Global Majority E-Journal

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About the Global Majority E-Journal

The Global Majority E-Journal is published twice a year and freely available online at: http://www.american.edu/cas/economics/ejournal/. The journal publishes articles that discuss critical issues for the lives of the global majority. The global majority is defined as the more than 80 percent of the world’s population living in developing countries. The topics discussed reflect issues that characterize, determine, or influence the lives of the global majority: poverty, population growth, youth bulge, urbanization, lack of access to safe water, climate change, agricultural development, etc. The articles are based on research papers written by American University (AU) undergraduate students (mostly freshmen) as one of the course requirements for AU’s General Education Course: Econ-110—The Global Majority.

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Disparities of Poverty in Eastern Africa: Ethiopia and Kenya

Lara Jakiel

Abstract
This article analyzes the phenomenon of poverty in the neighboring East African nations of Ethiopia and Kenya. The article first examines each country’s income per capita and the prevalence of income poverty among its citizens. It then considers the elements that may result in poverty differences between these countries, including a lack of access to education, fragile food security, and poor healthcare. This article also illustrates the overall effect poverty has on the welfare of citizens in Ethiopia and Kenya and explores actions the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments have taken and could take in the future to foster economic growth and eliminate poverty in their countries.

I. Introduction
Ethiopia and Kenya are geographically close countries in Eastern Africa, but both nations experience poverty and its repercussions at differing levels. The two neighbors fail to provide sufficient education and healthcare for their citizens; likewise, many people experiencing poverty live in rural areas, stressing the importance of agriculture.

Children who do not receive an education typically remain illiterate throughout their adult lives and lack the skills necessary for job opportunities. Any citizen who does not receive proper healthcare is vulnerable to diseases and death, causing them to lead unproductive lives. Many rural communities face shortages in fertile land and livestock, lack access to urban areas, and are not adequately prepared to deal with varying climate conditions and unstable food security. All of these factors determine whether or not an economy grows, and economic growth is vital to eliminating poverty.

This article compares and contrasts the different dimensions of poverty in Ethiopia and Kenya. Ethiopia is considered to be a low-income country by the World Bank, while Kenya is a lower middle-income country. Following this introduction, the article begins with a brief literature review and an overview of some empirical background data. The subsequent discussion section

1 World Bank (2015).
focuses on three contributing factors to poverty. The first sub-section of the discussion section discusses education, and how each country differs in terms of school enrollment. The second sub-section discusses agriculture and food security, and how closely agriculture and food security are intertwined with malnutrition and poverty. The third sub-section relates to health, and how healthcare spending varies between the two countries. The fourth and last sub-section of the discussion section provides some possible future policies/solutions. The last section of this article provides some conclusions.

II. Brief Literature Review

Due to the many dimensions of poverty affecting Ethiopia and Kenya, a variety of academic literature exists discussing the varying poverty levels and elements in these two countries. This brief literature review focuses on five studies written in this millennium by individual researchers or a group of researchers, mostly from Ethiopia and Kenya.

- Fra von Massow (2000) wrote an article entitled “‘We Are Forgotten on Earth’: International Development Targets, Poverty, and Gender in Ethiopia.” This article studies the lives of individuals living in poverty in Ethiopia and determines what barriers in place prevent them from accessing crucial services, such as health-care and education. Von Massow’s research study examines the correlation between such a lack of services and poverty, resulting in income poverty and other dimensions of poverty.

- Yared Amare (2002) focuses on the aspects contributing specifically to rural poverty by studying two differing Ethiopian communities in North Shewa. Amare looks at rural households and their ability to access certain agricultural tools that are necessary for higher cultivation, examining the relationship between reduced access and poverty. Amare’s paper also examines the importance of beneficial relationships between rural households when it comes to dealing with the looming threat of poverty.

- Alice Atieno Oluoko-Odingo (2009) looks at the connection between poverty and food security in Kenya. Her paper discusses a number of ways in which Kenya’s supply of food is affected, such as by climate change and population growth, and how these changes mainly harm rural households. Oluoko-Odingo suggests ways in which Kenya’s government might address this food security problem in the future, should it choose to relate a lack of food security to inequality among individuals.

- This idea of a connection between poverty and food security in Kenya expands also through the work of Mary Khakoni Walingo (2006), who looks at the importance of including educational elements in agricultural development plans in Kenya. Her article finds that individuals who are uneducated do not benefit fully from current development plans when compared with educated individuals, due to not fully understanding the information presented to them. Thus, Walingo believes that all individuals involved in agriculture, particularly women who are becoming increasingly involved, must receive proper education and training in order to carry out agricultural development plans and poverty reduction strategies.

- Paul Okwi et al. (2007) examine the connection between increased poverty and land variability in the rural areas of Kenya. This article looks at how different geographic variables, such as soil fertility, land elevation, proximity of nearby bodies of water, and
quality of roads contributes to the levels of poverty across Kenya. Okwi et al. also discuss how policy changes and the allocation of money toward neglected geographical areas ultimately decrease poverty levels.

III. Empirical Background

Examining a country’s gross domestic product (GDP) divided by its population, i.e., average GDP per capita, is one of many ways to examine the economic status of a country’s people. Although income inequalities are prevalent and must be taken into account when examining average GDP per capita, the variable is still useful to compare the average citizen’s living situation across countries, especially if GDP per capita is adjusted for purchasing power parity (PPP). Figure 1 shows the PPP-adjusted GDP per capita for all available years in Ethiopia and Kenya.

As shown in Figure 1, Ethiopia’s GDP per capita fluctuated moderately from 1990 to 2003, with slight decreases and slight increases, hence was in 2003 at about the same level as it was in 1990. During 1990-2003, Ethiopia’s lowest GDP per capita was $516 in 1992, while the highest during this period was $656 in 2001. Starting in 2004, Ethiopia’s GDP per capita began to rise sharply, reaching a GDP per capita of approximately $1,336 in 2013.

Comparing Ethiopia with Kenya, we first of all see that Kenya’s GDP per capita has always been much higher than that of Ethiopia’s; more than three times in 1990 and about twice in 2013. Second, Kenya’s sustained increase in income per capita came a few years later than in Ethiopia as Kenya’s GDP per capita fluctuated from 1990 to 2009, with more solid increases happening only from 2009 to 2013. Kenya’s lowest GDP per capita was $2,120 in 2002, while the highest GDP per capita was $2,705 in 2013.

Figure 1: GDP per capita, PPP in Constant 2011 International Dollar, 1990-2013

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
Figure 2 shows the life expectancy at birth for Ethiopia and Kenya from 1970-2012. The graph shows that life expectancy has been increasing slowly, yet steadily, since 1970 in Ethiopia, while it initially increased more in Kenya during 1970-1986 but then declined during 1986-2001 (largely due to HIV/AIDS), and then finally increasing again since 2001. In 1970, the life expectancy in Kenya was significantly higher than Ethiopia’s—approximately 52 years in Kenya compared to 42 years in Ethiopia. Due to these different evolutions, Ethiopia has now slightly surpassed Kenya’s life expectancy, reaching 63 years in 2012, while that of Kenya stood at 60 years in 2012.

Figure 2: Life Expectancy at Birth (in years), 1970-2012

![Life Expectancy Graph](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Figures 3 and 4 examine the headcount ratios for both countries, respectively, at $1.25$-a-day and at $2$-a-day, for all the years such data is available. Looking at the headcount ratio at $1.25$-a-day (Figure 3), Ethiopia’s percentage of people living below this level of poverty varied from about 37 percent to 69 percent, reaching its lowest headcount ratio of 37 percent in 2011. While Ethiopia’s headcount ratio at $1.25$-a-day has decreased overall, Kenya’s has increased, reaching 43 percent in 2005.

Looking at the poverty headcount ratio at $2$-a-day (Figure 4), Ethiopia’s percentage varied slightly, ranging from 72 percent to 91 percent, reaching its lowest ratio of 72 percent in 2011. Similar to the data shown in Figure 3, Kenya’s poverty headcount ratio has increased, reaching 67 percent in 2005. Using the data shown in Figures 3 and 4, Kenya has a higher poverty headcount ratio at $1.25$-a-day, while Ethiopia has a higher headcount ratio at $2$-a-day. Overall, Ethiopia has made slight progress, while poverty headcount ratios in Kenya appear to be increasing. Kenya’s high poverty headcount ratio is interesting considering its higher GDP per capita. Hence, Kenya’s GDP per capita is distributed far more unequal than Ethiopia’s.
Figure 3: Poverty Headcount Ratio at $1.25-a-day (PPP) (percent of population)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Figure 4: Poverty Headcount Ratio at $2-a-day (PPP) (percent of population)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
IV. Discussion

Many factors contribute to poverty in Ethiopia and Kenya. This discussion section will explore three contributing factors: first insufficient education, second fragile food security, and third limited access to healthcare. This discussion section will also briefly look at possible future policies that could be implemented to reduce poverty levels in these countries.

