LOCAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION for poverty alleviation:
a supply-side perspective of the BoP strategy

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LOCAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION for poverty alleviation: A SUPPLY SIDE PERSPECTIVE OF THE BoP STRATEGY

1. INTRODUCTION

The project of development and poverty alleviation emerged in the postwar era. Development was focused and managed through technologies for improving GDP in the target countries through state-led industrialization and control of the business sector (Reed & Reed 2008) and increased financial aid to poorer nations (Rostow 1966). Private enterprises were not enthusiastic partners in development and tended to ignore poor communities and countries, noting the significant expense (financial and otherwise) in serving these markets (see e.g., Ohmae 1985). Recently, however, the potential role of private business in development and poverty alleviation has gained significant attraction, due in part to the relative efficiency of firms over government and the increasing popularity of concepts like the Base of the Pyramid (BoP) strategy (Hart 2007; Prahalad 2004; Prahalad & Hammond 2002).

The BoP corporate strategy references a market-based model of cooperation among parties that affords profit-oriented firms significant involvement in the business of socio-economic development for the billions of people in the world who live on less than $2 per day. These people, often disenfranchised, are at the bottom of the global economic pyramid. The strategy is premised on the basic rationality that people in BoP markets live in severe and fundamental lack which can be overcome through business intervention. The strategy taps the economic notion of freedom-of-choice and individual empowerment to mobilize the sheer weight of numbers in BoP markets toward addressing the problem of dwindling markets and profitability for the multinational firm with its focused operations in Europe, North America and Japan (Arnold and Quelch 1998). By setting up business activities in poorer regions of the world, the BoP argument goes, the firm will be responding to the needs of the poor through free market protocols that would serve as effective mechanisms for alleviating poverty. The strategy has been embraced by many development agencies including the UNDP.

The potential of the BoP strategy notwithstanding, the concept and its initial implementation outlines suggest a limited emphasis on the needs of the poor as firms have pursued profitability without much regard for the wellbeing of the poor in these markets (Simanis and Hart 2008). What is more, the strategy as it currently stands emphasizes the transformation of the BoP citizen into a consumer who demands global goods and services offered by the foreign multinational corporation. That is, the products that support the intended transformation of the poor through the BoP strategy is the global type that ignores the local resources and production possibilities. This way, the necessary closing of the income gap for poverty alleviation in the local environment (Stiglitz 2002) is unlikely to happen as the foreign firm repatriates all profits generated in the BoP market.

This paper recognizes the need to empower the poor toward what the UNDP has described as “inclusive capitalism”- that which includes the poor ‘on the supply side as employees, producers and business owners at various points in the value chain.’ (UNDP, 2008: 2). Toward this end, the purpose of the paper is to propose an expanded version of the BoP strategy that emphasizes the mobilization of local resources in the form of indigenous products and designs toward poverty alleviation by increasing income opportunities for the poor. Using two case studies – one from India and one from Ghana – the paper develops a business strategy that emphasizes mobilization of local resources for high value local income generating products for domestic and export markets. By drawing on the capabilities that already exist
among the poor; a firm can develop effective commercial platforms that will support new and premium products from local producers to be sold in global markets. This newer perspective directly addresses the income generation problem that has inhibited poverty alleviation in earlier development efforts. Following the cases, pragmatic guidelines for adopting such an approach and their policy implications will be discussed.

2. LOCAL RESOURCE MOBILATION

Local resource mobilation references the corporate strategy that focuses actively on seeking indigenous resources and innovations for conversion into global products. It is designed to increase employment and related opportunities for locals toward enhanced income generation and socio-economic wellbeing while offering profits to the supporting firm. The strategy calls for multi-stakeholder collaborations whereby all stakeholders are perceived as equals, each bringing a unique resource to the table and capable of innovation in any aspect of the relevant market processes and none being passive recipients of aid, charity or training. The strategy’s major objective is to co-operate with locals in co-creation that rely intensely on indigenous resources. That is, a core aspect of local resource mobilization is the limited importation of resources as the strategy emphasizes the use of what is available locally not what needs to be available.

