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DETERMINANTS OF CHILD LABOR IN MALAWI AND TANZANIA

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Christopher M. WHITSEL²

Abstract: *Using the Malawi Integrated Household Survey of 2009 and the Tanzania National Panel Survey of 2010, this study seeks to understand the factors that increase a child's likelihood of labor participation. A greater percentage of children in the Tanzania sample than those from the Malawi sample participate in child labor. Logistic regression analyses showed that, as hypothesized, the greatest influence on child labor observed at the individual level is the child's school enrollment status. Enrollment reduces the likelihood of engaging in child labor in both countries. When tested in the combined model older children in Tanzania remain at higher risk of child labor participation, school enrolled children in both countries are less likely to be child laborers and the rural based children in Tanzania have higher odds of being child laborers. At the household level, a father with at least a primary education in Malawi is associated with a lesser likelihood of participation. At the community level, living in a rural area drastically increases the odds for child labor participation in Tanzania. In view of these results, country specific solutions to prevent child labor maybe necessary, given the different predictors of child labor participation in each country.*

Keywords: *Malawi; Tanzania; child labor.*

1. Introduction

There is a growing consensus that child labor is an undesirable form of work and greater investments should be made in developing children's human capital (World Bank, 2002). There is, however, wide disagreement on how to tackle it. Child labor, also referred to as "harmful child work" is the focus of attention by governments, as well as international and national civic society organizations. The current situation faced by millions of children is deplorable and requires urgent international action. The latest report by the International Labor Organization (ILO) (2010) states that for over a decade it has been recognized as a key human rights issue, starting from 1996 when governments made fresh calls to end child labor.

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This research is an attempt to better understand the factors that lead to the likelihood that child labor will occur in two Sub Saharan African countries, namely Malawi and Tanzania. The literature has noted that there has been a shift in emphasis from mere quantification of child labor to an econometric analysis of its determinants (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). This research analyzes this issue from multiple levels because they all work in concert to constitute one's habitus – how people become who they are (Bourdieu, 1977).

Most research on child labor focused on predictors at a single level; either the family level (Buchman, 2000; Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997) or the national level (e.g. Kis-Katos and Schultze, 2006). It is important to highlight that the determinants of child labor are multi-dimensional. In order to get in-depth theoretical underpinnings of why children engage in this practice, greater and more current information on the individual, household and contextual factors is required (Whitsel, 2010).

The focus of this paper is on Sub Saharan Africa, a region flagged as having the highest participation by children in the worst forms of child work (ILO, 2010). Malawi and Tanzania make excellent case studies for three reasons. The first is because they have been highlighted to have high rates of child labor (ILO, 2004; 2010; 2012). The second reason is simply because the data are available. The third reason is that these countries are a good reflection of Sub Saharan Africa. They have unique socio-economic characteristics that can be fertile ground for children engaging in work. Both Malawi and Tanzania have agro-based economies – the sector that provides the most employment for children; Tanzania also has mining (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). Studying Malawi and Tanzania will highlight key issues around child labor in the region and provide suggestions for policy amendments that could lead to the reduction and elimination of child labor in other countries (ILO, 2010). A comparison of the situation of working children in these two countries will provide a platform to better understand these key determinants.

The purpose of this research is to: 1) advance our understanding of individual determinants of child labor in two Sub-Saharan African countries namely Malawi and Tanzania; 2) to advance our understanding of household determinants of this phenomenon and 3) to investigate the effect of community characteristics in determining the likelihood of children participating in child labor. The analysis will utilize the Tanzania National Panel Survey (TNPS) (2008- 2009) (National Bureau of Statistics Republic of Tanzania, 2009) and the Integrated Household Survey of Malawi (2010-2011) (National Statistical Office of Malawi (NSO), 2011). These datasets contain information of 21,756 children aged 5-14 years. The study seeks to reveal the cardinal factors in explaining variation in labor and their level of aggregation. This research will apply quantitative methods, logistic regression models that make it possible to estimate effects of factors at individual, household and the community levels.

2. Brief Review of Literature

2.1. Definition of child labor

There is often confusion between child work and child labor. To begin with the definition of child work is as follows: child work often refers to certain types of light

work undertaken by children, such as helping parents care for the home and family for short periods in the day, or children working for a few hours before or after school or during holidays (ILO/IPEC, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development and Sports Republic of Tanzania and National Bureau of Statistics Republic of Tanzania., 2001). This is not considered to be harmful or child labor but is part of the growing up process for boys and girls, a means of acquiring basic survival and practical skills. Child labor refers to the employment of children in any work that deprives them of their childhood, interferes with their ability to attend school, and anything that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful (ILO, 2010; 2012).

In its most extreme forms, child labor involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of “work” can be called “child labor” depends on the child’s age, the type of work and the number of hours worked (ILO, 2010; UNICEF, 1991). The specifics of the definition can vary from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries (Schmitz et al., 2004). Some in the literature define child work as that which is not harmful, and child labor as harmful work (ILO, 2010; Basu and Van, 1998).

A child’s age is often used as a parameter of what a child can and cannot do. The ILO’s Convention No. 138 specifies 15 years as the age above which normal circumstances a person may participate in economic activity (ILO-IPEC, 2004). The ILO’s Convention 138 has been used by most countries as a blue print for individual and specific national policy and practice with relation to child labor (Basu and Van, 1998). The translation of international law into national legislation varies. Malawi and Tanzania have translated the international conventions of child labor into their national laws. There are two main indicators that have been outlined in both Tanzania and Malawi’s legislation. Firstly, the minimum age of work is 14 although there are categories of some light work that can be permitted at age 12 (ILO/IPEC, Ministry of Labor, Youth Development and Sports Republic of Tanzania and National Bureau of Statistics Republic of Tanzania, 2001). In addition, children who prefer to work at the expense of schooling, for example, due to economic reasons, are in child labor (ILO, 2010; 2012). Children working for more than 4 hours in a day (at least 24 hours in a 6 day working week) would be considered to be in child labor (ILO-IPEC, 2004). In line with these parameters, this research will also utilize age 14 and below as the cutoff point for children who work. The minimum age of a child worker is 5 years and this is because data for younger children are not available.

2.2. Theoretical Viewpoints

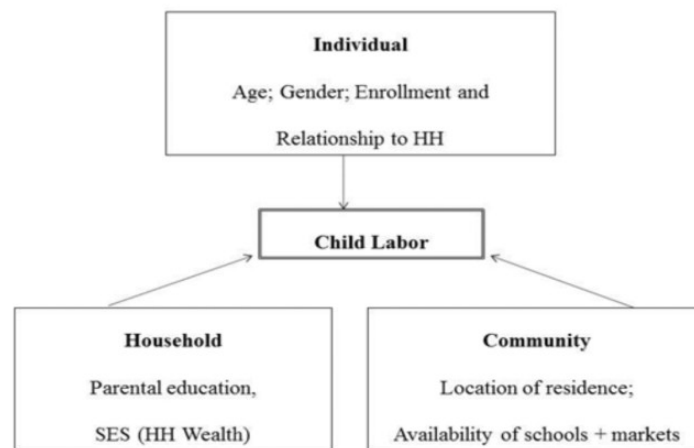
Contemporary discussion about addressing harmful child work activities focuses on the three outlined levels of determinants (individual, household and community) used in this study (Ainsworth, 1996; Basu, 1999). Because this research focusses on the reasons why the number of hours children work increase, it is best to align this research with the human capital model (Becker, 1964). Becker’s approach was fundamental in arguing for the augmentability of human capital.

Becker (1964) argues that individuals make choices of investing in human capital based on rational benefits and costs that include a return on investment as well as a cultural aspect. Examples of investments on children include education and the skills gained through work experience. The majority of child labor researchers have used Becker as the theoretical foundation (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003; Ray 2000; Ainsworth, 1996). Becker (1964) explored the different rates of return for different people and the resulting macroeconomic implications. He also distinguished between general and specific education and its influence on job-lock and promotions to understand what influences children's activities.

Bourdieu's Structuration Theory argues that the complexity of people's activities is simultaneously shaping and being shaped by the social world (Bourdieu, 1977). He further states that children's habitus is influenced by their families, parents, friends etc. These characteristics are captured in the theoretical model in Figure 1 below. The manner in which this structuration translates into the lives of children is explained.

Figure 1 above shows that child labor is a result of a variety of factors from multiple levels, individual, household, and community. The research question is: what are the factors that increase the likelihood that child labor will occur in Malawi and Tanzania? Specific hypotheses are formulated on the three levels of determinants - individual, household and community factors.

Figure 1. Determinants of child labor used in this analysis



Source: Adapted from Webbink, Smits and Jong (2008)

2.3. Factors that determine children's labor activities

2.3.1. Individual factors

There are four determinants at the individual level and the first is age in years. Previous studies that tested the age variable included a linear term in age, which has been either positive or insignificant (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). In line with Cockburn and Dostie (2007) it is hypothesized that older children work more hours if there are younger children in the household.

The second variable in this level is gender. In line with a study by Bhalotra and Tzannatos (2003) the hypothesis that girls generally will be more likely to participate in child labor than boys will be tested. The third factor is school enrollment and here it is expected that enrolled children are less likely to become child laborers. Knowing their school enrollment brings out an important dynamic on the hours worked. For example, enrolled children are expected to work less. Huisman and Smits (2009) found that children of poor families who are not enrolled in school tend to work more.

The final variable on the individual level is the relationship of the children to the household head. This variable is important because of the structure of the African family and how this changes the crescendos of the African home and the outcome for the children's time use. Households in developing countries are large and complex and often contain not just vertical but also horizontal extensions (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). It is assumed that being a direct child of the household head is the basis for parental altruism and non –nuclear related children may, therefore, be more involved in (domestic) child labor (Ainsworth, 1996). On this basis, it is expected that children of the household head in both the Malawi and the Tanzania samples in this analysis will be less likely to become child laborers.

2.3.2. Household factors

There are two household factors to be tested in this research. The first is parental education. If parents are poorly educated, they are likely to engage in low skill labor i.e. agricultural labor (ILO, 2010). The likelihood that their children will do the same is high (Kieland and Maurizia, 2006; Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). Explanation of Bourdieu's Structuration theory provided above puts this into perspective (Bourdieu, 1977). The second factor is the household wealth variable. The household wealth is measured through the family assets such as household assets and livestock as a measure of household socio-economic status or as a socio economic measure (Skoufias and Parker, 2001). It is expected that children with less educated parents are likely to become child laborers and the same for children who live in households that have below the average wealth.

2.3.3. Community factors

As for regional effects or residence of the children, it has been noted that there have been stark differences within countries (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). It is well documented, however, that rural areas support a higher incidence of child labor than do

urban areas. Reasons for a higher rural incidence include; the fact that relatively weak school infrastructure and lower rates of technical change in rural areas may discourage other activities such as school attendance (ILO, 2010). The second and third variables are the presence of a primary and secondary school. It has been shown that the availability of a primary and secondary school plays a role in school enrollment and employment of children (Baschieri and Falkingham 2007; Ersado 2004; Huisman and Smits 2009). The fourth variable at this level is the presence of a market. Where a market exists, the probability that child labor exists is higher. There is, however, a dearth of theory on the effect of the presence of markets in communities in direct relation to children's work (Whitsel, 2010).

2.4. Hypotheses

A total of ten hypotheses shall be tested in this study at the individual, household and community levels. There are four determinants at the individual level and the first is age in years. In line with this literature, it is hypothesized that older children will participate in child labor than younger children. The second factor in this level is gender. In hypothesis two it is expected that: female children work more hours than male children. The third factor is the school enrollment and hypothesis three states that non enrolled children are more likely to participate in child labor than enrolled children. The final factor on the individual level is the relationship of the children to the household head. It is expected that the direct children of the household head are less likely to participate in child labor than non-nuclear related children.

There are two household factors to be tested in this research. The first is parental education and it is hypothesized that children with parents who went to school are less likely to participate in child labor than children with at least one parent who never went to school. The second factor is the household wealth variable and so hypothesis six is that children who belong to a household in the poorest wealth group are more likely to participate in child labor than children in a higher wealth group. There are four hypotheses to be tested at the community level. Hypothesis seven is that children who live in rural areas are more likely to be child laborers than children who live in urban areas. Hypothesis eight is that children with access to a primary school are less likely to be child laborers than children who have no access. Hypothesis nine anticipates that children with access to a secondary school are less likely to be child laborers than children who have no access. The final expectation is that children with access to a market school are more likely to be child laborers than children who have no access.

2.5. The context and background of Malawi and Tanzania

2.5.1. Child work and child labor in Malawi

Malawi was established in 1891 and gained its independence from the British in 1964. This is a landlocked country south of the equator in Sub-Saharan Africa. It shares its borders with Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania. The 2012 population estimate stands at 16,323,044. It is estimated that there are 82.7% Christians and 13% Muslims (2008 census). The life expectancy is 52.31 years and literacy rate is 74.8%. Malawi realized

some significant economic improvement in the last decade. Population growth, increasing pressure on agricultural lands, corruption, and the spread of HIV and AIDS are the major impediments for Malawi's growth and development. Malawi's economy is predominantly agro-based. Inflation, though decelerating, has been above the one digit level. The country's Gross Domestic Product per Capita (GDP per Capita) was about \$133 during the survey period (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) World Factbook, 2012). Results from the Malawi National Child Labor Survey (2002) indicated that 23.3 % of all children aged 5-14 worked. Malawi has a high incidence of child labor (children working more than 24 hours a week) which is certainly one of the highest in Sub Saharan Africa. It was estimated that 45% of the child laborers to be between ages 10-14 and 55% between 7-9 years old. It is believed, however, that the actual numbers could be much higher.

In a damning article, transnational tobacco companies were exposed for using "child labor projects" to enhance corporate reputations and distract public attention from how they profit from low wages and cheap tobacco (Otañez, Muggli, Hurt and Glantz, 2002). The projects include building schools. Malawi finds itself in a very precarious situation because about 70% of their foreign earnings are from this crop and the multinationals such as Phillip Morris have grown too powerful for governments in countries such as Malawi (Collier, 2007). The tobacco tenancy system in this country is a major driver of child labor and poor working conditions for children. Landlords prefer to hire an entire household at the price of one farmer. Malawi has ratified 8 ILO conventions pertaining to children and young persons (Malawi NSO, 2011; ILO-IPEC, 2004).

2.5.2. Tanzania and child labor

According to the CIA World Fact Book (2012), shortly after achieving independence from Britain in the early 1960s, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the nation of Tanzania in 1964. Located in Eastern Africa, it shares its borders with Kenya and Mozambique. The life expectancy is 53.14 and the literacy rate is 69.4% (CIA World Factbook, 2012). Christian and Muslim groups are approximately equal in size, each accounting for 30 to 40 percent of the population. Tanzania is one of the world's poorest economies in terms of per capita income; however, its average 7% GDP growth per year between 2000 and 2008 stands on strong gold production and tourism. The economy depends heavily on agriculture, which accounts for more than one-quarter of GDP. The World Bank, the IMF, and bilateral donors have provided funds to rehabilitate Tanzania's aging economic infrastructure, including rail and port infrastructure that are important trade links for inland countries, however, poverty remains high (World Bank, 2002).

In 2001, it was estimated that at the time there were 11,965,146 children aged 5-17 years, accounting for 36.7% of the projected national population of 32.6 million (ILO-IPEC and Government of Tanzania, 2001). This report further stated that children reported to have worked in economic activities were 39.6%, while 47.8% were engaged in housekeeping activities. A majority of the children 79.9% were engaged in the

agricultural/forestry / fishing sector, followed by personal services 17.4%. A similar pattern was illustrated by sex, where three quarters of the girls and 84.3% of the boys were engaged in child work in the agricultural sector. In 1955 the Government of Tanzania passed the Employment Ordinance Cap.366 which prohibits the employment of children. The minimum age of work in this country is 15 years. Tanzania has put in place both national and sectoral policies to promote welfare, enhance education opportunities, and to protect the rights of children. Tanzania has ratified 8 ILO conventions pertaining to children (ILO-IPEC and Government of Tanzania, 2001).

2.6. Data

2.6.1. Malawi Integrated Household Survey (MIHS)

The data used in this study is the third Integrated Household Survey (IHS3) drawn from a nationally representative household survey (Malawi NSO, 2011). It was implemented by the Government of Malawi to monitor and evaluate the changing conditions of Malawian households in the period of March 2010 - March 2011. A sub-sample of IHS3 sample enumeration areas (EAs) was randomly selected prior to the start of the field work. Technical assistance was provided by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the World Bank (WB) to provide a complete and integrated data set to better understand target groups of households affected by poverty.

The Malawi IHS contains individual data for each member of the household as well as household and community-level information. The sampling frame is based on the listing information and cartography from the 2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census (PHC); includes the three major regions of Malawi, namely North, Center and South; and is stratified into rural and urban strata. The IHS3 strata are composed of 31 districts in Malawi. The total sample is 12,271 households (768 EAs with 16 households sampled per EA). There is a total of 17 116 children between the ages of 5 – 14.

2.6.2. Tanzania National Panel Survey (TZNPS)

The second data set is the Tanzania National Panel Survey (TZNPS). (National Bureau of Statistics Republic of Tanzania, 2009). It is the first in a series of nationally representative household panel surveys that assembles information on a wide range of topics including agricultural production, non-farm income generating activities, consumption expenditures, and a wealth of other socio-economic characteristics. The first year of the survey was conducted over twelve months from October 2008 to October 2009. National Bureau of Statistics received management and technical support from the LSMS Team of the World Bank.

The sample size is calculated to be sufficient to produce national estimates of poverty, agricultural production and other key indicators. There are 7 of these zones in total on the mainland: North, Central, Eastern, South, Southern Highlands, West and Lake. The sample is constructed based on the National Master Sample frame which is a list of all populated enumeration areas in the country developed from the 2002 Population and Housing Census. Sample design was done in spring of 2008. In total, the target sample

is 3,280 households in 410 Enumeration Areas (2,064 in rural areas and 1,216 urban areas). There are a total of 4640 children between 5-14 years.

2.7. Measures

Tables 1 and 2 below list all the variables used in the analyses.

2.7.1. Dependent variable

The dependent variable used in this research is child labor. This is a dichotomous variable measuring whether a child is a laborer (1) or a non-laborer (0) based on the number of hours the child is reportedly working. A child was coded as a laborer if they worked more than 24 hours per week.

2.7.2. Independent variables

2.7.2.1. Individual level

The first independent variable is age and indicates age in years. For gender, girls were recoded as (1) and boys as (0). The relationship of children with the household head is measured with a dummy variable; (1) are direct children of the head and (0) represents a non-nuclear relationship (nephews, nieces, cousins, etc. are all recoded as (0)). The third variable was the enrollment status of the children which is also dichotomous. If children were enrolled in school they were coded as (1) and those not enrolled were coded as (0).

Table 1. Summary statistics for variables used in analysis,
Malawi N = 17 116

Variable		N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev
Hours worked in a week		13496	0	97	2.70	6.98
Dependent Variable						
Child labor		4478	0	1	0.07	2.59
Independent Variables						
<i>Individual Level</i>						
Age	Year	17116	5	14	9.11	2.86
Female	1 = Female	17116	0	1	0.51	0.50
Relationship to HH	1 = Direct child of HH	17116	0	1	0.94	0.24
Child's Enrolment Status	1 = Enrolled	14325	0	1	0.98	0.14
<i>Household Level</i>						
Father's education	1 = Went to school	1876	0	1	0.83	0.38
Mother's education	1 = Went to school	1533	0	1	0.77	0.42
<i>Household wealth</i>						
< Average HH Wealth	1 = Below average wealth	17116	0	1	0.12	0.32
Average HH Wealth	1 = Average wealth	17116	0	1	0.64	0.48
> Average HH Wealth	1 = Above average wealth	17116	0	1	0.24	0.43

Variable		N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev
<i>Community Level</i>						
Rural	1 = Rural	17116	0	1	0.93	0.25
<i>Schools</i>						
Primary	1 = Yes Available	16499	0	1	0.73	0.45
Secondary	1 = Yes Available	16333	0	1	0.09	0.29
Market	1 = Yes Available	17116	0	1	0.47	0.50

2.7.2.2. Household level

There were three variables at the household level. The first was the parental education. Parents who did not go to school were coded as (0) and those who ever went to any schooling (1). This was done for both mother and father and an additional dummy variable indicates whether at least one parent ever went to school. Because income data is lacking in the surveys, as is common in third world settings, household wealth was measured alternatively (Filmer and Pritchett, 1999). To measure household wealth the households goods were added together then families were divided into wealth categories.

Table 2. Summary statistics for variables used in analysis, Tanzania N = 4640

Variable		N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev
Hours worked in a week		4552	0	156	9.74	13.73
Dependent Variable						
Child Labor		2827	0	1	0.19	0.39
Independent Variables						
<i>Individual Level</i>						
Age	Year	4640	5	14	9.37	2.88
Female	1 = Female	4640	0	1	0.50	0.50
Relationship to HH	1 = Direct child of HH	4640	0	1	0.72	0.45
Child's Enrolment Status	1 = Enrolled	3550	0	1	0.96	0.20
<i>Household Level</i>						
Father's education	1 = Went to school	6627	0	1	0.29	0.45
Mother's education	1 = Went to school	4447	0	1	0.18	0.39
< Average HH Wealth	1 = Below average wealth	4638	0	1	0.14	0.34
Average HH Wealth	1 = Average wealth	4638	0	1	0.66	0.47
>Average HH Wealth	1 = Above average wealth	4638	0	1	0.20	0.40
<i>Community Level</i>						
Rural	1 = Rural	4640	0	1	0.82	0.38
<i>Schools</i>						
Primary	1 = Yes Available	4640	0	1	0.85	0.36
Secondary	1 = Yes Available	4640	0	1	0.36	0.48
Market	1 = Yes Available	4640	0	1	0.32	0.47

The measure used in the analysis was coded as (1) if the families were in the lowest wealth quintile and (0) if in the higher wealth quintiles. For descriptive purposes, two additional dummy variables were created: Average household wealth – those in the middle 3 wealth quintiles (1) and the richest and lowest 40% (0) and above average wealth - the upper 20% (1) and the lowest 80% (0).

2.7.2.3. Community level

The first community variable was residence of the children; children living in a rural area are coded as (1) and those living in an urban are coded as (0). As for availability of primary and secondary schools, distance in kilometers was used to assign availability and a range of 0 to 2km is used to indicate “available in community” and coded (1). Anything 3 kilometers away or more was coded as (0) “not available in the community.” Two kilometers was used because it was a moderate estimate of the radius of an African village. The average is up to 10 km (Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 2008). The same measure of 2 kilometers as a radius was used to show the availability of a market in the community (1) representing yes available and (0) not available. The market variable was created by merging the daily and weekly markets together to indicate if at least 1 market is available. This was done to prevent multicollinearity. The summary tables of variables used in the analysis are found in Tables 1 and 2.

3. Methods

This research essentially utilized two steps to better understand how individual, household, and community level factors influence the likelihood that child labor will occur in Malawi and Tanzania. First, descriptive statistics were analyzed to measure differences of the number of hours worked between children of various individual, household, and community characteristics. These statistics show differences in the hours worked by children from the Malawi and Tanzania samples. The second stage of the analysis was to estimate 4 multiple logistics regression models using the SPSS software. In the first model, individual factors were run to estimate the likelihood that children will participate in child labor. In the second model household level factors were estimated and in the third model community level factors are run to estimate the likelihood that children will participate in child labor. The fourth model estimated all the factors at the three levels to understand their influence on child labor. The main equation contains the measures specific to each level; for example, the first model consisted of the child’s age, gender, enrollment status and the relationship of the children to the household head. The model was tested to see whether the observed differences in the influence of the different levels of factors on the likelihood that children in the samples will become child laborers were significant at least at the $p < .05$ level.

4. Results

4.1. Bivariate analysis

Several noticeable trends appear in the mean hours worked for children of various characteristics of interest, as displayed in Table 3 below. Children in the Tanzania

sample are working a mean of 9.7 hours per week, a figure more than three times the mean number of hours that children are reportedly working in Malawi per week (2.7 hours). The reported average hours worked by children in both country samples are below the 24 hour threshold at which child labor is officially recognized. There are 7% Malawian children in the sample who reported to work 24 or more hours and 19% in the Tanzania sample. Child laborers work 38.35 hours in Malawi and non-laborers work 5.51 hours or 32.84 hours less. In Tanzania, child laborers work 38.51 hours and non-laborers work 10.36 hours or 28.15 hours less. Child laborers in Tanzania work twice as much as those in Malawi. When analyzed by age, the highest number of hours worked in Tanzania is by 14 year old children who work 19.08 hours per week which is an extra 9.24 hours compared Malawian 14 year old children who work 9.84 hours per week. Correlation analysis (see Appendix A and B) shows a positive and significant relationship between child labor with age in both Malawi ($r = .03, p < .01$) and Tanzania ($r = .19, p < .05$) as hypothesized. Surprisingly Malawian girls in this study work 7.60 hours per week which is 1.61 hours less than boys. Tanzanian girls work an average of 14.68 hours per week and the boys work 15.21 or .53 hours more as expected. Correlation analysis as shown in Appendix A shows a surprisingly negative and significant relationship between child labor with gender in Malawi ($r = .06, p < .01$).

Table 3. Mean hours worked by children in Malawi and Tanzania aged 5 – 14

Variable	Malawi	Tanzania
Hours Worked Last 7d	2.70	9.74
Dependent Variable		
Child Labor	38.35	38.51
Non Laborer	5.51	10.36
Independent Variables		
Individual Level		
Age		
5	9.61	12.60
6	7.76	7.29
7	7.51	12.11
8	5.17	12.20
9	8.15	12.14
10	7.47	13.99
11	8.85	15.84
12	8.85	14.12
13	7.74	18.81
14	9.84	19.08
Female	7.60	14.68
Male	9.21	15.21
Direct child of HH	8.45	14.25
Non-Nuclear relationship	7.53	15.22
Enrolled in school	8.01	14.09
Not enrolled in school	14.52	28.47
Household Level		
Father went to school	6.79	14.99

Variable	Malawi	Tanzania
Father did not go to school	8.89	14.60
Mother went to school	7.45	14.38
Mother did not go to school	8.45	17.24
<i>Household wealth</i>		
< Average HH Wealth	9.60	17.32
> Average HH Wealth	8.12	14.63
Community Level		
Rural Location	8.20	16.03
Urban Location	9.49	10.25
Primary school available	8.73	15.20
Primary school not available	6.68	13.33
Secondary school available	10.65	14.13
Secondary school not available	8.06	15.40
Market available	8.66	16.28
Market not available	7.90	14.18

Enrolled children in the Malawi sample work 8.01 hours and the non-enrolled children work 14.52 hours or 6.51 hours less as expected. Enrolled children in the Tanzania sample work on average 14.09 hours per week compared to 28.47 hours for non-enrolled children or 14.38 hours more. As hypothesized correlation analysis shows a stronger relationship between child labor with school enrollment in Tanzania ($r = -.20$, $p < .01$) than Malawi ($r = -.04$, $p < .05$). At the household level, Malawian children with fathers who went to school work an average 6.79 hours and those who did not go to school work on average 8.89 hours or 2.1 hours more as expected. Tanzanian children in the sample whose fathers went to school work an average of 14.99 hours per week and those whose fathers never went to school work 14.60 hours or .39 hours more. As hypothesized, correlation analysis confirms these results and shows a negative and significant relationship between child labor with fathers who went to school in Tanzania only ($r = -.07$, $p < .05$). Correlation analysis between child labor with the mother's education factor for Tanzanian children also shows a negative and significant relationship ($r = -.07$, $p < .05$) as hypothesized.

At the community level, Malawian children who reside in a rural location work 8.20 hours and children in an urban area work 9.49 or 1.29 hours more which comes as a surprise. Rural based children in Tanzania work 16.03 hours and those from an urban area work 10.25 hours or 5.78 hours less. The rural location factor is positive and significantly related with child labor for Tanzania as hypothesized ($r = .13$, $p < .05$). Children with access to a primary school work 8.73 hours and those without access work 6.68 hours or 2.05 hours less which is unexpected. In Tanzania children with access work 15.20 and those without work 13.33 hours or 1.87 hours less. Correlation analysis for this factor for both countries shows a positive and significant relationship with child labor ($r = .06$, $p < .05$) which was unexpected. Children in the Malawi sample with access to a secondary school work 10.65 hours and those without access work 8.06 or 2.59 hours less which was unexpected. Children in the Tanzania sample with access to a secondary school work 14.13 hours and those without access work 15.40 or 1.27 hours more as expected. The correlation analysis shows a negative and

significant relationship between child labor with the secondary school availability factor for Tanzania ($r = -.05$, $p < .01$) as hypothesized. Finally, Malawian children with access to a market work 8.66 hours and those without access work 7.90 or .76 hours less as expected. Tanzanian children with access to a market work 16.28 hours and those without access work 14.18 or 2.1 hours. The results for both countries are confirmed by the correlation analysis which shows a positive and significant relationship between child labor with the market availability factor in Malawi ($r = .06$, $p < .01$) and Tanzania ($r = .05$, $p < .01$) as hypothesized. To gain more insight into these underlying processes, attention is now turned to the regression analysis results.

4.2. Multivariate analyses

Table 4 below displays estimates for the likelihood that 5-14 year old children who are working, will be engaged in child labor. The first model tests only the influence of individual level characteristics controlling for household and community factors on participating in child labor

(working 24 or more hours per week). The second model tests effects of the household factors controlling for individual and community characteristics. The third model tests the effects of the community level characteristics controlling for individual and household characteristics. Finally, Model 4 tests all the factors to determine whether or not children who work for some time will cross the 24 hour mark and will be engaged in child labor. There are differences on the effects of these factors on the children's participation in child labor.

4.2.1. Model 1

It is observed in the first model that older children in the Tanzania sample are more likely to be engaged in child labor than younger children ($p < .01$) as hypothesized. Surprisingly the age factor has no effect for children in the Malawi sample. Females are less likely to be engaged in child labor in the Malawi sample than boys ($p < .01$), but there is no significant differences between genders in Tanzania. The results of the Malawi sample are atypical for Sub-Saharan Africa. Previous studies found a greater participation of girl children in work or labor for the Sub Saharan African region (Nielsen, 1998; Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1998).

The next factor is school enrollment. The child's school enrollment factor is negatively associated with child labor in Malawi ($p < .05$) and Tanzania sample ($p < .01$) as hypothesized. In a test on the effect of a similar measure – child's innate schooling ability, bivariate probit estimates indicate that ability increases the probability of school attendance and reduces the probability of child labor amongst boys but has no effect amongst girls (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). These results support the study by Huisman and Smits (2009a) who found that children who are not enrolled in school tend to work more.

4.2.2. Model 2

Model 2 tests the effects of household factors namely; the parental education; indicating if the father and the mother ever attended school; and the wealth variable. It

is surprising to note that there is no significant variation among children based on these household variables in either Tanzania or Malawi although; the effect of father's education becomes a factor when the full model is analyzed, as described below. The household factors have no effect on child labor for both countries.

4.2.3. Model 3

In contrast to household factors, multiple community factors did have a significant effect. As hypothesized, children in the Tanzania sample who reside in rural areas will be more likely to be child laborers than children who reside in urban areas ($p < .01$). This was not the case for Malawi, and although it is not significant, the rural residence reduces the likelihood of being involved in child labor. As for school factors, availability of a primary school in the community is not associated with child labor in Tanzania, but leads to a higher likelihood of participation in child labor for children in the Malawi sample ($p < .05$) which comes as a surprise. It was expected that the availability of a primary school plays a role in school enrollment and employment of children thus reducing the odds of participating in child labor (Baschieri and Falkingham 2007; Ersado 2004; Huisman and Smits 2009). It is possible that the results seen in this study can be explained by the studies by (Eldrig, 2003; Otañez et al., 2002) who reported that children attend schools that are on the farms they are employed on.

