

# Ways of Knowing, Ways of Seeing: Thinking About Poverty, Inequality and Social Exclusion in Internationally Comparative Contexts

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The concept of social exclusion suggests *relational, multi-dimensional and historically embedded patterns* of labor market detachment, political and civic participation, social isolation, and the distribution and exercise of power – and how these phenomena may intersect with gendered, ethnic, racial, and/or other social identities.

# My reflections are grounded in three cases of applied research:

- Roma/Gypsy Minority Self Governments and Development in Hungary (Schafft and Brown 2000; Molnár and Schafft 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Brown & Schafft, 2003)
- Rural Poverty and Household Mobility in Upstate New York (Schafft, 2005, 2006; Killeen & Schafft, 2008; Prins & Schafft, 2009; Schafft & Prins, 2009; Schafft, Killeen & Morrissey, 2010)
- Marcellus Shale Gas Development in Pennsylvania



## Case One: Roma/Gypsy Minority Self Governments and Community Development in Hungary

(Schafft and Brown 2000; Molnár and Schafft 2003a, 2003b)

# Central Europe with Hungary (Inset)

1993: Legislation enacted by Hungarian Parliament on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities

1995: 817 minority self-governments form, 477 of which represent Gypsy communities

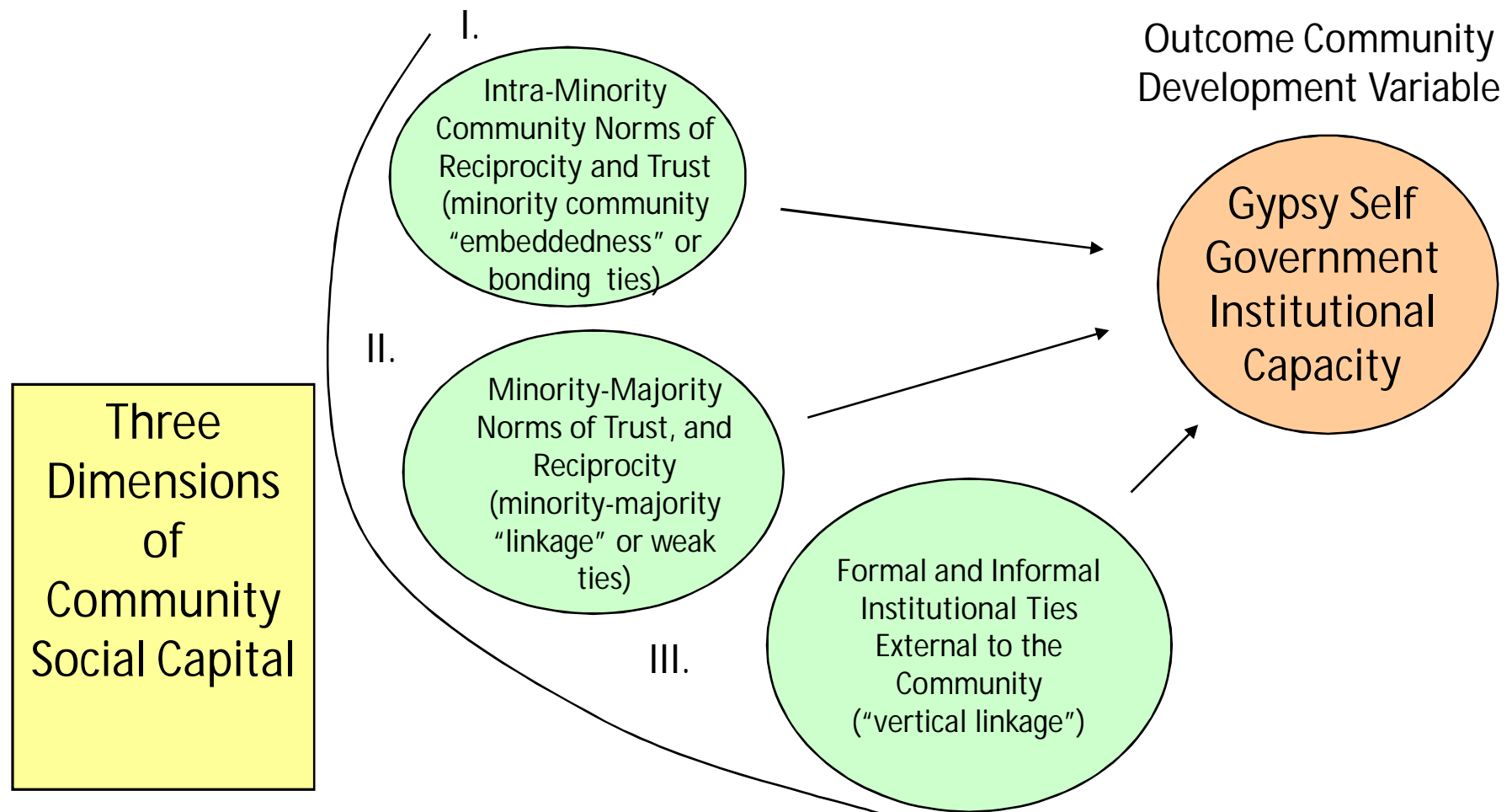
1998: Nearly *one in four* Hungarian municipalities has a Gypsy minority self-government



