



HUNGER NOTES

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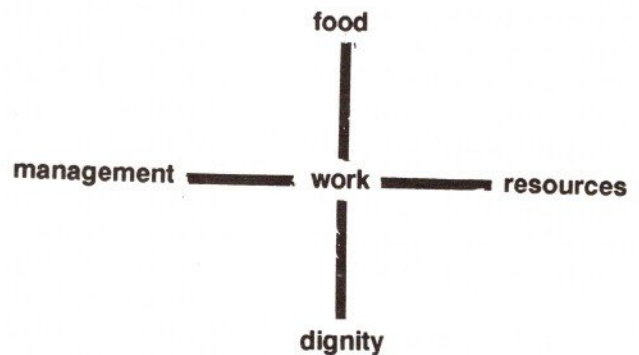
ENDING HUNGER



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SHARED WORK IS BEAUTIFUL

William M. Alexander



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Shared Work Is Beautiful

William M. Alexander

"The rights to food and to work must become correlated rights. Developing countries cannot afford the advanced social security measures adopted in developed countries. Nevertheless, they have to realize that freedom from hunger can be achieved only by winning the battle against unemployment."

M.S. Swaminathan, director, International Rice Research Institute, "Nutrition and Agricultural Development: New Frontiers", in FOOD AND NUTRITION 1984 10(1).

E.F. Schumacher's famous book *SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL* offered us a vision reaching across the gap between the powerful and the powerless. New technologies applied within large scale economic enterprise are commonly used by the powerful to increase their power relative to the powerless. The subtitle of that book, "Economics as if People Mattered," drew our attention to humans as the ultimate objects of societies. Schumacher tells us that we need not be slaves to the dictates of current economic ideologies. Some older thought might be superior which focused on the value of humans.

Schumacher wrote a further book for the benefit of those of us who have been befuddled in our attempt to apply the economics of the powerful to solve the problems of the powerless. He called that book *A GUIDE FOR THE PERPLEXED*. His final book, *GOOD WORK*, holds our attention on our real object, humans, and directs us to that vital bit of power inherent in each human--work. The relationship of work among humans and mixed with the other resources--resources properly shared by all humans on our earth--is truly beautiful.

HUNGER MEASURES SUCCESS

Everyone recognizes the central role of food in the survival of humans individual-

ly and yet it is possible to overlook the importance of food-human relationships in the organization of society. Given that society is or should be managed by humans to improve and maintain the quality of life for all humans, attention to hunger offers a primitive measure of our management success.

Further, given that a division of labor and a market system are, and will be, important elements in the organization of society, it may be shown that unfair market allocation of work is the cause of hunger.

This brief essay, based on conclusions drawn from six years of studying and teaching about the relationships between humans and their food, is addressed to those who, like myself, choose to devote their thought and energies to the food-for-humans problem. And although prompted by the desire to end hunger, it is largely about work. It applies insights concerning human work to the specific problem of malnutrition and starvation.

THE MEANING OF "WORK"

Work has several meanings and some conflicting connotations. The definition necessary to the logic of modern markets for work--and the definition central to this essay-- is the work that economists call wage labor. To be explicit I sometimes refer to this as "paid work." In all cases I

use the term work" to mean purposive activity,, paid or unpaid. An example of high-value but usually unpaid work is mothering and homemaking.

I wish to stress the "usefulness" characteristic of work. Work not regarded as useful by the community is called make-work." Make-work carries with it little respect. As we shall see below, work valued by the community and seen as useful by the worker's peers is an essential condition of that quality of humanness known in personal and group pride-human dignity. This quality of work, whether paid or unpaid, is intended by the essay's title, "Shared Work Is Beautiful."

STUDENT UNDERSTANDING OF THE HUNGER PROBLEM

Teaching about the problems and prospects leading to the complete alleviation of human hunger is, for me, useful work essential to my dignity. What about my students at the university? I must ask: What predisposition do students bring to this study? What knowledge sets do students hold that apply to the current world and to the future world they will create? What parts of these knowledge sets relate to the relief of human hunger?

The knowledge and thought predispositions of students are at the same time emotional and rational. Successful students, to be sure, participate strongly in the academic method of thinking which favors the rational over the emotional. In their disciplined selection of rational information, university students differ from the general public. However, in their feelings about hunger and their emotional response to hunger they differ little from the American citizen in general. A national survey of opinion undertaken in 1986 concerning processes of third world development asked people to "agree or disagree" with the statement "Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them." The positive

response of 89% reveals a nearly universal normative value to take action to eliminate hunger. (1)

The rational appearance of the academic discipline of economics (ie., mathematical calculations and tabulations) causes it to be regarded as the preeminent social science. A rational preference among scholarly researchers in an academic field central to the study of hunger (in contrast to the emotional aspect of human hunger) may be illustrated by a count of scholarly studies. Out of 1100 abstracts in the *Journal of Nutrition Planning* only 147 mentioned causes of hunger and few of these tried to explain the basic causes of hunger. (2)

"HUMAN" VERSUS "ECONOMIC"

The changes which must occur to end hunger may be approached either primarily as processes of human development or primarily as processes of economic development. Both sets of processes encompass the same elements, but the difference in the objects (ie., humans with an emotional content or economics excluding emotional content) leads to a different ordering of data and different prescriptions.

Students enrolled in my political science course titled World Food Politics are already trained and predisposed to restrain their feelings and emotions. They are predisposed to think more about economic development and less about human development. Given sufficient instructional time, it might be possible to introduce a "humanistic economics" in the explanation of hunger and its solution. (3)

In teaching about processes for eliminating hunger, human values held by students need support. As future policy makers and economic planners, students should be encouraged to apply their human values in the search for workable solutions. In view of the fact that the human urge to alleviate hunger is widely

About the Author

William M. Alexander is professor emeritus of political science at California Polytechnic State University. From 1961 to 1988 he taught a course titled World Food Politics for upper division agriculture and engineering students preparing for careers which include the design and allocation of work opportunities in the U.S. and abroad. A focus on the work shortage aspect of hunger and famine joined his students' career objectives to the critical problem of food distribution through a market system.

He was a Peace Corps Volunteer in agricultural extension in Kenya, 1979-1981, and has spent other academic leaves volunteering at Bread for the World in Washington, D.C. and the Institute for Food and Development Policy in San Francisco. Currently he represents World Neighbors in California while waiting for another Peace Corps assignment.

"[There is] no more important task before the world community than the elimination of hunger and malnutrition in all countries...We are well aware that this is not a limited task--it involves nearly all aspects of the world economy and the development process to create and distribute both the required food and the employment and incomes which will enable the food to be bought by those who need it. But the world has the capacity to achieve such a goal; it is imperative that it does so."

Independent Commission on International Development Issues (Brandt Commission), in NORTH-SOUTH: A Programme for Survival, 1980.

held, a teacher need not hesitate to assure students that such values are natural and normal. When these values conflict with any current model of economic development, the premises of such economic thought should be examined.

The most destructive of such presumptions contained in American economic models is the belief that some unemployment is necessary in order to keep wages low, thus limiting the tendency to inflation, according to accepted theory. The concepts of economics as currently taught are not challenged, however, in my World Food Politics course. Rather, students are asked to reorder that part of their economic knowledge which contradicts their normal impulse to alleviate hunger.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION AND MARKET PROCESSES

Noting the extent of hunger and misery in the world, the students' attention is directed to markets and they are asked "why hunger?" They look first at some conventional hunger explanations. Not enough food produced? Too many people? Environmental destruction? No, no, and no. There is plenty of food. (4) Nevertheless, it is clear that one human in ten on earth is hungry and at risk of starvation. Why? The conclusion is apparent: food is not fairly distributed.

Food is distributed by sharing and by earning. Within families and on family managed subsistence farms, food is shared from a common store and a common productive effort. Outside of family groups, food is allocated by markets and by charity.

Charity tends to undermine other human needs, such as dignity, self-determination, and equality. Distribution by markets is clearly preferable, provided markets act fairly.

In markets humans trade something for food. What is traded? Usually work, the product of work, or the symbol of both--

money. When all humans can sell their work, all humans can buy food.

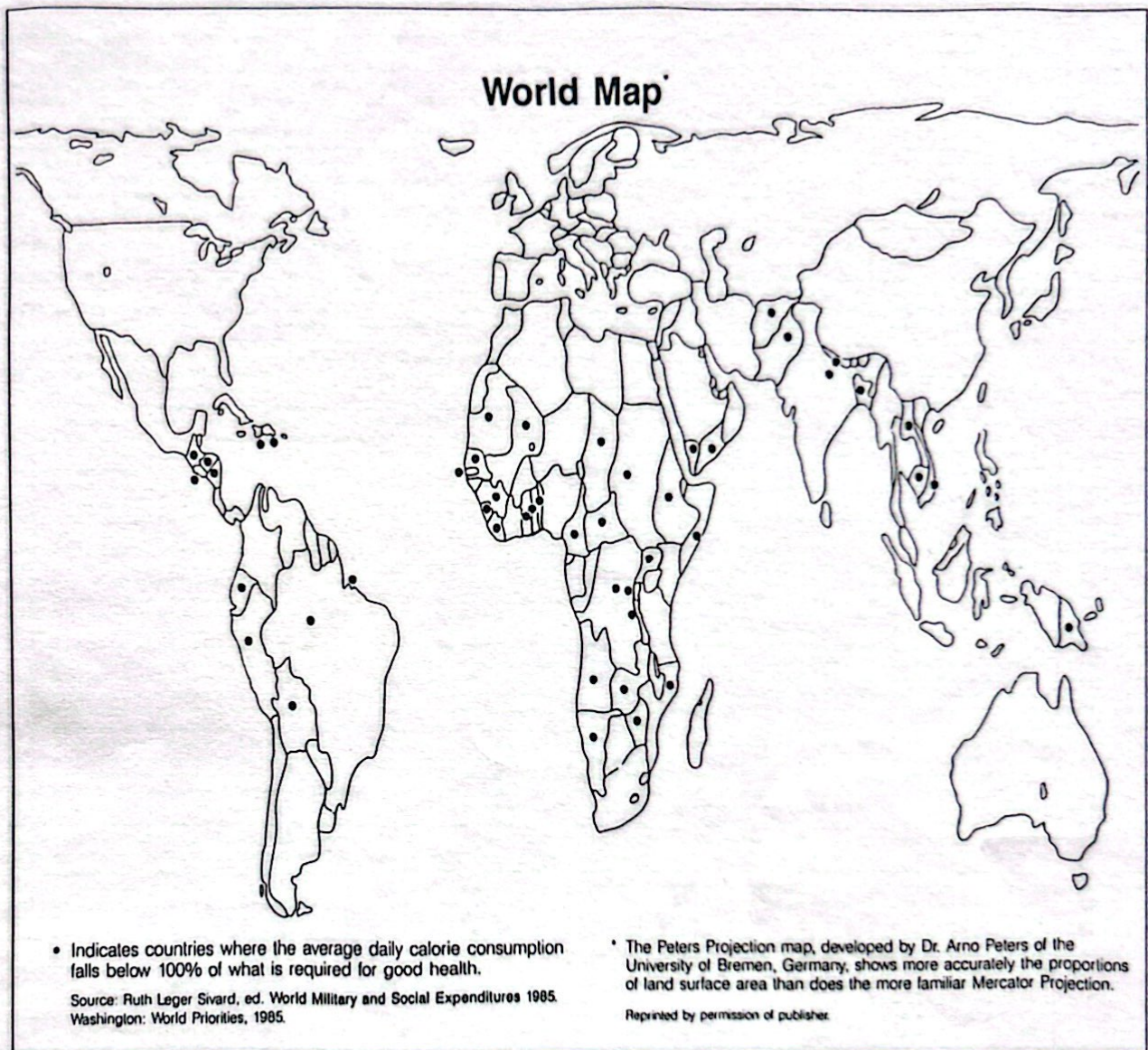
Work distributes food. Yet millions of men and women world-wide lack paid work. Why? The market reflects what is happening in society. Work is mixed with property to create other property which may in turn be offered as a commodity in exchange for work, food, or other commodities. From time to time in the normal processes of markets there will be shortages or surpluses of various commodities. When the surplus commodity is wage labor, we say there is unemployment.