Table 4. Odds Ratios of child labor for children aged 5-14 who work on the basis of individual, household and community level variables in Malawi and Tanzania

	Malawi Model 1.	Tanzania Mode 1.	Malawi Model 2.	Tanzania Model 2	Malawi Model 3	Tanzania Model 3	Malawi Model 4	Tanzania Model 4
Individual Variables								
Age	1.022 (0.024)	1.211** (0.025)					0.991 (0.050)	1.212** (0.052)
Female	0.642** (0.122)	1.194 (0.109)					0.857 (0.246)	0.875 (0.232)
Child's school enrollment	0.527* (0.273)	0.234** (0.206)					0.232** (0.438)	0.147** (0.404)
Child of household head	1.573 (0.331)	1.120 (0.123)					1.868 (0.358)	0.763 (0.268)
Household Variables								
Father's education			0.524 (0.256)	0.953 (0.299)			0.424* (0.365)	1.588 (0.383)
Mother's education			1.611 (0.355)	0.722 (0.240)			1.858 (0.387)	0.725 (0.288)
< Average HH Wealth			1.493 (0.313)	1.086 (0.290)			1.956 (0.338)	0.199 (0.341)
Community Variables								
Rural Location					0.833 (0.251)	3.573** (0.199)	0.511 (0.474)	6.080** (0.489)
Primary school available					1.454* (0.148)	1.310 (0.167)	1.560 (0.334)	1.808 (0.438)

	Malawi Model 1.	Tanzania Mode 1.	Malawi Model 2.	Tanzania Model 2	Malawi Model 3	Tanzania Model 3	Malawi Model 4	Tanzania Model 4
Secondary school available					1.066 (0.215)	0.680** (0.107)	1.547 (0.382)	0.655 (0.253)
Market available					1.499** (0.120)	1.363* (0.102)	1.240 (0.254)	1.361 (0.242)
Observations	4009	2438	1100	731	4043	2827	916	645

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses; significant at 5%; significant at 1%;

The odds of child workers, compared to child workers, participating in child labor are equal if they are 1.00, greater if more than 1 and less if less than 1.

For example, children enrolled in school are less likely than children not enrolled in both countries to participate in child labor.

In their studies, they reported that the tobacco companies were under immense pressure to play a role in the fight against child labor and in a guise to do that they built low quality schools but only as a token. The schools were built on the farms where the tobacco is grown. These tokenistic schools are of poor quality with unqualified teachers and lack of facilities and supplies. Unfortunately there is no measure of the quality of schools in this study and hence further investigation on the primary school factor and its effects on child labor are required. Otañez et al. (2002) also stated that children on these farm based schools spend more time working than in school. This could be the reason why children in the Malawi sample who have access to a primary school are more likely to be engaged in child labor. It should be noted that the effect does disappear in the full model.

Concerning secondary school, there is a reduction in the likelihood of children participating in labor in communities with a secondary school in Tanzania ($p < .05$) as hypothesized, but not in Malawi. The final factor at the community level is the market factor. If there is a market available in the community, children in the Malawi sample will be more likely to participate in child labor ($p < .01$). There is a similar effect for children in the Tanzania sample as the likelihood also increases ($p < .05$). The results for the market variable are as hypothesized for children in both samples.

4.2.4. Model 4

The full model highlights the effects of variables at the individual, household, and community levels which were reviewed above. School enrollment continues to be a leading factor in reducing the likelihood of participation in child labor, controlling for household and community factors. In Malawi and Tanzania children enrolled in school are less likely to be engaged in child labor ($p < .01$). There are also results that point to differences between the two countries. In Malawi, when the father has attended school, children are also less likely to be child laborers ($p < .05$), as hypothesized. When children live in households that are below average household wealth, they are more likely to be engaged in child labor ($p < .05$) as hypothesized. As for the Tanzania sample, two additional factors are significant. The first one is age. Older children are more likely to participate in child labor than younger children ($p < .01$) as hypothesized.

The second factor is the rural residence. Children who reside in rural areas in the Tanzania sample are much more likely to be engaged in child labor than their urban based counterparts ($p < .01$) as hypothesized. Clearly the rural residence factor has the greatest influence for children for the Tanzania sample.

5. Conclusion and Policy Implication

This study explored the individual, household, and community determinants of child labor for children aged 5-14 years in Malawi and Tanzania. The 2010 – 2011 Malawi Integrated Household Survey (IHS) and the 2008 - 2009 Tanzania National Panel Survey (TNPS) were utilized to reveal the factors that determine the likelihood that children will participate in child labor. There are differences between countries in predictors of child labor, but also some general findings. School enrollment is the most significant negative predictor of child labor in both Malawi and Tanzania. Hypothesis four states that school enrolled children are less likely to be child laborers. We find that children in both the Malawi and Tanzania samples who are enrolled in school are less likely to be engaged in child labor as expected. Huisman and Smits (2009a) also reported that children of poor families who were not enrolled in school tend to work more. When children are not enrolled in school, they are forced to invest their time elsewhere possibly being relegated to child labor. The global demand for education has grown significantly over the years and it has been declared that whilst it may not be the sole solution, its availability, positively impacts children's lives and can put an end to child labor (ILO, 2010).

The second general finding is support for the tenth hypothesis, where we find that the availability of a market in the community leads to greater likelihood that children from both the Malawi and Tanzania samples will engage in child labor. Our results confirm previous studies (Webbink et al., 2008; Whitsel, 2010). The study by Eldrig (2003) on child labor in Blantyre, Malawi revealed that there is higher incidence of child labor as children work in the markets helping their parents for extended hours with little or no schooling. Some children work unaccompanied under hazardous conditions. In communities where there are markets, work opportunities exist for children and this poses as strong competition for their time (Whitsel, 2010). Some parents may decide that the immediate benefit for their children is to engage in work and postpone or forfeit going to school all together. Overall there is a dearth of research on the effects of the presence of markets in communities in direct relation to child labor.

There are notable country level differences that exist as well. In Malawi, hypothesis two states that girls are likely to work more than boys and we find it to be negative and significant. Girls are less likely to be engaged in child labor than boys which is unexpected. There are studies that separated models by gender and the evidence has been fairly consistent for this factor showing that girls generally work more (Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). A study of children in Pakistan found that girls worked more when the extra income from child labor was not required (Bhalotra, 2000a as cited in Bhalotra and Tzannatos, 2003). For our study, it could be cultural differences that explain why girls possibly work less as Malawi is a matriarchal society (CIA World Fact Book, 2012). For Malawi, the father's education factor is negatively associated with

child labor, which confirms the fifth hypothesis. When the father has been to school, the children are less likely to be child laborers as hypothesized. Earlier research from Cote d'Ivoire, Columbia and the Philippines also found that when parents had secondary education, this had a negative effect on child labor (Grootaert and Patrinos, 1999). Similar to our results, Canagarajah and Coulombe (1997) found that there is lesser likelihood of child labor participation when fathers had secondary level education. Interestingly, in Ghana they found that mother's education had no effect on child labor, a result that corresponds to ours.

Hypothesis eight states that when there is availability of a primary school there is a lesser likelihood of child labor participation. Contrary to this expectation, we find this factor to be significant and positive. Having access to a primary school in Malawi leads to higher odds that there will be child labor participation. It was reported that sometimes schooling and working decisions can be trade-off outcomes and that when there is an absence of a primary school children work more (Ersado, 2004). The availability of a primary school usually leads to an increase in school enrollment and a reduction in employment of children (Baschieri and Falkingham 2007; Huisman and Smits 2009). The possible explanation for our result is the same as was explained above. Eldrig (2003) and Ortanez et al. (2002) reported that children attend schools that are on the farms they are employed on and end up spending more time working and not learning. This could be the reason why primary school enrolled Malawian children are likely to work more.

As for the Tanzania outcomes, age at the individual level is found to be a significant factor in determining whether children will participate in child labor as hypothesized. In a study that compared working children in Africa and Asia, the age effect was nonlinear for African children, with hours spent on housework at first increasing more steeply with age than in Asia (Webbink, 2012). Cockburn and Dostie (2007) also found that older children work more hours especially if there are younger children in the household. With the structure of the African family, it is common for children to help care for their younger siblings (CIA World Fact Book, 2012). In confirmation, Webbink et al. (2008) found that firstborn children work more and help to support younger siblings by provide schooling support. With all this evidence the age effect of hypothesis one is significantly stronger for girls. Interventions will need to address older children to ensure that the burden of caring for their families is removed (ILO, 2010). It is of imperative importance that as children grow older, they complete investments in their human capital and that they remain children until they reach 18 years (UNICEF, 1991).

Hypothesis seven at the community level states that rural based children will work more. We find that rural based Tanzanian children are more likely to become child laborers than children who reside in urban areas. Previous research indicates that the outcome of parental decisions regarding labor engagement and educational participation of their children depends on the context in which the family lives (Huisman and Smits, 2009; Webbink, et.al. 2008). Contextual effects in these studies include the extent to which parents have education; the degree of urbanization and high community GDP. These factors are associated with the reduction of child labor. Bhalotra and Tzannatos (2003) reported the effects of urbanization on child labor to be

unclear. Our results are in line with Webbink (2012) who reported that children are less likely to be involved in hidden child labor if they lived in more developed and more highly educated areas. Access to a secondary school for children in the Tanzania sample leads to a lesser likelihood of child labor, as hypothesized. The reasons for this result are the same as those provided above for hypothesis eight on the availability of a primary school. Baschieri and Falkingham (2007) also found that the availability of a secondary school reduces the likelihood of child labor from occurring.

In summary, the greatest negative influence for child labor for both countries is the school enrollment factor. In view of this, our study has been instrumental in revealing that greater resources need to be invested in developing education further. Hence the ILO (2010; 2012) declarations of greater investments on education are still called for. When education is free and of good quality it has the potential to increase children's human capital and they are less likely to be participate in child labor (ILO, 2012). The surprising finding that the availability of a primary school in Malawi leads to higher odds of child labor participation requires further investigation. The secondary school availability factor for Tanzania reduces the odds that child labor participation will occur. This evidence only affirms that education is a key factor in reducing the likelihood of child labor participation hence educational investments remain a critical intervention.

The availability of markets in a community are a sign of a healthy and vibrant economy that often benefits children but when they are the ones working at the expense of other investments in their human capital, then that is a violation of their human rights (Becker, 1964; UNICEF, 1991). Policy makers need to ensure that there is adequate monitoring of child labor laws to ensure that children are not participating in market activities in a way that hampers their development. There is adequate child labor legislation in developing countries and Malawi and Tanzania are both signatories to international regulations that protect children. The pivotal issue for these two countries is enforcing child labor laws (ILO, 2010). Another important aspect of overcoming child labor is sustaining the fight in the midst of the global economic crisis. Greater effort must be put in ensuring that investments in the human capital of children do not erode. The momentum must not wane (ILO, 2010).

Missing data on key variables posed as a serious limitation to this study. These are some of the challenges of working with secondary data. Not all theoretically possible factors at the three levels were included in the analysis and this may lead to missing variable bias. Future research needs to test more complex and fully interactive regression models to explain variation determining the likelihood of child labor occurring. Independent data collection is necessary to better understand the constantly evolving and elusive nature of children's work. Despite its limitations, this study sheds light on the factors that can lead to child labor in the Malawi and Tanzania samples and reveals where efforts to fight child labor need to be concentrated. The suggestion, however, that child labor participation rates maybe declining based on the results of this study is encouraging. In view of these results, country specific solutions to prevent child labor maybe necessary, given the different predictors of child labor participation in each country.

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Acronyms:

CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
EAs:	Enumeration areas
FAO:	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product per Capita
HH W:	House Hold Wealth
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IHS:	Integrated Household Survey
IPEC:	International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor
NSO:	National Statistical Office
TZNPS:	Tanzania National Panel Survey
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund

APPENDIX A

Correlation calculations for child labor in Malawi

	Child laborer	Age	Female	Relationship to HH	Child's enrollment status	Father's education	Mother's education	<Average HH Wealth	Urban Rural Location	Primary school	Secondary school	Market
Child laborer	1.00											
Age	.03*	1.00										
Female	-.06**	-.01	1.00									
Relationship to HH	.02	-.02	-.01	1.00								
Child's enrollment status	-.04*	-.13**	.00	.02**	1.00							
Father's education	-.03	-.01	.00	-.03*	.06**	1.00						
Mother's education	.01	-.02	.00	-.04**	.06**	.50**	1.00					
<Average HH Wealth	.02	-.02	.00	.01	-.06**	-.14**	-.09**	1.00				
Rural Location	-.02	.00	.00	.12	-.02	-.18**	-.16**	.06**	1.00			
Primary school	.05**	-.01	.01	.00	.01	-.02	.00	-.03**	.02*	1.00		
Secondary school	.02	.01	.03**	-.02	-.02	.01	.09**	.08**	-.05**	-.08**	1.00	
Market	.06**	.01	-.02	.00	.07**	.14**	.09	-.05**	-.12**	.11**	.14**	1.00

*significant at 5%; **significant at 1%.

APPENDIX B

Correlation calculations for child labor in Tanzania

	Child laborer	Age	Female	Relationship to HH	Child's enrollment status	Father's education	Mother's education	<Average HH Wealth	Urban Rural Location	Primary school	Secondary school	Market
Child laborer	1.00											
Age	.19**	1.00										
Female	.01	-.01	1.00									
Relationship to HH	.00	-.01	-.03	1.00								
Child's enrollment status	-.20**	-.19**	.00	.07**	1.00							
Father's education	-.07*	-.02	.02	-.10**	.00	1.00						
Mother's education	-.07*	-.01	.03	-.12**	.01	.34**	1.00					
<Average HH Wealth	.04*	-.03	.00	.01	-.06**	-.13**	-.07**	1.00				
Rural Location	.13**	-.01	.01	.06**	.02	-.08**	-.14**	.07**	1.00			
Primary school	.06**	-.03	-.02	.02	-.01	-.03	-.06	.02	.33**	1.00		
Secondary school	-.05**	.01	-.02	.01	.00	.05*	.02	-.01	.08**	.28**	1.00	
Market	.05**	.01	.00	-.02	-.07**	.05*	-.04	.00	-.08**	.06**	.00	1.00

*significant at 5%; **significant at 1%.



MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN OF UNDOCUMENTED PARENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A HIDDEN CRISIS

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Abstract: *The ripple effects of immigration enforcement on the lives of citizen and undocumented children in the United States (U.S.) remain hidden. Amidst unpredictable and traumatic immigration enforcement policies and practices in the U.S., children of undocumented parents are exposed to stressors that severely threaten their mental well-being. A community-based participatory study revealed that many of these children suffer from considerable mental health problems. If immigration policies and practices in the U.S. do not change, millions of children will continue to suffer from their unmet mental health needs. Furthermore, these unmet mental health problems are likely to affect them into adulthood and engender a heavy human and economic cost for them and all of society.*

Key words: *Children and adolescents, undocumented immigrants, mental health, immigration enforcement*

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I. Introduction

Migrations of populations from rural to urban areas, from cities, countries, or regions to other cities, countries, and regions for the purpose of reunification with family, economic opportunities, political freedom, or evasion from persecution and civil war, for example, have been a steady facet of population movements throughout world history (Crul and Mollenkopf, 2012; Demeny and McNicoll, 2003). The recent sinking of two overcrowded boats in the Mediterranean Sea that resulted in the drowning of nearly 400 migrants from Africa and/or the Middle East attempting to reach Europe illustrate the terrible risks individuals will take to secure a better life for themselves and their families (www.nytimes.com/2013/10/12/world/europe/another-migrant-ship-capsizes-in-the-mediterranean.html?_r=0, [Online], accessed on October 15, 2013). In China alone, as a result of the country's market reforms in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the migration of primarily rural populations to urban areas increased dramatically to create a "floating population" of nearly 150 million internal migrants (Chan, 2008). Independent of whether the migration is internal or from one country to another, migrants and their 'host' cities and countries face tremendous social, political, economic, and cultural challenges. In a recent response to these issues, in March 2013 the United Nations (UN) 67th General Assembly passed a resolution for high-level discussions to take place on the topic of International Migration and Development after the 68th session of the General Assembly on October 2013 (www.eclac.org/celade/noticias/noticias/6/49876/67-219-migration-ing.pdf, [Online], accessed October 16, 2013). Although the outcome(s) of these high-level UN discussions remain to be seen, this positive development underscores the importance and immediacy of addressing the unforeseen problems associated with emerging migration patterns.

In the United States (U.S.), there are approximately 40 million immigrants (Motel and Patten, 2013). It is also estimated that there are 11.1 million undocumented immigrants (Passel and Cohn, 2012) and 5.5 million children with at least one undocumented parent (Passel and Cohn, 2011) where approximately 73% of undocumented immigrants have children born in the U.S. (Passel and Cohn, 2009). According to U.S. law these U.S-born children to undocumented parents are U.S. citizens. Citizen and undocumented children living in mixed-status families, families where at least one individual is undocumented, usually one or both parents, and one member who is a U.S. citizen, usually the child (Fix and Zimmerman, 2001), are impacted by draconian arrest, incarceration, and deportation practices of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency (Sanders, Martinez, Harner, Harner, Horner, and Delva, 2013; Satinsky, Hu, Heller, and Farhang, 2013; Suárez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, Teranishi, and Suárez-Orozco, 2011). These practices reflect an immigration policy in disarray, lacking transparency, and inhumanely implemented (Sanders et al., 2013).

In the U.S., children of undocumented parents live in fear that one or both of their parents may be arrested, incarcerated, and/or deported (Sanders et al., 2013; Satinsky et al., 2013). Enforcement may involve incarceration for indefinite periods of time, transfer from one holding facility to the next without family notification, unlawful/forced entry, and violent apprehension of parents to which many children

bear witness (Sanders et al., 2013). Concern for the well-being of undocumented children is also growing in the European Union (EU). A report by the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM) documents that the rights and treatment of undocumented children by most European governments, bolstered by public opinion, reflect a change from protecting the children to making it more difficult to obtain legal permission to stay in the country and easier to detain and deport them (PICUM, 2008). In fact, attention to the plight of undocumented children is obfuscated by the unreliability of the estimated number of undocumented migrants in Europe (PICUM, 2008). To fill the gap that exists in understanding immigration policies and their impact on immigrant populations, the Migration Policy Institute Europe (MPI Europe) was established (www.migrationpolicy.org/europe/mpieurope/). Interestingly, the primary focus of such organizations and the research conducted with immigrants tends to focus on understanding the social, educational, political, cultural, and economic impact of immigration policies on migrant youth, adults, and their families (Cull and Mollenkopf, 2012; Miranda, Siddique, Der-Martirosian, and Belin, 2005; Mohanty, Woolhandler, Himmelstein, Carrasquillo, and Bor, 2005; Sommers, 2013). However, an area of research that seems to have been neglected, with few exceptions (Kupersmidt and Martin, 1997; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2013), concerns the extent to which societies understand the mental health impact immigration policies and practices have on undocumented children and children of undocumented parents.

A review of the effects of current immigration practices on U.S. immigrants highlights the largely unknown developmental outcomes that millions of undocumented children presently experience in the U.S., outcomes that could negatively affect them through adulthood and beyond (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). A recent study of U.S. undocumented families (Satinsky et al., 2013) concluded that if present deportation rates remain at the 2012 levels, “In the next year, an estimated 100,000 U.S.-citizen children may show signs of withdrawal or detachment from others with the absence of a parent due to immigration-related arrest. Children of undocumented immigrants will suffer behavioral problems, such as aggression, anxiety and withdrawal, which link to poor school performance and poor development” (p. 13). In light of the gap that exists in our understanding of the mental health of children of mixed-status families, we conducted a small, community-based participatory research project (Israel et al., 2010), with mixed-status children of Latino¹ backgrounds in the U.S. State of Michigan. We focused on Latino immigrants because these make up the largest percent of immigrants overall, of undocumented immigrants, and of those detained and deported. The study seeks to contribute to our understanding of the effect of draconian immigration practices on these extremely vulnerable children.

¹ In the U.S., individuals of Spanish-speaking origin backgrounds from Latin American countries are referred to as Hispanics or Latinos. The study participants preferred to be called Latinos and therefore it is the term we used in this study.

II. Methods

Procedures and Sampling

The study was conducted by a partnership between university researchers and members of the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights (WICIR) in the State of Michigan, U.S. WICIR is a non-profit, grass-roots, organization committed to improving the lives of undocumented immigrants and to advocating with policy makers to make U.S. immigration policies more humane. WICIR directly, or indirectly through partnerships with other organizations, provides undocumented families with social, legal, educational, financial, and advocacy assistance free of charge. From the hundreds of families served by WICIR, 20 mixed-status children and adolescents living in Washtenaw County were recruited to participate in this study in 2011-2013. Washtenaw County is a county in the State of Michigan that has seen an increase in undocumented immigrants and arrests/deportations by ICE (Sanders et al., 2013).

Following community-based participatory research principles (Israel et al., 2010), WICIR members and university researchers first met with several undocumented families to describe the study and to ask if they thought this would be an important study and if the undocumented community would be supportive. Families were also asked if there were specific questions we should ask if we conducted the study. Once approval and feedback were obtained from the families, the research team obtained Human Subjects approval from the researchers' Universities Institutional Review Boards. The project was conducted after consent and assent were obtained from parents and youth.

Recruitment was as follows. Using a snowball sampling strategy, families were first contacted by WICIR members to ask if they would be interested in participating in the study. If the families agreed to participate and to allow their children or adolescents to participate, they would be provided with the phone number of the research team to call in order to schedule an appointment. If a family did not want to call but was alright if WICIR members gave permission to be contacted by the team's research staff, then the WICIR member would provide the participant's name and phone number to the research staff for the staff to make the first contact. Once contact was made with the parent and permission obtained, the staff proceeded to schedule the focus groups and individual interviews.

Of the 20 youth, 13 participated in three focus groups that lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours. Five youth declined and participated instead in individual interviews as they preferred not to discuss their experiences in focus groups. Focus groups were conducted at a church or a community health center and individual interviews were conducted at the participants' homes. All interviews and focus groups were conducted by social workers with a Master's Degree in Social Work and with extensive experience working with undocumented families.

Measures

Interviews were conducted at the youth's homes in private rooms and lasted approximately one hour. Interviews were conducted using an interview guide with questions about participants' day-to-day lives, family composition, and participation in

school activities/hobbies before moving into sensitive topics such as immigration experiences. In addition, all youth completed the Youth Self Report (YSR) (Achenbach and Rescorla, 2001), a widely used measure of behavioral problems with eight syndrome scales which takes about 20 minutes to complete. The scales are: anxious-depressed, withdrawn-depressed, somatic complaints, social problems, thought problems, attention problems, rule breaking behaviors, and aggressive behaviors. The scales were created based on youth rating how well over 100 items described them over the past 6 months (0=*not true*, 1=*somewhat or sometimes true*, 2=*to very true or often true*). Youth with scores for each scale that fall between the 93rd and 97th percentile of the nationally representative normative sample can be classified as “borderline clinical range” for the corresponding mental health problem; scoring above the 97th percentile suggests “clinically significant” mental health problems (Achenbach and Rescorla, 2001).

Data Analysis

All data from the focus groups and individual interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed for thematic analysis with the software NVivo (QSR International, 2012). All data from the YSR instrument were analyzed with the software Stata 13 (StataCorp., 2013).

III. Results

Participants were 12 females and 8 males ages 11-18 years old (mean age = 14.8 years). Twelve youth were undocumented (60%), that is, they were not born in the U.S. The remaining eight youth were born in the U.S. (and therefore are U.S. citizens) to undocumented parents. Thirteen (65%) youth scored within the borderline and/or clinical ranges in at least one of the YSR scales, with eight (40%) meeting borderline and/or clinical criteria on multiple scales (see Table 1). The more common behavioral problems were attention problems, withdrawn-depressed, anxious-depressed, and rule breaking behaviors. These results suggest that a large number of children experience a considerable number of mental health problems.

Table 1. Youth who scored on the borderline and clinical ranges of the YSR syndrome scales.

YSR Syndrome Scales										
Age	Sex	Youth Status	Anxious/Depressed	Withdrawn/Depressed	Somatic	Social problems	Thought problems	Attention problems	Rule Breaking	Aggressive Behavior
11	F	D		B						
14	F	D		C						
14	F	D		C				C	B	
15	F	D		B			B		B	
15	F	D		B	C			C	B	
17	M	U	B					C		
11	M	D		B						
16	F	U				B			B	
16	M	U	C	B						
14	M	U					C			
18	F	U	B					B		
14	F	U	B							
16	M	U					C	B		

Notes. M=Male; F=Female; D=Documented; U=Undocumented. C=Clinical range (>97%tile); B=Borderline range (93-97%tiles).

The focus groups and individual interviews contextualize the results of the YSR illuminating how experiences with immigration enforcement activities that their families face, including arrests, detentions, and threats of deportation have profound impacts on youth in mixed-status families. As one adolescent female described:

“My dad was in danger to being deported a couple months ago,...he got in a car accident ...and he was scared, he didn’t really talk much, and the officers were just, trying to get him to say, like something, and he just didn’t say anything so he, he was detained for a while, for like a month or two months, and um, yea we spent a lot of money...it was rough, because he was, the main one that fixed everything for us. I was really sad, I felt like it was really long...I don’t know I was just worried about what we were gonna do, or what was gonna happen after that...it was stressful for my mom ‘cause she was like under a lot of pressure, and that really bummed all of us, so it was just really depressing during those two months.”

Another youth described watching her uncle being arrested:

“...and I remember because I was, I was on the school bus and we passed by, the street that led to his apartment complex. And I saw his car and it was surrounded by, like dark cars.... and I was like hoping that it wasn’t his car... So I was really scared and then I got to school and then I didn’t want to go, the bell rang and everything, and I didn’t want to go inside... I was thinking about it the whole day at school...”

IV. Discussion

The ripple effects of immigration enforcement policies in the U.S. extend beyond the undocumented, detained, and deported individual, with considerable impact on the mental health of citizen and undocumented children. As Suárez-Orozco and colleagues (2011) indicate:

“Permanently encircling millions of children and youth behind a barbed wire of liminality is counter to fundamental democratic ideals, the values we share as Americans, and the core tenets of our civilization. It is, above all, the atavistic punishing of children for the “sins” of others” (p. 465).

As our study further indicates, undocumented youth and children of undocumented parents experience a considerable number of mental health problems that if not caused by, are likely to be aggravated by present inhumane immigration enforcement policies and activities. Although this study was not designed to establish causality between immigration enforcement activities and the children and adolescents’ mental health, given the present status of U.S. immigration policies described earlier, it should not be surprising that the most common borderline and clinical problems the children and adolescents reported consisted of attention problems and those involving being withdrawn, depressed, and anxious. How can children go about their daily lives and grow healthy when they are preoccupied, worried, and saddened by the fear (and in many cases reality) that someone in their family, including themselves, could be

arrested, detained, and/or deported? Sadly, their experiences of mental health problems are compounded in light of the tremendous challenges these youth and their families face trying to access and receive mental health services (Sommers, 2013).

This small descriptive study cannot provide nationwide prevalence rates of mental health problems experienced by the children of mixed-status families in the U.S. nor can it establish causality among the variables investigated. However, informed by epidemiological theories of the social production of disease and lifecourse theory (Krieger, 2004; Kuh, Ben-Shlomo, Lynch, Hallqvist, and Power, 2003) whereby exposure to multiple risk factors is expected to have a cumulative effect, and that risk and protective factors can modify and potentiate one another, the present study adds evidence to the growing concern of the negative impact of current U.S. immigration policies. If these policies do not change, the extreme distress and untreated mental health problems experienced by millions of children in the U.S. will remain a hidden and serious public health epidemic with a heavy human and economic cost for immigrants, their families, and society broadly.

Solutions and Practices

There is a need to consider both the individual experience of migrants as well as the broader social environment when considering a positive and inclusive integration of new immigrant populations (Mircea, 2008). In many cases, this requires a nuanced understanding of the difficult decisions new immigrant parents and families confront in attempts to balance social and cultural values with economic demands amid political disenfranchisement. For example, South Asian mothers living in the United Kingdom must navigate between providing a stable home environment by avoiding work outside the home and providing economic support for their children by leaving the home for work (Wigfield and Turner, 2012). State-based and civil society programs that promote the inclusion of new immigrant population while also taking into account and, indeed, celebrating the skills, knowledge, and diversity that new immigrants provide have proven successful in collaborating with migrants to address tensions associated with life and work in a new social environment (Otovescu, 2012).

However, while an emphasis on cultural diversity and relativism is certainly a positive step when considering the integration of immigrant populations, it must be acknowledged that much research addresses the integration of immigrants that are legally permitted to remain in the country. Understanding how health and mental health providers, educators, and policy makers alike are engaging with undocumented populations is crucial, especially given the increasingly anti-immigrant political environment within the U.S. and the EU and the patchwork of services that alternatively include and exclude them. Largely following the terrorist attacks of 2001, the U.S. has adopted an immigration enforcement and deportation paradigm that tends to portray undocumented migrants through a lens of “illegality” and “criminality” (DeGenova, 2002). Examples of these perspectives include the passage of anti-immigrant legislation in the U.S. states of Alabama and Arizona, the integration of local law-enforcement into immigration enforcement via the Secure Communities program, and the record breaking deportation statistics which drive undocumented families

further into the shadows (ACLU, 2011; Androff and Tavasoli, 2012; Chavez, 1998; Theodore, 2013). Policies such as these foreclose a great deal of integration into the social landscape of the United States and require stakeholders interested in improving the lives of immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, and policymakers to come up with creative and collaborative solutions that counterbalance punitive and exclusionary immigration policies.

Kenneth Jameson's work on the Utah Compact, which provides undocumented migrants living in the State of Utah with driving privilege cards and promoting migrants to participate politically despite their inability to vote, is exemplary (Jameson, 2012). Jameson's work illustrates that policies that promote a welcoming environment for undocumented migrants can have significant positive economic and health impacts, as undocumented migrants are encouraged to access services and engage politically to advocate for their needs. The Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights (WICIR), a research partner in this project, also serves as a model for engaging holistically with undocumented immigrants to address concerns collaboratively at various levels. Of the many educational and advocacy activities WICIR has been involved in, one consists of lobbying the State of Michigan leadership to allow undocumented immigrants with DACA (Deferred Action Childhood Arrival) status to get drivers licenses. They are currently working on a project to provide a county photo ID given that the new prohibition on drivers' licenses to undocumented immigrants in the past few years has left many people without adequate identification. Another example consists of the numerous meetings WICIR has had with local police and sheriff department officers, as well as communication with the leadership of ICE, to request that they focus their work on pursuing and detaining individuals who commit real crimes instead of targeting the undocumented community.

Throughout the country, there have been other attempts at increasing (or preventing) social integration of undocumented immigrants. Federally, President Obama has instituted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a discretionary determination that grants renewable two-year reprieve from deportation and the eligibility to work for undocumented immigrants that, among other criteria, arrived in the U.S. before age 16 and graduated or will graduate from high school. The work permit has provided many undocumented youth the opportunity to work formally and integrate more deeply into society without the fear of deportation. At the state level, many universities and colleges have changed their policies to grant in-state tuition to students regardless of citizenship status, increasing college access for undocumented students (Dougherty, Nienhuser, & Vega 2010).

Indeed, attempts to positively influence the health of undocumented immigrants and mixed-status families must confront the categorical exclusion of undocumented immigrants from the Affordable Care Act, the most recent and widespread legislation aimed at providing health insurance to uninsured individuals and families. DACA, similarly, while deferring the possible deportation of certain undocumented youth, offers no protection to their parents and does not provide them with any additional health care access and offers no further protection to their parents. Thus, attempts on the individual level to integrate socially while family members are detained and deported are met with inordinate challenges.

V. Conclusions

More research is needed to understand the effect of immigration practices on the mental health of mixed-status children and the ways by which these children and their families can have access to mental health services they critically need. Perhaps more importantly, however, is the need to prevent these mental health problems from occurring in the first place. In this paper we argue that this can best be accomplished by creating more humane immigration policies and practices. Grass root efforts that involve widespread coalitions can result in important changes at the local and national, and even international levels ranging from getting schools to pay more attention to the mental health needs of mixed-status children and encouraging local health centers to pay closer attention at how their organizations provide services to socioeconomically, linguistically, and culturally diverse populations. Grass-root efforts can also lobby or pressure elected officials to pass state and national laws that help these children become more integrated, and not isolated and disenfranchised, into their host society. In the end, all citizens, not just undocumented immigrants, stand to gain with more humane immigration policies.