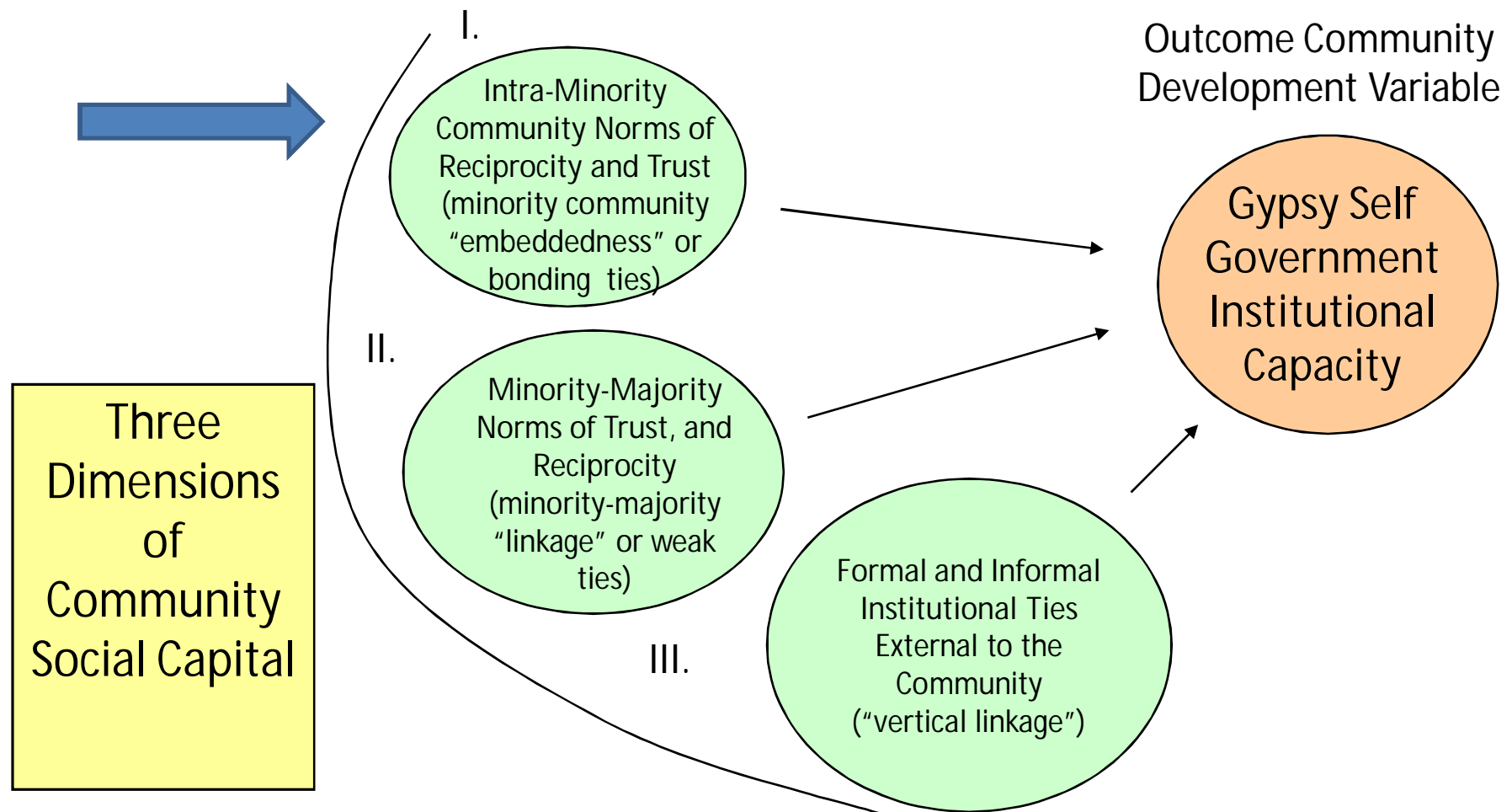
## *Our basic questions:*

- 1) What is the effect of Gypsy minority self governments on local development?
- 2) What might explain the differences *across* communities in terms of minority self government development impacts?

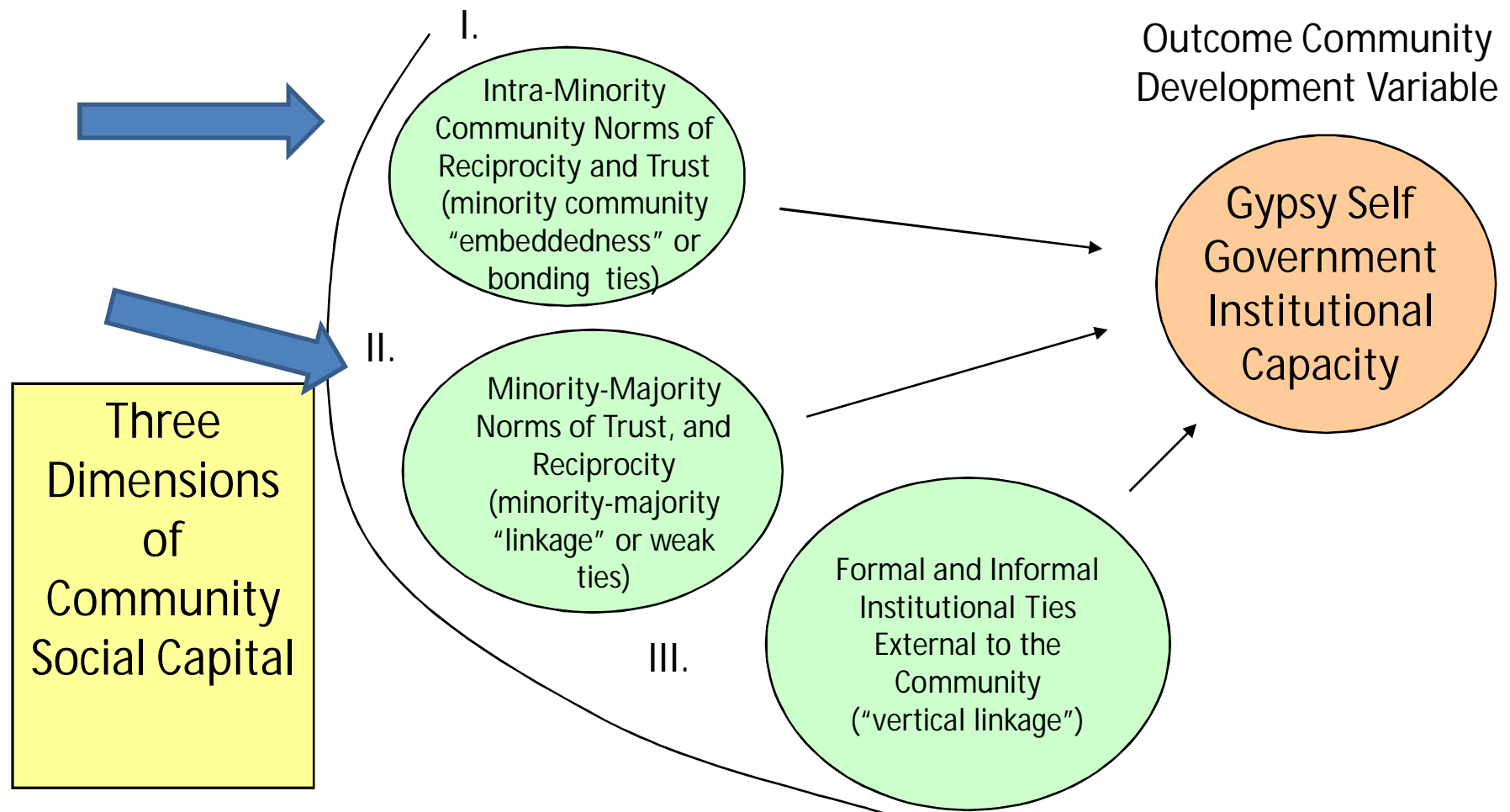
# The model we used (borrowing from Woolcock and Granovetter)