IV.1. Education

Education is a necessary factor for stimulating a country’s economic growth as it allows people to be more productive and provides more opportunities for its citizens. Furthermore, without education, people are less likely to be empowered and the cycle of poverty will continue. Looking at Ethiopia, families repeatedly struggle to send their children to school, as the children are often needed at home to help care for older family members or to assist in cultivating land. For the percent of children who are able to receive a primary education, schools are frequently understaffed, classes are large, and textbooks are limited. These factors result in many Ethiopian children, particularly those living in rural areas, leaving school after the first grade.²

Figure 5 shows the percentage of primary school enrollment in Ethiopia and Kenya for all available years. As shown in the graph, primary school enrollment for both countries has overall been increasing. In 2009, Kenya had a primary school enrollment of 81 percent of school age children. Ethiopia’s primary school enrollment was 67 percent in 2006. Therefore, although the percentage was increasing and this data is encouraging, over 30 percent of children in Ethiopia were still not attending any form of primary school in 2006.

![Figure 5: Net Primary School Enrollment (percent)](image)

Kenya’s overall higher primary school enrollment rate can be explained simply by the Kenyan government’s passing of three Free Primary Education initiatives, passed consecutively in 1974.

² Von Massow (2000).
1979, and 2003. These three acts made primary education both free and compulsory for school age children, resulting in this higher level of primary school enrollment ratios.\textsuperscript{3}

Conversely, while Ethiopia’s enrollment ratio lag behind those of Kenya’s, Ethiopia’s has made significant progress in recent years in increasing primary school enrollment ratios, nearly catching up with Kenya in 2006. Still, looking at Figures 6 and 7, we can see that Ethiopia has not been as successful as Kenya in terms of providing gender equality in primary education.

Figure 6 shows a consistent, significant difference in the percentage of females enrolled in primary school versus the percentage of males. In 2006, nearly 71 percent of the male school age children attended primary school, while only 65 percent of females were reported as being enrolled. While this is a slight difference, it is still imperative to note that this disparity has been present for decades.

Ultimately, fewer females are enrolled in school in Ethiopia due to gendered labor divisions. Young girls are needed at home to assist their mothers with domestic duties, a responsibility that is forced upon them by Ethiopian gender roles. Many Ethiopians do not feel empowered to change the gender roles currently in place, so they do not feel the need to value and encourage girls’ education.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{Figure 6 and 7:}
\textbf{Female and Male Net Primary School Enrollment (percent) in Ethiopia and Kenya}

Looking at figures 8 and 9, it is clearly visible that school attendance levels are lower at the secondary level than the primary level, and this applies to both, Ethiopia and Kenya. Furthermore, the gender gap in education becomes more apparent, especially in Ethiopia (Figure 8), but also to

\textsuperscript{3} Somerset (2009).
\textsuperscript{4} Von Massow (2000).
some degree in Kenya (Figure 9). In the case of Kenya, in 2009, nearly 52 percent of males were enrolled in secondary school, compared to 48 percent of females.

**Figure 8: Ethiopia’s Net Secondary School Enrollment for Females and Males (percent)**

![Graph showing enrollment trends for females and males in Ethiopia](image1)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

**Figure 9: Kenya’s Net Secondary School Enrollment for Females and Males (percent)**

![Graph showing enrollment trends for females and males in Kenya](image2)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
The effects of low school enrollment rates are unmistakable when regarding literacy rates. Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the detrimental influence low school enrollment has on literacy rates for adult females and males (ages 15 and above). Consistent to Ethiopia’s lower school enrollment ratios, literacy rates in Ethiopia are also substantially below those of Kenya. Despite Kenya’s increasing school enrollment rates, the gender gap in secondary education seems to also lead to a gender disparity in literacy rates. Illiteracy, in turn, prevents children from developing skills and seeking job opportunities in their futures, resulting in adults who live unproductive, poverty-stricken lives.

**Figure 10: Ethiopia’s Literacy Rate by Gender, Ages 15 and Above (percent)**

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

**Figure 11: Kenya’s Literacy Rate by Gender, Ages 15 and Above (percent)**

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
IV.2. Agriculture and Food Security

The GDPs of both Ethiopia and Kenya are significantly impacted by agriculture, as expressed in Figure 12. Despite the fact that the value added by agriculture to GDP in Kenya is now about 30 percent, it is still the case that about 70 percent of Kenyans depend on some form of agricultural work for employment.\(^5\) In Ethiopia, 75 percent of women and 83 percent of men are employed in the agriculture sector, based on 2005 data.\(^6\) However, many of the people residing in rural areas and working in agriculture live in poverty. In Ethiopia, it was estimated that the headcount for the “proportion of the rural population that fell below the poverty threshold was 47.5 percent in 1999”.\(^7\) In Kenya, the rural poverty headcount ratio was 49.1 percent of the rural population in 2005, nearly half of the rural population.\(^8\)

![Figure 12: Agriculture Value Added (percent of GDP)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Despite the high contribution of agriculture to GDP, those employed in agriculture can still face immense poverty, partly due to low cultivation caused by a lack of fertile land and resources available to farmers. In the article “Socio-economic dimensions of rural poverty in Ethiopia, a qualitative study of two highland communities in north Shewa”, Yared Amare (2002) researches the dimensions of poverty affecting two rural communities in Ethiopia. In the Ethiopian communities of Shola Meda and Yezaba, farmers relying on agriculture to survive struggle with limited land and livestock scarcities. Yezaba is also far from Ethiopia’s main urban centers, making it difficult for farmers to turn a profit and still provide for themselves and for their families. When farmers work in geographic areas with property and cattle shortages, far from populous metropolises, they remain unproductive, unsuccessful, and cannot experience economic growth. Other factors contributing to rural poverty include the recurring death of crops and livestock, partly due to negative climatic changes.\(^9\)

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\(^5\) Oluoko-Odingo (2009).
\(^7\) Amare (2002), p. 12.
\(^8\) World Bank (2015).
\(^9\) Amare (2002).
The success of agriculture greatly impacts food security, which in turn can determine whether or not one lives in poverty. Food security in this case essentially refers to the obtainability of a satisfactory amount of nourishing foods. Climate variables can especially affect the success of agriculture, mainly during periods of drought and floods. Looking at Kenya, periods of disproportionate drought and flood conditions may cause “crop and livestock losses, human deaths as well as losses of property (...) many households are forced to move to Ethiopia in search of pasture and water, while some of the remaining households are caught up in conflicts over water points and grazing land”.\textsuperscript{10} Severe climate conditions are understandably disadvantageous for farmers, leaving them unable to farm their land and provide basic necessities for their families. Malnutrition is an obvious effect of this lack of food security, and leads to vulnerability to illness, death, and low productivity, which contribute to high poverty levels. This issue is also very closely intertwined with education, as many children miss school due to hunger or illness related to malnutrition.\textsuperscript{11}

Despite struggling with increasingly severe climate conditions and a lack of resources, the food production index for both Kenya and Ethiopia has increased nearly steadily from 1993 to 2012, as shown in Figure 13. With agriculture’s contribution to GDP and the large number of people employed by the agriculture industry in mind, it is crucial that both governments invest in agriculture to increase food production beyond population growth. Due to more children enrolling in school in Kenya, for example, it is essential that both governments educate women on certain agricultural skills, since many mothers no longer have their children at home to help them tend to farm work. In an effort to promote this necessary education, the Kenyan government developed the Livestock Development Project, which was “designed to improve milk production and food security, as well as to empower women in decision-making at both household and community levels”.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Figure 13: Food Production Index (2004–2006 = 100), 1993-2012}

![Graph showing food production index for Kenya and Ethiopia from 1993 to 2012.]

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

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\textsuperscript{10} Oluoko-Odingo (2009), p. 329.
\textsuperscript{11} Von Massow (2000).
IV.3. Health

Health is another essential factor to examine when discussing a country’s poverty levels. Insignificant healthcare makes individuals vulnerable to both illness and death, which in turn perpetuates a cycle of low productivity and spells out certain poverty. Looking at Figure 14, Ethiopia’s government visibly invests more of its money into public health than Kenya’s government does, amounting, respectively, to about 11 and 6 percent of government expenditure. Apart from this disparity, Ethiopia and Kenya both spend far too little on public health concerns, and it affects the overall welfare and lifespan of their citizens, as was proven by the life expectancy data shown in Figure 2.

Figure 14: Public Health Expenditure (percent of government expenditure)

Despite the country’s higher public health government expenditure, in many areas of Ethiopia, healthcare facilities continue to lack sufficient resources, including staff, drugs, and even water and electricity. Women especially are impacted by poor healthcare amenities, showing that an “absence of affordable, nearby clinics limits women’s choice to home-based or traditional treatments and birth attendants…and will result in a low productive and economic capacity of the next generation”.

