

European Science Foundation
Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH)

ESF SCH EXPLORATORY WORKSHOP

**Poverty: its Degrees, its Causes and
its Relief – a Multidisciplinary
Approach to an Urgent Problem**

SCIENTIFIC REPORT



Kiel, Germany, 10-13 November 2005

Convened by:

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DFG



Introduction

The scope of the Exploratory Workshop was to bring together leading scholars in Poverty research and to invite them to discuss the possibilities of an interdisciplinary approach on poverty and its relief, taking in account both the hereditary nature of poverty and the definition of famine as the last stage of malnutrition. By encouraging this kind of collaboration, the coordinators aimed to develop a medium-term initiative of cross-national and interdisciplinary poverty research, ideally in the scope of an ESF programme or an ESF collaborative research programme (ECRP).

Executive Summary: Organization

For practical reasons the venue could be either at Aberdeen or at Kiel, but as most speakers came from the Continent, we decided to hold the Workshop at the Institut für Weltwirtschaft at Kiel. The choice of Kiel as the venue of an international Workshop was hoped to give some standing to Kiel as an international centre of learning; for the same reason, we asked for and were allowed to hold the Workshop in the beautifully situated and world-famous Institut für Weltwirtschaft. However, less than two weeks before the Workshop we were charged € 1,200 for the doorman during the week-end, so we moved the venue to the Institute of History. In order to allow the participants to take advantage of flight reductions at week-ends, the Workshop took place on Friday November 11th, 2005 to Sunday, November 13th with arrival on November 10th and departure on November 13th after lunch.

The participants all stayed in the same hotel in the town centre and were taken to the University and back by taxis. Because of the very reduced bus services to the University campus at week-ends and of the elevated bus fares (at the time of the Workshop € 1,90 one way), transport by taxi was much more convenient and only slightly more expensive than the bus.

Tea, coffee, juice and water had been provided for the breaks between the lectures; on Friday, lunch was had in the University canteen, which was closed during the week-end. Instead, sandwiches were brought from a baker in the neighbourhood for lunch on Saturday and Sunday. Dinner on the three nights Thursday to Saturday had been arranged in different restaurants in the town centre, one of them situated in the medieval basement of the former town hall.

During the sessions one or two attendants (students of history) were present in order to help the participants with practical questions (power point presentation, copying, organization of travel).

A simultaneous translation between English, German and French would have been ideal, but rather expensive. In order to allow the participants to follow the lectures, we had asked for abstracts, which we translated into the other two languages. As quite a number of summaries arrived rather late, we had to engage a young historian, a native of France, to undertake the translations into French.

Because of the venue at the Institute of History, breaks for lunch could be reduced; moreover, within the last ten days before the Workshop, three speakers had to cancel their participation for professional reasons or for reasons of health. Only one of them sent his paper, which was read to the participants. This meant that the programme could be reduced and that we could finish the meeting at lunch on Sunday. However, some changes had to be made, especially regarding the chairing of the sessions, as travel connections obliged certain participants to leave earlier than foreseen.

One of the most difficult problems to solve proved to be that of finding the proper speakers. We had prepared a programme of lectures which would enable us to deal with the main aspects of poverty, but realized that research into poverty has been concentrated in certain fields, and at the same time neglecting others. Obviously, this proves the case for the Workshop, but it made it difficult, sometimes impossible to find speakers on certain topics. Further, we wanted to keep a sort of regional balance within Europe, but from Southern Europe only Italy was represented and nobody responded from Eastern Europe. Outright discouraging was the fact that several colleagues simply did not answer our emails. The result of our invitations can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Speakers invited to Workshop

Country	Yes	No	No
answer	Total		
Austria	-	1	3
Belgium	1	-	2
Czech Republic	-	-	1
France	1	1	2
Germany	4	4	8
Ghana	-	1	1
Hungary	-	-	1
India	1	-	1
Italy	4	1	5
Netherlands	-	3	3
Norway	1	-	1
Poland	-	-	2
Spain	-	2	2
United Kingdom	2	4	7
Total	14	17	39

Only one participant, Professor Giovanni Ricci, Ferrara, responded to our proposed session of doctoral students and other junior scholars. As the subjects of his younger colleagues dealt with certain aspects of poverty, they were invited as speakers in their own right. Also, the human rights lawyer Patricia A. Fynn (Ghana) was asked to speak on poverty and human rights from an African point of view, but declared herself unable to attend. In order to at least mention the topics without a speaker and to show their significance for the research into poverty, Thomas Riis introduced these questions on the basis of his lectures on the history of poverty in Europe since the Middle Ages. In this way, they were not forgotten and could be taken up in the discussions.

