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Gender
Fighting female
genital mutilation
in Burkina Faso

Labour relations
In Bangladesh, higher
wages attract underage
girls into employment

International NGOs
Civil-society agencies
are adapting to new
requirements



**Indispensable
schools**

Focus: Indispensable schools

“Ten exercise books for 50 pupils”

Sierra Leone has made progress towards universal enrolment of children in elementary schools, but still must do quite a bit more to achieve that goal. The education sector needs more resources, states journalist **Fidelis Adele**. [Page 14](#)

Still on the agenda

Universal access to primary schools by 2015 was the UN's Millennium Development Goal 2 (MDG2). Though remarkable progress was made, it has not quite been met. The UN and Germany's Federal Government want more to happen in support of education, as **Niels Breyer** of BMZ (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) elaborates. [Page 16](#)

Education for all

In Ng'ombe township just outside Zambia's capital city Lusaka, most children cannot attend primary school because their parents are unable to pay the fees and there are too few government-run schools. As a response, **Frank Masanta Jr.** founded the Sun-spring Charity School. It offers almost free education. The civil-society activist elaborates on the approach and the challenges. [Page 17](#)

Bilingual education

Latin America still suffers the consequences of colonialism. One area in which the impact endures is language. Indigenous peoples are often denied recognition of their own languages and cultures, and their children are disadvantaged at school because lessons are conducted in Spanish. **Linda Vierecke** and **Christoph Peters**, two German journalists, assess Bolivia's approach of bilingual schools. [Page 20](#)

More than holy scriptures

In Lebanon, Muslim parents to whom religion matters send their children to mosques or private institutions for Koran lessons. As journalist **Mona Naggar** reports, religious education plays only a minor role in government-run schools. [Page 23](#)

Partners in Bethlehem

International school partnerships are popular in Germany, but mostly concern secondary schools. An elementary school in Cologne, however, took younger children abroad – and the destination was Palestine. The schools had already been in touch for more than 10 years. Principal **Martin Verfürth** shares his experiences. [Page 26](#)

Editorial

Foundation for a better future

➔ First of all, basic needs such as food and water, shelter and clothing must be satisfied. After these things, primary education is one of the most crucial things in life. Knowing how to read and write, how to add up figures and – most fundamentally – how to acquire knowledge is essential for participating in all spheres of social life. Accordingly, the UN recognises education as a human right. It is the key to development.

Today, some 57 to 58 million children of primary school age do not attend classes. Most of them live in Africa, and more girls than boys are affected. Of the children who go to school, however, too many drop out early. In sub-Saharan Africa, only 56 % of children complete a full primary school education.

It is considerable progress that roughly 90 % of children worldwide start primary school. But that is not enough. The UN Millennium Development Goal 2 was universal primary education by 2015. It has not been achieved, and thus reappears on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that the UN adopted this year. SDG4 now demands to ensure universal primary and secondary education by 2030.

Primary education must both be free and compulsory in all countries. Free does not only mean that there is no school fee. Too often, the costs of books, other materials, school uniforms and transport become hurdles for poor families. Habits of paying “tea money” or extra tutoring fees to teachers must be eradicated. Teachers must be paid well, treated well and trained well. They deserve respect. Teachers make a big difference.

Many children don't go to school simply because there is no school in reach. This is especially true in rural, mountainous and remote areas with poor infrastructure. In those places, schools – if they exist at all – tend to be underequipped in every respect. For good reason, the SDGs focus not only on schools, but on the quality of education as well. It is not sufficient just to provide some kind of school. Governments must build decent schools, hire good teachers in sufficient numbers and provide adequate teaching materials.

If public schools lack quality, better-off families tend to send their children to private schools. That is the case in many developing countries. In some places, only graduates of expensive private schools have chances of going to good universities or even obtain higher education at all. The result is a two-class system, denying poor families' offspring upward mobility.

Language can be a barrier too. Many countries are multilingual, but many girls and boys are not offered primary education in their mother tongue. Learning thus becomes more difficult, and especially children of poor and illiterate parents become marginalised. The language used at school, moreover, is also often regarded as part of a different, sometimes suppressive culture. Parents are reluctant to entrust their children to those institutions.

In many societies, children are not highly valued. However, it is fatal to disregard the youngest or to skimp on their behalf. They are the future, and a good future needs a strong foundation. Quality education is indispensable. ◀



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AP photo/picture-alliance



Female genital mutilation

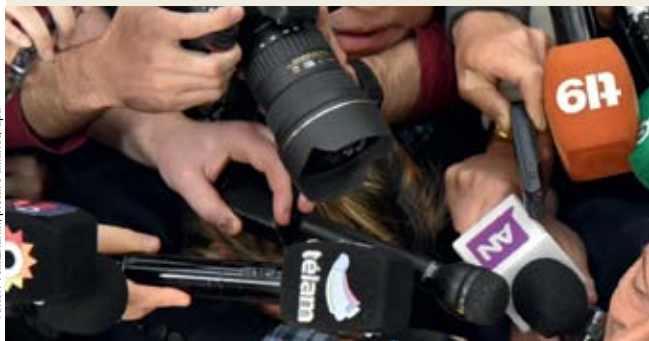
In Burkina Faso, some 80 % of women are circumcised even though female genital mutilation (FGM) was made illegal in 1996. Bangr Nooma, a non-governmental organisation, is fighting this harmful tradition. **Rakieta Poyga**, who founded Bangr Nooma, explains in an interview why government action in itself cannot eradicate FGM. [Page 30](#)

Downsides of higher wages

In Bangladesh, the minimum wage was raised, which was beneficial for many women. However, garment factories tend to hire more children to reduce costs. Instead of going to school, many girls thus work in factories. The upside is that earning money makes early marriages less likely, as scholars **Niaz Asadullah** and **Zaki Wahhaj** explain. [Page 32](#)

Debate

Annon Vellizhanin/picture-alliance/dpa



Significant change

Argentina's voters have ended the era of the Kirchners and have chosen Mauricio Macri, a conservative, to be their new president. For the first time, the political right has come to power in Argentina thanks to elections, and that is evidence of deeper entrenched democracy. The change of government will have repercussions for the entire continent, writes **Sheila Mysorekar** of D+C/E+Z. [Page 42](#)

A long way to go

Tunisia seems to be the singular success story of the 2011 Arab spring. The country is now considered the Arab world's only real democracy, but it is still facing a lot of problems.

➔ Tunisia's National Dialogue Quartet, comprising activists, lawyers, union leaders and employers, won the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize in October. They helped draft and pass a new constitution, usher in a democratically elected government and avert civil war or coups as in Libya, Syria, Yemen or Egypt.

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Many young people who participated in the demonstrations, did so full of hope for a brighter future, reforms and an end to political oppression. But now "there is tremendous frustration about the results of the Arab spring, which was supposed to bring about social justice and development," says Nabila Hamza, a Tunisian women's-rights activist and former head of the Foundation for the Future, a civil-society organisation.

Hamza speaks of growing "doubt and hopelessness" in regard to the terror militia ISIS in other Arab countries and fear of terrorism in Tunisia. Her country must cope with an influx of refugees, moreover. With a population of 11 million, Tunisia has taken in one million refugees from Libya, Hamza says.

Relatively well-educated society

According to the gender-rights activist, people worry about whether Tunisia's comparatively strong social fabric, which is considered a key factor for the success of its democracy movement, will bear the strains. Unlike other countries in the region, Tunisia is not plagued by sectarian strife, and it has a large, modern and relatively well-educated middle class. Before the new constitution was passed, the National Dialogue was able to broker a broad consensus, resolving a political crisis between a government led by the Tunisian version of the Muslim Brotherhood and their secular opposition.

Tunisia's citizens worry about the impact of other destabilising forces however. Many fear that the governments of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran and Turkey are stoking religious discord in the entire region of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), according to Hamza. She spoke at an event in Berlin in December that was sponsored by the German Development Institute (DIE).

Hamza makes a plea to western nations to lend more support to MENA countries that have embarked on the path to democracy. Tunisia desperately needs investments and structural reforms to transform the economy. GDP growth in 2014 was 2.8%, lower than the new government's original forecast of 4%. Nonetheless, that was better than the slump that followed the 2011 revolution. However, Tunisia largely depends on trading partners, especially Europe, which is experiencing its own economic difficulties.

"There is hardly any help for a country like Tunisia, although much has been achieved on the way to democracy, despite the problems in the region and the difficult economic situation," Hamza points out.

Hamza praises Germany for its strong commitment to the country, saying that it has been a vital partner for Tunisia. Nonetheless, according to her, the people must get an economic dividend. That could avert unrest should people become frustrated with the slow pace and quality of change.

Support is needed

Gabriele Groneberg, a Social-Democrat member of the Bundestag and MENA expert, says people fear that economic insecurity may open the door for terrorist activities: "We have to support the Tunisians with measures that begin with training and education and with business contacts so that private-sector companies can cooperate." She also wants Germany to support the health sector and civil-society development.

Some believe lessons should be learned from the "velvet" and "colour" revolutions



Festivities in 2013 marking the second anniversary of the uprising that ousted long-time dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunis, Tunisia.

in Eastern Europe. Silvia von Steinsdorff of Berlin's Humboldt University lists several key factors that marked countries where the transition to democracy succeeded in that region in the early 1990s. Relevant aspects include a homogenous society, a strong consensus or at least a willingness to compromise among elites.

In her eyes, another important incentive for democratic change was the prospect of joining the European Union (EU) after the Soviet Union had collapsed. That aspiration was shared by many East Europeans, who felt strongly about it. EU membership only became possible once certain criteria of successful transformation – free elections and market-based economic policies, for instance – were met.

It matters, however, that the Eastern European democracy movements took place before 9/11 in a completely different geopolitical context. Steinsdorff points out that religion played virtually no role in post-Communist countries.

Tunisian activist Hamza argues that support – whether symbolic or financial – from the EU and its members was crucial to East European success. Democracy movements in the MENA region do not get that kind of incentives and backing, she regrets. “There was always very generous support from Europe, from NATO and from the United States” for Eastern Europe, she says, but “the international situation has been very unpropitious for the Arab world.”

According to Hamza, many people in the region are now questioning the commitment of western powers to their cause. She says some even believe that the uprisings were the product of western conspiracies, and that ISIS too is a result of such conspiracies. “There are many people who believe the west has economic interests, but no interest in the democratic transition,” Hamza says.

Conspiracy theories, moreover, thrive in a region that has suffered

authoritarian rule for centuries. Scholars who study predominantly Muslim countries know that grievances from the colonial era still shape people's world view, and that Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, for instance, initially read the holy scriptures with an anti-imperialist mindset. Europeans, in contrast, mostly feel that their nations former empires do not concern them. What people in the MENA region and Europe know about their common history, diverges considerably. Many Europeans are not aware of western rhetoric of human rights and democracy sounding hollow to many Arabs.

In Hamza's view, the Arab-spring movements were right, despite all that has happened. She appreciates the “rays of hope.” She says the street temporarily won, and civil society broke through “the wall of silence”. She sums up: “It was right to revolt, but we still have a long and thorny way ahead of us.”

Ellen Thalman

In brief

Starting anew

After months of political turbulence and only three months after a failed military coup, Burkina Faso has a new, democratically legitimate president. Roch Marc Christian Kaboré won the first round of the recent presidential elections with 53,5 % of the vote. The run-off election many observers had expected was not necessary. Kaboré campaigned as an opposition leader and is a former prime minister. Zephirin Diabré, a former finance minister, came in second with 29,6 %. He conceded defeat immediately.

The elections were a turning point in Burkina's post-colonial history. The country's 19 million people have seen months of political agitation. A broad-based protest movement rose up when Blaise Compaoré, the former president, announced in late 2014 that he wanted to change the constitution in order to run

once more. He had first grabbed power in a coup in 1987. The protest movement forced him to resign. A transitional government was in office for about one year, and members of the Presidential Guard tried to topple it three months ago. The protest movement thwarted their attempt however.

The recent election marked the return to democracy. Since becoming independent in 1960, Burkina was mostly run by leaders who came to power in military coups. The recent elections were held in a peaceful and democratic manner.

Observers consider this a promising sign. That Compaoré was unable to impose his will on the people is relevant to people in other African countries, such as Rwanda or the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where presidents want to change constitutions in order to stay in office. Burundi is still being rocked by violence since President Pierre Nkurunziza was



Roch Marc Christian Kaboré won more than 50% of the votes in the presidential election.

re-elected to a third term in controversial elections this summer in spite of the constitution only foreseeing two terms per president.

The Burkinabé hope Kaboré will deliver the political stability he has promised. He was the country's prime minister from 1994 to 1996 and the speaker of its parliament from 2002 to

2012. He fell out with Compaoré last year and started a new, centre-left party called Mouvement du peuple pour le progrès (People's movement for progress). The broad-based movement Balai Citoyen (Citizen's broom), which forced Compaoré to resign, will stay active as a civil-society movement, but has not established a political party of its own. (sb)

Unprotected civilians

Civil war in the Central African Republic (CAR) has left thousands dead and hundreds of thousands displaced. According to the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London, the international community responded too late. The scholars call for a more proactive approach.

➔ In a recent working paper, the ODI's Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) analyses the recent unrest in the CAR. It started in late 2012, when Muslim Seleka rebels overran the north and centre of the country and, in 2013, ousted President François Bozizé. Their brutal offensive caused large-scale displacement, and government authority collapsed. The militants systematically targeted non-Muslim civilians. This evoked a countermovement, with predominantly Christian anti-Balaka militants staging bloody attacks on Muslims.

According to the ODI group, the crisis has directly affected 2.7 million people – more than half of the CAR's population. Some 2000 to 5000 persons are said to have been killed. By January 2015, about 400,000 refugees had fled to the neighbouring countries Chad, Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, another 400,000 people are displaced within the country, the scholars estimate, and about 80 % of the Muslim population has now left the capital Bangui or been killed.

The working paper states that there were too few international troops available when the conflict began, the regular security forces disintegrated and the state's capacities to protect people were overwhelmed. Perpetrators of violence enjoy impunity, as most judges and lawyers have fled or become victims, according to the ODI.

People turned to armed groups and religious leaders for protection, the ODI report finds. Depending on their religious affiliations, they sought help from Christian or Muslim leaders and armed groups. According to the ODI, perpetrators on both sides looted shops and extorted money for protection from fellow believers.



Inter-faith dialogue helps: Pope Francis visiting Bangui's Central Mosque in November. To his right: Tidiani Moussa Naibi, the mosque's imam.

