

# D+C

Monthly e-Paper

DEVELOPMENT  
AND COOPERATION

D+C

ENTWICKLUNG  
UND ZUSAMMENARBEIT

E+Z

International  
Journal

ISSN  
2366-7257

January 2017

## Big data

New developmental  
options arise from  
digitalisation

## Latin America

Why the EU should  
support innovation  
in the private sector

## Poverty reduction

In Africa, cash-transfer  
programmes have  
taken off



Young people deserve  
opportunities

## Focus: Young people deserve opportunities

### Hope and employment

Lebanese people do not treat Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as equals, even though many have been living in the country for decades. Young people in particular suffer discrimination and a lack of prospects. Vocational training as is being provided by non-governmental and international organisations can help, writes journalist **Mona Naggar**. [Page 14](#)

### Still aspiring to change the world

Back in early 2011, the international community appreciated the Arab spring uprisings, which were driven by young people demanding change in Egypt and other countries. Six years later, a sense of gloom prevails among young people in Egypt, and many think of leaving the country in hope of finding a job, as journalist **Basma El-Mahdy** reports. [Page 17](#)

### Africa's future depends on its youth finding prospects

In Burkina Faso, youth activism was a driver of democratic change. Journalist **Boukari Ouoba** gives an overview of the developments that led to the downfall of authoritarian president Blaise Compaoré. He points out that many young people still feel marginalised and angry. **Ndongo Samba Sylla** of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's Dakar office warns that failure to expand formal youth employment in sub-Saharan countries will mean more unrest, more migration, more crime and more religious extremism. In South Africa, students want to do away with tuition fees and demand "decolonised education". Student activist **Majaletje Mathume** assesses the situation. [Pages 21, 23, 24](#)

### U-shaped curve

Many young Indian women have great professional aspirations, and their role models have succeeded in various sectors. Nonetheless, many dreams are unlikely to come true. Unemployment is more common among women than men, as journalist **Roli Mahajan** reports. Many young Indians are interested in living abroad. **Vidya Varghese** shares her experiences as a *weltwärts* volunteer with an NGO in Germany. [Pages 25, 27](#)

### Chile's students do not want education to be for sale

In Chile, the young generation is angry because the education system produces and reinforces inequality. Students demand that the government do something about the matter, writes journalist **Javier Cisterna Figueroa**. [Page 28](#)

## Dear readers,

This time, we have only produced a pdf version of the e-paper. The reason is that the fancy, page-turning version is very big (more than 100 MB) and does not seem to be very popular. If it turns out to be in strong demand after all, however, we'll start producing it again. Please get in touch ([euz.editor@fs-medien.de](mailto:euz.editor@fs-medien.de)) and let us know whether you prefer the fancy one or the pdf (10 to 15 MB)?

## Editorial

### Unequal opportunities

→ The world's youth is its hope. It stands for change, for innovation, in some cases even for democratic revolution. Young people embody the future and the continuation of humankind – something, we shouldn't take for granted. Young people need good educations and decent jobs. If societies fail to give their youth opportunities, there will neither be sustainable economic growth nor fairness, equality and political stability.

The young generation's sheer size matters too. Those aged between 15 and 24, as the UN defines youth, account for more than 18 % of the world's population. It makes sense to address the challenges they face, such as joblessness and marginalisation. Youth unemployment is rising, and living conditions in many parts of this crisis-ridden world are getting worse, not better. The world labour organisation ILO estimates that youth make up more than 35 % of the unemployed worldwide, and more than one-third of youth in emerging markets and developing countries live in poverty despite having a job.

This is a dangerous trend. Frustrated youth are actually more of a risk than a chance. If they cannot build a life, start a family and fulfil at least some of their own and others' expectations, they become destructive, prone to extremist movements – or leave. Millions of young people seek their fortunes abroad and are missed at home.

Education is the key to everything. Regarding job opportunities and labour-market demand, high-quality vocational training is at least as important as university education. However, in many countries there is no formal education for crafts such as carpenter or hairdresser that would impart both theoretical knowledge and practical skills. And in the lack of up-to-date technology and access to the global market it is difficult to meet world standards.

Gender inequality is another huge issue. On average, girls still get less or lower-quality education than boys, women's labour force participation is still lower than men's, and men still occupy more top jobs than women. Most women – even in very traditional societies – want to have a career and some degree of independence. Young aspiring women deserve to be encouraged.

Social stratification hurts too. In Germany, better-off children more often go to university than those with poor or poorly educated parents. Money is not the reason, universities are free. In many other countries, tuition fees are huge barriers for masses of people though. Often, even schools are divided into two classes: public, free and low quality versus private, costly and high quality. Injustices occur in developing and industrialised countries alike. They must be abolished. Every girl and boy deserves the same opportunities. ←



**Katja Dombrowski**  
is a member of the editorial team of  
D+C Development and Cooperation /  
E+Z Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit.  
[euz.editor@fs-medien.de](mailto:euz.editor@fs-medien.de)



**Monitor**

4

Palm oil production hurts people as well as environment / Investing in Africa / Fighting Polio in spite of Boko Haram / Syrian refugee women's struggle for survival / Why Saudi-Arabia is the west's difficult ally / The benefits of including people with disabilities in economic life/ Nowadays: Living hell in Malawi's prisons / Imprint

**Focus: Young people deserve opportunities***Mona Naggat*

Vocational training for Palestinian youth in Lebanon 14

*Basma El-Mahdy*

The dashed hopes of the Arab-spring generation in Egypt 17

*Katja Dombrowski*

ILO warns that youth unemployment is rising around the world 20

*Boukari Ouoba*

Burkina's frustrated youth toppled President Blaise Compaoré 21

*Ndongo Samba Sylla*

Youth unemployment causes unrest, crime, migration and religious extremism 23

*Majaletje Mathume*

South African students demand "decolonisation" of higher learning 24

*Roli Mahajan*

Young Indian women want professional careers 25

*Vidya Varghese*

Lessons from volunteering in Germany 27

*Javier Cisterna Figueroa*

Chile's youngsters oppose inequality and privatised education 28

**Tribune***Julia Manske and Tobias Knobloch*

The pros and cons of big data 30

*Edith Koesoemawiria*

Bringing books to remote Indonesian villages 34

*Claudio Maggi*

Latin America needs innovation in business, and the EU can help 35

*Bernd Schubert*

Why cash transfer programmes serve to fight poverty in a growing number of African countries 38

**Debate**

40

Comments on Gabun's president, Pakistani business leaders' response to Donald Trump, the links between populism and inequality, and the protection of Antarctic waters

**Tribune**

Schubert

**Meaningful support**

Official development assistance (ODA) often bypasses poor people who have no scope for helping themselves. A pilot project in Zambia's Kalomo district made a difference by granting the most disadvantaged people regular cash transfers. The impact was good. Accordingly, the welfare spending is no longer taboo in many African countries, argues **Bernd Schubert**, a scholar who was involved in the Kalomo project on behalf of GIZ. [Page 38](#)

**Big data**

To assess a country's development and bring about progress, solid data are needed. Innovative communication technology generates relevant data, but there are some important downsides. **Tobias Knobloch** and **Julia Manske** of Stiftung Neue Verantwortung, a Berlin-based think tank, assess the matter. [Page 30](#)

**Debate**

Shahzaib Akber/picture-alliance/dpa

**Uncertainty is the new norm**

Pakistan depends on the USA, both in economic and military terms. Business leaders worry what the election of Donald Trump in the USA will mean, as journalist **Afshan Subohi** reports. [Page 41](#)

# Big palm oil is making the rules

**Today, palm oil is among the products that are in high demand around the world. Major corporations control prices, labour conditions and production quantities. Farmers work for meagre incomes and bear all risks. Grassroots movements, however, are beginning to have an impact.**

"Almost everything contains palm oil: chocolate, margarine, bread, chips, pizza, body lotions and cleaning detergents, for example," says Akua Britwum. The Ghanaian scholar states that, to meet growing demand, palm oil companies are expanding their operations, contracting small-holder farmers and buying land.

## Monitor

Palm oil has become one of the most important globally traded goods. According to the environmental lobby group WWF, some 60 million tons were produced worldwide in 2015. The reddish-brown oil is not only used to make food items, drug-store products and pharmaceuticals. Five percent of the global harvest is used for energy purposes, generating electric power and heat, for example, or for the production of biofuels.

Growing demand has changed agriculture, for instance in Ghana. This West-African country is best known to be cocoa producer, but its farmers are increasingly cultivating other cash crops, including palm oil and cotton. Typically, oil palms are planted in out grower schemes. Outgrowers are smallholder farmers who work on behalf of corporate partners. All too often, the farmers have no choice. Unless they cooperate with the palm oil giants, they stay excluded from the world market.

In Ghana, outgrowers sign commitments to sell their entire harvest to the Ghana Oil Palm Development Company (GOPDC), a privatised corporation. The World Bank and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) promote its model as a way to boost agriculture in developing countries and link smallholders to global trade. However, working for the COPDC is not always

beneficial. While the GOPDC is expanding, Britwum reports, labour conditions are deteriorating and the rights of outgrowers are being diminished.

## Loose agreements

Sometimes, contracts are written, but in other cases, there are only oral agreements. The difference between outgrowers and other contract farmers is that outgrowers own some land, whereas contract farmers work on property owned by the GOPDC. The corporation provides seed, credit and pesticides. It is the more powerful partner. "It defines the price it pays per kilogram," Britwum recently told a conference held at Free University Berlin, "and the farmers do not get a proper receipt." The production volume is determined by the GOPDC too. If farmers do not deliver accordingly, the company makes them pay fines.

Civil-society activists are up in arms. Action Aid, the South Africa based international non-governmental organisation, reports that farmers in southern Africa do not only work for very little pay, but also bear all the business risks. The INGO has scrutinised many contracts and found that relevant issues regarding rights and duties remained unclear. It bemoans that time spans are often not defined precisely. The same is said of the production amounts farmers are supposed to deliver at the end of the season.

In Ghana, moreover, the outgrower model excludes marginalised people: those who have no title to land, including subsistence farmers and women, who can only own land via their husband or some male relative. According to Britwum, some contract farmers have managed to improve their fate nonetheless. They put pressure on the COPDC, demanding that the corporation improve the local infrastructure, for instance by building schools or investing in water and power supply.

What made them strong was researching world market prices on the internet. Such information boosts their bargaining power when they sell their harvest. The

GOPDC has become increasingly more cooperative, the scholar says: "The management understands that it depends on the farmers." Without them, it cannot achieve production goals and meet global demand.

## Rising demand, rising profits

Palm oil demand is growing particularly fast in China and India, the world's two most populous countries, where masses of people get their daily fat intake in the form of palm oil. Demand for biofuels matters too. Compared with other oil seeds, palms require little space. To produce the same amount of biofuels with soy beans, one would need six times as much land.

In Malaysia and Indonesia, huge forests are being cut down so oil palm plantations can be established. The two South-east Asian nations now account for more than 85 % of global production. The land used for plantations has increased tenfold since 1990, and the trend is unbroken. The WWF reckons that Indonesia is planning to increase plantations to 20 million hectares in the next 10 years.

Huge monocultures do not only endanger biodiversity, they also undermine the livelihoods of local communities. "The substantial profit margins in the global supply chain come at the expense of Indonesian labourers," says Oliver Pye of Bonn University. On the world market, a ton of pure palm oil currently costs about \$ 700. The workers, however, only get the equivalent of \$ 30 per ton. The social scientist is doing research on how to improve Southeast Asian palm oil production in social and environmental terms.

He says that the world region is raking in huge profits, but poverty is worsening nonetheless. In Pye's eyes, the reason is that migrant workers are paid poorly, whether they work on private-sector or state-owned plantations. Indonesia's average monthly wage is less than the equivalent of € 100. Informal daily labourers in Malaysia only earn one euro per day. Pye estimates that there are about 1 mil-





*Harvest worker on an Indonesian oil palm plantation.*

lion migrant labourers in Malaysia, and about half of them are not registered.

## Bottom-up change

So far, it has proved difficult to establish strong trade unions, the scholar says. When workers resist plantation managers, they are often fired or arrested. Researchers know cases of corporate leaders cooperating with both the police and criminals to intimidate workers. Nonetheless, migration patterns have resulted in emerging networks that workers can rely on, sharing information on pay, housing and labour conditions, for instance.

Increasingly, workers are collectively gaining traction. One example was the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

(RSPO) in Medan in 2013. Hundreds of workers used the event for protests. The RSPO was launched in 2004 as a joint initiative of the WWF, major companies of the palm oil sector, food-producing corporations, banks and civil-society activists. The goal was to ensure the sustainability of palm oil production. To get RSPO certification, producers must live up to certain standards that relate to social, environmental and business concerns. In the eyes of the protesting farmers, these standards are insufficient. In 2015, Pye says, a transnational network of labour movements has been emerging in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Pye has done several years of field research. One of his interview partners told him: "In a world, in which we would not have to migrate to Malaysia, we'd be unemployed, and Malaysia would still

have its rainforests." In Pye's view, this statement points to what needs to happen. Change can only be brought about from the grassroots level, he argues, and a smallholder system would be the goal. Farmers would use less land so less rainforest would be destroyed. Jobs would not be lost since agriculture is more labour intensive if it is not done at an industrial scale. In view of huge profit margins, moreover, farmers' incomes could still be raised. An essential issue, according to Pye, is that farmers should work on their own soil.

*Theresa Krinninger*

## Link

Pye, O., Daud, R., Manurung, K., and Siagan, S., 2016: Workers in the palm oil industry – exploitation, resistance and transnational solidarity. Stiftung Asienhaus, Köln. [http://www.asienhaus.de/archiv/user\\_upload/Palm\\_Oil\\_Workers\\_-\\_Exploitation\\_Resistance\\_and\\_Transnational\\_Solidarity.pdf](http://www.asienhaus.de/archiv/user_upload/Palm_Oil_Workers_-_Exploitation_Resistance_and_Transnational_Solidarity.pdf)

# Promoting investments in Africa

**In order to add momentum to African economies, Gerd Müller, Germany's minister for economic cooperation and development, and Sigmar Gabriel, the country's minister for economic affairs, have launched a joint initiative. The approach fits their understanding of how to manage globalisation equitably.**

According to German associations of industry, only about 1000 of 400,000 internationally active German private-sector companies have invested in Africa so far. This number does not match that world region's potential. Müller calls Africa a „continent of opportunities“. The new initiative is geared to improving the investment climate and reducing risks. Gabriel says: „The need for investment in African countries is huge.“ In his experience, German technology and know-how are in high demand.

The two cabinet members intend to increase trade in both directions, boosting African economies as well as the German one. Müller argues: „Jobs give people perspectives for their lives, and people who have a perspective stay in their home countries.“ The initiative is designed to improve the links between German embassies, chambers of commerce and

bilateral development agencies. Other aspects include giving more extensive advice to African partners and offering German investors tax incentives as well as governmental guarantees. The initiative has ten focus areas:

- improving the institutional environment in partner countries,
- actively supporting companies that invest and start development partnerships,
- promoting start-ups as well as small and medium-sized enterprises in partner countries,
- mitigating risks to facilitate more investments,
- making the guarantees that are offered by the Federal Government more attractive,
- creating tax incentives,
- promoting sustainable supply chains,
- improving options for financing investments,
- enhancing the legal context for trade within Africa as well as at the EU level and
- training skilled labour and experts.

Gabriel is particularly proud of Germany's system of training and is keen on exporting this „crown jewel“, as he calls it. Training young people is „real-life development aid“, he says. However, leaders in develop-

ing countries tend to underestimate the relevance of vocational training.

The new initiative fits the two minister's ambition to manage globalisation in an equitable manner. „In the past 30 years, world trade has lifted hundreds of millions of people from hunger and poverty, providing them with jobs and prosperity“, Müller says. He acknowledges, however, that the lack of market regulations has resulted in distributional challenges and problems of fairness. „As the wealthiest 10 % of humanity control 90 % of its wealth, we must reconsider the question of what kind of growth we want,“ he says. He calls for the stringent regulation of global markets as well as minimum standards concerning social and environmental matters.

In Europe, the negative impacts of globalisation have been marking public debate recently. Gabriel points out that, according to a Bertelsmann Foundation survey, 45 % of Germans consider globalisation to be dangerous. Their share is growing. The reason, he says, is that people fear a loss of control, for instance regarding migration.