IV.4. Possible Future Policies/Solutions

There are various future policies that could serve as solutions to eliminate poverty in Ethiopia and Kenya. Firstly, Ethiopia should work to implement an education agenda similar to that of Kenya’s Free Primary Education initiatives in order to certify that more children enroll in primary schools. Ethiopia should also improve their current school system and guarantee that each primary facility has an appropriate number of teachers and textbooks to supplement the number of school age children in need of an education. Once Ethiopia improves its primary schools, it then needs to

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place greater emphasis on secondary school enrollment, in order to boost literacy rates overall among adults ages 15 and above. Lastly, Ethiopia should promote gender equality, perhaps by implementing programs focusing specifically on increasing girls' enrollment ratios and decreasing the number of days girls miss school. In 2000, boys attending school in Ethiopia missed an average of 1 to 2 days per week, while girls typically missed 2 to 3.\[14\]

Despite Kenya’s higher primary and secondary school enrollment ratios, there is still a discrepancy in place between the literacy rates of females and males. Kenya must place an equal value on education for all genders to eliminate this gender barrier. In order to improve literacy rates and secondary school enrollment overall, the Kenyan government could expand their Free Primary Education initiatives to include secondary school reform. While it is unlikely that secondary school could be made free and compulsory for all students, making secondary education more accessible and affordable would positively impact literacy rates for both female and male adults.

In terms of agriculture and food security, both Ethiopian and Kenyan governments rely heavily on agriculture and need to guarantee that every farmer has enough land and livestock to both turn a profit and support their families. The Kenyan government has already implemented the Livestock Development Project, as discussed in IV. 2., in order to improve agriculture production and increase food security. Some more potential solutions to food security disputes include promoting food and cash crops, as well as healthy and drought-resistant crops, among farmers. Crops such as maize and rice are “cheaper and readily available…encourage households to not only grow but also to consume the drought tolerant crops, while also minimizing vulnerability to drought”.\[15\] This sort of initiative would benefit farmers in both Ethiopia and Kenya, by both increasing food security and decreasing the chances of suffering from malnutrition. Lastly, Ethiopian and Kenyan governments must work to construct superior roads and infrastructure between rural and urban areas, in order to increase accessibility for farmers in rural areas.\[16\]

In order to alleviate the healthcare issues and low life expectancy rates currently facing Ethiopia and Kenya, both governments should invest more in the areas of public health concerns. The United Nations could push for higher spending on healthcare for Ethiopian and Kenyan governments, and work with both countries’ governments to require a suitable number of nurses and doctors and a sufficient quantity of medicine in each healthcare facility. Lastly, since so many of these country’s citizens live in rural areas, governments could build more quality roads between rural and urban areas and/or construct healthcare facilities closer to rural areas, in order to ensure that rural citizens have access to proper healthcare.

V. Conclusion

In conclusion, while poverty levels in neighboring Ethiopia and Kenya may differ, both countries experience its consequences to some degree. GDP per capita has steadily increased in both countries over the past several decades, with Kenya’s GDP per capita remaining significantly higher than that of Ethiopia’s. Despite this income poverty difference, overall poverty ravishes areas of both countries, and the factors contributing to these poverty levels are evident in the data expressed above. Education, agriculture and food security, and healthcare are all closely entangled with poverty, and investments in any of these zones will foster hope and future economic growth.

\[14\] Von Massow (2000).
\[16\] Okwi et al. (2007).
Though insufficient, this article has shown the complexities of poverty in Ethiopia and Kenya, and proven that eliminating poverty will not be a simple task for Ethiopian and Kenyan governments. However, government policy, as discussed in this article, is able to positively impact the array of factors affecting poverty. By investing capital and supplies into areas of education, agriculture and food security, and healthcare, governments should expect to see individuals prospering and the quality of life in their nations improving drastically. Ethiopia should follow in the footsteps of Kenya, for example, by instigating an education policy that boosts primary school attendance rates. Both nations must look to one another and encourage the development of necessities, such as roads, healthcare services, schools, agricultural skills, and many more vital contributions to overall livelihood. A reduction in poverty will not occur overnight, but by looking to one another for policy suggestions and possible positive investments, Ethiopia and Kenya can hope to defeat poverty among their communities and promote economic growth. If they want their nations and citizens to thrive in the coming decades, the time for Ethiopian and Kenyan governments to act is now.

References


Boom or Bust:
Urbanization in Brazil and Indonesia

Cole Burdell

Abstract
This article examines how two of the largest and economically diverse countries on two separate continents have developed through urbanization: Indonesia and Brazil. Indonesia is currently being inhabited across its more than seventeen thousand islands with massive urbanization in Jakarta. Brazil has experienced a long-term urban migration to a variety of cities. This article compares the histories of the two countries, their urban trends, and future initiatives to help with the massive influx of people.

I. Introduction
Brazil and Indonesia have different histories and different economic structures. One commonality however is the massive urbanization that has occurred in both countries in recent years. The World Bank data shows that from 1970 onwards, both countries’ total urban population has increased by more than thirty percentage points. Indonesia has now more than fifty percent of its population living in cities; Brazil has currently more than eighty-five percent of its population living in urban areas. With such an enormous influx comes a host of environmental, humanitarian, and policy issues.

Following this introduction, there will be a brief literature review of some major publications relating to urbanization in Brazil and Indonesia. The article will then provide some empirical background for both countries. The subsequent discussion section will review the main issues related to urbanization of the two countries, before the last section provides some conclusions.

II. Brief Literature Review
Urbanization is a key issue in both Brazil and Indonesia, largely due to people migrating towards the cities from rural areas. This process of urbanization is well documented and examined in both countries in terms of extensive research by both the government and non-government sources.
George Marti and Gordon McGranahan (2010) wrote the paper, “Brazil’s early urban transition: what can it teach urbanizing countries?” for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). It is one of the most extensive analysis with well-developed ideas concerning Brazilian urbanization and the results thereof. They dive into the main historical causes and why Brazil had such a different track than many other Latin American countries. It also examines the negative humanitarian and environmental effects of urbanization. Finally, they look at policy implemented by the Brazilian government in relation to urbanization.

Taimur Samad, who is a Senior Urban Economist at the World Bank, made a presentation at the Australian National University in 2012 on “Indonesia’s Urban Development Towards Inclusive and Sustainable Economic Growth”. The presentation focuses first on the recent urbanization trends and comes to the conclusion that Indonesia’s rapid urbanization is consistent with global experience. He then discusses the impact of population and economic concentration before linking urbanization and economic development to Indonesia’s the Master Plan of Regional Development. He also examines the growth pattern of major cities and assesses the performance across metropolitan areas. The presentation concludes with some proposed policy actions, which differ based on class size of metropolitan areas.

A PowerPoint Presentation entitled “Demographic Patterns of Indonesia's Urbanization, 2000-2010: Continuity and Change at the Macro Level” by Tommy Firman discusses the major trends of urbanization that have started to occur. He highlights his points through the use of a decade’s worth of data from the Indonesian census and assesses the underlying trends of the data. This includes the major cities that have been migrated to and the impact of the island system upon urbanization.

“Urban Land and Housing Challenges in Brazil” is an article written by Heather Boyer (2005), which reports the results from a group of researchers who traveled through Brazil’s urban housing structures to assess the situation. Boyer documents the groups findings and writes about the major housing problems associated with massive overcrowding, due to urbanization. Along with that, she also writes about the historical background that led to the major housing issues.

Betty E. Smith (2010) discusses the overall implications of urbanization upon Latin America in her journal article entitled “Population and Urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean”. The article discusses some of the positive and negative implications of urbanization and how they were created. It also points to Brazil’s city of Curitiba as one of the shining lights of policy in terms of urbanization.

III. Empirical Background

Brazil is an upper middle-income country that has the world’s largest dense rainforest. Indonesia is a lower middle-income country with thousands of individual islands. Despite many differences in landscape, both countries followed a similar trend of urbanization, with the share of urban population growing at about 30 percentage points since 1970. The increase of the urban population of both countries is associated with economic growth but also lays the framework for many of the problems in their societies.
Figure 1 shows the purchasing power parity (PPP)-adjusted gross domestic product (GDP) per capita for both Indonesia and Brazil in 2011 dollars from 1990 to 2013. Brazil started at a GDP per capita of $9,997 in 1990, with progressive growth until 2013, when it reached $14,555. Indonesia’s GDP per capita stood as $4,295 in 1990 and increased to $9,254 in 2013. Despite Brazil’s impressive growth, Indonesia outperformed Brazil in terms of GDP per capita growth.

**Figure 1: GDP per capita, PPP (constant 2011 international dollar)**

![Graph](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Figure 2 illustrates the evolution of life expectancy of both Indonesia and Brazil from 1970 to 2013. Indonesia’s average life expectancy stood at 52 years in 1970, but grew steadily, reaching 70 years by 2012. Brazil’s average life expectancy stood at 59 years in 1970, and also grew over the last four decades, reaching an average life expectancy of 73.6 years in 2012.

**Figure 2: Life Expectancy at Birth, Total (years)**

![Graph](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
With the increase in GDP per capita and life expectancy came also an increase in adult literacy rates. There are considerable gaps in data availability, but as shown in Figure 3, Brazil had an adult literacy rate in 1980 of 74.5 percent, while Indonesia’s literacy rate was at 67.3 percent. Literacy rates grew relatively sharply in the next 25 years, reaching close to 90 percent in 2004 in both countries, at which it more or less remained during the last ten years. What is worth pointing out is that Brazil’s literacy rate was about seven percentage points above that of Indonesia in 1980, but that Indonesia slightly overtook Brazil by 2004.

