



Figure A.1: Malawi. General overview

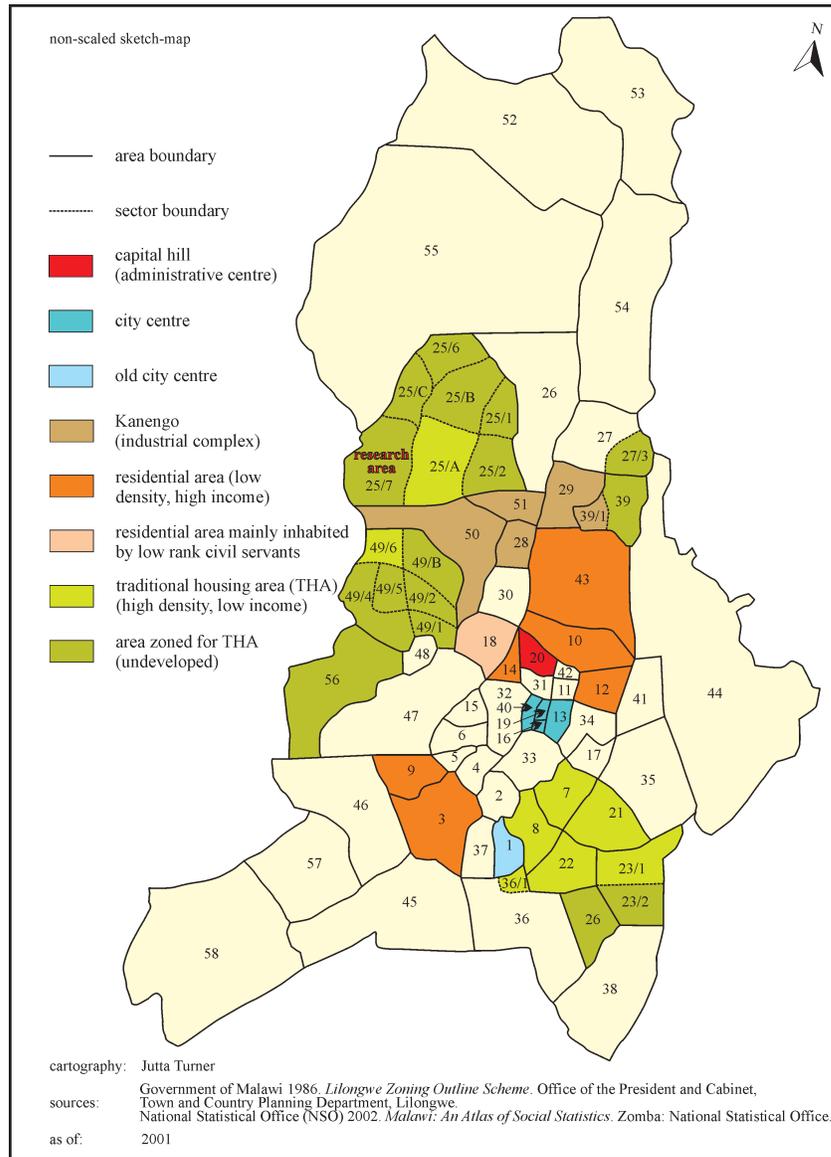


Figure A.2: Lilongwe



Figure A.3: Map of Sector 7

Figure A.4:

Figure A.5:

Figure A.6:

Figure A.7:

Figure A.8:

Figure A.9:

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Samenvatting

Gedurende de afgelopen decennia heeft het internationale debat over sociaal beleid en sociale zekerheid zich in toenemende mate gericht op informele sociale zekerheid als kant-en-klare alternatieven of aanvullende maatregelen voor formele of overheidsgestuurde mechanismen. Met name in ontwikkelingslanden waar 'formele' of sociale zekerheidssystemen van de overheid voornamelijk slechts marginaal ontwikkeld zijn en familiale, gemeenschappelijke en verenigingsnetwerken gebaseerd op verwantschap, religie, ethniciteit of informele regelingen als de grootste bron van economische en sociale hulp voortbestaan, heeft dit debat veel belangstelling getrokken. Tegen de achtergrond van een toenemende verarming en informalisering van grote delen van de bevolking is nieuw beleid ontwikkeld dat ten doel heeft gouvernementele en niet-gouvernementele mechanismen en instituties te integreren in een allesomvattend sociaal zekerheidskader. Daar waar deze nieuwe beleidsbenadering wordt toegejuicht door beleidsmakers voor het verschaffen van meer adequate antwoorden op een toenemende complexe sociale en economische werkelijkheid en (on)zekerheid in ontwikkelingslanden, stelt dit boek dat dit niet noodzakelijkerwijs het geval is. Ondanks een groeiende erkenning en integratie van niet-gouvernementele mechanismen blijft nieuw beleid sterk geassocieerd met, en hangen in, een denkbeeld van sociale zekerheid dat sterk gerelateerd is aan de Westerse stijl van de welvaartsstaat.