Germany's Federal Government is a proponent of international trade agreements. Müller insists: „We must ensure the World Trade Organization moves on from being a free trade regime to providing a global framework for fair trade in line with social and environmental minimum standards.“ His colleague from the economics department emphasises that bilateral trade negotiations serve this purpose too. Experience shows, however, that it takes a long time to conclude trade agreements, and things are unlikely to become easier after Donald Trump was elected US president and Britain has opted to leave the EU. „Global rules matter very much,“ Gabriel says, but he admits that bringing them about is a huge challenge.

Both ministers agree that development policies and foreign-trade policies must be mutually reinforcing. Their new initiative is meant to show how that can be done.

*Theresa Krinninger*

**Mobisol – plug in the world!**

Mobisol combines solar energy with an affordable payment plan via mobile phone, comprehensive customer service and innovative remote monitoring technology. The Berlin-based company offers low-income customers in developing nations quality solar home systems that are a clean alternative to unhealthy, environmentally harmful, and expensive fossil fuels.

**Latest News**

• Dec 12, 2016  
IFC and FMO invest in Mobisol  
IFC, a member of the World Bank Group, and FMO, the Dutch development bank have

*Mobisol, a Berlin-based company produces solar-power devices for African retail markets.*



# Fighting polio in spite of insurgency

**In the camps where internally displaced persons (IDPs) live in the Nigerian state of Borno, children are playing football. Every single child who runs after the ball represents a success: they all have escaped the outbreak of polio that has flared up in this tumultuous region. eHealth Africa (eHA), a US-based charity, is supporting the response to this health risk.**

The terror militia Boko Haram has been active in the region for several years, wreaking havoc on communities with kidnappings, bombs and violence. In Borno alone, the number of displaced people is estimated to be somewhere between 1 million and 2 million people. The World Health Organization has declared a humanitarian crisis in northeastern Nigeria. Malnutrition rates are very high in this part of the country, with some estimates of the number of children whose growth has been stunted as high as 30 %.

Transmission of the polio virus in Nigeria was thought to have stopped in 2015. However, with improving security conditions in the northeast, access to areas once impassable due to violence are opening up. Four cases of wild poliovirus have been reported since August 2016. This is a significant setback in the efforts to eradicate the disease.

For many, polio is a distant threat or a long-forgotten memory. The Salk vaccine was introduced in 1954, and a few years later, the Sabin oral vaccine made mass immunisation possible. Region by region, polio was eliminated from many parts of the world. After India was declared free of the virus in 2014, only three countries were still considered endemic. Nigeria is one of them.

Prior to the current crisis, Nigeria had seen significant progress however. In 2012, 122 cases of paralysis from wild poliovirus were recorded in Nigeria. In 2014, there were only six cases and none in 2015. The new cases, however, show that more needs to be done.

Polio has a high transmission rate, but only one in 200 people develop irreversible paralysis. Young children are at higher risk of becoming paralysed, as are people with weak immune systems.

eHA is assisting the Nigerian government on geospatial mapping and data collection. The goal of the eradication campaign is to vaccinate every child under the age of five years to achieve herd immunity. Teams of vaccinators go to every house at defined intervals to administer vaccines. To do so, they must be able to find every house. Poor road infrastructure, migratory pastoral populations and high birth rates make it difficult to reach every child.

eHA uses satellite images and ground-truthing. Armed with tablets, mobile phones and other digital devices field offi-

cers collect information to provide context. They gather information and geo-coordinates concerning settlement names, local health facilities and other relevant background. The base maps they draft guide the vaccination campaigns. Reaching IDPs is a particular challenge. Every child needs four doses, and administering often proves to be difficult when families are displaced.

The response to the polio outbreak this year was rapid and robust in Borno and the surrounding Lake Chad region. The Nigerian government is engaging new strategies to ensure that all children are properly vaccinated. In spite of the Boko Haram insurgency, Borno is making progress in fighting polio with support from the Global Polio Eradication Initiative, which includes eHA and other partners.

*Anu Parvatiyar, eHealth Africa*



*Vaccination matters in Borno state.*

# Women at risk

**Ever more women are alone or only accompanied by their children when they flee from war and violence in Syria. They are exposed to new risks and must rise to new challenges, according to experts who work for CARE, the humanitarian agency.**

The women want safety for themselves and their children. As fleeing refugees, however, they are often exposed to violence and sexual abuse. They depend on people smugglers and human traffickers. Many women depart from their homes without male support, because fathers, husbands and other male family members are fighting in the civil war or have already embarked on the dangerous trip to Europe.

CARE has published a new study on the matter. The title is "On her own". The authors reckon that, in June 2016, some 4.8 million refugees from Syria were scattered all over the Middle East, North Africa and Turkey. About half of them were women. The non-governmental agency points out that, due to the disintegration of families, the women face new risks and must rise to new challenges that do not fit traditional gender roles. The trend, moreover, causes conflicts and violence within families too.

As male family members are absent, women now head the households and

must assume responsibility outside the households, moving into what are traditional male domains. Due to their upbringing, however, women lack relevant experience. They also lack vital information they would need to make the right decisions for their families. UN researchers have found out that most male refugees in the Balkans had mobile phones so they could access information on supportive networks, government policies and changing routes. Most women did not have such devices. Moreover, a greater share of women lacked language skills.

In Jordan, CARE research shows that the number of Syrian refugee families that are headed by women keeps growing. The share was 40 % in June 2016, up from 25 % a few years ago. In Greece, women now head half of all Syrian refugee families, according to CARE.

Apart from violence, threats and sexual abuse, Syrian refugee women and their families are at risk of poverty. Two years ago, 50 % of the women concerned indicated they had sufficient food, but their share has dropped to 15 %, according to CARE. The agency's research shows that four of five Syrian refugees in Jordan live below the poverty line. It is common to spend a family's entire income on one member travelling to Europe. People hope that the families will be able to follow at a later point in time. According

to CARE, many refugee families are now highly indebted.

As the situation is getting tougher, the pressure on women is growing. Many resort to prostitution as they see no alternative way to make the money needed for survival. In Jordan, about 10 % of Syrian girls now marry much too young because their mothers can no longer take care of them, CARE warns.

Many Syrian refugee women are traumatised, the report points out. After escaping war and violence, they are now struggling for their daily survival. Hopelessness and despair are common. The reasons are violence, including of the sexualised sort, endless waiting, loss of dignity and lack of prospects.

CARE demands that governments and multilateral institutions must do more to support refugee women and take care of their specific needs. The organisation insists that there must be legal and safe routes for women and children. In its view, it is unacceptable that fleeing from war in Syria means to become victim of sexualised violence, human trafficking and abuse.

*Dagmar Wolf*

## Link

**CARE, 2016:** On her own. How women forced to flee Syria are shouldering increased responsibility as they struggle to survive. [http://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE\\_On-Her-Own\\_refugee-media-report\\_Sept-2016.pdf](http://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE_On-Her-Own_refugee-media-report_Sept-2016.pdf)



*Syrian refugee woman in the UNHCR refugee camp in Diavata, Greece.*



# A difficult ally

**Saudi Arabia is an important, but controversial partner of western countries. Sebastian Sons specialises in the country at DGAP (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik), the German council on foreign relations. His recent book assesses the country's mindset, its political problems, and how western governments should engage its leaders.**

Saudi Arabia was long considered an anchor of stability in the Middle East. According to Sons, this is no longer so. Saudi Arabia is involved in many regional conflicts in non-transparent ways, so distrust is growing. Western people find the Saudi lifestyle, which is marked by a very conservative reading of Islam, archaic and alien. The regime is a monarchy as well as theocracy, with the ideology of Sunni Wahhabism ruling daily life.

Below the surface, however, fundamental change has been underway for some years, writes Sons. The young generation makes up two thirds of the people. It wants to escape from the iron grid of traditional norms and is testing limits on social media like Facebook and WhatsApp. Criticising the royal house or the clergy, however, means to cross a red line and can result in severe punishments.

Since the Arab revolutions of 2011, the royal house of Saud feels threatened, both at the domestic and the international level. It lost its most important allies when Zine el-Abedine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak, the authoritarian rulers of Tunisia and Egypt respectively, were toppled. The Saudis resent the Muslim Brothers, but had to watch their rise. Both sides have similar Islamist ideologies, but the Muslim Brothers are not monarchists, but follow a republican agenda. Mubarak had suppressed them in a way that the Saudis appreciated, and they had rewarded him with investments and financial support.

When Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brothers was elected Egypt's president in 2012, Saudi Arabia immediately discontinued its financial support. According to Sons, the military coup that overthrew

Morsi in 2013 was "directly prepared by the royal house of Saud". Many people consider Egypt's new strongman, General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, a Saudi puppet.

In Saudi eyes, Iran, its perpetual Shia antagonist, is to blame for the crisis that is affecting Syria, Iraq and Yemen. Sons argues that the Saudis are fighting Iran in proxy wars, and Saudi Arabia's role in regard to the terror militia ISIS is ambiguous. When Syria's civil war started, the Saudis supported the jihadists against Syria's dictator Bashar al-Assad, who is allied to Iran. Sons sees ISIS as the main beneficiary of Saudi-Iranian rivalry, with the Islamist militia managing to fill any power vacuum opening up somewhere in the region.

How should western governments deal with Saudi Arabia? An entire chapter of Sons' book focuses on this question. It offers some strategic advice. The author points out that the west's complicated "marriage of convenience" with Saudi Arabia is based on economic interests. He is in favour of Germany adopting a new policy towards Saudi Arabia and demands a „coherent approach“. First of all, joint interests should be defined, such as stability in the Middle East or economic cooperation, he argues. On this basis, Germany should strengthen business ties to the country, but take a clear stand on controversial issues at the same time. For example, pressure on Saudi Arabia should be increased in regard to human rights. Arms shipments should be stopped. Finally, Sons writes that Germany should



*Tradition and modernity: control room of an oil refinery in Zahran, Saudi Arabia.*

According to the scholar, the power struggle in Yemen is particularly devastating. The Saudis are fighting the Huthis, who are allied to Iran, in brutal and devastating air strikes. As a result, Yemen's people are suffering a humanitarian crisis.

promote reforms of the political system and detente with Iran.  
*Sabine Balk*

## Reference

Sons, S., 2016: Auf Sand gebaut. Saudi-Arabien – ein problematischer Verbündeter (Built on sand: Saudia Arabia – a difficult ally, only available in German), Propyläen-Verlag Berlin.

# Inclusion counts

**The international non-governmental organisation CBM has published a new book which proves that disability-inclusive development makes economic sense. It also spells out what policymakers should do.**

Can governments afford to keep men, women, girls and boys with disabilities excluded? The answer is “no”. Indeed, society as a whole benefits from inclusion, and that is true even of the poorest countries. This is the message of the new publication with the title “Inclusion counts”, and it fits the mission of CBM. The book is based on research done by the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine and the practical experience of CBM.

The book proves that it pays to invest in inclusion. When people with disability are financially independent, that reduces the burden on their communities and society as a whole. They persons concerned require less support from their families, so relatives have more time for productive work. As a result, gross domestic product (GDP) and even tax revenues rise. In countries with low and middle incomes, GDP can grow by up to seven percent.

The book contains solid data to prove what were so far merely theoretical hypotheses regarding the interaction of disabilities and poverty. People with disabilities typically belong to the poorest segments of society and they are excluded from important spheres of life.

Things are particularly tough in developing countries. Though inclusion is explicitly defined to be a human right in the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, it is still hard to challenge the wide-spread notion of disability-inclusive development being expensive and difficult to bring about.

## Of causes and costs

The CBM book challenges such ideas. It spells out what costs arise for the people affected, their families and society in general. Mind sets matter too. In some cultures, disabilities are seen as a punishment

for sins. Accordingly, people shy away from seeing doctors or sending their children to school. Moreover, political will tends to be lacking. In some word regions, people with disabilities have no access to health care, schools, public transport or jobs.

When the youngsters concerned are denied an education, however, most of them will stay excluded from the labour market as adults. Escaping poverty becomes ever more difficult, and the costs of exclusion are multiplied. If however, the persons con-

store. He is not only taking care of his seven-member family, but also providing employment to 13 persons.

His fate is only one of many examples discussed in the book. CBM activists, moreover, give insights into their projects – for instance in regard to helping people with disabilities get access to financial services. They managed to convince Equity Bank, the major bank in Kenya, to run a programme that caters to clients with disabilities. Equity Bank is thus contribut-



*Someone Otieno from Kenya has started a hardware store in spite of his walking disability.*

cerned get an education, their chances of finding employment, making money and fending for themselves improve.

## Once marginalised, now shop owner

One example of how inclusion serves many persons is the story of Someone Otieno from Kenya. It is told in the book. Due to a polio infection at an early age, the 48 year old man from Mombasa has a walking disability. Nonetheless, he managed to start his own business. Nobody was willing to lend him money – apart from a local partner organisation of CBM. Today, Otieno is running a small hardware

ing to other financial institutions reconsidering their approach.

While there are many success stories, inclusion can still not be taken for granted. CBM therefore demands that governments must rise to their duties to ensure equal opportunities. It is important to understand that inclusion and participation are not just a matter of charity. They are a demand of justice, and they result in economic benefits. *Esther Dopheide, CBM*

## Link

**CBM, 2016:** Inclusion counts – The economic case for disability-inclusive development.  
[http://www.cbm.org/article/downloads/54741/DID\\_series\\_2\\_-\\_Inclusion\\_Counts\\_coming\\_soon\\_.pdf](http://www.cbm.org/article/downloads/54741/DID_series_2_-_Inclusion_Counts_coming_soon_.pdf)



# Nowadays: Facing hell in prison

Being in a Malawi prison causes mental disorders, according to a recent report published by the country's Prisons Inspectorate. An estimated 1,400 murder suspects have been waiting for their trials since 2006, but are still languishing in overcrowded cells with poor ventilation.

The Prisons Inspectorate has the mandate to monitor the conditions, administration and general functioning of penal institutions. It must take account of international standards. In the report it published in August this year, the inspectorate points out that many inmates spend years behind bars without being taken to court. Not knowing what will happen even the next day causes massive stress. The

longer the inmates are kept in jail without trial, the higher their chances become of "developing mental problems as they are unsure of their fate."

The report also highlights food shortages, bribery and even torture as things that happen in the prisons. Malawi's penal institutions have an estimated 14,000 inmates, most of whom show symptoms of malnutrition. Many suffer from tuberculosis and are HIV positive. Others are suffering from scabies.

The report further shows that for inmates to finally be taken to court, they or their relatives have to bribe someone – either the prosecuting police officers, the judges or the prison wards.



When contacted to comment on the matter, Smart Malior, the public-relations officer of the Malawi Prisons Service promised to respond but never did. Judiciary spokesperson Mlenga Mvula, however, told the media that several issues contributed to the delay in delivering justice, including lack of funding for the judiciary.

The Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR) states that it is a clear violation of the law when courts do not hear inmates' cases. It means that inmates' rights are being denied and the judicial system suffers defeat.

Victor Mhango, executive director for the Centre for Human Rights Education, Advice and

Assistance (CHREAA) claims that "cases of bribery and corruption within the Malawi justice system are rampant," adding that government reforms within the justice system are "not bearing fruit."

Apart from the food situation in the prisons, the Malawian justice system itself has failed many suspects, most of whom have been on the waiting list to see justice being done for over 10 years. In short: Malawi prisons are a hell to stay in.

## Links

**Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR):**  
<http://chrrm.org/>  
**Centre for Human Rights Education, Advice and Assistance (CHREAA):**  
<http://chreaa.org/>

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

**Raphael Mweninguwe**

is a freelance journalist based in Malawi.

[raphael.mweninguwe@hotmail.com](mailto:raphael.mweninguwe@hotmail.com)



## Imprint

**D+C Development and Cooperation**  
Vol. 44, 2017  
D+C is published together with the German edition E+Z  
Internet: <http://www.DandC.eu>  
ISSN 2366-7257

### Published on assignment from:



D+C Development and Cooperation is funded by Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and commissioned by ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL. D+C does not serve as a governmental mouthpiece. Our mission is to provide a credible forum of debate, involving governments, civil society, the private sector

and academia at an international level. D+C is the identical twin of E+Z Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit, the German edition.

**ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL gGmbH**  
Service für Entwicklungsinitiativen  
Tulpenfeld 7  
53113 Bonn  
Tel. (02 28) 2 07 17-0,  
Fax (02 28) 2 07 17-150  
<http://www.engagement-global.de>

**Advisory board:**  
Thomas Loster, Prof. Dr. Katharina Michaelowa, Prof. Dr. Dirk Messner, Petra Pinzler, Hugh Williamson

**Publisher:**  
Frankfurter Societäts-Medien GmbH

**Executive director:**  
Oliver Rohloff

**Address of the publisher and editorial office:**  
Frankenallee 71-81  
D-60327 Frankfurt am Main, Germany

This is also the legally relevant address of all indicated as responsible or entitled to represent them in this imprint.

**Editorial team:**  
Dr. Hans Dembowski (chief), Sabine Balk, Katja Dombrowski, Sheila Mysorekar, Eva-Maria Verfürth, Dagmar Wolf (assistant)  
Phone: +49 (0) 69 75 01-43 66  
Fax: +49 (0) 69 75 01-48 55  
[euz.editor@fs-medien.de](mailto:euz.editor@fs-medien.de)  
**Graphic design/Layout:** Jan W. Hofmann

**Translators:**  
M. Bell, C. Davis

Disclaimer according to § 5.2 Hessian Law on the Freedom and Rights of the Press: The shareholder of the company is Frankfurter Societät GmbH.

**Advertising and subscription service:**  
Klaus Hofmann (responsible)  
Phone: +49 (0) 69 75 01-48 27  
Fax: +49 (0) 69 75 01-45 02  
[zeitschriftenvertrieb@fs-medien.de](mailto:zeitschriftenvertrieb@fs-medien.de)

Opinions expressed by authors indicated in bylines do not necessarily reflect the views of ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL, the publisher or the editor and his team. Individual articles may be reprinted provided the source is mentioned and

two voucher copies are sent to the editor unless copyright is explicitly indicated. This does not apply to the photographs published in D+C Development and Cooperation and E+Z Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit. The editors request that no unsolicited manuscripts be sent. However, they do welcome proposals along with abstracts that serve to outline submissions.

Prices for print edition (incl. mailing charges):  
single issue: € 2.20  
annual subscription, Germany: € 14.00  
annual subscription, world: € 18.00

**Printing:**  
Westdeutsche Verlags- und Druckerei GmbH  
Kurfürstenstraße 4-6  
64546 Mörfelden-Walldorf, Germany





*Young men in Dakar.*

Young people  
deserve  
opportunities





Unemployment and underemployment are a huge challenges in many developing countries. Young people have great aspirations, but in the lack of good educational facilities and promising job opportunities, many feel frustrated and marginalised. A demographic youth bulge can be a growth-driving blessing if everyone finds a job, but otherwise it can prove a curse, leading to crime, political instability, migration and religious extremism.



# Hope and employment

Lebanese people do not treat Palestinian refugees in Lebanon as equals, even though many have been living in the country for decades. Young people in particular suffer discrimination and a lack of prospects. A non-governmental organisation (NGO) offers practice-orientated training to support young Palestinians.

By Mona Naggar

→ Isra, Hussain and Kholoud are participants in an accounting and office-management course. They and 33 other young Palestinians take classes in marketing, office management, typing et cetera in Arabic and English. The course goes on for ten months and is followed by an internship. It is run by an organisation called Youth for Development (YfD). The course is practice-orientated and aims to include graduates in the labour force.

The three students hope that the YfD certificate will help them find a job. The chances are actually quite good. Around two-thirds of YfD graduates find employment.

YfD was started by a group of Palestinians with experience in the education sector in 2008. The idea was to carry on work previously done by Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), a foreign NGO, which had begun offering professional training to Palestinians in Lebanon in the mid-1980s. It later transferred its programmes to local organisations.

Mohammad Kassem is the director of YfD and has been involved since the beginning. He says that the NGO provides socially and economically disadvantaged adolescents with an education. „We see ourselves as a quick intervention programme to help young people reach safe shores,“ he says. The NGO

*Isra and Kholoud are two young Palestinian women who take part in a course run by Youth for Development.*



Naggar



not only provides training, but it also helps youngsters look for a job and rehearses job interviews.

YfD stays in touch with its former students who are now working. The NGO thus has close ties to the job market and learns about job openings. Besides offering accounting and office-management courses, YfD trains adolescents who have attended school until the 9<sup>th</sup> grade in social work and secretarial work. Most courses are free of charge. They do not only tackle know-how and practical issues. YfD makes efforts to boost the self-esteem of youths and help them to develop their personalities.

Isra, Hussain and Kholoud are typical of many young Palestinians in Lebanon. Like many of his fellow trainees, for example, Hussain has dropped out of high school. He lives in Sabra, a poor district of south Beirut that is home to many Palestinians. The 20-year-old man explains why he quit school: „It's impossible to tell whether going to school and making an effort will prove useful in the future. Many pupils think this way, so they do not see why they should finish school – and some have to start earning money at an early stage.“

Isra's husband is another example. He left school in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade to contribute to supporting his family. Kholoud knows similar stories. „Even if both parents work, that does not mean that their children can afford to finish school,“ she says.

Kholoud and Isra have had better luck than Hussain, however. Both have graduated from high school. Isra even studied interior design and graphic design. Nonetheless, she has not found work, despite searching for a long time. Kholoud – who is 21 years old – started studying business administration, but had to stop after one year because university tuition was too expensive.

The two young women are frustrated and resent Lebanese society. They do not get the same opportunities as Lebanese people, even though they have the same qualifications. Palestinians face discrimination when they look for work. Another complaint is that, when they do find employment, they are paid lower wages than Lebanese people.

Both women live in Borj Al-Barajneh, one of the three Palestinian camps in Beirut. Like their parents, they are descendants of the people who fled their homeland and found asylum in Lebanon after Israel was created and during the wars of 1948 and 1967. Many Palestinians still live in the camps that were established back then and have since developed into city districts – quite often slums.

### The lack of civil rights

It is not easy for young Palestinians in Lebanon to look confidently to the future and find their place in Lebanese society. The financial crisis and high youth unemployment affect everyone in the country. Youth unemployment lies at approximately 35 % according to the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Making matters worse, the state still denies Palestinians many civil rights.

State-run schools exclude Palestinian children. The state university treats them as foreigners, subjecting them to a quota. Many kinds of jobs – especially high-skill professions – are off-limits to Palestinians. Palestinians cannot acquire property and are mostly excluded from state-run social-protection programmes and the national health service. For decades, Lebanese governments have enforced these policies claiming to prevent “tawtin” – the permanent settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon.



## Palestinians in Lebanon

The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) is in charge of providing education and healthcare to Palestinians in Lebanon. According to UNRWA, 422,000 registered Palestinian refugees live in Lebanon, constituting about 10 % of the population. The actual number may well be lower, however, as many refugees emigrate to Europe and the Gulf states. Thirty percent of Palestinians are under 18 years of age.

For a long time, the Palestinians in Lebanon were the best-educated ethnic group of the entire region. That has changed due

to the impacts of Lebanon's civil war (1975 to 1990), discriminatory laws and the funding problems of UNRWA. Social and economic marginalisation has kept getting worse in past decades.

According to UNICEF, 96 % of Palestinian boys and girls in the age group six to 11 attend school. For 12- to 14-year-olds, the share is only 63 %, and it drops to 40 % for 15- to 17-year-olds. Many youngsters do low-paying work instead of going to school.

More girls attend school than boys. The higher the grade, the bigger the share of

girls. In secondary school, 59.2 % of pupils are girls and only 42.9 % are boys. Girls are also ahead when it comes to graduating from middle school as well as high school, because more boys drop out.

The girls' situation strongly depends on their family. Isra says that her parents have always supported her. Her cousins, on the other hand, performed less well at school and were married by their 16<sup>th</sup> birthday. Kholoud points out that ever more parents appreciate the value of their daughters' education, recognising that knowledge is a valuable tool for girls.

Hussain dropped out of high school and is now enrolled in a vocational training course.

Naggar



**Mona Naggar**

is a journalist and lives in Beirut.  
mona.naggar@gmail.com

Such discrimination has resulted in poverty and downward mobility. In a 2012 study, the ILO found that half of Palestinians in Lebanon do not earn more than \$ 333 per month.

Salem Dieb is the deputy director of the Department of Education of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA – see box p. 15). In his experience, the difficult social and economic conditions inevitably have an impact on education: „The parents in the refugee camps say that they have to take their children out of school and send them to work in order to survive,” he reports. “Boys are sent to work. Girls are sent to work as well, and sometimes marry early.”

Dieb is convinced that vocational training, which boys and girls from the 9<sup>th</sup> grade onwards can take part in, is a way of breaking the vicious cycle of lacking education and poverty. It fits young Palestinians’ desire to contribute to supporting their families fast, he says. UNRWA runs two vocational training schools. One is in the north of Lebanon and the other in the south. Approximately 1,000 students attend the two schools.

Isra, Kholoud and Hussain are optimistic that they will have better job opportunities once they will have graduated from YfD. Should that not prove true, they may emigrate. „Abroad, you are judged by what you are able to do and what you have learned, and not by your Palestinian identification card, which closes many doors here,” they think. ➔

#### Links

##### Youth for Development:

<http://www.yford.org/>

##### UNRWA:

<http://www.unrwa.org/>

##### Survey on the socioeconomic status of Palestine refugees:

[http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/survey\\_on\\_the\\_economic\\_status\\_of\\_palestine\\_refugees\\_in\\_lebanon\\_2015.pdf](http://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/survey_on_the_economic_status_of_palestine_refugees_in_lebanon_2015.pdf)

##### The situation of Palestinian children in the occupied Palestinian Territory, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon:

[https://www.unicef.org/opt/PALESTINIAN\\_SITAN-final.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/opt/PALESTINIAN_SITAN-final.pdf)

##### Palestinian employment in Lebanon:

[http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms\\_236502.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---arabstates/---ro-beirut/documents/publication/wcms_236502.pdf)



# Still aspiring to change the world

Back in early 2011, there was a sparkle of hope. The entire international community appreciated the Arab spring uprisings, which were driven by young people demanding change in Egypt and other Arab countries. It seemed that everything was going to be fine. Six years later, a sense of gloom prevails in Egypt.

By Basma El-Mahdy

➔ In 2011, Egypt's youth embodied hope. Young people protested in the streets and ultimately toppled Hosni Mubarak, the president who had autocratically run the country for three decades. The young generation was considered "the main player" in this largely non-violent revolution. Activists expected democracy to improve people's economic prospects and make under- and unemployment a thing of the past. On 28 February 2011 the cover story of Time magazine celebrated "The generation changing the world". In Egypt, Al-Ahram, the government newspaper, published a translation of the cover story.

That was then. Today, a sense of gloom has replaced euphoria, and the young generation feels marginalised.

After a transitional period, elections were held in Egypt in 2012. Mohamed Morsi, the candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood, became the country's first elected president. He did not manage to improve the economic situation, however, but seemed focused on entrenching the influence of his political party. He lost power in a military coup one year after taking office in the summer of 2013.

The country's new president is Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, the general who led the coup and who was later confirmed in office in elections that were neither free nor fair because the Muslim Brotherhood was banned. In the previous elections, it had proved to be the strongest political force in the country, but the military leaders consider it a terrorist organisation. El-Sisi acted oppressively from the start. Today, he is constraining civil liberties more than Mubarak did.

Those who protested in the streets in 2011 neither support the Muslim Brotherhood nor the military. They did not get what they wanted: a liberated society with opportunities for everyone.

El-Sisi would like to get the young generation on his side. In January last year, he said 2016 would be the "year of Egyptian youth" and promised to start various programmes to improve education and economic prospects. The announcement coincided with the launch of the Knowledge Bank, a state-run project to provide free access to educational online resources that normally are only available to those who pay hefty subscription fees.

A few days later, on 25 January, the police arrested young people. It was the fifth anniversary of the first day of protests in 2011.

Last year, el-Sisi also launched the Presidential Leadership Programme (PLP). It is meant to "enable thousands of youth to start their journey to leadership and employment". According to the official website, participants will be trained in three stages concerning:

- politics and national security,
- public administration and entrepreneurship, and
- social science and governance.

## The First National Youth Conference

In October, the President's Office supervised Egypt's First National Youth Conference in the tourist resort of Sharm El-Sheikh. Far away from the congested capital Cairo, 3,000 young people gathered for three days and met experts from many disciplines to discuss political, economic and other issues. The event was linked to the PLP.

Across the country, however, many members of the age group largely ignored the event or even refused to take part. Noor Mohamad was invited to go, for example, but did not want to. She says she is "not interested in official youth activities". She is 23 years old, has a BA in English literature and has been work-



ing in the private sector for a year and a half. In her eyes, the government rhetoric on youth leadership is empty given that the education system fails to prepare students for market requirements.

"Taking care of youth is not done by holding conferences," says Fatima Abdallah, a 26 year old public-sector employee from Alexandria, Egypt's second biggest city. "Action is what we need, not words." In her eyes, the conference was a mere propaganda event.

Mariam Abdelaziz, a 23 year old graphic designer living in Cairo, agrees. She says she heard about the youth conference, but didn't follow the intensive media reports about it. She is not interested in propaganda, but would like to be informed about enforced disappearances. According to Amnesty International, hundreds of citizens have "disappeared", but the government stays silent on this matter.

Like many others, Mariam Abdelaziz says she would like to leave Egypt: "I am a temporary visitor in my country, the land of no hope." To her, "the revolution was a wakeup call", but she admits her interest

in politics has "decreased sharply in the past years". She feels grateful to those who wanted to introduce change, but points out that life is getting harder.

Not all young people who find the current situation unbearable were supporters of the revolution however. Ayshe Hassan, a 21 year old university student, appreciated the sense of stability and security provided by the Mubarak regime. Nonetheless, she is bitter about officialdom's broken promises. She says that the status quo makes young people suffer because they lack prospects. Too many die "trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea to get to Europe", she points out.

While many young people do not believe in the government's good intentions, some support the president. Ahmed Abo Sinah attended the youth conference as a representative of Arab League's Youth Committee. He praises el-Sisi's performance in Sharm El-Sheikh: "I have been there for five days witnessing the amazing work." In his eyes, the discussions concerning laws, protests, social affairs and religious discourse were worthy.

## Women want careers

Egypt's official unemployment rate rose to 13.2 % in 2016. The real situation is worse, however, since people who struggle to make ends meet in informal employment are not counted as unemployed. In the lack of sufficient incomes, many young people postpone marriage.

Fatima Abdallah, a young public-sector worker from Alexandria, says: "Getting a job isn't easy, and the salaries are the minimum wage, so it is hard to start a family in the current situation." According to her,

many of her acquaintances worry about jobs and are postponing marriage. Mariam Abdelaziz from Cairo agrees: "In the light of the economic crisis, getting married is without doubt one of the toughest decisions these days."

Many young women who have a job, however, are unwilling to give it up. They want to keep working and make money. Noor Mohamad is an example. She says she would stay employed at the private-sector company that has hired her even if she married a

millionaire. "The traditional family, with women staying at home, does not fit the social and economic situation anymore," she insists. In view of the current economic crisis, she appreciates her financial independence even more.

Ayshe Hassan is another young woman who puts her profession first: "I am an independent woman who loves work," she says, but adds that career opportunities are becoming fewer in the tourism industry she works for.



Mohamed Omar/picture-alliance/dpa

Andre Poir/picture-alliance/dpa

*Young revolutionaries  
in 2011.*





*Anti-Mubarak rally on Cairo's Tahrir Square in February 2011.*

Mostafa Barakat, who helped to organise the event in Sharm El-Sheikh agrees. "We witnessed a real time of pluralism and freedom of speech." He says that many young critics of the government have not been arrested.

One result of the conference was the government's promise to release all detained youth who have not received judgments. It was, however, not the first promise of this kind. An opposition campaign immediately asked online: "Where is the youth?" According to Abo Sinah, however, this campaign was not up to date and failed to reflect recent developments. The truth, however, is that many young people are in detention, and there is no trace of most people who "disappeared".