This reference to markets is intended to be comprehensive, including informal sector activities such as helping your neighbor spade his garden in exchange for some tomatoes--the shadow economy." Within families, and beyond even the shadow market, there is other work which adds to food and to the value of food. Ivan Illich has coined the term vernacular activities" to account for work which is "totally refractory to any analysis utilizing concepts developed in formal economics." (5)

Family food providers increase food quantities and improve food value without any measurable market inputs. These vernacular activities may be unique within different cultures and may be destroyed easily where there is change induced from outside the culture. Such vernacular activities may also be crucial to adequate food systems and, as such, should receive special study and care.

Within markets all who have the opportunity to sell their work may buy food. The market is a wondrous but imperfect mechanism. Wondrous because it distributes food to billions of humans. Imperfect because it fails to buy the work of many humans.

We posited above that food was not fairly distributed. Now a common sense view of the market has shown that it is opportunity for paid work which is not fairly distributed.



ACQUIRING FOOD

Including the market, there are three legitimate methods by which humans acquire food. Thinking of the severely hungry brings to mind, first, food gifts, the welfare model--on the international level, food aid.

Second, we think of self-provisioning, the ownership model in which the peasant family produces its own food on a bit of land controlled by the family.

And third, we think of the market processes by which most humans acquire

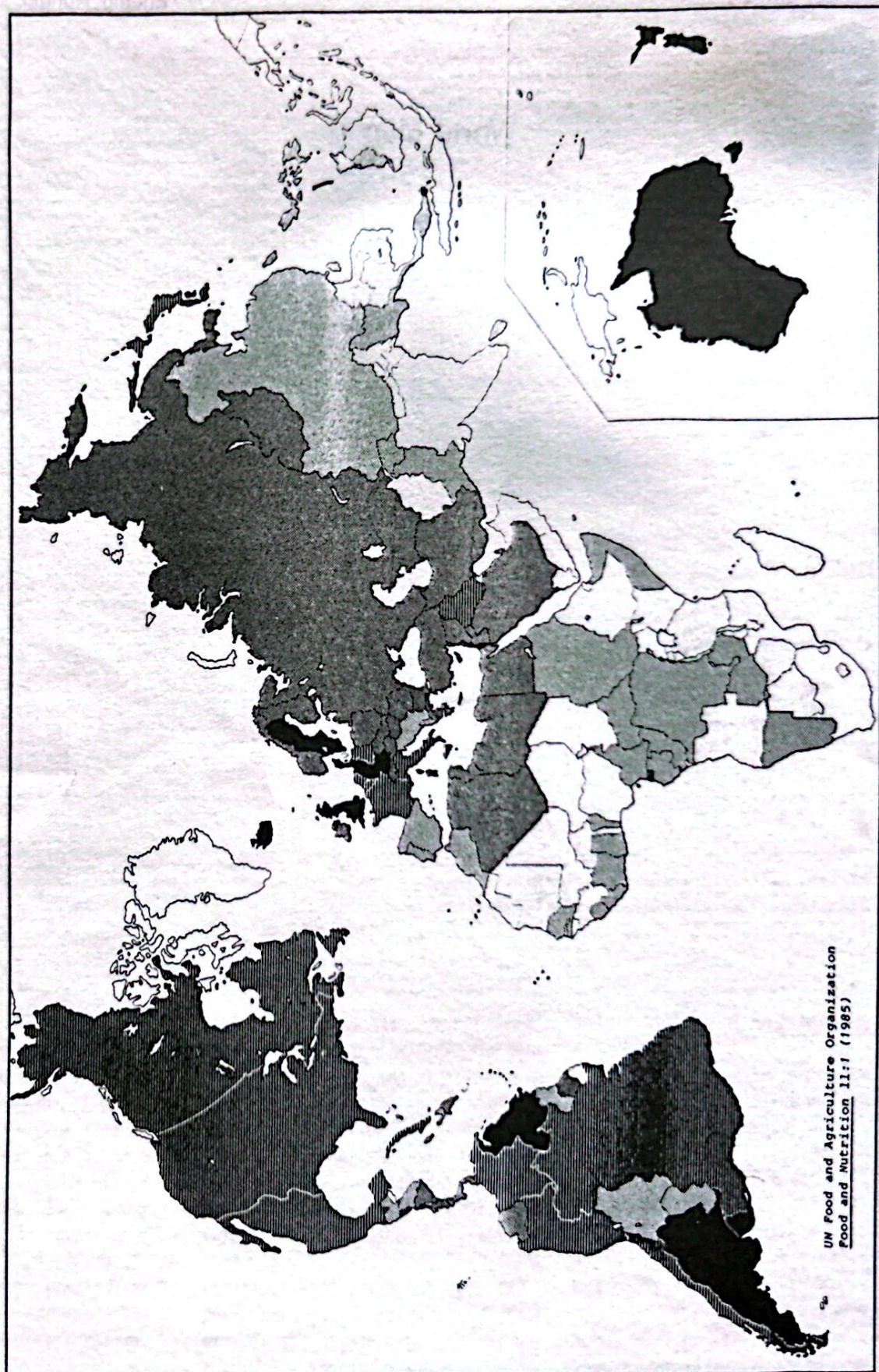
food. In this market process, their own work is the item those at risk of hunger are most likely to be able to offer in exchange for food.

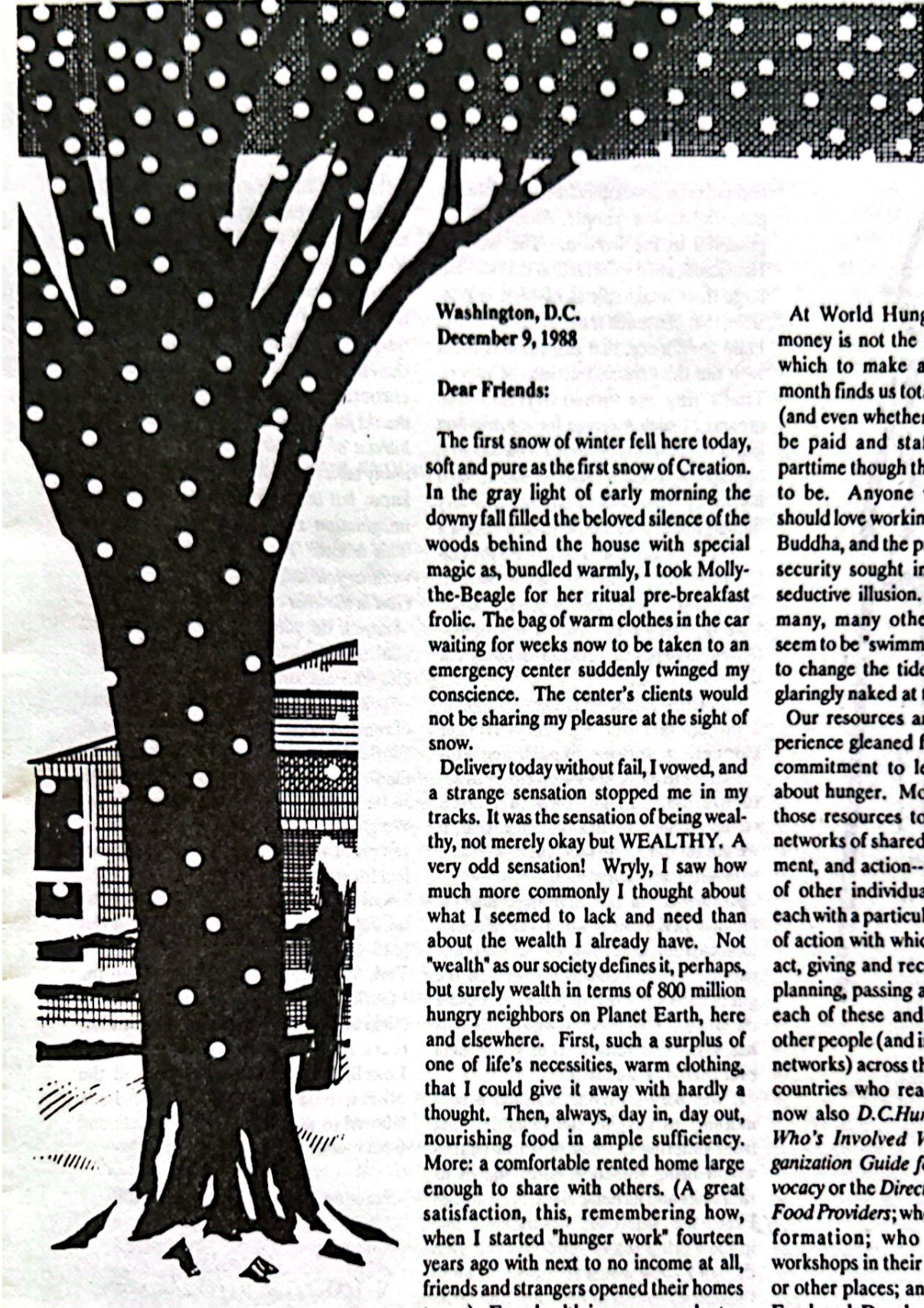
The welfare model is easily criticized as merely a temporary solution, failing also to empower the poor to control their own lives. Welfare maintains the power advantage of the powerful over the powerless.

