. "Agricultural subsidies and environmental change." *Douglas, Ian and Munn, RE: Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change* 3 (2002).

28 Martin Gurria, Rachel Boyce, and Carmine Paolo De Salvo. "Review of Agricultural Support Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Inter American Development Bank*, August 2016, 1-18. August 2016. Accessed March 10, 2017. doi:10.18235/0000437.

29 Pepijn Schreinemachers, Sureporn Sringarm, and Aer Sirijinda. "The role of synthetic pesticides in the intensification of highland agriculture in Thailand." *Crop protection* 30, no. 11 (2011): 1430-1437.

30 Lani Sinclair. "Third World Pesticide Subsidies Encourage Increased Chemical Use and Divert Needed Funds." *Ambio* 15, no. 2 (1986): 118-19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4313227>.

31 Katherine R. Smith "Time to "Green" U.S. Farm Policy." *Issues in Science and Technology* 11, no. 3 (1995): 71-78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43311432>.

32 Langman, "The Global Pesticide Pushers in Latin America."

33 "What is Integrated Pest Management (IPM)?" UC IPM - Agriculture. Accessed March 15, 2017. <http://www2.ipm.ucanr.edu/WhatIsIPM/>.

the U.S. implemented IPM philosophies long ago. India implemented thirty-one central IPM centers throughout 28 states and has seen a reduction of pesticide use from 75,033 metric tons in 1990-1991 to 41,822 metric tons in 2009-2010.³⁴ It is critical to understand that IPM does not eliminate the use of pesticides, but instead focuses on only the necessary use. In Latin America IPM implementation proves difficult. IPM usually follows a top down approach where farmers identify a problem, scientists develop a researched response, and transfer the response to partners. Countries either do not implement IPM or the implementation has been slow due to a lack of infrastructure, investment, and the economic need to maximize production.³⁵ Small programs that instead focus on working with farmers to use their knowledge and apply IPM principles prove successful, such as in Bolivia's Aymara communities.³⁶ As part of the United Nations SDG 15, a program to implement IPM technologies has been setup in five Central American countries and will begin in 2017.³⁷ A dramatic increase in funding to these types of programs from the United Nations and Latin American countries could result in increased production and the long-term decline, but not the elimination, of pesticide use.

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION:

The reduction of pesticide use is a complex issue. Pesticides are an integral part of agriculture worldwide and any reduction in use could affect production. With Latin Americas growing population and an agriculture sector made up of small actors no simple solutions are available.³⁸ To reduce pesticide impact on health and the environment policy makers must couple a short and long term solution that do not severely disrupt food supplies. To achieve these combined goals, I recommend a combination of green subsidies and Integrated Pest Management.

A massive subsidy market already exists throughout Latin America and is strongly associated with an increase in pesticides and emissions.³⁹ Governments should use the 28 billion in subsidies already existent in Latin America to support ecosystem friendly options.⁴⁰ Subsidies greatly effect markets in directing agricultural practices, by using subsidies to support ecosystem friendly options an immediate decrease in pesticides will occur. This is necessary to protect farmers and the environment in the short term, without disrupting food supplies as the subsidies already exist. Without immediate market intervention pesticide use will continue at current levels effecting the health of people in the region and the environment for years to come. Considering the horrible effects previously mentioned this is unacceptable and short term reduction is necessary. However, agricultural subsidies can distort markets and adversely affect poor farmers.⁴¹ Understanding the potential negatives of subsidies, they cannot and should not provide a long-term solution.

34 P. Karuppuchamy, and Sheela Venugopal. "Integrated Pest Management." In *Ecofriendly Pest Management for Food Security*, 651-81. San Diego, CA: Elsevier, 2016.

35 Yelitza Colmenárez, Carlos Vásquez, Natália Corniani, and Javier Franco. "Implementation and Adoption of Integrated Pest Management Approaches in Latin America: Challenges and Potential." *Integrated Pest Management (IPM): Environmentally Sound Pest Management*, Dr. Harsimran Gill (Ed.), *InTech*, DOI 10 (2016): 64098.

36 Luis C. Rodríguez, and Hermann M. Niemeyer. "Integrated pest management, semiochemicals and microbial pest-control agents in Latin American agriculture." *Crop Protection* 24, no. 7 (2005): 615-623.

37 "Implementation of Integrated Pest Management - United Nations Partnerships for SDGs platform." United Nations. Accessed March 10, 2017. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/partnership/?p=2287>.


38 Julio A. Berdegue, and Ricardo Fuentealba. "Latin America: The state of smallholders in agriculture." In *IFAD conference on new directions for smallholder agriculture*, vol. 24, p. 25. 2011.

39 Lingard "Agricultural subsidies and environmental change."

40 Gurria, Boyce, and Salvo. "Review of Agricultural Support Policies in Latin" 2.

41 Marcelo Austria. "How U.S. Agricultural Subsidies Harm the Environment, Taxpayers and the Poor." National Center for Policy Analysis. August 2013. Accessed March 18, 2017. <http://www.ncpa.org/pub/ib126>.

Instead IPM programs should be setup throughout Latin America through the extension of programs that already exist in the United Nations. These programs cannot model after OECD countries like the United States who support vastly different agricultural markets. Governments should follow the model of India who has a similar market filled with small actors and a proven track record of success.⁴² By setting up multiple IPM centers that reach out to farmers to discuss IPM philosophy and come up with local solutions communities can successfully reduce pesticide usage. Considering mostly small independent families own the farms in Latin America and understand the local ecosystem, a combination of IPM philosophy with pre-existing knowledge will produce the best and quickest results.⁴³ This education is necessary to provide a long-term solution that fits Latin American needs. Farmers are the producers and direct engagement is necessary to enact societal changes throughout the region.

Pesticides are a necessary part of agricultural production globally and in Latin America. Until researchers develop new technologies to eliminate the need for all pesticides other solutions are necessary that focus on reduction and smart management of pesticide usage. Subsidies offer an immediate solution that changes market behavior, while IPM programs will affect long term behaviors that integrate into markets before they fully develop. Combined there will be a significant drop off in pesticide usage and a reduction in their deleterious health and environmental impacts throughout Latin America. 

42 Karuppuchamy. "Integrated Pest Management." 651-53.

43 Edmundo Barrios and M. T. Trejo. "Implications of local soil knowledge for integrated soil management in Latin America." *Geoderma* 111, no. 3 (2003): 217-231.