Local resource mobilation addresses the income generation problem that inhibits poverty alleviation (Stiglitz 2002) and opens up new markets (local and global) for the BoP firm. The approach recognizes the need to apply fundamental insights of business strategy to BoP (Seelos and Mair 2007), but challenges the popular view that BoP producers have to be trained in the foreign production and consumption techniques to be successful (see Triantafillou & Nielsen 2001). Likewise the approach challenges the popular but criticized view that BoP citizens should be helped by aid and charity. The following cases outline how BoP expertise and resources can be transformed as premium products in global markets.

Case: Tikau, Finland (TIKAU): MNE with BoP Products in Scandinavia

Tikau (www.tikau.com) was founded by Taina Snellman who recognized an opportunity for business when she worked for several clothing and design companies undertaking several projects of sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and production in India. The company headquarters is in Helsinki, Finland although the company has operations across Scandinavia and targets the high-end market in these countries. The core business of Tikau is to identify indigenous products in India that are adapted for European interior decorating and fashion markets. The name Tikau is derived from a Hindi word meaning long lasting, durable and sustainable which reflects the philosophy of the company. The company recruits less affluent weavers with indigenous skills in India to develop innovative Scandinavian designs. Currently the company has six product groups; wool rugs, felted wool rugs, bed covers, hand embroidered products, banana fiber items, and Pashimina shawls (http://www.snap.fi/services/kaunaet/pdf/tikau_fall_2009.pdf). Tikau has branded itself as an exclusive interior design company with such values as energy minimization, avoidance of use of chemicals and restoration of tradition of use of natural dyes.

This case demonstrates how local and traditional products from BoP can be transformed into exclusive designs for high-end consumer markets in order to alleviate poverty in the country of origin of the products. Producers of Tikau’s products are mainly from rural Indian families and communities from less economically developed regions. Currently Tikau works in six regions; Kashmir, Orissa, suburban areas
of Delhi, the rural area of Calcutta, North Gujarat nearby Himalayan mountains, and in Karnataka. In each of these regions Tikau has about ten clusters each cluster containing one or more villages and in each village Tikau employs one or two families or groups of women. Currently Tikau provided full time employment for 40-50 rural Indians and about 200 people work for part time bases. These producers are independent entrepreneurs and not employed by Tikau, however, given the sustainable long-term and profitable working conditions Tikau provides many have decided to supply exclusively for Tikau. Each half a year production plan is developed in co-operation between Tikau headquarters and local individual entrepreneurs.

When Tikau seeks new producers it foremost maps a potential producer’s need for work and income. Need for work is the selection criteria number one. After this core requirement is first met then skills and capabilities of the producer are evaluated. Since many producers have previous unsustainable experiences with foreign companies many times trust is lacking and consequently the recruitment process is not always straight forward. After finishing the evaluation the recruited producer receives a sample product and produces a prototype. Depending on the quality of the prototype a need for training is determined which follows by a six to twelve months’ period of schooling. First after the training period a real production can begin. The need for training varies a lot. It may start from the very beginning like in the villages of untouchables where practically no skills exist and training starts from teaching of bamboo weaving and basket making. In normal cases, only very little training, such as size of rugs, quality level of European markets, colors and designs, or just-in-time strategies, may be needed for traditional craftsmen who master their tradition.

Training is important but sometimes Tikau need not invest into training handicraft skills; rather it is investing in restoring the handicraft traditions. Currently the company found the last existing artisan of nomad rugs who has 30 years of knowledge of weaving. He was willing to continue his profession but had no markets to sell his products. The contact with Tikau provided the needed markets and furthermore enabled to revitalize this handicraft tradition and to save weaving profession as well as to provide a source of income. This way the firm can tap into a pool of existing resources and provide whatever else is needed (e.g., capital, knowledge of potential markets, quality standards, just-in-time thinking) to support production activities. As Tikau has presented Scandinavian designs to the producers, over time they have come to appreciate the needs of the Scandinavian market and they are now comfortable enough to experiment with their own innovative designs for the market they serve. The producers are also learning marketing and other management skills that can be used to improve their own businesses. Hence, over time Tikau’s producers have become design innovators.

Tikau determines its prices according to the cost level of production and delivery. The products that Tikau orders are paid in advance even before the production process starts. According to Taina Snellman margins of the products vary a lot. However, given the fair compensation the producers receive, the small production sizes, exclusive and fully natural and environmentally friendly materials, and fairly high logistics cost the final consumer prices become midlevel. Hence, the market position of the current products is that of high design consumer durables. In the future, however, the pricing strategy may change to more market driven even if never low. ‘Pricing should be democratic both for the producers and for the customers. Democratic pricing for producers refers to adequate compensation for the work they are doing so that they can live above the poverty level, and democratic pricing for the consumers refers to affordable prices so that the products’ demand and supply meet’, Taina Snellman says.