The ODI paper states that troops of the African Union (MISCA) in cooperation with a French mission (Sangaris) started a disarmament campaign in 2014, but only targeted Seleka rebels. Accordingly, people felt that the peacekeepers were not neutral. Moreover, the foreign soldiers failed to notice the rise of the anti-Balaka militia and the growing threat to Muslim civilians. Accordingly, Bangui's Muslims were drawn to the Seleka, the study argues. Nonetheless, the ODI group appreciates that MISCA and Sangaris did prevent large-scale massacres.

Things improved in September 2014 when a bigger UN peacekeeping mission (MINUSCA) replaced MISCA. It deployed about 10,000 military personnel and has a strong mandate for the protection of civilians. According to the ODI, this mission should have begun much earlier.

Key players in mediation

The ODI publication indicates that priests, imams and missionaries played a crucial role in managing and containing the conflict. By using the Inter Religious Platform (IRP), they mobilised international action, including the peacekeeping missions. At the local level, they mediated between communities and armed groups,

providing assistance to people. However, they often reacted rather late and did not always notify humanitarian agencies fast. Especially in rural areas, faith-based actors found it difficult to get help from international organisations.

The ODI group points out that only few humanitarian organisations were on the ground when the crisis emerged, and that many pulled out after March 2013, when they became targets of the Seleka. Only after the UN Security Council declared a state of emergency in late 2013, did humanitarian agencies act more assertively again. Part of their strategy was to move communities at risk to protected enclaves.

According to the ODI, however, hardly anything has been done to engage proactively with armed militants in order to prevent further violence. Unless the international community rises to that challenge, the crisis will not end. The state institutions of the CAR are still quite weak. Moreover, the ODI insists that peacekeepers must be made aware of how different religious groups perceive things and how they tend to act. *Theresa Krinninger*

Link:

HPG Working Paper, 2015: Central African Republic: addressing the protection crisis.

<http://www.odi.org/publications/10103-protection-car-africa-conflict-seleka-anti-balaka-peacekeepers>

Young Arab men fight for women's rights

Gender equality is far from achieved, and violence against women is prevalent in many parts of the world. Sexualised violence, for example, still occurs in crisis regions such as Syria, Iraq, Libya and Egypt 15 years after Security Council Resolution 1325 called on all parties to conflict to protect women and girls from gender-based violence. The good news is that ever more young Arab men are joining women's-rights organisations.

➔ Heide Serra from Amica, a German aid organisation, notes a "high willingness" in men to engage in the fight for women's rights as fundamental human rights. Amica works with Nataj, a newly founded women's organisation in Benghazi, Libya. Nataj addresses all issues women face in the context of the country's difficult transformation.

28-year-old Marrwan Gargoum is a well-known activist. He assists the Nataj management. He appreciates that women played an important role in Libya's revolution. Today, life is very difficult, and especially so for women, in the war-ravaged city. But: "There is a strong women's movement in Benghazi, and it's growing everyday", Gargoum told a conference in the German city of Freiburg on 25 November, the UN international day for the elimination of violence against women. The conference was organised by Amica in collaboration with Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Harassment in public

Mohammed El Khateeb from Egypt is another young man committed to protecting women's rights. He works with HarassMap in Cairo, an initiative that works to create an environment that does not tolerate sexual harassment. "Ninety-three percent of all women in Egypt become victims of sexual harassment or abuse, and 81 % of the harassment happens in public, with no one interfering," El Khateeb says. In his view, raising awareness for the issue is crucial since many Egyptians deny it



Ordeemir/AA/picture-alliance

Many Yezidi women had to flee their homes in Northern Iraq due to assaults by ISIS militias and are now facing violence and harsh living conditions.

exists at all. "One has to acknowledge the problem in order to tackle it," the 23-year-old man says. HarassMap has posted an interactive map online, so victims and witnesses can report cases of harassment in public.

In regard to the Arab spring of 2011, El Khateeb says the people wanted Egypt to change. "There is an active civil society in Cairo," he says, "and women and men work together." According to El Khateeb, many men find sexual harassment offensive and want to prevent it. In his eyes, it is the job of the police and courts to sanction abusive behaviour, but civic activists must make sure social attitudes change so gender abuse will generally be considered unacceptable.

Annemarie Sancar of the Centre for Peacebuilding (KOFF) of the Swiss Peace Foundation insists that protecting women, as resolution 1325 requires, must not lead to excluding them from the public sphere. "That would mean backing down," she says. In her view, prevention is most important, and root causes must be tackled.

In the regions controlled by the terrorist militia ISIS in Syria and Iraq, violence against women is especially widespread. Laila Alodaat is a Syrian human-rights lawyer, who works for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She points out that the prob-

lem did not start with ISIS but has long been tolerated in both countries.

However, in armed conflicts women are exceedingly vulnerable. "Generally, they don't fight, they don't hold arms, they cannot defend themselves," Alodaat says. Furthermore there are many restrictions, for example of movement. "The country's legal and administrative system collapsed, and this has a big impact on women," Alodaat bemoans, summarising: "The armed conflict took away the few gains Syria's women had made since independence."

Jan Ilhan Kizilhan, psychologist and orientalist, can tell of horrible atrocities against the Yezidi minority in northern Iraq. "Women are sold by ISIS, enslaved, raped, tortured," he says. According to him, ISIS is following a fascist ideology, dehumanising others, and carrying out a genocide of the Yezidi.

The Yezidi are relatively well known, but other religious and ethnic minorities are not. "There are millions of women who face similar threats," Alodaat warns, calling for more prevention efforts.

Katja Dombrowski

Links:

Amica:

https://www.amica-ev.org/en?set_language=en

HarassMap:

<http://harassmap.org/en/>

New spaces of violence in ungoverned places

Civil strife, terrorism and organised crime destabilise statehood in many countries. In a recent book, scholars assess matters in different settings – from the “war on terror” in Iraq and Afghanistan to violence in urban slums.

➔ Conrad Schetter and Benedikt Korf are the editors of “Geographien der Gewalt” (geographies of violence). Schetter is the director of the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), and Korf teaches at the University of Zürich. In the eyes of the editors, two different notions of violence currently dominate academic debate. The first is “sheer madness” driven by “collective intoxication”, and the second is “a reasonable kind of madness”.

Schetter and Korf opt for the second definition. They point out that war lords tend to benefit from violence, which enables them to sell natural resources, confiscate relief goods or engage in blackmail, for example. In this view, violence results from sober ideas of self-interest rather than some kind of intoxication, and that helps to explain why conflicts last rather long and why it is so difficult to involve parties to a conflict in peace processes. The book assesses complex settings, but, for obvious reasons, does not offer any simple solutions.

According to Schetter and Korf, western powers have begun to legitimise interventions in foreign countries, especially since 9/11/2001. Basically, they argue that some places on earth are now threatening western societies. This narrative is used to explain the use of military force, including air strikes and drone attacks in countries like Iraq or Afghanistan.

The title of Derek Gregory’s contribution to the book is “omnipresent war”. The term refers to apparently never ending tensions, for instance the US-led “war on terror” or conflicts along the US-Mexican border. In Gregory’s eyes, related violence marks spaces with blurred outlines no one can well define.



US pilots testing a drone.

US security forces have been trying to control drug trafficking and illegal migration along the Mexican border for many years. Gregory writes that the USA are increasingly militarising matters. The US Customs and Border Protection is cooperating with the military to establish high-tech border control systems, and drone surveillance of Mexico started in 2011.

As co-authors, Schetter and Janosch Prinz discuss the fact that some nations are technologically dominant, so they can enforce their ideas of order internationally, thus creating new “spaces of violence”. Typically, such action is justified by pointing out that ungoverned areas cause danger to the dominant nations because those areas serve as safe havens for terrorists or mafia networks. Examples mentioned include US drone strikes in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia.

According to the authors, warfare is asymmetric in the areas concerned. Conflict parties differ dramatically in terms of arms technology and organisation. Insur-

gent attacks in Iraq are nearly unpredictable and unmanageable, and the response is massive air strikes that affect all people in the area. The people are not warned, and they have no protection, Prinz and Schetter argue. Moreover, the monopoly on the legitimate use of force, which typically marks statehood, no longer exists.

The contribution of geographer Frank Zirkel deals with violence in Brazil’s cities, where the illegal drug trafficking triggers gang wars, as well as clashes of the police and illegal militias in marginalised areas called “favelas”. Residents live in a constant state of alert. To “reconquer” such neighbourhoods, Zirkel warns, the use of force will not be enough, as governance must improve in general. People must be involved in public decision-making to improve urban affairs and stem drug trafficking.

Sabine Balk

Reference:

Korf, B. and Schetter, C., 2015: Geographien der Gewalt. (Geographies of violence – only in German). Borntraeger Stuttgart.

Halfway there

After 15 years of hard work, the UN has announced major drops in new HIV infections as well as AIDS-related deaths. Action against the disease needs to be stepped up nonetheless.

➔ The UN AIDS Programme (UNAIDS) has recently published new statistics. Since 2000, global new HIV infections are said to have fallen by 35 % and by 58 % among children. This is “exceptional progress”, as UNAIDS puts it. Moreover, fewer people die of AIDS-related illnesses. In 2005, the worst year, 2.4 million people died from AIDS. In 2013, the number was 1.5 million. UNAIDS reckons that, since 2000, the global anti-AIDS response has prevented 30 million new HIV infections and nearly 8 million AIDS-related deaths.

Still, almost 37 million people were living with HIV in 2014. According to UNAIDS, this number is due to the fact that many infected people live longer thanks to access to antiretroviral therapies which suppress the virus. In June 2015, some 16 million people were getting treatment. UNAIDS states that ensuring access to treatment to so many people was considered impossible 15 years ago. In 2000, only one percent of infected people in low- and middle-income countries had access to therapy. In 15 years, the share has increased to 40 %.

UNAIDS points out that AIDS remains unfinished business nonetheless. The numbers of new HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths are still too high. In 2014, around 2 million people were newly infected, and 1.2 million people died because of AIDS.

Moreover, the way the epidemic is evolving reveals deepening international inequality. Almost two thirds of HIV infections still occur in sub-Saharan Africa, where 1.4 million cases were recorded in 2014. South and East Asia and the Pacific follow with 340,000 new infections, and Central Asia and Eastern Europe with 140,000. In western and central Europe and North America the number of new infections has remained fairly stable since 2000.



Raising awareness in the Cape Town agglomeration.

In most world regions HIV-prevalence and AIDS-related deaths are steadily declining, but the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa) is an exception. The UNAIDS statistics indicate that the number of new infections rose by 26 % in this region within the last 15 years. It is alarming, moreover, that the number of AIDS deaths has more than trebled since 2000 in MENA countries as well as in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

Of the 37 million people living with HIV globally, about 17 million do not know that they have the virus, according to UNAIDS. They need to be reached urgently. At the same time, 21 million people do not have access to the medical treatment they need. To improve matters, UNAIDS is taking a fast-track approach to rapidly scale up efforts and “outpace” the epidemic.

Ambitious five-year plan

UNAIDS has thus set itself ambitious targets for the next five years:

- By the end of 2020, the agency wants 90 % of all people living with HIV to know their status and have access to treatment.
- In the same time span, new HIV-infections should be reduced by 75 % and entirely prevented among children.
- In five years, 90 % of young people should know how to protect themselves

from HIV, and the same ratio of adults should get access to HIV prevention and reproductive health services.

The fast-track approach includes action against all kinds of discrimination, UNAIDS states. Of the key population groups most at risk, such as sex workers, prisoners and people who inject drugs, 90 % should get access to HIV prevention services by the end of 2020, if things go as planned.

UNAIDS argues that \$30 billion are needed for the AIDS-response in low- and middle-income countries. On the upside, the funding requirements are set to decline after 2020. The agency warns, however, that the epidemic could rebound to the levels of 10 years ago should the international community not act fast and decisively in the next five years.

UNAIDS admits that its plans are ambitious, but adds that it sees the “opportunity to change the course of history forever.” The agency insists moreover, that its strategy is in line with the UN 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals. One of the agenda’s targets is to end the AIDS epidemic by 2030.

Theresa Krininger

Link:

UNAIDS, 2015: AIDS by the numbers.

http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/AIDS_by_the_numbers_2015_en.pdf

Digitalisation revolutionises work

The UNDP Human Development Report (HDR) 2015 emphasises the opportunities that arise from digitalisation. It also points out the great potential for good jobs in the field of renewable energies. The authors call for a new global decent work agenda.

➔ The report's title is "Work for human development". The authors state that technological progress, globalisation, ageing populations and climate change are transforming the world of work fast and fundamentally. Such change, moreover, is said to have up and down sides. Governments have to act quickly, the report argues, so no people are excluded from livelihoods. "Employment can be a great driver of progress, but more people need to be able to benefit from sustainable work that helps them and their families to thrive," Ethiopia's Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn said at the launch of the HDR.

Many developing countries are benefitting from their integration into global production networks and international value chains. According to the report, this development has increased opportunities for paid work and especially for the labour-force participation of women. In 1995, only 296 million people were working in global value chains. By 2013, the

number had risen to 453 million people, including 190 million women.

Outsourcing has created new jobs in many countries, often boosting local development. In India, for example, business-process outsourcing has led to a phenomenal increase of information-technology jobs: their number rose from 284,000 in 2000 to more than 2.2 million in 2010. The services sector is growing in the Russian Federation, Africa and Latin America as well. In part, this trend matches companies' interests in operating in different time zones in order to facilitate 24-hour service.

Knowledge has become a crucial factor of production. In 2012, the trade in knowledge-intensive goods grew at 1.3 times the rate for labour-intensive goods, according to the findings. The digital economy is associated with more decent work for women moreover, with many thriving as entrepreneurs in online services or as crowdworkers, for instance.

The digital revolution also has an impact on the informal sector, from agriculture to street vending. In Ethiopia, farmers use mobile phones to check coffee prices. In Saudi Arabia, farmers use wireless technologies to share scarce irrigation water for wheat cultivation. In some vil-

lages in Bangladesh, female entrepreneurs use their phones to provide paid services for neighbours.

Not everybody participates in the digital revolution though, and the quality of work differs a lot. More jobs in some regions and industries go along with job losses elsewhere. Low-skilled workers' wages are under pressure. Times have never been better for skilled and academically qualified workers, states Selim Jahan, the report's lead author. He adds however that things are very difficult for unskilled people, and inequality is deepening.

According to the UNDP, 61 % of workers worldwide are working without a contract, and only 27 % of the world's people enjoy formal social protection. Women in employment earn 24 % less than men on average. And 830 million employed workers still live below the poverty line defined as the purchasing power of less than two dollars per head and day. More than 200 million people are jobless, and 21 million people suffer forced labour.

Accordingly, the report calls for a decent work agenda that should take into account workers outside the formal sector. It also proposes a campaign for qualification and building of digital infrastructure.