The ownership model may be criticized for its lack of relevance to the increasing number of hungry people. There were earlier moments in history when the

ownership model was most relevant, moments when food producing resources were widely and cheaply available. In 19th century America, for example, Horace Greeley could honestly advise, "Go west, young man, go west." But the closing of free land on the frontier has led us to an acceptance of chronic unemployment.

URBANIZATION IN THE WORLD





Washington, D.C.
December 9, 1988

Dear Friends:

The first snow of winter fell here today, soft and pure as the first snow of Creation. In the gray light of early morning the downy fall filled the beloved silence of the woods behind the house with special magic as, bundled warmly, I took Molly-the-Beagle for her ritual pre-breakfast frolic. The bag of warm clothes in the car waiting for weeks now to be taken to an emergency center suddenly twinged my conscience. The center's clients would not be sharing my pleasure at the sight of snow.

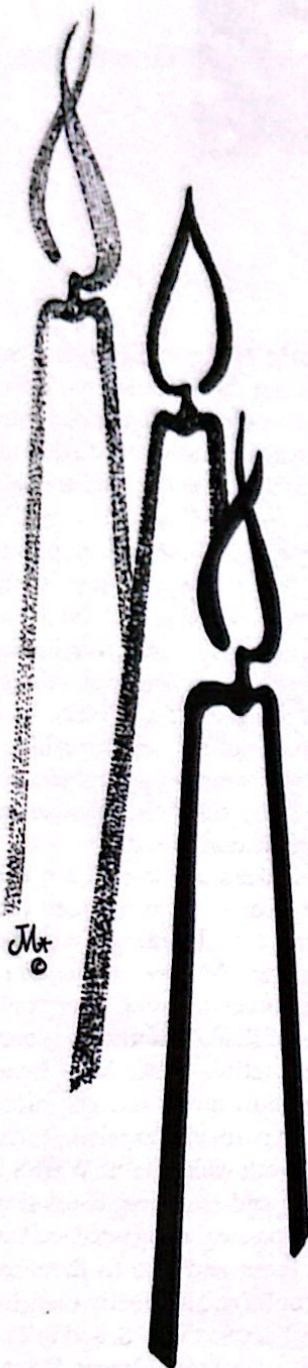
Delivery today without fail, I vowed, and a strange sensation stopped me in my tracks. It was the sensation of being wealthy, not merely okay but WEALTHY. A very odd sensation! Wryly, I saw how much more commonly I thought about what I seemed to lack and need than about the wealth I already have. Not "wealth" as our society defines it, perhaps, but surely wealth in terms of 800 million hungry neighbors on Planet Earth, here and elsewhere. First, such a surplus of one of life's necessities, warm clothing, that I could give it away with hardly a thought. Then, always, day in, day out, nourishing food in ample sufficiency. More: a comfortable rented home large enough to share with others. (A great satisfaction, this, remembering how, when I started "hunger work" fourteen years ago with next to no income at all, friends and strangers opened their homes to me). Even health insurance and a ten year old car that still runs well. Luxuries indeed!

And still, hardly a day passes when I don't worry how bills are going to be paid. Hardly a day that I don't think more about my own needs than about how much I can do with what I have to make a difference in this world for those who have so much, much less. (Does this seem familiar?)

At World Hunger Education Service money is not the resource we have with which to make a difference. Many a month finds us totally mystified as to how (and even whether) the bills are going to be paid and staff salaries met, even parttime though those salaries often have to be. Anyone who enjoys suspense should love working at WHES! Jesus, the Buddha, and the prophets remind us that security sought in material things is a seductive illusion. At WHES, as in so many, many other organizations that seem to be "swimming against the current to change the tide," the illusion can be glaringly naked at times!

Our resources are knowledge and experience gleaned from fourteen years of commitment to learning and teaching about hunger. Money enables us to put those resources to work. Our tools are networks of shared information, commitment, and action--networks of hundreds of other individuals and organizations, each with a particular expertise and realm of action with which we at WHES interact, giving and receiving, consulting and planning, passing along what we learn to each of these and also to thousands of other people (and indirectly, then, to their networks) across the U.S. and in 21 other countries who read *Hunger Notes* (and now also *D.C.Hunger Notes*); who use *Who's Involved With Hunger--An Organization Guide for Education and Advocacy* or the *Directory of D.C. Emergency Food Providers*; who write or call us for information; who ask us to conduct workshops in their classrooms, churches, or other places; and who visit our World Food and Development Library or our D.C. Hunger Action Resource Center.

Today a government official from an African country visited the WHES library and reminded us of its potency as a tool for change. We won't name the country, in case this story could somehow embarrass her, but we will call her by name because "Hope" seems just right. Development is her work, development to



end poverty, development to liberate the potential in her people, especially the potential in the women. The women, Hope said, need information that can enlarge their imaginations of what is possible, that can teach them their rights and build confidence, that can connect them with the thinking and actions of others. That's why she visited WHES. She dreams of such a center for information gathering and sharing in her own country, operated by women there. It encouraged her to see what could be done with very limited funding and how such a center's own publications could help build the collection of information, as well as share it. "We can start small just as you did, if we have to," she said. "Even a few books, journals and newsletters will make a great difference for us."

With Hope's help we are now designing a project that will use World Hunger Education Service experience and resources to move her vision closer to actualization, and not only in Hope's country alone. By this time next year, if we are on the right track, there will be a wonderful new story.

Meanwhile, in this morning's magical moment in the snowy woods the gift of an unaccustomed feeling of "more-than-enough" flooded consciousness with the gift of the knowledge of power to make a difference. That power is a gift each of us has, a gift that returns to us larger than ever each time we use it.

It was very satisfying on such a cold morning to imagine the tangible relief from suffering the bag of warm clothes would bring someone--satisfying in its simplicity and its immediacy, even though I knew the "difference" was infinitesimal in the world's sea of suffering; and even though I knew it was no answer at all to the deeper causes of that suffering. And I reflected on how much more imagination it takes to know the importance of the intangible, often indirect, slow-moving (but long-range) influence of the work of World Hunger Education Service as this

influence makes its way through the labyrinthine pathways of human thought and decisions ultimately shaping whole social systems.

Faith helps. Every month a small contribution comes from a priest in Baltimore, every month without fail for more than four years and always with a note of encouragement. In November: *"I give thanks for all you have done to increase the harvest of food around the world. How many tables have some food, you may not know, but the reality remains. May your imagination suggest some of it to you."* This month: *"Blessings on you and your work as you help make flesh the Word of God in the lives of so many."*

Lowell, do you know how much your ministry means to us? You, and everyone else who supports this work?

So, in this season of gifts and giving and of remembering what it is all about, we at World Hunger Education Service give thanks for what we have been able to do so far with the help of all of our friends. We give thanks, too, for visions of what can yet be done and for the eagerness we feel for getting on with the job.

And now, from volunteers Polly, Christal, Julie, Fred, and Carmelita; from the hard-working WHES Board of Directors Ted, Phillip, Mitch, Billie, Kathlin, Maurice, Lorette, Jean, and Raoul; from Nicki and Marilyn and all of their volunteers in D.C. Hunger Action; from Lowell, fundraiser Robbyn and all the others, past and present, who have labored to make this work possible; and from myself, most gratefully:

Peace and blessings to one and all!

Sincerely,

Patricia L. Kutzner

Patricia L. Kutzner Executive Director

World Hunger Education Service
3018 Fourth Street NE, Washington, DC
20017

Unemployment is bad enough in the United States; but world-wide, unemployed humans number at least 350 million, enough men and women to form a line circling the earth five times. It is difficult to find any location on earth today where access to land is easy enough to assure the poor an opportunity to feed themselves.

THE WORK MODEL FOR ENDING HUNGER

Criticisms of both the welfare and the ownership models lead us to the most common method of acquiring food, the work model. Within the work model, the explanation of the food-human relationship highlights five elements: resources, food, work, dignity, and management.

A) Resources. All natural and material things on earth are encompassed by the term "resources", including many things humans have created such as houses, roads, factories, supplies, accumulated credits, and so on.

Here we are particularly interested in those resources owned and controlled by individuals, group enterprises, and nations. In our hunger alleviation analysis, food for human consumption is treated as a unique element outside the category of resources.

B) Food. Food considered here includes all those materials ingested by humans which support growth and sustain the human body. All food in its multitude of varieties is included. However, thinking of nutritiously valuable food in its simplest and cheapest forms will help focus attention on the object of this explanation which is to understand how to eliminate hunger.

C) Work. The mythical world of Adam and Eve needed no market for food and needed no market for work. Living in

perfect harmony with nature, Adam and Eve merely plucked fruit from the trees of the Garden of Eden to satisfy their hunger--an uncomplicated life: pick and eat. Hunger occurred only after Adam and Eve were driven from the garden; they lost access to (control of) the trees of the garden. Allowing them reentry to the garden could have alleviated their hunger.

There are places of chronic hunger in the world today where the simplest explanation of hunger is the lack of access to the resources of the earth. There are no thinkers, however, showing us how it may be possible for all humans to become again the sole producers and sole consumers of their own foods. Some division of labor and some markets are important parts of all visions of the future.

The Adam and Eve story does not take into account the human resource available: work. Pure work has a time dimension different from other resources. It is fixed in quantity by time; it is nonrenewable; and it is impossible to save or store up. Further, this resource, work, is an essential part of human life. Therefore, this resource, work, is, and necessarily must be, treated differently from other resources in the marketplace. In order to eliminate hunger such markets should allow work opportunity for all.

These thoughts about the significance of work are certainly not original. Saint Thomas Aquinas advised that work is a natural right and duty. Long before Karl Marx, Aquinas instructed us that work is the sole legitimate base of society, the foundation of property and of profit.

D) Dignity. Paid work is a necessary condition for ending hunger, but payment alone is not sufficient. The work must be seen as useful to the larger community. It is possible to create make-work which does distribute food, but make-work lacks those other human essentials: dignity and self-esteem.

Dignity is a condition of public respect accorded an individual by both the small and the large communities where the individual finds identity. Community affirmation of this respect is accorded to those who observe group-serving norms.

In most societies, valued and useful work is an essential norm. In the case of the poor, work is especially valued. It may be their only opportunity to gain community respect. Dignity flows from an acceptance of group responsibilities associated with maturity. Young children may be delightfully oblivious of group norms for work and quite unconcerned about dignity. For the very old, dignity is based on past work serving family and community. On occasion, the human need for dignity supersedes even the need for food.

E) Management. In all societies since the Garden of Eden, the work necessary for human food has been designed, organized, motivated, and allocated by leaders. In modern societies we call such persons and the necessary functions they perform "management."