![Figure 3: Adult Literacy Rate (percent of people ages 15 and above)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

**IV. Discussion**

This discussion section is divided into two three major parts. The first sub-section will discuss the history of urbanization in Brazil and Indonesia and how they came to have such a large urban population. The second sub-section will discuss some of the key negative side effects of rapid urbanization, while the last sub-section will summarize some of the key benefits of urbanization.

**IV.1. History of Urbanization**

Brazil and Indonesia have drastically different histories which has caused very different trends of urbanization. The first is the radical difference in the time in which each country gained their independence. Brazil was first colonized by the Portuguese to capitalize on their abundant natural resources. This was at the peak of colonization and was very commonplace. The Portuguese invaders set up the base settlements, which became some of the largest cities in Brazil. They started inwards to extract resources but ended up creating cities along the coast to send the resources back to Europe. The two largest Brazilian cities: Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, were built very close to the coast to provide for easy access to shipping. Early European settlers created a large impact upon the country as a whole.
Indonesia was colonized by the Dutch and they united the islands under one rule in 1670. The Dutch settlers were focused on extracting a variety of natural resources across the thousands of Indonesian islands. Much like Brazil, the colonizers created cities around major areas with ease of export. Currently the largest city in Indonesia is Jakarta which sits directly on the coast.

Where the two countries differ in their colonial history is the time at which they gained independence. Brazil gained its independence in September of 1822. Indonesia, on the other hand, did not gain independence until far later in 1945. The time gap causes their relative urban patterns to be different.

**Figure 4: Urban Population (percent of total)**

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Brazil’s earlier independence caused its urban population share to grow faster than Indonesia’s. Figure 4 shows the percent of each country’s population that is urban. Even as far back as 1970, Brazil’s urban population was more than half of its total population, compared to Indonesia which had less than 20 percent of its population characterized as urban (World Bank, 2015). While the growth rate of urbanization was about equal between 1970 and 2010, Indonesia’s urban population in 2010 was still a smaller percentage of its total than Brazil’s in 1970 and by 2010, Brazil’s urban population constituted more than 80 percent of its total population. According to the article “Brazil’s Early Urban Transition: What Can It Teach Urbanizing Countries?”, Brazil had its first major urban boom in the 1930s. This was due primarily to the Great Depression and the massive downturn in agricultural prices making farming unsustainable economically. Plummeting agricultural prices along with a declining death rate created the beginning of an unprecedented migration into Brazilian cities.
Indonesia was not particularly affected by the Great Depression because all of their recourses were being outsourced by the Dutch to the Netherlands. Colonial rule and dependence on one economy sheltered Indonesia from this economic meltdown. Indonesia as a whole was not affected by urbanization until the early 1970s, after which it became also more vulnerable to the volatilities of the global economy.

Both of the two countries’ largest cities, Jakarta and São Paulo, have seen massive growth in their population, shown in figure 5 below. These two cities have been at the core of some of the major problems that have erupted due to urbanization.

**Figure 5: Population in Largest City (Jakarta for Indonesia / São Paulo for Brazil)**

![Population graph](source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015)).

**IV.2. Favelas / Slums and Crime**

Although urbanization is commonly regarded as a good thing, there are typically also negative side effects, like the emergence of favelas / slums and an increase in crime. These problems are usually associated to fast growing cities.

**IV.2. a. Favelas and Slums**

With the influx of people over the last 40 years came a host of problems for countries to deal with. Shown by the World Bank data in Figure 5, São Paulo multiplied its population by more than two and a half times in forty years (World Bank, 2015). Jakarta in Indonesia experienced a similar increase, doubling its population in the same time period. The major problems erupting from this rapid population growth is an absolute lack of housing availability. According to the Washington Post (2014) Brazil currently has a shortage of 6.4 million habitable housing units. The largest shortages are coming in both Rio and São Paulo. In Brazil, the housing shortage is compounded by a lack of affordability. As reported by Dewan and Dewi (2015), based on recent surveys, São Paulo is now the 10th most expensive city in the world, while Rio de Janeiro is in 12th position.
Significant housing shortages combined with very high housing prices has not stopped the massive migration of people into cities. Instead it has forced more Brazilians to live in inadequate favelas or slums. In many cases these favelas are built on the sides of hills. The favelas are poorly constructed, have inadequate plumbing and sanitation, and are mismanaged. However, even with the overwhelming number of favelas, Brazil has made impressive strides in trying to improve its urban conditions and public health, shown by figure 6. Brazil has significantly outpaced Indonesia, who is farther behind economically, in terms of ensuring potable, clean water for its residents. With the increase in clean water has comes an increase the health and sanitation rates across the country.

![Figure 6: Improved Urban Water Source (percent of urban population with access)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Indonesia has similar major housing shortages but stemming from a different cause. Indonesia has created a housing bubble after an influx of money from a tsunami in 2004. The influx in money caused one of the biggest upswings in housing prices in recent memory. As pointed out by Grazella (2013), the condominium prices of Jakarta rose between 11 and 17 percent on average between the first half of 2012 and 2013, after rising by more than 50 percent since late 2008. The average condominium price is now close to 80,000 US dollars (Grazella, 2013). This price inflation did not discourage urbanization. Instead it has created areas of extreme poverty next to areas of extreme wealth.

Jakarta is experiencing similar problems as Rio and São Paulo with extremely poor housing and sanitation, except that Jakarta’s conditions are actually worse. The numbers tell a very depressing story with less than 50 percent of the city having access to piped clean water. Inadequate access to clean water and air pollution are major problems for the city. The premature death rate has risen to an exponential level. Jakarta has now one of the highest premature death rates per capita from air pollution (Lelieveld et al., 2013). However, this is mainly a problem within Jakarta, as shown by Figure 6, which shows that the rates of clean water in urban areas across all of Indonesia are
actually increasing. Indonesia has been making strides in their clean water infrastructure but with such massive urbanization occurring in Jakarta, the Indonesian government cannot keep up.

Both countries have this problem for a variety of major reasons: rapid and significant migration, poor planning and limited government response. In fact, the governmental response has been to discourage urbanization, which has failed and is the worst decision a government could make. Brazil has resorted to using military force to evacuate out squatters with rubber bullets and tear gas. This may sound harsh but the favelas they were living in were not only extremely unsafe but also run by drug lords. But forcing people out of the favelas without providing a reasonable alternative for both housing and sustenance can only fail. Indonesia has started an initiative to increase sanitation and housing but it currently has been somewhat ineffective. Both countries have had extremely similar problems with slums and the lives of those within them.

IV.2.b. Crime in major cities

With a large population in cities, crime is virtually inevitable. Brazil and Indonesia are two of the most notable in terms of problems with crime and safety. A major influx of people in such a short amount of time puts major stress on every aspect of society and especially public safety. The police have less control over the city and crime organizations take over areas of the city.

In both Brazil and Indonesia this loss of formal governmental and police control occurs predominantly in the slums and favelas of the major cities. Mehta (2014, 9th last paragraph) illustrates the breakdown of law and order in the Brazilian slums as follows: “But in the favelas there was no democracy. The traffickers continued with their own dictatorship; the people of the favela still had great trouble getting access to the courts or casting a vote.” With crime being so commonplace in these areas, it is obvious that governmental action is needed. As described above, in one case the Brazilian military actually evacuated a favela with rubber bullets and tear gas to preserve the safety of the civilians and remove a drug lord’s power.

Indonesia has had similar problems to the point where they have actually significantly increased their armed forces in the last 25 years. Similar to Brazil, Indonesia has had problems with crime. However, they do not have the same drug crime problem. Instead they have had major problems with street and digital crime. According to the “Jakarta Post” in the Safe City Index, Jakarta was ranked least safe amongst the 50 cities studied, which included places like Tehran, Iran. Much like Jakarta, Rio de Janeiro has had massive problems with crime across the cities, but especially in the slums. Unlike Rio, Sao Paulo has introduced a number of policies to combat crime and has had a steady decline in crime for many years. These policies include the eradication of many slums which are the base center of crime. Both Jakarta and Rio can take examples from São Paulo.

IV.3. Massive Benefits of Urbanization

Although much of the discussion above has been focused on the negative side effects of urbanization, both countries have excelled in the recent future. This was already illustrated in the Empirical Background section above. Hence, this sub-section focuses on the progress in reducing poverty by looking at the evolution of people living below the national poverty lines. As can be seen in Figure 7, both countries have some gaps in the availability of the data, however both countries have had a gradual downward trend since 2000. Indonesia in 2004 had a slight upward angle following their massive tsunami. After recovering from that the trend continued downward.
Both of the countries have the majority of their populations in urban areas so it is clear that the downward trend correlates in some ways with urbanization.

![Figure 7: Poverty Headcount Ratio at National Poverty Lines (percent of population)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

V. Conclusion

Both Brazil and Indonesia have experienced a tremendous and overwhelming migration of residents from rural areas to urban areas. This has caused a rise in favelas/slums with inadequate sanitary conditions as well as increased crime. However, as was shown above, based on the increased GDP per capita, increased life expectancy, increased literacy rates, and reduction in people living below the national poverty lines, we can come to the conclusion that urbanization may be doing more good than harm. Both governments are also striving to improve conditions in their major cities but response is slow in comparison to the onslaught of people with needs. Other countries experiencing urbanization can learn from Indonesia and Brazil by trying to recognize an urbanization trend and investing in infrastructure like housing, water, and police presence as quickly as possible.