Scientific Contents of the Workshop

As poverty is a relative phenomenon, the lack of a proper definition of the term "poverty" is a major obstacle for comparative interdisciplinary research into the subject. Contemporary studies apply two definitions, identifying the poor with the receivers of social aid or with those whose income does not exceed 50% or 60% of the average income in a given society. Both definitions are based on official statistics, and include only some of the various forms of poverty. Hence, the former definition

does not deal with the complete spectrum of parameters influencing the economical and social development of a poor individual or a poor family. For instance, the “hidden poverty” (economic poverty hidden by social wealth, refusing public aid) has not been systematically investigated until now. The second definition of “poverty” is more appropriate, but does not consider the importance of victuals in kind in the individual household (or more precisely: how valuable is the contribution of the vegetables and fruits grown by the poor family itself?). Finally, contemporary sociological definitions leave out the historical dimensions of poverty, and consequently, the process leading into poverty is not taken into account.

Objectives and significance

The objectives of the workshop can be divided in short term, medium term and longer-term aims.

In the short term, the workshop participants examine the different degrees of poverty and identify its causes. In addition, they consider the different forms of present and past poor relief in order to gauge their efficiency. From this point of view, the workshop participants rely on research done until now. This would hopefully lead to fruitful discussions about contemporary concepts of poverty.

In a medium term perspective, the workshop seeks to map out further collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects and to set an agenda for future academic efforts in this field. The papers read at the workshop will be published. Finally, the workshop should be an impulse for the determination of research leading to a long-term strategy for the fight against poverty. By doing so, the workshop organisers hope to initiate a common approach for academic impact on social and economic policy.

The Workshop

First, the representative of the ESF, Mr Cédric Gossart, explained the tasks and the organization of the Foundation, after which the first session on the *Degrees of Poverty* took place. In her opening paper, Prof. Amrita Rangasami stressed that famine is a longer process with at least three phases: Dearth, famishment, and morbidity. Famine often breaks down gender distinctions, as men accept to do traditional women’s work. Social differences are often articulated in the choice of food, but recent legal action in India has established it as a fundamental right to be free from hunger; thus starvation can be seen as an injury.

For the topics of “inequality of revenues” and “housing” no speaker had been found, consequently Prof. Thomas Riis introduced the discussion. The biological minimum is easy to calculate, but in many societies price series appear fairly late; thus it cannot be ascertained whether or not a given salary will suffice to secure the biological minimum of food and its necessary shares of carbohydrates, proteins and fats. The contemporary definition “poor is the person who receives social aid” is not satisfactory, as it does not consider the shameful poor, and the other contemporary definition of the poor as those who earn less than a certain share of the average income is not better, because it does not consider income in kind, the products of a garden or the use of your hands. On the other hand, some examples from different countries of Early Modern Europe (Lyons 1501-2, the Low Countries in the late eighteenth century and England c. 1840) concurrently show that the poverty line has been passed, if more than half the available revenue has to be spent on bread and substitutes for bread (e.g. beans, peas, potatoes).

As to housing, the standard of equipment could be seen as a definition of poverty, as some installations (e.g. the television set) are considered indispensable and consequently cannot be seized as payment for debts. On the other hand, this kind of definition is likely to vary considerably from one country to the next one. If on the other hand, a lying adult is taken to be two metres tall, we may consider four square metres (2 x 2 metres) as the minimum as far as housing is concerned. This was also seen as the minimum by the British administration in Northern Germany immediately after 1945; today, the standard fixed by the WHO is 12 square metres. However, as a definition of the poverty line, four square metres per adult appear more appropriate.

Prof. Sølvi Sogner discussed the size of families as a criterion of poverty. From her paper it became clear that the popular image of the poor family with many children does not furnish a reliable definition of the poverty line, as cottar families tend to be smaller than those of farmers. For women the marriage age was five years higher for cottars than for farmers, thus reducing the fertile years in wedlock. Basing herself mainly on Scandinavian sources, she concluded that poor families tend to be smaller than rich families.