When groups act on the basis of democracy and pluralism, management responsibilities are carried at various times by nearly

"...the elimination of starvation in socialist countries--for example China--seems to have taken place even without a dramatic rise in food availability per head, and indeed, typically the former has preceded the latter. The end of starvation reflects a shift in entitlement systems, both in the form of social security and--more importantly--through systems of guaranteed employment at wages that provide exchange entitlement adequate to avoid starvation."

Amartya Sen, POVERTY AND FAMINES, 1981

POVERTY:

Old definition: no money.

New definition: lack of entitlement to resources.

everyone. Very commonly, however, some humans find half or more of their time is involved with the purposive activity we call management.

Even though management is clearly a form of work, this analysis of hunger alleviation sets management apart as a separate element. In teaching university students, management is given a special status as the point of entry into the human food system.

PUBLIC POLICY

Without doubt, it would be possible for managers everywhere to design and create sufficient work opportunities for all humans. However, there may be a shortage of vision and motivation among managers. Fortunately, various public policy initiatives could increase management vision and motivation.

First, policy might favor certain public services which happen to be work intensive, such as education and environmental restoration, thus expanding the total recognized work needs of society. It is very important not to get the cart ahead of the horse in such public initiatives, however. There must be public consensus favoring the needed work or the work will be seen as make-work and fail to provide the essential element of dignity for the worker.

Second, public policy may support a fair sharing of useful work opportunity, allocating through the market process a fair share of work to each human. "A work right for right work" might be the slogan for those who lack sufficient work opportunity to acquire food. "Work sharing" might be the slogan for those who want to reduce their work burden. Both those who lack work and those who want to reduce their work have a common interest in work sharing. In addition, both those with work and those without work share the common urge to alleviate hunger.

Fortunately, it is characteristic of managers to envision more work than can be accomplished.

Let us summarize the relationships of the five elements of this work model before looking at a "fair shares of work" policy:

Humans combine their work with resources in a process to produce food or other things to exchange for food. Within society this work also provides self-esteem and social recognition, human dignity. Management organizes the human resource--work--and all other resources into humanly useful productive processes. Work directly connects all elements. The proper organization of work and other resources eliminates hunger and maintains dignity.

Showing students how their large and small management roles may be applied in the process of ending hunger is the teacher's responsibility.

Adequate human and natural resources exist to provide, on a sustained basis, sufficient food for all humans on earth. Given that each human has sufficient money to buy, markets have the capacity to distribute food to all. Sufficient money may be provided for all by a fair-shares-of-useful-work opportunity.

FAIR-SHARES-OF-WORK POLICY

A large number of different definitions will be needed for a fair-share-of-useful-work opportunity relevant to the limitations and conditions of the various markets for work and for food throughout the world.

Free markets for work and food are not found to be a reality anywhere in the world. Rather, one finds various combinations of market interventions and manipulations from strong private economic forces and from both direct and indirect government actions.

In the context of human hunger, it is possible to show a minimum kind

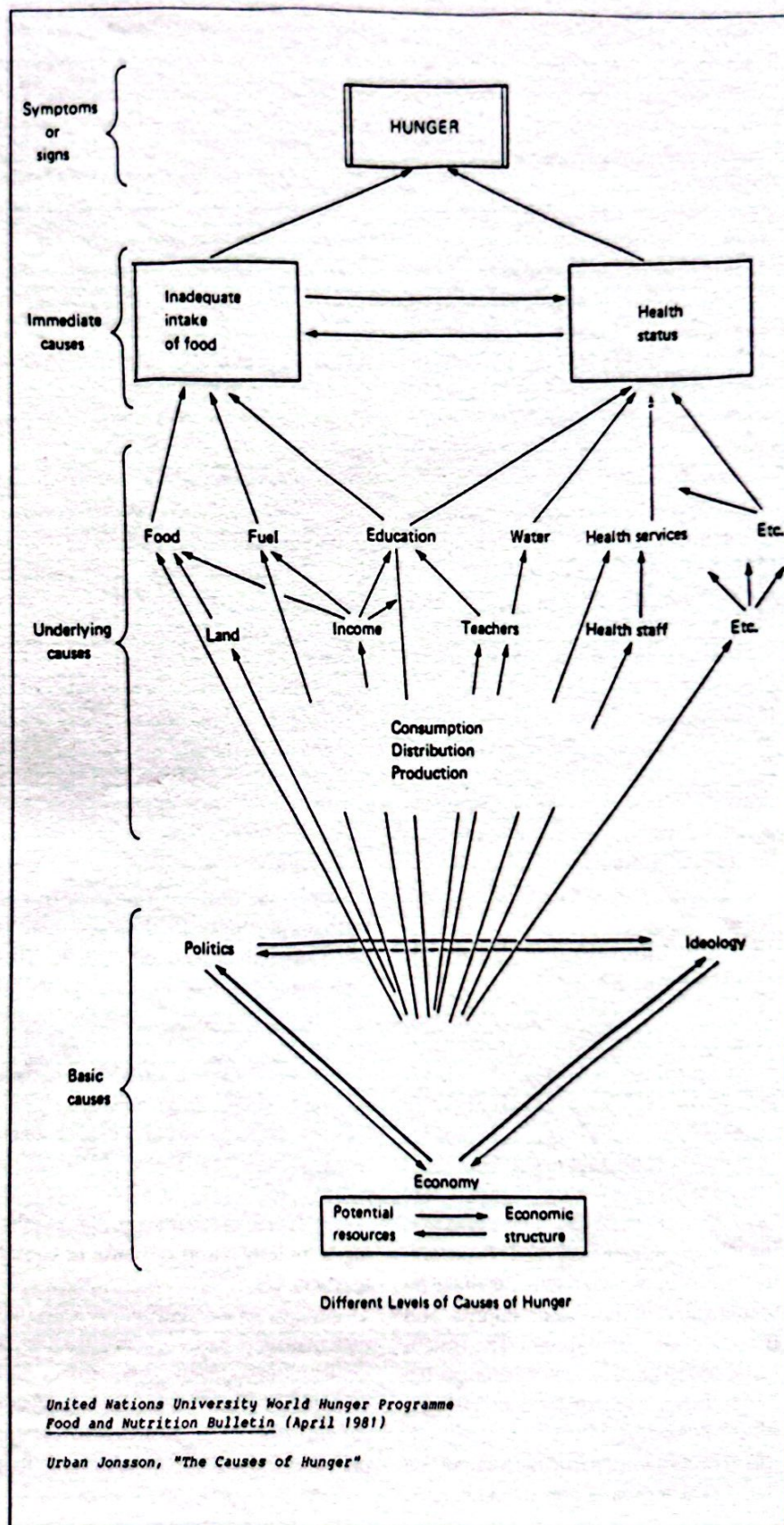
Ending Hunger

of "equality." Among humans, the amount and quality of food which is biologically necessary to maintain proper growth and good health throughout a long life posits a rough equality of nutritional food need. Accordingly, the specific amount of work needed to exchange for the minimum amount and quality of food each human body requires is a fair share" of work opportunity. In this equation, the price of the food must be high enough to cause the producer to bring food to the market; and the price of work must be high enough to allow the worker to buy the food.

Granted this minimum power, the power to survive, humans will usually act (if not restrained) to secure for themselves other basic needs such as shelter, health, and education.

FUTURE MANAGERS

Each student's appreciation of his or her management roles in the future is crucial in the teaching of the World Food Politics course. They need to understand their personal roles in restricting or encouraging the work opportunities--hence the effective right to eat--of those without power to command work opportunity.



"The unemployment line would circle the globe more than five times. That's allowing 2 feet of standing room for the 350 million who have no job at all. The figure jumps to 600 million if those who are employed only part of the time are included. In the third world, one person in three cannot find a regular job." Church World Service, as quoted by SEEDS May 1987 in the "Sprouts Edition"

University students modestly describe themselves as powerless relative to the common symbols of great power, corporations and governments. They can at the same time, however, see themselves as relatively powerful compared to those humans who are chronically hungry and at risk of starvation.

Irrespective of their academic majors, university students are being trained, directly and indirectly, to manage the work opportunities of others. They anticipate this role as a responsible exercise of power placed in their trust. Their normal urge to relieve the hunger they see in others is a part of that trust.

The responsible exercise of students' future power to manage the work opportunities of others may be viewed on four levels: first, direct management as a private entrepreneur; second, management as a public official; third, indirect management through participation in powerful institutions such as governments, corporations and churches; and, finally, a doubly indirect management through influence on friends and associates, including influence in the election of public officials.

THE FUTURE MANAGERS' FUTURE ARENA

The U.S. government exercises enormous power over and within the many poor nations of the world. Much of this power is wielded directly through our armed forces and through our foreign aid programs. Of greater significance for the encouragement of work opportunities is the indirect influence of the U.S. government via support and regulation of the international banking community and transnational corporations. The actions of these institutions may encourage but also sometimes destroy work opportunity for the powerless. (6)

Corporations are particularly important in the explanation of how to end hunger.

Their employment practices set trends in the creation and design of work opportunities also in smaller enterprises. Paid work is their norm. They use utility criteria in their design of work. And they eschew make-work programs sometimes advocated under government authority.

In view of the popular image that corporations exist solely for the profit of their owners, it is instructive to observe the degree of independence enjoyed by managers within corporations. Profit at the end of the balance sheet has become for managers more of a control sign than an end goal. In the larger corporations it is difficult to show that the owners set any goals at all. The owners merely signal their anticipation of dividends by trading the corporation's stock. Top management pays out whatever dividend they may find appropriate in various circumstances. The art of management in corporations has become less a matter of directing resources for company profit and more a matter of empowering middle management and workers to use their creativity in setting and achieving their goals.

The latitude of managers up and down the hierarchy of the corporation to add work opportunity to their agendas is much larger than generally thought. That such managers may be predisposed to think of work for all is a goal of my teaching.

Churches in the United States, as a general principle, do not aspire to a political role. Nonetheless, it is church membership which forms the chief component of Bread for the World, a lobby group acting on behalf of the hungry. Such lobbying is undertaken in response to church teaching. (7)

Churches seen as institutions with full-time managers and workers offer a work model different from corporations. The concept of vocation, a "calling", implies a careful choice of career goals with the opportunity for service to others in first

place and the degree of material reward, second.

Within the affluence of North America, more and more students are able to consider seriously work opportunity with a human service motivation. A governmental equivalent with such service motivation can be found in the work of Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers. In addition, we see a large and growing group of non-profit public interest organizations with similar work motivation.

One difficulty encountered is the public image of the helping institutions themselves. A large number of institutions are designed to cope with hunger and starvation—notably the government welfare system, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and a host of private voluntary organizations. These institutions dealing with the hunger problem are often more visible to the public as representations of hunger problems than are the organizations and institutions which contribute to the root causes of hunger. Exposés of the inadequacies or inefficiencies of the helping institutions are popular subjects of investigative journalism.