East, West, and the Gap between Them: Reducing Education Inequalities Between Older and Newer EU Member States

– Anna Dolezal

ABSTRACT

Differences between the education systems in formerly centrally planned states transitioning to democracy, and existing democratic states have widened social inequalities within the European Union. Member States who joined after 2004 face unique challenges in redesigning their education systems in order to compete with Member States who joined before 2004. Current disadvantages include; lower rates of tertiary education and a closer relationship between parental education attainment and student success in education. Solutions were selected on grounds of political feasibility and assessed on their ability to eliminate broad social inequalities between Member States. After considering Improving Distance and E-learning Programs, Improving Vocational Education Systems, Eliminating or Improving Early Secondary Tracking, and Continuing to Combat Brain Drain Via the Bologna Process, a recommended solution is proposed; improving vocational education systems, in part by eliminating early secondary tracking, ultimately creating an interdisciplinary education system that will further social cohesion between EU Member States.

OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

In 2004 and 2007, the European Union (EU) added ten new Member States from Central and Eastern Europe, effectively ending the division of Europe decided upon by the ‘Great Powers’ sixty years earlier at the Yalta Conference.¹ The addition of these countries, and the subsequent process of creating cohesion between the new and old EU members pushed the EU to overcome numerous political, cultural, and social obstacles between its members. By the time of this expansion, the scope of the EU had grown to include social cohesion, sustainability, and education policies among its Member States. The first education policies provided vocational training to enhance economic development. In 1999, the EU adopted the Bologna Process, now a part of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), as an effort to solve growing

1 “Further expansion.” European Union website, the official EU website - European Commission. March 09, 2017

convergence problems between the standards and quality of higher-education qualifications.²

More recently, in 2009 the EU adopted the Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020) as their framework for cooperation in education and training.³ Although each EU country is responsible for its own education and training systems, ET 2020 lays the groundwork for addressing common challenges in education and training across the EU. The program set out four objectives regarding education challenges within the EU: making lifelong learning and mobility a reality, improving the quality and efficiency of education and training, promoting equity, and enhancing creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship at all levels of education.⁴

One of the most crucial aspects of integrating the post-2004 Member States into the EU framework involved, and continues to involve, helping new members redesign their education systems as part of a larger effort to move their public sectors away from communist-era thinking and foster further social cohesion between Member States. This ongoing process has, thus far, not created education equity across EU borders. The regions with the lowest per-capita rates of students in all levels of education are found east of Germany and in South Eastern Europe.⁵ Central and Eastern Europe also maintain the lowest rates of tertiary graduates, which points to a clear gap between regions more or less likely to provide a supportive educational milieu. Ultimately, there is a stronger relationship between social background and school performance in Eastern EU countries as opposed to Western EU countries.⁶

The 2015 Program of International Student

Assessment (PISA) showed that, in many EU countries, the promise of social mobility continues to prove a hollow one.⁷ A society's investment in education serves as a prerequisite for future economic and technical competitiveness; therefore, social inequality in education provides a foundation for future inequalities.⁸ Today, education is one realm of EU influence that, if improved, could eradicate regional socioeconomic inequalities between its Member States, effectively creating a more equitable supranational organization, and a stronger, more competitive Europe.

SOLUTION 1:

Improve Distance and E-learning Programs

With regards to the low rate of tertiary education,⁹ as well as the clear east/west divide regarding adult participation in lifelong learning, a potential cost-effective and efficient way to close this gap with their western counterparts would be the enhancement of distance and e-learning programs in the EU.¹⁰ A research project, 'The Impact of Distance Education on Adult Learning' (IDEAL) completed by the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) and the International Council for Open and Distance Education (ICDE) identified the need for continuing reforms at the institutional level by the Europe 2020 strategy¹¹ Most institutions had limited public strategies or policy frameworks to provide a foundation for distance education programs.¹² A case study on Hungary notes that although 73% of full-time and 27% of part-time students receive

2 Arriazu Muñoz, Rubén, ed. *European Education Policy: A Historical and Critical Approach to Understanding the Impact of Neoliberalism in Europe*. Publication. University of Extremadura, 30.

3 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_5.13.4.html

4 Ibid.

5 Ballas, Dimitris, Ruth Lupton, Dimitris Kavroudakos, Benjamin Hennig, Vassiliki Yiagopoulou, Roger Dale, and Danny Dorling. *Mind The Gap: Education Inequality Across EU Regions*. Report. Network of Experts, NESSE . 13

6 Ibid.

7 Bodewig, Christian, and Lucas Gortazar. "Education's hollow promise of social mobility in Europe I Brookings Institution." Brookings. December 07, 2016

8 Schilcht, 30.

9 See appendix A

10 Ballas, 161

11 Closing the Gap: Opportunities for Distance Education to Benefit Adult Learners in Higher Education." UNESCO Institute for Lifelong learning (UIL). February 24, 2016.

12 Carlsen, A., C. Holmberg, C. Neghina, and A. Owusu-Boampong. Closing the Gap: Opportunities for distance education to benefit adult learners in higher education. UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL). 2016.

state assistance, those participating in distance learning programs are not eligible for state funding.¹³ Allocating more funding for institutions to expand their distance and e-learning programs, be that through the EU, NGOs, or private companies, would reach participants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and encourage them to further their education.¹⁴ At the policy level, standardizing recognition of prior learning across borders will allow students to pursue distance-learning programs from any EU member state.¹⁵ Enhancing the quality and accessibility of distance and e-learning programs as well as unifying Member State prerequisites has the potential to lower inter-regional disparities in both tertiary education attainment and life-long learning rates among EU members.

SOLUTION 2:

Improve Vocational Education

One of the most effective ways for post-2004 Member States to build competitive and diverse education systems serving a variety of interests, as well as improve subsequent labor market outcomes, is through their vocational education programs. With the previous expectation that the state should pay for public goods, including education, current employers are not interested in paying for even portions of their employees' vocational training. With a lack of support from private employers, countries like Lithuania introduced a "money-follows-the-student" system for vocational schools that changes them from budget institutions to public (non-governmental, non-profit) institutions; thereby involving social partners and helping them

achieve further autonomy.¹⁶ Locating practical training for vocational education entirely in-plant can reduce government costs as well as gain further buy-in from employers.¹⁷

Scholarships and stipends awarded to students in vocational schools in post-2004 Member States should be awarded on the criterion of need, not the type of school attended. Higher allocations should be given to vocational education schools for disadvantaged students to better recruit and provide for those students.¹⁸ In some Eastern and Central European countries, young male vocational school graduates are earning more than twice as much as vocational school leavers while female students are earning 75% as much as those who did not complete their training.¹⁹ Therefore, it is crucial to target disadvantaged students in post-2004 member states to ensure the completion of their vocational programs and best employment outcomes.