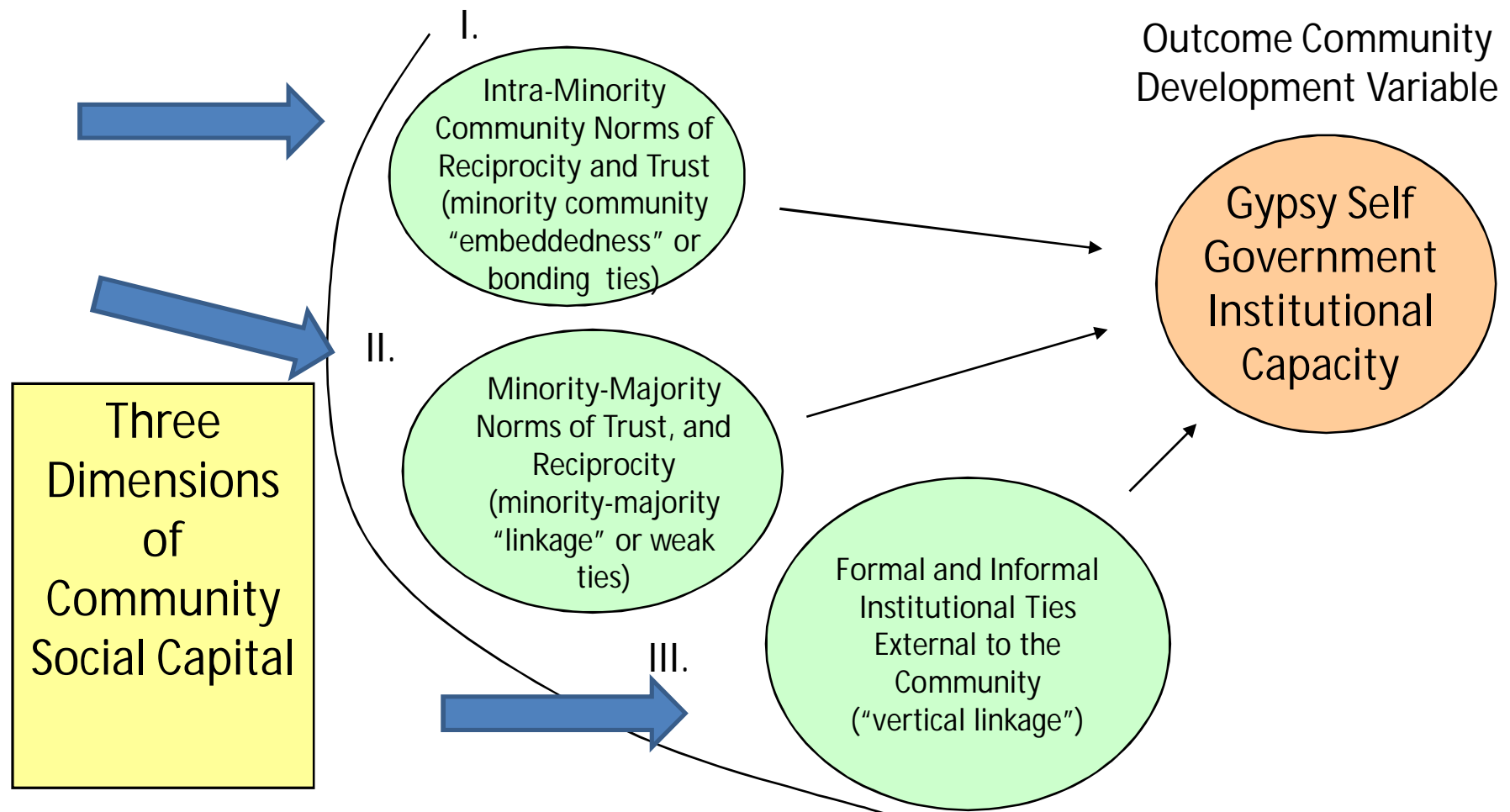
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# *Success!*

- 56 percent survey response rate
- Scaled variables all proved strong and reliable
- Strong statistical model (.50 Adj R<sup>2</sup>)
- Written comments from respondents and community level work seemed to give support to the social capital thesis
- Quick publication in a good journal!

## *But nagging questions remained....*

- What true insight did we gain from the finding that groups with denser “cross-cutting” social ties are able to work more effectively in collaborative situations than other groups?
- What had we learned about why certain cross-cutting social ties existed in one place but not another?

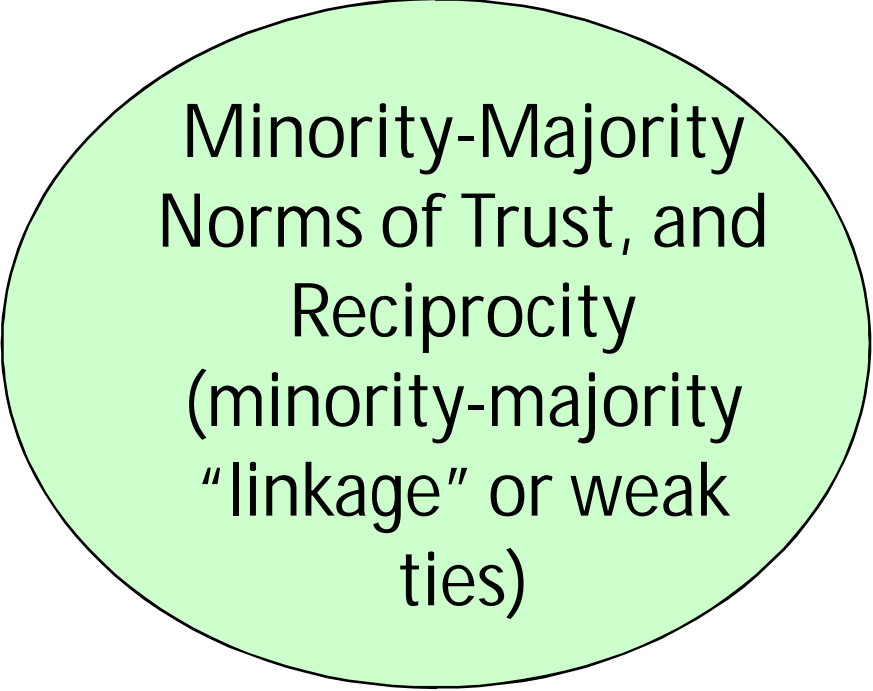
## *More nagging questions...*

- In the case of Hungarian Gypsy communities, which had historically experienced clear and long-standing legacies of exclusion, discrimination and persecution, where were the implications for using social capital as an explanatory variable?