The report sees great opportunities in sectors such as energy, construction and infrastructure. In 2014, renewable energy (excluding large hydro) employed an estimated 7.7 million people directly and indirectly. This number must grow. A global climate stabilisation programme, which would require an annual investment of 1.5 % of GDP, could generate 13.5 million net jobs in China, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Brazil and the USA within a few years, the HDR reckons.

Hans-Christoph Neidlein

Link:

Human development report 2015:

<http://report.hdr.undp.org>



Renewable energy industries generate jobs worldwide. Solar panels on the Beirut River in Lebanon.

Nowadays: A matter of pride

"Azadi! Azadi! Humein chahiye azadi!" (Freedom! Freedom! We need Freedom!)

These slogans and many others could be heard on the main roads of Central Delhi when close to a thousand people from different parts of the town, country and world joined the Delhi Queer Pride March in rainbow colours.

The Delhi Queer Pride March always takes place on the last Sunday of November, when in the pleasant sunshine of early winter, young and old people gather to demand the right to love freely. Protestors walk and dance towards Jantar Mantar, the place famous for all protests in the Indian capital, all the while trying to spread awareness

about the rights of people who are LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender) and encouraging people to join the 'march of love'.

Vandana, a middle-aged woman marching along, maintained that "I am straight, but I am here to show my support to people who are not able to freely express themselves sexually because of the restrictive laws in India."

Anukriti Gupta, a young student from Ashoka University, came to show solidarity. "My classmate is a gay," she said. "If his parents get to know about his orientation, then his family will disown him. But why? I am here to support him and anyone else who just wants to have the freedom to express their sexuality. Section 377 needs to be repealed."



Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code is the much-debated law which makes sexual relations between persons of the same sex punishable by law. This section of the law was declared unconstitutional by the High Court of Delhi in 2009, but the judgement was overturned by the Supreme Court of India in 2013. According to the court, amending or repealing this section was a matter that had to be left to the parliament. Even the Indian Finance Minister Arun Jaitley recently said: "When you have millions of people involved in gay sex, you can't nudge them off." He added that the Supreme Court had taken a "conservative view."

However, the Pride March this year included some broader issues too. The pre-event statement declared that the LGBT struggle "cannot be isolated

from other forms of violent suppression of rights" – for instance regarding caste, class, religion, disability or the ability to express dissent.

Akansha agrees with this. The young student was there to "march in solidarity with love, for all the freedoms under threat: freedom to eat what I like, wear what I like, move around at any time and in any way." In between painting rainbow colours and hearts on the faces of rally participants, Serena – a Spaniard living in India – chipped in: "I wish there was a Pride March once a week. At least there would be more love in circulation!"

In our column "Nowadays", D+C/E+Z correspondents write about daily life in developing countries.

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Indispensable schools





School children in Sierra Leone in 2013.

Literacy and numeracy are high on the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals. Good elementary schools are a prerequisite of inclusive development. Accordingly, they already figured high on the agenda of the Millennium Goals, and school enrolment has indeed improved considerably in many developing countries. However, quality is not always what it should be. The core issue is to provide children from disadvantaged communities with the basic knowledge they need to succeed in life and help their families escape poverty.

“Ten exercise books for 50 pupils”

Sierra Leone has made progress towards universal enrolment of children in elementary schools, but still must do quite a bit more to achieve that goal. The education sector needs more resources.

By Fidelis Adele

→ Universal primary education was the UN Millennium Development Goal 2 (MDG2). Accessing the situation in Sierra Leone, an official of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) says that MDG2 has not been fully achieved although he appreciates major increases in gross primary and secondary enrolment. The data is limited, however, so “it is pretty difficult to give the country a clean bill,” says the expert, who does not want his name to be mentioned.

Sierra Leone has witnessed economic growth in recent years, but it is still marked by the scars of a decade of civil war, which officially ended in 2002. The education sector was destroyed, and it had not been strong even before the war. Successive post-war government agendas have prioritised the sector, and the ambition was to attain the MDG. A number of policies and legislations were passed accordingly, including the Education Act of 2004 and the Child Rights Act of 2007. Sierra Leone has about 6 million people, of whom 42 % are 14 years old and younger.

The Ebola crisis, however, was a major setback. It forced government agencies and civil-society organisations to focus on a deadly new challenge. Schools were closed for months.

In principle, primary education has become compulsory, but many children still do not go to school even in times not haunted by Ebola. According to Michael Turay of the Ministry for Education, Science and Technology, 48 % of girls and 50 % of boys were enrolled in 2011. There are no reliable statistics on how matters have developed since then. The enrolment ratios may look poor to foreigners, but one must not forget that the school system had to be rebuilt from scratch after the war.

Turay says that, in 2011, progress was considerable – and better than in regard to the other MDGs. He points out that, in 2011, about 1.2 million primary school pupils were registered, almost a third more

than in the previous year. “We may not have hit the MDG, but we are happy that we are close to there as a country,” he says.

Many more children start than finish school however. According to Thomas Dickson, a newspaper editor, this is one of two “insurmountable challenges”. The other is that education is often of poor quality.

Illiteracy rate of 60 %

“Sierra Leone still has an illiteracy rate of 60 %,” says William Sao Lamin of Health Alert, a non-governmental organisation. He adds that many of those who are officially considered literate cannot read well. In his eyes, “significant efforts should have been made to improve the quality of primary education as well as address the problem of school dropout”. Ibrahim Tommy agrees. He heads the Centre for Accountability and Rule of Law, a civil-society organisation. In his view, the government and its development partners in the donor community will need increase spending on education. Moreover he wants the responsibility for elementary schools to be decentralised to local-government agencies, so they can ensure “the efficient use of resources, including the timely delivery of textbooks and materials”.

Generally speaking, civil-society organisations want the government and donor institutions to do more to make Sierra Leone achieve MDG2 as soon as possible. Some parents feel that the free primary education the government offers is not good enough. If they can afford to do so, they prefer to send their children to private schools. They pay high fees, but are sure that their children get quality education.

The sad truth is that school resources indeed tend to be insufficient. Abdul Bundu, who heads a primary school, says that there are not enough text and exercise books for the pupils: “We have a class of 50 pupils, but only 10 exercise books available.”



Duff/AP Photo/picture-alliance

Similar issues arise in regard to accommodation. Rebecca Kanu, a teacher at a municipal primary school, complains that children do not pay proper attention because they are clustered in small class rooms without adequate seats and tables. “We have been grappling with this issue for over a decade,” she reports. The problem is that government supplies do not keep up with rising numbers of enrolled children.

Gaps are also evident in the area of teachers’ welfare. Zainab Kamara leads a team of 13 teachers at a primary school. She says that the majority of them are trained and qualified, but not all are paid by the government: “My teachers, who are not on the government payroll, are being given stipends derived from school fees.” The snag is that the fees are not paid regularly so the teachers are often not paid on time or not in full.

In principle, the government has promised free school meals. Feeding pupils would be a major incentive to stay in school, but the policy is not implemented everywhere. Kamara states plainly: “The school feeding programme is not forthcoming.”

PR officer Turay of the Ministry of Education says the World Food Program (WFP) is feeding about 267,000 school children in some parts of the South East and in the Northern Provinces of Sierra Leone, while the Catholic Relief Service (CRS) feeds about 28,000 children in the Koinadugu District. He notes that WFP does not have the capacity to feed all primary children across the country and that government will have to create the structure to ensure nationwide coverage.

According to him, \$ 13 million are needed, the government would provide \$ 10 million and the balance would be provided by donors. As the government officer points out, however, “school feeding is not part of the criteria of the MDG2”. Nonetheless, the government is prepared to make the effort in order to ensure that children stay in school.

As for teaching and learning materials for primary schools, he says the government has always been providing them to schools, relying on a taskforce comprising the country’s Anti Corruption Commission, the Office of National Security and the District and Municipal Councils.

“Distribution of teaching and learning materials to schools is purely based on the number of pupils registered per school year, and each pupil is entitled to a text book per each subject.” He admits, however, that the Ministry of Education is not monitoring distribution and usage.

Observers know that the capacities of Sierra Leone’s post-war institutions still tend to be over-burdened. Most of them agree that many things need to be done. Teachers’ working conditions and terms of service must improve. This includes salaries, with an emphasis on better pay for those working in rural and remote locations. On the other hand, teachers’ performance should be monitored. Moreover, incentives are needed to ensure that children, especially girls, enrol in school and do not drop out before they complete the entire curriculum.

Internationally, the MDGs have been a huge success, though not all were attained. In Sierra Leone, MDG2 has had an impact, but it has not been achieved by the deadline of 2015. The UN adopted a new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in September, and they build on the MDGs. There is a broad consensus, however, that the MDG agenda must be completed.

Minkailu Bah, Sierra Leone’s education minister, is confident that it will be done: “Although the development climate for Sierra Leone’s primary education remains challenging in many ways, we have the opportunity of using the next 15 years to focus on what little successes we have achieved in the MDG2 and further consolidate on them.” He expresses confidence that Sierra Leone will make significant progress towards the SDGs as well. ←



Ebola had a devastating impact on schools: attending a radio-transmitted lesson in February 2015.



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High on the agenda

Universal access to primary schools by 2015 was the UN's Millennium Development Goal 2 (MDG2). Though remarkable progress was made, it has not quite been met. The UN and Germany's Federal Government want more to happen in support of education.

The share of children who are enrolled in primary school has risen to 90 %. Things have particularly improved for girls. The greatest progress was made in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Pacific, South Asia and North Africa. Nonetheless, much remains to be done. The number of the world's illiterate is still quite high; 250 million children still cannot read and write.

Moreover, high drop-out ratios show that the quality of education deserves more

international community has adopted additional goals and thereby increased the level of ambition. By 2030, universal secondary education must become reality. Pre-school education must improve, and so must access to vocational training. Gender equality is a cross-cutting goal, and so is inclusion of persons with disability and other people who deserve special support. For good reason, these aspirations also reflect demands raised by civil-society organisations.

What is truly innovative, however, is that the SDG agenda is designed in a coherent and mutually reinforcing way. It does not make sense to stress individual goals. The three dimensions of sustainability – environmental, economic and social sustainability – belong together. In Germany, the

ways of production and consumption. The fight against tax evasion and money laundering matters too, for instance, because it will contribute to ensuring funding for education.

The young generation's opportunities depend on good governance and the enforcement of human rights. In this context, education is indispensable. Unless people understand their rights, they cannot insist on them. For reasons like this, Germany's Federal Government emphasised SDG16 (peace, rule of law, good governance) in the negotiations.

Properly implemented, the 2030 Agenda will reduce the reasons that make people flee from their homes. That will have educational benefits too. All too often, children from uprooted families cannot go to school.

To support achieving the SDGs, a strong, global monitoring mechanism is to be established, as was agreed in Rio in 2012 in the context of the High-Level Political Forum. We need to identify cases of success and learn from experience. All partners all over the world must take advantage of sharing insights. Life-long learning is needed in the age of globalisation – and, for the sake of holistic and sustainable development, it should be fostered early on: in school.

School children in Sierra Leone in 2011.



Schlyter/linear

attention, and that will imply higher investment in teachers' skills. The gaps between rural and urban areas are still huge. In many places, violent conflict is compounding problems. Where statehood fails, social achievements are undone.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on the UN's 2030 Agenda take into account that schools, in themselves, cannot bring about educational success. We need to think in a holistic rather than a one-dimensional manner. Children who are well fed learn better. Financially secure families send their children to school, and are not forced to make them earn money. Adequate roads and paths help children to attend school more regularly.

MDG2 – universal primary education – is still on the agenda. With the SDGs, the

2030 Agenda therefore does not only concern the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), but the entire government. It concerns society as a whole, as was similarly spelled out in our Charter for the Future, which was drafted with broad-based involvement of civil society. Chancellor Angela Merkel, moreover, has reiterated several times that Germany is determined to spend 0,7 % of gross national income on official development assistance (ODA) in the future.

The BMZ will keep focusing on education as a human right and a key to development. At the same time, it will take political determination to achieve important goals such as ending hunger and extreme poverty, improving health-care systems and making the transition to sustainable

Links:

BMZ-Bildungsstrategie: Gerechte Chancen auf hochwertige Bildung schaffen (BMZ education strategy: create fair opportunities of high-quality education – only available in German).

http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/themen/bildung/Strategiepapier315_1_2012.pdf

Zukunftscharta (Charter for the future – only available in German):

http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/reihen/infobroschueren_flyer/infobroschueren/Materialie250_zukunftscharta.pdf

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Education for all children

In Ng'ombe township just outside Zambia's capital city, Lusaka, most children cannot attend primary school because their parents are unable to pay the fees and there are too few government-run schools. As a response, Frank Masanta Jr. founded the Sun-spring Charity School. It offers almost free education in Ng'ombe.

By Frank Masanta Jr.

→ Ng'ombe is one of the agglomeration's poorer areas with a population of about 70,000 residents according to the central statistical office. In spite of this number, there are only two government schools in Ng'ombe, both of which are overcrowded and underfunded. The government schools charge 150 kwacha per term (about € 54 per year) and require students to wear uniforms, which must be purchased by the pupils' families. In a country with the unemployment rate hovering at around 70 %, money is scarce. Many parents simply cannot afford the fees and school supplies. Even those fortunate enough to have employment struggle with school costs. The majority earn less than 400 kwacha per month.

The general situation for people living in Ng'ombe is difficult; most of the housing units have dirt floors. Households tend to lack electricity and running water. The sanitation infrastructure is inadequate, and health problems abound.

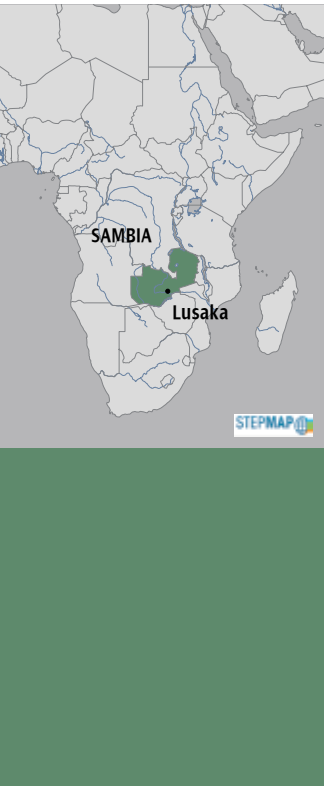
Poverty is clearly at the root of the problems in Ng'ombe, and it leads people to make decisions that can have devastating consequences for children. Parents who cannot afford school fees and uniforms, tend to simply send children to work. Unfortunately, stone crushing is the most common job for children. They pound rocks into pebbles for construction companies. Local people speak of "hitting stones".