SOLUTION 3:

Eliminate or Improve Early Secondary Education Tracking Systems

Early secondary education tracking, intended to help well-performing children from lower social classes move up when allocated to a higher school level, tends to increase education inequality in Central and Eastern Europe.²⁰ As post-2004 members transitioned, many reinstated early tracking systems that were previously discredited under socialism, specifically, early tracking at the lower education level. These educational programs strongly influence students' future career changes at age 10 or 11, as opposed to age 15, as in education

13 Owusu-Boampong, Angela, and Carl Holmberg. IDEAL; Impact of Distance Education on Adult Learning. International Council for Open and Distance Education. Distance education in European Higher Education - the potential . 2015, 42.

14 Ibid.

15 Carlesn, 78

16 Canning, Mary, Martin Godfrey, and Dorota Holzer-Zelazewska. *Vocational education in the new EU member states: enhancing labor market outcomes and fiscal efficiency*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2007, 35.

17 Ibid, 3.

18 Ibid, 36.

19 Ibid, 31.

20 Schlicht, 37.

systems without tracking.²¹ Across the region, three main tracks exist; lower vocational, secondary general, and upper vocational; mobility between these tracks is limited, if possible at all²². Less privileged students often self-select and/or someone sorts them into the lower level vocational tracks²³, which lead to a rapid transition to employment in mainly lower status positions, not allowing students to continue higher education.²⁴

The best solution to this distinct, premature divider of students is to eliminate early secondary tracking altogether. However, if post-2004 members wish to continue this practice, they should follow their Nordic counterparts' examples. In Norway, the vocational/general distinction is preserved in comprehensive schools with connections between the two, including remedial teaching available to vocational-track students and a multi disciplinary team for students of lower socioeconomic status, including a psychologist and social worker.²⁵ Although this creates a more expensive education model, it proves more effective than channeling weaker students into separate, high cost, narrow-skill vocational schools.²⁶

SOLUTION 4:

Continue to Combat Brain Drain via the Bologna Process

Between the years of 2006 – 2010, Western Europe saw a migration increase from educational professionals and young people who migrated for their studies. Bulgarian and Polish students comprise the third and fourth largest groups of students immigrating to Germany in order to study at universities

respectively.²⁷ Among eastern EU members, the brain drain most severely affects Poland and Romania.²⁸ Since improved work standards and opportunities in the host country largely drives the migration of highly skilled individuals, the EU must support countries experiencing the drain of human capital not only with funding different programs, but also by providing targeted recommendations on quality education policies that encourage education professionals and academic staff to stay. Being recent members of the EU, the post-2004 members struggled to implement the Bologna process intended to equalize higher education across borders. The Bologna process and EHEA have the potential to ease the bleeding of human capital from Central and Eastern Europe but only when implemented correctly. Reforms undertaken in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe require greater structure due to the vast differences between higher education systems in these parts of Europe. Although criticized, two speeds of reforms are necessary within the Bologna Process, because the current drivers of reforms are different. In the older EU members the driver of reform is competitiveness and the driver for reform in newer EU members is to make use of structural adjustments to continue to shift the structure of their societies to better serve the free market.²⁹

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION:

Due to the scope and scale of an education system, the EU must employ a holistic approach in order to effectively reduce education inequalities between the post-2004 Member States and older members. Joint implementation of these four solutions provides the most all-encompassing outcome; however, the varying nature and urgency of the challenges facing East and West Europe requires the implementation of

21 Kogan, Irena, Michael Gebel, and Clemens Noelke. "Educational Systems and Inequalities in Educational Attainment in Central and Eastern European Countries." *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 4:1 (2012), 72.

22 Ibid, 70.

23 See appendix B

24 Ibid, 76.

25 Canning, (37).

26 Ibid, (37).

27 Nedeljkovic, Vena. Brain Drain in the European Union: Facts & Figures. Working paper no. 4. Bridging Europe. 2014, 7.

28 Ibid, 7.

29 Kwiek, Marek. "The Emergent European Educational Policies under Scrutiny: the Bologna Process from a Central European perspective ." *European Educational Research Journal* 3: 4. (2004), 769.

these solutions over different time scales.³⁰ The first priority is improving vocational education and training. Vocational Education accounts for between 25% and 79% of upper secondary enrollment in post-2004 members³¹ but is often overlooked in discussions surrounding secondary education reform.³² Strengthening vocational education systems according to regional and local economic development strategies will strengthen regional partnerships between companies and trade unions as well as cater to areas of skills shortages plaguing numerous post-2004 members. Finally, by creating quality vocational education programs post-2004 members can address the stigma of vocational education programs taking “failures” from general education, often times from disadvantaged families.³³

Eliminating early secondary education tracking is a crucial aspect of improving the vocational education and training systems. Keeping students in a comprehensive system without tracking until the age of 15 provides a low-cost, high-return way to ensure students have a more robust, transversal skill set when they enter the vocational track later in the schooling system.³⁴ Creating quality vocational education programs will give post-2004 members a competitive advantage with older EU members. An important follow up question to ask regarding vocational education is how the students graduating from these vocational programs will be able to contribute to the continuous prosperity of their home countries. From 2004 to 2006 Ireland alone received 186,000 vocational workers from the new EU member countries, in comparison to 35,000 in the sixteen months prior to accession.³⁵ With numerous students continuing to move abroad to work in other EU Member States after graduation, the issue of brain drain is impossible to ignore in this context. The EU should target brain drain in Central and Eastern

Europe after the creation of quality vocational education programs in the region.

Distance and e-learning education is also capable of mitigating the damages of the changing demographics in Central and Eastern Europe in this case, aging populations, by helping adults attain tertiary education and participate in life long learning. However, creating quality vocational programs for youth in compulsory education will improve human capital capabilities for the youth of the post-2004 members today, and in the future. Hence targeting vocational education is the most pressing and impactful way the EU can assist post-2004 members in further integration and cohesion. Negative aspects of social inequality in education further negative aspects of social trust as well as political and civil freedom.³⁶ Consequently, in order to continue to build a united Europe the EU must assist members in addressing these education inequalities promptly and in a comprehensive manner. 🌐

30 European Commission, “Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes,” EUR-Lex, November 21, 2012.

31 See appendix C

32 Canning, 1.

33 *Ibid.*, 6.

34 *Ibid.*

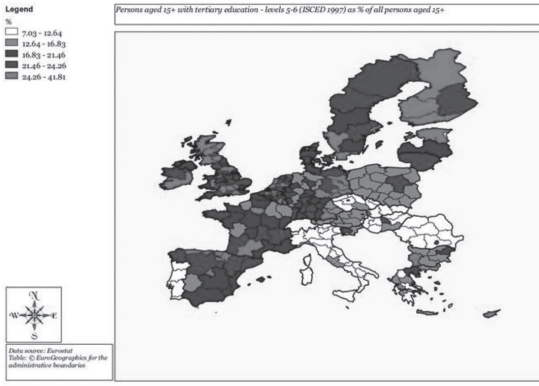
35 *Ibid.*, 10.