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List of Acronyms

ACLU	= American Civil Liberties Union
DACA	= Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
EU	= European Union
ICE	= Immigration and Customs Enforcement, an agency of the United States Department of Homeland Security
MPI Europe	= Migration Policy Institute Europe (MPI Europe)
PICUM	= Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants
YSR	= Youth Self-Report
UN	= United Nations
U.S.	= United States
WICIR	= Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights



THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN NORTHWEST ALABAMA: BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Joy BORAH¹

Abstract: *According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Alabama experienced a 145% increase in its Hispanic population and has become the top state for immigration settlement in the last decade. The primary purpose of this article is to gain information about the lives and struggles of Hispanic immigrants residing in the three counties of Lauderdale, Colbert, and Franklin in Northwest Alabama. The article examines the systemic barriers and discrimination faced by Hispanic families, and identifies the opportunities and strengths, social activities, and community supports that aid their integration into the new communities. Utilizing a community-based participatory action research (CBPAR) framework, the study uses a mixed methods approach, combining community informant interviews, focus groups and a small scale survey. It is hoped that the findings from the study will be valuable to community leaders and service providers to build partnerships, facilitate cultural understanding, and develop a set of best practices and research approaches that will lead to the social inclusion of this at-risk population.*

Keywords: *immigration, demographic shift, discrimination, social transformation*

1. Introduction

In recent years, the United States is experiencing a tectonic shift in its population composition from a largely white, domestic born, Anglo-Saxon, English speaking and Christian, to a burgeoning immigrant, foreign-born, non-white, ethnically and religiously diverse one. Nowhere is this shift being more clearly felt than in southern United States. This is particularly evident in states like Alabama where the Hispanic population increased by 145% and has become the top state for immigration settlement in the last decade (U.S. Census, 2010a).

The primary purpose of this article is to gain information about the lives and struggles of Hispanic immigrants residing in the three counties of Lauderdale, Colbert and

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Franklin in Northwest Alabama, an area that has witnessed an explosion in this population in the last fifteen years. The article examines the systemic barriers faced by Hispanic families, and identifies the opportunities and strengths, social activities, and community supports that aid their integration into the new communities. For the purpose of this paper, the term ‘immigrant’ is used to broadly refer to people who migrated to and currently reside in the United States, and is inclusive of people who are considered foreign born, undocumented, legal permanent residents and naturalized citizens; the term “Hispanic” is used for persons of Latin American ancestry in accordance with the U.S. Census.

2. Immigration and Demographic Change: A Brief Overview

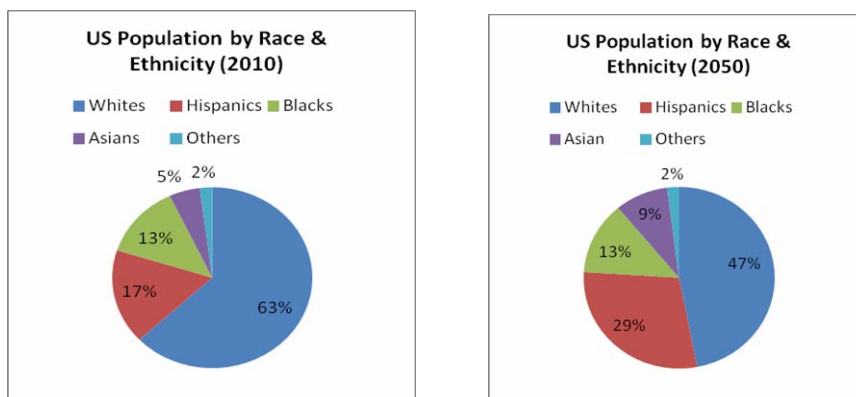
A study of Immigrant demographic data reveals that the groups of population welcomed or barred from entering the United States follow the pattern of US Immigration policies through different periods of history (Martin & Midgely, 1999). Early legislation such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924 reflected the blatant racism towards these groups, while favoring northern and western Europeans (Hurh & Kim, 1989). A major shift in Immigration policy occurred with the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965 which established a preference system based on family unification. This Act also allowed skilled workers to enter the United States to meet the labor needs of the growing economy, and imposed ceilings on immigration from the western hemisphere. As a result, this period witnessed a rise in immigration from other regions, particularly Latin America, Africa and Asia (Kochar, 2005; Carlson, 1994). On account of the new immigration policies of 1965, the Refugee laws of 1980, amnesty programs for certain groups of unauthorized alien workers under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA), and the Immigration Act of 1990 which increased admission allocation for highly skilled immigrants, the demographic and ethnic make-up of the country has become increasingly diverse (Immigration Policy Center, 2012). Post 9/11, 2001, immigration laws, however, have seen a resurgence of anti-immigrant sentiment as demonstrated by the collapse of the latest immigration reform attempts in the United States Congress in April 2013.

In the early 1990s, Alabama enjoyed the benefits of successful industrial recruitment through tax incentives and public subsidies that attracted multinational automotive companies including Mercedes, Honda, Hyundai and Toyota (Economic Development Partnership of Alabama, 2007). This period also witnessed the expansion of lower wage industries such as construction, agriculture, hospitality and poultry packing. The newly created low-wage, low skilled jobs resulted in a rapid surge in the Hispanic population who moved to fill in the jobs created by the new economy. Thus, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 2007, when the rest of the country was experiencing an unemployment rate of 4.6%, Alabama’s rate stood at an all-time low of 3.4% (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007). Additionally, the housing bust experienced by the rest of the country did not affect Alabama. However, by 2010, the recession hit and Alabama’s unemployment rate doubled to 10.7 % (Small Business Plan, 2010).

Moreover, on April 27th 2011, devastating tornadoes in central and north Alabama, including the counties under study, killed 240 people, decimating communities, home, schools and workplaces (Addy & Ahmed, 2011). In the face of this natural devastation at a time of economic recession, immigrant communities bore the brunt of the anti-immigrant sentiments from local communities and opportunistic politicians. On June 9, 2011, the newly elected Alabama governor signed Immigration Law HB 56, due to have taken effect on September 1st, 2011, described as a crackdown on “illegal” immigrants and a “jobs” bill to boost employment. However, the bill was temporarily blocked by the Supreme Court as discriminatory in the face of protests and lawsuits by the Department of Justice, the Alabama American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and several other civic, community and religious groups (Liptak, 2013; American Civil Liberties Union, 2011).

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Hispanics are the largest ethnic minority groups in the U.S., representing 16.4% of the U.S. population, totaling 50.5 million and projected to reach 102.6 million or 22.5% by 2050 (U.S. Census 2010b). Table 1 below illustrates the changing demographics of this nation:

Table 1: Changing Demographics in the United States



(Passel & Cohn, 2008. Retrieved August 16, 2013, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/85.pdf>)

According to the 2010 Census, Alabama is the top state for immigration settlement, accounting for 92.1% growth between 2000-2010, followed by South Carolina at 88% and Tennessee at 82% (U.S. Census 2010c). In 2010, the Hispanic population in Alabama increased by 145%, accounting for 3.5% of the total population. Despite being an important destination, Alabama is one of the top five states with the highest percentage of the Hispanic population living below the poverty rate at 31.2% in 2011 (US Census, 2013). In addition, a comparison of the poverty rates between the Hispanic community and the non-Hispanic white community reveal stark disparities in their socio-economic status, as demonstrated in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Comparison of Poverty Rates between Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Whites 2011 in Alabama

	Hispanics	Non-Hispanic White
Poverty Rates (17 and younger)	47%	17%
Poverty Rates (18-64)	27%	13%
Home Ownership	49%	77%
Health Insurance (Uninsured)	44%	12%
Annual Personal Earnings	\$18,000	\$30,000

(Pew Hispanic Center. 2011a. Retrieved September 16, 2013 from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/state/al/>)

All of these factors make it imperative to highlight the needs and challenges of this community that serve as a barrier in their full participation in American society.

3. Review of the Literature

A review of the existing literature on the Hispanic immigrant population in the United States portrays the significant contributions of this group to the economy and cultural life of the community, as well as the disparities they face in health access and outcomes (Coffman et al., 2007; Documet & Sharma 2004); impact of various U.S. policies on undocumented immigrants (Becerra et al., 2012; Cleaveland, 2010; Finch et al, 2001); income and use of public resources (Gerst & Burr, 2011; Center for Immigration Studies, 2001), and psychological distress (Basta et al, 2008; Thoman & Suris, 2004). Chaudry and colleagues (2010, 13) reported serious risks to children from parent-child separation due to deportation. The Pew Hispanic Center reports that six in ten Hispanics live under the constant fear that they or a close friend or family member will be deported (Pew Hispanic Center, 2011b). Substantial evidence links discrimination to poor health and acculturation stress among immigrants and children of immigrants (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Parsai, 2010; Ding & Hargraves, 2009). Umana-Taylor and Updegraff (2012, 725) associated underemployment with lower life-satisfaction among immigrants, particularly during times of economic recession. Mattingly, Smith and Bean (2011, 1-5) further found that underemployment is exacerbated in rural communities where opportunities are already scarce. Commenting on the needs of Hispanic immigrants, Strug and Mason (2002, 70) recognize that many immigrants are dependent upon access to a variety of services to aid their adaptation to their new countries.

Despite the wealth of literature about immigration, very little data exists on the socio-demographics of new communities in the different regions of the United States. Moreover, studies on the immigrant population in the isolated areas and rural counties of Alabama, some of which were devastated by the deadly tornadoes of April 2011, are practically non-existent. Building on prior research, this study attempts to narrow this gap by exploring the experiences and documenting the lives and struggles of the Hispanic immigrants living in this area. The contribution of this article lies in its raising awareness of the experiences of Hispanic immigrant families residing in Northwest

Alabama with respect to their traditions, culture, challenges and needs in their pursuit of a better quality of life.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for the current analysis is guided by the blended use of two major participatory research models for working with communities: the community-based participatory research model (CBPR) and the participatory action research (PAR) model. Developed by Minkler and Wallerstein (2003), CBPR's focus on community capacity building and systems development utilizing a partnership approach between researcher and participant lends itself well to the study. The second model, participatory action research (PAR), developed by Paulo Freire (1982) has its roots in Latin America and calls on academic communities to use investigation and intervention to address issues of social injustice on behalf of oppressed populations. Utilizing the community-based participatory action research approach, the author fostered a process of data collection that focused on findings that are participatory and evidence-based, with the goal of social transformation (Reason & Bradbury, 2006).

5. Research Methodology and Data Collection

This exploratory cross-sectional study was conducted over a three month period in the summer of 2012. A University grant allowed the researcher to hire a first-generation Hispanic student who is also a resident of the community under study. This enabled the researchers to gain access to the homes, social and religious events, and personal lives of the participants, build trust, and thereby gain better insight into the world of the informants. It also allowed the researchers to gain access to other key stakeholders in the community including business owners, priests and community organizers such as leaders of the Northwest Alabama Hispanic Co-coalition.

The study used a mixed methods approach utilizing community informant interviews, focus groups and a small scale survey. The methods of data collection involved: (1) desk research, involving an analysis of the relevant literature and US Census data regarding immigration history, trends and policies; (2) establishing community linkages that build on local partnerships including representatives from the local Hispanic community and other local stakeholders for identifying barriers and approaches to meet locally identified needs. Purposive and snowball sampling procedures were used to locate potential individual and focused small group discussion participants. Promotional flyers in Spanish and English were circulated in Mexican grocery stores, churches, restaurants, and through community leaders; (3) a two page survey in Spanish and English was designed and disseminated to gather data; (4) an in-depth key-informant interview guide was utilized. The research assistant was trained by the principal investigator in research protocol in order to promote consistent data collection procedures. Approval from the University's Institutional Review Board was attained preceding data collection to obtain informed consent and protect confidentiality.

Participants

Individual, in-depth interviews were conducted with thirty Hispanic residents in the three counties. Participants were composed of 12 men and 18 women, aged 18 – 64 (average age 36 years). Their lengths of stay in the US ranged from 3 months to 32 years. All of the participants were given pseudonyms. The interviews took place between May and September 2012 and lasted between 30 – 90 minutes. 22 interviews were carried out in Spanish and 8 in English. In keeping with the bio-ecological perspective, several factors were identified at multiple levels of the ecology - individual, family, social, community - to get a multifaceted portrait of immigrant lives. Questions explored concepts of migration, social situations, community networks, and everyday life. 120 surveys in Spanish and English were administered to gather data. In addition, five small focus group interviews were conducted with key informants consisting of community leaders identified by the researchers. Open-ended interviewing and participant observation was used to solicit the viewpoints of the participants, which allowed for open discussion and dialogue.

Data Analysis

A systematic approach was used to manage and analyze the data derived from the surveys, in-depth interviews and focus groups to protect the validity and reliability of the results. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and maintained in both Spanish and English. Qualitative analysis of data was conducted based on grounded theory principles which utilize the process of open coding and use of observer comments outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The content analysis was completed in two stages: open and axial coding. Codes were developed across common themes to form a comprehensive picture of participants' collective experiences. The axial coding focused on the connections between the categories and subcategories such as the barriers and challenges faced by the participants, and factors that promoted their integration into their new communities. The lead researcher completed the content analysis, carefully reviewing transcripts for interpretations and clarifications.

6. Findings and Discussion

While traditionally Alabama has not been one of the gateway locations for immigrants to the United States, the three counties under study have witnessed an explosion in the Hispanic population in the last fifteen years, as illustrated in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Percentage Change in the Hispanic Population in the three counties under study:

	Colbert County			Franklin County			Lauderdale County		
	1990	2000	2011	1990	2000	2011	1990	2000	2011
Hispanic Population	187	618	1,212	101	2,316	4,830	313	894	2,224

	Change from 1990	Change from 2000		Change from 1990	Change from 2000		Change from 1990	Change from 2000
Hispanic Population Change	431	119		2215	120		581	142
Percentage Change in Hispanic Population	230%	11%		2193%	3%		186%	7%

Pew Hispanic Center (2011c). *Colbert County 2011*. Retrieved Aug 07, 2013, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/county/1033/>
Pew Hispanic Center (2011d). *Franklin County 2011*. Retrieved Aug 07, 2013, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/county/1059/>
Pew Hispanic Center (2011e). *Lauderdale County 2011*. Retrieved Aug 07, 2013, from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/states/county/1077/>

The neighboring agricultural communities and local informal labor market sector such as factories and restaurants provide many unregulated work opportunities for individuals. In addition, a meatpacking plant that actively recruits Hispanics as well as its low cost of living, dependable wages, temperate climate along with the presence of family members, relatives and other fellow immigrants all make it an attractive destination.

The surge in the immigrant population has resulted in a transformation of the local small town economy with the opening of new businesses such as restaurants, ethnic grocery stores, beauty parlors, bakeries, and small landscaping enterprises. The increase in Hispanic families has led to higher enrollment in the public school system, resulting in increased federal funding for schools. In addition, local businesses have thrived from the consumer practices of the Hispanic community who not only buy for their own usage but often send goods such as televisions, clothes, and other household items to their native countries. Participants also reported that they regularly send back remittances to their families, which benefit both countries. Moreover, all immigrants pay income and sales taxes that further support the local economy, leading to an increase in state and local revenues. Thus, the increasing Hispanic population not only stimulates the state and local economies but also provide a needed pool of unskilled labor for the workforce. At the same time, the influx has resulted in a population that is largely impoverished, often working in the fringes of the economy, characterized by low wages, minimal education, lack of transportation, substandard housing, and social isolation.

The demographic change occurring in these small towns and communities in the study pose barriers as well as opportunities for both new and local residents. Some of the barriers are identified below:

a) Economic and Financial Barriers

The majority of participants work in low paying jobs that require minimum language skills such as landscaping, restaurants, chicken processing plants, and meatpacking,

restaurant, hotels, hospitality and related occupations, janitorial, housecleaning and maid services, food processing, agriculture and farm labor, construction, and light manufacturing. Participants reported that they found jobs through individual networks and worked mainly as day laborers. Jobs are divided clearly among gender lines with most female respondents working as maids and waitresses, while the males predominantly worked in construction, janitorial and landscaping services. Not only is the Hispanic population dependent on these jobs, these industries are equally dependent on the Hispanic population for their labor.

At the other end of the spectrum are the over-qualified Hispanic immigrants – skilled, educated and talented. However, their education and skills are not recognized in the United States where they are often forced to accept low-wage jobs. For example, one of the participants in the study was a lawyer in his native Guatemala but without English language skills and non-recognition of his degree in the United States, he has been confined to work in his nephew's restaurant. This loss of valuable qualification is a loss to the local community which might have potentially benefitted from a worker with global skills. Hispanic workers are known for their loyalty and strong work ethic. However, the majority of the participants in the study expressed the existence of a glass ceiling with very low opportunities for job mobility as they are often passed over for promotion in favor of natives which negatively affects their job satisfaction.

English as the only language spoken at banks and financial institutions is a barrier to starting a small business and results in a number of related problems. Participants expressed that immigrants, particularly those newly arrived, do not always understand how credit works and find it difficult to obtain credit needed to purchase homes and other essential consumer goods. The absence of a credit record also makes it difficult to start a small business. Not having social security cards prevent many from taking advantage of credit and banking opportunities. There is a general distrust of banks, compounded by the absence of bilingual tellers; they may not know how to open bank accounts or be able to show all required documents as bank deposits and other paperwork are written only in English. Minimal knowledge about economic issues and policies such as workers' rights, and worker's compensation benefits if injured on the job, lead to further financial losses. Underpaid and uninformed, with usually no work benefits, low wages, poor working conditions, and child care issues, Hispanics remain chiefly at the bottom rung of the labor force.

b) Lack of Access to Adequate Healthcare

Participants in the focus groups revealed that language issues, lack of transportation, lack of insurance, and inability to pay for services are common barriers in accessing health care services. 82% of the participants did not have a primary care physician and do not receive any preventive health care. Most of them tended to get help from the informal support system such as "curanderos", folk healers or medicine men. They tended to visit a free clinic, doctor or emergency room only in extreme need and generally as a last resort. Most of their jobs do not have any health insurance and other benefits, and most are often not informed about health insurance by employers. Legal immigrants are barred from enrolling in Medicaid or the State Children's Health

Insurance Program (SCHIP) during their first five years of residence in the United States. Language is a major barrier at hospitals and doctors' offices where there are generally no translators; in cases where they are available, there is a lack of trust due to perceived discrimination. Participants expressed that they often experience confusion related to treatment options, insurance discrepancies, incorrect prescriptions, and sometimes misdiagnosis. In addition, they face several emotional and mental health challenges which include anxiety, depression, family conflict, and the stress of learning to live in a new culture. Underutilization of mental health services is a major problem among participants in the study who reported that they rarely sought help for such issues and often were left to deal with it on their own.

c) Lack of Access to Quality Education

Education is a deep-seated value in the Hispanic culture and the reason many families chose to immigrate to the United States is to provide a better education for their children. However, participants expressed that education of their children is a challenge for most Hispanic parents. Parents reported that their children often have difficulties performing at their grade level, lag behind in reading, and do poorly on standardized tests. Many observed that teachers tended to ignore Hispanic parents despite their children's failing grades and other problems in the classroom.

Children themselves experience stereotypes from teachers and peers alike which impacts their learning, social life and interaction. Shortage of resources in public education leads to a general lack of bilingual personnel in schools and school district offices. Lack of bilingual guidance counselors, and at most times, only one bilingual teacher in the entire school system add to the difficulties already faced by Hispanic children. In many first generation immigrant families, parents often have to rely on their children to serve as interpreters not only in reporting their own progress in their schools, but also for other services such as doctors' offices. This places children in the precarious position of not only missing school days but also receiving information which may not be entirely appropriate for their age. High school seniors in the study believed that many guidance counselors discriminate against Hispanic children by often not sharing information regarding colleges, scholarships and other advice which is commonly shared among native students. Lack of scholarships and financial assistance is a barrier as college is out of reach for many due to cost. College students also reported that their past experiences with prejudice complicated their campus life and often made them reluctant to seek advisement or support for academic and financial issues. Describing the barriers in accessing English speaking classes, adult participants reported that they are too tired to focus on classes after exhausting twelve hour days. Often the location of the classes, timing, child care and lack of transportation serve as major barriers. While many immigrant parents are highly educated, many lack English skills and earn low incomes.

d) Barriers Related to Transportation

The lack of public transportation options poses a serious barrier for Hispanics in the area. This is compounded by the difficulties experienced in obtaining a driver's license.

The requirement in Alabama to possess a Social Security card is a huge obstacle in acquiring a driver's license, especially for the undocumented. This is further exacerbated by language barriers where the study materials such as the Drivers' Manual and application forms are in English. Acquiring a license often involves repeated visits to the Department of Motor Vehicles due to misinformation and/or misunderstanding of correct documents, often resulting in loss of wages for both the applicant as well as their ride. The lack of bilingual employees and translators at the Department of Motor Vehicles along with problems understanding directions during driving tests often lead to many failing the test. The lack of transportation affects all aspects of their life as they are not able to commute to English classes or access health care, workplace and credit facilities.

e) Poor Communication and Language Barriers

A majority of the participants felt that unfamiliarity with Hispanic culture and lack of functional bilingualism is a major source of settlement adjustment problems. The Hispanics in the study are a heterogeneous group, with 75% of the participants having roots in Mexico, while others are from Guatemala, Ecuador, El Salvador and Honduras. Language barriers are a major challenge, not only between Hispanics and Americans but also within various Hispanic cultures. While majority share Spanish as a common language, 32% speak native Indian languages and may not have full understanding of Spanish. Participants expressed tensions between service providers and clients as it often resulted in incomplete and ineffective service provision. It is a basic barrier to employment and job skills as they are unable to obtain information on laws, regulations, and rights as employees.

f) Social and Political Issues

The extent to which immigrants are able to adapt to their new country and community is related to socio-economic as well as political factors such as length of time in the United States, age at time of migration, educational attainment, religious affiliation and ability to visit one's native country. As far as age is concerned, younger immigrants in the study expressed their ability to adapt more easily to the new culture; older immigrants experience greater life satisfaction but also expressed that they faced greater discrimination. From a multicultural perspective, all immigrants, regardless of documentation status, experience acculturation stress. Many expressed the lack of extended family as well as their inability to visit their home country led to minimal social and emotional support and increased their sense of loss. Poor language skills, work-related stress, and constantly having to adapt to new surroundings exacerbated assimilation issues. Lack of adequate social outlets, such as a community center for Hispanics to go for information and recreation, add to the social isolation. Challenges of living in a hostile environment include exclusion, loss of social roles in the new country, parent-child conflict, and lack of a support system, all of which have a negative impact on cultural adaptation, sometimes resulting in depression and suicide.

While Hispanic immigrants face many challenges in their adaptation to their new country, they are also a resilient group which can be attributed to their faith, family,

household structure and social networks. 80% of the participants in the study come from married-couple households with children and extended relatives. Children of immigrants are mostly birthright citizens, although many live in mixed-status families. Participants who were single were more likely to live with extended family or with a group of other individuals, generally of the same gender rather than individual apartments. 75% of the key informants reported that holding multiple jobs and living in larger households with many wage earners enable them to make ends meet and keep them out of poverty. These family structures provide a safety net for the households during times of hardship as well as social and emotional support to its members. Nutrition programs such as school lunches and breakfasts appeared to be the most commonly used programs. Since most of the participants work in low skilled, low wage jobs, they feel they are able to function relatively well without English skills. However, in situations which call for transactions with the outside world such as doctor's offices, employment agencies, banks and schools, key informants reported that they often face hurdles and stereotypes in explaining their situations. Discrimination was also reported as a key barrier for these workers to find employment in other fields during times of job loss.

Lack of knowledge of legal rights is another major barrier. For example, key informants expressed that when arrested for a traffic violation, they are often unaware of their rights. Voting rights of immigrants are also often not exercised; lack of time and language skills often result in low voter turnout as well as low participation in the political process.

g) Discrimination

Like class, sex and race, immigrant status is deeply ingrained in the ethos of the American mind. While earlier Blacks were perceived as the most discriminated group in the United States, Hispanics are now perceived as most subject to discrimination. Participants reported that they are often not compensated for overtime work and do not express their voice for fear of losing their jobs. Although some face sexual harassment in their jobs, many female respondents expressed that they do not complain for fear of retribution or deportation. Lack of knowledge of laws and policies leads to fear of authorities and serve as obstacles in pursuing justice. In the area of housing, participants reported discrimination by landlords who often did not prefer to rent to Hispanics, or charged higher rents when they did. Dearth of adequate and timely repairs was reported to be a chronic problem for many renters. Participants expressed a pervasive perception of being profiled based on stereotypes of what an "illegal" looks like, either by being pulled over while driving, followed in stores, poor service in restaurants, banks and other public services. Lack of awareness of immigration policies resulted in paranoia in the wake of the new immigration laws. There was a surge in traffic stops and arrests resulting from not carrying documentation such as passports and other identification. Many faced anti-immigrant sentiments as well as fear from previously supportive employers and community members, children were kept home from school, and many abandoned their homes and workplaces, resulting in an exodus of people in the area. One in ten participants expressed being asked about their immigration status by prospective employers and police officers regardless of their

place of birth. There was also the recognition that translation and cultural issues sometimes led to misunderstandings. All these barriers become even more precarious for the undocumented immigrant and their families who suffer from additional problems of discrimination from their own community, constant threat of deportation, and no legal protection which leaves them open to exploitation.

Opportunities and Strategies for Change

The research findings from the study reveal the following opportunities and strategies for change.

Strategic planning on the part of city officials is vital to prepare for on-going demographic change in Northwest Alabama. Career Centers with bilingual staff available through local community colleges could assist educated Hispanics with workforce readiness. Banks should ease restrictions on loans and credit to encourage entrepreneurial Hispanic community members to expand existing businesses or start small businesses such as shuttle vans and taxis. Local chambers of commerce need to assist Hispanics with writing grants at federal and state levels to start small businesses.

There is a dire need for competent health services that are easily accessible, have flexible hours, combine physical care with mental health care, address comorbidities, and are staffed by compassionate professionals. Since the vast majority of the immigrant population work in the low-wage service sector economy with no healthcare benefits, there is a need for low cost health care alternatives with focus on a continuum of care such as free or low-cost community health clinics. Bilingual translators in area hospitals and access to the same doctor at each visit to increase trust would enhance the quality of care.

At the macro level, education cuts need to stop to make additional resources available to meet the pressing needs of the Hispanic population from scholarships and internships for Hispanic students to bilingual instructors and cultural awareness training. Within the public school system, programs such as the Language Partners program need to be enhanced and enforced to help Hispanic children better integrate into the Alabama school system. Cross-cultural training for school administrators and teachers would help bridge the cultural gap. Key informants spoke about the need for adult language and literacy programming and creative time, location and delivery methods to enhance learning. Hiring bilingual home educators to go into Hispanic homes to teach literacy skills and offering more ESL (English as a Second Language) classes in locations and hours convenient for participants are imperative to bridge the language gap. High school seniors voiced their need for mentoring programs from their guidance counselors and additional assistance with college applications. Active mentoring of Hispanic college students through programs such as one-on-one advising would help increase retention rates and ensure academic success. Higher educational credentials and relevant work experience attained in native countries should be taken into consideration through programs such as foreign degree evaluations funded and conducted by United States education accrediting agencies.

Respondents noted that assistance in obtaining the Social Security card would be essential to overcoming obstacles to get a driver's license, credit, access to employment,

and healthcare. Alabama could follow the example of some states such as Utah where immigrants can obtain a driver's license without a social security card. Improved communication would greatly enhance the assimilation experience of immigrants in the area. Public service agencies such as the Department of Motor Vehicles, banks, hospitals, libraries, and police should hire bilingual employees. Official documents and forms should be written in both English and Spanish.

Outreach efforts for Hispanic newcomers such as a dedicated Center for the Immigrant Community supported by the city council and staffed by “cultural brokers” - one bilingual and bicultural staff who know the local community - would send a welcoming message for new immigrants. Creating a Hispanic-affairs staff position at state and local levels to increase representation would create cultural bridges. Free classes on topics such as the expectations of community citizenship, information about how to find housing, a doctor or legal services, instructions about how to register children in school, how to access necessary immunizations, and use of car seats would ease the transition to a new culture. Workshops and distribution of materials that detail information, in easily understood terms, about the role of police, health care workers and schools in American society, location of public services and other community resources would help cultural assimilation. Successful outreach includes physically going into the community to service clients in their places of residence (neighborhoods, apartment complexes); worship (faith institutions); and education (schools). Systematic follow-up and monitoring of outreach initiatives need to be implemented along with better coordination and communication between service providers to minimize overlap.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined the barriers and opportunities faced by the Hispanic immigrant population residing in the three primarily rural counties of Lauderdale, Colbert and Franklin in Northwest Alabama. Like the rest of the United States, and the state of Alabama, the three counties in the study have experienced an unprecedented growth in the Hispanic population over the last decade, a trend that is expected to continue into the future. Utilizing the community-based participatory action research model, with its emphasis on community capacity building, an exploratory cross-sectional study was conducted in the three counties. The study used a mixed methods approach, conducting five small focus group interviews with key informants, thirty individual, in-depth interviews with community residents, as well as the administration of 120 surveys. The use of community-based settings familiar to the participants increased their level of comfort, facilitated data collection, and allowed the researcher to engage in meaningful discussions in identifying barriers and opportunities at both the individual and systems levels.

The findings of this study highlight the fact that demographic changes brought about by immigration pose opportunities as well as challenges for many small, rural communities. The study illustrates that the barriers faced by the Hispanic community in the three counties are both universal and specific. Participants overall reported positive experiences of their stay in the United States. They were appreciative of the better financial opportunities available. However, also evident were differences along class

lines, especially the differences due to documented or undocumented status of the participants. Besides the more universal needs such as better employment, improved transportation, quality education, and better healthcare access, the top needs specific to the population under study include language proficiency, cross-cultural competency, accessible service location, and better communication and coordination between service providers. Service providers practicing with immigrant clients must not only be aware of their basic needs, family relations and acculturation challenges, but also be sensitive of the negative impact of stereotypes on the physical and emotional well-being of their clients. At the macro level, they must work with communities to raise cultural awareness of Hispanic immigrants through activities such as information sessions and cultural events that bring members of all communities together. Service providers must also play an active role in educating their Hispanic clients regarding their constitutional rights and responsibilities to eliminate civil rights abuses. In addition, local service providers should be sensitive to the unique attributes of the Hispanic heritage. Knowledge of the language, understanding of cultural differences, and advocacy for policy changes that humanize and empower immigrants are needed to provide effective and culturally competent services. Strategic planning on the part of the state's leaders and county officials to prepare for the demographic shift is similarly vital.

A major limitation of the study is related to the relatively small sample size of the communities in which the study was conducted. Future research should try to replicate the process in communities with larger immigrant populations to reflect the needs of more recent and diverse groups of immigrants, and further validate the effectiveness of the participatory strategy. There is also a need for future studies to focus on the impact of immigration in small rural communities and their role in providing an open and welcoming environment to its new residents. Finally, more research is needed to understand the characteristics of this vulnerable group in order to develop appropriate localized strategies to address barriers grounded in the beliefs, values and norms of Hispanic culture.

In conclusion, the study provides insight into the barriers and opportunities faced by Hispanic immigrants as they work to improve their life circumstances. Building on previous literature, the study highlights the value of the community based participatory approach in its ability to document the lived experience of participants within their cultural and social contexts. In addition, the study discusses opportunities and strategies for change for the state's leaders, county officials, and service providers to act in a timely and concerted fashion to prepare for the demographic shift. Such measures will not only meet the needs of the new immigrant population, but will create more equitable access to resources, better utilization of services, and thereby benefit the small towns and communities in which they live, work and make vital contributions to the local economies.