# Follow-up research conducted in 2000-2001

- 1) Second Survey to “second round” minority self-governments;
- 2) Intensive Community Case Study Work focusing on “high capacity” and “low capacity” Gypsy self governments.

For example, what about inter-ethnic trust and norms of reciprocity?



Minority-Majority  
Norms of Trust, and  
Reciprocity  
(minority-majority  
"linkage" or weak  
ties)

## *Two Contrasting Communities...*

### "Low Roma Govt Capacity"

- Strong consolidation of local business-gov't elites (cronyism)
- Roma barely tolerated and seen as threat to local development (tourism)
- Official (and probably illegal) stigmatization of Roma

### "High(er) Roma Govt Capacity"

- Less pronounced class division b/t Roma and Hungarians
- Community future necessarily will involve Roma
- Precedent of Roma political presence - cannot be wholly ignored or dismissed

Can Social Capital explain the differences between these two communities?

It misses *the meaning and content* of the particular constitution of local formal and informal social structures.

The absence of historical or cultural grounding or an analysis of power leaves us with an incomplete explanatory framework.

Counties and Statistically Equivalent Areas of the United States of America  
Including Island Areas

New York

Pennsylvania

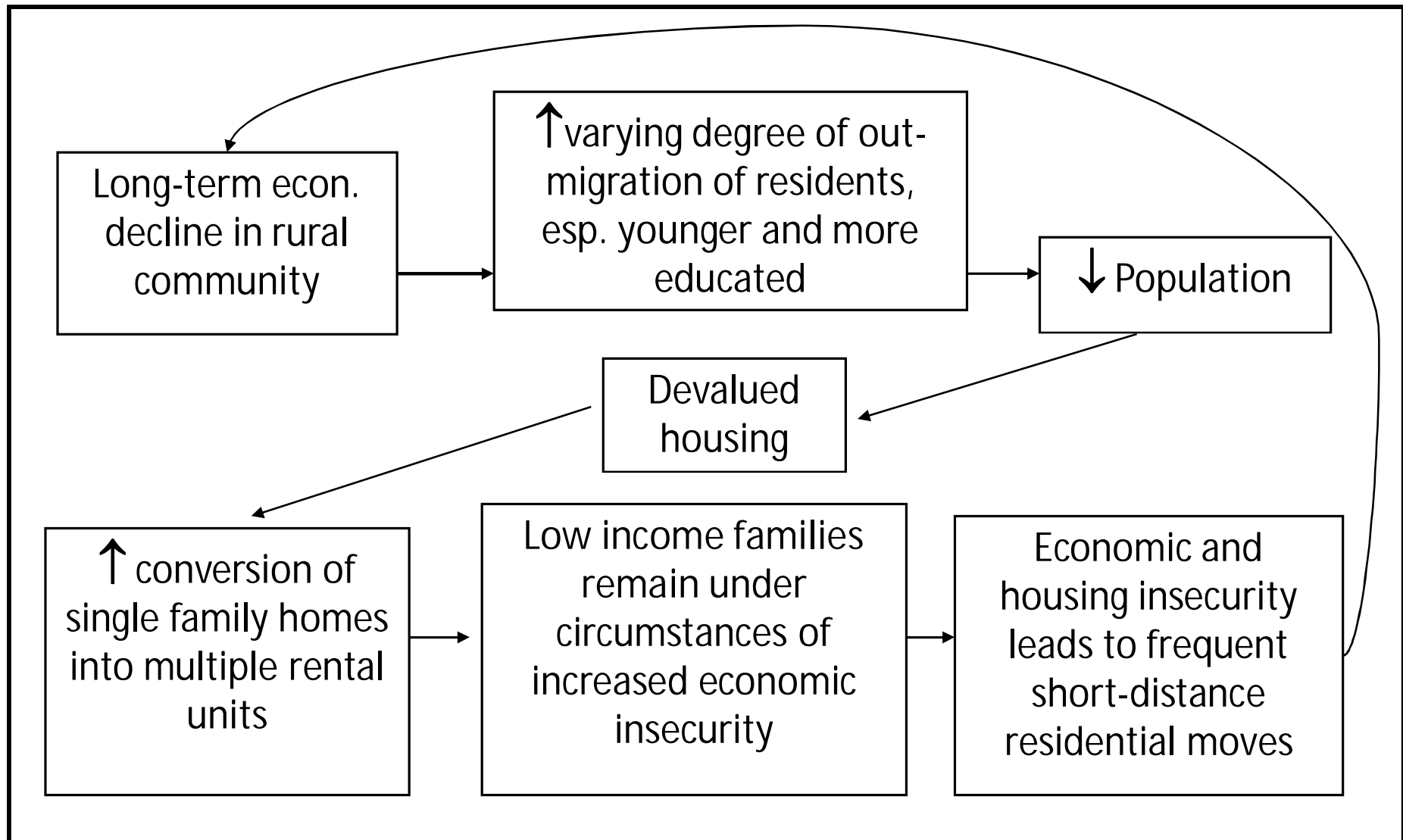


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## Case Two: Poverty and Housing Insecurity in Upstate New York



# *The Cycle of Poverty, Residential Mobility and Community Disadvantage*





Most of the community does not recognize this as an issue. But it creates a huge problem. The aid is frozen by the state: To pay for the needs of these kids, we will have to go to the local taxpayer. It's a hard sell to the community at large that we have this unknown group that requires some substantial resources that don't even exist to most people here but nonetheless are very real to us.