Dit boek wil een ander perspectief op sociale zekerheid in kaart brengen en probeert het te herpositioneren door verder te kijken dan het modernistische en welvaarts dualisme waarbinnen het concept grotendeels gebruikt en besproken blijft worden. De studie naar de sociale zekerheidsgewoontes en gebruiken van urbane migranten in Sector 7/Gebied 25A, een urbaan randgebied van Lilongwe Stad, Malawi, onthult dat sociale zekerheid een bonte verzameling is van een verscheidenheid aan mechanismen en actoren ingebed in verschillende in elkaar grijpende sociale, economische, politieke, culturele en ethische structuren. Deze 'multi-lokaliteit' van sociale zekerheid is tevens ruimtelijk gedefinieerd.

Sociale hulpnetwerken verbinden niet alleen rurale en urbane gebieden, maar strekken zich ook uit over nationale en continentale grenzen heen. Tevens staan sociale zekerheidsnetwerken niet op zichzelf, maar zijn ingebed in bredere regionale, nationale en wereldomvattende contexten die op hun beurt ook de organisatie van het dagelijks leven, inclusief lokale en trans-lokale sociale zekerheidsgewoontes en gebruiken beïnvloeden. Deze trans-lokale sociale zekerheidseconomie is in toenemende mate overbelast. Algeheel stijgende armoedecijfers, verdere inkrimpingen van het slechts marginaal ontwikkelde overheidswelzijn systeem en in het bijzonder de demografische ineenstorting als gevolg van HIV/AIDS, stellen de capaciteiten en mogelijkheden van urbane migranten om het hoofd te bieden aan sociale en economische onzekerheden zwaar op de proef en beperken in toenemende mate hun vermogen 'eruit te komen'. Economische moeilijkheden als gevolg van structurele aanpassingen, vrij kleine groeicijfers en stijgende prijsniveaus zijn de voornaamste redenen voor het uiteenvallen van sociale hulpnetwerken. Echter, veelvuldig ziek zijn en de hoge sterftcijfers als gevolg van HIV/AIDS brengen hun sociale basis tevens in gevaar. Het gebrek aan sociale relaties om productieve en reproductieve taken zoals het bewerken van de velden of het verzorgen van de zieken, de ouderen of kinderen heeft dramatische vormen aangenomen.

Stijgende competitie om sociale hulp en zorg wijzigt ook patronen van migratie en urbanisatie. Daar waar de algehele beperkingen op mankracht en land in het dorp trans-lokale relaties steeds moeilijker maken, worden mensen tegelijkertijd verplicht meer mobiel te zijn teneinde sociale hulp en zorg achterna te reizen. In het bijzonder de vele AIDS-wezen en de ouderen die niemand meer hebben om voor ze te zorgen worden meer en meer gedwongen sociale zekerheidsnomaden te worden.

Veranderende onzekerheden en sociale zekerheidsgewoontes en gebruiken inclusief migratie processen laten ook hun ruimtelijke afdrukken achter en geven het gezicht van de stad een nieuwe vorm. Urbanisatie processen lijken in toenemende mate gemarginaliseerd te worden zowel ruimtelijk als sociaal. In het bijzonder in de urbane grensgebieden lijkt een nieuwe urbanisatie te ontstaan dat een dicht web en samenkomen van verschillende strategieën en min of meer urbane levensstijlen vertegenwoordigd waarbinnen rurale/urbane, moderne/traditionele en formele/informele relaties, normen en regels, hulpbronnen, identiteiten en manieren van geld verdienen gemixt en gecombineerd worden. Deze marginale urbanisatie omvat ook diegene die goed geurbaniseerd zijn, zoals ambtenaren die door bezuinigingen in het overheidssysteem sociaal en ruimtelijk gemarginaliseerd zijn. Als resultaat wordt de toegang tot de stad in de zin van ruimte en plaats zelfs meer betwist, wat leidt tot een enorme toename van 'illegale' manieren en maatregelen om toegang te krijgen tot land, huisvesting en

andere urbane infrastructuur, voornamelijk ten nadele van het armere deel van de bevolking. In het bijzonder voor deze laatste groep is de stad in toenemende mate een onveilige plek geworden. Verdrongen door de eveneens gemarginaliseerde maar rijkere ambtenaren zijn ze gedwongen continu te verhuizen, op zoek naar een nieuwe verblijfplaats en naar nieuwe sociale netwerken om te ontwikkelen.