In her discussion of possible gender aspects of poverty, Dr Marion Kobelt-Groch mentioned that according to evidence from Austria women earned 40 % less than men for similar types of work. Social networks were remedies against poverty, and very often the increase in social status failed because of lacking education, an interesting circumstance, which can partly explain the hereditary character of poverty.

Professor Giovanni Ricci spoke on the Hidden Poor. Here, other definitions of poverty must be used. Even if an aristocrat makes both ends meet, he is considered poor, if he is unable to give his daughter a suitable dowry at her marriage; further, manual work is considered more degrading for an aristocrat than theft or prostitution. In Italy, at an early stage, corporations were founded in order to assist the Hidden Poor, less in surviving than in keeping their social status.

Dr Torsten Fischer compared Aberdeen about 1700 (15-20 % poor) with Lyons in the eighteenth century (25-30 % poor). He dealt with the ordinary, not the Hidden Poor and could for both cities show that some families never succeeded in crossing the poverty line in a lasting way. Consequently, in some cases, poverty must be considered as hereditary. As this is a fairly recent discovery, more research will be needed in order to identify the causes. Failing economic resources may yield part of the explanation as well as lack of education.

The Workshop of the second day was dedicated to the *Causes of Poverty*. Speaking on underemployment and unemployment, Professor Noël Whiteside questioned several of the concepts currently used by politicians and social scientists, e.g. unemployment which she considered a social construct. By no means, unemployment always means poverty. Further, ideas connected with work have changed rapidly only since 1945. Then, mothers ought to stay at home in order to care for the children, at the turn of the millennium, all women should work. In Britain, responsibility for occupation shifted from the firm (c. 1945), to the state (by the 1980s) and further to the individual (c. 2000). In France under the Third Republic (1871-1940) the state had to be seen as the source of social justice, thus taking over the role of the Church in this field. In Britain, and elsewhere under similar systems of assistance, poor relief could even increase poverty in parishes with many poor persons, as taxes would increase.

From Italian evidence Dr Matteo Provasi could confirm that the (corrupt) fiscal administration was a source of poverty, and that as many as 20 % of the population was struck by famine, whereas Dr Carlo Baja Guarienti showed how a bandit of the

early sixteenth century gradually become a popular hero among the poor, remaining so until the 1980s.

The summary sent by Dr Emmanuela Guidoboni was so comprehensive that it could be read in order to allow the inclusion of this topic in the discussion; as to diseases and economic fluctuations no speaker had been found, so Thomas Riis gave an introduction to the discussion. Disease can in several respects cause poverty: loss of revenue, extra expenses, above all the cost of the funeral. To these should be added the indirect costs, as the single person will have no time to look for cheap offers, nor for economic cooking. The standard example of economic fluctuations as a source of poverty is obviously Germany 1922-3; less obvious are the effects of speculations against a certain currency. International enterprises gain or lose according to the rate of exchange, but can pass the losses on to e.g. their purveyors of raw materials. The only sensible remedy seems to be the adoption of the most stable international currency as means of payment.

In his paper, Professor René Leboutte asked if poverty could be considered to be the mother of war? For certain contemporary regions, the question can be answered in the affirmative, e.g. in the Darfur region (Sudan) the objective of the war is access to water. In the Interwar period poverty led to the establishment of authoritarian regimes in Europe. Further, war can lead to forced migrations, e.g. the exodus of Germans from Eastern Europe towards the end of World War II; although the migrants become integrated, it will generally be at a lower socio-economic level. Poverty can be seen as a weapon against the enemy, but at the risk of the emergence of an authoritarian regime. Sometimes, as in the Low Countries during the Thirty-Years' War, people preferred to stay and suffer (and eventually pay in order to avoid plundering) instead of becoming vagrants. Also the indirect effects of war could lead to poverty as was the case in a village near Liège: the horses were stolen, for that reason the coal mines had to close for lack of power, which meant that after a certain time people had no money to buy food. In the discussion Britain in World War I and the USA in World War II were mentioned as examples of countries whose economies were improved by war.