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SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG

Chipo HUNGWE¹

Abstract: *The study analyses Zimbabwean migrants' strategies of survival in a largely xenophobic environment. The paper argues that exclusion of Zimbabweans in the labour market and other spheres of South Africa is largely a product of attempts by South African institutions and officials to draw boundaries separating insiders from outsiders. This inevitably limits the opportunity structure of most Zimbabwean migrants, pushing them from the formal to informal sector and further underground. Zimbabwean migrants survive by mainly concealing their identity. They adopt South African languages, ways of dressing, bribe the police and some engage in friendships, relationships and marriages with locals. Migrants also engage in self-employment, crime and church activities. The study however reveals that migrants mainly use their ethnic and religious networks, which largely promotes bonding rather than bridging social capital. Such social capital may not really help them to be integrated into the local South African community. This study is based on qualitative research conducted among Zimbabweans in the Kempion and Tembisa areas of Johannesburg, South Africa in 2012.*

Keywords: *Social networks; South Africa; Survival strategies; Xenophobia; Zimbabweans.*

1. Introduction

This study was carried out at a time when the South African economy and society and indeed the global economy was going through a lot of challenges (increase in unemployment, poverty, deindustrialisation, increase in the number of undocumented foreign migrants, demand for skilled labour and the increasing participation of South African leaders in Zimbabwean politics). This research analyses the survival tactics of Zimbabweans in the South African labour market and society in light of the following facts:

- The potentially changing official policy towards Zimbabweans (Polzer, 2009). This is evidenced by the agreements that happened between the Zimbabwean and South African governments leading to the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP)

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carried out by the Department of Home Affairs in 2010. The project was meant to enumerate Zimbabweans in South Africa while providing those that qualified with the opportunity to apply for general work and business permits. This study analyses the situation of Zimbabwean migrants after the Zimbabwean Documentation Project.

- The high rate of poverty and unemployment among South Africans themselves (Adepoju 2008, South Africa, Department of Labour 2011).
- The tendency of locals to blame foreigners for ‘job-snatching’ (Danso and McDonald, 2000; Harris, 2001; Posel, 2003; Mosala, 2008; Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010).
- The high level of crime and violence in South Africa (Harris, 2001).
- The high level of xenophobia and general frustration among most South Africans in South Africa (Human Rights Watch 1998; Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore and Richmond 1999; McDonald, Mashike & Golden 1999; Danso and McDonald 2000; Harris, 2001; Crush, Williams & Perberdy 2005; Adepoju, 2006; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). This xenophobia is expressed to all migrants regardless of whether they are documented/regular/legal or undocumented/irregular/illegal. Up to now, Zimbabweans still face xenophobia on a daily basis (Harris, 2002; Dumba and Chirisa 2010; Crush and Tawodzera 2011). Zimbabweans have also had problems accessing accommodation, health and educational facilities.
- That Zimbabweans are estimated to be the largest group of foreigners in South Africa (Harris, 2001; Muzondidya, 2008; Polzer, 2009).
- The active participation of certain government departments and local government authorities in deciding who gets excluded from or included into the South African community. This is supported by the reluctance to assist migrants by certain government personnel (Harris, 2001; Palmay, 2002; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2004; Human Rights Watch (HRW) 2006; De Guchteneire, Pecoud and Cholewinski 2009; Vigneswaran, Araia, Hoag and Tshabalala 2010).
- Migrants are exposed to potential human rights violations. They generally exist in a ‘fragile situation’ and migration is associated with the violations of migrants’ physical integrity and dignity (HRW, 1998; HRW, 2006; Betts and Kaytaz 2009; De Guchteneire, Pecoud and Cholewinski 2009:3; Vigneswaran et al., 2010).

The research involved fifty eight (58) migrants; both documented and undocumented, who had been in South Africa for more than six months on a continuous basis. Research methods used were mainly semi-structured and in-depth life history interviews based on a sample size of 58 that was purposively selected. These were supplemented by moments of participant observation by the researcher as I stayed with the participants for the duration of the study. The research is mainly based on life history interviews/narratives and participant observation. Life history interviews are geared towards understanding the migrants’ whole life course (Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009). The use of the word narratives here is to emphasise the focus on how migrants create ‘their stories’ in explaining their life courses.

Participant observation is mainly associated with ethnographic research. In this particular study participant observation was used to gain a deeper understanding of migrants as groups with a culture that was different from the rest of the South African society. This strategy was used but only to a lesser extent. The researcher observed and participated in those communal activities such as church gatherings on weekends. The researcher attended one session of the book club frequented by middle class migrants. The researcher also visited some migrants at their workplaces observing their work environments. The researcher also shared meals with some migrants who invited her for dinner. Here the researcher observed their homes (mainly one room accommodation) and saw the kind of property, furniture and material possessions they had. According to Polkinghorne (2005) researchers can observe participants' behaviours, facial expressions, clothing and other nonverbal indications. They can also observe the environments such as homes, offices and furniture.

The sampling methods were purposive in that attempts were made to approach knowledgeable individuals such as those who had been in Tembisa for a long period of time (for example, more than 10 years) or those with special circumstances such as being entrepreneurs, or those who had successfully changed their identities and citizenship to South African through naturalisation and other methods. This was a deliberate strategy to involve 'information rich' individuals. The other deliberate purpose was including as many different men and women as possible to achieve heterogeneity. The gender ratio was maintained such that eventually there were 33 males and 25 females that participated in the study. This roughly corresponds to the male - female ratio of migrants in Johannesburg.

2. Literature review

The current era is deemed to be the 'age of migration', while the modern state is viewed as a migration state (Massey, 1999; Castles and Miller, 2009; Skeldon, 2010). Castles and Miller (2009) further maintain that the migration state is characterised by the following general tendencies: (a) the globalisation of migration where immigrant countries are receiving migrants from many source countries, (b) the growing volumes of migration, (c) different groups of migrants - for example, refugees, labour migrants, students and trafficked individuals, (d) the growing feminisation of migration, (e) the politicisation of migration issues and (f) the growing number of receiving countries that now serve as both immigrant and transit countries, for example, Spain, Italy and Greece.

In his argument concerning the 'postmodern paradox', Massey (1999:310) argues:

While the global economy unleashes powerful forces that produce larger and more diverse flows of migrants from the developing to developed countries, it simultaneously creates conditions within developed countries that promote the implementation of restrictive immigration policies. These countervailing forces intersect at a time when artificial constraints to emigration from several populous regions have been eliminated... and when developing countries increasingly find it in their interests to promote international labour migration.

This condition is also referred to by Hollifield (2004) as the “liberal paradox thesis”. Hollifield (2004: 2010) posits that migration is both a cause and consequence of political and economic change. Whereas the 20th century was dominated by what Hollifield (2004) refers to as the garrison state, contemporary migration movements are threatening the security of this state through the opening of national borders. Thus, the modern state has now increasingly become a migration state. Hollifield (2004:901) asserts that migration, particularly irregular migration, poses a security and sovereignty challenge. He further argues that “states are trapped in a liberal paradox” - where in order to maintain competitive advantage, governments must keep their economies and societies open to trade, investment and migration. However, unlike goods, capital and services, the movement of people can violate the principle of sovereignty which requires a degree of territorial closure. Thus, the modern developed state, finds itself in a very uncomfortable situation where it must regulate migration while allowing for a some degree of ‘openness’. Moreover, Beck (2000) argues that the world has entered a ‘second age of modernity’, where human rights precede international law and where the power of the nation-state is increasingly being curtailed by supra-national bodies. This is increasingly making it difficult for the nation state to regulate migration, resulting in contestations regarding migration management policies.

In some cases, these contestations have resulted in the crafting of restrictive migration policies, which involve increasing deportations, surveillance and the harassment of migrants. This has, however, not lessened the migration flows, especially those of irregular migrants who have also crafted more and more dangerous and costly strategies of migration (Lyberaki, Triandafyllidou, Petronoti and Gropas 2000; Donato, Wagner & Patterson 2008; Broeders, 2009; McDowell and Wonders 2010; Lefko-Everett, 2010; McGregor, 2010; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter 2011). While these repressive immigration laws may not be effective in the long run, they serve the political purpose of ensuring the ‘visibility’ of the state through law enforcement state agents. They also represent technologies of control by the state. Such a move is popular with citizens and ensures their vote. These citizens’ voices have with time become louder and louder as most citizens in Canada, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Russia, Botswana and South Africa are generally hostile to immigration and mildly xenophobic (Massey 1999; Massey, 2003; McDowell and Wonders 2010). However, it is not easy to deal with migrants.

Migration and migration management issues have taken centre stage in this new migration state such that migration has become big business. The World Bank (2011:ix) estimates that there are more than 215 million international migrants in the world, while south- south migration is higher than the migration from south to developed countries. This means that most migrants tend to stay within the region rather than travel across regional boundaries.

Castles (2002) posits that migration is a booming industry that is self-perpetuating. This migration industry is facilitated by migrant networks (Massey, 1990; 1999). Castles and Miller (2009: 201) argue that the migration industry “embraces a broad spectrum of people who earn their livelihood by organising migratory movements”. The migration industry incorporates agencies in the place of origin that assist with job search, travel offers by both legal and illegal transporters, as well as businesses and services at the destination country (for example businesses selling goods such as clothing and food

‘from home’) (Elrick, 2008:2; McGregor, 2010). Bankers, lawyers, labour recruiters, interpreters, housing agents and brokers are among the many agents that have a direct stake in the industry and they would like it to continue despite state efforts to restrict migration. Therefore, migration (especially undocumented migration), may ensure continuation of the services of some of these agents as it has become a lucrative business and also because the migration process becomes one of cumulative causation (Donato, Wagner and Patterson 2008).

The theory of cumulative causation by Massey (1990) states that as more and more individuals migrate and create network connections in the destination country, this lowers the costs (psychic and monetary) and risks of migration, which induce additional migration and ultimately create more networks connections. These networks create social structures that maintain and sustain migration. Massey (1990:17) argues: “networks bring about cumulative causation of migration because every new migrant reduces the costs of migration for a set of non- migrants, thereby inducing some of them to migrate, creating new network ties to the destination area for another set of people, some of whom also are induced to migrate, creating more network ties and so on”.

Literature tends to differentiate between ‘forced’/ political migration of refugees and asylum seekers and ‘voluntary migration’ or economic migration caused by people’s quest for better economic opportunities. However, this discussion of voluntary and forced migration is quite problematic in relation to Zimbabwean migration, especially from the late 1990s onwards. While many could argue that ‘there is no war’ in Zimbabwe (as were the arguments of many South African officials) to warrant Zimbabweans being regarded as refugees, the economic reality was such that for most people, failure to migrate would certainly have resulted in death, thus their movement became ‘forced’; this was variously referred to as survival migration (Betts and Kaytaz, 2009), crisis migration (Crush and Tevera, 2010) and humanitarian migration (Kiwauka and Monson, 2009). Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) further argues that the attempt to distinguish political from economic migrants is wrong because for most developing countries, the economic challenges faced are always a direct result of certain political decisions. Therefore, the distinction only serves to label some migrants as ‘bad’ and undeserving (economic migrants) while others are viewed as ‘good’ and deserving assistance (political and ‘forced’ migrants).

Migrants generally argued that “things were bad” referring to the harsh economic situation that prevailed in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s onwards. For those that came after 2007 migration tended to be the last resort after all other avenues failed to deliver. The Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) country report of 2010 reveals that in 2003, 72% of the Zimbabwean population were living below the total consumption line. This percentage increased with the deepening of the economic crisis between 2007 and 2008. At the height of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe the inflation rate reached an official level of 230 million percent (Raftopolous, 2009:220). The formal sector employment shrunk from 1,4 million in 1998 to 998000 in 2004. In 2006, 85% of the population was below the poverty datum line (Raftopolous, 2009:220). The situation of Zimbabweans was desperate and some responded by migrating. Therefore the reasons for migration were largely economic.

Research reveals that South Africans are generally xenophobic, preferring white migrants who are regarded as tourists (and thus impermanent), to black migrants from other parts of Africa. These blacks are negatively evaluated as the ¹*makwerekwere* who come to steal women, jobs and other economic opportunities from local South Africans, and on top of that congest hospitals by having many babies (Danso & McDonald, 2000; Harris, 2001, Harris 2002; Zinyama, 2002; Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009; Neocosmos, 2008; Matshaka, 2010; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011). Foreigners that have borne the brunt of the xenophobia of South Africans include the Congolese, Ethiopians, Mozambicans, Nigerians, Senegalese, Somalis and Zimbabweans. Members of these groups have occasionally been beaten, abused and sometimes killed by local South Africans. In 2008 these xenophobic attitudes led to mass attacks and killings of foreigners resulting in 62 deaths and the displacement of between 80 000 and 200 000 people (Landau and Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009; Bloch, 2010).

3. The various survival strategies

Zimbabwean migrants use tactics such as changing their style of dressing and walking as well as collusion with local South Africans to fake identities and get jobs. Migrants also use church and family networks and connections with former classmates and schoolmates to get jobs, accommodation and marriage partners in Johannesburg. Some migrants have also tried marrying South Africans as a way of blending in and gaining acceptance among the locals.

3.1. Friendships and marriages with local South Africans

While friendships and marriages with locals are some of the best ways of creating bridging social ties for individual migrants, very few Zimbabwean use this strategy. Relationships with locals increase the level of acceptability into the local community even at work. Brian uses friendships with locals and this has gained him acceptability at work. He says:

“In 2010 when I applied for my leave I invited one South African colleague of mine to go with me to Zimbabwe. He was surprised to see that we are organised, we have good homes even in rural areas. He appreciated our lifestyle. In town he saw how my brothers lived. He saw that Zimbabwean police assist foreigners and do not ask for IDs. They don’t terrorise foreigners. He was told how South African leaders were helped during the apartheid...I have two South African colleagues whom I trust. These can even visit my house in Zimbabwe even when I am not there”.

Some migrants have tried having relationships and even marriages with South Africans. Migrants may use marriage to gain citizenship and accommodation (Van Nieuwenhuyze,

¹ A derogatory name used to refer to foreigners whose language is un-understandable to the locals.

2009; Lancee, 2012). Among the research participants are two men who once married South African women, but the marriages soon ended in divorce. Those that said they could consider marrying South Africans (8,6%) were either already having relationships or had had relationships with South African women. South African women are generally perceived as sexually appealing to Zimbabwean male migrants. However, Zimbabwean female migrants do not consider South African males as prospective partners. Barbara had this to say about South African men:

“I have dated South Africans. They don’t know love. South Africans are hard hearted. I will get married to a Zimbabwean man”.

The majority of Zimbabwean migrants (87,9%) say they would not consider getting married to South Africans. This is because Zimbabweans have negative stereotypes about South Africans, especially local men. Therefore, while male Zimbabweans could have fleeting relations with South Africa women, they mostly have no considerations for serious relationships leading to marriage.

Migrants argued that South African women were very attractive and could divert the attention of migrant men. According to Maureen:

“Marriages are under attack, the divorce rate is too high. It’s like Zimbabweans have never seen mini skirts, fat and light skinned women before. They are so shocked. They run away from their wives”.

Pastor Lloyd believes that:

“Marriages of Zimbabweans and locals are about convenience...it’s about this person helping me to cross a bridge or reach a certain stage and that’s it...it’s because of different cultures. At first there may be genuine love, but as time goes on, it changes. South African women love a good life, they are not taught about responsibility; whereas Zimbabwean women know their duties”.

Pastor Lloyd gave several reasons for the failure of Zimbabwean - South African marriages: (a) instrumental calculations where a relationship is forged by someone who wants to get ahead using a relationship with a local woman (b) differences in culture (c) the possible inability of local women to remain in the marriage when the husband gets unemployed or has financial problems. Male migrants argued that being married to a South African woman was demeaning because South African women have no respect. They will resist going to Zimbabwe, have problems conversing (language barriers) with the migrants’ family members in Zimbabwe and would discourage investment in Zimbabwe. They argued that marrying a local woman meant that ‘one becomes the wife’. The two migrants that tried marrying South African women were disappointed when these women showed lack of respect and an interest in money. Bernard argued that:

“I found a lady who came from Natal and stayed with her for four years. When she discovered that I am a foreigner she looked down upon and despised me. I then met a Zimbabwean woman whom I married. I compared the level of respect that was shown by the two ladies and discovered that I was respected more by the Zimbabwean. I paid bride-wealth for her while staying with the South African whom I eventually left”.

Bernard had not paid any bride-wealth for the Zulu woman. What he did not realise was that the Zimbabwean woman was in a desperate situation concerning accommodation and life in general and therefore could be expected to be more respectful (deference) and understanding compared to the local woman who had no such pressures. Thabani is another migrant who stayed with a Zulu woman for eight years. He said he left her because; “she prevented pregnancy without my knowledge. I wanted a child and she undermined me”. Generally, migrants prefer ‘shacking up’ or ‘just living together’ arrangements with local women. Sometimes such arrangements become permanent and produce children (Maphosa, 2011).

3.2. Use of fake South African identity books

Among the popular strategies used to find jobs in South Africa is the use of South African identity books. Most of these are falsified, having been stolen from or lost by South African citizens. A key informant, Tatenda, revealed that she did not steal but ‘picked up’ someone’s lost identity book, removed the photo and replaced it with hers. What this means is that the details of the person whose identity book is missing will be used by Tatenda, including the name. This strategy of using another person’s identity book is called “*kebupha faka*”- literally meaning remove and replace. In some cases, there is genuine consent from the owner of the identity book where the agreement is that the migrant uses the identity book to get a job but pays a small fee to the local South African. They also agree that there will not be any debts or police fines acquired for the period that the migrant uses the identity book. This is what Eric did to get a job as a security guard. However, this mechanism is no longer popular as there is a nationwide campaign against it and arrests are being made for people caught using others’ identity books. A month after an interview with Eric, he lost his job when it was discovered that he used another person’s identity book. He opted to move out of the employment situation when one day he was called to the manager’s office and, without notice, was subjected to a lie detector test. They asked him a battery of questions about his name, age and area of origin. He stopped going to work after that day. Some of his colleagues who remained were arrested for fraud and fined R3000 or imprisoned. Eric regards himself as having been lucky to escape by absconding from work after that exercise.

Another male migrant (Tendai), revealed that his employer had a large batch of identity books that he gave to foreign migrants to use at his workplace, such that whenever there was a new recruit, he automatically got an identity book from the employer. The migrant himself was a recipient of such an identity book as he was still waiting for the adjudication of his application for a worker’s permit. However, one of the conditions of using the identity book was that the migrant agrees to remain on probation until he got a permit.

More commonly, migrants made use of connections with officials in the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to actually produce these documents. There was a whole chain of corrupt officials who participated in the production. Therefore the process was costly with migrants paying between R4 000 and R 10000 (approx US\$400-1000 using an exchange rate of 1US\$=10 ZAR) for a South African Identity document where one would be given a South African name. Women get Zulu names such as Siphokazi or Nozipho while Pedi names for women would include Lerato, Karabo or Lesedi. There is also a tendency to alter the year and place of birth. Most Zimbabwean migrants who

use this route claim to come from Mpumalanga or Natal (Zulu dominated areas of South Africa). These documents may sometimes not prevent arrests by the police. Therefore holders of such documents may not be safe. In some cases, the migrants may not even be keen to show the police when they are arrested. For example, in 2009 Theresa was arrested for loitering in Hillbrow. She claimed that she was visiting relatives. When the police demanded identification she was afraid to show her South African identity book although she had it with her. She preferred to phone her husband who came and paid a fine of R200 for her release.

Nowadays there are Zimbabwe-South Africa identity books that can be produced via the same networks. These documents will identify the person clearly as Zimbabwean but as having permanent residence. One can get them for roughly the same price as the South African ones.

While some migrants out-rightly agreed that they use fake identity books, others were not so overt. All the participants that said they use South African identity books got them through unorthodox means. However, those that have permanent residence either got it through naturalisation or again faking identity. There was one migrant (William) who got permanent residence through the amnesty for SADC citizens in 1996. The following table shows the current legal status of migrants.

Table 1: Is the current stay legal?

Is the current stay legal?	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	22	37.9	37.9	37.9
No	3	5.2	5.2	43.1
I have a passport but no permit	12	20.7	20.7	63.8
I have asylum papers	2	3.4	3.4	67.2
Yes I have South African documents	11	19.0	19.0	86.2
I have permanent residence	8	13.8	13.8	100.0
Total	58	100.0	100.0	

Source: author's fieldwork

Those that said their current stay is legal are using passports with permits. The permits were acquired either directly by personally going to the DHA offices in Pretoria or indirectly by use of agents. Those who accessed them directly sometimes had to endure long hours of waiting in the queue for application forms. Middle class migrants like Vongai, Miriam and Trish used agents to access permits. These agents are expensive. Vongai says:

“When you use an agent you pay more, R15000 for the whole process. If you go directly you pay R1500 so the R13500 is for the agent. But you see the agent involves a whole chain of other people, it's him, somebody in the department (DHA), and maybe five more people. They share the money”.

In the sample, there are only two participants that still use asylum papers. Most migrants surrendered the asylum papers during the Zimbabwe Documentation Project of 2010. There are a number of migrants (20%) that have passports without permits.

These are currently illegal and survive by concealing their identities through adopting local languages, dressing styles and other South African mannerisms. However, even some of the documented migrants disguise their identity.

Zimbabweans feel motivated to conceal their identities through the following methods: some walk alone, dress and talk like South Africans, while others pray for protection every day. Some wear long sleeved shirts in-order to hide vaccination marks on shoulders. Police usually identify Zimbabweans by looking at the vaccination mark that appears on the left shoulder of every Zimbabwean. Migrants with permanent residence are not motivated to engage in any ways of concealing themselves since they already feel accepted into the South African society. They are not afraid of the police. The same can almost be said for the majority of migrants with permits. This is because most migrants that participated in the study (74,1%) are legally living and working in South Africa. That is why 60,3% of the migrants stated that they would not deliberately and intentionally do anything to conceal who they are. While this is what they said in the interviews, in reality most of these same migrants were not really willing to be known as Zimbabwean.

3.3. Church membership

Zimbabwean migrants are very religious. The church was believed to be the moral compass guiding migrants, and going to church was also perceived as one of the ways of surviving loneliness and getting access to information, jobs and comfort from others. Going to church was viewed as important for the following reasons: spiritual guidance and protection from God, access to information on accommodation and jobs, and also acquisition of friends. Church members tend to be from the same network that provides work and accommodation. It is in these churches that migrants form revolving social and grocery clubs. They also marry within the same cliques.

89,7% regularly go to church while only 10,3% do not go to church. Migrants mostly attend Pentecostal churches which originate from Zimbabwe. They have not been integrated into South African churches. In these Zimbabwean originated churches they preach in Ndebele and Shona and sometimes reminisce on the days in Zimbabwe. There are fewer attempts made to convert their South African neighbours to join them.

Table 2: Which church do you go to?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Seventh Day Adventist	18	31.0	31.0	31.0
ZAOGA forward in faith	4	6.9	6.9	37.9
JPM Pentecostal	5	8.6	8.6	46.6
AFM	3	5.2	5.2	51.7
Other Pentecostal	14	24.1	24.1	75.9
Catholic	1	1.7	1.7	77.6
None	6	10.3	10.3	87.9
Vapostori/ Masowe	7	12.1	12.1	100.0
Total	58	100.0	100.0	

Source: author's fieldwork

Research revealed that 31% of the migrants are members of the Seventh Day Adventist church, 4% belong to ZAOGA, 5% go to JPM, 5,2% are members of the AFM. There were migrants who belonged to various inter-ethnic Pentecostal churches that largely included other migrants like Ghanaians, Nigerians and Congolese. These constituted 24,1% of the sample. There was one migrant (1,7%) who claimed to be Catholic while 12,1% belonged to the Apostolic church sects such as *Jobane Masowe* or *Jobane Wechisbanu* or *Mugodbi*. These are strictly Zimbabwean indigenous Protestant sects. Members of these churches wear white or other colourful garments on Saturdays when they go to church. They are also visible because male members attend church services carrying staffs/rods and their services are conducted in open spaces (usually in the bush) outside buildings.

Migrants who attend Apostolic/*vapostori* church services benefit from prophetic messages and visions that are relayed to them. This is where their future is foretold, identifying future troubles and fortunes. Strategies to deal with future problems are mapped out. The uncertain future can somehow be controlled/ influenced through prayer and petitions. Prophetic messages provide explanations to situations that trouble migrants. That way, migrants can cope with these situations better. Daniel stated clearly that:

“I used to go to Baptist church but then decided to go to the apostolic sect. I had family problems. A friend of mine invited me to apostolic sect. They prophesy here. I was told things by prophets, for example how I lost my job. I was told people hate me”.

Sheunesu is another migrant who goes to *Jobane Masowe* church. He says “problems don’t choose individuals. We go to church because of problems, difficult situations and circumstances”. Maphosa (2011) concurs that the challenges of migrant life are usually dealt with via churches that prophesy and foretell the future. Some prophecies are about impending return journeys and the dangers associated with them. Prayers accompanied by fasting are usually recommended to deal with the challenges of migrant life.

The church is critical in that God is viewed as the protector against police, especially for those without proper documentation. They pray so that the police cannot arrest an undocumented migrant. One forty six year old male migrant (Tapera) revealed that: “If I get deported it doesn’t matter. God knows my situation. I know I am being unfair to God because I am breaking the law by being illegal”. Another male migrant (Farai) argued that locals have no need to pray. He stated that:

“As a foreigner you know your problems, when the going gets tough you have to focus on God. You are desperate...Locals are at home and relaxed, they have no need to go to church. They have relatives all over”.

Farai’s argument points to the belief that God is very important to people without relatives and friends. He also gives a better identity (being called a child of God) to those whose identity is devalued. He is the relative and friend to the lonely, desperate and needy. This perception was clearly portrayed in one of Pastor Lloyd’s sermons, where he admonished people to continue seeking God even after getting jobs. He said

there was a tendency of people to relax after getting jobs, only to seek God again when they became unemployed and desperate.

There was a small number of migrants (10,3%) who stated that they are Christians but they do not go to church. They sometimes spend free time drinking beer.

3.4. Crime and deviance

Migrants believe that some Zimbabweans engage in criminal activities. These activities range from petty thievery, prostitution, to serious crimes like embezzlement of funds or robbing at gunpoint. They argue that these people are desperate and have no other acceptable channels of making money. The majority of migrants under study (84,5%) know of Zimbabweans involved in crime. In some cases, migrants witnessed crimes committed by Zimbabweans. Alex witnessed a crime in a retail shop where people were ordered to lie down while the robbers spoke to each other in Shona. He also argued that he knew Zimbabweans who made a living out of cloning other people's credit cards and withdrawing their money. These criminals had posh lifestyles and drove the latest car models. However, there were also arguments by the same migrants that those criminals who moved around in gangs tended to be a mixture of Zimbabweans and South Africa locals, so it becomes difficult and stereotypical to say that Zimbabweans are 'the' criminals in South Africa. Migrants were quick to say that the majority of criminals reside in Hillbrow.

3.4.1. The concept of ukuzama (trying)

A common concept among migrants was that of '*ukuzama*' - literally meaning 'trying', which it entailed elements of being clever or being smart in a mischievous way. Those engaged in criminal activities were seen as 'trying', although they were mostly not emulated. Maphosa (2011) noted a similar concept of '*ukutsbaya iscore*' - literally meaning 'to score' as referring to success in criminal activities where an individual engages in a big criminal activity that gives him (mostly male) lots of money so that they can go back to Zimbabwe and establish businesses. That is how most *malayitsba* were believed to have acquired start - up capital to buy cars and buses that they used in their cross-border transport businesses (ibid: 2011). This is what Edgar, one of my research participants, hoped to gain when he robbed his nephew's employer. He was unsuccessful. His narrative is as follows:

“A nephew of mine who worked as a gardener had called us to come and steal from his employer's safe. I went there with my friend during the night. We did not find any money. We only found his employer's gun. We got arrested after my nephew confessed everything to his employer. The employer had threatened my nephew with being arrested and possible deportation”.

This man was a driver during the day and a thief during the night. He had also stolen motor spares from his employer in Zimbabwe in order to get transport money for migration. He seemed to have continued his criminal activities in Johannesburg. He was a habitual criminal who sometimes stayed in jail. In another case, Pastor Lloyd revealed

how uncomfortable he was in Hillbrow, when he discovered that his brother, whom he stayed with, was a criminal. He prayed to God for a job so that he would move out and leave his criminal brother. When he eventually got the job, he moved out and went to stay in Tembisa.

There was a tendency by migrants to show elements of tribalism and regionalism in identifying Zimbabwean criminals. Ndebele speakers tended to think that Shona people were criminals while Shona speakers said the Ndebele were the criminals. One Shona speaking man, Norbert, argued that prostitutes in Kempton Park spoke Ndebele and Shona. Kevin, who comes from Mashonaland East province in Zimbabwe, vehemently argued that criminals are from Masvingo province. He said:

“It might be true that some criminals are Zimbabweans. They are from Masvingo. I saw it when I went to apply for asylum documents in Pretoria. They would hit us and take things from us. I could tell from the dialect that they were Karanga, from Masvingo. They told us that they are taking money from us because they have no jobs...But gangs tend to be a mixture of Zimbabweans and South Africans”.

Participants revealed that between 2010 and 2011 (during the ZDP period), they were generally more afraid of the Shona, than anyone else, when they went to secure legal documents in DHA offices in Pretoria.

3.4.2. Bhudi handei (my brother let's go): prostitution in Kempton Park?

Female migrants were generally believed to resort to prostitution when faced with hard times of unemployment. However, among the migrant interviewees, none admitted that they were in prostitution although they knew Zimbabwean prostitutes. Daniel knew of Zimbabwean prostitutes in Kempton Park. He said, “it's painful to see Zimbabwean prostitutes, you feel ashamed to be Zimbabwean in such situations”. Norbert also said:

“I know of Shona prostitutes in Kempton Park. They speak Shona on the streets, they can see you wearing Zimbabwean takkies and other identity markers and they tell you point blank '*bbudi handei*- my brother lets go'. They originally did not mean to prostitute. Women must be educated when they come here looking for jobs”.

Karen reiterated the same point by arguing:

“Some people are not used to working hard. I know women who prostitute in Kempton Park. They can even beat you for walking with a man because they want clients. They openly tell you they want a man. You can tell they are Zimbabweans”.

Analysis of the above quotes shows that migrants generally believe that 'hunger forces people to do bad things'. They are therefore not quick to judge their fellow migrants who engage in deviant behaviour, although Karen thinks that those who engage in prostitution take the easier way out- they are generally lazy. The quotes also reveal the level of desperation of these prostitutes who brazenly approach their potential clients

and sometimes beat up female counterparts of the male Zimbabwean migrants. Worby (2010) also noted how female Zimbabwean migrants in Hillbrow engaged in prostitution out of desperation.

3.5. Languages, dressing and style of walking as disguise tactics

Migrants agreed that the ability to speak at least one local language was an added advantage that helped escape stigmatisation and arrests. They emphasised the importance of learning local languages for new migrants. The first weeks after arrival were usually used to learn the local languages and dressing before venturing to look for employment. The speed at which they learn is tremendous. One Shona male migrant, Scott, who came to South Africa in January 2012, was already fluent in Zulu by the time he participated in this research in July of the same year. Before coming to Johannesburg, he could not speak Ndebele, which Zimbabweans believe to be linguistically closer to Zulu.

There were only 8 people (13,8%) that stated that they could not speak any local language. Of these eight, the majority could speak Ndebele, while a few were Shona speakers who could not even speak Ndebele. Vongai was one of them. She highlighted that: “local South Africans don’t understand why I talk to them in English when I am black. It irritates them”. The popular language that migrants learnt easily was Zulu though they still argued that their Zulu was not as good as that of local South Africans. Some migrants spoke more than one local language to the extent that they had even learnt Afrikaans, Pedi, Sotho, Tswana and Venda. Speaking local languages was an advantage which gained migrants a bit of tolerance among locals. Some locals would then start evaluating migrants positively saying that they ‘do not really look like Zimbabweans’.

Table 3: Do you speak any local languages?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Zulu	32	55.2	55.2	55.2
Zulu and another local language	11	19.0	19.0	74.1
More than two local languages	7	12.1	12.1	86.2
None	8	13.8	13.8	100.0
Total	58	100.0	100.0	

Source: author’s fieldwork

The motivation to quickly learn new languages hinged on acquisition of proper documentation; the undocumented were more motivated to learn than the documented migrants.