Six years ago, Time magazine emphasised that young people used the internet and social media to organise and fight for change. Today, advanced communications technology is not very helpful anymore. In November 2015, groups that support the Muslim Brotherhood tried to rally people for pro-

tests via social media, but the response was negligible.

As for the economic situation, it has been becoming more difficult too. With the country running out of foreign-exchange reserves, the government was forced to float the national currency in autumn. Otherwise, the International Monetary Fund would not have given it a much needed loan worth \$ 12 billion. As a result, the Egyptian pound depreciated fast, making imported goods more expensive. Inflation has reduced people's purchasing power.

It is impossible to turn back the clock. Young people's attitude to life has changed. They do not see much scope for political action now, but they do not agree with the way things are going. In particular, many young women have been reassessing their options (see box, p. 18). In the long run, some hope that their generation may yet change the world. Fatima Abdallah says: "The light at the end of the tunnel is the young people who become open-minded."



**Basma El-Mahdy**

is a print journalist specialising in human-rights issues. She is from Cairo and currently studying in Denmark. In this contribution, the names of persons who expressed criticism of Egypt's current government have been changed.

[basmaelmahdy@gmail.com](mailto:basmaelmahdy@gmail.com)



# ILO sees dangerous global trend

Young people's employment is crucial for sustainable and inclusive growth. Youth, aged between 15 and 24 years, represent more than 15 % of the world's labour force. After several years of improvement, however, youth unemployment is rising again. Job quality is a major concern too, especially in emerging markets and developing countries.

In 2016, the global youth unemployment rate was expected to climb to 13.1 % from 12.9 % in 2015, according to the ILO World Employment and Social Outlook for Youth 2016. In absolute numbers, this means that 71 million young women and men want to work, but do not have a job. The authors expect the ratio to stay the same in 2017. The main reason for the deterioration is the global economy: growth in developing countries is at its lowest level since 2003, and key emerging markets such as Argentina, Brazil and Russia are in recession.

According to the report, however, the true extent of the labour market challenge is much greater than the numbers suggest: many young people, especially in developing countries, are working, but don't earn enough to make a living. In 2016, 37.7 % of working youth were living in extreme poverty (on less than \$ 1.90 per day and head, as defined by the World Bank) or moderate poverty (on \$ 1.90 to \$ 3.10 per day).

Furthermore, persistent gender gaps undermine social progress, as the ILO report highlights. In 2016, the young women's labour force participation was only 37.3 %, compared with young men's 53.9 %. In the past 16 years, the gap has shrunk by a mere 1.2 percentage points.

Accordingly, the global female unemployment rate is higher than the male one. Girls and women are particularly disadvantaged in South Asia, Arab countries and North Africa.

Bleak outlooks at home cause millions of young people to look abroad for better education and employment opportunities. In 2015, 51 million international migrants aged between 15 and 29 left their home countries, according to ILO figures. Additionally, one out of five young women and men were willing to move permanently to another country. Most of them live in

sub-Saharan Africa or Latin America and the Caribbean.

The ILO authors appreciate the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a way forward. This internationally agreed document, which includes the Sustainable Development Goals, "provides a unique opportunity to incorporate youth policies into comprehensive sustainable development strategies," the report states. Moreover, it applauds the 2008 ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization and argues that it can guide national strategies to increase youth employment, address inequality and ensure decent work. The Declaration demands sustainable institutional environment for economic growth development, adequate social protection and adherence to labour standards. In the view of the ILO, social justice is synonymous with higher ratios of youth employment. The ILO Call for Action in youth employment, which was adopted in 2012, addresses fundamental challenges such as unemployment, poor working conditions and unequal opportunities.

*Katja Dombrowski*

## Links

**World Employment and Social Outlook for Youth 2016:**

[http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/youth/2016/WCMS\\_513739/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/youth/2016/WCMS_513739/lang-en/index.htm)

**ILO Declaration on social justice for a fair globalization:**

[http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/mission-and-objectives/WCMS\\_099766/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/mission-and-objectives/WCMS_099766/lang-en/index.htm)

**The youth employment crisis: A call for action.**

[http://ilo.org/ilc/ILCSessions/101stSession/texts-adopted/WCMS\\_185950/lang-en/index.htm](http://ilo.org/ilc/ILCSessions/101stSession/texts-adopted/WCMS_185950/lang-en/index.htm)

*Garment factories create employment for young women, for instance in the village of Kitteh in northern Jordan.*



Raafat Adayleh/picture-alliance/AP Photo



# A triumph for young people

In 2014, a popular uprising in Burkina Faso ended the rule of President Blaise Compaoré. He had been in power for 27 years. Pressure for political change came from civil society and in particular from the country's youth. One of the main causes was high unemployment – which still remains a problem.

By Boukari Ouoba

➔ By the end of October 2014, Ouagadougou was in the hands of the people. Hundreds of thousands marched through the main thoroughfares of the Burkinabé capital, most of them young people. They wanted to finally be rid of Blaise Compaoré, who was preparing to amend the constitution yet again in order to remain in power.

As early as 1997, his regime changed the article of the constitution that limited presidents to two consecutive terms. In 2000, however, it revised the rule once more. Thanks to political and arithmetical tricks, he managed to remain head of state for 27 years. Compaoré had grabbed power in 1987 in a coup that

oust his leftist predecessor, Thomas Sankara, who had risen to power in an earlier military coup in 1983.

In 2015, the constitutional rule was that Compaoré's rule had to end, so Compaoré wanted to amend it yet again. The parliamentary vote on the matter was scheduled for 30 October. But following massive popular protests, the military ended up dissolving the government and the parliament on that day. Compaoré resigned and fled the country shortly thereafter.

The uprising against the government did not happen overnight. The country's citizens were deeply



*Demonstration in Ouagadougou on 29 October 2014 against the constitutional amendment proposed by President Compaoré, who wanted to extend his time in office.*



Dimitalaba/picture-alliance/AA

frustrated by extremely high unemployment, corruption and poor governance. Starting in 2013, a variety of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were started to oppose further terms in office for Compaoré, including Balai citoyen, Collectif anti référendum (CAR), Mouvement du 21 juin (M21), Ça Suffit, Ligue des jeunes and Mouvement Brassard Noir (MBN).

The country's youth firmly believed that their political future would be decided on the street. Of the newly founded NGOs, Balai citoyen, which was backed by two Burkinabé icons, the musicians and activists Sams'K Le Jah and Smockey, played the most crucial role. The organisation also had the support of lawyers, economists, journalists and above all students at the University of Ouagadougou.

The foundation for Balai citoyen was laid on 13 May 2013 on the university's campus. Responding to plans to amend the constitution, students created a debate forum called "Deux heures pour nous deux heures pour l'Afrique" ("Two hours for us, two hours for Africa"), which eventually gave rise to the NGO. The group met Monday through Friday between 1 and 3 p.m., during the university's two-hour lunch break, to discuss a current political or social topic.

"About 250 people showed up after just the first week. This was a place where students could express their concerns," recalls Serges Bayala, one of the founders and members of Balai citoyen. More and more people came, which worried the university administration. The group initially met in the cafeteria, but was soon forced to move the meetings outside. But that didn't slow its momentum. The university leadership did not try to hide its fear that a political association might be forming on campus – which was precisely the goal of the students who organised the meetings. Bayala says: "The students were interested in what was going on, and we wanted to find a way to engage them in the political struggle."

## Organising on campuses

Across the country, opposition took shape on other university campuses and in numerous NGOs that were either founded or headed by young people. A new generation of civil-society organisations was born, which previously had mostly been made up of trade unions.

Balai citoyen established clubs in many neighbourhoods of the capital and in some of Burkina Faso's smaller cities. Following the decision in October 2014 to take the protest to the streets and demonstrate in front of the National Assembly on the day of the vote, members of Balai citoyen travelled through Ouagadougou mobilising citizens. Participants in Mouvement Brassard Noir and other organisations also went to the homes of members of parliament and called on them to vote against the amendment so as "not to betray the people". Bobo-Dioulasso, the

country's second-largest city, also had an active NGO scene. In addition to Balai citoyen, Ligue des jeunes played a large role there.

The movement was successful in part because the NGOs formed a strong partnership with CFOP, a coalition of Burkina Faso's opposition parties. While civil-society organisations focused on mobilising citizens, CFOP staged large meetings with politicians and representatives of NGOs. The first such meeting took place on 29 June 2013, which also marked the first public appearance by Balai citoyen.

## Civil disobedience

Without widespread mobilisation at various levels, the powerful uprising that ousted Compaoré would have been impossible. Even before the mass demonstration on 30 October 2014, young people were camping out on Revolution Square in Ouagadougou and facing off with security forces. NGOs and CFOP had called for acts of civil disobedience. When Balai citoyen's celebrity icon, Sams'K Le Jah, showed up with a mattress and a tea kettle, the demonstrators knew that they were not going to yield.

The crowd protested when the head of CFOP, Zéphirin Diabré, called for an end to the occupation in his speech on Revolution Square on 28 October. They wanted to stay until their demands were met. "The fight belongs to the people, and the people can do what the people want," Diabré responded. There was street fighting that night. The toppling of the Compaoré regime was a triumph for Burkina Faso's youth. Its idols are Thomas Sankara and Norbert Zongo, a journalist whose politically-motivated murder in 1998 led the country's unions and political opposition to join forces.

Serges Bayala, along with other leading figures in the uprising, was awarded a medal for his services by the transitional government. President Roch Marc Kaboré, who remains close to some members of the former opposition movement, has been in office since the end of 2015 (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/01, p. 5). He won the election against CFOP head Zéphirin Diabré.

But the country's problems have not gone away. Most importantly, the new government has not proposed any sustainable solutions to the problem of joblessness, which was one of the main causes of the uprising. Impunity continues to be a problem, and so is the clan-like distribution of power.

Some of the NGOs that played a leading role in the 2014 uprising continue to fight for change and more substantial actual democracy. Balai citoyen and eight other organisations have come together to form Coalition Ditanyè, which is named after Burkina's national anthem. Two years after the uprising, in October 2016, the group declared: "The fight has just begun." ←



**Boukari Ouoba**

is a journalist for the Burkinabe newspaper Mutations and secretary general of the Burkinabe journalists' association, Association des Journalistes du Burkina (AJB).  
ouobari@yahoo.fr



# Disasters waiting to happen

In developing countries, poor people cannot afford to be unemployed. With limited or non-existing rights to social benefits, they must earn money, no matter how precarious the jobs are. Masses of people are exploited in the informal sector, for example. They are underemployed in the sense of not being paid adequately and being denied internationally accepted labour standards.

In Africa, unemployment is thus a phenomenon among the urban educated youth with a middle-class background. What they have in common with the underemployed, however, is that they are denied the possibility of building a bright future for themselves. They too lack regular incomes and live on the margins of society.

In Africa, the structural adjustment programmes demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and donor governments contributed to increasing unemployment and informal employment from the early 1980s to the turn of the millennium. Many civil servants were fired, and government agencies stopped recruiting. Formal employment has remained sluggish ever since. Though Africa experienced considerable economic growth in recent years, it was jobless growth. In Senegal for example, the informal sector accounts for 99 % of the additional employment that was created in the years 2001 to 2010, the best decade for postcolonial Senegal in terms of growth.

The lack of prospects causes anger and frustration. Young people, who constitute more than 60 % of the people in many countries, are affected in particular. To some extent, structural adjustment contributed to

African countries' transition from military regimes and one-party authoritarianism to multi-party democracy. People's frustration fed their desire for change. A similar pattern was evident in the Arab spring uprisings. In Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries, a large share of the youth feels marginalised. It is a problem, however, that elected governments of multi-party democracies have hardly managed to gear economies to more and better employment either.

For the African youth, democratic mobilisation is unfortunately not the only response to the lack of prospects. Other responses are migration – including clandestine migration to Europe –, crime and religious extremism.

Crime tends to be especially bad in societies marked by huge inequalities. Where formal employment is rare, society becomes polarised between a few “haves” and masses of “have-nots”. This is a setting in which crime flourishes – from petty theft to murder. Today, crime rates are rising all over Africa, affecting everyone, especially the poor. Crime is how some people adapt to an unfair society. Some of the better-off do so too.

Those who turn to religious extremism, however, are contesting the cultural and political principles upon which current African states are built. Militant fundamentalists suggest that the current systems should be violently overthrown. They want to impose a new order based on religious doctrines. Many countries – including Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Mali, Libya, Somalia, Kenya and others – are suffering murderous terrorist attacks.

So far, only a small share of Africa's youth is attracted to religious extremism. But violent militias seem to be gaining ground. There can be no doubt that they are benefiting from young people's discontent.

Neither crime nor faith-inspired terrorism can be defeated by the security forces alone. Educational and occupational battlegrounds matter very much. African governments must ensure that young people get a good education and good jobs. In 41 sub-Saharan countries, the labour force is set to double by 2050. This demographic trend is a fact, and it poses serious challenges. Making matters even more difficult, technological innovations are increasingly making human labour redundant.

Africa needs a new paradigm to create viable economic prospects for its young generation. Failure will mean more unrest, more migration, more crime and more religious extremism.

*Only a small share of Africa's youth is attracted to religious extremism. But their violent militias seem to be gaining ground: al-Shabab militant in Somalia in 2009.*



**Ndongo Samba Sylla**

manages programmes and research at the Dakar office of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, which is affiliated to The Left, a party in Germany's federal parliament Bundestag.  
[n.sylla@rosalux.sr](mailto:n.sylla@rosalux.sr)



picture-alliance/dpa

# #FeesMustFall

When apartheid ended in 1994, South Africans would not have imagined that students would still be raising their fists in protest 22 years later. Today, students are struggling for free and decolonised education.

The statue of Cecil Rhodes, the British colonialist, has fallen at the University of Cape Town. Using the social-media hashtag “#RhodesMustFall” a protest movement had campaigned for its removal, achieving its goal in April 2015. A few months later, university managements announced more than 10 % tuition fee increases, and soon the strongest post-apartheid student movement took off. Protest have kept flaring up, and they concern fees, curricula and universities’ institutional culture.

Student activists point out that tuition is unaffordable for people from poor backgrounds. One year of studies for a Bachelor’s degree costs the equivalent of € 2000 to € 3000. The fees compound unjust inequality. Only about 12 % of blacks and 14 % of coloureds enrol in higher education, while 51 % of Indians and 58 % of whites do. Blacks make up 80 % of the population. The share of whites is 8.4 %. Primary and secondary schools, moreover, tend to be poor where black and low-income communities live.

Most black families are plainly denied academic opportunities. A recent study showed that only six of 100 children who start school will obtain a university degree, while 60 % of those who qualify for higher education come from the wealthiest third of high schools, all of which charge fees. About half of South Africans earn less than the recently proposed minimum wage of € 240 per month.

Some poor students make it to university nonetheless. They must pay for tuition fees and accommodation, relying on the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), which offers grants to students based on their household income. However, NSFAS funds are short, so the scheme cannot cover all students who qualify for higher learning. Moreover, the “missing middle” falls through the cracks. These are youngsters whose parents’ annual income is slightly above the threshold of about € 8000. They cannot afford the costs of university studies.

Students are now using the hashtag #FeesMustFall. They want tertiary education to be made tuition-free. They argue that education is a public good that should be funded by the state and open to all citizens. Their opponents argue that higher education is a privilege and question the feasibility of making it free for all. Activists, however, insist that it really is an issue of political will.

The student movement is about more than fees, however. It criticises Eurocentric curricula. Inspired by anti-apartheid activists like Steve Biko, they insist that universities must be decolonised. At stake is how knowledge is produced, who has access to knowledge and who decides what kind of knowledge is considered valid and valuable. Decolonisation means to unlearn unjust categories of being human, including racialised identities. South Africa needs better notions that are inclusive and liberating to all.

Students point out that university staff is still predominantly white. They want course content to fit the South African context. Black students’ place in the world must be affirmed. Universities should reflect the country’s diversity and teach in African languages rather than only in English and Afrikaans. Gender issues matter too – female students have been highlighting issues of sexual abuse.

The student movement is worrisome for the ANC government. President Jacob Zuma is struggling with allegations of corruption and his party looks increasingly split. The ANC must face the fact that students’ frustrations result from its failure to improve the opportunities and indeed lives of the vast majority of South Africans.