Sociologist Charles Perrow explains this misdirection of public concern: "The in-

stitutions that cope with the deformed products of our society are more visible as social problems than those organizations that contribute to the deformity, and the symptoms are safer to treat than the causes." (8)

An understanding of the harm which public, business, and private institutions do is essential to the vision and motivation of management within such organizations. This points to an additional task going beyond the usual concept of a manager's role within an organization and beyond the scope of this essay. New concepts of work inclusive of all humans, not work as an exclusive privilege, should inspire new institution building as well as institution modification. (9)

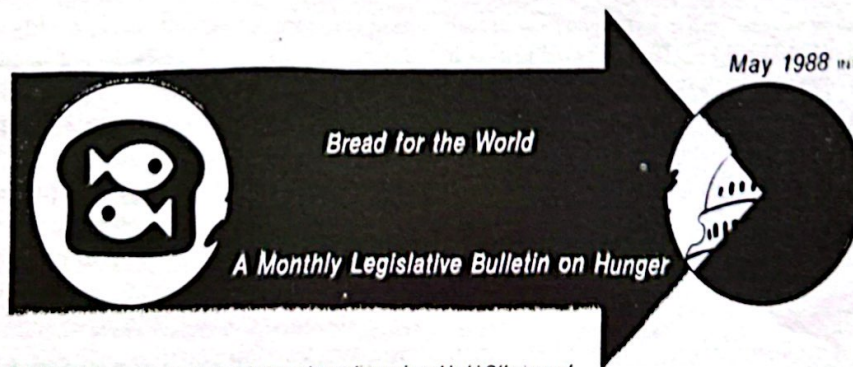
POLITICAL ACTION

The national opinion survey noted earlier showed a similarly large majority (84%) agreeing with another statement: "We need to solve our own poverty problems before we turn our attention to other countries." University students may have a less parochial worldview than the survey sample, but we should assume

nonetheless that a majority of the students will concur. Even though most of the world's hungry are in the poorest nations, we need not find this American parochialism contrary to our object. Ending hunger here by allowing work opportunity for all would be a most convincing demonstration for decision-makers in the poorest nations, exerting powerful influence by example.

Frances Moore Lappe has testified: "In helping to awaken people everywhere to an expanding understanding of democracy, we have an obligation to the world's poor and oppressed—our obligation to be an example of hope. As long as we allow hunger amidst plenty here, as long as Americans go jobless and homeless, what example can we offer the third world? If as one of the minority of countries in the world enjoying political rights, we learn to use our political rights to establish our economic rights, America will become relevant in the eyes of the world's poor majority." (10)

Conventional teaching about political influence must show the importance of citizen lobbying on behalf of the hungry. In addition to their influence in Congress, citizen lobbies sometimes lead the agenda setting of the most powerful of American opinion leaders, the president.



Priorities this month: First write letters, do media work and hold Offerings of Letters on Women in Development, then write on foreign aid funding

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RESULTS

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Participants attend one meeting a month, to study issues and generate letters to their elected representatives.

Partners commit to attending three meetings a month, to study and practice *delivering* issues; to generate letters to elected officials and editorial writers; to participate in national conference calls featuring members of Congress and experts in the field of hunger; and to make presentations to community groups.

RESULTS began in 1980. Its purpose is to create the political will to end hunger, and to break through the thought, "I don't make a difference," so we *can* create the political will to end hunger.

RESULTS
245 Second Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Foremost among the several helpful anti-hunger lobbies is Bread for the World, an overtly "Christian citizen's lobby" with a remarkable record of success leading its 40,000

members in effective political action benefitting the powerless. Another anti-hunger citizen's lobby, RESULTS, offers a strong voice for the powerless through its members' views which appear on the editorial pages of American newspapers. (11)

The hope that the solutions stated in this essay might have some immediate political currency led the writer to share them with a staff member of a congressional committee. I found his evaluation very much in the center of today's thinking about the political marketability of new ideas: "The fair-shares concept is a good one if a society first reaches a consensus around the issue of hunger...Poverty and hunger are viewed as conditions of blame, or moral and spiritual inferiority. Therefore, no societal solution is required...If you cannot "make it" you are to blame, not the system. Even the former industrial workers who now beg in food lines rarely look at the root of the problem--the unfettered market oriented capitalism...Fair share is a nice concept, but unworkable." (12)

In the context of American politics, the solution to hunger offered here is in approximately the same position as other hunger solutions. Philosopher Henry Shue shows that Americans, in spite of their reverence for certain civil rights, are far behind the rest of the world in their belief in economic and social rights. He finds partial explanation for this lag in American thinking in our history of bountiful natural resources. (13)

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Discussion of some of the questions encountered in talking with students and academic colleagues about a fair-shares-of-work strategy for ending hunger may help elucidate the proposal.

Is there enough work to go around?
There could be. Existing work could be increased, thus providing more to share.

Or existing work could be distributed so that all have a fair share. It is often assumed that additional investment capital is necessary to expand employment. Recent experience in China is relevant to this point. The Chinese carefully husbanded their scarce resource, capital, and maximized on their most abundant resource, human work. Simultaneously, they eliminated hunger. Increasing total work opportunity could make more work available to share, but such increase would not assure a fair share of work to all. There must be the kind of work sharing that distributes food to all.

Doesn't a fair-shares-of-work policy relegate its beneficiaries to a second-class status? The object of the policy is limited to the elimination of hunger. It is intended that the condition of the poorest of the poor be changed from hungry and unemployed to employed and adequately nourished. Moving from this minimum control over their own lives in the areas of work and food, some of the poorest will achieve the dignity to reach out and share other opportunities in society. Public appreciation for their achievements benefitting society will determine the status of the formerly hungry.

How about the hungry who won't work?
Let's begin by excluding from the question the very young and the very old on one side, and the severely ill and handicapped (mentally or physically) on the other. We need also to recognize here the highly valuable but usually unpaid work of mothering and homemaking. American farmers used to say, "You can lead a horse to water but you can't make it drink." By definition, such a horse was not thirsty. Any human, excluding those noted above, who refuses a fair opportunity to earn his or her own bread is similarly, by definition, not hungry.

How is a fair-shares-of-work policy different from a full-employment program?
Genuine full employment would of course eliminate hunger. Fair-shares is a new concept for which we lack precedent and

experience. Full employment could happen, for example, when the larger community insists on the restoration and maintenance of the natural and human environment. Even in China, the elimination of hunger was accomplished by maximizing demand for work up to the amount available to be done, not by a fair-shares concept. Fair-shares may be seen as a program leading to full employment. The limited and specific objective of fair-shares, the elimination of hunger, makes it different.

Is there a connection between fair-shares-of-work and environmental preservation? The essence of environmental protection is the utilization of plentiful [and renewable] but wasted resources in preference to scarce and non-renewable resources. Work is a resource with a special relation to other resources. Work has a time quality in common with certain natural resources such as sun and rain. Work resources not used when available are wasted. In a world of declining natural resources, the hungry of the world constitute an enormous reservoir of wasted and under-used work. Each day that a natural resource is used that could have been replaced by the work of an unemployed hungry person, both resources are wasted. The work of the hungry might have been used also for directly restoring the environment. Additionally, the employment of the hungry is an indirect method of conserving resources. Their labor-intensive lifestyles and methods of work are less demanding of scarce natural resources than are the more capital-intensive consumption and production methods common among the well-fed.

What government direction is needed for a fair-shares-of-work policy? The relatively permanent character of taxation as compared to appropriations of money for special programs) recommends taxes as the more effective market intervention for use in the United States. Taxes allow the managers of enterprises to calculate their advantage with more

continuity than do government appropriations. We have some experience in the United States with the use of tax incentives (which economists call tax expenditures) to encourage enterprises to retain otherwise redundant employees. Particular types of government direction appropriate elsewhere in the world should be taken up on a country-by-country basis.

Wouldn't the fair-shares-of-work policy deny freedom of choice in the market? Think of the freedom of education we enjoy. If we don't like the public education offered at low cost to us in our neighborhood, then we must pay more for another choice. If we are unable to pay more, we have no other choice. The market of guaranteed education is restricted by law and public appropriations in the name of freedom of educational opportunity. Similarly, we may say that a fair-shares-of-work policy would restrict our choice in the market in the name of another freedom of opportunity, the opportunity of each human to work for his or her bread.

Would a fair-shares-of-work policy upset the market? No. One of the most enduring functions of governments, a function fundamental to the market system, is the protection of rights in property. The protection of property rights helps those who own property without helping those who do not own property. Those who are hungry or at risk of starvation either own no property or insufficient marketable value in property to exchange for food.

When the surplus commodity in the market on any day is work, the value of such work is lost. On the other hand, most other commodities in the market will maintain a value for the next day. That is, most commodities can be withheld from sale for at least a short time when prices are insufficient. Work, the value of which is lost if withheld, is at a bargaining disadvantage. A fair-shares-of-work policy may be seen as an effort on the part of

governments to right a bargaining imbalance by extending protection to those who own only their work, while at the same time, protecting the rights of property owners. Although there are ideological differences as to the proper degree of each, both governments and private enterprises participate in the process of making and carrying out market rules, including well protected property rights.

Won't there still be hunger in some places, even with a fair-shares-of-work policy in place? The policy is premised on an effective market system. Markets can be destroyed by monopolies in the hands of either private or state-owned enterprises. In addition, warfare usually destroys the condition of trust necessary for a market. Given the current level of the division of labor, there would certainly be hunger in a society without an effective market.

Isn't fair-shares-of-work a political question? The process for the creation of a fair-shares-of-work ethic is certainly a political process. This politics is different from but necessarily connected to scientific studies of development processes and environmental protection. That body of knowledge is nearly unanimous on one conclusion with respect to world hunger: technical solutions

"Production of enough food...by itself will not be enough; food must be equitably distributed so as to provide a reasonable level of nutrition to the masses of people...In the modern world this means that all employable adults should be provided with jobs that will give them at least a subsistence income--the purchasing power to pay for the food they need along with a few other necessities of life. Jobs are indispensable for sheer survival. They are also needed to endow individuals with a sense of freedom and dignity, without which life loses much of its meaning."

Sudhir Sen, REAPING THE GREEN REVOLUTION: Food and Jobs For All, 1975.

to hunger problems already exist but these solutions await political will and political direction. We have identified here the political part of a solution to the world food problem, a fair-shares-of-work policy. We anticipate the establishment of an ethic for the policy as contrasted to authoritarian imposition of fair-shares regulations. This reflects our preference for democracy. Even extreme totalitarian systems are not perfectly authoritarian, however, and even there some ethic for fair-shares will be necessary.