3.5.1. Dressing

“I now wear jean trousers. I realised that if I wear skirts and dresses I can be easily identified as Zimbabwean. I decided to imitate South Africans” (Lydia).

Migrants were self-conscious in terms of determining how they appear to others. There was a tendency to shy away from ‘Zimbabwean forms of dressing’. The Zimbabwean style was described as wearing loose fitting, formal, cheap and long clothes, whereas the South African one involved wearing tight fitting, smart, casual expensive clothes. There was a clear preference for the South African style, which was also viewed as smarter. While there were migrants who argued that they did not consciously choose their clothes the researcher still noticed how they preferred wearing tight fitting jeans (more than loose dresses for women). The connection between loose fitting clothes and arrests by police was made by Scott who came to Johannesburg in January 2012. He maintained that:

“When I came here I used to wear oversize T-shirts and clothes from Zimbabwe. I had brought three T-shirts, two formal shirts and two pairs of trousers. My brother advised me never to wear them because I would be deported very fast as everyone could see that I was foreign. He said South Africans wear tight fitting clothes and not loose ones. I had difficulties adjusting but now I am ok”.

Migrants did not only talk about the length and tightness of clothes, they also agreed that the quality of clothes worn by South Africans was better than that of Zimbabweans. They stated that South Africans wear clothes with labels such as *Jeep, Puma, La Coste, Reebok, Adidas, Quicksilver, Roxy, Levi, Umbro, Nike* and *Billabong*. These were said to be expensive and most Zimbabweans could not afford them as they preferred cheap clothes sold in Chinese and Indian shops. However, they said if one wanted to blend in and avoid being caught by the police and even being suspected by locals they had to buy expensive clothes. They looked down upon Zimbabweans who bought from Chinese shops and described them as dirty. Migrants use dressing to disguise their identity (Muzondidya, 2008; Broeders, 2009). Kevin commented that:

“...sometimes I don’t carry my passport especially here in Kempton Park. I don’t carry it because I dress properly. Zimbabweans can be noticed by bad dressing, some are dirty, especially those from Masvingo and Mberengwa rural areas. Rural people are a problem”.

Pauline also said: “I no longer buy clothes from Chinese shops. I now buy expensive clothes. You can be seen on the streets (if you are wearing cheap clothes). They call you *makwerekwere* or Shangaan”.

However, there were migrants who were members of the SDA and Apostolic churches whose church doctrine did not allow the wearing of trousers by women. Such women continued to wear skirts but they made sure that these were not very long. In any case, they argued that dressing was not a full-proof strategy to evade the police and avoid discrimination, since inability to speak local languages could sell out a migrant. They spent their energies improving their local language proficiency.

3.5.2. Style of walking

In terms of style of walking there was no consensus on whether the way Zimbabweans walk was different from that of black South Africans. Those that said there was a

difference still could not agree on their descriptions of how black Zimbabweans and black South Africans walked. Some said Zimbabweans walked faster than South Africans while others said the opposite is true. Farai said that: ‘Zimbabweans show fear when they walk. Their bodies are stiff’.

Although there was no consensus on the actual descriptions of styles of walking, it is important to note that, depending on their definition of the Zimbabwean and South African style of walking, some migrants were using the style of walking to blend in and disguise their Zimbabwean identity. It is also necessary to pinpoint that the issue of style of walking tended to be confined to migrants in Tembisa rather than those in Kempton Park.

3.6. Bribing the police

Among the research participants, in all the cases involving bribing the police, it is the police that initiated the bribes. One woman (Karen) was approached by the police officers in Johannesburg central who demanded a bribe saying “*Ingwenya ihlala emanzini*,” literally meaning “a crocodile lives in water”. This was their language for asking for a bribe. She could not understand their language at first until they told her that she was under arrest for loitering. Karen had gone shopping in one of the Chinese shops in Johannesburg Central. She thought she was easily spotted by the police because she wore a long dress. She also carried a child on her back wrapped in a distinctively Zimbabwean cloth. The police first asked for her identity book and when she stammered, they told her she was under arrest for loitering and in the process solicited the bribe.

Most arrests made on migrants pertain to issues of illegality in the country where the individual either has an expired passport/ asylum document or does not have any of these documents at all. This is understandable given the fact that half of the participants entered South Africa illegally the first time. What is disturbing is that the crime and the charge did not tally. All the cases to do with lack of documents were charged with loitering, which is a term that means something different. Both male and female migrants were charged with this crime of loitering.

The arrests were mainly done in Hillbrow, Yeoville and other central parts of Johannesburg, while 13,8% were arrested at the border or along the way to Johannesburg. This was true for migrants who were deported as they tried to get to Johannesburg. Some migrants were arrested in Tembisa and Kempton Park, though in these cases a few arrests did not concern documentation but were about other issues such as public fighting, theft and crossing a freeway. Kevin was arrested for crossing a freeway although he pleaded with the police that he did not know that it was a crime since Zimbabwe does not have freeways. Paradzayi was arrested in Kempton Park in 2007, before he had a passport. He argued:

“When I disembarked the train, the police asked for my identity book. I lied and said my passport had expired but they insisted on seeing the expired passport. As they searched me they saw R200 and took it. I pleaded with them and they took R100 and released me”.

Most arrests took place in public areas such as business centres, taxis, trains and buses. The table below shows that in total, 38% of the respondents have been arrested while 62% said they had never been arrested.

Table 4: Have you ever been arrested?

Have you ever been arrested	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes in Joburg central	7	12.1	12.1	12.1
Yes in Tembisa/Kempton Park or other areas	7	12.1	12.1	24.1
No	36	62.1	62.1	86.2
Arrested in other parts of South Africa	8	13.8	13.8	100.0
Total	58	100.0	100.0	

Source: author's fieldwork

Migrants believed that police arrested and demanded a bribe even when the migrant's identity papers were in order. They also believed that the police usually spotted migrants when they carried their luggage to Park Station where they went to seek buses to ferry their remittances back to Zimbabwe, or when they went shopping in Johannesburg central. One male migrant (Edwin) narrated how he was arrested in Johannesburg central:

“I was arrested for public loitering. I had gone shopping in China shops in Johannesburg central. These shops sell goods without giving receipts. The police demanded proof of purchase of the goods I had. I told them we could go back together to the shops where I bought the goods so that they could verify whether I was telling the truth. They refused and started asking for a bribe. I said I did not have any money. They said I should accompany them to the police station. They asked for a bribe the second time after I had shown them my asylum papers. I paid R150 and they let me go”.

This migrant ended up paying a bribe even though he had relevant asylum papers. Another female migrant (Tatenda) who is Edwin's cousin was arrested while walking with her aunt towards Park Station. She was carrying some of her aunt's luggage. The aunt was en route to Zimbabwe. Tatenda had left her passport and a work permit at home because she thought no one would notice her. When they caught her, the police asked for a bribe and openly told her they did not want 'small money' like R20 and R50. Her aunt ended up paying R100. The police had threatened to hold the migrant in police cells over the weekend since it was a Friday.

3.7. Self employment

Seventeen migrants (20% of the sample) engage in self-employment. Zimbabwean self-employed migrants own businesses which range from professional information

technology services, Human Resources training, and day care centres, to mechanical engineering, welding, hair dressing salons, security services and petty trading (spaza shops and hawking). The self-employed migrant Zimbabweans engage in businesses that are not very different from the jobs they have had in South Africa. For example, if one was employed as a teacher at a crèche she then starts a day care centre or if one was employed as a security guard they eventually start a security company, and if one was employed in human resources they start a business in training and human resource development. Literature reveals that there is a higher rate of self-employment among immigrants than local native-born individuals (Brettell and Alstaff, 2007). However, Zimbabweans are recent entrants into self employment compared to other foreigners such as the Somalis, Nigerians, Pakistanis, Congolese, Bangladeshis, Indians and Tanzanians.

4. Conclusions

This paper discusses the various survival strategies invoked by Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. These range from changing one's identity to engaging in quasi-legal activities. Some of the strategies involve the collusion and co-operation of local South Africans. Selection of particular survival strategies depends on socio-economic class, gender, migrant's history and on whether one is documented or not. These migrants use their agency and social capital (in the form of social networks) to survive in a largely xenophobic and exclusionary socio-economic environment. Therefore the various mechanisms they use to survive must be understood from the perspective of a narrow opportunity structure and a less than welcoming context.

The research results reveal that Zimbabwean migrants mostly survive by concealing their Zimbabwean identity. The findings also support the prevailing notion that migrants are resourceful; they engage in a variety of survival strategies such as: reliance on kin and ethnic members networks, creating friendships and fictive kin relations and fake identities/identity books, denying their place of origin, marriages of convenience, applying for political asylum permits, theft, prostitution and informal employment, using social networks to access accommodation and employment, learning local languages, culture (including dressing and mannerisms) and having cosmopolitan identities (Muzvidziwa, 2001, 2010; Mai, 2005; Muzondidya, 2008; Fangen, 2010; Lefko- Everett, 2010; McGregor, 2010; Worby, 2010). Selection of any of these survival mechanisms is dependent on the migrant's history, social status and settlement patterns (Muzondidya, 2008: 5).

However, the findings also show that some Zimbabwean migrants are engaging in self-employment rather than participating in disadvantaged terms in the labour market where there are unattractive jobs. Most decisions about self-employment are results of the inability to access good jobs on the labour market.

The research also shows that migrants use friendships, marriage and church networks to cope with the hostile environment in South Africa. However, relationships which are limited to the ethnic group only increase bonding rather than bridging social capital. Migrants who succeed in being integrated into the local communities are those that use relationships with locals in order to create bridging social capital. Since very few Zimbabwean migrants studied are not willing to marry and be friends with local South Africans, then their capacity to build bridging social capital is also limited.

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Glossary and List of Acronyms

- AFM- Apostolic Faith Mission
 DHA – Department of Home affairs
 JPM – Jesus promotion Ministries
 SADC - Southern African development Community
 SDA- Seventh Day Adventist
 ZAOGA – Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa

ZDP - Zimbabwe Documentation Project

Asylum seeker's permit - it is given temporarily to foreigners who have applied for asylum on the basis of political persecution. This is provided for in the Refugees Act number 130 of 1998.

Malayitsha- cross border taxi driver

Makwerekwere- derogatory label for foreigners in South Africa

Ndebele- Zimbabwean ethnic group/language

Naturalisation - a process of acquiring citizenship in South Africa by virtue of having parents or relatives that are citizens in South Africa.

Shona- Zimbabwean ethnic group/language

Sotho/Pedi/Zulu- South African ethnic groups.

Spaza - a small usually unlicensed shop that sells food and other small household items in townships/ high density areas

Vapostori – members of the Independent African Apostolic Church



DO PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES FEEL EXCLUDED? COMPARISON OF LEARNING AND PHYSICAL DISABILITIES

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***Abstract.** Little prior research has examined attitudinal differences between those with learning and physical disabilities, but an enhanced understanding can be critical to institutions in order to better work with people across a range of disability types. There are expected to be specific differences in disability attitudes between people with physical and learning disabilities. People with physical disabilities are hypothesized to report greater feelings of exclusion, pride, and social activism, whereas people with learning disabilities will have a greater tendency to value treatment assistance from doctors. Hypotheses were generally supported. Attitudes of people with physical disabilities are often different from those of people with learning disabilities, a distinction that requires understanding, acknowledgment, sensitivity and appropriate interaction.*

***Keywords:** learning disability; physical disability; attitudes; orientation; social; exclusion*

1. Introduction

According to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) (U.S. Department of Justice, 1991), a disability is defined as “a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities...” The U.S. Census Bureau (2003) describes and tracks certain types of disabilities, some more physical and some more learning-oriented. For example “a condition that substantially limits one or more basic physical activities such as walking, climbing stairs, reaching, lifting, or carrying” would be classified as a physical disability. Sensory disabilities, such as “blindness, deafness, or a severe vision or hearing impairment,” might also be considered more physical in nature. However, difficulty “learning, remembering, or concentrating” would more accurately describe a learning disability. According to U.S. Census data for the year 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), there are 30.5 million people with physical, sight or hearing

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disabilities, and 12.4 million with disabilities relating to learning, remembering, or concentrating.

Learning disabilities are disorders that affect the ability to understand or use spoken or written language, do mathematical calculations, coordinate movements, or direct attention (National Institutes of Health, 2011). Learning disabilities occur in very young children, but are not usually recognized until school age. About 8 to 10 percent of American children under 18 years old have some type of learning disability (National Institutes of Health, 2011). Thus, learning disabilities are prevalent but are more difficult to recognize and define in comparison to physical disabilities.

There can be tension between two alternatives for people with learning disabilities: 1) “passing” as non-disabled, thus avoiding immediate potential stigmatization, but risking unintended exposure; and 2) proactive disclosure, acknowledging potential stigmatization and getting assistance for the disability. Of course, there are many alternatives in between, in which disclosure can be made selectively to certain individuals but not others. It has been suggested that learning disabilities can be more stressful and psychologically damaging than physical disabilities, because of ambivalence regarding disclosure (Patterson and Blum, 1996). This leads to interesting questions regarding the emotional and cognitive processing dynamics of people with learning disabilities, in contrast to those with physical disabilities.

The purpose of the current research is to specifically compare, for people with learning versus physical disabilities, specific attitudes toward their disability. Those with physical disabilities are more likely to define themselves as disabled, because their disabilities are more obvious and affect many aspects of their lives. Those with learning disabilities, on the other hand, may feel “normal” in many life situations which do not involve cognitive prowess (family life, sports, social events, etc.), potentially providing more incentive to “pass” as non-disabled. Unique attitudes of those with learning vs. physical disabilities are expected to be revealed in measures relating to the feelings pride, exclusion, social responsibility, and medical cures. No prior research has utilized such measures to evaluate and understand the differences between those with learning and physical disabilities. The results should be valuable to many fields, such as education, psychology, and business, all of which can benefit from an enhanced understanding of the attitudes of people with different types of disabilities.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Previous Research on Physical Disabilities

Orientations toward disability have typically been theorized and tested in reference to people with physical disabilities. Such theories were initially based on a medical model (e.g., Boorse, 1977), in which people with disabilities were categorized according to acceptance of, or adaptation to, their limitations. Under the medical model, disability is seen as a personal tragedy that must be accepted and treated like an illness, to be “fixed” or hidden. Disability research initially supported orientations centered on achieving normalization (e.g., Darling, 1979), which ties closely with the medical model

and involves acceptance of larger societal norms and the welcoming of “adaptive” rehabilitation efforts.

Research in the past two decades has revealed new segments of people with disabilities, attributed to the activism of the Disability Rights Movement. Reactions against stigma-based identity has given rise to social-political and disability pride perspectives (e.g., Linton, 1998). The social model shifts the theoretical focus from the individual to larger society (e.g., Oliver, 1990) and has been linked to activism. The social model perspective arose as a reaction to the medical model (e.g., Humphrey, 2000) and sees disability as a type of social construct or, more emphatically, as a “sophisticated form of social oppression” (e.g., Oliver, 1990). The social model asserts that it is society rather than people with disabilities that must be changed; that disabilities are caused by physical and social barriers to participation as well as by unfair stigmatization.

The social model has been criticized for lacking a real identity (Humphrey, 2000; Paar and Butler, 1999; Swain and French, 2000) and creating antimony between those with and without disabilities (Humphrey, 2000). Furthermore, the rejection of a tragic view is not centrally addressed by the social model, which tends to view disability as a disadvantage. Disability pride ties closely with an affirmative, non-tragic view of disability that encompasses positive social identities (Swain and French, 2000). People with disabilities who adopt this pride-based view are characterized by a positive view toward their identity, their disability, and its effect on their lives. Individuals high in pride are expected to be more affirming of their disability, seeing it as part of a positive social identity and as a normal form of diversity.

2.2. A More Comprehensive Model of Disability Orientation and Attitudes

Recently, disability orientation models have emerged that include elements of previous models as well as newer dimensions. In order to address the diverse segments of people with disabilities, a model that reflects an entire range of disability orientations is important. A new typology of orientations toward disability has been proposed (Darling, 2003) and tested (Darling and Heckert, 2010a). Broader than the concept of disability identity (e.g., Gill, 1997), the typology of orientations includes clusters relating to normalization, social, and affirmation models. Furthermore, the typology (Darling and Heckert, 2010a) also recognizes the importance of differential access to (and conversely, exclusion from) opportunities. Darling (2003) suggested that orientations toward disability should reflect differential access to opportunities to achieve normalization or affirmation, marked by feelings of inclusion or exclusion.

Feelings of exclusion are distinct from either normalization or affirmation. Normalization or “cultural majority” opportunity includes access to the wider population based on appearance or ability, whereas affirmation or “minority” opportunity involves access to alternative norms based on a value of diversity. Thus, some individuals may have access to opportunities in mainstream society but may choose to reject them. Conversely, individuals who do not have opportunities for inclusion in mainstream society may identify with the majority nonetheless, or could choose minority identification. Exclusion,

on the other hand, is conceptualized as a distinct attitude, because it specifically relates to dissatisfaction with being excluded.

Using a new disability orientations scale, four disability factors emerged from recent research (factor analyzed with a sample of 388 individuals with disabilities; Darling and Heckert, 2010a) that map quite well with prior disability theory: 1) Pride – showing pride in one’s identity as a person with disabilities; 2) Social model – believing society should do more; 3) Medical model – believing one’s disabilities should be viewed as needing treatment, and 4) Exclusion - perceived ability to participate and have access to “normal” activities.

These disability factors, which can be interpreted as “beliefs and attitudes” about one’s disability, will be utilized in the current research. The disability factors can clarify how attitudes about one’s disability might differ between those with physical and learning disabilities. By better understanding such attitudes, each type of disability can be better understood and addressed in society.

2.3. Research on Learning Disabilities

Learning disabilities is a generic term referring to disorders that hinder the acquisition and use of listening, speaking, reading, writing, reasoning, or mathematical abilities. These disorders are intrinsic to the individual and presumed to be due to central nervous system dysfunction (National Joint Committee on Learning Disabilities, 1990). One of the characteristics of individuals with learning disabilities is inconsistency of performance, which becomes more apparent in academic settings. The inconsistency increases with demands placed on skills, often leading to an array of coping mechanisms to hide or overcome the disability (Hartman and Krulwich, 1984). People with learning disabilities tend to look like everyone else. Some people with learning disabilities consider this perceived normalcy to be an advantage and appreciate the ability to “blend in with the crowd” or “pass” as non-disabled, so that their disabilities are hidden.

Self-perceptions of scholastic competence, behavioral conduct, and global self-worth are generally lower among children with learning disabilities (Bear, Clever, and Proctor, 1991). Students with learning disabilities are typically less well-liked, more frequently rejected, have lower academic self-concept scores (Vaughn and Elbaum, 1996), score lower in self-perceived intelligence, academic skills, behavior, and social acceptance (Smith and Nagle, 1995), and tend to be more vulnerable to bullying (Mishna, 2003) than other students. This environmental stigma, more intangible and unpredictable than for people with physical disabilities, magnifies the importance of socialization and social comparison for people with a learning disability (Dagnan and Waring, 2004). People with learning difficulties may prefer not to identify with others with disabilities, because of perceived negative effects on self-esteem (Harris, 1995) and a desire for normalization. Although some individuals with learning disabilities might cope by regarding themselves as part of a minority group which rejects prejudice, others might distance themselves from those disabilities and from potentially stigmatizing services (Jahoda and Markova, 2004). Some students may go to great lengths to avoid difficult tasks while trying to appear competent and pass as “normal” (Rueda and Mehan, 1986).

Some researchers argue (e.g., Chappell, Goodly, and Lawthom, 2001) that learning disability researchers have failed to effectively utilize newer models, which tend to

incorporate a more positive view of disability. In order to better understand the attitudes of people with learning difficulties, in comparison with those of people with physical disabilities, the new, more comprehensive typology of orientations toward disability (Darling and Heckert, 2010a) will be used.

2.4. Attribution Theory and Disability Orientation

There is a need for greater clarity regarding attitudes of people with learning disabilities compared to people with physical disabilities. Attribution theory seeks to describe the process by which individuals explain causes of events. Heider (1958) distinguished between two types of explanation - internal attributions assigned to oneself (e.g., ability, mood, effort, etc.) and external attributions involving external factors (e.g., task, other people, luck, etc.). Different patterns of attribution can cause variation in attitudes across individuals.

Researchers interested in cognitive processes have focused primarily on the antecedents-attributions link, whereas those interested in the dynamics of behavior have focused on the attributions-consequences link (Kelley and Michela, 1980). This study will primarily address the cognitive processes link between the antecedent (type of disability - learning or physical) and attributions reflected in various beliefs and attitudes toward disability (pride, social, medical, exclusion). Of the three types of antecedents to attribution in the theory of correspondent inference (Jones and Davis, 1965) - situational information, perceiver's beliefs, and motivation to infer - this study focuses on perceiver's beliefs, as measured by the disability factors.

Thus, the disability factors used in this study (pride, social, medical, exclusion) are conceptualized as beliefs and attitudes relating to feelings of personal esteem, interactions with society, etc. Variation in the factors by disability type (physical or learning) is expected because each type of disability is associated with unique experiences and attributions, which are predicted to be reflected by differing attitudes toward one's disability. Theoretical conceptualization as well as hypotheses and support are discussed below.

3. Conceptualization and Hypotheses

The theoretical model is based on the idea that people with physical disabilities, which are more likely to be visible than learning disabilities, view their disability fundamentally differently than people with learning disabilities. Much of this difference derives from the tension between "passing" and potential stigmatization if exposed. Thus, the type of disability itself is expected to differentially affect attitudes toward one's disability. For example, people trying to "pass" might especially value medical remedies that allow greater normalization and reduced risk of exposure, ultimately wishing that they could "hide" their disability. People with physical disabilities, however, might have already accepted their disability, which is more likely to be obvious to the outside world, and would more likely have adopted a positive disability identity of which they are proud (especially those who acquired their disability at birth; Darling and Heckert, 2010b). People with learning disabilities might feel less need for social activism and tend to hide their disability to achieve normalization, often quite successfully, by magnifying the importance of the social world and working hard at passing. Similarly, people with learning disabilities likely feel less excluded, due to their efforts at passing, inclusion and normalization.

Specific hypotheses and support regarding potential relationships between disability type and disability attitude factors are provided in the following sections.

3.1. Disability Pride

People with disability pride have an affirming attitude, accepting their disability identity and viewing it as a form of diversity rather than as a disadvantage. People with physical disabilities have been motivated to come to terms with their disability, since they cannot escape the visibility of their disability identity. One of the ways to adapt to a disability is through affirmation and pride. Those with learning disabilities, who tend toward passing and normalization efforts, might be in greater denial or and may not have accepted the disability as part of their identity. Thus, people with physical disabilities are expected to have the greater levels of disability pride than will people with learning disabilities.

H1a: People with physical disabilities will report higher levels of disability pride than will people with learning disabilities.

Those who have been born with a physical disability generally have greater pride in their disability than those who acquired their disability later in life (Darling and Heckert, 2010b), who might deal with regret regarding prior normalization and health. People who acquire physical disabilities at birth tend to more readily accept their disability, take pride in it, and adopt a more positive disability identity (Darling and Heckert, 2010b). Thus, it is expected that people with physical disabilities from birth will have greater disability pride than those with physical disabilities acquired later in life.

H1b: People with physical disabilities acquired at birth will have higher levels of disability pride than will those who acquired physical disabilities after birth.

If a physical disability is acquired at birth, it is typically more immediately obvious to the outside world than a learning disability. Identification and acceptance of learning disabilities tends to be more complex, balancing potential denial, invisibility, and adaptation (Livneh, Martz, and Wilson, 2001). Some learning disabilities are never accurately identified. However, if a person with an identified learning disability accepts that the disability was acquired at birth, the psychological mindset might be comparable to one in which a physical disability was acquired at birth. In other words, agreement with the notion that a learning disability was acquired at birth should logically be associated with greater acceptance, pride, and disability identity than if the learning disability was perceived to have been acquired or recognized later in life. Thus, it is expected that people who indicate that their learning disability was acquired at birth will have greater disability pride than those who state that their learning disability was acquired later in life (when asked “how long have you had your disability?”).

H1c: People who indicate that they have had a learning disability since birth will have higher levels of disability pride than will those who state that they acquired their learning disability after birth.

Pride is the only disability factor hypothesized to be related to the time that a disability was acquired, based on prior research (Darling and Heckert, 2010b). However, the other disability factors will also be tested for their potential relationship with time of disability acquisition, although no significant relationships are hypothesized.

3.2. Social Model

People with learning disabilities typically want to avoid the social stigma of disability and tend to actively hide their disability to become part of larger society. Social acclimation and accepting larger societal norms can be very important. One would not expect people with learning disabilities to be as likely to adhere to a social model, since many might try to pass and conceal that identity as much as possible. On the other hand, those with physical disabilities are more likely to be socially stigmatized due to their disability, resulting in a greater adherence to a social model. In other words, those with physical disabilities are more likely to believe that society should be doing more to accommodate and include them in society.

H2: People with physical disabilities will report greater levels of adherence to the social model than will people with learning disabilities.

3.3. Exclusion

Prior research (e.g., Darling and Heckert, 2010a) recognizes the importance to people with disabilities of feeling excluded from activities. Although exclusion can be related to social activism, it is a relatively independent factor which may or may not be related to the other disability factors, depending on the individual. For example, the exclusion factor itself likely varies by individual characteristics such as the physical or learning disability. Those with a physical disability, either as a result of poor accessibility to activities or from being excluded due to social stigma, are more likely to feel excluded. However, those with learning disabilities, whose efforts to “pass” and hide their disability might often be effective, would likely feel less excluded.

H3: People with physical disabilities will report greater feelings of exclusion, as measured by the exclusion disability factor, than will people with learning disabilities.

3.4. Medical Model

Under the medical model, disability is typically treated like an illness, to be “fixed” or hidden, with an ultimate goal of achieving normalization. Some people who value normalization, especially younger, more socially active individuals, might not view themselves as severely disabled. For example, some people with learning disabilities might view Ritalin as a way to “fix” their disability and achieve greater normalization. Individuals with learning disabilities might see medical remedies as more effective and would more likely adopt an attitude based on the medical factor, compared to a person with the physical disability, for whom a “cure” might be much more elusive.

H4: People with learning disabilities will report attitudes more highly based on the medical model than will people with physical disabilities.

4. Methodology

4.1. Data collection and sample

An online survey was conducted among students with disabilities at a large U.S. midwestern university. A prior focus group of students with disabilities indicated that

an online survey was a highly accessible form of data collection (i.e., people with mobility disabilities readily use the Internet; individuals with vision disabilities use screen readers such as JAWS (Job Access with Speech), etc.). The focus group also indicated that, as an incentive, students would prefer a modest “spending money” incentive for all survey participants. Thus, all participants were compensated \$10 for survey completion and were also eligible for a drawing for a \$2,000 scholarship. All students registered with the Office of Disability Services were included, comprising both students with physical disabilities (e.g., mobility, blind, etc.) and those with learning disabilities. Of the 431 students with disabilities e-mailed surveys, completed questionnaires were obtained from 119, for a response rate of 28 percent. A demographic summary of respondents is shown in Table 1. Analyses of data provided by the Office of Disability Services indicated that the disabilities of respondents (52% with learning disabilities, 34% with mobility disabilities, 9% blind, 6% deaf) were representative of the population of students with disabilities at the university (50% with learning disabilities, 35% with mobility disabilities, 11% blind, 4% deaf).

Table 1. Online Survey - Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Factors		%*
Type of Disability	Blind	9%
	Deaf	6%
	Mobility (walking, reaching, carrying)	34%
	Learning, remembering or concentrating	52%
Time with Disability	Birth	41%
	> 10 years	28%
	5-10 years	15%
	< 5 years	8%
Gender	Female	55%
	Male	45%
Age	18-22	54%
	23-25	18%
	26-29	5%
	30-39	12%
	40-49	6%
	50-59	3%
	60-69	2%
Family Household Income	Less than \$25,000	35%
	\$25,000 to \$49,999	23%
	\$50,000 to \$99,999	23%
	\$100,000 or more	9%
Ethnicity	European American (white)	79%
	African American	14%
	Latino or Hispanic	2%
	Asian American	3%
	Native American or Indian	3%

N = 119

*For some categories (e.g., disability type, time with disability), respondents were allowed to check multiple boxes (or to not check a box). Therefore, percents may not add to 100%.

4.2. Measure Development and Assessment

Disability factor items were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree and 7 = strongly disagree). An exploratory factor analysis (principle components with direct oblimin rotation) of the original disability orientation items (Darling and Heckert, 2010a) yielded the same four unique factors after purification (items with cross-loadings of greater than .4 were deleted and items with loadings of greater than .5 were retained): 1) Pride, 2) Exclusion, 3) Social, and 4) Medical. Reliability for three of the four factors was good (Cronbach's alpha greater than .70) and reliability of the medical model factor was acceptable (.60), in line with prior research (Darling and Heckert, 2010a). The disability factors, 14 retained items and factor loadings are provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Disability Factors – Retained Items, Reliability, Means and Standard Deviations

Factors/Items (from Darling and Heckert, 2010)	Item Load	α	Mean	SD
Pride		.78	3.22	1.4
I am proud of my disability	.83			
I am a better person because of my disability	.77			
My disability is an important part of who I am	.72			
My disability enriches my life	.71			
Exclusion		.75	4.41	1.9
My disability limits my social life	.89			
I often am excluded from activities because of my disability	.85			
Social		.75	2.75	1.1
People with disabilities need to fight for their rights more than other people	.81			
The biggest problem of people with disabilities is other people's attitudes	.75			
Lack of accessibility and discrimination are why people with disabilities are unemployed	.74			
Personal/Medical		.60	3.29	1.4
If I had a choice, I would prefer not to have a disability	.75			
Doctors know what is best for people with disabilities	.73			
I try to hide my disability whenever I can	.73			

Confirmatory factor analysis of the disability measurement model indicated an acceptable fit ($\chi^2 = 91.6$ (67 df), IFI = .94, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .06, $\chi^2/df = 1.4$). Discriminant validity was supported by the distinct factor loadings in exploratory analysis and the relatively low correlations between factors (all lower than .40).

In order to categorize each participant by disability type, a survey question asked "What kind of disability do you have?" Participants were able to check any applicable disabilities from a list of definitions from the U.S. Census Bureau (2003), such as "Blindness, deafness, or a severe vision or hearing impairment"; "Difficulty walking, climbing stairs, reaching, lifting, or carrying"; "Learning, remembering, or concentrating", etc. For this study, learning disabilities were classified as those involving learning, remembering and concentrating. Physical disabilities were classified as physical-related disabilities such as mobility, blindness, deafness, etc. In this sample, the overwhelming majority of physical

disabilities were visible, such as blindness and mobility. The time at which the disability was acquired (since birth or later in life) was measured using the question “How long have you had your disability?”

5. Results

Items for each disability attitude factor were summed, with means used for easier interpretation. A summary of means and standard deviations for the disability factors is shown in Table 2. Disability types were classified into four categories, according to survey responses: physical only, learning only, both, or neither. Four separate OLS multiple regression analyses were then conducted, with each of the four disability factors (pride, exclusion, social model, and medical model) used as dependent variables. Each of the disability types (dummy variables for physical, both and neither, with learning disability as the comparison category) and disability at birth (dummy variable) were used as independent variables. For this college student sample, demographic variables did not substantially affect the analysis and were excluded for parsimony purposes. Because of missing data for some variables, there were 110 usable questionnaires. Results are shown in Table 3. Any unexpected significant results are also reported for potential future research guidance.

Table 3. OLS Regressions for the Four Disability Factors (n = 110)

Independent Variables	Pride		Exclusion		Social		Medical	
	<i>b</i>	Beta	<i>b</i>	Beta	<i>b</i>	Beta	<i>b</i>	Beta
Physical disability (binary)	.03	.01	-1.1**	-.28	-.42	-.18	.70*	.25
Both cognitive & physical disability (binary)	-.28	-.06	-1.8**	-.28	-.43	-.11	.45	.10
Neither type of disability (binary)	.42	.04	-.1	-.01	1.7*	.19	1.6	.16
Disability since birth (binary)	-.84**	-.31	.38	.10	-.22	-.10	.10	.04
R-Squared	.11*		.11*		.10*		.08	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

b refers to unstandardized regression coefficient; Beta refers to standardized regression coefficient

Lower scores on the disability factors represent higher levels of disability pride, feelings of exclusion, agreement with the social model, and agreement with the medical model.