36 Schlicht, 30.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Figure 3.11: Persons with tertiary education (levels 5-6, ISCED 1997) as % of all persons aged 15+ in a region



APPENDIX B

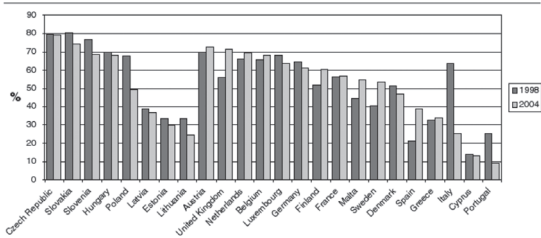
Table 1: Distribution of educational degrees among recent school leavers, percentages¹

	Lower secondary or less	Lower vocational	Secondary general	Upper vocational	Post-secondary, lower tertiary	Higher tertiary
East	17.6	42.1	9.1	12.0	6.7	12.6
Germany		66.6	14.4	19.0	34.7	65.3
Czech Republic	6.0	33.4	6.8	37.6	6.0	10.2
Republic		42.9	8.8	48.3	37.0	63.0
Croatia	1.5	31.0	3.0	23.5	13.1	27.9
		53.9	5.3	40.9	31.9	68.1
Serbia	3.2	27.1	3.2	27.1	13.4	26.0
		47.2	5.6	47.3	34.1	65.9
Slovenia	9.8	22.8	4.5	27.2	2.8	33.1
		41.9	8.2	49.9	7.7	92.3
Hungary	16.2	13.4	24.9	20.7	18.4	6.4
		22.7	42.2	35.1	74.3	25.8
Poland		18.3	18.0	27.7	16.8	39.2
		28.6	28.1	43.3	46.7	53.3
Ukraine	8.6	1.9	16.9	18.3	29.8	24.7
		5.0	45.7	49.3	54.7	45.3
Russia		4.2	12.5	17.7	26.0	38.4
		12.2	36.3	51.5	40.4	59.6

Source: Calculations on the basis of the data from the project 'Education systems and labour markets in Central and Eastern Europe'. Samples include young people leaving continuous education for longer than one year, excluding interruptions connected to maternity leave, illness or military service.

APPENDIX C

Figure 17. Students in VE as a Percent of All Upper Secondary Students, EU Members, 1998 & 2004



Note: Hungarian figures have been adjusted from national source for comparability with other countries.

Source: Eurostat.



Preventing the Next Financial Crisis: Reforming the European Economic and Monetary Union

– Bekka Ashcraft

ABSTRACT

The aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis in Europe has drawn attention to the necessity of reforming the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the union controlling currency values and regulating economic markets within Europe. Varying methods to reform the current EMU structure divide between granting states further economic and fiscal autonomy or pursuing closer economic and political convergence among member states. The first solution, following “The Five President’s Report”, argues for further economic and political integration between states, while the subsequent solutions recommend greater state-level autonomy within the union. Reforming the EMU is essential to reaching sustainable economic stability and preventing any further financial crises such as seen in 2008.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW:

The European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), formed in 1992, comprises of the 19 member states of the Eurozone and four additional institutions: the European Central Bank, European Parliament, European Commission, and the European Council.¹ The objective of the EMU is to coordinate fiscal and economic policy between states, to pursue integrated economic markets, and to promote a common currency and uniform monetary policy within the Eurozone.²

The EMU is made up of a broad range of diverse and asymmetric economies, and in the aftermath of the 2008 European financial crisis, deep flaws revealed in the composition of uniform EMU regulations brought up the need to reform and restructure economic and fiscal policies that member states adhere to.³ States party to the euro follow strict monetary policy that resembles a one-size-fits-all format, leaving little flexibility to states with weaker economies,

1 See Appendix A

2 “What Is the Economic and Monetary Union?”
European Commission

3 See Appendix B

such as Greece, Portugal, and Ireland.⁴ Pre-2008, interest rates⁵ set to benefit stronger economies, such as Germany, were too low for countries prone to higher-inflation levels, leading to states accumulating high quantities of private debt beyond what was fiscally viable at real interest rate levels. The euro currency value and levels of GDP to debt ratio⁶, mandated for the entire Eurozone by the European Central Bank (ECB), resulted in states having little to no control over monetary, fiscal, or currency stabilization policy.⁷

During the financial crisis, nations particularly affected, such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Italy, faced unsustainable debt levels, near insolvent or highly unstable national banks, and the inability to take appropriate measures regarding their respective stabilization policy without violating EMU regulations. The result was such that the ECB had to take unorthodox measures to restore financial stability, and states such as Greece received bailouts by the European Union.⁸

The financial crisis revealed the limitations and problems with the EMU's common one-size-fits-all monetary policy and exemplified the need for reforms within the EMU. Strengthening the EMU without changing the European Union treaty will be a tricky endeavor, and it is not one that leader states, France and Germany, are keen on doing before national elections this year. Progress would be incremental, but reforming and restructuring EMU monetary policy and

financial regulations would be beneficial to the European Union as a whole to prevent another euro crisis such as seen in 2008 and to improve overall economic stability within the Eurozone. The following solutions divide EMU reform into a choice between promoting closer economic ties within the union or pursuing greater state-level autonomy. The solutions aim to improve EMU regulations for both Eurozone member states and the institutions charged with maintaining financial stability within the Eurozone as a whole.

SOLUTIONS:

1. Closer Economic Convergence and Political Integration

In 2015, the European Commission published "The Five President's Report" which outlined a two-part plan to further deepen and coalesce the EMU, with the goal of reinforcing the foundation of the union and progressing towards closer economic convergence and political integration.⁹

The report calls for a deeper, broader EMU, and to gradually shift from a rule-based cooperation of member states to increased sovereignty sharing within established common institutions (i.e. EMU institutions).¹⁰ The two part plan established different stages to be completed; Stage One by the end of June, 2017 and Stage Two, to be completed within the year 2025.¹¹ The first stage would expand upon existing programs and mechanisms while using inter-governmental and inter-union treaties to further cohesion and structural reform amongst European banking institutions.¹² Stage One focuses specifically on deepening economic convergence and pursuing closer political cooperation within the EMU by establishing, in tandem, four unions: a financial union, political union, fiscal union, and economic union.

4 Mike Wickens. "Avoiding Another Eurozone Crisis While Avoiding the Five Presidents' Report: Part I" *Center for Economic and Policy Research* (2016)

5 Interest rates are usually indicated in an annual percentage amount, and are defined by the European Central Bank as the cost of borrowing funds by countries or the gain of lending funds by creditors. Interest rates are set to various levels in order to reduce inflation, and can be adjusted accordingly to increase or decrease inflation.