The statue of colonialist Cecil Rhodes was removed from the University of Cape Town in April 2015.



**Majaletje Mathume** is a South African student and activist.  
[majaletjet@gmail.com](mailto:majaletjet@gmail.com)



Samson/picture alliance/africanmedianline

In September 2016, Blade Nzimande, the minister for higher education, announced another hike of fees. Students’ response was to shut down universities. Private security and the police were massively deployed, and classes eventually resumed. On the upside, the government has established a commission of inquiry to address the demands of #FeesMustFall. This issue will not go away.



# U-shaped curve

Many young Indian women have great professional aspirations, and their role models have succeeded in various sectors. Nonetheless, many dreams will probably not come true. Unemployment is more common among women than men in Indian cities, and rural job opportunities hardly arise.

By Roli Mahajan

➔ It is an autumn morning in New Delhi. Young women in the age group 18 to 35 are leaving a hostel. Some are going to their nearby colleges, while others are hurrying to the metro station or trying to halt a three-wheeler, hoping to get to their offices in time.

Only young women who are pursuing career ambitions live in this hostel. There are many of its kind in India's metropolitan cities. That young women leave their fathers' homes for a different reason than marriage is a new, but wide-spread phenomenon.

Yashika is one of the hostel residents in Delhi. Her mother is a housewife, and her father is a businessman in Hanumangarh, a small district in the neighbouring state of Rajasthan. Yashika says she wanted to study art and did not see any opportunities in Hanumangarh. She managed to convince her parents to let her attend the Art College in Delhi. She does not know what she will do after finishing college, but she sees two options: "I will try to get a scholarship to pursue higher education abroad, or I'll work for some advertising firm in Mumbai."

Shailesh is another young woman who has come to the city from a rural area. She is now a senior researcher at the India Meteorological Department, a government agency. "I am currently working on a satellite meteorology project, INSAT-3D," she says. She plans to complete her PhD in this context. Afterwards, she too would like to leave India. She hopes to be employed by the Japan Agency for Marine-Earth Science and Technology.

Yashika and Shailesh are young urban women with great professional aspirations. The big question is whether their dreams will come true. In some sectors, the picture actually looks rosy. Today, almost 12% of India's 5,100 pilots are women, versus three percent worldwide. Moreover, women head the top public and private banks in India. In the disciplines of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), Indian tech firms tend to employ a greater share of women than those in the USA.

These facts are encouraging, but they do not show the whole picture. According to the Interna-

tional Labour Organization (ILO), India has one of the lowest female labour-force participation rates in the world. Among South Asian countries, it is in the sixth position among eight countries, just above Pakistan and Afghanistan. This means that the ambitions of many young women are obviously stunted. Indeed, the unemployment rate is highest for urban women with graduate degrees and above.

The Kelly Global Workforce Index highlights that Indian women are likely to quit jobs at mid-career level due to the "double burden syndrome". It results from a culture where both men and women feel the family and household duties are primarily the woman's responsibility. Mansi is 30 years old and lives in Kolkata. She used to be a senior executive in an IT firm, but quit when her baby was born. Today, many professional couples only have one child, but it is still common for the mother to stop working.

Today, the vast majority of young Indians, whether male or female, want to work and aspire to upward mobility. By 2020, the median individual will be 29 years old and quite likely live in a city. Today, about one third of the urban population is under 35. Economies around the world are currently slowing down, but international economists reckon that India should perform comparatively well. In recent years, annual growth amounted to about seven percent.

One would assume that growth means that more people, including women, work. In the years 2004 to 2010, however, Indian women's labour-force participation declined from 33.3% to 26.5% in rural areas and from 17.8% to 14.6% in urban areas. The ILO attributes these trends to increasing enrolment in education on the one hand and higher incomes of men on the other. At the same time, there is a lack of employment opportunities for people with higher levels of skills and qualifications. Though it affects both genders, women tend to struggle more to find jobs and are less vocal about it.

Educated urban people want to work in the formal sector. According to official data, the unemployment rate for women aged 15 to 59 is almost 16%. The comparative figure for men is only nine percent. Obvi-





Graham/picture-alliance/robert harding

Young Indian women study hard, hoping to achieve a lot.



**Roli Mahajan**

is a journalist based in New Delhi.

[roli.mahajan@gmail.com](mailto:roli.mahajan@gmail.com)

ously, women find it harder to find adequate opportunities. Mercer International, a consultancy, has assessed the situation and found that young women currently account for 40 % of formal-sector recruits, while women only make up 20 % of the mid-management level and their share drops to 10 % among the top leaders.

On the upside, girls enrolment in schools has improved dramatically in the past few decades. The gender gaps in primary and secondary schools have been closed thanks to government policies. The number of children who do not go to school has been reduced by more than 90 %. However, many teenage girls still drop out of secondary schools. According to the Indian National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), the reasons are that they are expected to do domestic chores. Moreover, the marriage age is still quite low, both in rural and urban areas. At the same time, India still has 265 million illiterate adults, and more than two thirds of them are women.

Sirisha C. Naidu is an economics professor at Wright State University in the USA. She says: "The most common understanding of women's labour-force participation rate is that it is a 'U-shaped' curve – high for countries with very low or very high levels of development, and low for countries at middling levels of development."

## Scant rural opportunities

For countries like India, which are beginning to achieve moderate levels of development and hoping to accelerate development by making the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy, the increase in men's non-farm jobs boosts household incomes, so the pressure on women to do meagrely paid work is reduced. In the past, men and women

alike did farm work, but agriculture is becoming mechanised, so it is keeping fewer people busy.

Nonetheless, most women do not want to stay at home. They would prefer to earn money. What is lacking, however, are suitable employment opportunities. This applies to well educated as well as uneducated women.

Some village women move to the cities to look for work. They become household helpers, cleaners, street vendors and salespersons. These jobs tend to be informal and do not offer the security of wage employment.

The majority of rural women, however, stays in the villages because moving to the cities is not considered safe. Where they live, there are no suitable jobs for them. Gender stereotypes matter very much. Archana Pandey works for a non-governmental organisation that wants to train young women for jobs in Uttar Pradesh, one of India's least developed states. "We have witnessed men refusing to allow their daughters, wives and daughters-in-law to leave the village for training and subsequent job placements," she says.

India has to increase women's participation in the labour force. The McKinsey Global Institute, another consultancy, reckons that India can increase its 2025 gross domestic product (GDP) by 16 % to 60 % by enabling women to participate in the economy on par with men. The challenges are huge, however. It is not enough to make streets and transportation safer for women – a male-dominated society must change its mindset. ➔

### Link

Kelly Global Workforce Index:

<http://www.kellyservices.com/Global/Kelly-Global-Workforce-Index/>



## Shared norms

Since 2013, the weltwärts programme allows young people from developing countries to do voluntary work in Germany. The programme is funded by Engagement Global on behalf of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Vidya Varghese, a participant from India, shares her experiences.

I am a psychologist and come from Tarikere, a small town in the south Indian state of Karnataka. In my home country, I work as a counsellor for a non-governmental organisation (NGO) called VIKASANA on a part-time basis, focussing on street children, school dropouts and child labourers. They struggle with issues such as home sickness and anxieties. Many are slow learners and do not speak our language well. We play games and offer various activities that help them to learn and improve their behaviour.

In Germany, I worked for a German NGO, Karl Kübel Stiftung (Karl Kübel Foundation), which is a partner of VIKASANA. Its focus is on children and families. I supported the foundation's international development department at the head office in Bensheim, a small town near Frankfurt. I did office work, have hosted seminars at German schools and even did a cooking lesson to promote fair-trade shops. I have also contributed to preparing German weltwärts-volunteers for their stay in India.

It was fascinating to be in touch with several other German NGOs that are involved in rehabilitating people with disabilities, including mental and psychological challenges. By coincidence, CBM, the international NGO that specialises in disability issues, is also based in Bensheim.

After I was selected for weltwärts, I was a bit nervous and worried about cultural differences. I thought Germans are very punctual, task-oriented and not very flexible. Would I be able to manage? And would I fit into my host family? It turned out that my concerns were exaggerated. My time in Germany was proving very nice and very useful.

I liked to talk with older Germans to understand the development of the country. I now see that Germany used to have some problems India still has today, concerning strong cultural traditions, for example, or little regard for women's and children's rights.

I find that India's and Germany's guiding norms are actually quite similar, but they are not implemented everywhere. In Germany, they tend to be better implemented than in India, and government agencies are promoting those norms. In Germany, everyone gets an education, so the basic understanding of the

legal system and governance principles is much stronger. Germans also seem more prepared to take the initiative to try to make a difference. In Indian society, which is much poorer, people tend to be so busy with their own worries that they hardly notice other people's problems.

I have observed that Germans tend to be more independent persons than Indians, and that the sense of independence is even fostered in young children. It matters that kids are not only taken care of by their families. Most young children spend at least some hours every day in a nursery school, which has to meet considerable educational standards. In India, things are completely different. Family ties matter more than they do in Germany, and that makes life particularly hard for children from dysfunctional families.

I used to be quite shy and found it hard to speak in front of an audience. But I have been developing more self-confidence and am now proud to say that I can do presentations and even improvise, if needed. Being in Germany has been very helpful in this respect. I have become more independent, more eloquent and better informed concerning my profession. My self-confidence has grown.

Volunteering in Germany has helped me to understand the cultural differences and the similarities. Working here served my personal growth, and my ideas of what I want to do with my life have become clearer.

### Link

Weltwärts:

[www.weltwärts.de/en](http://www.weltwärts.de/en)



*Vidya Varghese during cooking class she gave for the Karl Kübel Foundation.*



### Vidya Varghese

is 24 years old and was a weltwärts volunteer from India in 2016. The weltwärts programme has allowed young Germans to gather experience in developing countries since 2008. Weltwärts volunteers from developing countries have been coming to Germany since 2013. In 2015, 111 volunteers from Latin America, 71 from Africa and 21 from Asia worked in Germany. [vidyavarghees@gmail.com](mailto:vidyavarghees@gmail.com)

# “Education must not be for sale”



Chile's youth have been expressing frustration with the country's education system for a long time. Ten years ago, high school students protested vehemently, and another wave of rallies swept the country in 2011. That was the same year that the Arab spring erupted, the Indignados shook Spain and the Occupy Wall Street movement spread from New York to many other places.

By Javier Cisterna Figueroa

➔ In Chile, the young generation is angry because the education system produces and reinforces inequality. Students want the government to do something about the matter.

In Chile, 12 years of schooling are compulsory. There are three types of schools:

- public schools (colegio municipal), which are state-run and free of costs,
- subsidised private schools (colegio particular subvencionado), which are privately run but receive state subsidies and therefore charge relatively low school fees,
- and entirely private schools (colegio particular), which demand very high school fees.

The big issue is that they differ in quality. According to the statistics department of the University of Chile, pupils from private schools regularly have better results in the university entrance exams. These results are very important. To get into a good university and get grants, one needs good marks. After graduation, moreover, job opportunities depend on having attended a university with a strong reputation.

In 2011, students shouted: “Down with Pinochet education!” They were alluding to the military dictator who had ruled the country for almost three decades after a bloody coup in 1973. His right-wing regime substantially cut funding for public education and encouraged private education. Pretty soon the public schools were in a bad shape. The educational gaps grew wider between those whose parents could afford private schools, and those whose parents could not.

The gaps did not close again. Democracy was reintroduced in 1990, but Pinochet's market-radical ideology has left its mark on the country. The young generation demands that must change.

According to OECD statistics, Chile is currently the member country with the highest income inequal-

ity. The income of the richest 10 % is 26 times higher than that of the poorest 10 %. For those who cannot afford to pay expensive school fees, the fundamental right of access to good education is limited because the rules of the market apply. School fees are a tremendous burden on many people in Chile.

## Debt because of student loans

Tertiary education is costly in Chile too. The average of the 15 highest annual tuition fees which have to be paid at Chile's excellent private universities is the equivalent of about \$ 5,900. Accordingly, many students need bank loans. Public universities are cheaper, but they are not as good.

A programme to help students pay university fees has been in place since 2005. It is called “Crédito con Aval del Estado” (CAE). It supports student loans with governmental guarantees. The loans have to be repaid, of course, and the interest rates are quite high.

According to the non-governmental Fundación Sol, which does research on financial and work-related issues, this system works only in strictly financial terms. One problem the foundation sees is that, due to the debts which students accumulate, banks control their present and future lives. Young people have to start repaying the loans after graduation, when they start looking for their first professional job.

Fundación Sol reports that the number of students almost doubled to more than 1.2 million from 2005 to 2015. But it laments that “the privatisation of the higher education system is advancing”.

There are many pitfalls in Chile's education system. Claudia Barrientos, for instance, did not get good results in the university entrance exams, so she had to choose a private university, and her mother had to





Gomez/picture-alliance / NurPhoto

sign as her guarantor. But shortly after the girl started her studies, her mother lost her job.

"I had to leave university, because I couldn't pay the tuition fees anymore," Barrientos says. "Although I had studied only for three months, from March to May, I had to pay fees for the whole year." She still owes the university the equivalent of \$ 740.

Francisca Muñoz is 20 years old, and like her sister, she wants to go to university. "The results of my entrance exam were not good enough to apply for a grant," she reports. "My sister was studying already, and my parents could not afford to pay fees for me too." Her frustration clearly shows on her face. She adds: "Now I work and I try to save money, so maybe in 2018, I can enrol in university."

Recaredo Gálvez is the former president of the "Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Concepción", a students' union. He says that young people enter into a vicious cycle when they finance their studies with loans: "According to the National Institute of Statistics, half of all working Chileans did not earn more than \$ 523 per month in 2015. With this kind of income, you cannot pay back loans for your education." He points out that 4 million of 11 million people who are paying back such debts are late in their instalments. "In a country where so many people only have precarious jobs, this system cannot work," Gálvez says.

## Demand for public education

The Ministry of Education claims that its job is "to provide quality education, free of cost, giving access to all citizens and promoting social inclusion and equality". It does not live up to this promise. The truth is that low-quality public high schools are funded with eve-

rybody's tax money, whereas only prosperous people can afford to send their children to higher-quality private schools.

Fernando Atria is a lawyer who has done research on the education system. His assessment is: "The movement of 2011 showed clearly that education cannot be sold like other goods. It must not be distributed according to purchasing power, because that will lead to inequality and segregation." Atria appreciates students' demands to move on from a market-based system to one of social rights.

Gabriel Boric is a former student leader who was elected to the Congreso Nacional, the national parliament in 2013. "Congress is a hermetic place," Boric maintains. "The economically powerful groups are influential across party lines." He says he only has few allies – including three other former student leaders. Their goal is to strengthen public education: "We don't want the inequality in Chile to reproduce itself over and over."

Sociologist Alberto Mayol, however, maintains that the political system so far has hardly responded to recurring student protests. Students regularly organise rallies to demand education that is good, free of cost and not geared to financial gains. "These marches are signs of social problems," Mayol says. "However, my impression is that the authorities don't get the message." In his eyes, the elites are resisting change. Something should be done, he says, otherwise "we can get ready for the next students' revolt." ←

### Links

#### OECD:

<https://www.oecd.org/chile/OECD2015-In-It-Together-Highlights-Chile.pdf>

<http://www.oecd.org/edu/Education-at-a-Glance-2014.pdf>

#### Fundación Sol:

<http://www.fundacionsol.cl/>

*Two protesters hold a Chilean flag with the slogan "free education" in Spanish in Santiago in June 2016.*



**Javier Cisterna Figueroa**

is a journalist and lives in Concepción, Chile.

[cisternafigueroa@gmail.com](mailto:cisternafigueroa@gmail.com)

# Responsible use of data

Reliable figures offer indispensable information for getting a clear idea of a country's level of development and promoting progress. The conventional method of data collection is to actively request and gather data, but information technology (IT) is now making available large amounts of automatically-generated data. Huge data sets are referred to as big data because of their volume and complexity. The questions are how – and even whether – to use them.

By Tobias Knobloch and Julia Manske

→ Data play an important role in development. In agriculture, for instance, reliable sets of data can help to predict crop yields. The International Center of Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) has developed a computer programme in cooperation with the Colombian Rice Growers Association to predict dry periods. Based on weather data from the past 10 years,

the system assesses how plants react to changing weather and soil conditions. It helps farmers to avoid unprofitable sowing. Thanks to such information, they were able to save almost \$ 3.8 million in 2013.