Tuition in the classroom of the Sun-spring Charity School.



Muller

Some parents try to keep their children in school by taking loans. Schools hand out credits for fees and uniforms. Often, however, the parents still have no money when the payments are due. Typically, they then take the children from the school and try the credit routine at another one. The children get frustrated because they cannot learn consistently. Another result is a culture of dependency: people come to expect things without payment or sacrifice, and the subsequent attitude of entitlement serves only to drain resources in an already poor community.



Government failure

The local community wants the government to provide sufficient schools. Obviously, the 2030 Agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also implies that all children should be able to finish school in places like Ng'ombe. Nevertheless, Zambian government policies and procedures remain inconsistent and unenforced. Girls in particular do not get the schooling they deserve.

Government schools lack infrastructure, supplies, staff and facilities. Corruption is a problem. Teachers expect bribes, and that hampers equitable, long-term enrolment of children. A teacher may, for example, require bribes in form of a sack of cornmeal in exchange for marking students' exams, so that the students can progress to the next grade. Unless families produce the cornmeal, their kids' academic careers may thus end before they even finish primary school.

Many families therefore depend on community and charity schools for the education of their children. But even to attend these schools, some money

is needed. And that is more than some families can come up with.

Whichever political party happens to be in power at any given time, it is likely to prioritise measures that are visible and tangible. The political leaders want to be re-elected after all. In Zambia, this has translated into funding for roads and the construction of large shopping complexes in recent years. The problem with this is that most Zambians do not own cars, and very few of them can afford to shop at a mall. Primary education, however, is low on the agenda of those in power since the general public cannot readily see or touch the results.

Private commitment

I have three children. Four years ago, I had no job and was unable to pay for schooling. I was familiar with a school room in Ng'ombe that had been closed and was vacant. I wanted to reopen the school and run it myself. The owner of the building agreed, but in order to pay the rent, I had to find sponsors within the community. To supplement the little money I could garner from people in Ng'ombe, I sold books of my own and did piecework making bricks.

Soon the school was able to open with fifteen students. They agreed to the fee of three dollars per year. Still, additional finances had to be generated, so I looked for some outside sources, including at the International School of Lusaka (ISL). The community service coordinators at ISL visited my new Sun-spring Charity School and had faith in my vision. They began to assist the school with materials and weekly visits by ISL student volunteers. At present, there are 100 students at the school, but the financial situation



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teaches English and history at the American International School of Rotterdam and previously worked for the International School of Lusaka (ISL). He was one of the ISL volunteers at Sun-spring and is now engaged in projects to raise awareness and funding for Sun-spring in the Netherlands.

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Ng'ombe's desperate health situation

Ng'ombe is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Lusaka agglomeration. The health situation is tough – and cooperation with teachers can help to improve matters.

There are communal latrines and communal wells in Ng'ombe, but in the rainy season, they cannot be kept separate, and outbreaks of bilharzia and other unpleasant ailments are common. Tuberculosis is a serious problem too. Ng'ombe has only one small clinic, but it lacks staff and up-to-date equipment. An old couch serves as operating table, and there is no proper lighting or emergency generator. The facility is small, and the waiting lines are long. The people who work in the clinic are used to improvising.

Ignacious Bulongo heads the clinic. He is used to daily frustrations. It bothers him that his institution does not

have a power generator, whereas the bar across the street does. He worries about the impact unemployment has on the community. Without jobs, many young people become bored and frustrated, turning to substance abuse and sexual promiscuousness. His team has to deal with sexually transmitted diseases often.

Bulongo, the clinic director, is a caring man. Since he knows that teachers are often the first people to recognise when children are sick, he has begun to cooperate with Frank Masanta's Sun-spring Charity School on training local teachers to identify typical symptoms of illnesses. The idea is to ensure timely treatment, which the Angels of Mercy, a non-governmental programme, can administer. This programme is funded by the Healthy Kids/Bright Future Organisation in collaboration with the national Ministry of Health and the Ng'ombe Clinic. (*km*)

remains precarious. We are grateful to get some support from our sister school, the American International School of Rotterdam in the Netherlands.

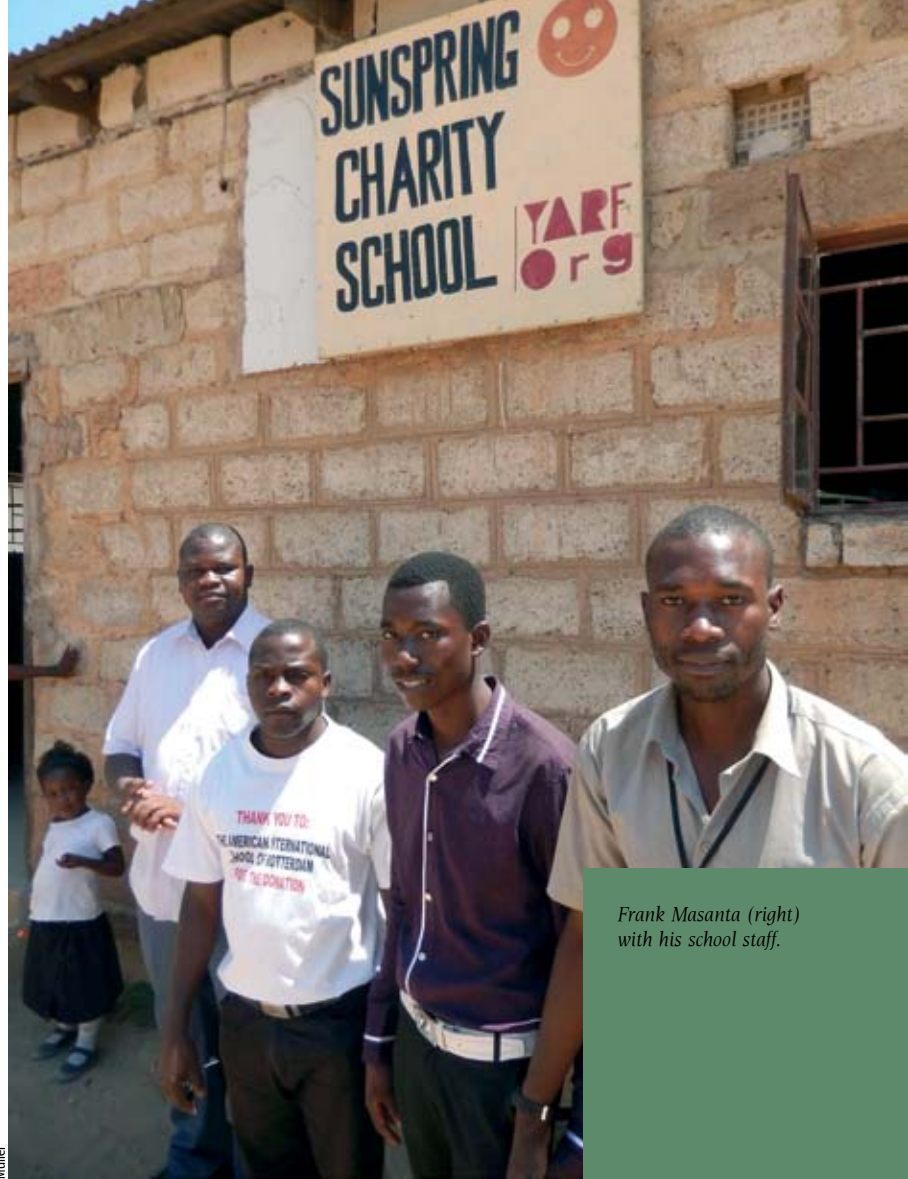
An ironic obstacle is that Zambians assume that a school must have quite a bit of money if they see white people involved in its affairs or know it is getting supplies. This attitude is harmful. All too often, local people assume that our school no longer needs their fees.

I managed to procure sponsor money to have windows and floor tiles installed in the building. The owner of the building should have been grateful, but he fast demanded a higher rent, given that his property had become more valuable. He could easily find a tenant willing to pay more. However, I could convince him that his action would be inhuman and exploiting; I also had to remind him of the agreement we signed that he could not increase rentals nor remove the school from using the building during its tenure.

With enrolment rising at Sun-spring, I needed an admissions policy. I am in touch with Beatrice Malembeka of the Ng'ombe ward development committee, and she works with the Lusaka city council. Beatrice and I now cooperate on identifying the most vulnerable and needy children in the neighbourhood and visit the homes of applicants. To Sun-spring, we admit those children for whom it is impossible to attend a government or community school. The problem is that approximately 50% of them are unable to pay the meagre fees. Anyway, the school decided to award 70% of students free education, remaining with 30% of the students from better backgrounds to be contributing school sustenance fees with a goal to make education possible for the poorer children. Donations of organisations like the American International School of Rotterdam help us manage to pay school operation bills.

Respect and good manners

The Sun-spring Charity School wants to provide the most comprehensive education possible, and it hopes to eventually get government funding. Accordingly, we adhere to Zambia's national curriculum, which focuses primarily on English, science and mathematics. Our pupils lack textbooks, however, and sometimes even finding a piece of chalk is a challenge. Our team strives to empower all children of Ng'ombe with literacy nonetheless. The ultimate goal is to allow all of them to finish grade seven. Sun-spring Charity School inspires and involves youths in the community to make a difference as volunteer teachers who get monthly stipends. Sometimes these teachers only volunteer for a term and proceed on exploring other well-paying job opportunities beyond the school. However, the school contributes in creating jobs for unemployed youths in the community and enhances



Frank Masanta (right) with his school staff.

their work experience. The only challenge is that most of these volunteer teachers are untrained.

Under the Actions for Children Together (ACT) campaign, through which I am calling for collective actions to make education possible for all children through walks and other initiatives such as play for kids, we have come up with an initiative called Teachers for All (TfA). It calls for more youth volunteers and equips them with basic teaching skills in partnership with the International School of Lusaka (ISL) to help ensure Education for All by addressing teacher shortage challenges.

In addition to the academic expectations, Sun-spring emphasises social education. It reinforces the importance of respect and good manners. One result is that the local community is increasingly interested in our work. It matters even more that Sun-spring offers children a safe haven from the abuses that haunt poverty-stricken settlements.

Link:

Facebook page of Sun-spring Charity School:

<https://www.facebook.com/Sun-spring-Charity-School-150168021809120/>



Frank Masanta Jr. is a community leader and activist in Zambia. He started the Sun-spring Charity School in 2011. He told his story to Kenneth Muller, who wrote it down.
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Garbage-sorting instructions in Quechua at model school.

Bilingual education

Latin America still suffers the consequences of colonialism. One area in which the impact endures is language. Indigenous peoples have been denied recognition of their own languages and cultures, and their children are disadvantaged at school because lessons are conducted in Spanish. In Bolivia, schools now work in two languages.

By Linda Vierecke and Christoph Peters

→ "Our school system has constantly produced illiterates, who are stigmatised for life as ignorant indios and second-class citizens. This has created a group with no roots, people who feel at home in neither the indigenous nor the dominant culture." That is how linguist Vidal Arratía of Cocha-

bamba's San Simón University sums up the situation.

In Bolivia, where 60% of the population belong to indigenous groups, the early 1970s saw mounting protest against a school system imposed from outside.

In the Altiplano, the Aymara took education into their own hands. "Many Aymara felt that schools took their children away from them because schools taught different values, not ours," Arratía explains. "We wanted a school curriculum that would teach our children to appreciate our culture."

Therefore intercultural bilingual education was developed, and this model also results in better Spanish and foreign language skills. "Moreover, recent studies show how important intercultural bilingual education is for promoting a sense of identity and encouraging young indigenous people to learn," Arratía says. That, in his view, is the most important aspect of all.

The concept suits present-day Bolivia well. President Evo Morales has radically transformed the political environment. Since 2009, the new constitution defines the country as a "plurinational state" and recognises 37 official languages at the national level. At regional level, there is at least one indigenous official language in every region.

In December 2010, a new education act, "La Ley 070 Avelino Siñani Elizaardo Pérez", was adopted with involvement of indigenous education councils. It even makes provisions for trilingualism, stipulating that English, Spanish and an indigenous language should be offered in the language curriculum. So far, however, the act has not been implemented.

Theory and practice

In reality, there is a gulf between theory and practice. Spanish is still the overwhelmingly dominant language. "Anyone who wants to get ahead in Bolivia and moves from a rural area to the city has to speak Spanish," Arratía explains. "Here in Cochabamba – a city with 600,000 population – there are no bilingual schools teaching an indigenous language to the same extent." Lessons are held in Spanish or, at private schools, often entirely in English.

Many young Bolivians actually hope to study in Argentina, Chile or the United States after high school. What good is Quechua or Aymara there? Not all parents are in favour of bilingual and intercultural curricula moreover. Some fear that their children will not learn enough Spanish to get a good job.

Anyone wishing to see intercultural bilingual education in action in Bolivia needs to go to rural areas – to Llavini, for example, a small village of no more than 50 families on the road from Cochabamba to Oruro. The local people speak Quechua and belong to the second-largest indigenous group in Bolivia after the Aymara. The "Instituto de la Lengua y Cultura de la Nación Quechua" has declared the small village school a model project. The aim is to show that the bilingual approach works.

Fatima Camacho evaluates and advises teachers for the institute. "We want to make Quechua a written language," she explains. The fact that more and more Spanish words have crept into the language is also perceived as a problem. "They make up as much as 30 % today".

When teacher Mirtha Pacheco asks her grade three class in Spanish "What is eight times five?" 18 children reply "Cuarenta!" (40). When she asks in Quechua, the class instantly responds in the indigenous language.

Quechua and Aymara are normally considered "transition languages" in Bolivian schools. Lessons from grade four onwards are conducted exclusively in Spanish. That model is known as "bilinguismo de transición" – transitional bilingualism. But sights are set higher for the village school in Llavini. The aim there is "bilinguismo de mantenimiento" – maintained bilingualism – meaning that all subjects for all grades are taught with Quechua and Spanish as equal languages.

One problem is the lack of appropriate teaching materials. Headmaster Tito Delgado would like to change things: "I would like a library of books in



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The three forms of intercultural bilingual education

Transitional bilingual education (educación bilingüe de transición): the indigenous language is used only as a bridge to learning Spanish and is not used beyond the second or third school year.

Maintenance and development bilingual education (educación bilingüe de mantenimiento y desarrollo): students develop written and oral communication skills in both their indigenous language and the national language.

Enrichment bilingual education (educación bilingüe de enriquecimiento): both languages are used and developed equally at all school levels. The indigenous language is also offered as a second language for monolingual students.

Reference:

López, L. E., 2009: Reaching the unreached: Indigenous intercultural bilingual education in Latin America. Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2010: Reaching the marginalized.

