

BEATE KRUSE, *Beschäftigungsprogramme als Instrument der städtischen Armutsbekämpfung in Indien*. (Volkswirtschaftliche Schriften Universität Kaiserslautern, 8). Regensburg: Transfer Verlag, 1997. 382 pages, DM 49,90. ISBN 3-86016-058-3

With a population of 980 million India is facing substantial social problems and challenges. To categorize these problems briefly as population growth, poverty, urbanization and insufficient implementation of socio-political decisions is insufficient.

India has an annual population growth of 20 million. The population thus increases by 80 million every four years, and that is the population of Germany. The Indian employment market is under great pressure due to decreasing economic growth and the growth of manpower. The employment gap is not decreasing as expected and the widening of this gap results in more and more people facing poverty or having to live in poverty due to unemployment and under-employment. Several employment programs in India have been trying for some time now to solve the problems where unemployment and under-employment is highest or where it seems most urgent from the socio-economic point of view.

This is the starting point for Kruse's research. Since - not only in India - the traditional community-family oriented forms of social security are on the decline, the need for support from productive employment is becoming an increasingly important element in the fight against poverty.

Since employment programs in India have not provided any noticeable improvements, Kruse bases her research on the following question: how relevant and effective are poverty-alleviating policies of urban employment programs for the support of self-employment in the informal sector? To this end she analyzes and evaluates the program "Nehru Rozgar Yojana" (NRY), for which she gathered primary data in Delhi within the scope of her own empirical research.

Kruse first provides an outline for the analysis of poverty and its causes in the context of developing countries. It is of course important to address the issue of employment programs. Furthermore, the author develops criteria for the evaluation of the effectiveness of such programs and therefore of the effectiveness of NRY. She also presents different poverty conceptions, showing on the one hand the relations between poverty and the labor market, and on the other the characteristics of special poverty groups. This sheds a different light on the discussions about employment programs. It is also important that she outlines different approaches to evaluating the informal sector, showing the limitations of employment schemes in this sector.

After this theoretical analysis Kruse outlines India's fight against poverty since independence in 1947 not only within the scope of economic policies, but also in relation to numerous public employment programs. The NRY - introduced by the central government - was adopted in October 1989 as a program to support self-employment. Kruse researches, among other topics, the specific effects and difficulties of the programs, taking the Indian capital as an example.

Her results are quite sobering. The author believes that not only the continuous access to loans is important, but also the loan conditions and the "program-induced risks", e.g. lack of coordination with the actual loan requirements of the debtor in specific situations and the high cost of the transactions before the loan is granted.

Kruse's conclusions: the program NRY significantly limits poverty alleviation in the informal sector. Although the loans may increase the scope of operation for the individual debtor temporarily, the insecurities concerning the income situation are increased from two points of view.

First, the support leads to an increase in competitive pressure - with an overall negative income effect. Second, the restrictive conditions under which these loans are granted bear risks, in particular for those who have applied for a loan and were refused. Kruse finally concludes that "bank loans to increase employment are not always suitable, and this applies especially to the extremely poor, because these loans are often used for consumption" (p.317f). Compared with the Indian government's own goals, NRY is therefore not a very promising measure to combat urban poverty effectively. In particular, there is a continuous lack of access to capital and loans.

Kruse outlines different characteristics of the forms and systems of private loan grants. Her conclusion: "... However, this does not mean that banks in general play an insignificant role in the fight against poverty. Successful loan models do exist with the participation of banks, which target the granting of small loans to the poor population and open continuous access to loans. The conceptional elements of these models should find increased consideration in the design of urban employment programs to support self-employment". In another part of her book she is right to point out that mechanisms of social security systems should work more efficiently.

In summary, this 382-page book is a constructive contribution which increases our understanding of the difficulties in implementing employment programs in India (and elsewhere). It also develops criteria which will enable more successful solutions to be found in the future.

Although the reviewer would sometimes have hoped for a more detailed description of the concrete consequences of political implementation, this



may be unrealistic in view of the manifold problems. Despite this criticism, Kruse's book is a contribution worth reading not only for Indian specialists, but also for those dealing with employment programs as a means of alleviating poverty.

Michael Schmid

KARL-HEINZ KRÄMER, *Ethnizität und nationale Integration in Nepal. Eine Untersuchung zur Politisierung der ethnischen Gruppen im modernen Nepal.* (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, 174). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. XII, 474 Seiten, DM 162,-. ISBN 3-515-06937-2

In seiner Studie über 'Ethnizität und nationale Integration in Nepal' untersucht Karl-Heinz Krämer die Rolle ethnischer Gruppen im Himalayastaat. Sein Schwerpunkt liegt auf der „Politisierung der ethnischen Gruppen Nepals“ (S. 17) mit dem Ziel, die „historischen Grundlagen des nationalen Konsolidierungs- und Integrationsprozesses sowie die Analyse der modernen Ethnizität Nepals in Reaktion auf die staatliche Form der Integrationspolitik“ (S. 20) darzustellen. Die Arbeit besteht aus elf Kapiteln, einem statistischen Anhang und einem Glossar.

Theoretischer Ausgangspunkt ist die Diskussion um Ethnizität und Nationalismus. Bei der Definition von Ethnizität bezieht sich Krämer vor allem auf die Ansätze von Frederick Barth und Paul Brass, die u.a. die Veränderbarkeit solcher Identitätsvorstellungen und ihre mögliche politische Instrumentalisierung betonen. Krämer hebt die Rolle der Eliten im Prozeß der Identitätsbildung hervor und verweist auf die Probleme im nepalesischen Kontext, in dem eine eindeutige Unterscheidung in Kaste, Unterkaste, ethnische Gruppe u.a. kaum gelingt. Gerade deshalb wäre für den mit Nepal zumeist nur wenig vertrauten Leser eine schärfere begriffliche Abgrenzung, was im nepalesischen Kontext unter 'Ethnie' zu verstehen ist, sinnvoll, und wie sich Ethnie von Volk, Kaste, Klasse und vor allem Rasse abgrenzt, einem Begriff, der von Krämer als Kategorie ebenfalls mehrfach benutzt wird.

Die Kapitel zwei bis fünf stellen die historische Entwicklung Nepals und der staatlichen Integrationspolitik zwischen 1854 und 1990 dar. Anhand des Gesetzeskodex *mulukin ain* von 1854 und der Panchayat-Verfassung von 1962 arbeitet Krämer die politische Entwicklung während dieser Zeitspanne heraus. Ausführlich beschreibt er die Versuche der Rana-Dynastie bis 1950, ihre religiöse und politische Dominanz gegenüber den anderen Gruppen zu rechtfertigen und durchzusetzen. In der Phase zwischen 1951 und 1990 tritt die politische Entwicklung ein bißchen zu sehr in den Vordergrund, während die Reaktionen der ethnischen Gruppen in den Hintergrund rücken.