Who will implement this fair-shares-of-work policy? We noted earlier that work is mixed with property to create commodities for the market. The function of deciding the proper mix of work and property is performed by a person called an entrepreneur. For example, subsistence farmers are entrepreneurs. They mix their work with their property in land (or access to land) and produce food. In modern society, the entrepreneurial function is usually divided into separate roles for managers and owners. Managers serve in an intermediate role between owners and workers. Note that there is a harmony among worker, owner, and manager on the traditional subsistence farm--they are all the same person. In the larger modern society, owners offer their property, workers offer their work, and managers offer their skills in sorting out the mix of work and property. It is these managers who will implement the fair-shares-of-work policy.

Traditionally the role of manager has been tied much closer to the owner than to the worker. In order to understand the growing incentive of managers to support a policy favorable to workers, we need to consider the roles of owners as legal custodians of property. In earlier times property was symbolized by land, and land was not usually regarded as a commodity that could be traded in markets. In modern times new types of property have been invented, and the markets of

the world have a capacity to handle any and all property as commodities. In addition, the joint stock corporation now makes it possible for one property to have many owners.

This change in the character of ownership accentuates the manager's role. He or she now sorts out a proper mix of the properties of many owners and the work of many workers. Managers stand at the nexus between workers and owners in the market. These managers establish ways of market behavior, customs of the markets. Traditional reasons for managers to favor owners over workers still exist, but as the differentiation between owners and managers increases, managers are treated by owners more like workers. In addition, the interest of the managers in their own performance as managers leads them to find common ground with workers.

This trend is evident in the management sciences. Earlier management thinking which carefully separated the roles of managers and workers is rapidly being replaced by a team concept of work in which workers share the planning processes with management. Earlier management thought held that workers were inherently lazy and incapable of understanding and appreciating the objects of their own work. The modern view holds that, in addition to normal tendencies to avoid the discomforts of toil, there exists in each worker a human being impelled to determine, to discover, to achieve, to actualize, to add to his or her own being. If the interest of the effective performance of his or her managerial role, the manager now assists the human existing within each worker to find satisfying self-expression in the agreed purposes of the work team.

FINAL THOUGHTS

So, once more, what is a fair-shares-of-work policy? From time to time there are

commodity surpluses in the market, including a surplus of labor being offered for wages. A market can respond to price and other market guidance to allocate work among available workers on a fair-share basis. Fair-shares would mean a minimum allocation of work to each human, work within the capacity of that human. The minimum allocation under a fair-shares policy would be that amount of wage labor needed to earn enough pay for the quality and quantity of food needed to maintain proper growth and good health. Others offering work demanded by the market beyond the amount allocated for fair-shares would continue to sell their work as they wished. None would be required to accept work allocated to them.

"Ultimate human power deprivation and its restoration, causes and solutions for human malnutrition and starvation" - this, concisely, is the central inquiry into the world hunger problem which I have undertaken with my students during the past six years. In this inquiry I have found

the five-element explanation of the hunger problem in the modern world as summarized here both an accurate and a useful teaching device. Food, resources, dignity, and management all interrelate through the central human activity, work. Universal access to work applied to resources provides sufficient power to each human to end hunger. Management, in both the large and the small case, has the capacity to design, organize and allocate work for all. More effort is needed to motivate management to this task. Much needed management motivation will be provided by each manager's own understanding of the need to include all men and women within their goals as they create and design work opportunities.

Work need not be regarded as a scarce commodity. Let us share work. Work fairly shared distributes food to all. Food for all is power widely distributed. Power widely distributed is a condition of world peace. Shared work is beautiful.

Notes. 1) InterAction and the Overseas Development Council. *What Americans Think: Views on Development and U.S.-Third World Relations.* (Washington, D.C., 1987). 2) Urban Jonsson, "The Causes of Hunger," *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, III:2 (April 1981), 5. 3) Mark A. Lutz and Kenneth Lux, *The Challenge of Humanistic Economics.* (Benjamin/Cummings Publishing, 1979). 4) The fallacies and weaknesses of these and other explanations of hunger have been clearly expounded. A brief up-to-date summary of this material with extensive footnotes leading to the basic sources is provided in *World Hunger: Twelve Myths* by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, (Grove Press, 1986). 5) Ivan Illich, "New Frontier for Arrogance: Colonization of the Informal Sector," *Ghandi Marg*, I:6 (September 1979), 312. 6) A careful description of how the World Bank and supporting multinational corporations, without any malicious intent, cause harmful effects on the opportunities of the poor is offered in *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines*, by Walden Bello, David Kinley and Elaine Elison, (Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1982). The political and ideological problems are discussed on pp.200-206. 7) Another statement on which the national sample was asked to agree or disagree in the opinion survey was: "My religion teaches me that I should do all I can to help people in need." 87% agreed. 8) Charles

Perrow, *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay* Random House, 1979), 172. 9) Henry Shue describes the need for new institution building in the context of hunger and poverty. See Shue, *Subsistence Rights: Shall We Secure These Rights?* in *How Does the Constitution Secure Rights?*, Robert Goldwin and William Schambra, editors. (American Enterprise Institute, 1985), 93-95.

10) Frances Moore Lappe, "Testimony to the Committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on Catholic Social Teaching and the American Economy," Berkeley, 1984; available from the Institute for Food and Development Policy. 11) *Bread for the World*, 802 Rhode Island Ave., NE Washington, D.C. 20018; executive director, Arthur Simon. RESULTS, 245 Second St., NE, Washington, DC 20002; executive director, Sam Harris. 12) Alan Gordon, letter to William M. Alexander, March 16, 1987. Concurrence with Gordon's assessment of the "now" politics may be found by noting an omission from a new book, *Let's Put America Back To Work*, by a candidate for the 1988 Democratic Party presidential nomination, Senator Paul Simon. Simon describes his plan for "Guaranteed Job Opportunities for Everyone Who Wants to Work" without discussing hunger. He does, however, introduce us to twenty-eight of the unemployed; they do mention hunger. 13) See Henry Shue, above, pp.87-93.

BREAD FOR THE WORLD

WORLD HUNGER 1988:

A REVIEW

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Early in 1988, the United Nations World Food Council reported that the outlook on world hunger for the year was "not an optimistic one." Unfortunately, that prediction has been confirmed by several major events and continuing structural forces which generate hunger and poverty.

Several factors made 1988 particularly significant:

- Heavy flooding in Bangladesh in August and September.
- Continued heavy fighting--aimed at civilian populations--in Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa and in southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia in north-eastern Africa.
- Drought in China and North America.
- Growing debt burdens in the Third World which are shouldered overwhelmingly by low-income people.

These and other factors have increased the vulnerability of poor and hungry people and suggest the need for strong advocacy to support policies addressing the root causes of hunger. During 1988 the number of hungry people increased by an estimated 8-10 million, continuing a world trend during the 1980s. The num-

ber of hungry people world-wide is estimated at 750 million.

ASIA

Drought and floods in different parts of China could reduce grain yields by up to ten percent from 1987 harvest yields. The implications for nutritional well-being are unclear, as China should be able to import the grain needed to meet internal demand. However, given the overall decline in world grain output in 1988, the Chinese imports likely will add to general grain price increases.

Vietnam has experienced declining grain production in recent years, a trend exacerbated by bad weather in 1987 and 1988. In May 1988 the Vietnamese government estimated that about 7 million people were at risk of starvation and requested international food assistance. Only a portion of that request has been met and Oxfam-UK reports that serious undernutrition prevails, especially in the north of the country. The crisis situation in Vietnam has a long history which includes national agricultural policies that have not met farmers' needs, economic mismanagement and large areas of the country still suffering from the effects of heavy bombing and chemical defoliation

by the United States in the 1960s and 1970s.

The 1988 summer monsoon rains produced heavier than normal run-off from the deforested Himalaya highlands. Downstream, Bangladesh suffered massive flooding. Official estimates were that 25 million people, a quarter of the total population, had lost their homes and were without food. One-tenth of the rice crop was lost and increased imports will be required in 1989 on top of immediate needs. Oxfam America reports that the loss of life and food goes beyond the current crisis: "For the marginal poor, any savings or possessions, including draft animals that are the sole means of food production, will be sold for food in the next several months....12 years of village development among the rural poor will be lost."

In India, overall food production improved by 16 percent in 1988, a recovery from serious drought in 1987. While reserves and a food relief system allowed India to deal with the production shortfalls in 1987, many small-scale farmers were forced to sell their lands to wealthier farmers. Thousands of already landless people found no work in agriculture and became economic refugees in their own country. The long-term situation for an estimated 250 million poor and hungry people in India is not alleviated by increases in crop production alone.

Asia remains the region with the highest level of malnutrition; some 60 to 70 percent of the world's hungry people live in South Asia alone.

LATIN AMERICA

Drought reduced corn and wheat production in Mexico, Argentina and Chile. In 1988, as in earlier years in the decade, overall per capita food consumption declined. The number of children under five years of age who are mal-

nourished exceeded the level of 1975, after having dropped in the late 1970s.

In Central America and the Caribbean, as estimated 15 million people are malnourished in 1988; in South America the number is at least 50 million people. For almost all of these people, hunger does not stem from any acute event in 1988, but a combination of structural forces. Militarization, debt and skewed development policies have been major factors.

For low-income, unemployed or landless people, living conditions continued to decline in 1988. In Central America, malnutrition affects two-thirds of all children. The rapid militarization of the region over the past decade was felt in Nicaragua where cut-backs occurred in government health and agricultural services programs; in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras popular initiatives for development and food security have been repressed by official actions.

Across Latin America, the pressures to repay large debts has resulted in a series of national programs--under pressure from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the United States and multinational banks--to cut social services and food subsidies while expanding exports. Low income groups have suffered severely under these programs (as described in Bread for the World Educational Fund's *Third World Debt: The Human Costs*).

AFRICA

An estimated 125 million African people--about 25 percent of the total population--did not have adequate food in 1988. Official figures cite a decline of over 4 percent in per capita grain production in 1987, a figure likely to be repeated in 1988. Several crises, especially escalating violence, contributed to these problems.

In northeastern Africa, warfare has been a prolonged and major cause of

hunger. In southern Sudan, an estimated 3 million people (85 percent of the region's population) are at risk of starvation, largely due to the impact of civil war and harsh government measures which have disrupted food production and distribution systems. At least 2 million people have fled the area and many others are internally displaced. Heavy flooding in northern Sudan has destroyed crops and left thousands of people homeless around the capital, Khartoum.