6 GDP to debt ratios are the ratios of state debt to annual gross domestic product (GDP). Lower GDP to debt ratios are indicators of economic stability, where states incur sufficient GDP to pay back sovereign debt without accumulating further debt. By contrast, higher GDP to debt ratios indicate greater economic instability.

7 *Ibid.*, 1.

8 Roel Beetsma, Carlo Favero, Alessandro Missale. *Monetary Policy, Fiscal Policies and Labour Markets: Macroeconomic Policymaking in the EMU*. (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

9 Jean-Claude Juncker, Donald Tusk, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, Mario Draghi, Martin Schulz. "Completing Europe's Economic and Monetary Union | The Five President's Report." *European Commission*, (2015) 1-23.

10 *Ibid.*, 5.

11 *Ibid.*, 5.

12 *Ibid.*, 5.

Stage Two proposes completing economic convergence by making common fiscal and monetary regulations legally binding for all member states. This second stage is contingent upon affected states of the 2008 crisis being economically stable and having solvent national financial institutions. Both economic convergence and political integration would bring about sustainable long-term stability within the EMU to allow for adding further candidates to the European Union.¹³

2. Replacing the Stability and Growth Pact

In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty was signed and implemented by European Union states to create the EMU and to impose the euro as the common currency of the union. To allow member states to share a common currency, certain regulations were set into place in a one-size-fits-all format, such as limiting public debt levels within states to 60% and capping GDP to government debt ratios at 3%. In 1997, the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) was created by member states to build upon and strengthen the regulations of the Maastricht Treaty and to act as an economic security blanket for the EMU.¹⁴ Regulations agreed upon in the Maastricht Treaty were extended to the Stability and Growth Pact.

Historic recessions in the EU both in 2001-2003 and again in 2008 provide evidence that the current bound of GDP to debt ratio at 3% is insufficient for states to stabilize their respective national economies, in addition to encouraging them to seek lower interest rates to meet Maastricht criteria.¹⁵ The European Commission, in accordance with the European Union Treaty, lacks the authority to impose sanctions or punishments on member states out of compliance with the SGP, leaving states little reason to remain accountable to the pact.¹⁶ One problem, however, is that the overall lack of incentives for member states included in the pact discourages them to reduce public debt levels. The pact also heavily relies on

the existence of the document as a way to encourage states to reduce public debt down to the desired 60% or lower level.¹⁷ Replacing the SGP with more flexible fiscal policy regulations provides the possibility for states to introduce counter-cyclical economic policies of their own to offset loss in monetary autonomy.¹⁸

3. Incorporating Creditor Participation Clauses Into ESM Restructuring Programs

In 2012, the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) was created to provide long-term debt relief assistance for states continuing to suffer from the 2008 financial crisis. The mechanism provided funds in bailout form to states with debt crises in order to alleviate economic instability within the Eurozone, and to resolve sovereign debt in nations such as Greece and Spain.¹⁹ Currently, the ESM has the lending capacity of approximately 500 billion euros, pooled together from EMU member states, making it one of the largest lending institutions in the world.²⁰

To build upon ESM debt restructuring programs and to reform the current lending system, one solution proposed is a formal restructuring of existing programs to include Creditor Participation Clauses (CPCs).²¹ A CPC is a clause included into debt contracts to hold countries more accountable in their respective debt relief programs to avoid free-riding off of EU bailouts. Through CPCs, states would have more input into their respective fiscal and debt restructuring programs as well, granting them greater autonomy over their fiscal policies and requiring discipline in taking on further public

17 David Mayes, Matti Viren. "Pressures on the Stability and Growth Pact from Asymmetry in Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, (2004)11(5): 781-797

18 Posen, *Why the Pact Has No Impact*, 10

19 Gaetano Gaballo, Ariel Zetlin-Jones. "Bailouts, Moral Hazard and Banks' Home Bias for Sovereign Debt." *European Stability Mechanism | Working Paper Series*, Vol. 2016, No. 14.

20 Economic and Monetary Affairs. European Union. 2017

21 CPCs are restructuring mechanisms that set out clear rules for governments in constructing their budgets, and are designed to allow creditors to pay closer attention to risks, as well as demand higher premiums on government bonds. Closer creditor participation incentivizes governments to restructure budgetary policies and restrict taking on further public debt (See Appendix B).

13 *Ibid.*, 5.

14 October 2010: "Maastricht Treaty" EUR-LEX

15 Adam Posen. "Why the Pact Has No Impact" *The International Economy* (2005) 19(1): 8-11

16 *Ibid.*, 11.

debt. In addition, debt thresholds would be set in place for states to monitor sovereign debt and repay public debt. Should debt thresholds be exceeded, immediate extensions could be given, allowing governments more time to reevaluate their fiscal policies, and set in place a deeper debt restructuring plan, in partnership with the ESM.²² Including CPCs into current programs improves economic stability and autonomy by holding states to higher standards of accountability and promoting stricter discipline in constructing respective state budgets and monitoring debt.

4. Addressing Economic Asymmetry Within the Eurozone

Given the diverse economies amongst the member states within the Eurozone, economic asymmetry is an issue that must be addressed in restructuring EMU policy.²³ The Five President's Report acknowledges economic asymmetry within the union, but does not focus on addressing it within current policy framework.²⁴ Current ECB policy mandates a Eurozone-wide, fixed exchange rate of the euro, which exacerbates and magnifies economic instabilities when they occur within Eurozone states due to economic asymmetry.²⁵

To address this issue, steps to be taken should: acknowledge asymmetry and construct asymmetrical fiscal policies in response, and coordinate fiscal policy within the Eurozone. Constructing asymmetrical fiscal policy provides greater flexibility to member states in policy making, and allows them to tackle state-specific economic problems with their own respective stabilization methods. In the long-run, state-by-state fiscal policy would overall benefit the Eurozone on a macro-economic scale. This goes against the idea that fiscal policy should remain a one-size-fits-all format, or that fiscal policy should be overseen by a central institution, such as the European Central

Bank. Coordinating fiscal policy asymmetrically implies greater coordination between Eurozone states in times of economic instability, but also provides member states with greater autonomy over national fiscal policies.²⁶

RECOMMENDED COURSE OF ACTION:

Given the complexity of diverse, asymmetrical economies within the Eurozone, as well as fundamental structure issues with current policies, the heart of the problem remains whether states should pursue greater fiscal autonomy at the state-level, or whether states should collectively seek further convergence and integration on the union level. Reforming the European Monetary Union is a complex issue that will not be solved with just one solution; however, combining solutions will contribute to broader and encompassing policy decisions leading to a more stable and economically healthier EMU. Replacing the Stability and Growth Pact, incorporating Creditor Participation Clauses, and building asymmetric fiscal policies within the EMU all provide greater autonomy and flexibility to states over their fiscal policies and national economic policies. The aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and continued growing imbalance within the EMU has exemplified the need to reform current EMU structure through gradual and incremental reform, supporting state-level autonomy, removing fiscal restrictions, and promoting accountability and creditor participation.²⁷

There are many challenges facing the incumbent two-part plan approach to reforming the EMU as outlined in the Five President's Report. Nine years after the initial crisis, European economies are yet out of sync with one another, and the Five President's Report is contingent upon economic and financial stability in Europe. Total cooperation among member states is essential to achieve economic convergence and political integration, but currently the Eurozone is suffering from economic divergence, leading

22 See Appendix C

23 Laszlo Andor. "Countering Divergence Within the Economic and Monetary Union" *EU Commission for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion* (2014)

24 *Ibid.*, 1.