In many countries, however, statistical services are weak. Data are poorly maintained and incomplete. They offer rather limited information concerning devel-

opment (in particular socio-economic needs), vital and population statistics, both at national and subnational levels. Today, the spread of digital technologies is raising hopes that new kinds of data which are inadvertently generated when people use mobile phones and other digital devices may not only fill the gap, but even facilitate better insights than conventional data made possible. In addition, data is actively created by users, for example by volunteers uploading information to internet platforms (see box, page 31).

In 2014, for example, the research arm of the American IT company IBM studied the spread of Ebola in West Africa. In cooperation with the Open Data Initiative in Sierra Leone and the University of Cambridge, IBM conducted a big data analysis. The idea was that user-generated data would help to track the spread of the virus. IBM also set up a system for residents of Sierra Leone to report new cases of Ebola

Tribune



Mobile phone and social media use generate large volumes of data: mobile phone user in northern Kenya.



by sending a free SMS or calling a mailbox (on the Ebola crisis in Sierra Leone see Anne Jung in e-Paper 2016/08, page 23). The data ultimately helped IBM mobilise life-saving health services and deliver important resources like medication and hygiene products.

## Other examples

A well-known example of user-generated data is Kenya's Ushahidi platform. It was used for the first time during the political unrest in the country in 2008. The platform allowed citizens to report violent clashes by SMS or online. The resulting data was then displayed on a digitised map. Since that time, the platform has been used in a variety of situations, for instance to improve the coordination of humanitarian aid after earthquakes. User-generated data offers new opportunities to give the unheard a voice.

In addition to user-generated data, we see another trend in using inadvertently generated data to get new insights. So called big data results from the automatic analysis of large – and often unstructured – data volumes. Technology firms like Facebook and Google use such data to get precise information about the personal preferences and behaviour of their customers. Data that is automatically generated when people use digital devices can provide rather solid information concerning socio-economic patterns, gender and age of users. Unsurprisingly, these new opportunities make some people hope that new sources of data will deliver better results than traditional sources. They believe that existing information gaps might be closed in many world regions this way.

Inspired by such examples, many international agencies have begun initiating pilot projects and investing in research on data programmes. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and others established the Partnership in Statistics for Development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Paris 21) in order to help partner countries to improve their statistical systems and use new data sources. The UN organisation Global Pulse makes development-related results of big data analyses available. The Global Partnership for Sustainable Development Data is a consortium of organisations dedicated to improving data in order

to evaluate progress towards the SDGs. Often they call for a "data revolution".

## Limits and risks

Many of these data are not publicly available, however. During the Ebola crisis, civil-society organisations unsuccessfully tried to convince private-sector companies to give them access to mobile phone data, for example, in order to get a better idea of how the disease spreads and where help is most urgently needed. The companies denied such requests because of legal ambiguities and profit motives.

Mobile providers like Telefónica and Orange have begun to release some mobile phone data (so-called call detail records) for research purposes. But it is problematic for them to act as the rightful owners of these data, as opposed to the people who generated the data in the first place. However, if development agencies want to use such data, they depend on the good will of the corporations. The power imbalance between the corporate sector and development agencies is growing bigger and bigger.

Protecting privacy is another huge challenge (see Nanjira Sambuli in e-Paper 2016/06, page 34). In many countries, data protection laws are inadequate or do not even exist, so data are analysed without the prior consent of users. That is illegal in Germany. Moreover, the safe anonymisation of data cannot be ensured

anymore when large data volumes are collected and collated. As data are often automatically cross-referenced, computerised tools allow individuals to be re-identified from insufficiently anonymised data sets.

Another challenge is the quality of data. Regardless of the amount there is no guarantee that the data are informative and of good quality nor that they fulfil the statistical standards of representation. On the contrary, in view of how many and what kind of people around the world are using digital technologies, it is obvious that the volume of data generated by these technologies says nothing about how representative they are of any given population. Many studies have shown that big data analysis in particular often provides distorted glimpses of reality. Moreover, raw data can be manipulated, which leads to faulty insights that might influence decisions.

The opaqueness of the data-processing algorithms pose additional risks. Simply put, algorithms are mathematical formulas that derive useful information from raw data. Algorithms reflect social relations, so they are not objective in any way. They must be designed and used responsibly since it is well understood that bulk data may reflect or even exacerbate existing forms of discrimination.

In Florida, for example, the police wanted to assess the future threat posed by criminals in order to determine whether they should be released from

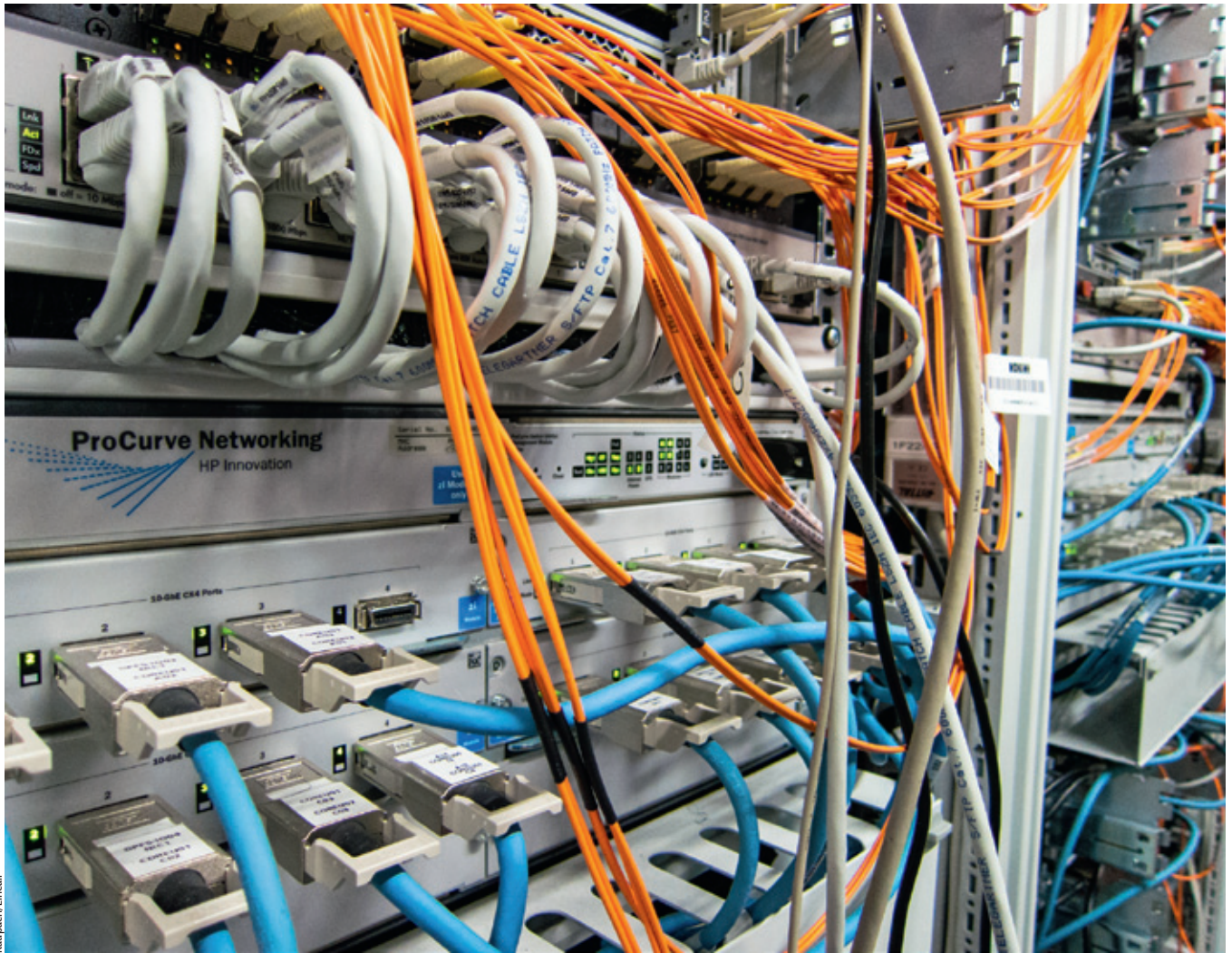
## Big data and crowdsourced data

One form of big data is private people's data that are more or less by-products of social media use and mobile communication. Private-sector corporations like Facebook, Google and others use these data, mostly for commercial purposes. The companies thus often have very precise information about the personal preferences and behaviour of their users.

Big data analyses are conducted automatically, frequently at high speeds. They collect large volumes of sometimes unstructured data and evaluate them. Many experts argue that, based on big data, more accurate predictions can be

made concerning socio-economic developments than result from conventional methods. Critics, on the other hand, consider this a simplistic and insufficiently hypothesis-based approach.

Crowdsourced data are slightly different. They too are generated by users, but not as by-products of other activities. Instead, the data are intentionally collected to serve a specific purpose. Many people cooperate on acquiring data and posting them on a platform for others to use. Private people and civil society organisations cooperate on data collection. Doing so often leads to more transparency in publicly relevant affairs.



Raupach/Lineair

*Big data are collected automatically and consist of many often unstructured data sets.*

prison. The computer programme relied on bulk data. It falsely and unfairly predicted that African-Americans were twice as likely to commit new offences as white Americans. The programme was praised for being especially neutral, but since the algorithms were fed data from past convictions that were marked by centuries of discrimination against African-Americans, it really only made matters worse. International development agencies must pay attention to problems of this kind.

While the use of data presents great opportunities, development agencies must heed the risks sketched out in this essay. Otherwise, the data revolution may turn out to be a Trojan horse. What is needed is an informed debate on the responsible use of data worldwide. Non-governmental organisations and citizens in developing countries must be actively involved. ←

#### Tobias Knobloch



leads the project "Open Data and Privacy" at the Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (SNV), a Berlin-based think tank.

[tknobloch@stiftung-nv.de](mailto:tknobloch@stiftung-nv.de)

#### Julia Manske



also leads the project "Open Data and Privacy" at the SNV.

[jmanske@stiftung-nv.de](mailto:jmanske@stiftung-nv.de)

#### References

De Montjoye, Y.-A., C.A. Hidalgo, M. Verleysen and V.D.

Blondel, 2013: Unique in the crowd: The privacy bounds of human mobility.

[http://www.chidalgo.com/Papers/2013/Unique\\_in\\_the\\_Crowd\\_srep.pdf](http://www.chidalgo.com/Papers/2013/Unique_in_the_Crowd_srep.pdf)

Nyirenda-Jere, T. and T. Biru, 2015: Internet development and internet governance in Africa.

<http://www.internetsociety.org/sites/default/files/>

*Internet%20development%20and%20Internet%20governance%20in%20Africa.pdf*

**Open Definition 2.1:**

<http://opendefinition.org/od/>

**Oxfam**, 2015: A rights based approach to responsible data.

<http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2015/08/a-rights-based-approach-to-treating-data-responsibly>

**Pasquale, F.**, 2015: Digital star chamber. Aeon Essays.

<https://aeon.co/essays/judge-jury-and-executioner-the-unaccountable-algorithm>

**Taylor, L.**, 2015: In the name of development: power, profit and the datafication of the global South.

[http://www.academia.edu/13226191/In\\_the\\_name\\_of\\_Development\\_power\\_profit\\_and\\_the\\_datafication\\_of\\_the\\_global\\_South](http://www.academia.edu/13226191/In_the_name_of_Development_power_profit_and_the_datafication_of_the_global_South)

**UN**, 2014: A world that counts. Mobilising the data revolution for sustainable development. Prepared by The Independent Expert Advisory Group on a Data Revolution for Sustainable Development.

<http://www.undatarevolution.org/report/>

**World Bank**, 2014: Open data challenges and opportunities for national statistical offices.

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19984/>





# Follow us on Twitter!

To stay in touch with what is happening on  
our website, follow us on twitter.



◀ [www.twitter.com/forumdc](http://www.twitter.com/forumdc)

Twitter Home About Search Twitter Have an account? Log in

**D+C**  
Development + Cooperation

TWEETS 9,049 FOLLOWING 2,068 FOLLOWERS 4,649 LIKES 180 LISTS 7

Follow

**Editorial office D+C**  
@forumdc  
D+C Development and Cooperation is a webmagazine and bi-monthly print magazine on development and international cooperation.  
Frankfurt, Germany  
dandc.eu  
Joined January 2010  
1,227 Photos and videos

**Tweets** Tweets & replies Media

**D+C** Editorial office D+C (@forumdc · 30m)  
**#Nigeria: @eHealth\_africa is fighting polio in spite of insurgency in #Borno State #vaccines** [ow.ly/R8Un307hWFu](http://ow.ly/R8Un307hWFu)

**New to Twitter?**  
Sign up now to get your own personalized timeline!  
[Sign up](#)

**You may also like** Refresh

- BMZ Bund @BMZ\_Bund
- Welthungerhilfe @Welthungerhilfe
- GIZ @giz\_gmh
- Development Pros @GuardianGDP
- epo\_de @epo\_de

stepmap-karte-aa\_aps stepmap-karte-cu\_aps stepmap-karte-chi\_aps stepmap-karte-bu\_aps stepmap-karte-lib\_aps



# Boatloads of books

Grassroots initiatives are ensuring that children have access to books in some Indonesian villages. Appreciation of books is rising in general.

By Edith Koesoemawiria

➔ Books need readers, and even in our digital age, readers still need books. Novels, comics and other printed material are like doors for the mind. They help to expand knowledge, imagination and creativity.

Indonesia's literacy rate is above 90 %, according to UNESCO and the World Bank. Yet in this country of 250 million people, writers complain that only few people read. They would like more people to have access to books.

In fact, books are expensive and often unavailable. Indonesia has 17,000 islands, and their development has been quite unequal. For people in remote areas, it is much harder to get services, education and information than for those living in the cities. It is no different with books.

Sari Meutia from Mizan Publishing sees distribution as one of the major problems. She says: "Although scholastic material is partially subsidised by the state, the distribution of other reading material, like novels, comics or special interest books is solely dependent on market dynamics." Bookstores in Indonesia generally sell on a consignment basis. Distribution thus involves costly postal and courier services to get books to their destination – and back, if they are not sold. The costs weigh heavily on publishers.

There are various efforts to rise to this challenge. Ridwan Sururi's Pustaka Kuda ("horse library"), for example, is making a difference in Central Java. The young man relies on a horse to bring books to children in Java's rural Purbalingga on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. His own school aged daughter enjoys reading. He loves horses and wanted to reconcile his hobby with serving doing a service for the community. Thanks to his initiative, his daughter and other children in the area have access to books.

This idea came about while talking to Nirwan Arsuka, an essayist and editor, who also has a penchant for horses and was able to send him the books to start the library. Arsuka has similarly supported

another rural library in West Sulawesi across the Java Sea.

Hailing from Sulawesi, Arsuka knows the limitations children face there. His heart went out for those living on the surrounding small islands, so he contacted activists and intellectuals, and his idea literally took sail. A traditional cargo boat is used to carry books to the islands, as well as up-river villages on Sulawesi. Junk boats of its kind were traditionally used to



Toddler with a picture book in Aceh.



ship rice and other commodities. Children are attracted in hordes.

The boat's captain is Muhammad Ridwan Alimuddin. He used to work as a maritime researcher, but has become a full-time librarian. He also uses a bike, a horse carriage and a motorbike to bring cases of books to village kids. Small libraries are also mushrooming in other places in Indonesia. The focus is often on children. The libraries are run and supported by people who know that stories and books are a source for dreams and aspirations.

## Dark years

The promotion of literacy, creativity and public awareness has a tradition dating back to colonial times in Indonesia, but it ebbed under the Suharto dictatorship that lasted three decades, from the 1960s to the 1990s. In those dark years, books were burned and censored. Being found with printed material that the government did not appreciate could mean imprisonment and torture. Books were burned, street libraries broken up and publishing companies raided.

Since Suharto's fall, cultural activities have been gaining momentum again. Some projects reach out to street children, some to village children, including "Sokola Rimba" in Sumatra, "Rumah Dunia" in West Java, "Komunitas Kaki Abu" in Papua or "Rimba Baca" in Jakarta. Many individuals privately travel to distant villages to donate books or organise creative workshops.