References


Crowded House: Analyzing Overpopulation and Poverty in Bangladesh and Indonesia

Sarina Kirpalani

Abstract
This article analyzes some main factors related to extreme poverty and overpopulation in both Bangladesh and Indonesia, and discusses possible solutions to these current issues. The primary focus of this article is to discuss the impact of environmental issues, lack of resources and poor family planning on overpopulation and its consequential result of poverty. The article aims to provide an insightful analysis of the factors in these two countries that contribute to overpopulation and poverty and to examine some possible interventions to stabilize the rates of population growth and to reduce endemic poverty in these nations.

I. Introduction
While a high population density can have certain benefits, in most developing countries the negatives typically outweigh the positives. Overpopulation and poverty are two major problems in both Bangladesh and Indonesia.

- As of 2013, Indonesia had an estimated population of 250 million, living on 1,904,569 square kilometers (km², or 735,358 square miles), which implies a population density of 138 persons per km². Excluding city states like Luxembourg or Singapore, Indonesia has the 24th highest population density in the world. About 11.4 percent of Indonesia’s population (around 28 million people) live in poverty. Due to this poverty, about 112,000 infants die yearly, and about 8,800 maternal deaths occur yearly.¹

- Another country that experiences severe overpopulation is Bangladesh. Bangladesh has an estimated total population of 160 million in 2013, living on 147,570 km² (56,977 square miles), which implies a population density of 1.203 persons per km². Bangladesh has the

¹ All the data in this bullet point has been derived from World Bank (2015).
highest population density in the world after excluding city states. About 105,000 infants
die yearly, and about 5,200 maternal deaths occur yearly.²

This article discusses and explains some of the main causes that produce the symptoms of poverty
and the reasons for overpopulation, in addition to what it can lead to. Following this introduction
is a brief literature review. An Empirical Background section, which will provide some basic
socio-economic information on both Bangladesh and Indonesia, is provided in the third section,
followed by the main discussion, which will examine some key issues related to poverty and
overpopulation in these countries. Finally, the conclusion will provide insights and possible
solutions to remedy the situation at hand.

II. Literature Review

There are many resources regarding overpopulation and poverty issues in Bangladesh and
Indonesia. The following summaries are from mostly academic sources focusing on the key issues
discussed in this article.

- Worker (1996) begins by discussing important facts and data about Bangladesh. It
  mentions its total population and more specifically, the per-capita population and other per-
capita values in rural areas, such as the indigenous coastal fishing villages of Dhangmari.
  Worker continues to the number of people living in overpopulated areas, and people who
  were severely impacted by environmental factors, such as the typhoon of 1991. What
  makes this article extremely useful for this topic is its mention of specific agricultural
  hardships faced in areas like Danghmari, which results in poverty in these parts of the
  country. Worker cites examples and incorporates people’s personal stories.

- Henley (2011) begins by discussing the controversial phenomenon that fertility rates in
  Indonesia are high. He then continues to argue how economic conditions and the demand
  for labor were the most important factors affecting fertility. Later on, Henley explains that
  in areas that are not very densely-populated, birth rates increased as the growth of
  commerce “raised levels of prosperity, facilitated marriage, and undermined institutions
  such as debt-slavery which had previously acted to restrict marital fertility.” He
  additionally explains that in highly population-dense areas, fertility rose “in response to
  demands for women’s (and possibly child) labor.”

- Nobles, Frankenberg and Thomas (2015) link mortality to fertility in Indonesia. The
  authors claim that as a result of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami that hit Indonesia the
  hardest, the more children who were killed and lost during and in the aftermath of the
  tsunami, the more children that were born. Couples were more likely to bear more children
  if they had lost one or more child to the disaster. This article also proves this trend on a
  larger, country-wide scale.

- Goni and Rahman (2012) discuss the impact of education of females on contraceptive use.
  The use of contraceptives is important in decreasing overpopulation by avoiding the birth
  of unwanted/uncared for children. The authors’ main argument is that the more women
  who use contraceptives, especially in countries such as Bangladesh, are less likely to bear
  “invisible” or “excluded” children. The article proves this argument to be true, along with

² All the data in this bullet point has been derived from World Bank (2015).
the assertion that education is important in helping young women in developing countries to make better life-long choices in regards to having children.

- Schuler et al. (2006) discuss the problem of early marriage and childbearing in three villages of Bangladesh. They explore several interventions that have been practices in these three villages to promote later marriage and later ages to have children.

- Van der Eng (2010) discusses the sources of long-term economic growth in Indonesia over approximately the last two centuries. He presents estimates of gross domestic product (GDP), capital stock, education, and employment during key growth periods in Indonesia.

III. Empirical Background

III.1. Historical Background

Bangladesh, officially called The People’s Republic of Bangladesh, is located in South Asia and is bordered by Myanmar (formerly Burma) to its southeast, and by India to its west, north and east. Its capital is Dhaka, with a city-wide population of around 16.4 million, containing about 31 percent of the urban population (World Bank, 2015). Before the partition of India, Bangladesh was colonized by the British, until after the partition of India, India and Pakistan emerged as independent countries in 1947. Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1971, so it is a relatively new country. The environment in Bangladesh mainly has a tropical climate with a mild winter (October-March), a hot summer (March-June), and a humid monsoon season. These long-term rainy seasons, however, have made Bangladesh prone to severe flooding for extended periods of time, which has impacted the economy over time (Worker, 1996).

Indonesia, officially called Republic of Indonesia, is located in Southeast Asia. It is an archipelago, consisting of thousands of islands. The country shares its land borders with Papua New Guinea, East Timor, and Malaysia. The capital is Jakarta, with an estimated population of 10 million people, containing almost 8 percent of the total urban population (World Bank, 2015). Indonesia used to be under Dutch rule before the Second World War. Indonesia became independent when Japan surrendered in August of 1945 and nationalist leader, Sukarno, declared the country independent and became its president. Much of Indonesia’s economic success has come from its natural resources, such as natural gas and oil. According to the National Resource Governance Issue, “Indonesia supplies 20 percent of the world’s tin and has a considerable copper, nickel, gold, and coal resources. Petroleum and minerals together made up 42 percent of exports in 2011. According to the Natural Resource Governance Institute (NRGI) (2013), the petroleum sector accounted for 18 percent of government revenues in 2011.

III.2. Evolution of Income Per Capita

As shown in Figure 1, purchasing power parity (PPP)-adjusted GDP per capita in Bangladesh is significantly lower than that of Indonesia, but nevertheless more than doubled from 1990 to 2013. Indonesia’s GDP per capita also more than doubled over the same period, despite experiencing a sudden drop around 1997 due to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis.
III.3. Evolution of Life Expectancy

As shown in Figure 2, both Bangladesh and Indonesia drastically increased their life expectancy at birth. In Bangladesh, excluding the minor decrease between 1970 and 1972 (which is related to its violent independence war), life expectancy increased steadily from 47.6 years in 1970 to 70.3 years in 2012. In Indonesia, life expectancy increased steadily from 52.4 years in 1970 to 70.6 years in 2012.

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
III.4. Evolution of Fertility

The last empirical fact we want to look in this section is the evolution of fertility. Figure 3 depicts the fertility rates (births per women) in Bangladesh and Indonesia from 1970 to 2012.

![Figure 3: Total Fertility Rate (births per woman)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Nobles, Frankenberg, and Thomas (2015) show the effects of natural disaster on fertility, discussing the population dynamics of Indonesia after the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004. As a whole, it was observed that sustained fertility increased at the aggregate level following the tsunami. There were two behavioral responses to mortality exposure: mothers who lost children wanted to conceive again, and mothers who did not have children prior to the incident wanted to begin starting a family sooner. According to the study, “mothers who lost one or more children in the disaster were significantly more likely to bear additional children after the tsunami. This response explains about 13 percent of the aggregate increase in fertility. Second, women without children before the tsunami initiated family-building earlier in communities where tsunami-related mortality rates were higher, indicating that the fertility of these women is an important route to rebuilding the population in the aftermath of a mortality shock.”

IV. Discussion: Environmental Factors, Education and Health

There are many factors that can be related to poverty and overpopulation. In this discussion section, we emphasize the influences of three areas for which observed data exists: (1) environmental factors, especially climate change and natural disasters, which both mostly affect agriculture, (2) education, and (3) health.

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3 Nobles et al., 2015, p. 15.
IV.1. Environmental Factors: Climate Change and Natural Disaster

Despite a massive urbanization in Indonesia and more recently also in Bangladesh, which is illustrated in Figure 4, most of the poor people still live in rural areas in both Bangladesh and Indonesia. According to the World Bank (2015), the rural poverty headcount ratio at national poverty lines (percent of rural population) in Bangladesh and Indonesia in the year 2010 was at 35.16 percent, and 16.6 percent, respectively.