Tikau’s presence has allowed other supporting businesses to grow in the local area. A portion of profits is repatriated back to the producing communities in forms of local charity and for example in benefit of children in slums in North India. In this regard, on top of income generation Tikau supports education and other community benefits in the region. For example in 2009 funds were given to support village schools, provide food or the stationary for the schools, deliver blankets to the homeless and heaters or lights to the poor households. Co-operation with Tikau has increased living standard of its partners, provided them
better possibilities to plan their life, and given them economic freedom through stable income. In addition to these economic benefits the educational level of the producers and their families has increased and they have gained appreciation and respect. Supplying to Tikau is a home based profession that does not require migration to big cities. For example, in one family the oldest son has chosen to continue his father’s weaving profession despite his education and other possibilities outside the community. As one of the artisans, Naran Siju expressed; 'Weaving is a home based profession. It helps us to establish our constant touch with the family and community. It fulfills the second need of the society- cloth. The ancient glory of weaving is coming back and we are getting appreciation from various corners of India and world for our craft.'

Taina Snellman says that it would be impossible for a business organization like hers to work alone without co-operation with NGOs and local governmental decision makers. Co-operation with non-profit organization and political actors varies a lot. Many times NGOs are coordinators, organizers and consultants of local languages and cultures. Sometimes they are the intermediaries between Tikau and a new producer who may not trust an unknown company. According to Taina Snellman political actors are very important and should be taken into account when co-operation with a region is planned. ‘In the country of one of the world’s highest corruption levels every act should be transparent,’ Taina Snellman says and adds; ‘head of each village is a gate keeper of a successful project.’ However, both corruption and importance of political institutions should not be ignored but seen as a potential to sustainable and long-lasting co-operation with the producing communities as such.

Currently Tikau’s products are sold in Finland and Sweden. Taina Snellman sells directly to six design retailers in Finland and to one in Sweden. These retailers are all upscale interior design and life style companies. It is important to choose retailers that are committed to keep the products in their assortment for long term so that producers in India can be assured a sustainable long-term income. The distribution of Tikau’s products is exclusive. Taina Snellman’s main sales argument is ‘the story of a product’. The story of a product starts from the history of its producers who need income to survive and gives justification to the products’ existence; it then develops to the history of the product itself and its origins. ‘I have no interest in producing more material objects to our world’, Taina Snellman explains, ‘and therefore the story is important to make it clear why this product is produced and what is the reason and the justification of its existence.’

There are two types of consumers who are attracted to Tikau’s products. First, young trend conscious couples who are interested in interior design, want novel unique products, and follow their time. This couple is not, however, hippie type. The other segment of Tikau’s customers is 45-60 year old women who appreciate individual and unique products and are ready to invest more into better quality. They are aware of quality and they recognize excellent quality. Many consumers from both groups consume also Fair Trade products but some of them do not even know ‘the story’ behind a product or the company itself. They are only attracted to the aesthetic and quality values of the products. For example, the Bomboko rug designed by Klaus Haapaniemi won several design prices in Finland in 2009 showing that these fair trade products meet also the requirements of high end design and art establishments. Hence, Tikau is able to attract wider audience than traditional Fair Trade products are. Much like the leather products of Niger that are sold in expatriate communities (Arnould & Mohr 2005), Tikau’s products are sold to similar consumers but in their own home countries. Tikau’s clients are exclusive in many respects – they are willing to pay premium prices for unique products. Therefore, characteristic of Tikau’s products are their unique beauty and histories that are not always appreciated by the local people. Many customers are attracted by the aesthetics and neither knows the story nor history behind a product.

The brand positioning of Tikau goes beyond that of Fair Trade or “ethnic” positioning. Indeed, in most major cities of the world today, there are many “ethnic” stores that sell products from BoP regions. The same applies to Fair Trade production. Given the emphasis on these product’s exoticism, not to mention the general sense of inferiority that is often attached to products from developing areas (Bennison and
Hines 2003; Dyer and Ross 2000), it is a particular kind of person who patronizes these ethnic outlets or buys Fair Trade products. Tikau’s goal is to imbue BoP products with qualities that support its demand for premium prices in its European markets beyond the segments of Fair Trade and ethnic consumers.