Film maker Rony Sanjaya is one of them. He belongs to the civil-society group "Ngibing". The term means dancing, but is an acronym for "frame filling". He enjoys working with kids and adults: "It is satisfying to see them gain confidence through drawing and creatively developing story lines in comic form".

Publishers have gotten on the band wagon. Mizan publishing has started a programme that allows children to create their own books, for example. Adibintang and Zikrul publishing run writing classes for children.

The Ministry of Education and Culture recently launched a school literacy

programme. It does not only target students, but also trains teachers to promote creativity. The idea is not simply to make people learn how to read and write, but actually encourage them to make use of these skills.

The government programme is still in its infancy. Hopefully, it will lead to a new mindset. To date, many people are still concerned that publications might tackle irritating historical issues (see Edith Koesoemawiria's comment on how Indonesia is dealing with the traumas of the Suharto era in D+C/E+Z e-paper 2016/11, p. 42) or that they might include indecent sexual dimensions. On the other hand, many young and old people alike realise that books matter. The more one reads, the better one becomes able to decide for oneself. ➔

### Edith Koesoemawiria



is a freelance journalist.

hidayati@gmx.de

## Development policy

# Boosting innovation together

**Establishing a good innovation policy and improving professional training is essential for Latin American countries. Europe could help to make it happen.**

By Claudio Maggi

➔ Latin American countries have been able to reduce poverty significantly in the past decades, but they are still a long way off eradicating it completely. Since the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, growth rates have been sinking and productivity is stagnant in most countries. Poverty indicators have not improved in seven years, and some setbacks have even been recorded. According to CEPAL, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 28 % of the population lived below the poverty line in 2014 (167 million people) and 12 % even lived in extreme poverty (more than 70 million people). Furthermore, Latin America continues to be one of the regions of the world with the most

unequal distribution of wealth – only Southern Africa's figures are worse.

Poverty and great inequality impede development. Accordingly, the UN 2030 Agenda tackles both issues (Sustainable Development Goals 1 and 10). To improve matters, it is vitally important for Latin American countries to remain economically competitive.

The Latin American economies are facing several far-reaching changes, however. They are driven by two global macro-trends:

■ Latin American nations have set themselves goals for decarbonisation at the COP21 climate conference in Paris. In

order to reach these goals, enterprises must readjust and regions will need to establish sustainable industries.

■ The second global trend is digitalisation and the use of smart devices (internet of things – IoT) in industrial production and in the services sector. In important sectors, this means disruptive change. No doubt, rapid development means great opportunities for Latin American countries, but also great challenges: To keep up in international competition, they must close technology gaps, build human capital (better skills training and more continuing training of the work force), modernise IT infrastructure up to date and close regulatory gaps.

## Innovation policy in Latin America

Historical comparisons clearly show: all countries that transformed from medium-income economies to highly developed



Michael Mogensen/Lineair Fotoarchief

*The lack of skilled and specialised workers is particularly evident in advanced manufacturing and high-tech industries: employee in a Nissan car factory in Guernavaca, Mexico.*

did so by setting up highly developed production capacities. The only exceptions are countries that relied exclusively on resource wealth. All others either built new value creating chains in traditional industries (this applies in particular to countries with substantial commodity exports like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the North European countries) or by the development of new sectors for which they selectively established competitive advantages (examples include South Korea, Singapore, and Ireland). They diversified the economies of their countries and invested in science, research, technology and education.

Innovation is indispensable for building such new structures. Accordingly, ever more governments in Latin America have tried to improve their countries' innovation capacity in recent years. They started cluster-programmes to promote various relevant actors and created hubs for particular sectors in specific regions, for instance, and they set up new institutions to promote public-private projects.

Because of Latin America's great social challenges, such measures are not being given a high political priority and an adequate budget. In the face of people's needs, political leaders find it difficult to justify expenditures on science, technology and innovation. They must, therefore, clearly spell out the goals these measures are geared to, in order to convince taxpayers of their relevance. Moreover, well-defined mechanisms to measure the results and make them visible to the general public are needed. The governments of highly innovative countries deliver on all these points.

Innovation policy in Latin America must manage to build up national and regional innovation systems that result in progress that the people feel. At the same time, it must stimulate innovation in the private sector to increase production efficiency. European development cooperation could support these processes.

## What Europe can do

Europe has found several good approaches to supporting innovation support. It could transfer them to America in development cooperation. The EU regional programme for Latin America is called the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) and has a budget of € 925 million for regional initiatives from 2014 to 2020. The EU should use it to strengthen innovation capacity in Latin America by boosting skills and competences and by drafting clever specialisation strategies.

Latin America is one of the regions of the world where the gap between supply and demand on the labor market is widest. In a 2010 World Bank survey of Brazilian and Argentinian enterprises, around two-thirds of respondents said the poor training of workers was the biggest hurdle for their business and limited their ability to innovate. The lack of skilled and specialised workers is particularly evident in advanced manufacturing and high-tech



industries, including the machine and automotive industries in Brazil or Mexico.

Furthermore, the skills demand is changing rapidly. According to an Inter-American Development Bank study of 2016, one half of the enterprises in Argentina, Brazil and Chile need employees with a broader range of skills and different skills than they did five years ago. In Chile, it is estimated that, due to lack of skills, more than 5,000 positions cannot be adequately filled in the information and communications technologies (ICT) sector alone. In view of fast digitalisation, the problem will grow and increasingly affect the region's competitiveness.

Expert personnel must today be trained so that they are up to new challenges. Moreover, they should be able to handle digital technologies – regardless of whether they are working in the mining industry, the agricultural industry, aerospace, logistics, the building industry or in the health sector. Europe has developed good models in these areas: dual training, that links shop-floor work with school les-

sons (see Bruno Wenn on vocational training in Brazil in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/08, page 38), is an example, and lifelong learning, which keeps upgrading skills of employees, is another. Both would be useful in Latin America.

Smart specialisation is needed too. Governments cannot know in advance which political interventions will drive innovation. They must, therefore, establish procedures to predict this. The institutions that are put in charge of the issue must build strong partnerships with private-sector companies, universities, funding agencies, workers and civil society. The European Commission's "Smart Specialization Strategy" is a good example: it is designed to identify innovations to boost production in individual regions. It convenes all relevant stakeholders and puts in place the technological prerequisites that are needed to boost comparative advantages. Such an approach should become part of European development cooperation with Latin America in the area of innovation policy. ←

## References

- Bassi, M., Rucci, G. and Urzúa, S., 2014: Más allá del aula: formación para la producción. (Outside the classroom: education for production. Only available in Spanish and Portuguese.) In Crespi, G., Fernández-Arias, E., and Stein, E. (Eds.) *¿Cómo repensar el desarrollo productivo? políticas e instituciones sólidas para la transformación económica*. Washington DC, Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. <https://publications.iadb.org/bitstream/handle/11319/6634/%C2%BFC%C3%B3mo%20repensar%20el%20desarrollo%20productivo%3f%20Pol%C3%ADticas%20e%20instituciones%20s%C3%B3lidas%20para%20la%20transformaci%C3%B3n%20econ%C3%B3mica.pdf?sequence=1>
- CEPAL, 2016: Ciencia, tecnología e innovación en la economía digital. La situación de América Latina y el Caribe. (Science, technology and innovation in the digital economy. The situation in Latin America and the Caribbean. Only available in Spanish.) Segunda Reunión de la Conferencia de Ciencia, Innovación y TIC, San José de Costa Rica. [http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/40530/51600833\\_es.pdf](http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/40530/51600833_es.pdf)

## Claudio Maggi



is an industrial engineer and the director of the competition department of the Chilean Economic Development Agency (Corporación de Fomento de la Producción, CORFO). [claudio.e.maggi@gmail.com](mailto:claudio.e.maggi@gmail.com)

# Europe in Latin America

European development cooperation has a long tradition in Latin America and has a good reputation. In the past two decades, the EU has signed trade agreements with different countries and groups of countries in the region, including Mexico, Chile, Central America, the Andean Community and the Mercosur association of states. At the first Europe-Latin America summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1999, the leaders from both world regions concluded a strategic partnership. This partnership was strengthened at subsequent meetings – most recently at the eighth EU-LAC summit in Brussels 2015.

The EU has cooperated with Latin America in areas such as finance, trade and science. It is promoting investments and supports corporate cooperation. Several programmes have brought it special recognition, among them "AL-Invest", which facilitates international expansion for small and medium enterprises, "Euro-Solar", which makes renewable energies available to disadvantaged sections of the people, "LAIF", that promotes investments in infra-

structure, and "EUROSocial", which strengthens economic integration and social cohesion. In the areas of administrative decentralisation and local develop-

ment, EU programmes have also delivered results in cooperation with multilateral organisations like UNDP, CEPAL and the IDB.



Meeting of EU and Latin American ministers in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic in October 2016.

# Welfare payments are no longer taboo

Development assistance is normally geared to helping people to help themselves, so it bypasses the poorest, who lack any potential for self-help. In Africa, the taboo regarding welfare payments to the needy was first broken in Zambia's Kalomo District in 2003. Today, most African countries have introduced some kind of cash transfer programme.

By Bernd Schubert

→ "Helping people help themselves" is the motto of official development assistance (ODA). But the poorest of the poor often have very little or no potential for self-help. They are too sick, too old or too young to engage in productive work. This plain truth was long ignored. Most development projects aim to reduce poverty directly or indirectly, but serial evaluations have shown that they do not benefit the most disadvantaged people.

The conventional instruments of development policy – like issuing microcredit, bolstering the informal sector or supporting employment programmes – are labour based. They aim to increase the

labour productivity of poor households, so they fail to reach households with no or limited labour capacity. The technical reason for such failure is that the diversity of the target group is not taken into account.

Though poverty is a multi-faceted phenomenon, most projects claim to help "the poor" as if they were a homogeneous group. This approach is linked to the World Bank's definition of poverty. People are thus considered poor if they earn less than the purchasing power of \$ 1.90 a day. No differentiation is made below that level. It is obvious, however, that people who have \$0.50 a day and are chronically malnourished face very different problems

than those whose income falls just below the \$ 1.90 cut-off.

Distinctions must also be made concerning the primary causes of poverty and hunger. Household composition matters very much. If a poor or even very poor household includes members who are fit to work, its chances of escaping poverty are better than those of a household with no employable persons.

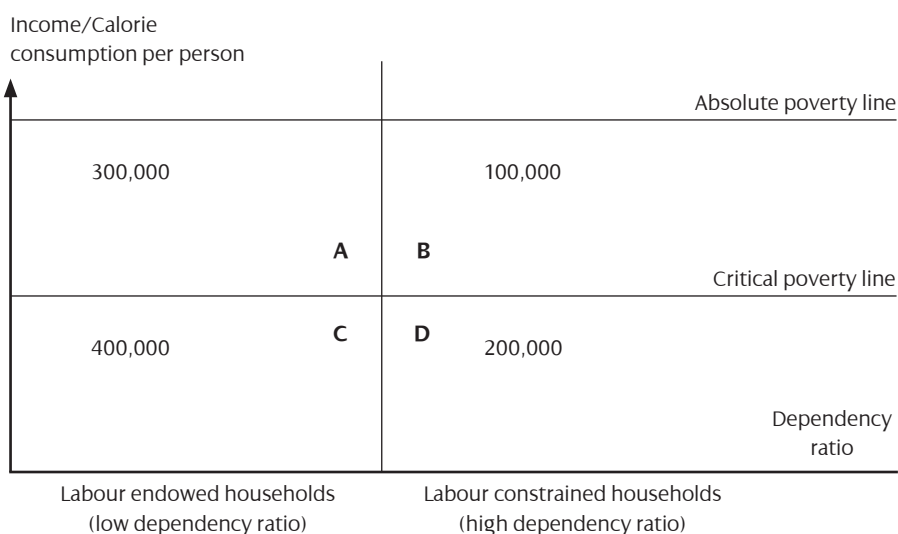
## Nuanced poverty profile

In 2003, a new approach was taken as part of a pilot project in Zambia's Kalomo District. Germany contributed funding. Part of the approach was to research and draft a poverty profile taking into account the aforementioned criteria. At the time, half of Zambia's 2 million households suffered poverty and hunger. To distinguish between them, our graph (p. 38) uses the categories "moderate poverty" and "critical poverty". It also distinguishes households with enough employable members to give them the option of helping themselves (in the category "low dependency ratio") from those that have too few or no employable members – for instance because they are too young, old, sick or disabled – and thus need outside assistance ("high dependency ratio").

The 300,000 poor households in Category A were in a comparatively favourable situation. Their poverty was real and painful, but not life-threatening. Moreover, they could tap labour reserves if they got some support – for instance microcredit, advice or at least a job as agricultural workers or as part of a public employment programme.

The 200,000 households in Category D were in the least favourable position. They were suffering life-threatening hunger and unable to engage in productive work. They offered no starting point for funding programmes aiming to help people help themselves. They were welfare

## Number of poor households in Zambia in 2003 categorised by their degree of poverty and self-help potential







*Typical target group of the Kalomo project: grandmother with three grandchildren, whose parents died of HIV/AIDS.*

cases and needed regular subsidies to cover their cost of living and ensure their survival. For this kind of setting, development policy-makers introduced the notion of “social cash transfers”.

Based on this analysis, a pilot project was carried out in Kalomo. It provided cash transfers to all critically poor and labour-constrained households. The goal was to reduce these households’ extreme poverty and hunger, improve their health and make it possible for children to go to school. The project also aimed to gather knowledge about the feasibility, costs and effects of social cash transfers for households in Category D.

Three years after its start, the pilot project showed that it was possible to run this kind of welfare programme. In cooperation with village committees, local officers working for the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services were up to the job. The annual cost was about \$ 100 per household. The beneficiaries spent the extra funds reasonably: they chose to improve the health and nutrition of household members, make small

income-generating investments and send children to school. They invested in physical, human and social capital. At the same time their increased purchasing power had positive secondary effects. Growing demand for products and services stimulated and strengthened the local economy’s production and sales.

Based on this data, it was estimated that comprehensive social assistance for the 200,000 Zambian households in Category D (the neediest 10% of all households) would cost an annual \$20 million. In 2006, that figure corresponded to 0.5% of the country’s gross domestic product. It also corresponded to five percent of the ODA (official development assistance) that Zambia received from all donors. Evidently, such funding would have significantly improved the nutrition of hundreds of thousands of people and served other basic needs, ensuring, for instance, that children could be educated. At the time, 60% of the people living in Category D households are children.

The results of the Kalomo pilot project were presented at the Livingstone Confer-

ence in 2006. The African Union convened it with the explicit purpose of evaluating the Kalomo experience. One hundred and thirty leaders from 13 African countries, along with representatives from international organisations, studied the project approach. They visited villages in Kalomo and met with staff of Zambia’s Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. To learn about the programme first-hand, they also met with village committees and beneficiaries.

The results of the field visits were discussed during the remainder of the conference, which culminated in the Livingstone Call for Action. This resolution demanded that all African governments improve social protection in their countries through cash transfer programmes and other measures.

Ten years after the starting pistol was fired at the conference in Livingstone, almost all African countries have cash transfer programmes. In Zambia, the social cash transfer programme has been gradually extended in recent years. According to the government, it benefited 150,000 households in 2014 and was set to reach 20% of Zambia’s people in 2016. Welfare payments are no longer taboo in developing countries. Social protection, including support for social assistance programmes, has become a legitimate sphere of activity for international development agencies. Kalomo played a large role in making that happen. ➔

**Tribune**

## References

- Schubert, B., 2005:** Social cash transfers – reaching the poorest. A contribution to the international debate based on experience in Zambia. GTZ, Eschborn.
- Schubert, B., and Beales, S., 2006:** Social transfers for Africa. Intergovernmental regional conference report. Livingstone, Zambia, 20-23 March 2006. Helpage International, London.
- Cirillo, C., and Tebaldi, R., 2016:** Social protection in Africa. Inventory of non-contributory programmes. IPC/UNICEF, New York.