The regression of the social factor on physical (vs. learning) disability was marginally significant ($p < .10$)

The total regression (r-squared) for the medical factor was marginally significant ($p < .10$)

Having a physical disability was not a significant direct predictor of disability pride, failing to support H1a. Thus, type of disability was not associated with pride. However, having a disability at birth had a significant positive relationship with pride ($t(1, 109) = 3.19$, $b = .31$, $p < .01$), consistent with prior research (Darling and Heckert, 2010a). A two-way ANOVA was used to test the moderating effect of disability at birth on the relationship between physical disability and pride. The interaction between physical

disability (binary) and disability at birth (binary) on pride was significant ($F(1, 109) = 5.83, p < .05$). As expected, those with physical disabilities acquired at birth had higher levels of disability pride ($M = 2.4$) than did those with physical disabilities acquired later in life ($M = 4.0$), supporting H1b. When the interaction between learning disability (binary) and disability at birth (binary) on pride was tested using a two-way ANOVA, the interaction was only marginally significant ($F(1, 109) = 3.29, p = .07$). Those who indicated that their learning disability was acquired at birth showed higher levels of disability pride ($M = 3.0$) than did those stating that their learning disability was acquired later in life ($M = 3.4$), partially supporting H1c.

People with physical disabilities reported greater feelings of social activism (marginally, $p = .06$) than did people with learning disabilities ($t(1, 109) = 1.88, b = .31$), partially supporting H2. Interestingly, participants who reported no disability (although registered with the office of disability services) had significantly lower feelings of social activism than did participants reporting a learning disability ($p < .05$).

As expected, having a physical disability was a significant predictor of feelings of exclusion. Those with physical disabilities reported greater feelings of exclusion than did those with learning disabilities ($t(1, 110) = 2.92, b = .28, p < .01$), supporting H3. Interestingly, those with both physical and learning disabilities also reported significantly greater exclusion than those with learning disabilities only ($p < .01$).

Participants with learning disabilities reported greater feelings associated with the medical model than did those with physical disabilities, as predicted ($t(1, 110) = 2.57, b = .25, p < .05$), supporting H4. Overall, the results are generally supportive of the study's hypotheses. Physical and learning disabilities appear to be associated quite differently with particular disability attitude factors.

6. Discussion of Results and Conclusion

6.1. Discussion

The results of this study suggest that there are specific differences in disability attitudes between people with physical and learning disabilities. For people with physical disabilities, there is greater evidence of personal adaptation through feelings of exclusion or social activism (see results for H2 and H3). The disability attitude most significantly associated with people with learning disabilities was the medical model (see results for H4), which includes items related to "passing," such as trying to hide the disability and getting assistance from doctors. These differences by disability likely derive from the tension between "passing" (to avoid potential stigmatization) and disclosure (to reduce tension and get help for the disability) for those with learning disabilities, with greater straddling between normalization and disability identity. People with physical disabilities do not have this same particular type of tension, since their disability is typically more obvious and they must deal more directly with issues related to disability.

Thus, people with physical disabilities tend to feel exclusion more strongly than those with learning disabilities. This feeling of exclusion should be understood and acknowledged in order to foster quality interaction. On the other hand, attitudes of

people with learning disabilities tend to align more closely with the medical model (wanting to hide or fix the disability if possible), which might call for a very different type of communication. The main point is that attitudes of people with physical disabilities are often unique from those of people with learning disabilities, a distinction that requires understanding, acknowledgment, sensitivity and appropriate interaction.

Results of this study have implications for many fields. For example, psychologists and sociologists can better understand the unique challenges faced by people with either learning or physical disabilities, and be able to recommend better personal development programs or infrastructure for societal adaptation. Educators could utilize the results to better understand the unique attitudes and perspectives of people from a range of disability types, and adjust their teaching styles accordingly. In the business field, “relationship marketing” is an important domain, tasked with creating long-term relationships by better understanding individual needs. For example, retailers could better understand the attitudes and needs of people with different types of disabilities, so that shopping tasks could be more accessible and customer service more satisfying.

6.2. Future Research

A potential limitation of this study is the use of a student sample, since the online survey was conducted using college students. Although some feel that significant results from a more homogeneous sample lend greater credence to external validity (Calder, Phillips, and Tybout, 1982), others see greater benefit from broader samples. College students with physical disabilities are obviously quite capable of navigating around a university campus (accommodations have been made to improve accessibility on campus). Furthermore, one would expect greater representation of people with “treatable” learning disabilities on a college campus than in an institutional setting. Further research should be done in other settings, to get a better understanding of the potential heterogeneity of attitudes of people with disabilities.

Future research could incorporate the disability attitude factors into other fields (e.g., education, sociology, marketing). For example, educational scales that measure academic self-image and social acceptance could be combined with disability factors to understand potential effects of attitude toward one’s disability on academic self-concept and socialization. The disability factors could also be combined with scales for disorders like anxiety and depression to better understand ways to adapt to a disability. Furthermore, service quality scales in marketing could be extended to include disability-specific service items, with disability factors used to evaluate unique ways in which people with different disabilities view service quality. Interestingly, prior research (Goodrich and Ramsey, 2012) suggests strong cohesion between those with physical and learning disabilities regarding the importance of accessibility and other service-related features in a retail environment.

6.3. Conclusion

This study adds to the limited academic literature regarding the comparison between people with learning and physical disabilities. The results offer a unique perspective for

evaluating attitudes of people with different types of disabilities by applying new but previously-tested scales for measuring disability attitudes (Darling and Heckert 2010a, 2010b). No prior research has utilized such disability orientation measures to better interpret the differences between those with learning and physical disabilities. The academic community can benefit from more precise and explanatory theory for understanding people with different types of disabilities. The practitioner community can gain from improved outcomes in many fields such as education, psychology, and business, all of which can benefit from an enhanced understanding of the attitudes of people with diverse disabilities.

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THE ROLE OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SOCIAL INCLUSION OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. THE SENSIBLU FOUNDATION

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Abstract: *A serious phenomenon, undergoing constant expansion, which affects the human fundamental rights to life, safety, freedom, dignity, physical and psychic integrity is represented by domestic violence. This article is a brief incursion in the vast field of corporate social responsibility, in terms of good practices, analysing its potential to promote social inclusion for women victims of domestic violence, a vulnerable group in Romanian society. Social responsibility is implemented in practice by some non-governmental activities which undertake direct involvement in the issue of domestic violence, supporting women victims of domestic violence, this aspect being unknown to the wide public. The initiatives adopted in this case demonstrate the fact that social responsibility may constitute an example of good practices in Romanian society, an efficient tool in promoting the social inclusion of women victims of domestic violence.*

Keywords: *corporate social responsibility; social inclusion; vulnerable group; domestic violence.*

1. Introduction

Corporate social responsibility has become an increasingly mentioned concept at an international, as well as European, level, in debates on globalization, competitiveness and sustainable development (Crane et al., 2008: 63). At present, corporate social responsibility is increasingly turning into an issue of public concern, because it puts into question the relation between the business environment and society, a highly sensitive spot in terms of the public's perception regarding the contribution that companies should make to the overall development of the modern society (Carroll, 1999: 292).

Corporate social responsibility consists of including a set of social practices and programs in the company's policies, and implies the development of some strategy for

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getting involved in the community as well as a partnership from which the company, too, draws benefits. The concept of community involvement relies on the idea that the business sector may reach its interests faster by supporting the community to develop itself. At the same time, getting involved in the community becomes absolutely necessary for an organization which aims not only at commercial success, but also at the respect of the society within which it conducts its activity: "corporate social responsibility is seriously considering the impact of the company's actions on society" (Carroll and Buchholtz, 1999: 28). In this context, responsible initiatives contribute to enhancing the trust and support of the community, the authorities, the business partners, the media and, implicitly, to building or improving the image of the organization.

At the same time, we should mention the fact that corporate social responsibility is not a miraculous remedy and the related practices are not sufficient to obtain the envisaged results. These practices cannot replace the actions of public policies, but they can support them in achieving some of their objectives, particularly those of obtaining a positive image of the organization, respecting human rights, protecting the environment, better use of natural resources, reducing pollution and, not least, increasing the integration of job markets and promoting social inclusion of vulnerable groups (Diaconescu and Voicu-Dorobanțu, 2012: 173-174). This is a challenge we shall further consider.

Based on these considerations, we shall attempt to identify the role of corporate social responsibility in promoting the social inclusion of women victims of domestic violence, as a vulnerable group in the Romanian society. Although social responsibility is assumed by some non-governmental organizations through social programs which support women victims of domestic violence, these aspects are not known to the wider public. In our opinion social responsibility may represent an example of good practices in promoting social inclusion, by adopting a set of initiatives which may support this process. To support our statement, we shall proceed to a brief overview of the concept of CSR and its strategic role in promoting the social inclusion of vulnerable groups, respectively women victims of domestic violence. Methodologically, we have selected a case study on the way in which social responsibility implemented practically at the level of the non-governmental organizations have been actively involved in supporting women victims of domestic violence. To this effect, we have analyzed the initiatives conducted in this respect and posted on the profile site <http://www.responsabilitatesociala.ro>, as well as some additional materials which may complete this process and enable the formulation of conclusive observations.

2. Literature review

An initial definition mentioned in the literature indicates that social responsibility represents "the obligations of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society" (Bowen, 1953: 6). Called the "Father of Corporate Social Responsibility", Bowen (1953: 44) argued that the "social consciousness" of managers refers to "the responsibility for the consequences of their actions in a sphere

somewhat wider than that covered by their profit-and-loss statements”. Davis (1960: 70-71) considers that some socially responsible business decisions can be justified by a long, complicated process of reasoning as having a good chance of bringing long-run economic gain to the firm, respectively “social responsibility of businessmen need to be commensurate with their social power”.

To provide an overview, Carroll proposes the pyramid of corporate social responsibility for the business environment, where the direction of achieving the responsibilities is from the base to the top: “For CSR to be accepted by the conscientious business person, it should be framed in such a way that the entire range of business responsibilities is embraced. Furthermore, these four categories or components of CSR might be depicted as a pyramid. To be sure, all of these kinds of responsibility have always existed to some extent, but it has only been in recent years that ethical and philanthropic functions have taken a significant place” (1991: 39-48). In this context, corporate social responsibility includes the full range of social obligations which a company has towards society: economic responsibilities, legal responsibilities, moral responsibilities and philanthropic responsibilities which the company should integrate in its business practice, both in its relationship with the employees and with the categories of partners. One of the most cited definitions is that proposed by Carroll which embellishes the conceptual model of CSR: “In my view, CSR involves the conduct of a business so that it is economically profitable, law abiding, ethical and socially supportive. To be socially responsible... means that profitability and obedience to the law are foremost conditions to discussing the firm’s ethics and the extent to which it supports the society in which it exists with contributions of money, time and talent. Thus, CSR is composed of four parts: economic, legal, ethical and voluntary or philanthropic” (Carroll, 1983: 604). CSR designates the company’s attitude towards society, according to which obtaining success is possible by respecting the law, assuming ethical conduct, giving special attention to the environment and taking into consideration the needs and interests of all partners (Oprea, 2005: 45-47).

According to the *European Union*, social responsibility is a concept through which a company willingly integrates its concerns regarding social and environmental issues in its business operations and interaction with its business partners. These principles are related to two dimensions of the relation between company and community, namely: an *internal dimension*, which foregrounds the relationship with the employees and implies the provision of a healthy work environment; and *external dimension*, which focuses upon the relation with the interest partners, developing the communities in which the companies conduct their activity (Oprea, 2011: 42-44).

Kotler and Lee (2005: 3) define this concept as a corporate engagement to augment the welfare of the community, by means of discretionary business practices and allotting corporate resources. The two authors argue that corporate social initiatives are major activities undertaken by a corporation to support social causes and accomplish its corporate social responsibility engagements. The reasons supporting the involvement of companies in socially responsible actions are of a: *moral* nature, as reflected by an ethical and responsible behaviour towards society; an *economic* nature, as revealed by increased notoriety and visibility on the market; and *rational* nature, demonstrating the fact that in today’s globalized world, CSR represents a way of anticipating and mirroring social

concerns with a view to reducing the operational and financial limitations upon a business (Werther and Chandler, 2006: 18).

As we can see, the majority of the viewpoints describe social responsibility as a concept by means of which companies should display their social and environmental concerns, through the activities conducted, contributing to the economic development of the community. In our view, social responsibility is a fundamental concept – similar to freedom or truth – which is being constantly (re)defined in order to meet various needs which are also in a continuous transformation, from one era to another (Petrovici, 2012: 40).

3. CSR and the social inclusion of vulnerable groups

In its modern form, corporate social responsibility is inspired by two principles. According to the principle of charity, the companies have the obligation to assist the vulnerable groups of society. The second principle demands that corporations protect the public interest, and respectively act for the interest of all the groups affected by their activity (Diaconu, 2009: 154).

At the European level, the year 2000 constitutes a reference point in the evolution of social policies by the elaboration of the Lisbon strategy, which establishes the action frame of the European Union, represented by transforming the community economy into the most competitive economy based on knowledge. The European Council (2005: 15) recommends that the member states of the European Union encourage investments and create an attractive frame for companies and workers, stimulating firms to develop social responsibility. On the occasion of re-launching the Lisbon strategy (2005), the European Council (2005: 26) stated that corporate social responsibility (CSR) “can play a key role in contributing to sustainable development while enhancing Europe’s innovative potential and competitiveness”. In this respect, each member state of the European Union should develop its own approach to social responsibility, which better corresponds to their circumstances and priorities.

The stimulation of corporate social responsibility is one of EC prerogatives. Within the Strategy Europe 2020, the European Council has issued specific recommendations (CSRs) for Romania, in order to improve its economic performance, respectively: to complete the financial assistance program, to ensure growth-friendly fiscal consolidation and implement the budgetary strategy for the year 2013, to pursue health sector reforms in order to increase its efficiency, quality and accessibility, to improve labour market participation, as well as employability and productivity of the labour force, to implement the education reform, to increase the professionalism of the public service through improved human resource management, and to improve and simplify the business environment and to promote competition and efficiency in network industries (EC, 2013: 6-7).

Encouraging the adoption of corporate social responsibility, as an example of good practices, reflects the need to defend shared values and enhance the meaning of solidarity and social cohesion by achieving a set of objectives which thus turn into reference points. Among these, promoting social inclusion is one of the European

priorities. In Romania, the terms social inclusion and social development has been adopted along with the program of implementing the National plan against poverty and for promoting social inclusion (NPAPPSinc, 2006), focused particularly on vulnerable groups: Roma people, persons with disabilities, young people above 18 who leave the state child care system, children with special educational needs, mono-parental families, persons who were convicted, drug addicted persons, homeless people, and victims of domestic violence.

The concept of “*vulnerable group*” relies on the universal human rights and designates the segments of population faced with discriminating attitudes and behaviors, which need assistance in order to avoid being exploited. The term vulnerable groups was introduced by supporters and promoters of human rights, in order to highlight the fact that human rights are still an ideal regarding their observance and legal strength, as well as to point to the social groups which are more exposed to suffer from discrimination or violation of human rights (Reichert, 2006: 78). Accordingly to Pavel (2011: 75), the characteristics of the participation of the vulnerable groups on the labour market are: higher risk of exclusion from the labor market depending on the age; dependence of the people with disabilities on the system of social assistance as illustrated by very low employment rates; the complex causality of Roma exclusion from the labour market; the higher poverty risk for the families with many children and, paradoxically, the higher poverty risk of the employed people.

It could be observed that under the conditions in which the European Union replaced the equal opportunity policy and the discrimination policy with the gender mainstreaming policy, the structural inequalities have been perpetuated (Rădoi, 2012: 15). In recent years, the number of cases of domestic violence has increased significantly, which is a serious phenomenon, undergoing constant expansion, violating the human rights to life, safety, freedom, dignity, physical and psychic integrity. The risk factors for the emergence and development of domestic violence on women may be analysed by interpreting the results of a research performed at national level (*Social Risks and Inequalities in Romania*, PCARSDR, 2009; *National Research on Domestic Violence and Violence in the Workplace*, Center Partnership for Equality, 2003; *Perception of Children in need of the Romanian public opinion*, MSI, 2000; *You should not be indifferent to domestic violence*, MWFSPAP, 2013) and also by updating and adjusting: the paradigm of women submission, based on an unconscious belief that women must suffer, the theories of social psychology, which discuss a new category of factors involved in building violent behavior, the information provided by the media (Mândrilă, 2009); the interaction patterns theory and the perspective upon the roles undertaken by the members of a family [domestic violence has been associated with the recent socioeconomic changes that affected the role dynamics in a couple or resulted in the couple’s incapacity to interact (Cojocaru, 2011); the social learning theory and the violence subculture theory which argue that some groups accept and promote values (or, rather, non-values) related to the use of violence, the distribution of violence among social classes (according to the violence subculture theory, the prevalence of violence is associated more with the lower classes) (Walker, 1979); the theory of social fields, according to which each “agent” should obey social distances in order to avoid the situations which generate vulnerability as it happens when, for example, the agent’s actions conflict with

the values of the field within which he acts (Bourdieu, 1979); the main line of feminist approach, although only the feminist approaches related traditional concepts to the risk factors involved in the occurrence of family violence (Roy, 1982); the idea that violence against women may be excused due to men's alleged superiority, especially in those societies in which women's status is generally regarded as inferior and subjected to men's status (Bunch, 1991).

According to Special Eurobarometer, a report at the international level entitled *Domestic Violence against Women* (September 2010), 78% of Europeans recognise that domestic violence is a common problem: „one respondent in four across the EU knows a women among friends or in the family circle who is a victim of domestic violence. Since the previous survey, the proportion of Europeans that say they know a victim of domestic violence in their circle of friends or family has increased from 19% to 25%”. A report of the Presidential Commission for the analysis of social and demographic risks (PCARSDR, 2009: 250) shows that the number of recorded cases of domestic violence in Romania, during 2004-2008, is 47.334, 677 of these resulting in the victim's death. A national survey, entitled *The National Research on Domestic Violence and Violence in the Workplace*, reveals the fact that „domestic violence is associated with a set of beliefs and values generating a tolerant environment in which this type of violence can grow” (CPE, 2003). The issue of the tolerant attitude towards domestic violence is aggravated by ignorance regarding individual rights provided by law. According to the report, 14,3% of the whole population of Romania, 17,8% of women respectively, have been victims of some type of domestic violence at a certain point in their lives. Only 55% of the persons subjected to domestic violence abuse, women and men alike, as well as the rest of the population, know about the existence of a law protecting victims of domestic violence and sanctioning the aggressor.

The surveys revealed a high percentage of domestic violence based on the traditional idea of man's superiority and hence legitimacy of using violence against women. Violence against women based on man's superiority has also been approached in the literature as part of the concept of patriarchal violence (Turluc, Tobolcea, 2008). A factor which determines an increase in the prevalence of domestic violence is the victim's acceptance (IMAS, 2000). Absence of social visibility of domestic violence, the blaming of the victim, and social tolerance towards the violent man are aspects which diminish the negative reaction to violence, also making it more difficult for the victim to undertake the actions needed to leave the abusing relation or to control violence. Social passivity to domestic violence can lead only to the perpetuation of violence patterns, along with a decrease in the rate of signaling such cases (Fedor, 2011: 159-176).

The synthesis of the research report regarding the campaign for raising the awareness of the public opinion concerning the prevention and control of domestic violence initiated by the Ministry of Work, Family, Social Protection and Aged Persons (MWFSPAP, 2013: 5-6) shows that the great majority of the investigated population displays an extremely negative attitude regarding this aspect, which they consider unacceptable and punishable by law. Nevertheless, only half of the persons included in the research group know of institutions or organizations supporting victims of domestic violence, the non-governmental organizations being mentioned generically

and only a small number of names of such organizations being effectively indicated. We shall further discuss this aspect of the problem.

4. CSR and domestic violence victims. A case study on the Sensiblu Foundation

Ever since the beginning of its activity, the Sensiblu Foundation has been involved in supporting women and children, victims of domestic violence, through the free services of social, psychological and legal counselling, as well as providing temporary shelter. The Sensiblu Foundation has a clear philosophy concerning social responsibility, the initiatives undertaken in this respect reflecting preoccupations towards the community in which they conduct their activity. The agenda of social involvement of the organization aims at supporting vulnerable persons, especially women victims of domestic violence.

On the site <http://www.responsabilitatesociala.ro>, in the section of human rights, there are presented a number of five applications conducted by the Sensiblu Foundation, a non-governmental organization working to prevent domestic violence. As shown in the official declaration, the “Sensiblu Foundation is a trustworthy partner for non-governmental organizations and for the authorities involved in cutting this phenomenon, because it provides a second chance to women and children who want to escape all types of abuse. We are a strong corporate foundation, in which people trust and where not only are they given help but they themselves are willing to give. With each campaign conducted by the foundation, we realize that it is about saving as many lives as possible, and not about dry statistics. Your help is priceless, and so are the lives of women who are supported through the BluHome Program in starting a normal, harmonious life, devoid of violence”.

Established in 2002, the Sensiblu Foundation was the first corporate foundation which assumed the responsibility of direct involvement in the issue of domestic violence. The same year, the Blu Home program was started, which aimed at increasing the population’s level of knowledge about the phenomenon of domestic violence, respectively diminishing the number of women and children victims of domestic violence. The program consisted of building a shelter and counselling centre where women and children affected by domestic violence received counselling and temporary shelter for a period ranging from one to six months. Simultaneously, the Sensiblu Foundation conducted intensive campaigns for informing and raising awareness in order to diminish the number of domestic violence victims and to obtain appropriate legal support. Thus, November 25, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, constituted a reference point for conducting the Campaign V-Days: 2006 (Silent Witness), 2007 (Wall of Indifference), 2008 (Home is not a Prison), 2009 (This is no story.ro). The social cause is based on a painful reality for Romania, the statistics on domestic violence being increasingly worrying.

Each year, the campaigns conducted by Sensiblu had different approaches. For example, in 2006, the campaign was addressed to men who abuse their partners, trying to convey the message that when *you lose control, the other may lose her/his life*; in 2007, the

organizers addressed the witnesses of domestic violence, warning them that *indifference encourages domestic violence*, and the 2008 campaign addressed women who accept domestic violence, telling them that this acceptance may lead them to extreme gestures, such as killing their partner and then imprisonment. In 2009, the campaign focused on a certain consequence of domestic violence, that is, on children's psychological trauma. The Sensiblu Foundation started from the finding that mothers often decide not to leave their aggressive partner because of children, believing that this may negatively affect children. The campaign sought to show that such an approach is completely wrong and that a child is more traumatized if witnessing, or being subjected to, acts of violence (Petrovici, 2012: 113). In a 2010 press conference, Sensiblu launched the seventh edition of the campaign, "16 Days of Activism against Domestic Violence", under the slogan "Domestic violence distorts reality". In 2011, on the International Day of the Family, the Sensiblu Foundation reasserted its condemnation of domestic violence and, in partnership with Avon Cosmetics Romania, launched a program to support women in obtaining medical-legal certificates following domestic aggression. In 2012, during the 16 International Days of Fighting Violence Against Women, the Sensiblu Foundation, in partnership with the Committee for Gender Equality and Development of the Peace Corp Romania and the IREX Foundation, launched the campaign "Peace at home, peace in the world", which presented relevant information about the situation of women, victims of domestic violence, about the legal tools which they may use to protect themselves, as well as the services which may provide help in crisis situations. In 2013, the Sensiblu Foundation launched a bold campaign entitled "A Gift for the 8th of March: no slaps", meant to raise the public's awareness concerning the phenomenon of domestic violence and provide useful information to women in such situations.

The Sensiblu Foundation conducts annual campaigns of informing and raising awareness, meant to draw the public's attention to the seriousness of domestic violence. The results obtained show the fact that the conducted campaigns were an opportunity, for many of the abused women, to find out about the services provided by the Sensiblu Foundation, the number of calls received by the BluHome Counseling Centre being under constant growth. Therefore, since 2002, more than 3500 women and children, victims of domestic violence, have received counseling services, and a number of more than 120 persons have been given temporary shelter.

The BluHome program supports women and children who are victims of domestic violence, through the services of social, psychological and legal counseling, shelter, court representation, financial support, and assistance in finding a job. At the counseling centre, the specialists of the Sensiblu Foundation, social assistants, psychologists, jurists and lawyers, provide immediate support for the efficient management of crisis situations and, in the long term, assist the abused persons in acquiring the skills needed to be able to integrate themselves in the social environment. At the end of their stay in the shelter, the assisted person should be capable of leading a life independent from the aggressor's, and to build new skills in order to face other potentially violent situations.

The alarming growth of domestic violence cases has generated echoes at the level of the public institutions with attributions in the field of domestic violence prevention and

control. In 2013, the Ministry of Work, Family, Social Protection and Aged Persons launched a campaign to raise the public opinion's awareness and sensitivity towards the prevention and control of domestic violence, under the slogan "You should not be indifferent to domestic violence". The purpose of this campaign was to inform and raise the population's awareness about the gravity and consequences that domestic violence, in its various forms, may have upon its victims, as well as upon society as a whole.

Given the aspects presented, several observations should be made. Firstly, controlling domestic violence requires a long-term approach and combined efforts from all the parts interested. For example, parental educational programs may have a preventing character and may constitute instances of corporate social responsibility. On the one hand, informational campaigns on raising awareness towards parental educational programs, which are meant to address a larger audience, can lead to reducing tolerance towards violence. On the other hand, when included in the activity of specialized services and having the objective of identifying the persons at risk or identifying the violence risk factors, the results of reducing domestic violence may also become more tangible. Prevention of domestic violence should also be seriously supported by concrete public efforts to create laws and specialized services within the community (Wolfe, Jaffe, 1999).

In order to respond to the issue of domestic violence, standards of good practices should be implemented at the level of the organizations actively involved in diminishing this phenomenon, and responsible conduct should be stimulated at the level of the community, by raising awareness of the consequences and social costs of violence. Social responsibility should also be included in internal strategies and policies, in human resources management, in the professional development of employees, the good relation between the business environment and communities, in the needs of the vulnerable groups, so that the generated social impact may be a long-term one, encouraging the adoption of good practices. This means a transition from a minimal level, in which organizations do only what it is absolutely necessary, in compliance with the valid rules and regulations, to an average level, in which the organizations interact with the co-interested groups and, also, to a higher level, that of social reaction, in which the organizations are actively involved in the problems of the community and in communicating with the different social groups.

5. Conclusions

Social responsibility may contribute not only to building or improving the image of the organization, and enhancing trust and the support of the community, authorities or business partners, but also to increasing solidarity and social cohesion, by achieving a set of objectives, among which the promotion of social inclusion represents a reference points for European priorities. Implementing social programs and community involvement strategies, recruiting human resources from vulnerable groups, and developing partnerships from which all the factors involved may draw benefits may constitute examples of good practices. This implies, first of all, that a company assumes social responsibilities, acknowledges the interdependence between the business

environment and society, manages correctly the relations with the community and, not last, that managers are aware of the fact that public and business interests may be convergent and be subsumed to the same principle according to which doing good means making profit.

Carroll (1979: 497-505) argued that for managers or firms to engage in CSR they need to have a basic definition of CSR, an understanding of the issues for which social responsibility exists, and a specification of the philosophy of responsiveness to the issues. In the future, social responsibility should be a guide for business because, “the CSR firm should strive to make a profit, obey the law, be ethical, and be a good corporate citizen. The total corporate social responsibility of business entails the simultaneous achievement of the firm’s economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities” (Carroll, 1991: 39-48). For most companies, corporate social responsibility turns into a strategic objective which may be used as business practice, with a view to maximizing the results obtained. To this effect, companies should take into account two lines of action, respectively the relation between the company and its employees, and the relation between the company and its categories of audiences/stakeholders involved.

In our opinion, integrating these directions into the codes of conduct and reporting on the way in which these have been applied represent, for companies as well as the community, is the proof of responsible practice. In this case, social responsibility may constitute an example of good practices in the Romanian society, a responsible practice at the level of the community, and an efficient tool in promoting the social inclusion of vulnerable groups. We hope that our observations may constitute new directions of action for future research.

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Acronyms:

- CGEDPCR – Committee for Gender Equality and Development of the Peace Corp Romania
- CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility
- EU – European Commission
- EC – European Council
- EU – European Union
- MSI – The Marketing and Surveys Institute
- NPAPPSinc – National Plan against poverty and for promoting social inclusion
- CPE – Center for Partnership and Equality
- PCARSDR – Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Social and Demographic Risks
- MWFSPAP – Ministry of Work, Family, Social Protection and Aged Persons



THE QUALIFICATION NEED FOR THE UNEMPLOYED PERSONS IN RURAL AREAS OF GORJ COUNTY

Gabriela ILIE¹

Abstract: *In this article I have presented the results of two focus-groups at which have participated both representatives of public administration institutions and employers from Gorj County. I have started from the hypothesis that the most sought after professions in the rural areas from Gorj county are in agricultural sustenance and the tertiary sectors. In fact, the most important purpose of the article to highlight that a strong knowledge of the labour market from the perspective of employers facilitates both the correlation between training to labour force needs and also the development of effective employment policies.*

Keywords: *unemployment, rural areas, qualification, skills, recruitment*

Introduction

The financial crisis which began in the autumn of 2008 has caused the most severe recession since the Second World War, affecting the entire economy and having strong effects on the labor market of the European Union. The economic crisis has brought a multitude of influences and negative determinations at social level, such as: a reduction of jobs and implicitly of secure incomes, an increase of debtors' rate and forced executions, a pauperization of large social categories and an extension of poverty, visible deterioration of life quality and chances of future evolution of numerous human collectives etc. In Europe, certain population categories, such as women, youth and people from rural areas were more affected by the economic crisis. In this line, it is recognized that the economic crisis not only determined a fragile situation having consequences on the work market but also weakened the social protection system that should create an equilibrium and reduce the crisis' negative effects (Preoteasa, 2011: 29). Currently, workforce employment is a priority goal and efforts are being taken to adapt the Romanian system in order to implement the European Strategy for Employment (Cace, Cace, Cojocaru, Nicolăescu, 2012:63).

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In the context of the economic recession, the labour market from Romania has faced significant transformations at the level of the volume and structure of the labour market. This process was characterized by a reduction of the active and employed population and by maintaining the unemployment rates at relatively constant values (Otovescu, 2011).

The topic of this study¹ consists of the investigation of the imbalanced labour market dimensions that currently exist in Gorj County (Romania). It can be said that the imbalance in the labour market is due to mismatches between supply and demand. On one hand, there is a mismatch between the number of jobs available and the number of people able to work and willing to be employed. On the other hand, there are significant differences between the skills that employers who offer jobs have and the availability of skills of the unemployed, especially those in rural areas. In the first part of this article, we present the literature review, presenting the most important approaches on employment and unemployment. Also, from a systemic point of view, we present some important European and national data on unemployment. The last part of the article presents the results of two focus-groups, conducted in 2012, at which there participated both representatives of public administration institutions and employers from Gorj County.

1. Literature Review

The relationship between education (professional development) and employment was explained with the aid of philosophical, sociological and, especially, economic theories. In the field of philosophy, two great branches were present: progressive theories and normative theories. The progressive theory's main representative was Dewey, who thought that education does not and should not have a specific purpose. Education has an important role in the development of personality, skills and expertise in children and as a consequence, all educative activities must be channelled towards that direction. At the opposite pole are situated the normative theories, according to which, school must fulfil "social efficiency"; it must produce workers, trainees and competent individuals, who will ensure the productivity of the society. To describe the relationship between education and work, the economic theories bring to the fore two concepts: "human development" and "human capital".