The capabilities and resources of Tikau, its producers and the third parties like retailers, NGOs and political institutions are summarized in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tangible resources</th>
<th>Financial</th>
<th>Products</th>
<th>Market place Financial</th>
<th>Physical presence at BoP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intangible resources</td>
<td>Background in textile and design industries Provide employment</td>
<td>The profound starting point of the business Provide image and identity to the business Owners of the traditional designs</td>
<td>Selling Commitment to long-term selling</td>
<td>Assistance in initial phases of contacts with producers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capabilities</td>
<td>Understanding of quality Understanding of market potential Ability to network Ability to bring different types of people together</td>
<td>Existing artisan skills Trained artisan skills</td>
<td>Understanding of the markets</td>
<td>Cultural understanding Communication’ Providers of trust</td>
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</table>

TABLE 1. Resources and capabilities of Tikau and its partners

This example demonstrates how a foreign company can work together with local BoP producers by finding target markets to BoP products and by targeting high-end segments in developed markets to improve the income and wellbeing of the poor. The fundamental premise of the conceptualization summarized in figure 1 is the local production, manufacturing, innovation and skills of BoP entrepreneurs coupled together with knowledge that multinationals have.
Due to unequal market opportunities, sale of BoP micro producers’ products are often stifled (Gripsurd & Benito, 1995), if not impossible even if exports from developing countries are regarded as an important part of a development and growth strategy (Benito & Gripsrud, 1999). Therefore, to generate sales of locally produced and innovated BoP products at the top of the pyramid markets require cooperation among several actors. Foreign companies and MNEs can provide resources such as market knowledge, marketing skills and so on that BoP entrepreneurs often lack. By combining the complementary resources from both sides, as illustrated with the arrow between BoP entrepreneurs and foreign companies, a networked company can create enhanced resources that are needed to innovate, produce and market indigenous products. For MNC unique native products from BoPs are enhanced with correct positioning and branding to generate decent if not superior profits and further development of skills of both BoP entrepreneurs and foreign companies. The outcome of profits and skills is repatriated back to both sides but also the local producing community to further expand the poverty alleviation to a wider public.

The local resource mobilization model emphasis wellbeing of the poor. From this perspective, the business enterprise perceives the poor as producers and innovators who can serve the needs of the corporation through innovation and local sourcing of premium products. Rather than entering a BoP market with the goal of changing the local citizens to conform to globalized standards, MNEs may focus on identifying skills and resources that are already readily available. The skilled craftsmen at TIKAU are examples of such resources. The effectiveness of this strategy depends on a keen sense of a corporation’s understanding of the local BoP market (UNDP 2008) and how it might serve the target markets.

Most of the BoP inclusive business models emphasize building up skills and knowledge among the poor (UNDP, 2008; Triantafillou & Nielsen, 2001). There is an implicit assumption that the poor lack also skills, knowledge, capability and other immaterial assets in order for full participation of the global marketplace. We challenge this model by stating that the poor already have existing skills, knowledge and capabilities that are embedded in
their local culture (Ger, 1999), entrepreneurship (Arnould & Mohr, 2005), and everyday domestic life. In less economically developed countries local people do not always value local products (cf. Ger, 1999), and thus do not see their potential; however the same products are in high demand in tourist or expatriate markets. Instead of building up knowledge EDMs should discover, document, preserve, restore and leverage these assets in order to integrate the poor part of the world as active and powerful players of the global market place. Our view is close to capabilities approach which emphasizes active empowerment through finding out what people can do (Nussbaum, 2008). Thus, businesses could pursue local production built on local innovativeness without imposing their own ideals on the poor. In the following discussion, we break our proposed BoP perspective into small constituents units and provide more details.