Severe famine returned to northern Ethiopia and Eritrea in late 1987 and through 1988. Following major military losses to liberation groups early in 1988, the Ethiopian government ordered foreign relief operations out of the northern part of the country. This move reduced food assistance operations and placed them under the control of the Ethiopian government which used food aid for its own political purposes. After initial reluctance, several donors expanded food distribution into Tigray province and Eritrea via the eastern Sudan. Nevertheless, an estimated 5 million people are at risk of hunger in the area.

In mid-1988, fighting broke out between the government of Somalia and an internal resistance group. After initial losses,

the government responded with major aerial bombings, often using weapons gained through U.S. military aid. By September, an estimated 100,000 people in northern Somalia had been killed and over 900,000 refugees had fled their homes and now are living without adequate food, water or medical supplies.

Generally good rains across the Sahel region of Africa, from the Sudan to Mauritania, have spawned large swarms of locusts which now threaten crops and vegetation. The fear is that control measures cannot be mounted effectively, in part because of the wars in the Sudan and Ethiopia and delays in governmental and international responses to the locusts.

In southern Africa, South Africa's policy of destabilization and domination of neighboring countries continued to have profound effects in 1988. In Mozambique, 6 million people are at risk of starvation. South African-backed rebels have disrupted agricultural production, relief distribution and health services. About one million Mozambicans are refugees outside of their country and an equal number are displaced but remain in the country.

War in Angola, carried on by rebels backed by South Africa and the United States, has seriously undermined food self-sufficiency.

An estimated 2.7 million people face starvation. UNICEF reports that Angola and Mozambique have the highest infant mortality rates in the world due to the wars in those countries.

In 1988 negotiations occurred to end fighting in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia. At this point it is too early to determine the actual impact of any settlements on the lives of hungry people, but it is clear that South Africa is using the opportunity to expand its influence in southern Africa.

In addition to warfare, structural factors significantly contribute to hunger in Africa. United Nations figures show that sub-Saharan African countries now export more cash as debt repayments than they receive in new aid. Donors have imposed structural adjustment programs on over 20 African countries. The programs are designed to assure debt repayments and to align African economies more closely with those of the West.

THE UNITED STATES

There is no accurate record of the number of hungry people in the United States; such records are not made. It is estimated that over 20 million people, including 12 million children, are hungry in America for some period of time each month. In August 1988 the Census Bureau reported that 32.5 million people lived below the federally-defined poverty line and thus were at risk of hunger.

Drought in farming regions reduced total U.S. grain crops by 25 percent from 1987 levels. Some crops were more severely hit; corn production fell by 32 percent and spring wheat, barley and oats crops declined by half from the previous year. Production in Canada also suffered.

Two concerns are triggered by the reduction in the North American grain crops. First, stock and reserve levels have fallen significantly, raising some worries about sharp price increases and inadequate grain reserves for international food assistance if a series of floods, droughts or other emergencies should occur next year. Some commentators have raised serious concerns about general climatic changes which may have a long-term adverse effect on U.S. grain production. Second, food price increases are expected to occur and have already happened for some products. Any price rise adversely affects low-income people and may wipe out the modest gains in federal food assistance legislated in 1988.

Also disturbing is the widening income gap between wealthy and low-income people in the United States. Currently, the wealthiest 40 percent of American families receive nearly 68 percent of the national family income; the poorest 40 percent of families received about 15 percent of the national income, the lowest percentage ever recorded. Although official unemployment levels have fallen over the past year, nearly ten percent of all working age Americans are unemployed and over 40 percent of Black youth are unemployed, showing the persistence of structural racism in the U.S.



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LOW WAGES = BAD ECONOMICS

Jeff Faux, executive director,
Economic Policy Institute

The old, discredited idea that low wages are good for the economy seems to have wormed its way back into America's corporate board rooms, universities, and editorial pages. Increasingly, we hear or read that our workers are paid too much for us to compete in the world, that union contracts are a terrible burden on business, and that raising the minimum wage will hurt the economy.

Of course, few people advocate cutting their own wages or salaries; it is usually someone else's paycheck that seems too large. Still the idea has some superficial appeal. After all, lower wages seem to promise lower prices. And if prices drop, isn't everyone better off?

The answer is no. Most people work for a living. Therefore, lower wages mean lower consumer incomes. Which mean lower sales. Which mean fewer jobs. Which mean even lower incomes. In the end this makes everyone worse off. As a businessman once said to me: "The most important part of my business is the customers coming in the door with money in their pockets."

History has proven the point. During the Great Depression of the 1930's prices were very low. But because wages had dropped and unemployment was high there wasn't enough consumer demand to purchase what business had to sell. The Depression finally ended when the government started buying and hiring in preparation for World War II.

That experience taught us the importance to the economy of maintaining consumer buying power. After the war, civilian programs were begun to construct

low and moderate income housing, to build highways, to bring medical care to the elderly and to provide other services. At the same time minimum wages were raised and workers' rights to organize were protected. These policies kept money in the pockets of consumers and gave the United States the highest level of living of any country in the history of the world.

But the lesson seems to have been forgotten. In recent years, many managers in business and government seem determined to keep wages as low as possible. Employers have demanded wage "give-backs," two-tiered wage systems that cut pay for new employees, reductions in health care and other fringe benefits--all rationalized as a way to make America competitive.

As a result, real wages (wages adjusted for inflation) are on the average about 15 percent below where they were back in 1973! Real family incomes are five percent lower. The only reason family incomes have not dropped as fast as wages is that more people in the family have had to go out to work. In 1960 only 28 percent of wives between the ages of 25 and 34 were working [outside the home]. By 1985 that statistic had risen to 65 percent.

The situation is getting worse. By April of 1987 wages were up only 1.7 percent above a year earlier, while consumer prices had risen 3.8 percent. Thus the purchasing power of the average worker dropped over two percent in 12 months.

Despite the erosion of earnings, consumers have kept the economy going by buying on credit. The ratio of consumer debt to income has been rising fast and is at an all-time high. But consumers are reaching the end of their ability to borrow in order to compensate for lower real wages. According to Wall Street economist Gary Shilling, "The resulting run-up in individual debt in recent years has left people in an extremely over-extended position...The lack of strong purchasing power growth for the average

middle-income family--the mainstay of an industrial economy-- contributed to the 1930's depression. This may happen again."

There's another reason low wages are bad economics: workers who don't earn enough to keep themselves above the poverty line end up needing food stamps, public health care and other public assistance. Thus, the taxpayer has to subsidize the labor costs of businesses that do not pay enough for a worker to support a family.

One question remains: if low wages are bad for the economy why are so many businesses trying to drive wages down even lower? The reason is that businesses aren't responsible for the whole economy, just for their own company. The corner grocer might increase his profits in the short run by cutting wages. But if every business does it, sales and therefore profits of all businesses--including the grocer--will decline.

That is why wages are too important to be left solely up to employers. Collective bargaining, minimum wage laws and other policies that put a floor under workers' incomes are necessary to keep the economy healthy. If we don't want to repeat the Great Depression, we'd better not forget the lesson it taught us.

(Service Employees Union newsletter, 10/87.)

A PROVEN METHOD FOR MEASURING LOCAL HUNGER:

Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP)

By Patricia L. Kutzner, based on reports from the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC)

Can hunger be measured?

For the past two years, the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) has been trying to find out. Specifically, FRAC has asked that question about U.S. children between the ages of one and 11. The measurement this Washington, D.C. policy advocacy organization wanted had to be statistically sophisticated, using state-of-the-art methods for research into social medicine and community nutrition.

At a press conference on October 17 of this year FRAC director Robert Fersch declared the answer to be an emphatic yes. It is possible.

FRAC's Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP) has been tested in four quite different locations and has turned up highly revealing data for government planners and policy advocates in each one: New Haven, Connecticut, Seattle, Washington, and two quite different counties in Washington, Yakima County in the west and Pend Oreille County in the eastern part of the state.

Now CCHIP surveys are planned for Alabama (Pickens County), California (several Central Valley counties), Connecticut again (Hartford this time), Florida (Polk County), Michigan (Pontiac), Minnesota (Hennepin County which includes Minneapolis), and New York (selected neighborhoods in New York City).

At the October 17 press conference Dr. Victor Sidel, chairman of the CCHIP Technical Advisory Committee and Distinguished Professor of Social Medicine at Montefiore Medical Center and the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in the Bronx, said: "CCHIP puts a carefully tested hunger survey into the hands of community groups so that they can document the extent of hunger in their localities. The prevalence of hunger in the areas surveyed in Washington state are disturbing because they represent real suffering--both mental and physical--among children and their families. The increased health problems and related increases in school absences found among the children from hungry families in Washington state are strong indications that hunger is taking its toll on America's poor children."

Hunger, for the purposes of CCHIP, is defined as the mental and physical condition that comes from not eating enough food because of insufficient economic, family or community resources.

In CCHIP, interviewers from the community are hired to do a door-to-door hunger survey using a questionnaire in a predetermined random sample of low-income families with at least one child between one and 11 years old. The questionnaire has 104 questions which bring out information about sociodemographic characteristics of the household, shopping habits, experiences of household food shortages and coping mechanisms, and participation in food assistance or income assistance programs.

CCHIP

On the basis of careful tests of the questionnaire, CCHIP constructed a "hunger scale," using answers to eight key questions: Does your household ever run out of money to buy food to make a meal? Do you or members of your household ever eat less than you feel you should because there is not enough money for food? Do you or members of your household ever cut the size of meals or skip meals because there is not enough money for food? Do your children ever eat less than you feel they should because there is not enough money for food? Do your children ever say they are hungry because there is not enough food in the house? Do you ever rely on a limited number of foods to feed your children because you are running out of money to buy food for a meal? Do any of your children ever go to bed hungry because there is not enough money to buy food?

The CCHIP "hunger scale" scores households from 0 to 8: a score of 5 or more "yes" answers to the 8 key questions indicates a severe food shortage. These are the "hungry families." This is because such a score indicates that 5 or more different signs of hunger are present in the household, and at least one of these signs of hunger directly affects the children in the household. This score shows up a food shortage of serious magnitude, occurring over a lengthy period of time and occurring repeatedly.

Survey results in all four of the test sites so far have demonstrated correlations with increased specific health problems in the children sampled. In New Haven, Connecticut, for example, children from "hungry households" suffered from almost twice as many problems such as ear infections, dizziness, colds and unwanted weight loss in the 6 months previous to the survey than children from other households. In Seattle and Yakima County, hungry children were two times more likely, and those in Pend Oreille County two and a half times more likely,

to suffer from specific health problems in the previous 6 months than children from the non-hungry families. In all four sites, children in hungry families were significantly more likely than the non-hungry children to have experienced unwanted weight loss, fatigue, headaches, inability to concentrate, and irritability over the six months prior to the survey.