## Bernd Schubert



is the former director of the Centre for Rural Development of Humboldt University Berlin. He was involved in the planning and implementation of the Kalomo Social Cash Transfer Pilot Programme from 2003 to 2006 as a short-term consultant for GIZ. He has since been advising other African governments on social protection.  
[schubert@teamconsult.org](mailto:schubert@teamconsult.org)

# A blow to democracy

Gabon held controversial presidential elections on 27 August 2016. Ali Bongo Ondimba, the incumbent, was declared winner by the national electoral commission, but that result hardly seemed credible. Because key institutions are controlled by Bongo's allies, there was no recount.

By Jonathan Bashi

→ The recent events have called into question the reputation of stability that Gabon had forged over the years. They exposed the fragility of the country's political system. Several factors are relevant to understand the situation.

Gabon is a small Central-African country with a population of about 1.8 million. It is endowed with immense oil reserves and attracts significant foreign direct investments. Its GDP per capita is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the gains are not evenly distributed, and a large majority of the people lives in extreme poverty.

Many people blame this situation on El Hadj Omar Bongo Odimba, the president's father, who ruled the country from 1967 until his death in 2009. Bongo senior was heavily criticised for using his 42 years in power to amass a colossal fortune and grant privileges to his family and the elite, while the rest of the country remained poor.

This is what motivated the opposition to reject the election results announced by the electoral commission on 31 August, decrying a massive fraud by the ruling party. According to the official results, Bongo got 49.80 % of the vote and Ping 48.23 %. These numbers did not correspond with the ones that Ping's team compiled from copies of vote tally sheets collected across the country. Ping's team specifically rejected the outcome announced for the province of Haut-Ogooue, the heartland of Bongo's Teke ethnical group. According to the authorities, the incumbent won 95 % of the province's vote with a participation rate of 99 %, whereas voter turnout was a mere 59.46 % in the rest of the country.

Protests broke out in the capital Libreville and across the country. There were clashes between opposition supporters and security forces. Several people were killed or wounded, and the National Assembly was set on fire. Many Ping supporters were arrested.

To prove the fact that the election had been rigged, Ping demanded a recount of the vote and wanted the results of every single voting station to be published. France, the EU and the USA similarly

demanded more transparency. Under pressure from the international community to use legal means to sustain his claims, Ping formally lodged a complaint with the Constitutional Court, contesting the official results and asking for a recount in Haut-Ogooue.

However, the Court confirmed Bongo as the winner on 24 September, now stating that he had won 50.66 % of the vote. It did not accept the voting tally sheets submitted by Ping's camp as evidence. However, it highlighted several irregularities in voting counts committed on both sides, thus implying that both parties had cheated. In the days leading to the Court's decision, the government had deployed additional security forces across Libreville to prevent more protests.

This series of events casts doubt on the substance of Gabon's democracy. Key institutions involved in the process, including the national electoral commission, the Constitutional Court and the security forces, are controlled by the political group that has been in power for decades. In this context, the prospects of genuine political change are very slim. The population finds itself muzzled by the same institutions that are supposed to safeguard its interests. ←

Jonathan Bashi



is a PhD graduate from the SOAS, University of London's School of Law. He now works as a consultant and a law professor in the DRC.

## Debate

Bongo junior became president in 2009 after having been a member of his father's government for over a decade. His first election was surrounded by tensions, as most people saw it as the continuation of the same unloved regime. Now he secured a second seven-year term. According to his critics, this keeps the status quo and extends the power structure that had been in place for nearly half a century.

Many people had hoped that Jean Ping, the main opposition candidate, might win and bring about change. Two weeks before the election, two other opposition candidates dropped out of the race in order to support him in the hope of ousting Bongo jr. Analysts thought that Ping would certainly win the election.



Alexander Shcherbak/picture-alliance/dpa

*Demonstrators opposing Gabonese president Ali Bongo protest outside the UN headquarters in New York in September.*



# Uncertainty is the new norm

The surprise victory of Donald Trump resonated in markets around the world as voters in the USA endorsed his protectionist agenda. Pakistan was no exception.

By Afshan Subohi

➔ In a knee jerk reaction, the Karachi Stock Exchange index plunged, but recovered quickly. The capital markets' behaviour was generally the same around the world.

The immediate impact on Pakistan's commodity and currency markets was not clear, but business leaders expressed extreme nervousness over Trump's victory in private conversations. They felt that world affairs had become unpredictable and worried that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif might not grasp the sensitivity of the situation. None of the business leaders I talked to wanted to comment on the record, but off the record, they admitted that they did not know what to worry about more: a possible trade war or new dynamics in geopolitics.

Pakistan will certainly feel the impact of the Trump presidency. Pakistan's economy is small, and so is its share in global trade. The country depends on the USA in several ways – as an important military ally and as a major trading partner, for instance.

During the campaign, the president-elect threatened repeatedly to slap sanctions and higher tariffs on trade partners. He also asserted that he would "punish annoying allies" without naming names.

One risk business leaders see is that there may be a harsh backlash if even a minor terrorist attack should happen in the USA. Trump's anti-Muslim campaign rhetoric was certainly not reassuring, nor were his slogans concerning trade and immigration.

The USA consumes a big chunk of Pakistan's exports, and the bilateral trade balance is currently tilted in Pakistan's favour. Pakistan's annual exports to the USA are worth \$ 4 billion, while the imports from the USA only amount to

\$ 1.1 billion. Almost one fifth of Pakistan's exports go to the USA, but only three percent of the imports come from there. Accordingly, new trade barriers would be painful.

Many Pakistani migrants live in the USA, and the money they remit boosts Pakistan's foreign-exchange reserves. In



Trader in Karachi on 11/9.

the fiscal year of 2015/16, they sent home \$ 2.4 billion. That sum equals 15 % of the remittances to Pakistan. Curbs on migration could reduce the monetary flow which helps to pay for Pakistan's imports.

Some analysts take an extreme view. They see 11/9 (9 November 2016), when Trump's victory was announced, as a similarly important turning point in the global politics as 9/11 (11 September 2001) when Al Qaida attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D.C.

It has been noticed, of course, that Trump won the elections even though his opponent Hillary Clinton got at least 2.5 million more votes. Observers point out that the international community would look down on any developing country where the electoral law allowed a radical leader to become head of state with 46 % of the popular vote while his more moderate opponent lost with 48 %.

According to the chief executive of a major industrial group, Trump's victory confirms the lesson of Britain's vote to leave the EU in June: "Uncertainty is the new norm in the modern world." In his eyes, businesses have the capacity to turn a bad situation, but they struggle to cope with too much uncertainty.

Another business leader says that Republican US administrations tend to be friendlier towards Pakistan than those of Democrats. He adds: "If we put our house in order and promote corporate culture, things will be alright, no matter who occupies the White House."

Prime Minister Sharif managed to get hold of Trump on the phone in November, and his office published a transcription. Apparently the president-elect said that Pakistan is "amazing with tremendous opportunities" and he would love to come to this "fantastic place of fantastic people". On the downside, it soon became obvious that Trump had acted in an unconventional, role-defying way, which indicates that he may prove as erratic a president as he was a presidential candidate.

Pakistani economists are reluctant to comment and say they would like to wait for Trump's first 100 days in office before stating an opinion. "Much will depend on the team he puts together," one senior economist says. Without knowing who his key advisers are, "it is difficult to say how he intends to negotiate domestic and foreign policy challenges."

Afshan Subohi



is a business journalist and works for Dawn, a national newspaper in Pakistan.

asubohi@hotmail.com

# Lessons from the USA

The outcome of the US presidential election on 9 November was historic. It indicated where popular sentiment is heading in regard to issues like globalisation, inequality and international trade. Donald Trump, who used stringent anti-trade rhetoric, won.

By Jong Woo Kang

➔ It would be too simplistic to say the election was swayed by sheer distaste of the establishment or anger among those who feel left behind. It is important to consider the dramatic underlying changes. The American middle class is shrinking because the benefits of globalisation and free trade have not been shared equally. In academic debate, there is little doubt that economies as a whole benefit from globalisation and free trade, but not every person does.

Are we seeing a growing tension between what is good for the economy in general but turns out to hurt the well-being of a significant share of the people?

rate is not properly reflecting the level of individual frustration.

Perhaps it makes more sense to consider the labour-force participation rate, which includes those employed as well as those looking for a job. It has been declining. It was about 66% before 2008, but has dropped to about 63% currently. This could mean that some people who actually want to work have given up the hope of finding a job.

While globalisation and free trade do drive economic growth, they apparently do not ensure everyone's well-being. There are winners and losers. Without proper

more than 60 years, but it has only yielded mixed results.

International trade is not the only factor that affects employment opportunities. Technological advancement – especially digitalisation – is relevant too. It seems that the widening gap between national and individual well-being could explain a large part of the US election results. Apparently, discontent is deep-seated and growing. It is noteworthy, moreover, that a similar sense of anger is evident in other countries too. It is driving populist movements and contributed to Britons' referendum vote to leave the EU.

Given that globalisation and free trade drive the growth and welfare of economies, we should not give up on them. If we want prosperous societies all over the world, we must resist protectionist pressures to raise the bars against each other. At the same time, it is certainly necessary to heal the deep wounds of large parts of society. Political leaders, scholars and international institutions must therefore do more than merely spell out the benefits of globalisation. How those benefits are shared, matters too.

Governments should therefore focus more on equitable redistribution and make targeted assistance to the disadvantaged more effective. If too many people lose out in the course of globalisation, globalisation itself may be doomed, and that would mean even fewer opportunities all over the world.

It seems that the ball is now in the court of proponents for globalisation and free trade. Whether Trump will stick to his campaign promises or take a different approach after being inaugurated, remains to be seen. Either way, however, the result of the US election seems to have left proponents of globalisation and free trade more serious homework than ever before. ◀

Jong Woo Kang



is a principal economist with the Asian Development Bank (ADB). This comment is based on a contribution he wrote for an ADB blog.  
[jkang@adb.org](mailto:jkang@adb.org)



Donald Trump campaigning in Michigan in spring.

Obviously, many Americans feel frustration even though the USA is currently performing quite well among advanced economies. For the third quarter of 2016, 2.9% growth was reported.

Employment matters too, of course. Jobs provide incomes, foster human dignity and contribute to self-esteem. However, US unemployment rate has not been high recently (4.9% in October – down from 10% seven years ago). We must therefore assume that the unemployment

compensation or a benefits redistribution mechanism, losers will be trapped in unrecoverable disadvantages. Imagine a small or medium-sized enterprise that had to shut down after having lost competitiveness due to the influx of cheap goods from abroad – owners and employees bear the brunt of income and job losses.

The US Trade Adjustment Assistance Program is supposed to provide compensation, adjustment and re-employment for the disadvantaged. It has been in place for



# Ray of hope for Antarctica

The Ross Sea of Antarctica has been declared the world's largest marine protected area (MPA). This environmental protection agreement complements the Antarctic Treaty that came into force in 1961. It can serve as a model for other international environmental initiatives.

By **Walter Wuertz** and **Glenn Brigaldino**

➔ The member states of the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources reached the much needed agreement at the end of October. It came just in time for the 55<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Antarctica Treaty, which itself is a success of international cooperation. The Ross Sea is located approximately 3,000 kilometres south-east of New Zealand's South Island. The MPA covers over 1.5 million square kilometres of the Southern Ocean, an area more than a third the size of the European Union.

The MPA provides protection from human activities for the next 35 years and can be extended beyond that date. Only research activities will be permitted in the frigid and pristine waters of the MPA. The agreement is an important complementary mechanism to the Antarctic Treaty System. The Treaty, that covers the area south of 60° South latitude, stipulates:

- Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only.
- Scientists are free to do research.

- Signatory states agree not to pursue any national territorial claims.
- Nuclear explosions and disposal of radioactive waste are prohibited in Antarctica.

In its 55 years of existence, the Antarctic Treaty has proven to serve as a common denominator for the sustainable management of a global commons on a continental level. The establishment of the MPA in Antarctica's Ross Sea guarantees continuous protection. Thus, environmental stewardship of the southern continent and its oceans can inspire other environmental initiatives, in particular in the wake of the Paris Agreement on climate change that was concluded in 2015.

Undoubtedly, a majority of the world's population holds a stake in Antarctic affairs. Nearly 50 countries, representing two-thirds of humankind, have signed the Antarctic Treaty. Its provisions surpass international cooperation in many other fields. For example, the Antarctic Treaty stipulates that only peaceful, scientific actions are permitted and that the entire

continent is to remain demilitarised. Signatories abide by these provisions.

Critics bemoan that the Ross Sea oceans protected under the MPA represent only a fraction of Antarctic waters. It is hoped that other areas will get similar protection in the future. This would also strengthen conservation projects north of 60° south latitude that are under debate, such as the whale sanctuary proposed by Argentina and Brazil.

Certainly, the Antarctic Treaty and the MPA agreement are publically not as widely known as the Paris Agreement. However, conservation of the Antarctica and global climate action are closely related. The continent's ice can potentially contribute more than a full meter of sea-level rise by 2100. If emissions – and thus global warming – continue unabated, huge ice shelves crash into the sea. ←

### Walter Wuertz

is an offshore specialised geologist, living in Malaysia. The author prefers not to publish his photo for personal reasons.  
[ww\\_9877@yahoo.com](mailto:ww_9877@yahoo.com)

### Glenn Brigaldino



is an aid and trade adviser based in Canada.

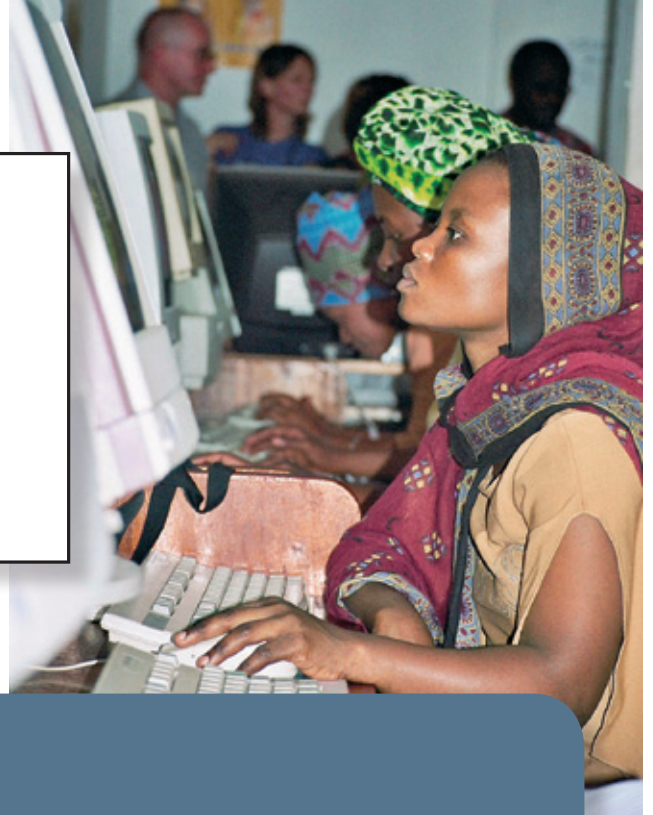
[brigaldino.5542@rogers.com](mailto:brigaldino.5542@rogers.com)



Ice boulders at the Ross Sea of Antarctica.

Debate

Please visit our  
website  
[www.DandC.eu](http://www.DandC.eu)



◀ [www.dandc.eu](http://www.dandc.eu)

**D+C** | DEVELOPMENT  
AND COOPERATION

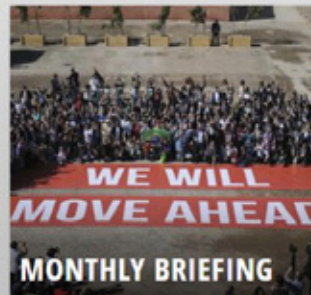
[Home](#) [Newsletter](#) [Subscribe to D+C](#) [About us](#) [Imprint](#) [Deutsch](#)

**NEW** December e-Paper

[BRIEFINGS](#) [TOPICS](#) [WORLD REGIONS](#) [FORMATS](#) [CONTRIBUTORS](#) [ARCHIVE](#) [BLOG](#)

Search

WELTWAERTS  
**Shared norms** ▾



INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION  
[More](#) ▾



Recent blog contributions

- Elections matter – in Gambia, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire
- International community should act to prevent atrocities

Follow us