**Networked entrepreneur**

If local partnering is crucial for multinationals’ management strategies (see London & Hart, 2004) then in local resource mobilization model it is even more important to network to link different skills in a global arena (Arnould & Mohr, 2005). Stakeholders other than the focal dyad of MNE and BoP entrepreneur include local governments, non-government organizations, and kingpins in the local markets. These stakeholders may hold the key to cultural, social and other information that will facilitate the efficient conversion of ideas to real products. For example, TIKAU works with both NGOs and local authorities to find BoP producers and build trust with them. In the information economy, “network entrepreneurs” (Arvidsson 2007) – those who facilitate a less tenuous migration of capitalist entrepreneurial logic into the new economy – have emerged to serve this function. Similar entrepreneurs already exist and are active in the work of TIKAU. Through these network entrepreneurs, the MNE can mobilize marginalized groups, independent producers and clusters producers (Arnould and Mohr, 2005) toward innovations (Hart and Christensen 2002) that are in demand of target markets. The result, as demonstrated by TIKAU, includes branded high quality products that command premium prices on global markets. In this effort, the products are saved from the stigmatized images that accompany those branded as Fair Trade or ethnic products (see Hira and Ferrie 2006). Local producers are paid well for their wares and the firm invests some of its profits towards long-term skills development by way of education, for example. The BoP proletariat is then placed in a good position to migrate from peasantry toward economic independence.

**Indigenous products by local producers**

One strategic investment of multinationals in less affluent world has long been low cost production. In the best cases, it has brought some resources also to local communities but in its extreme cases low cost production has only been a pure exploitation of production skills of those who do not have power to require acceptable payment. The difference between local resource mobilization model and the common practice of low cost production is the *origins of innovation and design of the products*. While low cost production involves products designed and innovated outside the production community, the products and innovations of our model emerge in local culture, entrepreneurship or in everyday life and domestic affairs. These innovations are part of community’s history and are embedded in local skills. Thus, being involved in production of indigenous products that have a market potential is a more motivating act than production of others’ innovations. In consequence, higher motivation
generates higher quality products. In the case of TIKAU the tradition of nomad rugs was saved and other indigenous craft traditions enhanced.

Types of local innovation exist in a continuum from fully to no local innovation. We call leverage of locally designed products as full local innovation which means a use of existing capabilities and expertise already available (Arnould & Mohr, 2005). Indigenous products like rugs and baskets can be sold as such. Full local innovation can be contrasted with no local innovation which refers to enforced foreign innovation often packaged in acts of ‘building up capabilities’. When no local innovation is applied to less developed regions the business strategy is often seeking for low-cost production opportunities in order to serve the upscale markets with cheaper products. Even some luxury brands have moved their production into so called low-cost countries in order to generate higher margins (see for example, Thomas, 2008). Limited local innovation refers to a combination of knowledge from developed countries and existing knowledge at the BoP that are materialized in co-operation. This type of co-innovation can be actualized in, for example, co-design workshops (e.g., Rocchi & Kusume, 2008). Innovation created in co-operation is used to develop products from the BoP to fit the needs and demand of that market and used to create better living conditions for the local innovators. Shared local innovation is a fourth type of local innovation which is exemplified with the case of TIKAU. Like in the case of Nigerian leather tannery co-operation with Italian producers (Arnould & Mohr, 2005) local products and production is discovered but the original design of the discovered designs is modified to fit the target market that is outside the site of the production. In the case of TIKAU, colors and size of the indigenous products as well as quality requirements are issues that call for limited local innovation. Shared local innovation differs from the fully local innovation in that the indigenous products are altered and from the limited local innovation in that products are sold outside the BoP markets.

**High- and middle-end brands and design products**

Broader and different branding and positioning strategies than those previously applied to products from BoP producers will further enhance trade that brings about welfare and income to the BoP. At this point, ‘partnering with local players to strengthen their business opportunities’ and linking ‘local firms to skills and recourses they often lack’ it is crucial to draw the local entrepreneurs from the trap of misfortunes to the opportunities of upscale markets but also to ‘connect transnational firms to distinctive cultural resources and product high in perceived authenticity and even quality’ (Arnould & Mohr, 2005:254). The case of TIKAU reinforces the above statements showing that locally innovated products from BoP can be positioned as high-mid-end brands or even as luxury and sold profitably in a socially and environmentally sustainable manner.