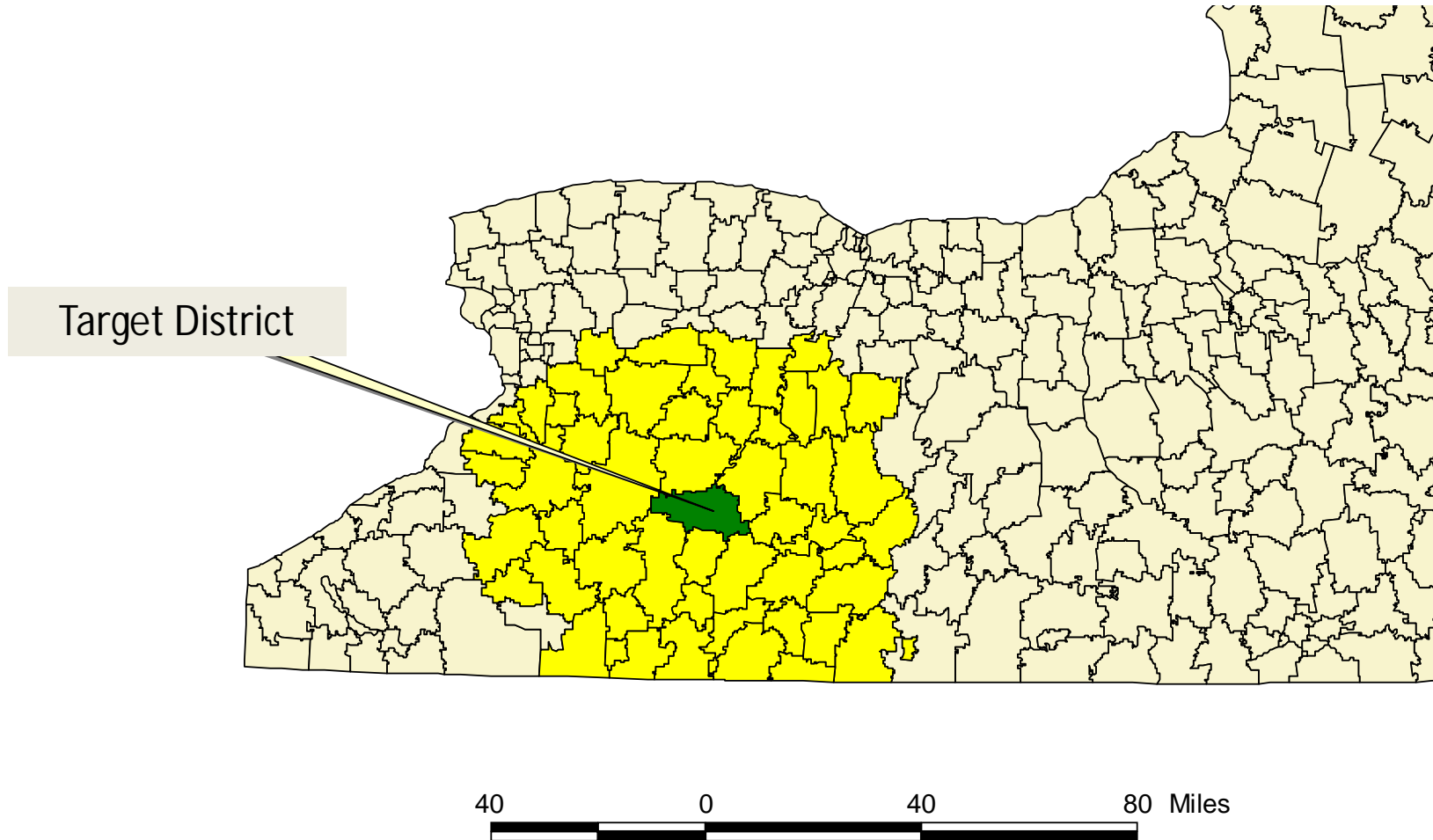
(Superintendent, Southern Tier)

“We’re getting killed by the test scores of our students, but they’re not even our students! We haven’t had any significant role in educating them or preparing them for these tests”

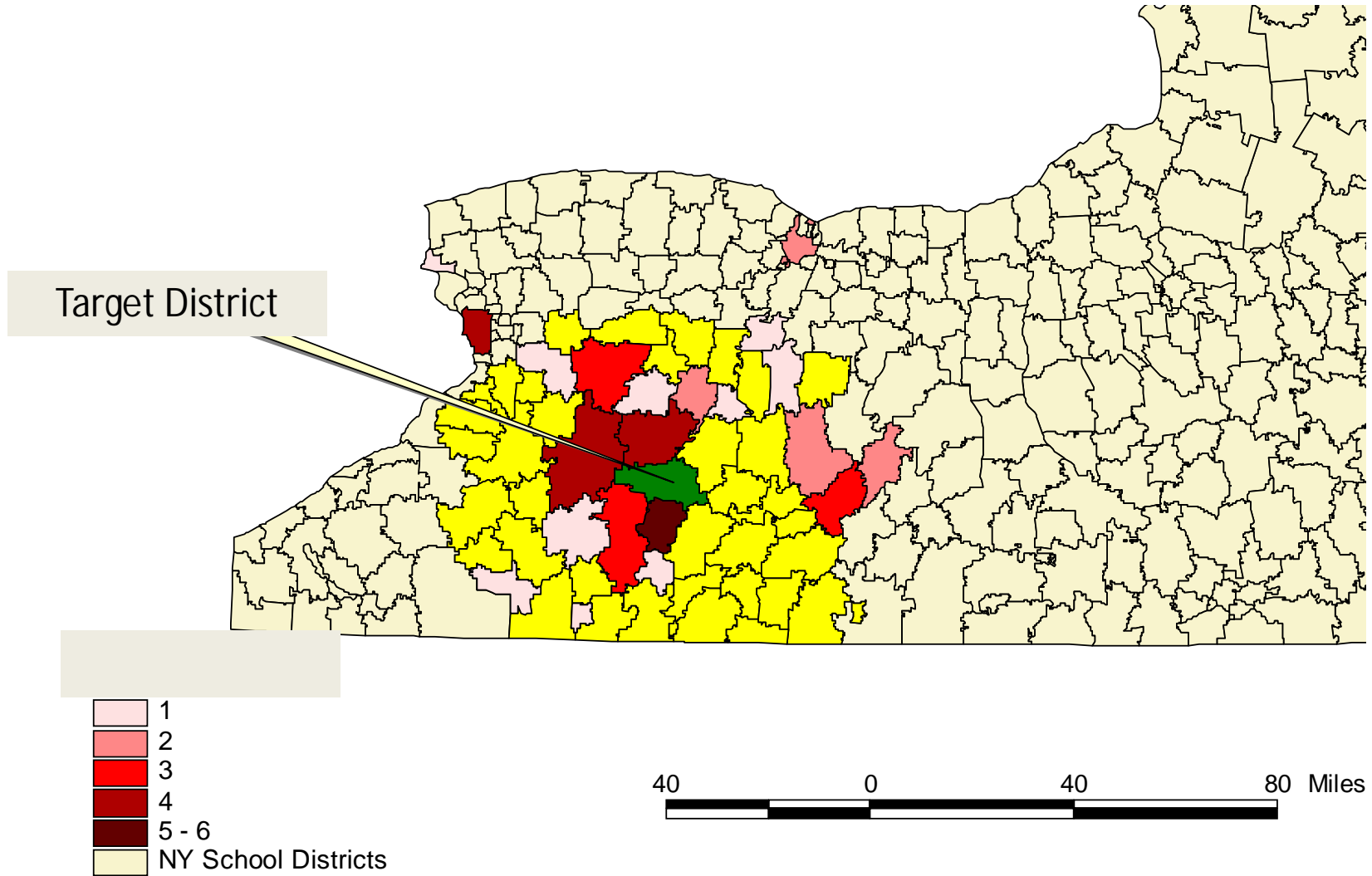
(High school teacher, Erie Canal Corridor Community, Northern Tier, NY)

Whose students *ARE* they?