Quechua. For the children but also for the entire community in Llavini." Another challenge is that Bolivia does not yet have enough teachers for indigenous languages (see article below).

Despite all the difficulties, Llavini's model school is an encouraging example of successful bilingual education in Bolivia. Other countries, such as Guatemala and Ecuador, now also have many teachers capable of working in two languages.

Bolivia does not have a nationwide system of intercultural bilingual education. Only rural areas are working on implementing the transitional model.

There is a yawning gap between the progressive political constitution and societal reality.

In La Paz, there is even talk of enshrining "bilinguismo de enriquecimiento" – enrichment bilingualism – in law. This ambitious didactic concept of "universal cultural enrichment" requires that all Bolivians, including those with Spanish as their mother tongue, should learn an indigenous language. The concept is part of the UNESCO strategy for actively preserving indigenous languages as part of national and global cultural heritage. So Bolivia is on the right track – but political practice trails well behind idealism. ←

Bilingual teacher training

At a teaching seminar in a state school in Bolivia, David Coca Coyo sits shyly amid a group of giggling young women. They are all third-year students planning to become primary school teachers. The subjects they teach will include an indigenous language. Today, Quechua is on the timetable. "Students like David are a big help – he speaks flawless Quechua and I sometimes ask him when I am not sure about the correct pronunciation," says teacher Christina Prado.

David comes from a village and speaks only Quechua with his parents. He did not learn Spanish until he started school. Quechua is a compulsory subject for future

teachers because the pluricultural Bolivian state wants every child to be addressed at school in his or her mother tongue (see article above). But those studying to become teachers have only four language training lessons a week – not enough to learn an indigenous language properly. Nonetheless, as teachers, they will even be expected to teach other subjects in Quechua once they begin to work in schools. "Lessons are conducted in Quechua in rural primary schools but as soon as the subjects get harder, most teachers switch to Spanish," David explains.

He knows that more needs to be

done for the concept of bilingual intercultural education to work in practice. He says: "It is not just about teaching Quechua but about giving the two languages equal status."

The mere fact that fellow students learn Quechua, is a big step forward in David's eyes: "I used to be embarrassed about speaking my language. Today I speak it with pride!" David's career plan is to get his teaching qualifications and then go back to his home village and teach at the primary school that he attended himself. Most of the future teachers he is studying with, however, will probably go to city schools and teach in Spanish. (lv/cp)

David Coca Coyo plans later to return to his home village and teach in Quechua.



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Veretle

More than holy scriptures

Muslim parents in Lebanon to whom religion matters send their children to mosques or private institutions for Koran lessons. In government-run schools, religious education plays only a minor role.

By Mona Naggar

→ In a melodic voice, Danya cites verses from the Koran by heart. The 15-year-old girl is sitting in a small bright classroom with another girl of her age. They come here for Koran tuition every Saturday. Danya enjoys the lessons. She is ambitious, and determined to become able to recite the entire sacred text from memory alone. She is interested in the content too, and wants to understand what rules of conduct the book contains.

Ibad Al-Rahman (Servants of the All-Merciful) is an Islamic organisation in Beirut. It encourages children and young people to study, recite and memorise the Koran. Primary-school children are part of the target group. Ahmad Hourri is the organisation's secretary-general. He stresses that its activities are designed to address hearts and minds.

Khadija Ajjawi is a 28-year-old teacher who used to be a student at the Koran school herself. She says that, while the lessons focus primarily on the Koran, they also tackle other subjects that are relevant for young people, including social networking. The organisation offers sporting activities for all age groups. Politics, however, is taboo at Ibad Al-Rahman. Lessons are free of charge. The organisation's premises are located in a popular shopping area of West Beirut and some 130 girls attend its classes.

Minor subject in state schools

Muslim parents in Lebanon who want their children to get religious instruction send them to private religious organisations like Ibad Al-Rahman or to mosques that offer Koran classes. Religious education is not a core subject taught at state schools. According to Muhiyeddin Bayoun, who is responsible for religious teaching at the Office of Religious Endowments, which represents Sunni Islam in Lebanon, religious education has the same status in the state curriculum as sport and arts. The subject is taught once a week, he says, and deals with Islam in only very gen-

eral terms. There is no time to memorise the Koran or even learn all the rules of recitation.

The Lebanese constitution guarantees freedom of religion. The state protects recognised religious groups and ensures they are able to perform their rites. It confers on them the right to provide religious instruction in state schools in areas where they account for the majority of the population. The constitution also allows religious communities to operate private faith schools.

Lessons for refugees

Around half of the girls at Ibad Al-Rahman in Beirut are Syrian. They attend the same Koran classes as their Lebanese counterparts.

Islamic organisations have worked to help Syrians since the beginning of the refugee crisis in Lebanon. They offer primarily humanitarian aid but also informal educational support for Syrian children. The subjects offered include maths, Arabic and Koranic studies. The tuition is financed by zakat, the Islamic system of giving alms, and by donations from the Gulf States. However, as Sarah Hasselbarth pointed out in her "Islamic Charity" study published in 2014, there are reasons to fear that religious classes are being used by radical Islamic groups to spread an ideologised form of Islam among Syrians in Lebanon (see Martina Sabra's article in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/09, p. 25 ff.).

Bayoun believes his agency should step up its support for the Syrians in the country. He proposes cooperation between the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and mosque communities in the areas where most refugees are accommodated. The mosques could teach core subjects for three to four hours on their premises, he says, and hire some Syrian teachers: "That would enable us to help 100,000 children and get them off the street. We could offer Arabic, English, maths and Islamic religious instruction." Bayoun wants the foun-



A mixture of elementary and Koran school

In Lebanon and other Arabic countries, religious education and the institutions that provide it are products of structures and traditions that have developed over centuries. For a long time, the *kuttab* – a school combining primary education with study of the Koran – was the institution that handled for children's education. The teacher was also the preacher. He instructed youngsters in the basics of reading and writing and also taught the Koran and the writings of the Prophet Mohammed. From time to time, Arabic grammar and mathematics were also on the curriculum. The *kuttab* was often attached to a mosque. Education and religion were literally joined at the hip in the Islamic world.

In the wake of decolonisation and the creation of nation-states, the *kuttab* was supplanted by western-style schools.

Today, the *kuttab* no longer plays a significant role as a tool for secular education. Responsibility for religious education in schools resides with the state in nearly every country in the Arab world. What lives on, is the tradition of Koran schools at mosques and Islamic organisations, which perform many other functions in addition to teaching Islam.

Al-Azhar University in Cairo is one of the oldest centres of Islamic scholarship in the world, with a history stretching back over a thousand years. Now, Al-Azhar has decided to re-endorse the *kuttab* as an institution. It wants to see more religious instruction provided in the mosques by Al-Azhar-trained preachers.

Egyptian political scientist Reham Mokbel believes that the venerable university wants to regain control of the mosques and religious education in Egypt. Its move is a response, she says, to seeing

radical Islamist groups that are prepared to resort to violence gain considerable ground and influence at Koran schools in recent years. Al-Azhar is also endeavouring to modernise religious discourse. Mohamed Muhanna, a member of Al-Azhar's technical committee, argues that a revival of the *kuttab* will give more weight to the moderate interpretation of Islam that is endorsed by the university. At a *kuttab*, children are not simply supposed to learn the Koran by heart; they are also taught its meanings. Moreover, they can further deepen religious studies.

But there are also critical voices, sceptical of the Al-Azhar plan. Georges Fahmy of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a think tank, believes that the success of the strategy will hinge on the pedagogical proficiency of the imams that will run the Koran schools and teach the children. (mn)

Islam has been taught for centuries at Al-Azhar University in Cairo.



Cairo, Al Azhar-University.

*Milleurs baisers.
H. D.*



Muslims in Lebanon: anyone who attaches importance to religious instruction sends their children to a Koran school.

dition he works for to take the initiative. He believes it has a moral responsibility towards fellow Sunnis.

Teaching Wahabism in Tunisia

In Tunisia, Islamic organisations and the Koran schools they operate have been fuelling heated debate since 2011. As the country opened up after the overthrow of the autocratic president Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, a great number of new associations, including Islamic ones, were established. Their aims are diverse. They act as an extended arm of political parties, engage in charitable work or try to spread their interpretation of Islam. Koran schools are an effective tool for doing that.

A furore was caused by Tunisian journalist Hanan Zbeis' report on nursery schools run by a number of Islamic associations. The preschools that Zbeis investigated do not just introduce children to the alphabet and the Koran; they teach them the strict Wahabi

interpretation of Islam. Zbeis interviewed parents who send their children to those Koran schools, and some were not even practising Muslims. The reasons they gave for choosing the schools were that they had "confidence in their devout teaching staff" and that "they were cheaper than other preschools".

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Partnering with a Palestinian school

International school partnerships are very popular in Germany. Secondary schools appreciate that student exchanges boost international understanding and improve foreign language skills. A primary school in Cologne, however, took the same approach with younger children and chose a challenging partner: after having cooperated with a school in Bethlehem for more than ten years, the school proceeded with a Germany-Palestine exchange of schoolchildren. Martin Verfürth, the former principal of the school in Cologne, reports.

By Martin Verfürth

➔ Bethlehem: the name of this small Palestinian town triggers strong emotions in Germany. Christmas stories come to mind. But isn't our pediatrician also Palestinian, and didn't he recently tell us about border controls?

That was how I felt in 1996, when the city of Cologne decided to become Bethlehem's twin city. At the time, great hopes marked the region. Two years earlier, Israel's late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat had received the Nobel Peace Prize. Back then, I was the principal of the Irisweg Primary School in Cologne and excited by the idea of establishing a partnership with a school in Bethlehem. It would be most rewarding for our pupils to be in touch with children from such a different country.

With the city's help and the Partner City Association, which facilitates interaction between Cologne and Bethlehem, we quickly made contact. A few months later, Viola Raheb, school superintendent for the Palestinian Territories, visited our school. Her warmth, commitment and fervour inspired everyone. At the time, we had to fend off accusations of anti-Semitism, and she fast convinced the sceptics. We began to plan a partnership with the Dar Al-Kalima school in Bethlehem.

The Irisweg Primary School is a state-run school for children the ages of six to ten years old. The Dar Al-Kalima School, however, is run by the Evangelical Lutheran church. It offers education from kindergarten up to 12th grade.

In close cooperation, we defined the guiding principles of our partnership:

- We meet as equals, not as donor country on one side and developing country on the other.

- We exchange topic-related school material on country, culture, religion and daily life for our classes.
- We inform our partner school about classes, school life and important festivities.
- We use all means of communication: regular post, internet, phone, fax.
- Depending on the political situation, we will run a continuous teacher exchange programme and start student exchange as well.

The partnership agreement was officially signed on 10 October 1999. It was the first of its kind. Our cooperation has survived politically turbulent times and is still in full swing.

Whoever doesn't appreciate hospitality

Right from the start, communication was lively and continuous. We started joint projects – on subjects like: "How do children live with a separating wall?" We linked the history of the Berlin Wall, which had divided Germany until 1989, to the wall that fences off Bethlehem. Personal encounters, however, are at the heart of any school partnership, and for a long time that was hardly possible because of political tensions (see box, p. 27).

After more than 10 years of partnership, a student exchange programme finally took place in December 2010. Ten students from Bethlehem came to Germany and stayed with host families. They attended morning classes and joined social and cultural programmes in the afternoon. The experience was so wonderful that we immediately agreed on returning the visit. The German and Palestinian children had no common language, but it is amazing how well primary school children relate to one another

without having such a language. They easily make friends.

The exchange project was promoted and supported by the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia. The big question, however, was: would it be possible for elementary school children to travel to the Middle East?

Many parents worried about sending their young children to such a distant place, especially as it is located in a crisis region. They came up with the brilliant idea of coming along themselves. The children would live with host families, while the adults stayed at the school's guesthouse. In the end, it was a real student exchange – with parents nearby in case of emergencies.

We all flew to Tel Aviv on 9 December 2011: ten children, eight mothers, two teachers and me. It was the beginning of an incredible experience. Our host school was so welcoming we could have brought 50 children along. Each morning, the children took part in the lessons and in the afternoon they participated in group activities, joint excursions and family programmes.

Despite previous concerns, the children got along wonderfully. "Zain and her family were very nice to us. They gave us extra bedding and even bought a new bed for us," wrote nine year-old Inca after the trip. "I think, whoever doesn't appreciate hospitality can't be helped. My mother and I gained 20 kilos each. We had a lot of fun, laughed a lot and sang wonderful Arabic songs. I hope to see my Palestinian friend soon, so we can laugh together again."



German and Palestinian pupils play together in the Dar Al-Kalima School in Bethlehem in 2011.

Apple tree versus tanks

In 2000, our partnership activities were abruptly interrupted. The first small exchange with a few teachers, pupils and parents' representatives was supposed to take place in September. We wanted to do an exhibition about Cologne and our school life at our partner school in Bethlehem.

On the day we arrived, Ariel Sharon went to Temple Mount in Jerusalem, triggering the riots of the 2nd Al-Aqsa Intifada. The Dar Al-Kalima School was closed for days on security grounds, later it was occupied by Israeli soldiers and even partially destroyed. Construction of the wall around Bethlehem began. We managed to put up the exhibition, but we couldn't organise any meetings with school children, teachers or parents.

Maintaining the partnership under these difficult conditions took much strength, courage and creativity. We suddenly had to take a stand politically and spoke out for peace, respect for physical integrity and self-determination.

The focus of our partnership changed. Shaken by events, pupils, parents and teachers started an unprecedented number of support projects: we sent solidarity messages, our reports were published in newspapers, and students gave interviews to national broadcasters like WDR and Deutschlandfunk. We held vigil and lit candles around the school and the Cologne Cathedral, we wrote letters and notes of protest to politicians and embassies, and we ran street collections. Moreover, we donated a symbolic apple tree to our partner school.

The apple tree survived the occupation. In December 2002, the exhibition called "German-Palestinian partnership during the Middle East conflict: an apple tree

versus tanks" was on display in several schools in Cologne, showing photos, images and essays by students.

As life adapted to the new conditions in Bethlehem, contact with our partner school returned to normal. We began a school-garden project in 2003. Wanting to overcome the distance between Cologne and Bethlehem, the children in our school started a fund-raising drive and symbolically handed over the money to their partner school. Four years later, in April 2007, the school garden was completed. The section built with our donation is called "Cologne Garden". It includes the apple tree planted in 2000. (mv)



Martin Verfürth



Martin Verfürth

Visiting Jerusalem during the 2011 School Exchange Programme between the German Irisweg Primary School and the Dar Al-Kalima School in Bethlehem.