**Figure 4: Share of Rural Population (% of total population), 1970-2013**

![Graph showing share of rural population](source)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

Hence, the agricultural sector remains very important for economic prosperity and both countries can overall be considered to be agriculturally-based countries. As shown in Figure 5, employment in the agriculture stood at 48.1 percent of total employment in Bangladesh in 2005 (which is the latest such data available), while it stood at 35.1 percent in 2012 for Indonesia.

**Figure 5: Employment in Agriculture (percent of total employment)**

![Bar chart showing employment in agriculture](source)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).
However, the rural poor’s income is heavily affected by climate change and natural disasters. In Bangladesh, the main crops exported are wheat, rice, and mango. Fish, seafood and jute are also large commodities when it comes to agricultural exports of Bangladesh. These are all able to be grown in bulk due to the mostly fertile soil in Bangladeshi farmland. Indonesia’s main crops are palm oil, poultry, beef, shrimp, cocoa, fish, and herbs/spices.\(^4\)

Bangladesh experiences a monsoon season, which leads periodically to severe flooding, reducing agricultural production. Additionally, as Bangladesh is located at the Ganges Delta and Bay of Bengal, coastal flooding is not uncommon. Indonesia also gets monsoon-like weather during the summers, but the biggest damage to crops was caused by the Tsunami of 2004. Climate change and natural disasters do not only affect agricultural production, but create a chain reaction, impacting the economy and leading to both overpopulation and poverty.

### IV.2. Education

While both Bangladesh and Indonesia have experienced a decline in fertility (see Figure 3 above), both countries are still suffering from high population density, which is due to high fertility rates in the past. The previously high fertility rates have been associated to the previous lack of access to education. In the early 1990s, rural female illiteracy was almost at 90 percent, which, according to Worker (1996) offers one explanation for the past failure of family planning programs. Fortunately, as is shown in Figure 6, adult female literacy rates have improved a lot in both Bangladesh and Indonesia, and as was already shown in Figure 3 above, fertility rates have decreased significantly.

**Figure 6: Adult Female Literacy Rate (percent of females ages 15 and above)**

![Figure 6: Adult Female Literacy Rate](source)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

A large contributing factor to the previously high fertility rates has been early marriage and early childbearing. According to a study performed by Schuler et al. (2006), some of the poorest of the poor in Bangladesh have to choose between competing risks of poor living conditions and economic lifestyle vs. education and motherhood for young females. Schuler et al. (2006, p. 2826) state that “marital strategies among the poorest are, above all, strategies for economic survival, and poor families tend to see the costs of education and delayed marriage for daughters as high and the outcomes as uncertain.” When one has to decide which factor of their lives to risk, it can be hard to make any decision, but when a child is born, there is no going back, so motherhood tends to be a common option for poor families in this situation.

As a result of bearing children so early, many females between 13 and 20 have not been able to attend secondary school. As Figure 7 shows, the percent of females attending secondary education has increased, but nearly half of the girls living in Bangladesh and nearly one quarter of the girls in Indonesia still do not have any access to secondary education.

![Figure 7: Net Female Secondary Education (percent)](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

It is important to remember that the government has a major influence on the youth’s access to proper education. Quality of education improves when more money is invested in the education of students, and that can only happen when there is money provided. According to the World Bank (2015), the government in Bangladesh spends about 14.1 percent of its expenditure on education, while the government of Indonesia spends about 18.1 percent of their expenditures on education.

**IV.3. Health**

Finally, the third major factor related to poverty and overpopulation is poor health. Wherever there is overpopulation, there is also a high susceptibility to disease through close contact. Both of the natural disasters in each country not only led to deaths in the areas, but also long-term exposure to
illnesses. For example, in Bangladesh, the 1991 typhoon killed not only 125,000 people in one day, but also led to wide-spread instances of cholera, dengue fever, and malaria.

Bangladesh is, and has been, at a high risk for major infectious diseases because of food or waterborne diseases and contamination. The biggest food and waterborne diseases are bacterial and protozoal diarrhea, hepatitis A and E, and typhoid fever. Vectorborne diseases (which are diseases spread through mostly insects), include dengue fever and malaria. And the biggest risk from water contact disease is leptospirosis. In Indonesia, the major infectious diseases that are high-risk include bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever for food or waterborne diseases. Just like in Bangladesh, vectorborne diseases in Indonesia are dengue fever and malaria.

As stated in the CIA World Factbook’s Notes and Definitions, “the degree of risk is assessed by considering the foreign nature of these infectious diseases, their severity, and the probability of being affected by the diseases presence.” While these diseases are prevalent in both countries, the access to healthcare is not. Figure 8 shows the percent of total government expenditure on public healthcare and institutions between 1995 and 2012 in both Indonesia and Bangladesh.

Figure 8: Public Health Expenditure (percent of gov. expenditures), all available years

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

V. Conclusion

During the last decade, both Bangladesh’s and Indonesia’s GDP per capita has risen and poverty has been reduced significantly. However, poverty is still a major issue in both of these countries. The abundance of data shown above explains that there are several factors that induce poverty and affect economic growth and success of a country as a whole. It is clear that environmental factors and climate change have had a significant impact on both Bangladesh and Indonesia. It is also clear that there needs to be more funding for public education as well as healthcare by the

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5 Worker (1996).
government. This can be done through various government-organized programs and international aid from other countries. While there are other factors that affect growth and poverty in Bangladesh and Indonesia, the issues of environmental change, access to education, and access to healthcare are significant.

Both Bangladesh and Indonesia can learn from each other by embracing aid from other countries and coming up with national policies and programs to help eliminate extreme poverty in these countries forever. It will take years and a lot of effort to make this happen, it can be done. If the government invests more time and money in protection of agricultural growth in the case of another natural disaster, the after effects won’t be as harsh. Additionally, if the government invests more time and money in funding for education and healthcare, less people will be living in extreme conditions of poverty, and both countries will be able to turn themselves around in the long run.

References


Patriarchal Power and Gender-Based Violence in Guatemala and El Salvador

Ambar Pardilla

Abstract
This article explores the relationship between the mindset of machismo found in the Central American countries of Guatemala and El Salvador and how that patriarchal power perpetuates violence towards women. The aim of the article is to find the foundation of cultural constraints in Guatemala and El Salvador and to explain how institutions have neglected women. It interprets the differences and similarities between the consequences of the gender-based violence in the two countries. Some of the consequences that will be discussed include femicide and domestic violence. The article also provides some ideas that illustrate how Guatemala and El Salvador can change the course of gender-based violence.

I. Introduction
From whimsical and wild woodlands to shimmering seas, the countries of Central America have captivated people for centuries. But the lush landscapes cannot conceal the vicious volatility and violence that Central America has experienced throughout its history. Periods of such disorder and discord have plagued Central America and set the stage for the patriarchal persecution of women.

Having the presence of machismo in these male-dominated societies has produced issues of inequality between genders. Therefore, traditionally, most institutions, including government, have ignored the interests of women. As women have little power or importance in society, their lives are not valued, which manifests itself in femicides and incidents of domestic violence. Like a cycle, the previous violence that Central America experienced creates violence against women.

This article concentrates on gender violence in two Central American countries, Guatemala and El Salvador. Following a brief literature review and some empirical background, the article discusses some of the origins of violence against women, the many ways women’s lives are violated today, and some suggestions of what can be done to transcend patriarchal power and transform the lives of women. A collection of different data will be provided to demonstrate the progress that Guatemala and El Salvador have made and the problems they still face.
II. Brief Literature Review

Given the amount of violence against women in Guatemala and El Salvador, there is a relatively large literature analyzing the ancestry of patriarchal power in relation to gender-based violence. Looking at Guatemala and El Salvador as examples of Central America, these publications demonstrate an understanding about a relationship between patriarchy, power, and violence. Many publications also explore the effects of gender-based violence on women and the manipulation of gender dynamics by men. Most publications also provide some suggestions on how to convert and change the gender-based violence in Guatemala and El Salvador to empower women.

- Carey and Torres (2010) contend that the current epidemic of femicide in Guatemala is an extension of the civil war that haunted the country for decades. Although Guatemala has one of the highest homicide rates in Latin America, Carey and Torres claim that the violence against women has become routine. Carey and Torres write that images of women lying in the streets do little to incite the imagination to action. Therefore, as Carey and Torres say, femicide is blurred into the homicide rate and given little attention. For Carey and Torres, gender-based violence and femicide is intrinsically political. Carey and Torres assert that gender-based violence allowed for patriarchal institutions to remain in the dictatorships and democracies of Guatemala. According to Carey and Torres, the past relationship of violence and patriarchy dominate the social relations of women in Guatemala.

- Hume (2008) examines the combination of public and private that collaborate to make violence against women possible in El Salvador. According to Hume, by authorizing violence as a component of male identity, violence has become a tool for terror. As Hume claims, the structure of Salvadoran society, in allowing men to have power and privilege, has constructed gender inequalities on political, social, and economic scales. Hume also analyzes domestic abuse as a cycle of punishment and the psychological impacts of such violence on the psyches of women. Such violence, Hume claims, is used to define the identities and behavior that men think women should have. Hume maintains that a movement to encourage men to not use violence and taking apart patriarchal systems promote an end to gender-based violence.