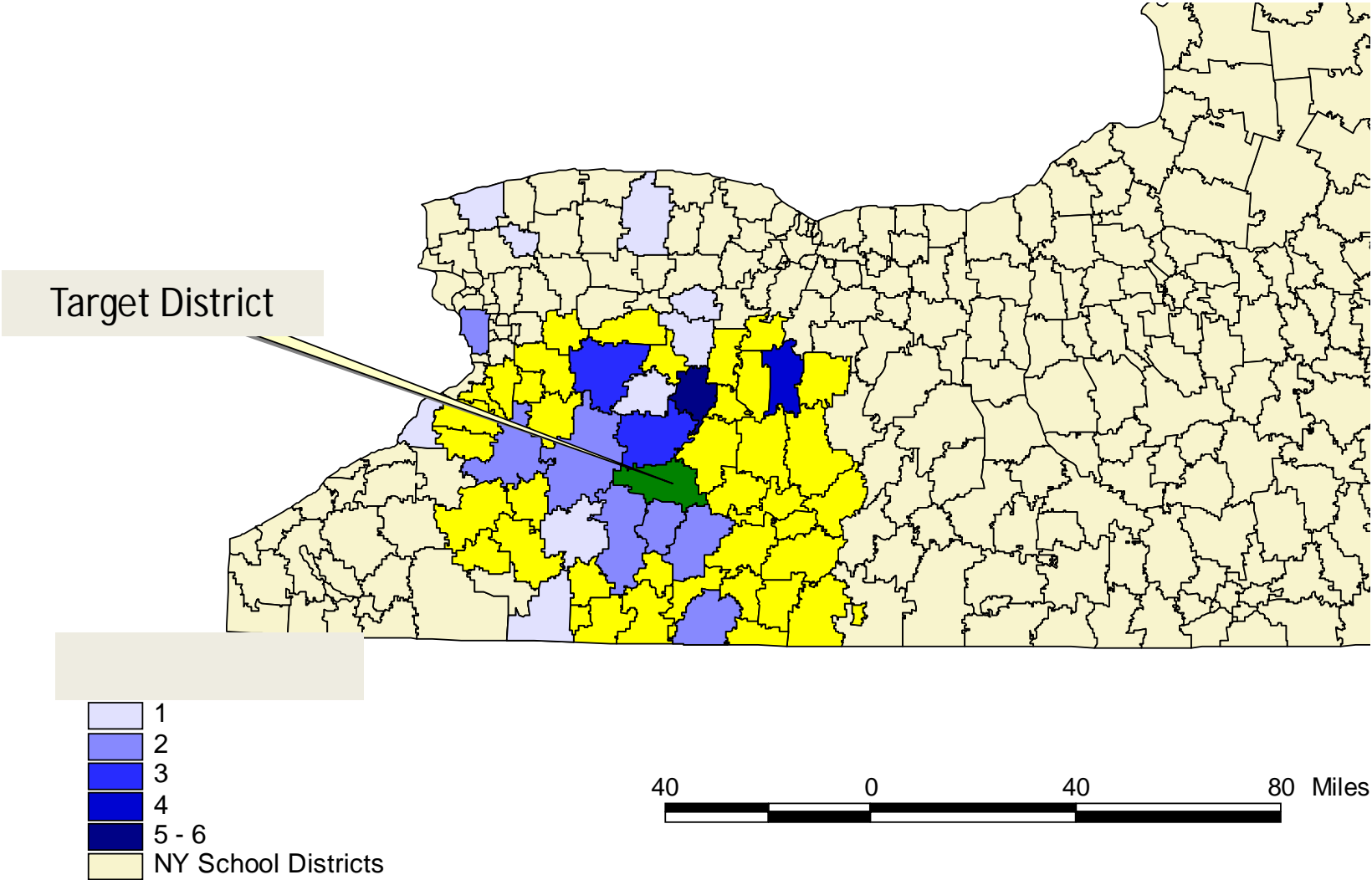
# 25 Mile Buffer around Target District



# Target District and ORIGIN Districts for Mobile Students



# Target District and DESTINATION Districts for Mobile Students



# Case Three: Marcellus Shale Gas and “Boomtown” Development in Pennsylvania



## Cross-Section of Typical Horizontal Marcellus Well

24" conductor casing (brown) is installed up to 50 feet deep and cemented (grey) to the surface.

20" casing is installed through the 24" casing and continuing up to 500 feet deep. This casing is cemented to surface to isolate and protect near-surface groundwater.

13 3/8" casing is installed through the 20" casing and continuing up to 1000 feet deep. This casing is also cemented to the surface to protect the groundwater aquifer from the gas well.