In Hoofdstuk 1 bespreekt de auteur de theoretische implicaties van sociale zekerheid in samenhang met urbanisatie en migratie. De auteur gaat verder dan de modernistische benadering waarin sociale zekerheid impliciet gerelateerd wordt aan processen van migratie en urbanisatie als noodzakelijke voorwaarden om kapitalisme te ontwikkelen en neemt een functioneel perspectief dat sociale zekerheid ziet als een wezenlijk aspect van sociale organisatie en verandering. Er wordt gesteld dat een ingebed en dynamisch begrip van sociale zekerheid het niet alleen mogelijk maakt een beter begrip te hebben van sociale (on)zekerheden, behoeftes en de normen en voorschriften die het regelt. Het maakt het ook mogelijk een betere beoordeling te maken van het functioneren ervan. Daar komt nog bij dat het nemen van een breed perspectief op hulprelaties dat zich verder uitstrekt dan denkbeeldige grenzen van formeel/informeel en ruraal/urban dualisme, de mogelijkheid geeft rekening te houden met processen van migratie en urbanisatie die, zoals gesteld wordt, gezien moeten worden als wezenlijke aspecten en mechanismen van een breder, trans-lokale sociale zekerheidseconomie en die vormgeven aan, en op de proef stellen van, de vormen, inhoud en betekenis ervan.

Hoofdstuk 2 toont een kort overzicht van de politieke economie van Malawi met speciale verwijzing naar de sociale beleidssector, inclusief een schets van zowel de gouvernementele als de niet-gouvernementele sociale zekerheidssector. In Malawi is sociale zekerheid altijd zeer informeel geweest en gebaseerd op niet-gouvernementele instituties en mechanismen, inclusief kerken, moskeeën en gebruikelijke instituties zoals familie of de gemeenschap. Deze sociale zekerheidsmix heeft altijd een trans-lokale dimensie gehad die verder ging dan de context van het dorp en zelfs verder dan nationale en continentale grenzen. Hoewel dit belangrijk was gedurende de nadagen van de internationale arbeidsmigratie van de jaren 1940 tot aan de jaren 1970 heeft het verval van de internationale arbeidsmigratie ook geleid tot het inkrimpen van trans-nationale sociale netwerken.

Hoofdstuk 3 concentreert zich op het proces van urbanisatie in Lilongwe en Sector 7. De urbanisatie van Malawi is opvallend laag geweest tot aan de overgang naar democratie in 1994, wat tevens een bijna totale verwaarlozing van urbane ontwikkeling laat zien. Ondanks het feit dat het sindsdien versneld is vindt veel van de urbanisatie van Lilongwe voornamelijk plaats in de

urbane randgebieden van de stad. Deze 'urbane grensgebieden' verlenen een groot deel van de bevolking van Lilongwe ondertussen onderdak. Zij vertegenwoordigen een moderniteit en urbaniteit die 'normaal' lijkt te zijn voor een groeiend aantal urbane migranten in Lilongwe vandaag de dag, inclusief zij die ten gevolge van Structurele Aanpassing en Goed Beleid een sociale en economische achteruitgang hebben ondervonden welke beurtelings ook gevolgd is door een ruimtelijke marginalisatie.

Het binnenstromende groeiende aantal beter gesitueerde ambtenaren heeft de sociale structuur van het gebied door elkaar gehaald. Hoewel de oorspronkelijke bewoners van Sector 7 erin geslaagd zijn in de loop van de jaren toegang te verkrijgen tot de stad en infrastructuur, toont Hoofdstuk 4 aan dat dit niet noodzakelijkerwijs de onzekerheden gerelateerd aan urbane levensomstandigheden op de lange termijn, inclusief de mogelijkheden voor het creëren van een permanente plek dat thuis genoemd wordt en van permanente netwerk structuren, gemakkelijker gemaakt hebben. In tegendeel, hun pogingen tot urbanisatie worden gekaapt door de gemarginaliseerde, maar toch nog steeds rijkere en machtigere ambtenaren die – verdreven door sociale beleidshervormingen – zich gedurende de jaren over het gebied hebben verspreid. De arme bevolking in tegenstelling lijkt blootgesteld aan twee tegenstrijdige ontwikkelingen. Terwijl ze geïmmobiliseerd zijn door de sociale en economische moeilijkheden die het hen niet mogelijk maakt de armoede te boven te komen en de marginale sociale en ruimtelijke positie waarin ze zitten, worden zij gedwongen continu aan het verhuizen te zijn en gemarginaliseerd te worden tot aan de randen van de stad en verder.