- Leslie (2001) discusses the importance of increasing awareness of gender-based violence for thinking about development. The article examines that although women are needed and necessary for sustainable development, their participation is often overlooked. Drawing upon the past dictatorships that have plagued Latin America, Leslie asserts that the participation of women in social movements upset patriarchal attitudes that then result in their rapes, assassinations, tortures, and disappearances. Focusing on her experience in a Salvadoran NGO, Leslie demonstrates that violence against women can be healed through reestablishing women to think of themselves as citizens of their country.

- Sauer (2005) looks at the implications of the misogynistic culture in Guatemala and what that means for the lives of women. Because of gang violence, Sauer claims, women cannot walk freely at night for fear of being targeted. According to Sauer, violence against women developed as women gained political power in Guatemala. Victims of violence, Sauer argues, are typically young and from rural and urban areas. Sauer discusses the lack of support offered to women by officials and how women in Guatemala have used demonstrations and protests to insist the importance of ending gender-based violence.
III. Empirical Background

It is useful to get some idea on the economic development of Guatemala and El Salvador over the last few decades. Hence, Figure 1 shows the GDP per capita (in constant 2005 US dollar) from 1970-2013. It shows that despite some progress in the early and mid-1970s, the civil wars, which started in El Salvador in 1979 and intensified in Guatemala in the early 1980s eroded much of the earlier progress. El Salvador’s GDP per capita started to rise again since the early 1990s, while that of Guatemala started to rise in 1986, though far more moderately than that of El Salvador. However, El Salvador and especially Guatemala are still some of the poorest countries in Latin America.

![Figure 1: GDP per capita (constant 2005 US$), 1970-2013](image)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (2015).

To better understand the prevalence and predicament of gender violence in Guatemala and El Salvador it is also useful to briefly review the progress made in the health sectors of these two countries. This Empirical Background section therefore also reviews the available data on female life expectancy, health expenditure per capita, and maternal mortality.

Figure 2 shows the life expectancy at birth for females in years from 1970-2012 for El Salvador and Guatemala. Both countries show steady increases throughout the whole period and from year to year, though especially in the case of El Salvador, progress has been far from even. In any case, the impact of the civil wars is far less reflected in the female life expectancy data than it was in the GDP per capita data shown in Figure 1 above.
Figure 3 shows PPP-adjusted health expenditure per capita in 2005 international dollars for Guatemala and El Salvador, which unfortunately is only available from 1995-2012. The figure shows that El Salvador increased its health expenditure sharply from 1995 to 1997, but that the increases have been moderate since. Guatemala experienced sharp increases in health expenditures per capita from 1997 to 2001 and then again from 2005 to 2007, but mostly stagnated during the other periods. In 2012, El Salvador’s per capita health expenditure stood at $475 (measured in constant 2005 international $), while that of Guatemala stood at $346. Overall, the different levels of health expenditures between El Salvador and Guatemala mirror the difference in GDP per capita between the two countries.
Figure 4 depicts the maternal mortality ratio per 100,000 live births based on all available national estimates. This ratio is a useful measure reflecting the importance society puts on ensuring that women receive quality healthcare and can lead healthy lives. Though El Salvador had a higher maternal mortality ratio in 2002 than what Guatemala had in 2001 (respectively, 170 deaths per 100,000 live births versus 153 deaths per live births), El Salvador has drastically reduced the maternal mortality ratio by 2006, while Guatemala had made only limited progress. Following 2006, El Salvador has continued to make progress with moderately decreasing its maternal mortality ratio, while the ratio has slightly increased in Guatemala in 2007 (which is unfortunately the last national estimate available for Guatemala). Considering that maternal mortality ratios are in single-digits in most industrialized countries, both countries still have much to do to improve the health of women.

As promising as most of the above data looks, the progress made for the lives of women in Guatemala and El Salvador does not diminish the violence that surrounds women. In the discussion that follows, gender-based violence has direct and devastating results on the security and safety of women in the two countries. But the current course of violence in Guatemala and El Salvador does not have to end with despair; each country can provide ways to protect and promote women.

IV. Discussion

Enhancing the role and rights of and empowering women proves to be a challenging task. Patriarchal attitudes have shaped how men validate violence against women in Guatemala and El Salvador. Nevertheless, violence against women establishes inequalities in the identities of
women, as they are treated viciously and vehemently. This discussion section presents the origins of present trends toward violence against women and the experiences of continual violence that women face in the two countries. The section concludes with concerns and considerations that could be taken into account in alleviating violence against women in Guatemala and El Salvador.

IV.1. Women at War and the Growth of Gangs

Guatemala and El Salvador have dealt with the violence of civil wars that have lasted decades; the civil war in Guatemala happened from 1960-1996 and El Salvador's from 1980-1992. Table 1 shows the number of people killed during the civil wars in both countries. As the table illustrates, 200,000 Guatemalans and 75,000 Salvadorans died during the wars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1960-1996 (36 years)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>1980-1992 (12 years)</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>1972-1991 (19 years)</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although the conflicts ended nearly two decades ago, negative consequences exist even to this day. The violence seen throughout the wars in Guatemala and El Salvador made people become accustomed to violence. As Leggett (2007, p. 14) claims, “‘Cycles of violence’ can infect communities as victims vent their rage and reclaim their agency by becoming perpetrators, and volleys of retribution attacks can resound for years.” While the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador concluded, ideas about violence persisted and produced a perception about how violence can be used. The terror tactics that were used in the wars included public massacres of civilians, disappearances, death squads, torture and mass rape (Leggett, 2007, p. 14). Rape, used as a weapon of psychological warfare, targeted women during the civil wars (Leggett, 2007, p. 35). The remnants of violence seen through the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador would not wither, however, and instead would reappear, this time especially against women.

Although the end of the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador created a hope for change that was quickly “dimmed by another plague: a torrent of crime and violence” (Serrano-Berthet and Lopez, 2010, p. 1). A wave of violence sweeping the two countries introduced a new threat: gang violence. Both Guatemala and El Salvador have some of the highest rates of gang membership in Central America, seen in Table 2. As Table 2 presents, Guatemala leads El Salvador in gang membership as it has 14,000 members across 434 gangs compared to El Salvador’s 10,500 members in 4 gangs. It is important to note, however, that an analysis on gang membership depends
on the definition of a gang or gang member, meaning that the numbers could be significantly higher (Serrano-Berthet and Lopez, 2010, p. 15). Anyway, having gangs as such a staggering force sets off damaging and deadly forms of violence. Mirroring the cruelty of the civil wars in Guatemala and El Salvador, gangs instill fear that vibrates to women, who bear the scars of such violence.

Table 2: Estimates of Gang Membership by Country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gang Members</th>
<th>Number of Gangs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>1,385</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belize</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69,145</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


For Guatemalan women, the fear of growing gangs makes them afraid to walk out at night (Sauer, 2005, p. 36). The fear of gangs also involves the understanding by women in Guatemala that they could be attacked and assaulted. Femicide has become a considerable concern. As Sauer (2005, p. 37) asserts, “women are specifically targeted and tortured, beaten, raped, and killed by men.” Furthermore, according to a report by Amnesty International (2006), since 2001 more than 2,200 women and girls have been killed in Guatemala and the femicides have been characterized by exceptional inhumanity as victims are subjected to sexual violence, mutilation, and dismemberment. Such atrocities demonstrate how little value is placed upon the lives of women in Guatemala.

In Nowak (2012, p. 3), Guatemala’s femicide rate per 100,000 females is 9.7, the third highest with the highest rate of femicide belonging to El Salvador. Figure 6 shows that El Salvador’s rate is slightly higher than Guatemala’s at 12. El Salvador suffers from similar gang influence on the lives of women as Guatemala. In El Salvador, only three percent of femicides are committed by a past or present intimate partners; women are attacked in public, including by gangs and organized criminal groups (Nowak, 2012, p. 3). Like in Guatemala, the lives of Salvadoran women are clouded by gangs in a continual violence. But the rates of femicide in the two countries suggested that an underlying issue exists to make violence against women acceptable. Examining the patriarchal power in Guatemala and El Salvador explains the consequences of violence against women and enlightens on how women see themselves.
Figure 5: Average Femicide Rates per 100,000 Female Population in 25 Countries and Territories with High and Very High Rates, 2004-2009

Source: Nowak (2012), p. 3, who refers to Alvazzi del Frate (2011, p. 120).

IV.2. Surviving in a Storm of Violence

Throughout Guatemala and El Salvador’s history, violence against women has been “used to reinscribe patriarchy and sustain both dictatorships and democracies, gender-based violence morphed into femicide” (Carey and Torres, 2010, p. 142). Therefore, the rates of femicide in Guatemala and El Salvador can be seen as extensions of male dominance. Furthermore, as Sauer (2005, p. 38) maintains, men treat women according to a subordinate status, creating street harassment, pressure to have sex by men, and occasional physical assault. The pronouncement of patriarchy, however, prolongs further into places where women should feel protected. For the women of Guatemala and El Salvador, violence surrounds their existence even in their homes, which should represent a haven for them. Domestic violence continues a legacy of patriarchal power and suppress women to prescribe to predetermined roles.