25 Tommaso Monacelli. "Asymmetries and Eurozone Policymaking" *Center for Economic Policy and Research* (2016)

26 *Ibid.*, 1.

27 Catherine Sifakis "Macroeconomic Asymmetry and Imbalance in the Eurozone" *Centre de Recherche en Economie de Grenoble* (2011)

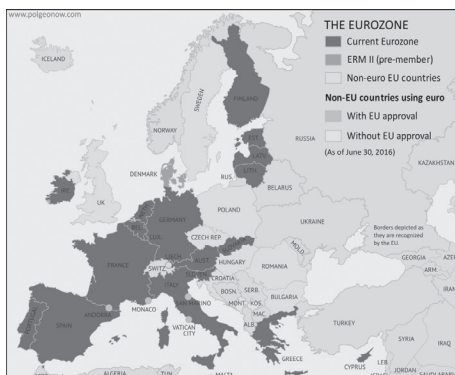
to higher unemployment and inequality in recovering member states.²⁸

Closer integration of European financial institutions and stricter one-size-fits-all fiscal policy regulations would be difficult to bounce back from in the event of another financial crisis, resulting in further economic instability in Europe. Original design flaws of the EMU without fundamental restructuring face the possibility of exacerbating existing problems in the event of economic and financial turmoil.²⁹ Nationalist movements throughout Europe in states such as France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands have spoken out against increased shared sovereignty, a crucial component outlined in the Five President's Report. Federal integration and further sovereignty sharing is an unappealing solution to nations such as France and Germany that are already balking against it, and so a more pragmatic approach would be incremental and gradual progress in restructuring existing policies and regulations.³⁰ While France and Germany acted as leaders in the 2008 financial crisis, and continue to support measures to promote economic stability, neither nation wishes to incur further risk and responsibility as instability reaches the 10 year mark and both states face national elections this year.

Incremental change within the EMU would involve institutions stepping back and providing more autonomy to states over their own fiscal policy. Fundamentally reappraising the architecture of the EMU and restructuring existing institutions to allow greater flexibility would prepare the EMU for future economic shocks and a more sustainable recovery. 

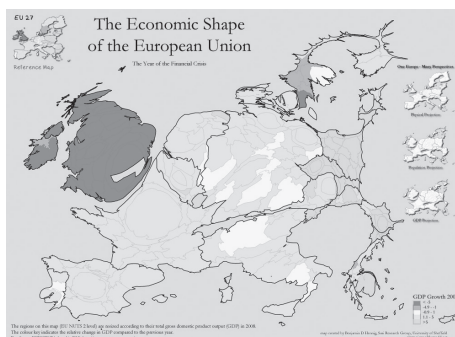
APPENDIXES:

APPENDIX A: MAP OF THE EUROZONE AND EUROPEAN UNION³¹ *



*Denmark, being a member of ERM II (European Exchange Rate Mechanism) pegs its currency to the euro but continues to use its own currency, the kronor, as a member of the European Union.

APPENDIX B: MAP OF THE ECONOMIC SHAPE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (2008)³² *



* Map showing the “economic size” per member state to demonstrate asymmetrical economies in the European Union at the time of the 2008 financial crisis.

28 Paul de Grauwe “Design Failures of the Eurozone” *Center for Economic and Policy Research* (2015)

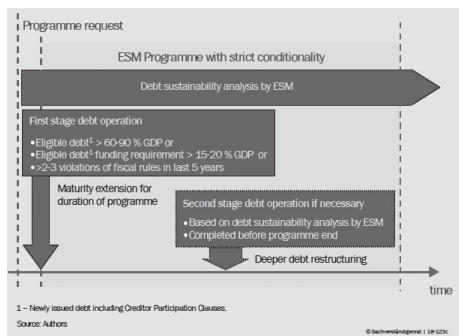
29 Ibid.

30 Jack Ewing “As E.C.B. Charts Economic Course, Politics Complicate the Picture” *New York Times* (2017)

31 Evan Centanni. “Which Countries Use the Euro? (Map of the Eurozone).” *Political Geography Now*. (2016)

32 EUROSTAT (2011)

APPENDIX C: PROGRAM PROPOSAL TO BUILD UPON CURRENT ESM PROJECTS AND DEBT RESTRUCTURING³³



ADDITIONAL WORKS CONSULTED:

Elzbieta Bednarek-Sekunda, Richard Jong-A-Pin, Jakob De Haan. “The European Economic and Monetary Union and Labour Market Reform” *European Union Politics*, (2010) Vol 11, Issue 1, pp. 3-27

Alberto Botta “Structural Symmetries at the Roots of the Eurozone Crisis: What’s New for Industrial Policy in the EU?” *Levy Economics Institute Working Paper Collection* (2014)

Amandine Crespy, Vivien Schmidt. “The Clash of Titans: France, Germany, and the Discursive Double Game of EMU Reform.” *Journal of European Public Policy*, (2014) 21(8), 1085-1101.

Barry Eichengreen “Europe’s Crisis Treadmill” *Project Syndicate*. (2014)

Sylvester Eijffinger, Jakob De Haan. “European Monetary and Fiscal Policy” *Oxford: Oxford University Press* (2000)

Paul Taylor. “Reinforcing a Battered European Monetary Union” *Reuters*. *New York Times*. (2015) Web.

33 Jochen Andritzky, Lars Feld, Christoph Schmidt, Isabel Schnabel, Volker Wieland. “Creditor Participation Clauses: Making Orderly Sovereign Debt Restructuring Feasible in the Eurozone” *Center for Economic and Policy Research*. (2016)



Interview with U.S. Ambassador Patricia Agatha Butenis

This interview was conducted by IS majors Bailey Ellis and Emma Scott during Ambassador Butenis's February 2017 visit to UI.

IN: Did you always want to work in the US Foreign Service?