Hence, in one of his 1999 works, Lester Thurow stated: "Physical capital can be regained and resold. Human capital cannot be regained and resold" (Thurow, 1999). As a consequence of this, education performs an essential function, because of the fact that it represents an investment in the qualification of the workforce and an investment whose profit is obtained through the productivity of work. In regard to employment, in the field of economy, there have been countless thinkers who elaborated theories about it and how to use the workforce resources, some of them being: Adam Smith,

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David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus, John Stuart Mill and J. B. Say. For them, full employment represents one of the demands of market economy and the best economic policy in this domain would be the one which relies on the following phrase: *“Laissez faire et laissez passer, le monde va de lui même!”* (Smith, 1962: 204-205).

Also, in the economic field, a very important part is played by the theory of full employment in a macroeconomic sense as elaborated by J. M. Keynes. He created a balance between full employment and steady employment (which ensures the growth rate and usage of production capacities is compatible with price stabilization). According to the Keynesian theory, “full employment is a situation in which the aggregate employment remains inflexible towards the growth of effective demand for the production which is corresponding to it” (Keynes, 1970: 290-310). At the beginning of the 20th century, there emerge new theories in regard to work and professions, which can be grouped in two great orientations: constructivism and deconstructivism. The first emphasizes the part people play in the creation of professions while the latter analyses the process of how they are created by focusing on power (Nica, 2007: 15-16).

One of the important theories on unemployment was the theory of innovation, developed by Von Mangoldt. In his paper, the German economist spoke about a connection between unemployment and entrepreneurship. He released the theory that entrepreneurship can lead to profit and that profit is an important solution to diminish unemployment. In his opinion, the best ways to make profits and to diminish unemployment are: 1) to acquire productive agents; 2) to find specific markets; 3) to combine factors of production; 4) to find a successful sales policy and 5) to focus on innovations (Mouhammed, 2011: 100-110)

A different opinion about the connection between entrepreneurship and unemployment is presented by R.W. Fairlie (2013). According to her, “high unemployment rates could increase entrepreneurship because of limited opportunities in the labor market” (Fairlie, 2013: 223). The argument that Fairlie is using is that “recessions limit demand for the products and services of entrepreneurs”. In this case, individuals who currently have wage/salary jobs would be reluctant to leave those jobs to start a business that might struggle in these economic conditions (Fairlie, 2013: 224).

We can say that unemployment is affecting the outcome of people, not only from rural areas, but also from urban ones. This was explained also by Blanchard, who presented two points of view: “the first is that, given the positive probability of finding themselves unemployed, employed workers should and will care about the state of the labour market: the higher the unemployment rate, the more careful they will be in setting the wage. The second is that wages are not set unilaterally by unions, but rather by bargaining between unions and firms. And firms can threaten to hire the unemployed; the higher the unemployment rate, the more relevant the threat” (Blanchard, 2011:24).

In another paper, Blanchard and Wolfers emphasize the idea that we can explain the evolution of unemployment in different European economies by studying the interactions between “shocks and differences in labour market characteristics”

(Blanchard, Wolfers, 2000). This idea was also presented by other authors and researchers, who have noted that the labour market experienced its deepest downturn in the post-war era in the recent recession (Elsby et al., 2010).

Another important theory that is strongly related to unemployment is the theory on "labour market segmentation". According to this theory, "labour markets in low and middle income countries tend to be highly segmented, with different wages and conditions of employment in each sector and limited mobility from less productive to more productive jobs (Hull, 2009: 69). This theory is in contrast with the basic classical theories (that state equalization of wages), emphasizing that "since some workers cannot afford to remain unemployed, they will accept a "less productive" job in which earnings and/or conditions of employment are below the level set in the "more productive" sector" (Hull, 2009: 69).

During the last years, another important concept was emphasized in economic theory: the *underemployed*. They are defined as "those currently in work who would prefer to work longer hours. Their ability to supply hours at the current wage is constrained by the level of demand in the economy, because there simply isn't enough work around. Some of these people are classified in the official statistics as part-timers who would prefer to be full-time, but the phenomenon also applies to full-timers, which is not reported in the published Office for National Statistics (ONS) statistics" (Bell, Blanchflower, 2013: 224).

This phenomenon of *underemployed* persons can be explained by one factor: the decline of real wages. In Europe, and also in the United States "there has been such a dramatic increase in underemployment that the unemployment rate is now a poorer indicator of the degree of slack in the labour market than it has been in the recent past" (Bell, Blanchflower, 2013: 224).

2. Statistical data

Until the start of the financial crisis, the European labor market had witnessed an improvement, if we consider that in 2007, the EU employment rate of employment was 68% (approaching the "target" of the strategy from Lisbon - 70%), and the unemployment rate had fallen to near 7% (European Commission, 2011).

Statistical data presented by *Eurostat* indicate that the European Union was facing an increasing crisis after the American economy was greatly affected in 2007. Thus, in December 2008, the labour force market in the EU had 1.6 million unemployed people more than the previous year, the unemployment rate reaching 7.4%. In December 2008, the number of unemployed people was 17.91 million, the most affected states being the ones in the euro zone, where the number of unemployed increased by more than 1.4 million people. The highest unemployment rates were registered in Spain (14.4%) and Latvia (10.4%), while the lowest were registered in Netherlands (2.7%) and Austria (3.9%). Unemployment rate continued the upward trend in 2009 and 2010. In EU 27, the unemployment rate was 9.6% in September 2010, the same as in the USA, but almost double when compared to Japan (5%). In Europe, the highest rates of unemployment were registered in Spain (20.8%), Slovakia (14.7%) and Ireland (14.1%)

and the lowest in Netherlands (4.4%), Austria (4/5%) and Luxemburg (5%). (Eurostat, 2011)

At the end of December 2008, there was discussed for the first time the elaboration of a *European Economic Recovery Plan* whose main purpose was to minimize economic recession effects and to stimulate economic growth. According to this plan, the most important challenges for the European Union's economy were: decreasing unemployment, especially long-term unemployment and professional reconversion (European Commission, 2008).

The economic crisis unsettled the labour market in Romania and led to the increase of the unemployment rate to 8.1% (first trimester of 2011). We underline that in June and July 2008, it was registered as the lowest unemployment rate in our country – 3.7% - due to the favourable economic situation. In November 2009, the unemployment rate reached 7.5%, while the annual average was 6.3%. However, there was an upward trend until the end of January 2010, as there were 700,000 unemployed people in Romania and the estimated number for the end of the year was 1,000,000 persons (the number included the persons there that were not officially registered) (National Institute of Statistics, 2011)

By the middle of 2011, the highest unemployment rates were registered in Vaslui (13.94%), Mehedinți (12.36%), Teleorman (12.11%) and Dolj (11.35%). The lowest unemployment rates were characterized in Bucharest (2.57%), Ilfov (2.78%), as well as the counties Timiș (4.24%), Constanța (5.45%) and Bihor (5.94%) (National Agency for Employment, 2011).

3. Methodological approach

a) The main objectives and the method for selecting participants

The overall objective of the study was *to analyze the labour market trends as well as identifying the work demands in Gorj County*. More specifically, the qualitative research sought to identify the specific needs for employment and the creation of new jobs as well as the skills and professional abilities demanded by the labour market, hence the need for training. As specific objectives, we can mention the following: to analyze the county's labour market from the employers' point of view and the employers' perception on the rural unemployed from Gorj county, and to identify activity sectors that will grow in the future and occupations that are in demand on the urban labour market in Gorj county that may qualify for the rural unemployed.

The research method was a qualitative one – the focus-group. We have chosen these two categories of participants for the following reasons: on one hand, we believed that the employers know the best, which are the trends of the labour market, and can influence these trends, by absorbing the labour force from the entire county; on the other hand, we assumed that the representatives of local public administration (mayor, counselor, inspector etc.) can represent a bridge between employers or trainers and the unemployed persons from the rural areas.

The research was based on two focus-groups that were moderated on a moderation guideline. The guideline was divided into six topics for debate: the characteristics of the labour market in Gorj county, recruitment strategies, employability strategies for the unemployed (advantages and disadvantages), the rural unemployed typology in Gorj county, skills required for the unemployed to re-enter the labour market, difficulties in finding employment and professions and trades that will be required on the labour market - the need for training / retraining of the unemployed in the rural area of Gorj.

Another technique used was "verbal associative". Thus, the participants were handed boards and asked to write five words that they associated with the terms "labour market" and "unemployed". Another three boards were designed to obtain information on the difficulties faced by the unemployed in the labour market, the advantages and disadvantages of employers when hiring the unemployed as well as the fields and professions that will be required for the county's labour market in the future. Also, the "workshop scenario" technique has been used. The participants were asked to leave their current problems aside, to imagine a desirable future and then to identify the steps that need to be taken to achieve their desired scenario. Based on the present and the possible evolution of the labour market in Gorj, participants will evaluate different scenarios and solutions to the reintegration problem for the rural unemployed in Gorj county's labour market.

b) The main hypothesis of the research

H.1. *Employers, generally, show reluctance in hiring people who have not had a job in the last 3 years, especially if they are young.* Even more, at the beginning of the economic recession in Romania, some recruiters were forwarding the following scenario: companies preferred hiring people with at least two years experience in entry-level positions at the expense of fresh graduates, because they come on the same salary that they would also give to the students but bring know-how (knowledge). In this way, employers pay the same amount for an experienced employee, saving costs for training programs.

H.2. *Lack of employment for a long time generates the effect of "stigma" for the unemployed.* To cope with job loss, in a period of economic recession, and to face a period of unemployment, which automatically comes from the job loss, presents a difficult situation to resolve that puts deadlock on most workers. For most individuals, to be unemployed, even at the start of their active life, appears to have only a temporary effect on their future career perspectives and social positions. For disadvantaged young individuals who have not acquired basic knowledge, the failure experienced in their first encounter with the labour market is often difficult to avoid and can expose them to a long period of stigmatization.

H.3. *The most sought after professions in the rural areas in Gorj county are in agricultural sustenance and the tertiary sectors.* As the regional statistics prove, the most developed sectors in Gorj are the agricultural sustenance and tertiary sectors. For this reason, one of the solutions to the labour market reintegration for people who lost their jobs (that previously worked in the industrial sector – particularly the extraction industry and mining) could be retraining these people in the areas of agriculture (to facilitate the attainment of

European agricultural funds) and services (especially related to tourism, a well developed sphere of activity in Gorj county).

4. The results of the qualitative research

Labour market characteristics in Gorj County

From the statistical analysis of employment rates in Gorj county, major fluctuations arise in the use of the labour resources available. Given the economic specifics of the county, with a developed mining industry and with influences on the horizontal industry connected to it, we consider that there is a greater demand for male labour resources (Otovescu et.al., 2012).

It should be noted that, according to the National Agency for Employment, at the end of August 2013, in Gorj, the unemployment rate was 6.98%, corresponding to a total of 10,282 unemployed people, an upward trend of unemployment being registered compared to July of 2013 when the unemployment rate was 6.58%. Of the total number registered unemployed on 31/08/2013, the women count is 4,796, representing 46.64%, compared to July of 2013 when the number of unemployed women was 4,449 (45.92%). From the analysis of compensated and uncompensated unemployment registered on the agencies' accounts, we find that the number of uncompensated unemployed is 6,905, which include 3,112 women (67.16%) compared to 3,377 unemployed people receiving unemployment benefits, from which 1,684 are women, respectively 32.84% (National Agency for Employment, 2013).

On August 31st 2013, there were 265 long-term unemployed, young people less than 25 years, which include 93 women, representing 11.54% of the total unemployed in this category. Regarding the long-term unemployed, there were 2,478 unemployed persons, which include 1,013 women or 31.10% of the total unemployed of the same category, adults older than 25 years at the end of August 2013 (*Ibidem*).

For this first topic of discussion, we started from the following questions: "Is there a balance between supply and demand in the labour market in Gorj County?", "Where is a greater imbalance - in urban or rural areas?", and "What is the main feature of the labour market in Gorj County?". Following the discussion with the participants on the subject, the following conclusions were drawn:

"The labour market in Gorj is unbalanced; there is no relationship between supply and demand." "I think the imbalance is much higher in rural areas. There are many without a job in rural areas than in urban areas, big cities, because there it is easier to find a job ... while in small towns and villages you have nothing to do". Another opinion emphasized that "in rural areas most of those unemployed are men, because women are housewives and they have household deals, they never had a job".

From the conversation had with the public institutions representatives, there were some conclusions drawn that are significant for the situation in rural areas: *"The labour market is weak, not only in rural areas but also in Targu-Jiu. However, in rural areas the situation is more delicate. Let's take, for example, Căpreni village. Although it is located on an oil zone, it has very few jobs. For example, where 20 people were working, now, due to modernization there are only 2-3. These*

people don't really have anywhere to go ... they are tied to the community. They stay unemployed nine months, and then have nothing more to do. Since 1996, when that government ordinance on staff reductions was released in this village, occurred a lot of things: some of the people who worked in oil had no expertise in this area, no qualifications and therefore could not work abroad. "

Another participant from the first group said that following a personal experience, the participant realized that there is a big difference between the job offers in the North (ex. Bistrita County) and South of the country. *"For example, in Targu-Jiu, where in addition to two large shops, one of which went bankrupt, there is nothing. Most large companies have left the area .. Beyond the Carpathians, as if it were another God".*

Although we might think that a job offer is more generous in the city Turceni due to the thermal electricity plant, one of the representatives here from the City Hall informed us this: *"Officially, the unemployment number here isn't very great, because they take into account only those receiving unemployment but in fact it is very high. Most of them are young."*

"Even if there is the thermal plant, it is very difficult to get a job there. Although the High School in Turceni has an energy profile, they do not hire young high school graduates anymore and they often go abroad or stay at home on their parents' money". The local public administration representatives say that the biggest offer of employment in the rural areas resides in services: *"When some companies come into the village they come with their own workers, their own labour, the only hiring they make are in security to guard some warehouses with products or materials"*

Concerning the participants from the second group, the employers, they have shown other significant issues in the labour market of Gorj. It was said that *"the construction domain was one of the most affected by the crisis in the county"*. However, the number of firms that have supplemented this staff is very high. Unfortunately, it also specified that *"this is the area where most employments are undocumented, and many of the new employees are qualified to work without having their skills tested, thus acquired."*

Recruitment strategies. Advantages and disadvantages of hiring the unemployed

This section of the discussion sought to identify the information channels used in recruiting skilled labour, to explore different recruitment behaviors, and to identify employers' expectations for potential candidates at a job.

Professional skills are the major criteria for most employers' representatives. In this period of uncertainty regarding the return of Romania's economic growth before the crisis, employers prefer a large extent of their staff to be hired on a fixed period. It has been said that *"for much larger companies, it is more profitable to hire staff for an undetermined time. They make important investments in human resources"*. An employer said that *"whether or not the experience, the probationary period is the fairest. Although some candidates have an impressive resume after a trial period, you can tell whether or not the candidate is compatible with the open job position"*. Another group of employers said on the contrary, *"they do not take account of the skills an unemployed person has and prefer to form him"* and to provide a qualification (training) for the workplace, a solution involving high financial costs. At the same time there were opinions like *"experience has an important role in the recruitment strategy."* Basically, experience proves to be the best predictor for future employment.

Most employers appreciate that when they recruit, they do it through the following means: newspaper ads, website profiles (electronic platforms: *Ejobs*, *Bestjobs*), ads in the County Employment Agency or recommendations and informal networks of recruitment.

Also, it was revealed that the rural unemployed from Gorj follow these descriptive characteristics: he is young: *"most keep a firm grip on their posts, they would do anything to avoid being thrown out, but one that does not work, has no choice but to wait for the opening of a new job"*; has secondary education *"even young people stopped going to college because they do nothing with it"*.

- the female unemployed: *"they do not work because they are housewives, they take care more of the children and family."* Given the fact that housewives either never worked or long ago went from being active, they have difficulties in adjusting to the modern labour market, have few incentives to lower or maintain a place of employment and their qualifications are either nonexistent or redundant on the labour market.
- the male unemployed: *"they are the majority, because women can handle things better. Some leave the country to work in agriculture. Others remain here and work as salesmen or waiters. Others have never worked"*
- the young unemployed that has not worked for a period of 1-3 years;
- the unemployed that has not worked for a while longer (3-5 years or more) is part of the 35-54 years of age group
- *"doesn't have qualifications for a particular job."* Here it should be noted that most of the time, not all categories of being unemployed are open to the following qualification classes. For example, those who have never worked *"have a high degree of reluctance to training / retraining that may follow."*

Skills required for an unemployed to find a new job

One of the strategy components to overcome unemployment status is the effort put in searching for a job (*"he must want to work and frequently seek a job to find one"*).

When the level of education is higher, the chances of finding a job are higher, employers' representatives appreciated, especially because *"there is a widespread practice in Romania: the positions that normally would be filled in by persons with secondary education a university degree is required."*

Work experience is another advantage for the unemployed in finding work: *"If you write in a resume that you worked there and there and there, it matters more than if you finished some college. At the same time, many of the employers do not seem to care much for what is written in the CV. For the candidate to obtain a post, he should be open to learning new things to fold on the company's profile. Otherwise, if he can't accommodate, difficulties arise and he gives up because he can not cope"*.

If employers put great emphasis on work experience, the representatives of the public institutions have argued that they have encouraged citizens to continue their studies: *"Everyone must have a certificate, a diploma, a certificate that can attest he can do something. Otherwise, he won't find a job, even if in practice he is much better prepared than a person who holds a certificate"*. Not least, it was considered that one of the most important skills is the skill of computer use: *"not only should the young be able to use a computer but also the averaged age. It*

comes to no end if he knows generally, but has no degree, he cannot engage in such a post. The employer asks: What do you do? Well, I know... that... but do you have a degree? ..."

The majority opinion of the participants in both focus groups was that *"whatever skills they hold in relation to the labour market, the unemployed person must attend a training / retraining course"*. From the perspective of the participants in the focus groups, the accumulation of qualifications can be a viable strategy to increase the chances for the unemployed to find a job. *"A lot of qualifications look better in resumes"; "in the meantime it seems natural to do courses because the labour market is very fluctuant and even if you have studies and experience, one cannot guarantee that you are sufficiently prepared."*

Difficulties in finding a job

There are situations where the unemployed attend a job without having the necessary skills and abilities to perform the tasks involved and *"without having knowledge of the requirements that must be met."* The difficulties faced by the unemployed in the labour market at the time of attempting insertion are not necessarily correlated to legislation aspects.

Among the challenges identified by the participants in both focus groups, that condition, the reinsertion of unemployed people into the labour market were mentioned preparation (education), and experience and access to a job on the basis of connections. *"Many complain that they are not experienced. But where to gain it if no one gives them a chance to gain experience."*

In both focus groups, there was brought into discussion the impediment of training and education of a person. One of the reasons for the lack of success in finding a job is the lack of higher education. In this situation we find:

- housewives with children and family who did not have time to follow specialized courses or forms of higher education;
- the unemployed aged over 45 years whose qualifications do not meet the current labour market requirements. This creates a sense of discouragement and thus them abandoning the quest in finding a job.

Another difficulty is that of the experience required for employment. Young people aged between 18 and 24 years are most affected by this difficulty, especially young graduates. *"Everywhere, if you don't have experience, the employers say: We'll call you and they never call back "*.

Age represents another impediment. Although with work experience *"people over 45 years have difficulties in finding a job, even if they will work on any post."* The area of residence is another difficulty: *"If the unemployed person is from the rural areas, some employers are reluctant to hire because they will have to bear the travel costs"*.

Skills that will be required in the labour market. The need for training for the unemployed in Gorj County

One of the solutions meant to correct the imbalances in the labour market, particularly in relation to structural references and to reduce the phenomenon of training inadequacy at specific jobs, which are offered at times, is retraining. Orientation and

qualification of individuals, in jobs that are required on the labour market, implies an anticipation of job mobility, both in relation to technical change and to the forecast of job restructuring. Participants in the two focus groups felt that the re-qualification themes need to be as varied as possible, therefore more useful for the unemployed. Courses should not be in areas where there is already a labour inflation but should be to enable their retraining for a job position where they would have more opportunities.

Given the fact that Gorj County enrolls in the national trend that, of the service sector, there have been proposed retraining courses such as: security guard, waiter, commercial worker, cook, barber, tailor. These courses are useful because *"they can afford to make a small workshop in the village. For example, we can use a tailor or a hairdresser. Plus, a qualification in textiles would help a female person get a job easier."* Given the fact that in the rural area the dominant activities are agricultural, practicing agricultural sustenance, some proposals were advanced for courses from European funds for agricultural contracting *"it is very difficult to get European funds, because you need money and it also takes a certain level of training or expertise in an area."* With such a qualification, people could obtain funds for crops or livestock. Even more *"the people are not informed, even if they wanted to access European funds."*

Some of the APL representatives discussed the need for specific qualifications in rural areas that would help the unemployed in these areas to obtain European funds. *"They need certificates in order to obtain funds for crops or livestock. So, such a course would be beneficial for them."* A representative of the village Căpreni discussed the situation of the areas' inhabitants where there is an activity developed on the extraction of methane gas. Given the fact that investors have already appeared in the area, it would be useful for the local residents who are looking for a job to take a retraining program in the craft of borer. *"In our village, there will be the largest natural gas processing plant in Eastern Europe. The investment is of those at OMV Petrom. Why not place the unemployed in our village there? What if they have a qualification in this field? Why bring more manpower and specialists from other areas?"* Starting from this descriptive situation, it was advanced the possibility of retraining Căpreni's unemployed inhabitants into security guards. *"There are many who are not qualified and are being used at the caterer or security firms."* The need for security guards was described by the employers' representatives: *"here were recently developed security firms. Therefore, there is a need for security guards"*.

As for the unemployed with higher education, they can retrain in the fields of: insurance, IT or procurement. For example, it is acknowledged that *"the insurance field is fairly developed; most job vacancies are present in this sector."* In order to get a job in the fields above or to access European funding, it is very profitable for an unemployed person to hold a certificate of qualification in IT or procurement.

5. Conclusions

Generally, in times of economic recession, any person is prone to the risk of becoming unemployed, regardless of their level of education. But often, people who have poor qualifications and medium levels of education are more affected by unemployment than those with a higher education level. At the level of quantitative analysis, it is important to continue first to carefully examine the information available at the lowest disaggregated level, with as much additional economic and socio-demographic data as possible

(Marin, 2012:667). These are the main conclusions of our qualitative research that is confirming also some of the theories that we have presented in the article. Indeed, in times of economic recession, people are more careful with their jobs and give a bigger importance to their wages. We find not only persons that are underemployed, who are trying to face the consequences of the economic crisis, but also, most important of all, unemployed people. The most exposed persons to the risk of being unemployed in times of economic crisis are: youths, females, people with medium and low level of qualification and persons from rural areas. So, specific attention should be kept on youths from rural areas who have low qualifications and no skills for getting a job. This category of population is considered to be “outside” of the labour market. Finally, a special attention has to be paid to bridge the gender gap, where women are concentrated in low-paying occupations, aspects more visible in rural areas (Joseph, J., 2012:787). Thus, in the near future, it would be necessary to follow as our recommendation: improving the data base for women workers, through more detailed questions, which would help to identify and quantify women's work in terms of productive and domestic work (Kumari, R., Pandey, A., 2012:31).

Gorj county's economic restructuring has led to a significant reduction in the number of jobs, which considerably diminishes the chances of reintegration into the labour market for vulnerable groups. To facilitate access to employment for people looking for a job, we need to improve the overall knowledge of the evolution of economic factors and their needs in terms of labour force. Thorough knowledge on the dynamics of the labour market, from the perspective of the employers' representatives, will correlate with the professional training and the needed manpower as well as capturing the areas of work that will be searched in the future in the labour market in Gorj.

From the two focus-groups conducted, we have concluded that people from rural areas of Gorj County still have the chance to be reinserted into the labour market if they will participate in training programs that will help them to acquire the skills needed in order to get a job. Being a county that has an economy mostly based on tourism, the unemployed persons can participate in training programs for: pension administrator, receptionist and chambermaid. According to the fact that in rural areas the most important sector is the primary one, people practicing subsistence agriculture, there have been also suggested that it is very important for the unemployed to participate in courses that will certificate their level of expertise in this field. This will help them, for example, to obtain more easily European funds to maintain crop diversity.

We can conclude that the main method of diminishing unemployment in rural areas that has been advanced by the participants at the focus-groups was the training programs, which aim to correct the imbalances in the labour market, and to reduce the phenomenon of training inadequacy and workforce training at specific labour places, which are offered at a given time.

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ABOUT THE RATIO BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL NEEDS AND THE FAMILY INCOME - ROMANIA 2010

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Abstract: Reporting to the year 2010, in the present paper we intend to determine the level of the social inequality in Romania. The research was based on a national representative sample. Instead to use directly the total earnings of a person we suggest analysing the ratio between the individual needs and the family income. We applied statistical tests and we used frequently the stochastic order to establish possible differences among different subgroups selected by the residence type, gender or by the age criterion. For every studied subgroup the average opinion reveals a general dissatisfaction state imposed by the reduced chance to have a decent level of life. More, we proved that the discontent degree increases regularly with the age of the individual. The most affected persons are the elderly and the people living in the rural area.

Keywords: income, social inequality, family, poverty

1. Trends in evaluating social inequality

Following a general European and world trend we noticed lately an increasing number of economy and sociology papers focusing on the measurement of the level of inequality existing between the inhabitants of Romania. Inequality may take various aspects. We may thus speak of material, cultural, ethnic, religious, gender inequality, or more subtle, discrimination based on the social status of the individual.

Initially, I started from the idea of the direct measurement of the material inequality within the Romanian society based on the available complex data regarding the income and consumption of the different categories of people and households in Romania of the 2010 years (Quality of life diagnosis, 2010). I noticed, however, several peculiar problems which made us to give up gradually this approach. Thus, besides the aspects pertaining to the correctness of the individual statements from the questionnaires, we

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also encountered an array of difficulties of processing and interpreting the existing information, many times because of the lack of a national standardization (Slesnick, 1998).

Below is an attempt to construct a new point of view in measuring the social inequalities while highlighting particular aspects that might alter substantially our conclusions.

The socio-economic research often mentions that the determination, as accurate as possible, of the level of social inequality within a community should never be neglected (Cowell, 2000; Duclos & Araar, 2005).

The presence of major inequalities between the individuals of a population often leads directly to the display of different types of social conflicts (Esteban & Ray, 2011). This aspect is revealed particularly when large material differences exist within a society: a large, very poor category of people living at the limit of subsistence, the lack of a consistent middle class, a high level of polarization between the rich and the poor.

The theoretical modelling focusing on the axiomatic approach of the states of social conflict is exquisitely treated by Esteban and Ray (2011). Thus, they present a pattern of conflicting situation closely related to the phenomena of inequality and polarization. They consider indicators of polarization based on the existence of poles of concentration or, as alternative, the level of decrease of the “middle class”. They highlight the importance of finding, within a given system, the unique characteristics of equilibrium which vary, however, within an imposed context. The deviation from the “state of equilibrium” might be a good measure of the latent state of conflict within a given population.

Complex sociological researches on income polarization in Romania are those of Molnar (2013). In evaluating the level of “poor-rich” polarization of the Romanian society, Molnar uses both indicators revealing the two characteristic poles of income distribution, and coefficients that measure the extent and consistency of the middle class. Thus, he analyses years 1995, 2000, 2006, 2007 and 2008 using 7 indicators of polarization. Taking into consideration only these years, Molnar noticed the higher coefficient of polarization in Romania in 2008 (Molnar, 2013). These seven indicators of polarization were constructed following different principles of evaluation. The agreement between the resulting values strengthens the veracity of the above conclusion of Molnar (2013).

Poverty, polarization and, more generally, social inequality, are intensely studied by the sociologists and economists. Usually, these evaluations use different indicators because poverty, polarization and inequality don not necessarily intercondition in all real situations (Ștefănescu, 2011a: 197-216; Ștefănescu, 2011b). Thus, the Gini coefficient, the most popular indicator used the measure the aspect of inequality cannot be always applied in order to evaluate the level of poverty within a community (Ștefănescu 2010a, Ștefănescu 2011b).

The existing literature displays the frequent use of an ordinal type of approach, which provides a high level of validity to the evaluation of poverty and social equity (Duclos &

Araar, 2005; Cowell & Victoria-Feser, 1996). Within this context, we notice the relation of stochastic order (Kleiber & Kotz, 2003), which will be used in the subsequent sections to classify some variables and to highlight the disfavoured groups.

Following are some brief details that will highlight the problems that may appear within the process of measuring the social inequality.

The literature has very many indicators which measure the level of poverty and inequity within a given population (Duclos & Arar, 2005; Cowell & Jenkins, 2003). Generally, these indicators depend on the values of some specific parameters which have correct significance for the, as accurate as possible, interpretation of the results (Duclos & Arar, 2005). Major difficulties arise when we have to set correctly the “poverty thresholds” (Duclos & Arar, 2005): the literature shows at least two distinct currents. One methodology relies in the actual definition of the “poverty threshold”. Thus, the poverty threshold is determined depending on the actual distribution of the income, being often regarded as a specific quantile of this distribution (for instance, the 0.20 probability quantile or, very frequently, the first quartile). The other approach is more objective because it relies on the stringent necessities of the person. Thus, the poverty threshold is determined in relation with the value of the “minimum consumption basket”, basket designed using particular concrete criteria. One criterion used in practice stipulates the requirement that each person may live a *decent living* (Duclos & Arar, 2005). Depending on this requirement, the people whose income is below the lowest admitted value for the consumption basket are stated to be “poor”.

Because of the dependency of the actual value of the consumption basket on very many objective and subjective aspects, an error will result, which must necessarily be estimated (Ștefănescu & Mihăilescu, 2012).

Relying on the “*pro-poor*” principle (Duclos, 2009; Cowell, 2000), as soon as the subgroup of the poor people is clearly delimited by applying a specific procedure, we will estimate the level of social inequality existing within that particular population (Cowell, 2000); we may then proceed to make comparisons with other groups or countries, we may monitor the dynamic evolution of the populational structure and draft forecasts (using the stochastic simulation too, Ștefănescu & Mihăilescu, 2012), or we may propose different social policies that are adequate and efficient for that particular situation (Zamfir, 1999).

Such methodology has several vulnerable spots, however. Some of them are listed below.

- Usually, one accepts the hypothesis that the threshold of poverty is a p-quantile obtained by the distribution of the incomes of the overall population. However, this has no theoretic background. We therefore decided to relate the incomes to the basic requirements of the person (Cowell & Ebert, 2004), as shown in the following sections.
- We usually don’t have available the distribution of the incomes of a particular community of people, and this distribution is actually estimated using representative samples. Within this context, we may notice a large variety of theoretical classes and

distributions that may be used to model the incomes of a particular population (Kleiber & Kotz, 2003). Such parameterized classes of distribution are not selected randomly, but are actually constructed observing particular axioms specific to the process of making an income (Kleiber & Kotz, 2003). Thus, the low incomes are better modelled using the lognormal distribution, while the higher incomes usually display a Pareto distribution (Kleiber & Kotz, 2003).

- After mentioning the distribution of the incomes and after determining the subgroup of “poor people”, we will have to choose from a wide range of indices the best indicator to measure the level of inequality existing within the surveyed population (Cowell, 2000; Duclos & Araar, 2005; Slesnik, 1998). Within this context we remind you that the Gini indicator is the most used indicator to measure the inequality, coefficient which is not, however, always suitable to evaluate the level of poverty from a particular population (Ștefănescu 2010a, Ștefănescu 2011b).

In sociology and economy it is absolutely necessary to use specific indicators to measure the efficiency of governmental decisions. In this case our purpose is to measure the welfare of the population (Cowell & Jenkins, 2003).

Actually, the efficacy of the different public policies relies on the techniques used to measure the different forms of welfare (Cowell & Jenkins, 2003).

The welfare of people is often analysed in sociology through the prism of the actual income designed by the term “cash”, while neglecting considerable amounts of resources which the individual receives as “*non-cash*”. For details see the synthesis made by Smeeding et al. (1993).