Some families are still in touch today and continue to visit each other. "The incredible hospitality was probably the most impressive experience for the German group," wrote Annelie Kuhn, one of the teachers. "The fact that we came with children set us apart from other group visits, and that was considered a sign of hope."

in terms of black and white, or good and evil. They are not interested in the politics of power. They are interested in the welfare of the people around them. If one discusses the contradictions that arise from politics with them, their concerns are empathy, understanding and peace.



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For the children, the trip was an unforgettable experience. They obviously became aware of political tensions. "The wall is a terrible sight," Inca wrote. "I was very frustrated when soldiers came into the bus. Those guarding the wall carried huge machine guns and had their finger set on the trigger." Annelie Kuhn recalls the restriction people of Bethlehem face. "Their freedom of movement is restricted. This was very obvious during our trip to Jerusalem. Apart from two mothers and their children, who had special passes, no Palestinian child could come along with us."

Our school partnership has received several awards. Through the mayor of Cologne, we received an award as School of the Future, for example. We also won the Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski Award (Wischniewski was Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation in the 1960s) and won the competition "Cologne schools for sustainable development". Both schools now have new principals who want the exchange programme to continue, adapting it to changing times.

Political, humane and sustainable

Some may ask why elementary school children should be confronted with such difficult issues. We discussed matters in advance with the children and then decided to do it. Children have a strong sense of justice, especially when it comes to their peers. They do not think

School partnerships are extremely special, not only for principals, but for everyone involved: students, teachers, parents, school management et cetera. Exchange stands out from normal schooldays, creating spaces for meeting peers who live elsewhere. It opens hearts and educates. School partnerships are politically relevant, reflect humane principles and have a lasting effect. ←

Link:

Information about the school partnership:
<http://grundschule-irisweg.de/CMS01/index.php?page=102>

Greater quality

Two factors that foster success have become quite evident in evaluations of GIZ education projects. First of all, the needs and special circumstances of the target communities must be taken into account, and second, the people themselves should be actively involved in planning interventions.

By Pierre Tulowitzki and Alexander Erich

➔ In cooperation with several research institutes, the GIZ has run evaluations of various education projects, most of which concerned primary schools. The results show that mixing particular measures is particularly promising. Text books and other teaching materials should refer to the social context the children know. They should proactively tackle gender issues and motivate children to become involved in classes. The language should be simple. An appealing layout with nice illustrations is needed too. Moreover, there should be manuals that support teachers who prepare for lessons.

In Ghana, the GIZ linked teachers' training courses with informal networking and measures to boost formal organisations in the education sector. Teaching materials were thus drafted and designed in close cooperation with various partners at various levels. At the local level, the teacher colleges were involved. At the district level, the government's school offices were engaged. One result was political support for the intended reforms, another was that capacities were built among key actors.

In contexts of fragile statehood, flexibility is essential. Non-formal schools have proved useful. Examples include the so-called "home schools" for Afghan children in refugee camps in Pakistan and programmes that linked primary education with vocational training for youth in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Civil strife, as occurred in Yemen or Guinea, for example, makes it very hard to implement projects in a lasting manner.



Primary education in Guinea: qualified teachers, sufficient equipment and professional management are essential for an effective educational system.

The evaluations show that the political and institutional context matters very much. Sometimes projects successfully supported reforms in the education sector, but proved unsustainable because of political change or partner organisations' shifting priorities. The evidence shows that projects are often designed in an optimistic mindset and require more time than initially expected. Another insight is that sustainability depends on change becoming deeply entrenched in partner countries' institutional environment. For planning education projects, it is very important to understand and take account of the local circumstances. The GIZ will act accordingly in the future and has designed proper assessment tools.

Equal rights for girls

Gender justice is a particular challenge in educational contexts. The evaluations show that girls' access to schools has improved in sub-Saharan Africa thanks to GIZ projects. One study in Guinea confirmed that the attitude of the girls concerned has changed, so they now behave in a more self-confident manner. Moreover, they enjoyed going to school.

The GIZ projects were meant to boost the respect for educational institutions in partner countries. The evaluations show that most projects achieved that goal. However, the monitoring systems were not fully suited to track the impact on children. They focused on graduations and on how many children continued on to secondary education. The evaluators recommend to adopt additional methods to track what pupils actually learn. The GIZ will follow that advice in order to improve its performance and boost its impact.

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- The following evaluation summaries are only available in German:
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Changing social norms

The civil-society organisation Bangr Nooma has been fighting to end female genital mutilation (FGM) in Burkina Faso since 1998. Although FGM is forbidden by law, it is still quite common. Government interventions alone cannot stem the harmful tradition. Civil-society activism is needed to eradicate FGM in remote areas. Irma Bergknecht and Renate Staudenmeyer of the German non-governmental organisation *Terres des Femmes* discussed matters with Rakieta Poyga, a women's rights activist and the founder of Bangr Nooma.

Interview with Rakieta Poyga

What is the current situation in Burkina Faso concerning female genital mutilation?

Unfortunately, FGM is still widespread in Burkina Faso. The legal ban that was introduced in 1996 has not changed much. UNICEF data show that, in 2013, 76 % of women and girls had become victim of this harmful tradition practice. The women of my generation – I was born in 1960 – are almost all circumcised. Only by looking at rates among younger women, you slowly start to notice that FGM is no longer universally applied. Burkina Faso has currently

experienced a serious political crisis, so re-stabilising the polity tops the agenda. Women's and children's rights did not get much attention to begin with, and they are at risk of being crowded out. We must focus on our goals.

What kinds of FGM are practiced in Burkina Faso?

Two different kinds are practiced here. The most common procedure involves the full or partial removal of the clitoris. In the second type of procedure, both the clitoris and the labia minora, and sometimes even the labia majora, are fully or partially removed. Circumcisions are usually performed in unsanitary conditions. The procedure often traumatises women, and many also suffer from medical complications such as cysts, adhesions, fistulas, et cetera. I experienced terrible consequences of female circumcision myself, during the unbelievably painful birth of

my daughter in 1998. That was my impetus to found Bangr Nooma.

Why is FGM still being practiced even though the adverse impacts are well understood?

FGM is deeply embedded in Burkinabé tradition. It is rooted in traditional and religious values. Women and girls can traditionally only get married after being circumcised, so FGM is a precondition for marriage. Ideas about honour are distorted, and accordingly a girl's circumcision is very important to her family's reputation. In addition, circumcisers see FGM as a kind of "social service", though in reality that is how they earn a living. The more circumcisions they perform, the better their reputation becomes in the village, and the reputation of the village chief benefits equally. Since FGM was outlawed in Burkina Faso, girls have been circumcised at younger and younger ages, sometimes even as infants. We need new intervention strategies in response to this problem.

You said that FGM has been prohibited by law in Burkina Faso since 1996, but nevertheless most women and girls are affected. Why is that so? Are traditional and religious values stronger than legal norms?

Over 80 % of Burkinabés are illiterate and hardly leave their village communities. They feel isolated from the rest of the country, and think that the law does not apply to them, but rather only to people living in the cities. They see the ban on FGM as an attack on their traditional values. So yes, to them traditional and religious norms matter more than state regu-

lations. The government needs to reach out to the people of rural communities in order to make them aware of the problem. Local educational campaigns are the key. Blaise Compaoré, the ousted president, actually held a meeting every year in a provincial town with officials and village chiefs to discuss FGM. However, only the elite took part, and the new awareness never spread to the village communities properly. Our awareness-raising affects many more people. We go to villages and talk to all residents. Doing so requires a great deal of patience and effort. But ultimately it's worth it. Most people reject FGM after they have heard what we have to say. As soon as they know how damaging FGM is, they understand why the legal ban makes sense.

What happens when it is discovered that a circumcision occurred – are there criminal prosecutions?

When it becomes known that a circumcision is planned or has already taken place, everyone involved is punished in criminal proceedings. Not only the circumcisers are prosecuted, but also everyone who knew about the incident and failed to report it to the authorities. The maximum penalty is a three-year prison sentence. Where we work, the awareness of FGM is very high. People intervene as soon as they hear of a case, and that includes the village chiefs and the so-called guardians of tradition.

How does Bangr Nooma manage to convince traditional chiefs and ordinary people of saying "no" to FGM?

Before we do anything else, we seek the consent of the respective village chief, because without his approval our efforts will go nowhere. Next, we carry out a three-phase educational campaign. The work is always done by a team that consists of one man and one woman who have been trained by Bangr Nooma. Their task is to raise awareness in the region concerned. In the first phase, the team tries to start discussions with influential community members like teachers, police officers, traditional midwives and circumcisers. The second phase focuses on the entire village population. We share knowledge and information.



AP photo/picture-alliance

In Burkina Faso, female genital mutilation still affects almost four out of five women.

100 million women affected

According to estimates by the World Health Organization (WHO), between 100 and 140 million girls and women have been subjected to female genital mutilation (FGM). The practice is especially common in sub-Saharan Africa as well as in some Arab and south-east Asian countries. However, cases have also been reported in Europe, Canada and the USA. In Africa, 3 million girls are at risk of undergoing FGM every year. Terre des Femmes, a women's rights organisation, reckons that around 36,000 women affected by FGM live in Germany and that almost 6,000 women and girls are at risk of being subjected to it. Female genital mutilation (FGM) comprises all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons. The practice violates human rights and impairs the

health of girls and women. It mainly affects babies and girls from a few months to 14 years of age. They have no say in the matter. In most cases, FGM is performed before the 18th birthday.

Female genital mutilation is closely related to concepts of identity, sexuality, gender and power. The phenomenon is linked to the norms and beliefs of various communities. Common justifications include initiation rites, the preservation of virginity, FGM as prerequisite for marriage, identity, conjugal fidelity, honour, hygiene, purity, greater fertility and religion. In FGM practicing communities, circumcised women are highly appreciated. Uncircumcised women, however, are stigmatised and marginalised by their families, their friends and their entire social environment.

Terre des Femmes has been active for 30 years and – apart from working on other key issues such as honour crimes and forced marriages, domestic and sexual violence and trafficking of women – continually pursues its goal to end FGM. Our vision is equality, self-determination and freedom for girls and women worldwide. We are committed to ensure that the UN Resolution on Ending FGM is implemented all over the world.

Link:

Terre des Femmes:

<http://www.frauenrechte.de/online/index.php/home-engl>

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We visit homes, talk with families, hold town meetings, stage sketches and films, debate the issues and so on. Often it takes time to earn the people's trust and for them to realise that FGM can and should be overcome. At the end of this phase, we have a big meeting during which all the important village leaders publicly reject FGM and declare non-circumcision to be the new social norm. During this ceremony, we symbolically "bury" the instruments used for circumcision. The third phase starts with the establishment of a village committee to fight FGM. Volunteers watch to make sure that no more girls in the village are circumcised. They keep a register of births and make visits to families who have given birth to a girl in order to raise awareness.

What are the greatest challenges your awareness-raising campaigns have faced?

Our particular challenge is earning the people's trust. This is quite difficult

given the isolation of village communities that I've just mentioned. You must also picture the areas we operate in as slum-like: infrastructure is very poor and everything is chaotic. The people are struggling with existential problems; they have no access to water or electricity and they live in extreme poverty. Instead of thinking about FGM, they are dealing with problems that seem much more pressing. Only once we have earned their trust people do absorb the new information and accept the knowledge that we want to convey. Especially when it comes to interacting with the public, we as an NGO are better positioned than state actors because people still hardly trust the state and its agencies. I am convinced that the work being done by NGOs is very important and much more effective.

Are there tangible results?

Yes, absolutely. Thanks to our educational efforts in 800 villages, over 33,000 girls

have been protected from circumcision to date. Our numbers are quite reliable because the village committees keep registers of births. Furthermore, 400 circumcisers and their assistants have rejected FGM and are now involved to some extent in our campaigns. Since we started the organisation, we have reached a total of over 800,000 people. The support from our international partners has been very helpful. We do not receive any financial support from the state, so we depend on help from the outside. Such help doesn't only consist of financial assistance. International networking and professional exchange about strategies to fight for and improve women's rights matter very much as well. ←

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Labour rights

Minimum wage attracts girls to factories

Bangladesh does not enforce labour laws stringently, and more underage girls work in factories than is officially acknowledged. Rising wages mean that girls of the ages 10 to 17 are likely to be hired, with harmful impacts on their school enrolment. On the upside, fewer girls from poor families will be forced to marry young. Comprehensive social development depends on more than wage levels.

By Niaz Asadullah and Zaki Wahhaj

→ The collapse of Rana Plaza on 24th April 2013 exposed the unsafe conditions in which millions of workers are employed in Bangladesh's ready-made garments (RMG) sector. For years, workplaces lacked minimum safety, and pay remained meagre and irregular. Improvements are only slight. A significant reform was introduced earlier, however: the minimum wage has risen from the equivalent of \$ 39 to \$ 68 a month.

The new minimum wage is expected to draw more women into work in a country where female labour-force participation is still very low. Higher wages mean more income for women from poor families and greater financial resources to spend on children's education and health. However, the recent change in minimum wage can also pull young girls from poor families out of school and push them into employment as child seamstresses.

For decades, Bangladesh's main comparative advantage was its labour cost: wages used to be the lowest in the world. Workers' demand for a minimum pay of \$ 100 a month was ignored, and nominal wages were left unadjusted in the face of rising inflation. The priority was fostering the country's main export industry. In 2010, the government reluctantly raised the minimum wage to \$ 39 a month from about \$ 20 – but only after costly labour unrest and violent public protests.

Both the government and factory owners turned down further demands for wage increases in order to maintain the country's competitiveness in the global apparel market. Many leading factories even ignored the revised minimum wage rate paying workers less than \$ 39 a month. In response to the Rana Plaza disaster, the minimum wage was



Bangladeshi garment workers.

increased once more in November 2013. The new rate was 77 % above the previous one, but still well below what workers had been seeking.

Girls at risk

Quantifying the full social impact of the rise in wages is not possible at this time given that the reform took place just two years ago. Many RMG factories are yet to implement the new wage scheme.

For many workers, the new wage is good news. But it will have a downside. The reason is that for employers increasing the share of girl child workers is a practical cost-saving strategy. They are likely to hire girls of the ages 10 to 17. To assess the impact on them, one should consider their work and schooling status.

The Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) represents the export-oriented woven

and sweater garment manufacturers. It maintains that its member factories do not have child workers. Bangladesh's National Child Labour Elimination Policy 2010 prohibits the employment of children under 14. Those aged between 14 and 18 may only work five hours per day. But the rule of law is very weak. Government officials rarely inspect factories. In practice, the child labour law is widely ignored. A poor birth registration system leaves children unaccounted for and thus adds to the problem.

Due to the absence of independent surveys on factory workers, there is no reliable information about employment of minors and adolescent girls. Access to factories is restricted, and most employees don't disclose their actual age at the workplace. Therefore we took a different approach to assess the prevalence of underage workers.