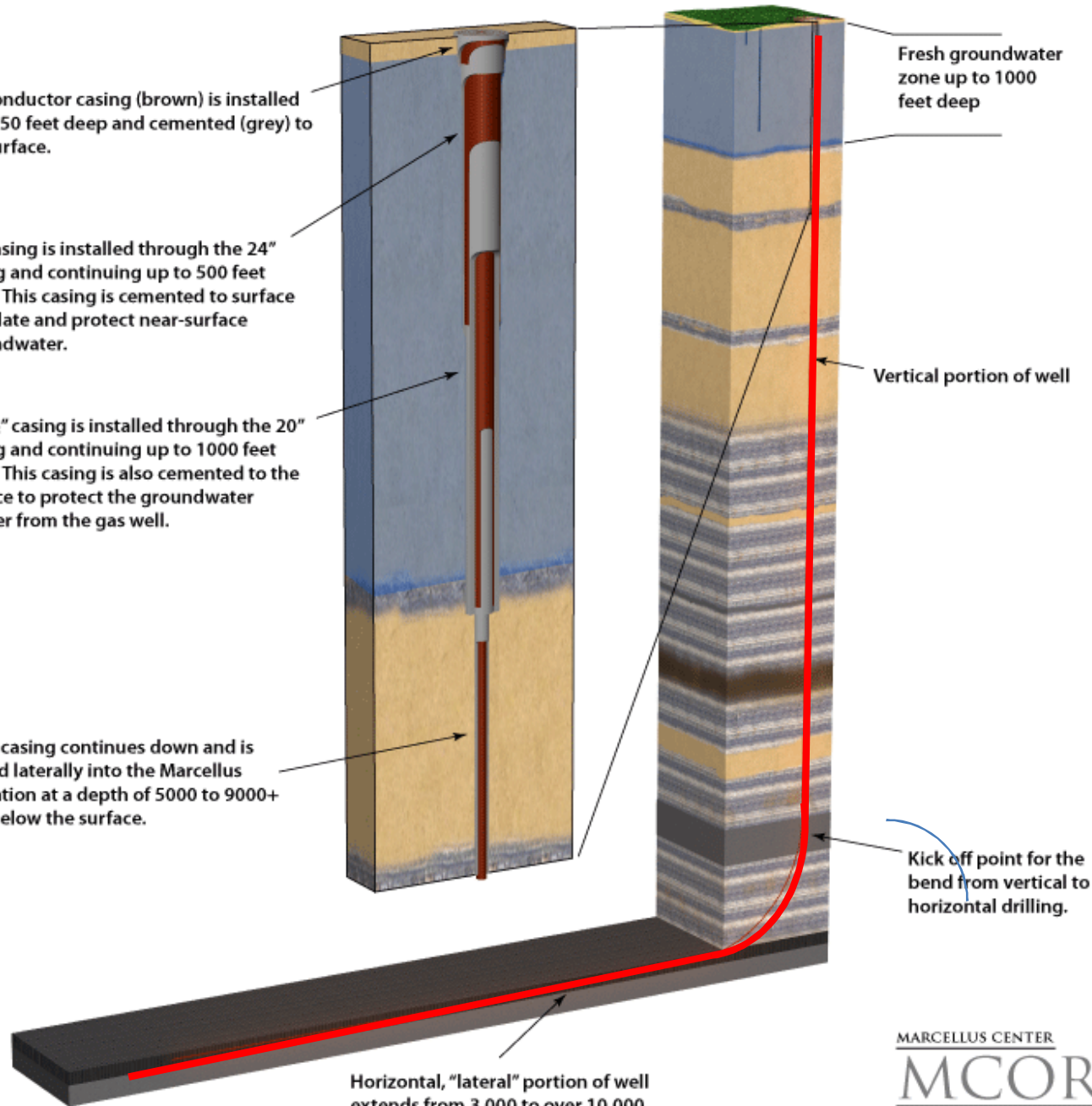
5 1/2" casing continues down and is turned laterally into the Marcellus formation at a depth of 5000 to 9000+ feet below the surface.

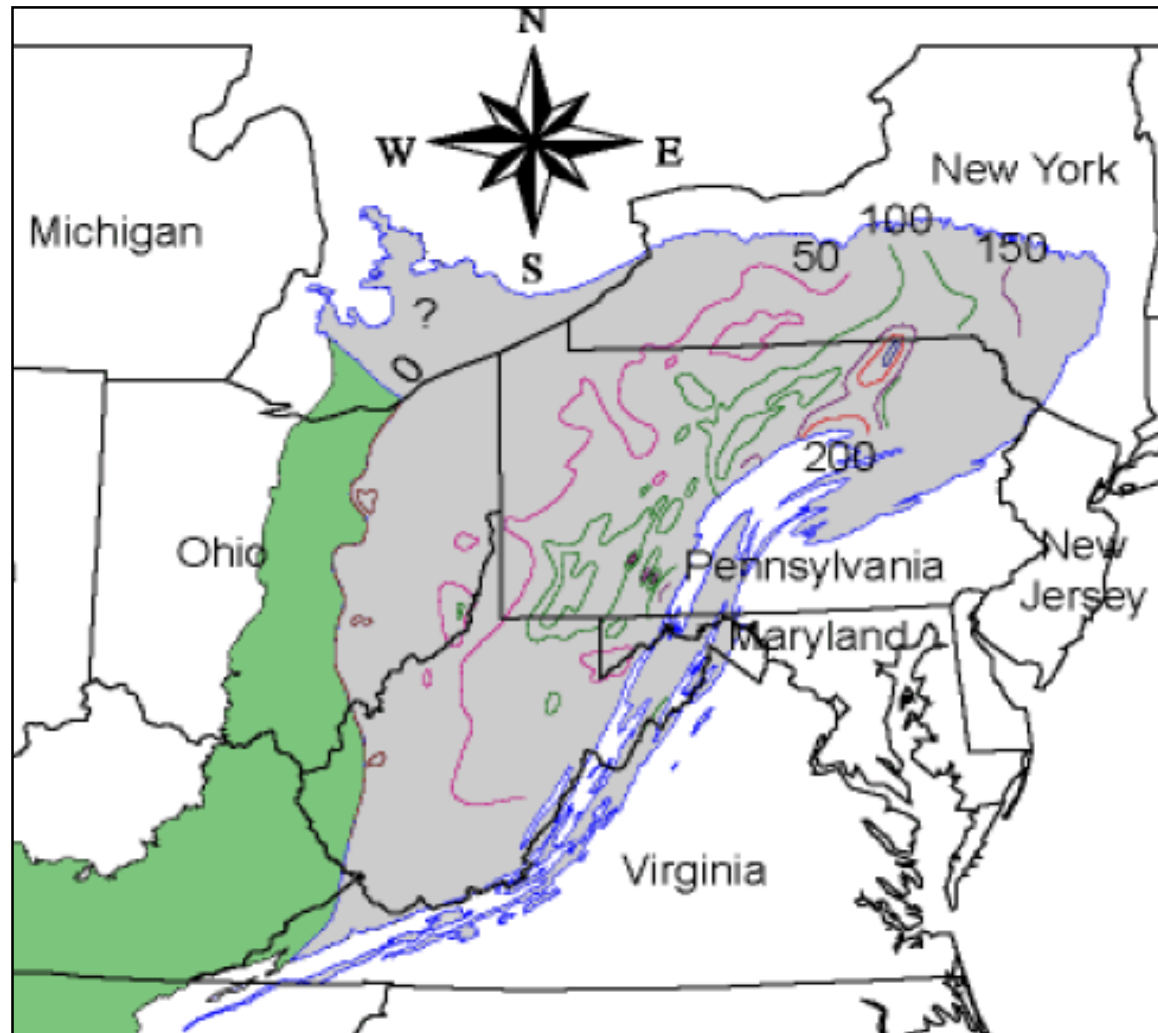
Fresh groundwater zone up to 1000 feet deep

Vertical portion of well

Kick off point for the bend from vertical to horizontal drilling.