The microsimulation of the socio-economic patterns is widely used lately to get qualitative and quantitative data necessary for the analysis of the effect which the public policies have. Thus, Bourguignon and Spadaro (2006) studied the influence of the taxes on the standard of living as well as actual modalities to redistribute the incomes. Microsimulation allows using extremely inhomogeneous “agents”, characteristic which is frequently demanded by the social practice.

Actually, we used the Monte Carlo stochastic simulation to characterise in terms of probability the fluctuations of the threshold which defines the minimal decent standard of living in the case of the families with two people making incomes and with two children, living in an urban environment (Ștefănescu & Mihăilescu, 2012). The simulation algorithm can be easily adapted for other types of families from Romania.

Limiting the information that defines the material inequality just to the level of the person, while not taking into account the global income of the household is an important source of error, because this income affects a rather large number of people. At the same time, we recommend applying the questionnaire for several adult people that belong to the same household (Micklewright & Schnepf, 2007). Regarding the income of the individuals, we will use a battery of questions, rather than a single question. (Micklewright & Schnepf, 2007).

In order to avoid counting errors, rather than studying the total income of the individual or of the household, we will follow the weekly or monthly consumption, which is easier to manage.

With the intention to avoid some problems that often occur within the process of the direct evaluation of the social inequality we may focus on the indirect measurement of the inequality following an analysis of the effects due to the lack of equity (Cowell & Ebert, 2004; Devooght, 2003).

We would like to stress that material income is not very important in itself if it is not permanently correlated with the usual necessities of a particular person in the situation of a “decent standard of living” (Cowell & Ebert, 2004; Devooght, 2003). In this acceptance, we may say that a person is “poor” if his/her income doesn’t provide the means to meet his/her basic necessities for a “decent standard of living” (also see Cowell & Ebert, 2004). Devooght (2003) theorized on this manner of interpretation.

Given this latter idea of approach, we will not study the distribution of the total income of the family, rather the ratio of the income to necessities within that particular family.

2. Methodological details

We will analyse the poverty level of the Romanian population in terms of meeting some necessities that are unanimously accepted for a “*decent standard of living*”.

The survey was done in 2010 using a questionnaire with about 320 questions focusing on the diagnosis of the quality of life in Romania (Diagnosis of the quality of life, 2010). The sample designed by the Institute for Quality of Life Research – Romanian Academy, was representative at the national level (1161 persons).

Question *Q1* from the questionnaire concerns the ration of the family incomes and necessities, as it was formulated by the 2010 Diagnosis of the quality of life:

Q1 = “*How do you evaluate the total incomes of your family in relation with your necessities?*”

The interviewed people can choose between five responses encoded from 1 to 5:

1 = “not enough for the bare necessities”;

2 = “enough just for the bare necessities”;

3 = “enough for a decent living, but we cannot afford buying more expensive items (furniture, luxury clothing, car, house, etc.)”;

4 = “we manage to buy some expensive items, but with effort”;

5 = “we manage to buy everything we need with no big effort”.

The surveyed groups were denominated as follows: *E* (the whole sample), *B* (**m**en), *F* (**w**omen), *R* (**r**ural), *U* (**u**rban), *T* (**y**oung), *A* (**a**dult), *M* (**m**ature), *V* (**o**ld).

The definition of categories *T*, *A*, *M*, *V* was related to their age of the person, as follows: young people *T* (age < 30), adult *A* (30 <= age < 45), mature *M* (45 <= age < 60), old *V* (age >= 60).

The selection of these age categories is arguable. For instance, in the European Union, the old people are those aged 65+. However, considering that the life expectancy in

Romania is considerably lower than in the EU, we decided for the lower threshold of 60 years to characterise the group of old people.

We will now show the possible differences existing between groups $A-V$ defined previously. To this purpose we will operate with the repartition functions of variables $A-V$ which quantify the answers to $Q1$ for those particular subgroups.

It is known that the repartition of a simple discrete random variable with m “distinct possibilities of answer” is uniquely determined by specifying just $m-1$ moments of that variable. Therefore, the random variable $Q1$ will be fully specified if we know its first four moments. Consequently, the class of repartitions that defines variable $Q1$ is fully characterized by four parameters.

Within this context we will have a good approximation of the random variable $Q1$ if we will only use the first two moments of $Q1$, which are the mean and its dispersion. Given this latter issue, in the following sections we will give graphics of variable $A-V$ or we will make statistical tests using just two defining parameters for those repartitions, i.e. the mean and its dispersion.

The statistical tests will mainly analyse the intensity of the difference between means μ_1, μ_2 of two arbitrary groups $Gr1$ and $Gr2$ selected from the multitude $\{E, B, F, R, U, T, A, M, V\}$.

Therefore, the null hypothesis H_0 of the statistical test is $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$ with the alternative hypothesis $H_1 : \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$. We designate by t the statistics of that particular test, parameter q being the “threshold” calculated on a critical domain that corresponds to a level of significance α . Applying the statistical test we will get value 1 (if $t \leq q$ we accept hypothesis H_0 , case in which means μ_1, μ_2 presumably being equal), and value 0 (if $t > q$ we reject hypothesis H_0 accepting its alternative H_1 , means μ_1, μ_2 presumably being different).

We will actually operate with two variants within the case of the null hypothesis $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$, i.e. $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$, and $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$. Values σ_1, σ_2 are the square mean deviations (standard deviations) which resulted for groups $Gr1$ and $Gr2$ whose means we are comparing. The standard deviations σ_1, σ_2 are taken to be theoretically unknown and they are to be estimated from the experimental data.

In order to distinguish between the two variants of test we will note in a different manner statistics t and the rejection threshold q in such situations. More precisely, in the case of H_0 with $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ we will use notations t^* and q^* instead of t and q . In the case of H_0 with $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$ t, q parameters will be designed by t^{**} , and q^{**} .

Details on the actual way of defining the statistics t^*, t^{**} and the actual rejection thresholds q^*, q^{**} for the null hypothesis are presented in the Statistics Encyclopaedia drawn up by Iosifescu, Moineagu, Trebici and Ursianu (1985: 393-405).

In order to compare the repartition of the random variables $\mathcal{A}\text{-}\mathcal{V}$ attached to the different groups, we will use in section 5 the relation of stochastic order (Kleiber & Kotz [11]).

Thus, be X, Y two discrete simple random variables that may take the distinct values $1, 2, 3, \dots, m$ and which have the repartition functions $F(k)$, and $G(k)$, $1 \leq k \leq m$. We define the stochastic order $X \leq_S Y$ if and only if $F(k) \geq G(k)$ for any $1 \leq k \leq m$.

Within this context we mention that in order to measure the inequality existing between the random variables X and Y we may also use different types of order relations.

Thus, $X \leq_M Y$ if and only if $Media(X) \leq Media(Y)$ (inequality “mean”).

In our statistical analysis we will not use operator “ \leq_M ” because extremely different repartitions of the data can lead sometimes to equal means.

The most popular indicator used in economy and sociology to measure the level of inequality of the distribution of the values of variable X is the Gini coefficient.

Relying on the concept of inequality in the meaning of Gini, $0 \leq Gini(X) \leq 1$, we define inequality $X \leq_G Y$ between the random variables X and Y if and only if $Gini(X) \leq Gini(Y)$.

We mention that the relation of stochastic order is “more restrictive” than the order relations based on the Gini index or on the indicator “arithmetic mean”. More precisely:

- For any random variables X, Y if $X \leq_S Y$ then $X \leq_M Y$;
- Furthermore, whichever of the random variables X, Y if $X \leq_S Y$ we also have $X \leq_G Y$.

The reciprocals of two propositions are not true, however. Thus, variable X can be “smaller” than Y in the meaning of the arithmetical mean or in the Gini meaning, while the relation of stochastic order between X and Y must not necessarily remain.

We remind that any relation of order “ \leq ” displays the property of transitivity because $X \leq Y$ and $Y \leq Z$ necessarily implies $X \leq Z$. This fact will allow us to set a partial “local” hierarchy.

Many studies of sociology and economy often use the arithmetic mean in the process of making hierarchies, or even more often the Gini coefficient. By the aspects we

mentioned earlier, we motivate our option to use the relation of stochastic order (Kleiber & Kotz [11]) in order to highlight the disfavoured groups of individuals.

We have permanently in mind a systemic approach of the aspects generated by question $Q1$ in the meaning of the aspects Ștefănescu presented in [22]. To simplify the discourse and in order to allow the easy acceptance of the conclusions, we preferred to use suggestive graphic representations of the proposed statistical models. We also purposely avoided using a sophisticated mathematical instrumentation based on measures of dissimilarity, indicators of inequality, diversity and polarization, techniques of selecting the main attributes and various methods of agglomerative hierarchical classification (details in Ștefănescu [22]).

3. Ration of the incomes to the needs

We will analyse the answers to question $Q1$ about the relation between the family incomes and its necessities for subgroups $A-V$ defined previously.

Table 1 shows the size of subgroups $A-V$ together with the means and dispersion of these classes. Upon a first evaluation, we notice differences, sometimes outstanding, between the means of dispersion of $A-V$ subgroups (Table 1). We will study these aspects using Figure 1. Points $A-V$ are represented graphically in a rectangular system which has as coordinates the means and dispersions of those groups (Figure 1).

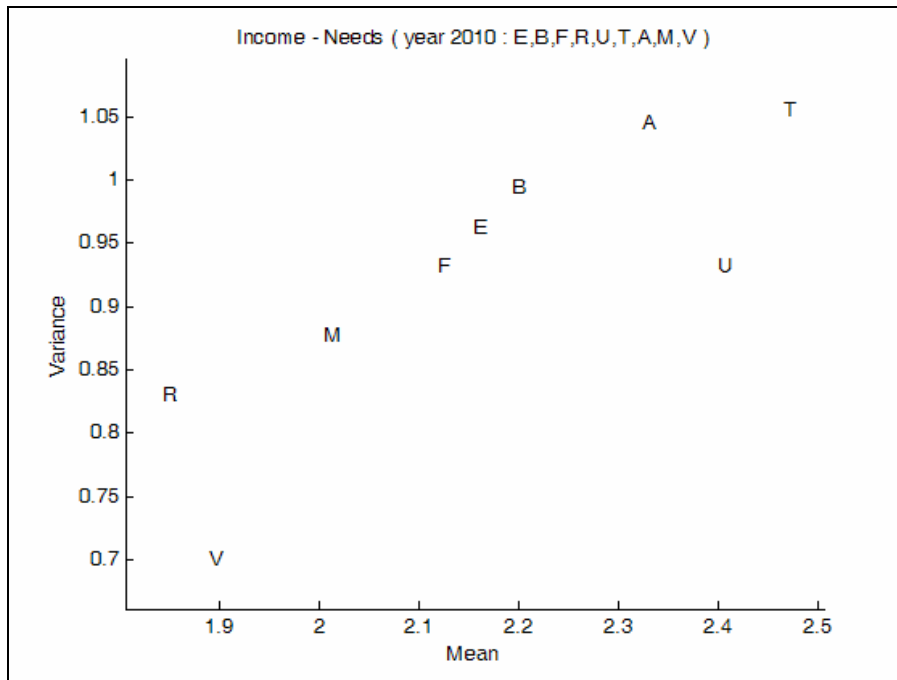
Table 1. Statistic characteristics of groups $A-V$ depending on the response to question $Q1$ (“incomes to necessities” ratio, 2010)

Indices	Variables								
	E	B	F	R	U	T	A	M	V
number	1161	549	612	514	647	228	334	278	321
mean	2.156	2.195	2.121	1.846	2.402	2.465	2.323	2.007	1.891
variance	0.964	0.995	0.933	0.830	0.933	1.056	1.045	0.878	0.702

Interpreting the data of *Table 1* and the graphical representation of points $A-V$ in *Figure 1* we may notice:

- A decrease in the following order, T, A, M, V (the age classes: “young”, “adult”, “mature”, “old”) both of the means and of the dispersion of these variables, which shows the gradual worsening of the situation and a gradual decrease of the response fluctuation (an increasingly stable opinion for these subgroups, *Figure 1*). Therefore, the interviewed people are increasingly dissatisfied with their incomes as they grow older.
- Overall, the situation is “dramatic”, all the means of the surveyed variables $A-V$ being lower than 3 (*Table 1, Figure 1*). The mean value of 3 represents a “rather balanced” population in terms of income-necessities ratio (for instance, all response variants $R1-R5$ at question $Q1$ are represented in equal proportions for the studied community).

Figure 1. Position of groups *A-V* depending on the answer to question *Q1* (family incomes related to family needs, 2010)



- Men (*B*) and women (*F*) have about the same opinion, on the average (*Table 1*, *Figure 1*). Compared to the women, the men are more “optimistic” regarding the income-necessities (compare the mean values from *Table 1*). On the other hand, the opinions of the women are less fluctuating than the opinions of the men (see the dispersion values in *Table 1*).
- There are major differences (*Table 1*, *Figure 1*) between the young people (*T*) and the old people (*V*) or between the people living in the rural (*R*) and those living in the urban (*U*).
- Usually, the old people cannot have a decent standard of living unless they use own savings. Furthermore, the opinion of the old people is extremely stable (compare the dispersion of variable *V* in *Table 1* ; the ordinate of point *V* has the lowest value in relation with the ordinates of all the other points *A-V* from *Figure 1*).
- The young people are at the opposite end (variable *T* in *Table 1* and *Figure 1*). Just remember that the evaluation of the young people about their income shows general dissatisfaction, the average score being below the standard of a rather balanced society (case in which the mean of the answers to *Q1* is 3). However, compared to the old people, the opinion of the young people regarding the ration

of their incomes and necessities is much more favourable, in average (variables T and V in *Figure 1* and *Table 1*).

- We noticed a rather linear standing of the age categories defined generically by: “old people” (V), “mature” (M), “adult” (A), “young” (T). This suggests the possibility of using just one indicator (for instance the mean of the variable) and not two distinct coordinates (mean and dispersion) to compare the age subgroups.

Reevaluating all these conclusions, we may naturally ask whether the differences identified in *Figure 1* or *Table 1* between variables $A-V$ are actually significant. In the following section we will deal with this aspect.

4. Differentiation of the groups

Figure 1 shows value differences between the means of subgroups $A-V$, some of the differences being quite significant. The essential aspect is to see how statistically significant these differences are.

Following the specifications from the methodological section, we will now test the equality of the means μ_1, μ_2 for any of the two groups $Gr1$ and $Gr2$ selected from multitude $\{E, B, F, R, U, T, A, M, V\}$. Remember that all these means are calculated for the answers to question $Q1$ (“income - necessities”) from the questionnaire, considering only the individuals from subgroups $A-V$.

Table 2. Testing the differences between the means of subgroups $A-V$ (for 2010).

$Gr1$	$Gr2$	t^*	q^*	H_0 $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$	t^{**}	q_1^{**}	H_0 $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$
E	B	-0.763	1.961	1	-0.759	1.962	1
E	F	0.718	1.961	1	0.721	1.962	1
E	R	6.091	1.961	0	6.269	1.962	0
E	U	-5.137	1.961	0	-5.161	1.962	0
E	T	-4.311	1.962	0	-4.181	1.968	0
E	A	-2.714	1.962	0	-2.654	1.965	0
E	M	2.293	1.962	0	2.359	1.965	0
E	V	4.412	1.962	0	4.824	1.964	0
B	F	1.283	1.962	1	1.281	1.962	1
R	U	-9.989	1.962	0	-10.056	1.962	0
T	A	1.614	1.964	1	1.612	1.965	1
T	M	5.237	1.965	0	5.189	1.965	0
T	V	7.193	1.964	0	6.951	1.966	0
A	M	3.954	1.964	0	3.985	1.964	0
A	V	5.902	1.964	0	5.925	1.964	0
M	V	1.599	1.964	1	1.587	1.964	1

Remember that the null hypothesis H_0 of the statistic test, $H_0 : \mu_1 = \mu_2$, has two sub-variants, $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ (the theoretical standard deviations are presumable equal), and $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$ (the probabilistic model with different standard deviations). Statistics t and the decision threshold q of test H_0 are different in situations $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ and $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$, this obtaining values t^* , q^* , and t^{**} , q^{**} , respectively (Table 2). The result of the statistical test will be 1 or 0 depending whether the null hypothesis H_0 is accepted (the theoretical means μ_1, μ_2 are presumable equal) or rejected (distinct μ_1, μ_2 means).

The square mean deviations σ_1, σ_2 are not actually known, being estimated from the experimental data (Iosifescu, Moineagu, Trebici and Ursianu, [10], p.393-405).

Table 2 is a synthesis of the results of the statistical test.

Table 2 shows clearly that irrespective of the sub-variant of operation $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ or $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$, we accept the null hypothesis H_0 ("equal means") only for the pairs of variables (E,B) , (E,F) , (B,F) , (T,A) and (M,V) .

Therefore, there are no statistically significant differences between the means of the following groups: men-women; young-adult; mature-old. Furthermore, the mean of the whole sample for question $Q1$ is equal with the mean of the group of men or with that of the group of women.

On the other hand, we notice extremely important differences for rural-urban and young-old categories. Just compare the value, much over the unit, of t/q ratio in variants $\sigma_1 = \sigma_2$ and $\sigma_1 \neq \sigma_2$. Thus, we have $t^*/q^* \gg 1$ and $t^{**}/q^{**} \gg 1$ for the values corresponding to situations (R,U) and (T,V) from Table 2.

A large difference is obvious between the subgroups of adult-mature people too; just look at (A,M) differences in Table 2.

In conclusion, in Romania of the year 2010 there are major differences between the income and necessities of the families depending on the type of locality of residence (rural-urban) or the age of the people (young-old). These results have already been noticed in the previous section by the bidimensional graphic representation of the random variables $A-V$, considering the coordinates "mean" and "dispersion" (Figure 1).

The values of the statistical tests shown in Table 2 validate mathematically the general impression suggested by the systemic image shown in Figure 1.

5. Disfavoured groups

In this section we want to highlight the most disfavoured groups within the multitude $\{B, F, R, U, T, A, M, V\}$ which was proposed for study..

For the partial classification of the groups we will prefer to you the relation of stochastic order “ \leq_S ” mentioned in the methodological section.

Just remember that the relation of stochastic order is adequate to the evaluation of the inequality aspect, the intensity of the inequality phenomenon being often evaluated in practice by the value of the Gini coefficient. Indeed, the existence of the stochastic relation $X \leq_S Y$ necessarily involves the following order: $Gini(X) \leq Gini(Y)$ (Kleiber & Kotz [11]).

After making the calculations, we inferred the stochastic inequalities: $F \leq_S B$, $R \leq_S U$ (Figure 2), $A \leq_S T$, $M \leq_S T$ (Figure 3), $V \leq_S T$, $V \leq_S A$ (Figure 4), $M \leq_S A$, $V \leq_S M$ (Figure 5).

Therefore, depending on the age category will we have the following hierarchy: $V \leq_S M \leq_S A \leq_S T$. This order is inversely proportional to age of the individual.

The older the person, the more acute he/she perceives the higher value of the ration between the basic necessities for a decent standard of living and the personal income.

Figure 2. Stochastic order for subgroups men-women and rural-urban

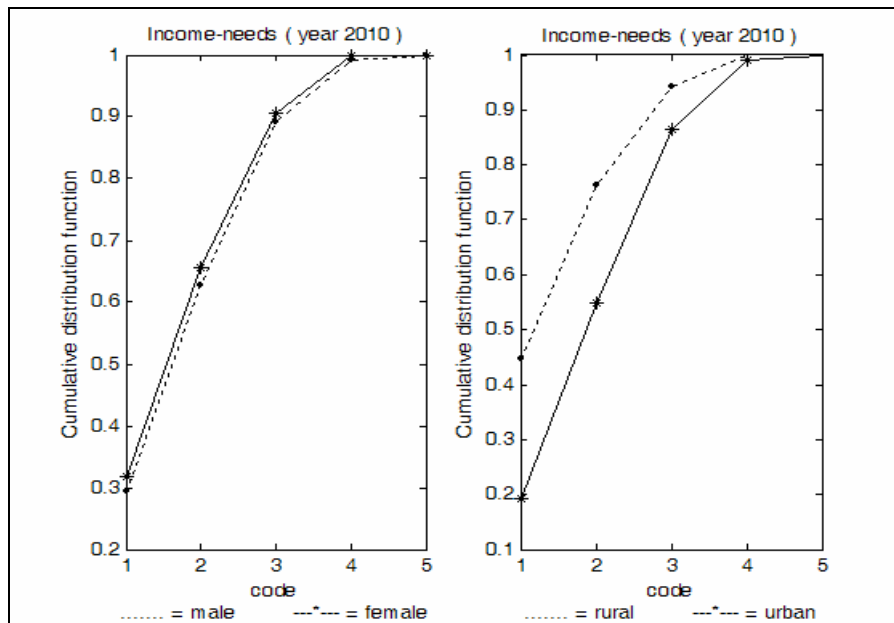


Figure 3. Stochastic order for the age groups $T-A$, $T-M$

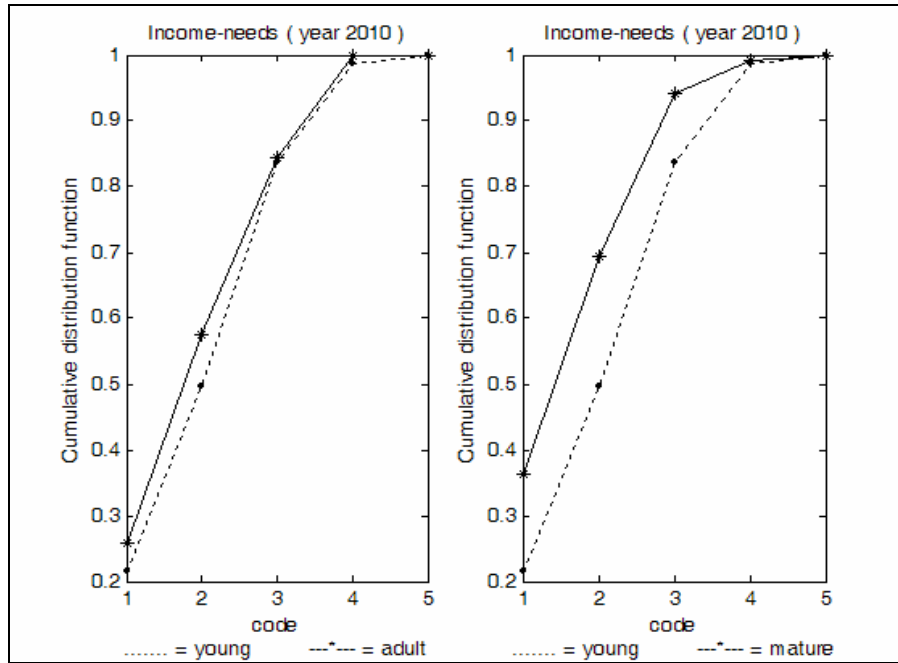


Figure 4. Stochastic order for the age groups $T-V$, $A-V$.

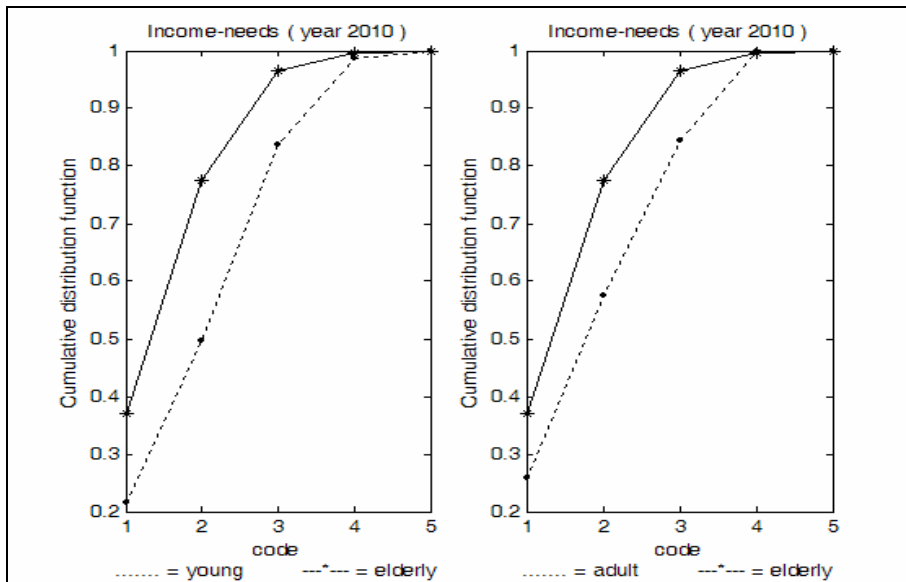
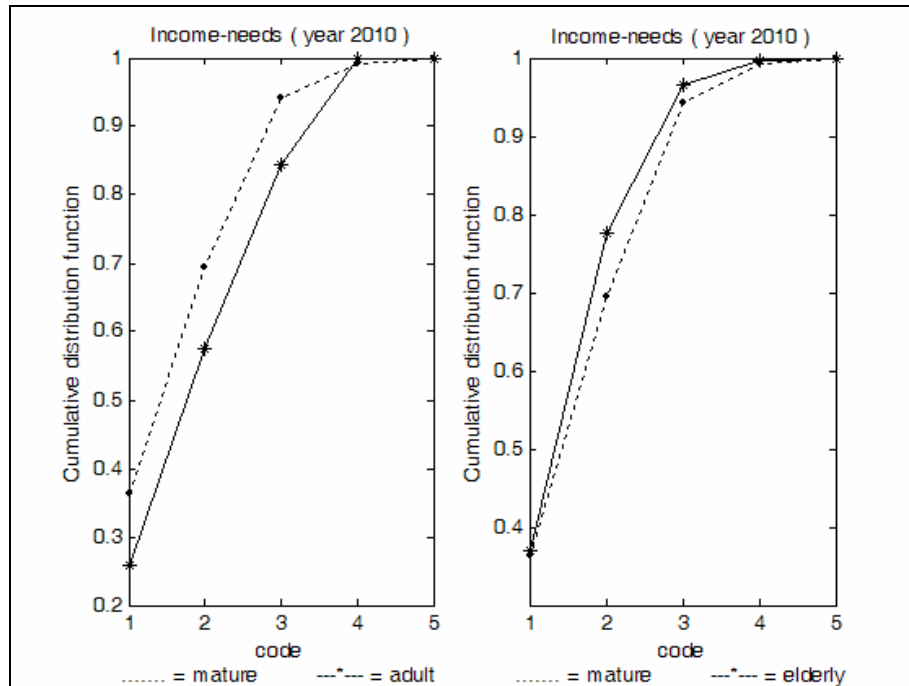


Figure 5. Stochastic order for the age groups $M-A$, $M-V$.

The size of the gap between the necessities and the income of the family is suggested in Figures 2-5 for the surveyed $A-V$ groups.

If we refer to the relation of stochastic order “ \leq ”, *Figures 2-5* bring additional S

information by the graphic representation of the size of the gap between the subgroups. The differences between men and women are not significant in terms of the necessities-income ratio, (*Figure 2*), This is supported by the statistical tests (*Table 2*). However, there are large differences between the rural and the urban (*Figure 2*) or between the young and the old (*Figure 4*, *Table 2*) concerning the sufficiency of the incomes in relation with the necessities of the family. More precisely, the differences are between the rather young people (categories of “young”, “adults”) and the older people (groups of “mature”, “old”). See *Figures 3-5*.

The opinions about the incomes and necessities are strongly divergent for the age categories under and above 45. The causes of these very different opinions should be analysed detailed within the current socio-economic context.

Finally, we would like to mention a substantial complementary sociological work which run in Romania in 2010 (Ștefănescu, 2011c). The study targeted the opinion of the population about some disfavoured social groups such as: the homeless, the

unemployed (unoccupied people), the old people, orphan or abandoned children, disabled people, poor people or families, families with more than three children and the Roma population (for details see Ștefănescu, 2011c). As completion to this comprehensive study, in this section we noticed the large differences between the villages and the towns, next to the problem of the old people.

7. Conclusions

Initially, using the database (Diagnosis of the quality of life, 2010) we started from the idea of a complex and direct statistical analysis of income distribution in Romania. Such approach would have produced serious errors, though, because of multiple risk factors that are not always taken into consideration coherently: determining the exact value of the different taxes and dues paid by the individuals, the evaluation, as accurate as possible, of population self-consumption preponderantly in the rural areas (large diversification depending on the type of household), influence of the inflation on the poor people particularly, the temporary work situations, failing to declare some incomes which often are rather stable (the grey economy holds an important position in the Romanian economy), presence of the different punctual social aids or rewards for particular groups of population (the “non-cash” applied, for instance, in education and health), the frequent cases of tax evasion.

Given the existence of such problems that often emerge in practice when evaluating the actual income of the families, we preferred to analyse the opinion of the individuals at question *Q1*: “How do you evaluate the total incomes of your family in relation with your necessities”? (Diagnosis of the quality of life, 2010).

The selected subgroups $A-V$ represent various situations of residence, gender or age of the interviewed people. This research can be easily expanded by taking into consideration other disfavoured subgroups from Romania (see for instance, Ștefănescu [2011c]).

Instead of sophisticated statistical models we preferred to use comparative graphic images in order to get a general picture of the relations between the studied $A-V$ variables. We permanently considered a systemic approach to show the relations between the different subcomponents. A general methodology in this respect has been proposed by Ștefănescu (2013). However, unlike the methodology proposed in this study (Ștefănescu, 2013), in this work we didn't use various measures of dissimilarity attached to the repartitions in order to delimit entities $A-V$, or efficient techniques to reduce the size of the representation area, but we aimed to get as suggestive graphs as possible.

Furthermore, in order to simplify the exposure, we used a bidimensional representation of the repartition of variables $A-V$ taking as Cartesian coordinates the means and the dispersion of the variables. Using the stochastic simulation we will subsequently determine the size of the approximation error which resulted from such graphics.

Thus, we showed the disfavoured groups related to the rural environment R and to the old people V (Table 1, Figure 1). The statistical tests have confirmed mathematically these conclusions (Table 2). The very large differences between the t value of the statistics and threshold q of acceptance-rejection of the null hypothesis show once

more the major disproportions existing between the rural-urban subgroups (R-T) or between the young and the old (T-V) in terms of their opinion on the question Q1 (Table 2). The opinions of the men (variable B) regarding the necessity to income ratio are very close to the opinions of the women (subgroup F), which is very well shown in Tables 1-2 and in Figures 1-2.

Furthermore, relying on the relation of partial stochastic order " \leq_S " mentioned in the methodological section of the paper, in section 5 we determined the following stochastic inequalities: $F \leq_S B$, $R \leq_S U$ (Figure 2), $A \leq_S T$, $M \leq_S T$ (Figure 3), $V \leq_S T$, $V \leq_S A$ (Figure 4), $M \leq_S A$, $V \leq_S M$ (Figure 5). Finally, we may infer the hierarchical order $V \leq_S M \leq_S A \leq_S T$, relation which is inversely proportional with the age of the person.

Therefore, the older is the person, the more acute he/she perceives the insufficiency of his/her income to meet the legitimate necessities for a decent standard of life.

We may certainly say that the income/necessities ratio doesn't advantage any of the A-V groups. The young people, T, have the most "optimistic" opinion on the use of their income to meet absolutely necessary requirements in an evolved society (Table 1, Figure 1). However, the mean expression of the young people, on a scale from 1 to 5, is rather low, just 2.5 (Figure 1, Table 1). More precisely, the opinions of the young people regarding the solution to the incomes-necessities problem is highly negative, the mean score being much below the threshold of 3. In this analysis, the value of 3 shows a state of relative "systemic equilibrium". These conclusions are supported directly or indirectly by other contemporary works. Some of them are those of Molnar (2013) and Ștefănescu (2010b, 2011c). Future analyses may consider the impact of the structural funds to alleviate the social inequality within the context in which the development of the conditions of life at the level of the rural communities depends on these funds (Mihalache, 2013: 144). Another important aspect that can be developed regards the impact of the austerity measures within the context in which they operate as a trigger which unloads the social tensions (Gubernat, R., Rammelt, 2012:264) on the background of the increasing social inequalities.

However, we must highlight that all these statements express a temporary state showing the evolution of the Romanian society in 2010, aspects that can improve or degrade in time, depending on the implemented governmental measures.

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