For the nationwide Women's Life Choices and Attitudes Survey (WiLCAS) 2014, we interviewed thousands of adult women and girls in Bangladesh's three largest industrial districts: Dhaka/Ashulia, Gazipur and Narayanganj. The majority of the country's female garments workers are concentrated there. Twenty-nine locations with the highest concentration of RMG factories were surveyed. For the purpose of comparison, we also carried out interviews in 58 other urban areas where there are no RMG factories.

A household census in the survey areas identified 3,367 women and girls who reported being employed in the garments sector. One hundred of them were between 10 and 13 years old, and 381 were aged between 14 and 17. They accounted for three percent and 11 %, respectively, of the work force. Of the 861 girls aged under 18 who reported being in work in urban areas, 28 % were employed by RMG factories.

Girls are more likely to be enrolled in school (84 %) than boys (79 %) in non-RMG urban areas – a pattern that prevails in most parts of Bangladesh today, but the opposite is true in RMG areas. In RMG areas of the Dhaka agglomeration, girls in the age-groups 10 to 17 are less likely (61 %) than boys (66 %) to go to school. In general, many more girls in RMG areas (24 %) are employed compared with those who live in urban areas that do not belong to the industrial belt (3 %).

The numbers show that – contrary to many international media reports – Bangladeshi ready-made garments factories are still using child labour to a large extent and in a systematic way. The increase in minimum wage will surely raise the demand for child workers. Bangladesh's RMG industry is expected to increase four-fold in size over the next 20 years. This growth will attract millions of females including underage girls.

Problem of the poor

In regard to long-term development, the numbers are worrying. Children should be in school rather than working long hours. Poor families are hit hardest: Most minors and adolescent girls are pushed into gainful employment because of household poverty. Relatively better-off families in

the RMG belt rarely send their daughters to work in factories.

The growing demand for female labour means that a new form of gender inequality is emerging in the country's industrial areas. Boys are kept in school whilst girls are sent to work. If the current trend continues, higher industrial wages will only widen the gender education gap in Ashulia, Narayanganj and Gazipur, leaving girls trapped in low wages and low schooling.

However, large-scale employment of underage girls is not necessarily abusive and socially harmful. Although recent initiatives such as the abolition of school fees and provision of cash stipends have lowered the cost of schooling for girls, many of them would drop out of secondary school even without the opportunity of engaging in paid work. And the majority would be forced to marry early. In fact, gainful employment provides greater protection against early marriage than school education.

Thus, Bangladesh faces a difficult policy dilemma. On the one hand, the rise in minimum wage makes adolescent girls vulnerable to factory employment at a very early age, depriving them of education and eventually of access to better-paid jobs outside RMG factories. On the other hand, strict enforcement of the child labour law can push many girls into early marriage, an equally undesirable outcome. The country's struggle exemplifies that developing countries can't fully exploit the benefits of low-wage industrialisation without parallel improvements in social development, rural poverty reduction and children's rights. ←

Link:

Women's Life Choices and Attitudes Survey (WiLCAS) 2014:
<http://www.integra.org/index.php/research-design>

Niaz Asadullah



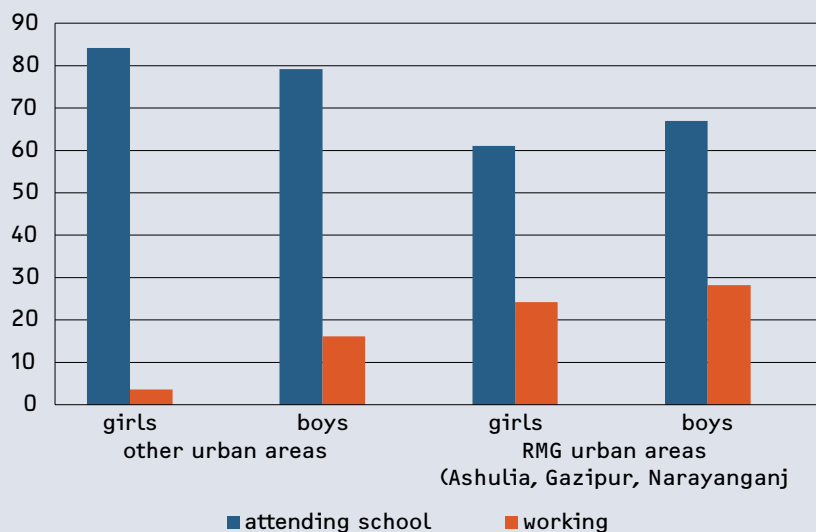
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Paid work and schooling status of 10-17 year olds (in percent)



Source: 2014 Bangladesh WiLCAS



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www.twitter.com/forumdc

The screenshot shows the Twitter profile for 'D+C Development + Cooperation'. The profile picture is a photograph of a busy outdoor market with people and stalls. The bio reads: 'D+C Development and Cooperation is a monthly magazine with a website and the identity of German twin D+Z. RTs are not always endorsements.' The location is 'Frankfurt, Germany' and the website is 'dandc.eu'. The profile statistics are: 7,443 tweets, 1,679 followers, 4,111 following, 184 favorites, and 7 lists. A recent tweet from 'Editorial office D+C' is visible, titled 'Global Brainstorming Project: #Art project with & about #refugees from #Syria and #Palestine'. The tweet includes a photo of a public art installation on a city street. On the right side of the profile, there are sections for 'Neu bei Twitter?' with a 'Registrieren' button, and 'Vielleicht gefällt Dir auch' with a list of suggested accounts including 'AERI_Group', 'The Global Fund', 'African Union', 'Africa Renewal, UN', and 'giz'.



New transnational networks

The largely superficial, positive image that many people once had of NGOs has given way to a more differentiated approach that reflects power relations within transnational civil society. Some authors argue that the role of international NGOs is changing.

By Romina Ranke

➔ In global affairs, high hopes were long pinned on international NGOs (INGOs). Their commitment to human rights, environmental protection and peaceful conflict resolution made them symbols of value-centred and democratic global politics. NGOs were and often still are significantly more trusted than state agencies. The public perception of organisations like Greenpeace, Human Rights Watch and Oxfam remains overwhelmingly positive.

Most experts agree that the participation of INGOs makes international political processes more transparent. They also agree that INGOs contribute to a more peaceful and just world. At the same time, the direction and approach of many organisations have come increasingly under criticism.

In Germany, apart from academic publications, a critical book on the WWF and an accompanying documentary film attracted particular attention. In both works, Wilfried Huismann (2014) discussed, among other things, the WWF's close relationship with agricultural and other commercial enterprises, the investments of which frequently disadvantage local people in poorer countries.

Another reason for the uneasiness many feel towards the WWF and other INGOs is that large organisations often distract public attention, with shiny brochures and professional appearance, from local actors who are not as well-financed. In recent years, activists and academics have increasingly pointed out that INGOs from the global north (primarily from Europe and North America) contribute to solidifying global power structures by speaking for people from the global south.

Political scientist Ruth Reitan (2011) criticises the paternalistic attitude that

some northern INGOs continue to exhibit towards southern activists. However, she also writes that the "advocacy model" is being replaced by new forms of transnational civil-society cooperation. The author attributes this development above all to a strengthening of civil society in the global south and to new forms of networking and mobilisation. One of the many examples she cites is La Via Campesina, a transnational, decentrally-organised network of small farmers with headquarters in Indonesia.

New networking trends reflect the increasing relevance of ideals like decentrality, grassroots democracy and equality. More open forms of networking are made possible in particular by the internet, including social media networks like Twitter and Facebook, which offer new opportunities for spontaneous campaigns that are not directed by NGOs. Nevertheless, Reitan also emphasises that these trends are certainly not making NGOs obsolete. Instead, many NGOs are assuming new roles in transnational civil society.

New roles

In recent years, some INGOs have responded to – or even helped drive – the trends mentioned above. Their self-image has changed accordingly. Many NGOs now see themselves less as advocates and more as supporters that act as nodes within larger transnational movements (Reitan 2011). Internal reflection of their own roles in the global system has in some cases led to large-scale changes in the structure and working methods. For example, ActionAid made the conscious decision several years ago to move its headquarters from London to Johannesburg in order to be closer to organisations of the global south (see also the contribution by Adriano Campolina in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/11, p. 38f.).

Another example is Friends of the Earth, a transnational federation of environmental justice NGOs. In recent years, the federation has continued to strengthen the position of its southern members and emphasised the importance of local activists in the global arena. Brian Doherty and Timothy Doyle (2014) did detailed empirical research on Friends of the Earth. They managed to convey a close-up view of the internal structure and processes of an INGO. Their study opens the black box that NGOs usually are in academic literature and illustrates the relevance of a civil-society organisation's collective identity. Moreover, the authors show how difficult it is for members of a transnational NGO to arrive at a common position using democratic methods.

Case study: climate policy

Doherty and Doyle place particular emphasis on Friends of the Earth's commitment to shaping international climate policy. For many years, professionally run environmental NGOs from the global north had made most of the efforts, but, particularly from 2007 on, the involvement of groups from the global south has grown considerably. Moreover, organisations that traditionally do not focus on environmental issues are increasingly joining the climate debate. Doherty and Doyle describe how Friends of the Earth cofounded the movement-oriented network Climate Justice Now in 2007, and how it stayed an important partner within that coalition.

A whole series of academic publications on various aspects of the transnational climate movement was inspired by aforementioned trends and the many campaigns that accompanied the 2009 UN climate summit in Copenhagen. Important contributions to this debate include two books edited by Brunnengraber (2011) and by Dietz and Garrelts (2013). The essays in these volumes illustrate that transnational civil-society structures have become more open and fluid, and that the diversity of the actors involved has grown. Increasingly, important impulses and new perspectives come not from established



Bolivian president Evo Morales (left) speaks with representatives of La Via Campesina, an international network of small farmers, at the 2010 UN climate summit in Cancún, Mexico.

organisations, but from young civil-society networks.

Both books also emphasise that INGOs remain extremely relevant in international climate policy and other international political processes. One reason is that many of the younger networks do not have the financial means, expertise or insider knowledge to have an impact on international policy-making in the long run.

In general, recent publications exhibit a significantly more differentiated and critical view of INGOs than was prevalent in the past. They illustrate the tensions that exist between established organisa-

tions and actors from protest-oriented movements. They also show, however, that many INGOs welcome these new networks and offer support. These developments can certainly, among other factors, be explained by the failure of the Copenhagen summit in 2009. That event made many INGOs realise that broad social movements are needed to rise to the urgent challenges humanity is facing. ←

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Why the new giants could grow so fast

Business scholars emphasise the management skills that are prevalent at multinational corporations from emerging markets. Other authors emphasise the relevance of government policies and speak of “state capitalism 3.0”.

By Hans Dembowski

➔ Mauro Guillén and Esteban García-Canal (2013) claim to have been observing the trend of companies from disadvantaged world regions expanding across borders for two decades. Their book offers many interesting success stories from Latin America to North Africa through to Asia. Companies they cover include Bimbo, a bread-making company from Mexico, Embraer, a manufacturer of small passenger airplanes from Brazil, Orascom Telecommunications from Egypt, the Indian IT companies Wipro, Infosys and Tata Communications, Haier, the household appliance giant from China, and Acer, the Taiwanese computer manufacturer. It would be wrong to speak of case studies, however, because the two authors basically offer anecdotal evidence and do not list many references.

Guillén and García-Canal distil catchy slogans such as “scale to win”, “cater to niches”, “embrace chaos” or “expand with abandon” from their stories. Their insights, however, are probably too generic to be applicable in any systematic way. The stories are interesting nonetheless. The authors show that newcomers from disadvantaged world regions typically are adept at improvising in their home markets, which tend to be less orderly and predictable than G7 economies are. They are thus used to taking pragmatic decisions fast and grasping opportunities that more-established corporations overlook, for instance in niche markets. Another strong point is that many newcomers are not expected by shareholders to maximise business results every three months, so they can take long-term approaches.

Unfortunately, Guillén and García-Canal are fond of making overblown state-

ments. The very first sentence of their book states that, when future historians will debate what marked the world economy in the past two decades, they will neither opt for “the bursting of the high-tech bubble”, nor the “global financial crisis”, nor the “rise of state capitalism in China”, nor the “near unravelling of the Eurozone”. The essential thing, in the authors’ eyes, will be the “spectacular growth of globe-spanning businesses in the developing world”. What they miss is that all five phenomena are interrelated, and that the liberalisation of markets matters too. Future historians will surely try to explain how one phenomenon contributed to the other rather than argue about which was the single most important. Probably they will not find Guillén and García-Canal’s book very helpful.

John A. Mathews (2002) wrote a stronger forerunner a decade earlier. Three of the five companies he portrayed as a new kind of player on the world stage – Acer, Cemex, the Mexican cement producer (note essay by Virginia Mercado in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/12, p. 26ff.), and Ispat, an Indian-owned steel corporation which is now called Arcelor Mittal – have since become even stronger and more influential. Mathews thoroughly assesses the early phase of these companies’ rise. In his view, they excelled at finding footholds in highly competitive markets and building management structures that allowed them to respond very flexibly to changing situations.

According to Mathews, the newcomers first inserted themselves into existing value chains and then built new partnerships to expand operations. Acer, for example, initially produced components for other computer makers and only intro-

duced its own brand later – and only in Taiwan at first. Once the brand was firmly established there, the corporation began to sell hardware under the Acer name abroad. Partnerships helped. To get a foothold in India, for instance, Acer teamed up with Wipro. As Mathews pointed out a decade before Guillén and García, the emerging market multinationals excelled at grasping market opportunities that more established competitors from rich nations neglected. Moreover, managers cleverly acquired foreign businesses that were making losses and turned them around by using methods invented elsewhere.

Mathews’ book praises the budding giants’ organisational prowess. They were not steered top-down from the corporate headquarters, but relied on country-level managers taking decisions and assuming responsibility. The hierarchies inside the corporations were efficient, according to Mathews, but they were not strictly formalised. Crossborder coordination was flexible and fast, making innovative use of the Internet and reaping maximum benefits from the competitive advantages of different countries.

Policies matter

While management skills certainly matter, they are not everything. A collection of essays edited by Andreas Nölke (2014) shifts attention to the institutional and political background. The contributors show that home markets still matter very much to rising multinationals.