Taxation as a possible cause of poverty had been discussed in connexion with the papers and the discussions earlier in the day; in his paper on New Technologies as a cause of poverty, Thomas Riis described the effects of industrialization in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. At a certain stage, industrialization even led to a shortage of skilled labour (because of the increased production of yarn) until also looms had been mechanized. As a contemporary parallel, the introduction of information technology can be seen as a cause of poverty. Concurrent results from Germany and France show that a huge share of the population (even as much as one half) does not possess the qualifications necessary to use the new technologies and that about one seventh of the population must be considered illiterate. Moreover, mechanization makes certain jobs redundant, mostly those where no or restricted skills are required. Unskilled labour is no longer needed, but a generation ago, an unskilled occupation made it possible for a family to make both ends meet. As contemporary unemployment crises are often the result of overproduction, one should for certain branches consider the introduction of limited quotas of production as we know them from fishing.

In her paper, Madame Mascha Join-Lambert described the ideas of the late Father Joseph Wresinski, stressing the indivisibility of the human rights, among them must be mentioned the right to work; like Father Wresinski, she saw poverty as an infraction of human rights.

On the third day of the Workshop the nature of poor relief and the perceptions of poverty were the main subjects. Professor Jean-Pierre Gutton's paper on charitable institutions and their efficiency was read by Thomas Riis. Only towards the end of the eighteenth century retirement pensions appeared in various countries: England, France, Germany, the Low Countries; in the seventeenth century the scope of poor relief was mainly spiritual, viz. to save the souls of those relieved.

No speakers had been found on the various forms of charity: distributions, creation of employment, furnishing of cheap credits, so Thomas Riis sketched some of the questions involved. Distributions of food and combustibles were useful but could never be more than an ad hoc solution. The creation of stocks as well as the regulation of supplies would be sensible remedies against a crisis. Similarly, it could be worth while to organize workshops in order to change or repair second hand clothes. As to the creation of work, history tells us that the occupations given to the poor were those, in which they would be no competitors to those in employment. Today, one should consider the creation of jobs where only manpower and no machines are needed. In many countries, the foundation of savings banks belongs to charitable measures in order to improve the conditions of the poor. Economic developments in the late twentieth century have led to a change in their status, and they are today above all banks whereas the charitable scope (viz. the furnishing of cheap credit) has become less obvious. As in other banks deposit interests are low and credit interests high, which is actually against the idea of the savings bank. In this field the rediscovery of the low-profit savings bank appears to be a necessary measure.

As an introduction to the final, general discussion, Thomas Riis outlined the change in Western living standards since c. 1950. The claims to life have increased radically, today a decent life comprises at least one, more probably two cars in a household, holidays abroad or eating out regularly, the exercise of certain sports like golf or sailing with an expensive equipment, the wearing of signed clothes... This style of life is promoted by publicity and by magazines. However, the costs are not to be neglected: generally, one income does not suffice for this standard of life, both parents must work, which requires another car and paying day nurseries or kindergartens. The increasing standard of living is only one side of a polarization of society between the "young, handsome, and wealthy" and the have-nots, for whom their unattainable standard of living becomes a source of frustration and despair, as could be seen in the suburbs of Paris in the last months of 2005. Some of the remedies could be the creation of cheap day nurseries and the introduction of luxury taxes on signed clothes, advertisements for "lifestyle" and the limitation of advertisement for big cars as we know it from the tobacco advertisements.

General Discussion

Although the papers and the ensuing discussions had revealed many similarities between different countries and historical periods as far as the mechanisms affecting poverty are concerned, significant differences in the perception of poverty were noticed. When in Britain the individual is the main responsible for the reestablishment of his economic and social status, his Continental friend can count on the state to a much higher degree. Already in "De l' Esprit des Lois" (1748) Montesquieu described it as a task of the state to provide its inhabitants with decent conditions of life; probably, the tradition of the Enlightenment is stronger on the Continent than in Britain. Influenced by the perception of poverty in a specific region are the responses, but both must be gauged against the human rights. This appears to be a necessary

phase in the research on poverty, before general proposals of social policy can be formulated. This is why the participants in the Workshop agreed to continue to work together, comparing certain major regions with each other: Britain, Western Europe, Eastern Europe (because of its different economic system in the past), Afro-Asia, and Latin America. North America, Australia and New Zealand were all considered to be too heavily influenced by European ideas to be significantly different.