As measured on the CCHIP hunger scale, the prevalence of hunger among low-income families with children is 42.2 percent in Seattle, 39.3 percent in Yakima/Wapato and 20.8 percent in Pend Oreille County. In the New Haven study conducted in 1986, 18 percent of the low-income households surveyed were hungry (a score of 5 or more on the scale) and 47 percent were at risk of being hungry (a score of at least 1 on the scale).

CCHIP was designed and tested under the leadership of Cheryl Wehler by the Connecticut Association for Human Services, a non-profit research, advocacy and education organization based in Hartford. Wehler had previously been director of nutrition research for the Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Division of Family Health Services. In Washington state, CCHIP was co-sponsored with the Governor's Task Force on Hunger.

FRAC reports that the National Center for Health Statistics in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services intends to use versions of the CCHIP questions in its next national survey of U.S. nutritional status, NHANES (National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey).

Nationwide dissemination of the CCHIP survey has been started by the Food Research and Action Center. Groups wanting to carry out the survey in their own communities are also given a "field manual" which contains information on planning the survey, developing the survey sample, how to train interviewers, and on collecting and analyzing the data.

The overall cost of national replication and dissemination of CCHIP is expected to be \$437,000. Three-fourths of this amount has been contributed by five sources: Burlington Northern Foundation, Ford Foundation, Pillsbury Company, Primerica Foundation, and Sara Lee Foundation.

Groups interested in obtaining the CCHIP questionnaire and field manual, or seeking further information about the seven CCHIP sites already established for 1989, should contact CCHIP project director Cheryl Wehler through the Food Research and Action Center, 1319 F Street, NW, Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone (202) 393-5060.

**HUNGER
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TEACHER?**



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202-269-1075.**

BOOKS

CHRISTIAN FAITH & PUBLIC POLICY: NO GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE, by Arthur Simon.

Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987. 120 pp., paperback, \$6.95. Order from Bread for the World, 802 Rhode Island Ave., NE, Wash. DC 20018 (add \$2.00 for postage and handling).

The executive director of Bread for the World describes his own path to the merging of Christian faith, political action, and the hunger issue in Bread for the World. Interesting as this story is, the real meat here is Simon's exegesis of the biblical basis for Christian political action. This often takes a refreshingly unpredictable turn, avoiding or even countering theological slogans common within the anti-hunger movement. One need not be a Christian to find Simon's discourse rewarding and his reasoning provocative. Discussion questions provided for each of the eight chapters adapt the book well to adult group study.

THE OTHER WORLD: ISSUES AND POLITICS IN THE THIRD WORLD, by Joseph Weatherby, Jr., Dianne Long, William Alexander, John Walsh, Randal Cruikshanks, Reginald Gooden, Richard Kranzdorf, Earl Huff, and John Culver.

Macmillan Publishing Co, 1987. 267 pp., paperback. Indexed.

Nine faculty members at California Polytechnic State University have produced an excellent introduction to the third world for the general public and the undergraduate student with little or no exposure to the world beyond the United States. There is real treasure here in the well-selected information, clearly and interestingly presented. The term "Other World" is used rather than "Third" or "Developing" because it avoids a value judgment while highlighting differences from American culture. The need to recognize one's own culturally biased perspective as a problem in attempting to understand what's going on in "the Other World" is a major premise. Chapter topics include colonialism, population and food, militarism and conflict, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East and North Africa. The authors' stated viewpoint accurately characterizes the book's contents: "...the north-south dimension in global affairs is as important as the east-west dimension. We have not written this book from a U.S. perspective, and we have avoided making value judgments about political decisions made by Other World states. However, we have indicated critical decisions that countries will have to consider in dealing with the many problems that they face. The resolution of these problems concerns all of us."

STRENGTHENING THE POOR: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?, by John P. Lewis and contributors.

New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1988. Overseas Development Council, Policy Perspectives No.10. 228 pages, paperback, \$12.95. Order from ODC, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

In a much-needed study, fourteen distinguished development practitioners and researchers examine lessons from almost two decades of attempting to aid the poor. Chapters include "Assisted Self-Reliance—Working With, Rather Than For, the Poor"; "Governments and Grassroots Organizations: From Co-Existence to Collaboration"; "Empowering Africa's Rural Poor..."; "Women, Poverty, and Development..."; "Poverty and Adjustment..."; "Aid for the Poor... in India"; and others. Grassroots initiative is stressed but also the necessity of government action. The study's director John P. Lewis is currently professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs after a long career in intergovernmental organizations. His opening overview of development efforts in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s provides excellent background for this or any examination of strategies to reduce poverty in "the Other World."

Two for the Activist

HUNGER ACTION HANDBOOK: WHAT YOU CAN DO AND HOW TO DO IT, edited by Leslie Withers and Tom Peterson. 1987. 153 pp., paperback, \$7.95.

Seeds Magazine, 222 East Lake Drive, Decatur, Georgia 30030. **LIVES MATTER: A HANDBOOK FOR CHRISTIAN ORGANIZING, by Kimberley Bobo. 1986. 283 pp., paperback, \$8.95.** Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, for Bread for the World, 802 Rhode Island Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20018.

Both of these handbooks belong in every hunger activist's library. SEEDS offers advice—incomplete but suggestive—on 24 different ways one person can do something about hunger, running the gamut from starting a soup kitchen to using one's power as an investor or voter. Bobo's book is a nuts-and-bolts organizing handbook, yes, but also much more, and its value is by no means limited to Christians. "Organizing is empowerment.It is enabling people to act effectively to cause change...Organizing recognizes and develops the power within people so they can work to end hunger." Historical insights from the study of social change are here along with wisdom and practical skills distilled from eleven years as organizer and trainer of organizers for Bread for the World. Bobo is now a trainer with the Midwest Academy founded by Saul Alinsky in Chicago.

NETWORK NEWS

DATES TO NOTE:

Deadline January 15 for the 1989 HUNGER RESEARCH BRIEFING AND EXCHANGE ABSTRACT NOTEBOOK. Send abstracts (1 page max.) on research projects in progress or recently completed: Alan Shawn Feinstein World Hunger Program, Brown University, Campus Box 1831, Providence, Rhode Island 02912. 401/863-2700.

Regional training events on The POVERTY OF [US] WOMEN AND CHILDREN --January 27-29, Baltimore; February 10-12, Dallas; March 3-5, Indianapolis; April 28-30, Holyoke, MA; May 19-21, Omaha. Training has already occurred in Atlanta, Richland (WA), and Phoenix. Contact: Church Women United, 475 Riverside Drive, Rm. 812, New York, NY 10115. 212/870-2347.

WORLD HEALTH DAY, April 7, an international observance of global health issues occurring annually in 166 countries and the USA. The 1989 theme, "Health For All: Pass It Along," features the role of communications in health promotion. Free planning kit for local organizers: American Association for World Health, 2001 S Street NW, Suite 530, Wash. DC. 20009. 202/265-0286.

AN AMERICAN FORUM: TEACHING FOR THE 21st CENTURY, May 19-21, 1989, Atlanta, Georgia. Registration before January 31, \$95; after January 31, \$150. Global, international, and foreign language teachers will examine their role and influence in current trends for curriculum reform at all levels. Contact: The American Forum, 45 John St., Suite 1200, New York, NY 10038. 212/732-8606.

OTHER NEWS:

ACCION INTERNATIONAL (1385 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02139; phone 617/492-4930) won the 1988 Presidential End Hunger Award in the Private Voluntary Organization category for its far reaching efforts in combating hunger and poverty in Latin America, the Caribbean and southwestern USA through micro-enterprise assistance. **CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES** (1011 First Ave., NY, NY 10022; phone 212/838-4700), assisted by the European Caritas network, began airlifting one ton of food into the famine stricken regions of southern Sudan on November 7. Reports at the end of November are that the airlift is proceeding with an equal amount of food from the UN World Food Program without interference from either side in the Sudanese conflict and that the tragic death rate among infants has been checked in the refugee camps receiving the food. This shipment will be completed in December. A request for more food from the U.S. government was pending as Hunger Notes went to press. **CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES** (236 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Suite 305, Wash., D.C. 20002; phone 202/544-0591) issued a new 3-page "Analysis of Changes in Food Stamp Participation" in September, with 1987 levels the lowest in the 1980s so far. A 40-page report was released this month, "Shortchanged: Recent Developments in Hispanic Poverty, Income and Employment," detailing a rise of almost a third in Hispanic poverty since the late

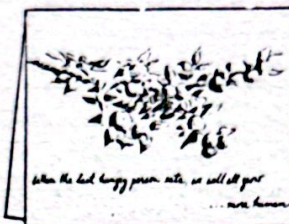
1970s, outstripping increases among whites and blacks. **INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S TRIBUNE CENTER** has a new address: 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017; phone 212/687-8633. The IWTC is a women's development support resource. (See the Hunger Notes issue on microenterprise, April/May 1988.) **NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL HEALTH** (1701 K St., NW, Suite 600, Wash. DC 20006; phone 202/833-5900) has published a new "Directory of U.S. Based Agencies Involved in International Health Assistance" including 426 agencies of many kinds. Cost: \$35 plus \$2 postage/handling. **RELIEF SOCIETY OF TIGRAY** (P.O. Box 6522, Wash. DC 20009; phone 202/722-0920) reports severe crop devastation from locust swarms in Tigray Province, a stronghold of armed resistance to the Ethiopian government. A British medical team has recently documented napalm injuries from government air raids on Tigray. **RODALE INTERNATIONAL**, a Division of Rodale Institute (222 Main St., Emmaus, PA 18098; phone 215/967-5171) has launched a monthly 8-page newsletter titled "Ag-Sieve" to "sort through information and experiences which relate to sustainable agriculture practices and to share that information with the reader." Innovative, practical, attractive. Subscription starting in 1989, \$15. Published in 1987 and still available in English, Spanish or French: "Experiences in Success: Case Studies in Growing Enough Food Through Regenerative Agriculture" (in Nepal, Ecuador, the Philippines, Rwanda, and Chile); 54 pages, illustrated, \$7.95 post paid. **UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND** will issue "The State of The World's Children 1989" on December 20 in which UNICEF Executive Director James P. Grant examines social achievements of the past decade now saving the lives of two and a half million children every year, a momentum slowing, however, and even reversing in many cases because of crippled economies and the debt crisis. Copies available from Oxford University Press, 96 pages, \$6.25.

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Style A



Style B

Six 4"x6" cards and envelopes per packet, all one style or mixed. (Please specify.) \$5.50 includes shipping. World Hunger Education Service, 3018 Fourth St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20017.

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World Hunger Education Service is an independent non-profit information and networking center promoting actions and policies based on a many-faceted comprehension of the hunger problem, both in the USA and in low-income countries. Brochure and annual report available on request. Contributions are tax deductible.

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