A great merit of the book is that it really puts recent trends into a long-term historical perspective. Nölke uses the term “state capitalism 3.0” which differs from the versions 1.0 (protectionism) and 2.0 (centrally directed capitalism). Nölke argues that emerging markets are a the third generation of economies that are catching up. They cannot adopt the strategies used by earlier generations because the world has changed. Various trade

Embraer worker.



picture alliance/dpa/Fotografica

agreements at global and regional levels now have a bearing on what is feasible. Neither is protecting markets with tariffs and quotas viable anymore, nor is the kind of state-planned expansion that Japan, for instance, practiced after World War II. But that does not mean that governments do not have instruments at their disposal to promote corporate interests. According to Nölke and his contributors, moreover, it makes sense for them to do so because strong multinational enterprises boost their own influence and power.

Nölke points out several domestic support measures, including subsidies, state ownership, state shareholdings, the provision of low-cost labour, selective protection of intellectual property rights, sector-specific regulations and support for outward foreign investments, for instance in the form of low-interest loans. At the international level, moreover, governments conclude trade agreements and represent corporate interest in multilateral and bilateral affairs. The “less-than-stringent implementation of global norms” can also benefit domestically based corporations. Moreover, China and other countries have managed to invite foreign direct investment with the result of boosting the development of national industries and the acquisition of know-how, Nölke writes.

To analyse matters, it is not always helpful to distinguish between private-sector and state-owned companies, Nölke

argues. He makes this case in a separate chapter on China. He points out that informal contacts of managers with government officers matter. Moreover, formally private companies may actually be run by government-owned holding companies. In other cases, state agencies own sizeable stakes in corporations (note interview with Doris Fischer in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/12, p. 22 ff.).

Transparency International (2013) has assessed the reporting practices of emerging-market multinationals. Basically, the international non-governmental organisation applied the same methods it used a year earlier to rank multinationals from advanced nations. The survey checked how companies report on anti-corruption programmes, how transparent their organisations are and to what extent they report financial data country by country.

Generally speaking, emerging market multinationals performed worse than their peers from the rich world. Their average score concerning anti-corruption programmes was 46 % (with 100 % meaning perfect reporting). The more established competitors achieved a 68 % average. In regard to transparent hierarchies, the emerging-market multinationals scored 54 % whereas the figure for the established giants was 72 %.

In regard to country-by-country reporting, however, the newcomers

were better with a score of nine percent opposed to the rich world’s four percent. As the Transparency authors point out, India made the difference, as Indian companies scored 29 % on country-by-country reporting. The reason is that Indian law requires them to provide more data than corporations from other countries must.

Transparency advises all corporations to apply high reporting standards voluntarily. The best performers belonged to the Indian Tata group, reflecting legislation as well as corporate commitment (note contribution by Aditi Roy-Ghatak in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/12, p. 19 ff.). At the same time, the authors argue that governments and civil society have a role to play in fostering greater transparency. ←

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Tribune

Migrants' participation matters

The Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), which convened in October in Istanbul, is only able to react to a very limited degree to the global challenges of labour migration, flight and displacement. So far, however, the international community does not have a better format.

By Stefan Rother

➔ The decisions of the GFMD are non-binding. Its participants are governments and civil-society agencies. The forum serves to share experiences and pave the way for initiatives. Eight years after it was established, the right questions were being asked at the GFMD, not shying away from controversial topics. It remains debatable, however, whether the results of GFMD discussions have an influence on the drafting of national policies.

One of the more tangible projects that arose in the context of the GFMD is the initiative called Migrants in Countries in Crisis (MICIC). It was started by the USA and the Philippines. By June 2016, MICIC is supposed to define principles and practices in support of migrants in crisis areas. In the eyes of Ignacio Packer, the general secretary of the international non-governmental network Terre des Hommes, this is a step in the right direction, but he says the initiative's focus on states in crisis is too narrow. Instead, he believes that it should encompass all migrants affected by crisis situations regardless of their current location rather than only those in crisis areas.

Debate

Independent organisations like the Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA) point out, moreover, that migrants in crisis situations are not necessarily defenceless victims. They can contribute to providing aid, for example. Strong networks of migrants can become active at the local level and mobilise support from diaspora organisations.

Refugees should also become involved in public affairs. Fuat Oktay, the director of Turkey's civil protection agency, reports that residents of Turkish refugee camps



Refugee camp in Nizip, Turkey.

can appoint their own spokespersons and are able to start organisations.

Whereas Turkey's refugee camps are considered exemplary in several regards, the opposite is true of how repressively the government treats Turkish civil society. Moreover, the NGOs that deal with migration and flight in Turkey only have weak links to one another. That was evident in Istanbul as they only held a one-day strategic meeting rather than hosting an extensive parallel event as had been done in the past.

Ignacio Packer of Terre des Hommes points out that space for civil-society activism is shrinking all over the world. He reports that in the past two years alone, over 60 countries drafted or even passed laws limiting activities of NGOs working on behalf of migrants. When MICIC consultations were launched, however, it was simply "forgotten" to involve migrants' organisations. Their participation in future meetings was only ensured thanks to a side event hosted by civil society.

Broad based participation is also relevant in regard to mobility and sustaina-

ble development, the second major topic of the GFMD meeting in Istanbul. Thanks to the insistence of migrants' organisations, migration was made an issue of the UN 2030 agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Now that it is time for countries to act accordingly, however, there is no guarantee that

migrants will be involved in the policy processes.

It is indisputable that the international community urgently needs to address the challenges of migration. It is equally clear that it is not equipped to tackle the issue appropriately. Migrants' organisations can be valuable partners in this context, for instance, by helping to define standards for recruitment agencies.

Dialogue between governments and civil society must become a year-round process for the important questions raised at the GFMD to lead to answers in the form of practical policies. Next year the forum will convene in Bangladesh and in 2017 in Germany. Berlin should use its two years of preparation time to adapt the format of the GFMD to the challenges it is supposed to address. ←

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Great nations

Leaders' ideas on what makes a nation great diverge. Some believe that a great nation is one that has great influence abroad. Some feel that military power is the essential thing in this context. Others think the core issue is to make their people prosper.

By Hans Dembowski

➔ In the USA, Democratic politicians have recently stated that they think that Denmark is great because it has a strong and efficient welfare state which offers good health care, schools and even universities for all citizens free of charge. In a similar sense, President Barack Obama has said from the start that his priority is "nation building at home", referring not only to health-care reform, but just as much to the disastrous Iraq war his predecessor George W. Bush had started. Republican politicians, however, consider Obamacare a huge failure, even though millions more are now covered, without jobs and businesses being destroyed. At the same time, they shy away from discussing Bush's role in the Middle East. Unlike Democrats, moreover, they do not appreciate Denmark's great public transport and huge share of renewables in the energy mix.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel does not elaborate much on grand visions. In her eyes, the crucial issue seems to be international competitiveness. In this perspective, a well-organised welfare state is the reward for business success and something nations cannot afford unless their companies outperform foreign competitors. In the Euro crisis, southern European countries have thus been forced to dismantle social protection. The snag is that welfare institutions are not just the result of prosperity. As Markus Loewe explained in the previous print edition of D+C/E+Z (2015/9-10, p. 31 ff.), they also help to build prosperity. That is evident not only in Denmark, but in Germany too.

Russian President Vladimir Putin is taking an entirely different stance. He wants his country to be recognised as a global power. This claim is mostly based on military clout. Apart from his country's armed forces and fossil fuel exports, Putin has little to boast of.

The Chinese regime, in contrast, first built a strong economy, raised the living standards of several hundred million people and then began to rattle sabres. India is still much poorer, but the Hindu-chauvinist forces that Prime Minister Narendra Modi relies on are already obsessed with



Copenhagen's underground trains don't need drivers.

claiming a role of world leadership. Their claim would be more convincing had they achieved more in terms of poverty reduction.

In Africa, most leaders know that their countries are too small and too poor to become world leaders. Too many top leaders show little interest in developing their nations. To them, a great man is someone who, by whatever means, gets his way.

Humankind cannot afford macho attitudes. We are facing huge challenges that national governments cannot tackle on their own. Climate change is probably

the most important example. But others – from disease control to world trade – matter too. In this scenario, "nation building at home" makes sense, provided it is not done at the expense of others or the global commons. Attempts to gain military predominance, however, are not helpful. We need global cooperation, not confrontation.

From the developmental perspective, it is easy to determine national greatness. A good scorecard is the UN's recently endorsed 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Leaders and

nations are great if they contribute to achieving the SDGs. Nothing else matters.

Full disclosure: Like Hillary Clinton, I "love" Denmark, but I agree with Prime Minister Lars Loekke Rasmussen that his country is a market economy rather than a socialist state. Less xenophobia, however, would make Denmark even greater. ←

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Democratic shift to the right

Argentiniens voted for a change. Regarding the new president, expectations are high – probably too high.

By Sheila Mysorekar

➔ The Argentine daily „Página/12“ recently published a cartoon which was quite telling. A staff member asks the newly elected President Mauricio Macri: „Who shall we now blame for everything?“ Macri answers: „Cristina of course, as always!“ His staffer objects: „But she’s gone...“, and Macri retorts: „Have you never heard about retroaction?“

For twelve years, the opposition was used to blaming the Kirchners for each and every problem – first Néstor Kirchner, then his wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, his successor as president. The Kirchners made the country veer to the left. They belonged to the same Peronist party that pushed radical free-market policies in the 1990s, but they belonged to its left wing. One decision with great symbolic importance was partly renationalising the petrol company YPF, which had been privatised in the 1990s. This step infuriated Argentina’s oligarchy, to which the Macri family belongs.

For a long time, the new president was only known as „the son of“ Franco Macri, a very rich industrialist. Macri senior acquired a large part of his assets with public contracts – during the military dictatorship. His son Mauricio first made a name for himself as president of football club Boca Juniors. That was almost a rebellion, since Boca is known as a working class club.

From football Mauricio turned to politics. His party Propuesta Republicana (PRO) unites conservative politicians und independent businessmen who don’t feel represented by the traditional parties. As its candidate, Macri was twice elected mayor of Buenos Aires – and now president.

The Latin American left reads his election as part of an international trend towards conservative restoration. For more than a decade, mostly socialist and social-democrat governments had been

ruling the continent. Three years ago, Paraguay’s military toppled left-wing President Fernando Lugo. Currently, Brazil’s President Dilma Rousseff must face impeachment proceedings, and the long dominant leftist party of Venezuela lost the parliamentary elections in December.

Macri has declared that he – contrary to his predecessor – will not support the left-wing governments of Ecuador, Bolivia and Cuba. Moreover, he wants Venezuela



Macri confronted by reporters during the election campaign.

to be excluded from the economic alliance Mercosur. Argentina cannot decide this on its own, but Macri’s stance has great symbolic relevance. It shows that the stable political alliances of the past decade are tottering.

It is healthy that, for the first time in Argentina’s history, right-wing groups have come to power in elections. Formerly, they had only grabbed power in coups. Commentators of the entire political spectrum rate the election result as a sign of strengthened democracy.

Macri presents himself as a strict free-market advocate. Consequently, many people fear the return of the radical free-market policies of the 1990s, which ended in a catastrophic financial crisis. The

result was widespread poverty, which the Kirchners then fought with various social programmes. This approach secured them a solid electoral base amongst the socially deprived.

An important and quite effective measure, for example, was Cristina Kirchner’s introduction of a family allowance for unemployed parents or those who work in the informal sector. To get money, they must only prove that their children are vaccinated and attending school.

In the past few years, however, the facts that Néstor Kirchner managed to stabilise the economy after the crisis and the leftist social policies reduced poverty were

forgotten. Allegations of corruption were voiced. The high inflation dominated the public discourse. The press complained – correctly – about the ruling party’s tendency to manipulate the media.

Now, Argentiniens expect a lot from their new president – too much: he is supposed to boost the economy, attract investors to the country and at the same time maintain social achievements. Argentiniens voted for a change, but they widely disagree about which direction to go. ←

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Agreement to keep negotiating

The climate deal struck in Paris is ambitious, unconventional – and awkward. The international community has agreed to keep global temperature rises “well below 2 degrees” on average. The final document even points out that 1.5 degrees would be preferable. Nonetheless, the tangible measures that were discussed will not even limit global warming to 2 degrees. That was the former, less ambitious target.

By Hans Dembowski

➔ Almost all of the world’s governments have announced national plans to limit greenhouse-gas emissions. If implemented, they would still allow temperatures to rise by about 2.7 degrees. Unfortunately, that is a big “if”. The plans are called INDCs (for “intended nationally determined contributions”), and they are not legally binding. According to the Paris Agreement, governments are under legal obligation only to present INDCs and report on their implementation consistently and transparently.

The Paris Agreement thus does not solve humankind’s climate problem. Nonetheless, it may provide the basis for doing so. Basically, it is a binding agreement to keep negotiating further non-binding intentions. The idea is that governments will scale up their plans every five years, and that naming and shaming

will put enough pressure on all parties to perform well.

At current trends, the environmental damages of climate change are set to spin out of control. All we have is a framework for achieving tougher action in future talks. There is no guarantee that this unconventional approach will work. All we know is that it can work. So we must now make it work.

The essential thing will be to accelerate the budding new industrial revolution, in order to shift from carbon-based energy systems to renewable ones. The technologies needed are available, but they need to be further refined. Huge investments are necessary. The private sector will have to play a part, and so must governments. Public agencies and multilateral institutions must drive change in a way

that tells private-sector companies that climate-friendly investments will pay off. Investor confidence, by the way, will not primarily hinge on governments’ budgetary discipline, but on the political will to decarbonise economies. Public funding is obviously one expression of such determination.

It is a big step forward, moreover, that all governments have accepted responsibility for stemming climate change. It bears repetition, however, that the credibility of rich nations still depends on their own performance. Indian climate experts, for example, are tired of hearing lectures from European and North American counterparts who want India to cut emissions fast. The snag is that, per head, the USA is currently emitting about 10 times as much carbon as India does. Germany is emitting about five times more than India. If the so-called advanced nations want countries like India to stay on board the UN process, they will have to shore up their act. It will help, however, that the smog haunting India’s and China’s megacities results from the same fossil fuels that lead to carbon emissions. That is a strong incentive for change.

In the meantime, the impacts of climate change are becoming ever more evident all over the world. The topic will keep rising on the global agenda. International development agencies are already running various mitigation and adaptation programmes, which will certainly be scaled up after Paris. There is a certain risk that they will crowd out other important issues, even though official development assistance (ODA) is needed in other fields as well. The entire list of Sustainable Development Goals on the UN 2030 Agenda deserves donor attention. Climate change is a very important issue, but not the only one. ←

Debate

Alain Apaydin/abaca/picture-alliance

Rally for climate protection during the UN summit in Paris.

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NOWADAYS:
19-year old Ethel Elephat dropped out of primary school in 2010 because she could not afford school fees. She had lost both parents, and her only option for survival was getting married. But then two village women from the Participatory Development Initiatives (PDI) NGO approached her - and her life changed.

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