So a new research project was agreed upon under the title of "Poverties: Perceptions, Responses, and Human Rights" to be studied in the five regions mentioned.

Assessments of the Results: Contribution to the Future Direction of the Field

Objectives

The objectives of the workshop can be divided in short term, medium term and longer-term aims.

In the short term, the workshop participants were to examine the different degrees of poverty and identify its causes. In addition, they should consider the different forms of present and past poor relief in order to gauge their efficiency. From this point of view, the workshop participants would have to rely on research done until now.

In a medium term perspective, the workshop was to map out further collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects and to set an agenda for future academic efforts in this field. The papers read at the workshop will be published.

Finally, the workshop should be an impulse for the determination of research leading to a long-term strategy for the fight against poverty. By doing so, the workshop organisers hope to initiate a common approach for academic impact on social and economic policy.

Short Term Results

The papers read and the ensuing discussions on the degrees of poverty allowed the participants in the Workshop to arrive at definitions of the poverty line, which appear valid for different countries and periods. As far as housing is concerned, four square metres per adult must be considered a minimum which constitutes the poverty line; similarly, a family must be considered poor, if more than half the available income is spent on bread and substitutes for bread. These definitions have got the advantage that they can be applied to contemporary as well as historic societies. Similarly, the Indian evidence produced by Prof. Rangasami clearly demonstrated that famine is a long process with at least three phases. The comparison with evidence from medieval Western Europe confirmed this view, which thus appears to be valid not only for one country or period. Obviously, hidden poverty is one of the most difficult categories of poverty to study; it is situated in an intermediate situation between poverty and "normal" life. The family in question can be poor, but its social network is still intact, at least for a certain time. Consequently, the family can reintegrate "normal" life, if the economic circumstances allow it. This is not the case for poor families without a social network, who can remain in poverty for generations.

Various possible causes of poverty were discussed in the second session of the Workshop. That disease, natural catastrophes, wars, heavy taxation and new technologies can be seen as causes of poverty was not new to the participants in the Workshop, but the papers and discussions added new parameters, e.g. the time used and the resources available for reconstruction after wars or catastrophes are significant for the effects of the destruction.

Poor relief is one of the frequently studied aspects of poverty, but the evaluation of its efficiency and the causes for its success or failure have been seldom discussed, and the complementary assistance (from different sources) has not been taken into account. It seems certain, however, that the creation of work is efficient only, if there is a market for the produced goods; moreover, the creation of stocks of victuals and not only of petrol could be a remedy in the case of emergency. Also, the availability of cheap credit could perhaps help people to overcome an economic crisis.

In the perception of poverty important differences between Britain and the rest of Western Europe emerged; the participants in the Workshop realized that before a long term strategy for the fight against poverty could be formulated, the parameters in the perception of poverty had to be identified in different regions.

Medium and Long Term Perspectives

Apart from the publication of the papers presented to the Workshop (hopefully in the course of 2006 by adequate funding), the participants agreed to continue to work together on a new interdisciplinary, international research project "Poverties: Perceptions, Responses, and Human Rights."

As the responses to questions of poverty very often depends on the perception of poverty by the non-poor, it was seen as an urgent task to identify its parameters in select regions and to relate them to human rights. As regions with sufficient strong individualities five were chosen: Britain, Western Europe, Eastern Europe (because of its past Socialist experience), Africa-Asia and Latin America.

Some questions could not be answered in the Workshop and will have to be dealt with either in the context of the new project or as specific studies (Ph.D.s or the like). Thus, the connexion between gender and poverty is not quite clear. On one hand, women often are paid less than men for similar types of work, this could be the reason why women appear to be more at risk than men. On the other hand the growing share of single men among the poor in contemporary Germany could perhaps indicate that with identical wages single men and women are equally exposed to poverty. Here, more empirical research is needed.

Another question raised by the Workshop is the nature of the "road into poverty". We now know that famine is a long process with at least three phases, which appears to pertain also to the way into poverty. The first phase is that of short term economic poverty, e.g. as a result of a disaster. In this case, help was given, and often the family could recover. If however, the strained economic situation continued for an extended period, the family would be considered as poor, but it still had got an intact social capital, which under favourable circumstances could help it to leave poverty (second phase). The third phase began when the status of "hidden poor" had lasted for so long a period that also the family's social capital had been exhausted, with a definitive loss of status as a result. Also here, empirical research is needed; the c. 15,000 biographies of poor people at Lyons and Aberdeen collected by Dr Fischer could be a useful starting point.