Locally innovated indigenous products do not cost much to produce as well as their raw material most of the times is local and affordable but environmentally friendly like bamboo, crash, nutshells and so on. Despite the skills, aggregated historical knowledge and time devoted to the production of all the above exemplified products due to the salary level in less developed regions also the production cost of these products remain low. Instead of low cost strategy and positioning that many MNEs pertain TIKAU applies high and middle end branding strategy that provides enhanced profits for both MNEs and BoP entrepreneurs as well as to the local community. In contrast to traditional low cost strategy that uses the savings generated by low cost production to increase profits of one party, MNEs, the current
business model utilizes enhanced margins for the benefit of three parties; MNEs, BoP entrepreneurs, and producing communities. TIKAU deals with this by allowing the producers to manufacture a prototype and then set their own price according to time and effort it was required to produce a prototype.

**Market potential**
Since locally designed and made products seldom is of appreciation or monetary value to their owners and producers (Ger, 1999) the market potential often lies somewhere else. Monetary value of fully locally innovated products often lies in developed countries. In these markets upscale consumer segments for branded products in particular is of interest since in the rich regions consumers possess more than necessary but live off and by shopping and consumption. Thus, selling in the developed markets does not create consumerism or consumption culture the way traditional PoB strategies may do but rides in a wave of existing consumption habits. Since in the mature markets consumers live in a culture of consumption shared local innovation of indigenous products make a potential in these developed markets as evidence from earlier export success (Arnould & Mohr, 2005) and successful and increasing sales of TIKAU’s products demonstrate. Since even luxury brand owners like Prada and Dior pursuit low cost production (Thomas, 2008) locally designed products produced locally in less economically developed countries fill the supply gap of good quality, fine design and luxury branding. In addition, these products encompass also uniqueness, exoticism and environmentalism that existing established luxury brands lack. The case of TIKAU shows this. However, co-operation is needed between those who possess local skills and generate indigenous innovations and those who possess market information of a target market. To make products of the poor regions attractive in a manner that the sales of them also bring well being to the communities from where these products originate from more than just import is required (see Gripsurd & Benito, 1995). Shared innovation brings about ideas of how products produced and designed by the poor can be refined, redefined and marketed to fit the possible market potential in the developed countries. Co-operative efforts of MNEs and local entrepreneurs (Figure 1) create “networked entrepreneurs” (Arvidsson 2007) of trust whose networked operations are further strengthened by other stakeholders and actors like NGOs, local governments and so on.

**Enhanced profits and skills**
Since knowledge of market potential in rich countries, branding and design image building may need partnership with individuals and companies from target market countries also compensation of their work is needed. Hence, repatriation of surplus profits does not mean its full repatriation to the local producers but that also market and retailing partners in upscale markets can profitably benefit from working with local producers and their partners. The final end of Figure 1 illustrates the repatriation of enhanced profits to focal business partners, MNEs and BoP entrepreneurs, and the local community. Repatriation of access profits calls for more legal, regulatory and social mechanisms to protect the poor (Karnani 2008), and for the same reason local governments and multiple groups of local actors (women, brokers, protectors, village entrepreneurs, and non-governmental organizations) participate in the inclusive business of fully and shared local innovations. The role of the state has been underemphasized in traditional BoP models.
The role of state at a variety of levels from national to local is not only a service provider as suggested by Karnani (2008) but a facilitator or protector of local businesses in order to let them develop well enough to finally meet the demands of global competition. Governments from some emerging markets have implemented this strategy to promote internationalization of domestic multinational (Luo & Tung, 2007) and Chinese government protected its domestic manufacturing until recently thus successfully providing time for this economy to meet global standard and requirements. In consequence, governmental intervention to promote locally innovated and manufactured exports cannot be overlooked as a governmental strategy for poverty alleviation.

3. CONCLUSIONS
In this paper, we have proposed a perspective of the BoP strategy that seeks to directly address the issue of poverty by focusing on improving the income generating capabilities of the poor in these regions. This perspective of the BoP emphasizes the mobilization of local BoP resources for immediate and long term productive capacities for inclusive capitalism. Through identification and mobilization of relevant local resources, this approach will offer a gentle avenue for the poor to become active participants in the global economy. Acknowledging and employing local talent and other resources enhances the psychological wellbeing of the poor who have been taught through colonial instruments to perceive themselves as unworthy of anything other than charity (see Dossa 2007). Improved dignity and self respect has been found to be effective precursors of successful entrepreneurship. Therefore, empowering BoP citizens to be assertive and to appreciate the value of their psychological and other resources can better enable them to innovate in the service of domestic and global markets.

REFERENCES:
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