As Hume (2008, p. 65) asserts, male identity in El Salvador centers around the “exposure to and use of violence. Men are taught at an early age that they should not express emotion. They should
‘be firm.’ The old adage ‘Boys don’t cry’ is central to what Salvadoran society expects from men.” Since men are held to such behavior, they use violence to assert themselves. By following a set of standards, men in El Salvador, too, expect women to follow certain views of what a woman should do. If women wander from acceptable constructions of femininity, the popular belief in El Salvador is that men have the right to punish them (Hume, 2008, p. 68). Similarly, in Guatemala, as women leave the home and gain more independence, men feel a resentment as believe that a woman belongs in the home (Suarez and Jordan, 2007, p. 4). As Suarez and Jordan (2007, p.4) explain, “therefore, men use violence to force women back into limited roles in the home and society.” The conceptions of men and women’s role leads to incidents of domestic violence that haunt women and shape their perceptions of themselves.

Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) conducted research on violence against women in Latin America and the Caribbean. Interviewing thousands of women, including in Guatemala and El Salvador, Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) found information regarding the violence that women face throughout the region. Their research provides evidence of how male dominance has shaped how women see themselves and the violence that women have experienced. Figure 6 provides a glimpse into how women follow the patriarchal attitudes, choosing to obey their husbands. As the figure shows, the adherence to gender roles transcends urban and rural areas, as women agree in both areas. In Guatemala, an overwhelming amount of women, 78 percent in rural areas and 52.7 percent in urban areas, believe that women should follow the orders of their husbands. In El Salvador, 54.5 percent of wives in rural areas and 34.1 percent in urban areas believe that even if they disagree with their husbands, they should obey them anyways.

**Figure 6: Women’s Agreement with Traditional Gender Norms: Wives Should Obey Their Husband, even if They Disagree, Among All Women Aged 15-49 Years**

![Figure 6: Women’s Agreement with Traditional Gender Norms](source)


The collection of data from Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) also presents the physical violence that women face in Guatemala and El Salvador. Measuring both married women and those in relationships, the research by Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) demonstrate that women can experience violence throughout their lifetimes at the hands of their partners. Figure 8 displays the physical partner violence that women endured either ever or in the past 12 months. In Guatemala, the women interviewed reported that 24.5 percent had suffered physical violence by a partner in their lifetime and 7.8 percent had experienced it in the last year. The women in El Salvador had similar figures as Guatemala, with 24.2 percent reporting that they
had experienced physical violence and 6.8 percent in the last 12 months. Figure 7 indicates the prevalence of physical violence. Such physical violence stems from how men see women. In Guatemala and El Salvador, men feel that women must conform with traditional values, if they do not, they must face the consequence of physical violence.

**Figure 7: Physical Partner Violence, Ever and Past 12 Months, Among Women Ever Married or in Union Aged 15-49 years**

Although women suffer the scars, shock, and shame of domestic violence, their silence secures that the cycle of violence continues. As Hume (2008, p. 66) claims, “Silencing women’s experiences of violence strengthens patriarchal structures and ensures their reproduction.” In El Salvador, patterns of aggression by men such as intimating women with more violence to silence them and threatening them with the local gang establishes a fear of reporting violence (Hume, 2008, p. 67). Likewise, for Guatemalan women, another factor in femicide is domestic violence, as women who have reported domestic violence have been killed before they can escape or flee their homes (Suarez and Jordan, 2007, p. 4). Furthermore, the women of Guatemala do not recognize the abuse as domestic violence and fear more violence; this fear empowers their abusers to express emotion through violence (Suarez and Jordan, 2007, p. 4).

The research by Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012) illustrates the extent of how women avoid seeking help for domestic violence. Figure 8 expresses that in Guatemala, only 30.7 percent of women sought institutional help and in El Salvador, the percentage is 36 percent. Furthermore, as Figure 8 demonstrates, the women in El Salvador and Guatemala rely on telling their families
or friends about the violence; in El Salvador the percentage is 65.5 percent and in Guatemala, 58.5 percent. The percentages confirm a reluctance by the women of the two countries to report the violence inflicted upon them. As the women feel threatened for their safety and security, they do not seek out help, which allows their abusers to hurt them again and again.

**Figure 8: Help-seeking for Intimate Partner Violence in the Past 12 Months, Among Women Ever Married or in Union Aged 15-49 Years**

![Bar chart showing help-seeking rates for intimate partner violence in the past 12 months among women ever married or in union aged 15-49 years across different countries.](image)


The fear of additional violence also manifests in the psyches of the women of Guatemala and El Salvador. Figure 9 indicates that the women interviewed lived in fear after incidents of domestic violence. In El Salvador, 68 percent of women who experienced violence by their partners feared additional violence. In Guatemala, 66.8 percent of women feared additional violence. Certainly the patriarchal power that enables domestic violence also breeds into fear into women about their partners and whether or not to report the violence that they have experienced.

**Figure 9: Lived in Fear as a Result of Partner Violence in the Past 12 Months, Among Women Ever Married or in Union aged 15-49 Years**

![Bar chart showing fear rates after partner violence in the past 12 months among women ever married or in union aged 15-49 years across different countries.](image)

*Source: Bott, Guedes, Goodwin, and Mendoza (2012), p. 56.*
In both Guatemala and El Salvador, women encounter violence that diminishes and dwindles their control. From femicide to domestic violence, the women in the two countries experience violence both inside their homes and outside in the streets. Compromising the safety and security of women, violence arises from patriarchal attitudes about how men and women should act. Despite all the darkness, there are ways for Guatemala and El Salvador to allow women to rise above the violence.

IV.3. Resisting Violence and Resolving Injustice

The violence found in Guatemala and El Salvador against women is both mind-boggling and eye-opening. In the two counties, women deal with violence throughout their daily lives. The intersection of violence, from femicide to domestic abuse, engender women to have fear and can directly cause their deaths. So much despair and destruction provokes a sort of apathy to violence. As Carey and Torres (2010, p. 142) depict, “Their bodies litter city streets, urban ravines, and the imagination of the media. Images of murdered women and girls are so commonplace that each new death risks becoming a footnote to illustrate a rising death toll.” Ignoring the issue of gender-based violence, however, does not make it disappear. Instead, Guatemala and El Salvador must look at finding solutions to mitigate violence against women.

Leslie (2001) offers some framework for how to approach women who have experienced gender-based violence in El Salvador. Women who are victims of gender-related violence should be treated for their trauma and allowed to heal, through psychological treatment; the women should be made to feel guilty for the violence (Leslie, 2001, p. 54). Furthermore, creating safe spaces for women to express themselves and testify to their experiences can empower women, as they are challenging the power structure of patriarchy (Leslie, 2001, p. 55). Leslie (2000, p. 54) proposes that women should join social movements to elaborate on their violent trauma; the movements could also heal women as they are part of a broader community. Such suggestions for Salvadoran women give them a sense of power as they are not defined by the violence that was inflicted upon them.

In Guatemala, similar steps to help survivors should be implemented. A report by Amnesty International (2006) found that judicial measures should be considered to allay violence against women. Amnesty International (2006) identified four key concerns about what has led to the killings of women: continued impunity for perpetrators, flawed investigations, negligence by the state in prevention, and the invisibility of gender-based violence. The combination of these factors, according to Amnesty International (2006), has contributed to the number of femicides and domestic violence seen in Guatemala. But the report also highlights recommendations that could change how gender-based violence is seen and treated in the country. Amnesty International (2006) recommends that a search mechanism should be in place for missing women and girls, a zero tolerance policy for gender violence by the government, improved quality and examination of investigations, and that more data be collected to show the extent of violence against women. Such policies would help in El Salvador as well. Having the two countries resist violence against women and resolve the injustices of women who have experienced such violence would assist in assuaging the problem of gender-based violence.

V. Conclusion

Although Guatemala and El Salvador have enhanced their health expenditure and augmented women’s access to healthcare, women in the two countries sustain the wounds of violence against them. Through much bloodshed, Guatemala and El Salvador have seen themselves become
impassive to violence against women, ignoring the rates of femicide and domestic violence that women face. By having patriarchal values dictate the duties of women, men use violence to control them and prevent them from seeking assistance. Guatemala and El Salvador must not only acknowledge and understand the problem, they must present projects to support women and restrain violence against women.

Guatemala and El Salvador must realize the important role that women play in society. More than just caretakers, women represent a possibility that could alter the course of the two countries. Suppressing women through violence does not develop unity within a country, but rather generates a divide between genders. Although ideas of patriarchy have pervaded the history of the two countries, Guatemala and El Salvador have a chance to change their futures. Having men repeat the same behaviors to women for generation after generation prevents Guatemala and El Salvador from reaching their potential. Allowing violence has severe costs that transcend not only to the women affected, but the whole country. Guatemala and El Salvador must understand that wanting women, from grandmothers to mothers to daughters, to be able to dream and fulfill their futures will not lead to ruin but rather to a better and brighter experience for all.

References