Ambassador Butenis: No, not at all. I didn't even understand what the foreign service was, or the State Department or American diplomacy. As an undergraduate I studied what I really liked which turned out to be anthropology. I had Spanish in high school, and continued learning it at Penn. When I graduated college, I knew I wanted to focus my master's degree on International Relations. But again, with no ideas at all at what I would do with this. So, I went to Columbia, New York for my bachelors. While I was there, the professors were telling all of us to take this exam, take this foreign service exam, and I thought "okay I'm going to do it." I took the written exam and I passed, which you know I hadn't expected to do and I continued the process. There is a long interview process, a security background and all kinds of things. And eventually two years later, they finally offered me a job. But that's why my move to Washington, I went as had a fellowship at the Library of Congress's Congressional Research Institute. Which is very prestigious kind of congressional in-house research institute for non-partners, so I was there as their

Latin America person for three months and it was really a lot of fun. By the time the three months ran out, I was offered a position in the Foreign Services.

IN: Did you have any other ideas of what you wanted to do?

Ambassador Butenis: No. You know, coming from a blue-collar family - my father finished high school, my mother finished 9th grade, and I was the oldest of the three daughters - my parents pretty much believed in education. My grandparents were immigrants, and education was really the focus. Not so much what you were going to do with it; there was this belief that to do well, you get good education, (and then) you're going to be okay. And they were right actually. Neither my father or mother ever said, "you must study this as opposed to that." I think if I hadn't had gone into anthropology, I may have gone into English Literature or something. But it was a whole new world opening up for me, and I just knew that I wanted a graduate degree. That was the next focus. I never projected into the future like you are supposed to do. And I just... fell in love with studying international relation and I guess, if I hadn't gone into foreign service, I may have worked for an NGO or something like that.

IN: What did you ended up getting your Master's degree in?

Ambassador Butenis: International Affairs. Columbia has what its now a school of international and public affairs. I have to say, the Martin Institute at UI is just fabulous. Even as graduate student, while we had excellent faculty, it was hard to get individual attention. Teachers didn't know your name, or started to know my name, I forgot theirs. I guess in that kind of environment, it kind of toughens you up a bit too. And being in New York - I loved being in New York and I think maybe that's what made me realize I like diversity, I like culture, I like new stuff. And I like learning new things, and I certainly found that in the Foreign Service.

IN: What do you feel is your biggest accomplishment?

Ambassador Butenis: You know, that's a tough one. I get asked that, and you think I would have come up with an answer by now. I guess the most satisfaction I got, actually, was consulate work. Working as a consulate officer means immigration,

visas - you do the interviews with people looking for jobs or schooling – and you turn a lot of people down, so it can be a little demoralizing. The other side of the consulate is American citizen services. Looking after Americans who get in trouble overseas or if they're missing, for example; we look for them, you know, we're kind of responsible for them. I got a lot of satisfaction out of individual cases like that. I also learned, I didn't like long-term issues as much. I like to solve problems next, next, next and move on. I got a lot of satisfaction. So, I guess, helping the Americans that I helped in consulate work, issuing visas to students and parents of people already in the US - somebody who has never been to America and they got accepted somewhere and its really quite touching to have helped them. I've helped refugees, who were fleeing prosecution. So, for me I guess it was the human element.

Professionally, I guess I am most proud of my service in Baghdad. I was there for almost two years as the deputy to the ambassador [ed. note: Ryan Crocker, from 2007-2009]. Everything was a crisis, we were under attack with rockets coming in, and I was just trying to hold the mission together because the ambassador was handling policy; I was left with running the place. And I did it. I saw the culmination of all the years of training I had in the Foreign Service, my experiences, and my own innate abilities, they all came together and allowed me to succeed in that very difficult job. It was very tough. My mother was still living at the time, but we never told her where I was. (She had Alzheimer's and she would watch television, and if she thought I was in Baghdad instead of Bangladesh where I had been . . . we never told her.)

Anyway, when I would come home, I didn't realize the physical impact of my services there. I was there for almost two years and while we got vacations, you really couldn't relax. I mean it wasn't just the physical threat, for me it was also the intensity and importance of the work. We worked six-and-a-half days a week. It was just something-something-something and you'd just hear this explosion, the building would shake, the alarm would go off, you would run out of your office get in the hall, the all-clear would sound, and then you would run back and return to working. It's just this whole crazy pattern. And me trying to model behaviors and how to act amidst all of it . . . you know, being woman in a combat area, I still felt like I had to prove something, I didn't want anybody to think I was a coward. And the people in the embassy, both staff and the civilians - that was my responsibility. Take care of them, make sure they were safe and watch

out for them. Because some people can be very unhappy in a situation like that and my job was to make sure they didn't keep running or otherwise check out. I got a lot of satisfaction out of it, I didn't spend a lot of time think about it before - but I have the time right now, thanks to you.

IN: You mentioned working with immigrants and refugees, what are your thoughts and feelings about the current limitations being put on people coming to the US?

Ambassador Butenis: I am completely opposed with exactly what President Trump issued, which the judges refused to reinstate. Every president has the right and indeed a responsibility to review policies. And look what the policies of the previous administration and if you want to change them and you've told your voters, the people voted for you that you're going to change it, that's fine. And we change direction you know in certain areas. But I object both the substance and the process in this case. The substance - the seven countries – it looks like a Muslim target, and that's wrong. That's not our value, that's not in our values. I've done consul work, I've interviewed people, I've been in terrorist countries, and we have systems in place to screen people out and we do a pretty good job and yes there was 9/11 but we haven't had anything like that since. Stopping students coming in is not going to make America safer, it makes us weaker because we've handed another propaganda tool to the terrorist. They point to us like look, look how they treat Muslims . . .

So, I have complete disagreement with the substance and I also disagree with the process of how this was done. If President Trump wanted to institute this kind of ban, what he could have done (and improve his chances of getting this accepted) would be to vet it with his own Cabinet - they weren't even consulted apparently. And at least take the time to look at what we do now. What's the process now? Everybody was ready to brief him you know, and then if he still felt it wasn't sufficient. But he didn't do that, he just tried to ram it through. Now everybody is up in arms and I can't believe President Trump is happy with the current situation. He's very combative, but he's not a king who can say 'make this happen.' It doesn't work that way in America. We have checks and balances for very good reasons and he doesn't seem to accept that or his advisors are telling him not to. It's very disappointing and a lot of people are upset. I don't know how his supporters feel about this, I

don't know. My state of New Jersey is a blue state, although he certainly got votes there. But I just think he's focused on the wrong elements and the visa process is a pretty good one and this is not the way to change it. I hope this is just a learning curve but I don't think so.

IN: Let's switch over to Sri Lanka. What was the state of Sri Lanka in 2009 when you were there? The civil war was ending?