This documentation should also be used in order to identify the causes which prevented certain families from leaving poverty in a definitive way. A corresponding study would allow us to discover the mechanism at work in the hereditary character of poverty.

In this way, the Workshop has been an impulse for the determination of research leading to a long-term strategy for the fight against poverty. The formulation of this strategy will be the long-term aim of the new project as it was that of the Workshop.

**Poverty: Its Degrees, its Causes and its Relief - a Multidisciplinary Approach to
an Urgent Problem,
Kiel, 10 - 13 November 2005
Final Programme**

Day 1: The Degrees of Poverty

Chair : Noël Whiteside

- 10,30-10,45: Welcome
- 10,45-11,00: Presentation of the European Science Foundation (ESF)
(Cédric Gossart, Standing Committee for the Humanities)
- 11,00 -11,45: The Study of Poverty. The Questions Raised by History
(Amrita Rangasami, New Delhi)
- 11,45-12,30: Discussion: a) Inequality of revenues b) Housing (Thomas Riis, Kiel)
- 12,30-13,30 Lunch:

Chair Amrita Rangasami

- 13,30-14,15 Size of families (Sølvi Sogner, Oslo)
- 14,15-15,00: Von armen Männern und noch ärmeren Frauen. Leben am
Existenzminimum (Marion Kobelt-Groch, Hamburg)
- 15,00-15,45 Les pauvres honteux, ou l'anomalie légalisée (Giovanni Ricci, Ferrara)
- 15,45-16,15 Coffee Break
- 16,15-17,00 Crossing the poverty line or can poverty be considered hereditary ?
(Torsten Fischer, Bonn)

Day 2: The Causes of Poverty

Chair: René Leboutte

- 9,00-9,45 Constructing Unemployment: Britain and France in Historical
Perspective (Noël Whiteside, Warwick)
- 9,45-10,30 Popular Unrest, Bread Riots, Legitimism. Power and Poverty in Ferrara
under the Este Rule (Matteo Provasi, Ferrara)

10,30-11,00	Coffee Break
11,00-11,45	Building a Hero: Poverty and Rebellion between History and Folklore (Carlo Baja Guarienti, Ferrara)
11,45-12,30	Discussion a) Diseases b) Economic fluctuations c) Disasters and Living Standards (Thomas Riis, Kiel)
12,30-13,45	Lunch

Chair: Sølvi Sogner

13,45-14,30	Guerre et pauvreté (René Leboutte, Aberdeen/Luxembourg)
14,30-15,15	New technologies and their problems (Thomas Riis, Kiel)
15,15-15,45	Coffee Break
15,45-16,30	Armut und Menschenrechte (M. Join-Lambert, Mouvement ATD-Quart-Monde)

Day 3: Poor relief and Perceptions of Poverty

Chair: Giovanni Ricci

Poor Relief

9,00-9,45	Les institutions charitables de l'Europe moderne et la question de leur efficacité (Jean-Pierre Gutton, Lyon, read by Thomas Riis)
9,45-10,30	Discussion a) Distribution of victuals, clothes, coal; regulation of supplies b) Creation of employment c) Cheap credits (Thomas Riis, Kiel)
10,30-11,00	Coffee Break
11,00-11,30	Discussion: Life standards and contemporary "consumption society" (Thomas Riis, Kiel)
11,30-12,45	Final discussion: Conclusions and draft agenda for future interdisciplinary poverty research.
12,30-13,30	Lunch

End of the Conference

„Poverty: Its Degrees, its Causes and its Relief – a Multidisciplinary Approach to an Urgent Problem”

Kiel, 10.-13. November 2005

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**„Poverty: Its Degrees, its Causes and its Relief – a Multidisciplinary Approach to an Urgent Problem”
Kiel, 10.-13. November 2005**

Statistical Data

Participants

France	1
Germany	4
India	1
Italy	3
Norway	1
UK	2

Established scholars (e.g. holders of chair)

France	1
Germany	2
India	1
Italy	1
Norway	1
UK	2

Junior scholars

Germany	2
Italy	2