De analyse van het 'urbane einde' van de sociale zekerheidseconomie in Hoofdstuk 5 laat zien dat sociale hulpnetwerken in de stad verre van louter reproducties of moderne vervangingen zijn van achtergelaten rurale familiale relaties. Hoewel het huishouden het centrale knooppunt blijft van sociale hulp in de stad, staat de urbane context een aanvulling en uitbreiding van netwerk relaties en instituties, inclusief vrienden en burens, toe. Op hetzelfde moment leidt de afstand tot een nieuwe interpretatie van al bestaande relaties, inclusief hun kwaliteit, evenals de onzekerheden en behoeftes waarop ze betrekking hebben. Vrienden en burens kunnen hechte verwanten worden, terwijl de hechte verwanten in het dorp gewoonlijk een meer afstandelijke positie krijgen in de hiërarchie van het netwerk. Tegelijkertijd toont het hoofdstuk dat de algehele sociale en economische druk in de loop van de jaren urbane hulprelaties sterk gestratificeerd heeft. In het bijzonder alleenstaande ouder en grootouder gezinnen beknot door HIV/AIDS staan bloot aan extreme onzekerheden en openbaren in hoge mate competitieve hulprelaties; zelfs in de mate van het bestreden worden door middel van het aanjagen van angst en het gebruik van geweld. Hun afne-

mende hulpcapaciteit maken wezen in het bijzonder zeer kwetsbaar en dwingen ze continu te verhuizen op zoek naar hulp.

Hoofdstuk 6 bespreekt sociale zekerheidsnetwerken verankerd buiten de sfeer van het huishouden, inclusief religieuze, ethnische, economische en regionale verenigingen en NGOs, micro-spaar en kredietstelsels. Er wordt gesteld dat het belang van in het bijzonder kerken, moskeeën en regionale verenigingen voornamelijk ligt in hun sociale functie, aangezien zij in een belangrijke gemeenschappelijk ruimte voorziet die tevens een bron van thuishoren en identiteit biedt. Daar waar deze collectieve netwerken gedurende lange tijd gebruikt zijn als een gemeenschappelijke sociaal, cultureel of religieus kader van waaruit individuele sociale hulpnetwerken gegenereerd worden, wordt aangetoond dat de algehele beperkingen op hulp uit deze netwerken hen in toenemende mate tot belangrijke directe leveranciers van hulp maken die zich geconfronteerd zien met een groeiend aantal behoeftes en noodlijdenden.

Ofschoon aan trans-lokale relaties een enorm belang wordt toegeschreven, toont Hoofdstuk 7 aan dat hulprelaties over afstand verre van stabiel zijn. In tegendeel, de algehele economische achteruitgang maakt trans-lokale hulp zeer individualistisch en plaatselijk en beperkt zich slechts tot specifieke situaties, zoals familie kwesties of de hongercrisis in 2001. Tegelijkertijd stelt het sociale en economische verval, in het bijzonder de gevolgen van HIV/AIDS, de werkende sociale zekerheidsregelingen op de proef. Gevestigde sociale zekerheidsgevoontes, gebruiken en instituties, zoals het inpikken van eigendom of de wet op de nalatenschap, worden in toenemende mate ontdaan van hun sociale zekerheidsfunctie en veranderen in onterende middelen voor het verkrijgen van gedwongen toegang tot hulpbronnen. Terwijl de economische beperkingen aanleiding geven tot een heroriëntatie op het dorp als bron van sociale zekerheid, maakt de schaarsheid van land terugkeer naar het dorp een zeer betwiste zaak wat tevens waarneembaar is in een toenemend aantal geschillen over land en beschuldigingen van hekserij. De algehele onzekere bronnen van inkomsten hebben ook het circulaire migratie patroon versterkt, aangezien mensen vaker tussen stad en dorp heen en weer verhuizen om in hun levensonderhoud te voorzien. Land en arbeidstekort maken deze strategie echter een zeer selectieve en gelaagde strategie die slechts een klein aantal zich kunnen veroorloven.

Curriculum Vitae

Barbara Anna Rohregger was born in Oberwart, Austria in 1972. She studied political science, development studies and Spanish at the University of Vienna and the Universities of Leiden and Rotterdam, Netherlands. After having graduated in 2000 with a thesis in comparative politics on social policy in Malawi, she worked for several Austrian NGOs engaged in development issues. In 2002, she became a research fellow for development politics at the Austrian Institute for International Affairs (OIIA) in Vienna, Austria where she conducted a research project on the social security situation of urban migrants in Lilongwe City, Malawi. This project which was done in cooperation with the project group on legal pluralism at the Max-Planck-Institute of Social Anthropology in Halle, Germany, provided also the basis for her PhD. Currently she works as a research consultant for the commission for development (KEF) of the Austrian Academy of Science, Vienna. She is also a lecturer at the University of Vienna, teaching anthropology of development with a special focus on social security and social policy in developing countries.