Ambassador Butenis: Yes. They fought for over two decades, I can't remember exactly how many years, and it had just ended in May of 2009. I arrived that summer. And it was a very extreme end in that the Sri Lanka government definitively won. That is, it was a military victory. No one thought they had that capability, including the USA. No one expected this to end in a military victory. But the Sri Lanka military had changed their tactics - its strategy as well - and they were pushing the Tamil Tigers terrorist group north-north-north until they had their backs to the sea and nowhere to go. And the Tamil Tigers miscalculated as well because they believed that in the end the USA would not allow a military victory. They thought that will intervene if they were a lot civilian casualties. So, they kept their own people captive, they wouldn't let the villagers flee the war zone. They kept them captive. They would shoot them in the leg, so they couldn't leave. And the army kept coming and they were allegations that hospitals were bombed, people were dead, it was just awful and you can read the testimony about this.

So, the war was over and I got there a few months later and it was just a very raw, emotional time for people. Because the government was feeling victorious, and they expected to be congratulated. They thought they found a new way to defeat terrorism and meanwhile this was the Obama administration had come in the office and the focus had switched to humanitarian issues and we were worried about all those casualties. There were allegations of war crimes. Combatants had surrendered and were taken and never seen again. We know that people who were taken alive were later killed, assassinated. There was one horrible case of a woman, she was an announcer on television. The Tamil Tigers had their own tv network, I mean they had the whole setup there. And this young woman was their announcer. She was captured by the military, raped, and then killed. And people saw her body. So, all these horrible things happened and it was Sri Lankan soldiers with their cellphones

taking these photos. Because the press has been kicked out, the UN had left and so it was soldiers taking these photos. They began to be linked to on the internet and the government tried to pretend that the pictures were doctored; they weren't. The leader of the Tamil Tigers was taken alive, and then killed. And that's not permissible in the Rules of War. His 12-year-old son was also taken and killed. So, this was incredibly nasty.

And then afterward, the Sri Lanka civilians - over 300,000 - were put into camps where they had no freedom of movement initially. The government believed it had to be sure that they weeded out terrorists, the fighters. But I later heard that any serious Tamil Tigers terrorist went out and fled the country. and was left was just these poor people. Many widows now. I always have to give the Sri Lanka government its due. It did have this huge humanitarian effort. The treatment in the camp was pretty rough, but they did take care of people. Eventually we at the embassy pressed a lot for freedom of movement, arguing these people should be allowed to leave, at least should be given a pass or something. They did get the medical treatment, as eventually the Sri Lankan government let NGOs in to give medical care. But it was always very tense. In fact, that was my first visit. They didn't want me to go there, they didn't want the attention. But they didn't say no to me. I always had a Sri Lankan military escort. And they would say 'it's for your own protection, they could be Tamil Tigers here who would kill you.' And maybe. It was rough. You would go into the camp and sometime there was not enough water and people were traumatized. They would see their loved ones struggle.

IN: Do you know if the situation has improved now?

Ambassador Butenis: Oh sure. Even on my time there. I am not clamming credit for. It was our policy to keep pushing, let these people go back to their homes and their homes. Part of the problem was, here I think we may have been unfair to the Sri Lankan government, because the whole area in the North had been covered in land mines. Both the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lanka government had planted mines. Somebody needed to take them out. And so, you couldn't just let people rush back because they would have set off the mines. There were NGOs that provided money to come and make sure these huge areas are safe. And this was a time-consuming process. They used these

machines, because the mines were buried, and these machines would go and reveal them. Once the mines were marked, they would then go over by hand. People would actually go on their hands and knees, clear the dirt away and lift the landmine out. They actually offered employment to Tamil Tigers up there who needed a job and I think they did pretty well. I don't remember hearing about many casualties.


Anyways, you couldn't just let people go back. The Sri Lankan army was still occupying the north. They wouldn't give back the land and buildings yet. The Sri Lankan government was making sure the Tamil Tigers weren't coming back. Things have got better, people were eventually resettled, the government began to focus on infrastructure. They were building bridges and roads. The army even began running restaurants up there. I mean the army began running business, instead of letting the non-combatant Tamils do their business themselves. So, we had issues with that as well. But the big problems, if you talk to the people who had suffered through this, they had immediate needs like employment. And there are people who are still missing. I don't know the numbers. But people still want to know what happened to their loved ones. In some cases, they saw them being taken away by the army. And so, there are these emotional issues that would press the government to address. They didn't listen very much. But in 2015 after I had gone, the administration that had won the war was so confident that they were going to get reelected that they held elections two years early. And they lost and were kicked out. We saw that as a positive thing for human rights and the government that's in there now made a lot of promises to have a truth commission where people could come in for questions about their loved ones who are missing. Not much of that has been done. It's been two years and people are frustrated and disappointed now. I guess my bottom line is that they're not addressing the major issues.

IN: You talked a lot about the status of women, which was very interesting, being a woman and working these different places being around the different languages and culture and everything. Do you have to respect that culture while you were there?

Ambassador Butenis: Sure. Well, yes, you're respected but only to a certain point. I mean we have our values. We are there to promote them or promote what we think are good values along

with our national interest. And you have to respect the other culture even if we don't always agree with aspects of it. I have never been in a country where they practice female gender mutilation, but there are countries like that. And of course, that's something that we don't agree with at all, and actually try to stop as a practice. In many places, Muslim men can have more than one wife, they can have up to 4 wives. Well that's not something that I approve of, but it's something that I have to respect. In fact, when I was in Sri Lanka, I became very good friends with the Iraqi ambassador and he had his two wives there. At first it was very odd for me. But after a while, I became a friend of the family, I would go over, he had children with both wives. He's first wife was his cousin, because in some culture marrying cousins was done. She was older, and of course, his second wife was much younger and attractive. They all seemed to get along. Once when I had dinner, I invited the ambassador and he brought both wives. And so, you're having a sit-down dinner and normally when you're doing this, where you're entertaining, you think carefully who sits where. When somebody has two wives, what do you do? I was comfortable with that family. But if you ask me, do I support having more than one wife? I'll say no. But that's the culture and I give him credit for not leaving his first wife, he could have left her in Baghdad and gone off with the younger one. But he kept them together as a family. Some ambassadors, some folks dress locally and that a great sign of respect for the culture but I just never did that. I just felt, I'm an American, I am going to look like American.

IN: If you could be an Ambassador of any country, what would it be?

Ambassador Butenis: Well, I have enjoyed where I have been. But I would have liked to have gone to South America. You know, maybe Chile or Brazil. Because I never got a chance to, I can get my Spanish back. I think we neglect Latin America. They have come a long way. They had some women leaders, such as Michelle Bachelet in Chile. And so, I would have liked to have done something there. There is fabulous stuff to see in Latin America, and in fact I am going back to Peru. I going to go as a tourist this September with a friend who has never been to Peru. So, we booked a tour and I'm looking forward to that. 



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