Horizontal, "lateral" portion of well extends from 3,000 to over 10,000 feet within Marcellus formation.





Marcellus Shale  
Distribution

# Framing of Marcellus Development: Massive Opportunity or Massive Risk?

## Opportunity

- Economic Development
- Revitalized Communities
- Local Job Creation and Opportunities for Youth
- Natural Gas as a “green” energy source

## Risk

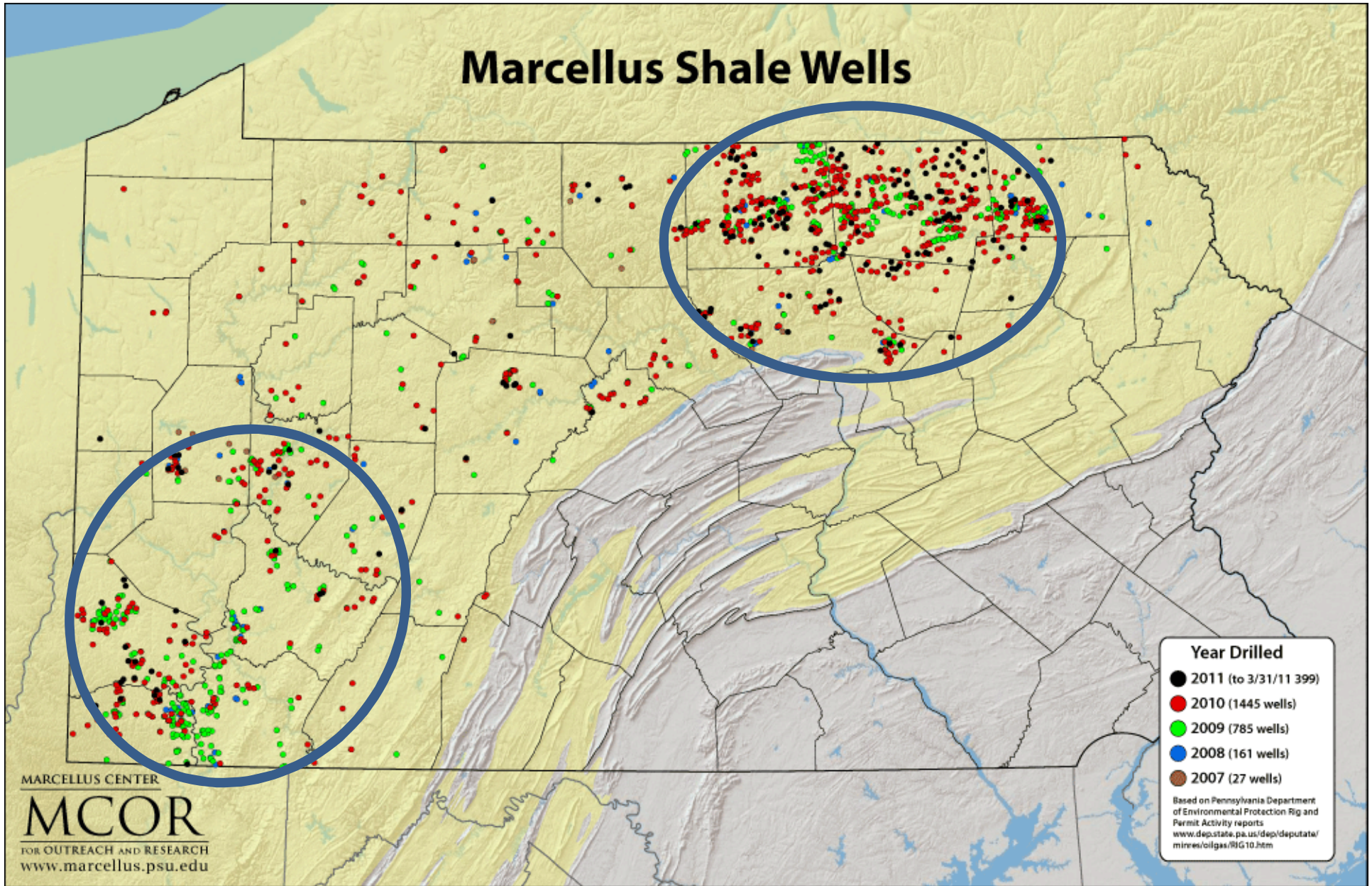
- Economic Exploitation
- Boom-Bust Communities
- Low Skill Job Creation and jobs gone “bust”
- Environmental Damage

YEAR	Cumulative Number of Marcellus Shale Gas Wells
2007	27
2008	188
2009	973
2010	2,418
2011 (as of July 6)	3,239

Source: Pennsylvania DEP Spud Data

As many as 60,000 or more wells may be drilled in the Marcellus Shale in Pennsylvania in the coming decades.

# Marcellus Shale Wells



# Strands of Research on “Boomtown” Community Impacts

- Community Social Disruption

(e.g. Camasso, & Wilkinson, 1990; England & Albrecht, 1984; Freudenberg, Bacigalupi, & Young, 1982; Hunter, Krannich, & Smith, 2002)

- Social Psychological Impacts

(e.g. Brown, Geersten, & Krannich, 1989; Freudenberg, 1981; Hunter et al., 2002; Krannich, Greider & Little, 1985)

- Social and Economic Impacts Across the Stages of the Boom-Bust Cycle

(e.g. Gramling & Freudenberg, 1990; England & Brown, 2003)

*Who is most likely to enjoy the benefits of gas development and who is most likely to bear the risks are critical questions as gas development proceeds.*

# Boomtown Development and Social Exclusion: Parallels with NY Study?

- *Housing?*
- *Mobilities?*
- *Reconfiguration of community boundaries and identities?*
- *The “undeserving” poor?*
- *Institutional impacts?*

# The “*Hummer* Homeless”?



# Largely Unanticipated Outcomes of Rapid Gas Development

- New forms of residential mobilities and transiency;
- Displacement;
- Increased dropouts from secondary school;
- For schools: difficulty recruiting and retaining teachers and staff (“institutional capture” by gas industry)

# Conclusions

Social Exclusion and the  
*"Rural Sociological Imagination"*