

# D+C

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**D+C**

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## FIGHTING HUNGER

German cabinet member  
demands more decisive  
response to Covid-19

## URBANISATION

How well-drafted  
master plans improve  
standard of living

## ESCAPING POVERTY

Sensible social-protection  
policies help the most  
disadvantaged people



# Diaspora

## Diaspora

### Building infrastructures

The private association Future of Ghana is striving to promote the interests of Black people in Germany, says activist Daisy Tanja Scheffler in our interview. Among other things, the association supports entrepreneurship in Ghana. Burundians who live abroad similarly make contributions to their country's development, for example by sending money to their families and supporting social-infrastructure initiatives, as journalist Mireille Kanyange reports. **PAGES 19, 21**

### Remittances in politics

Many Filipino women live in foreign countries as labor migrants. Their families depend on remittances, and so does the Filipino economy. Journalist Emmalyn Liwag Kotte assesses the situation. Her Indian colleague Roli Mahajan writes about the impact non-resident Indians have on India's economy, culture, politics and society in general. **PAGES 22, 24**

### Identity matters

Turkish migration to Germany set in 60 years ago. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has a long history of engaging the diaspora in Germany, hoping to align its members to his political party. His approach has further split this community, which never was homogenous. Timur Tinç, a journalist, shares his insights. Ahmad Mansour, a psychologist, spells out what host countries should do about extremist tendencies that affect some Muslim migrants. **PAGES 26, 28**

### Personal experiences

Almost one quarter of the German population – 21 million of 83 million people – have a migration background. People from all over the world have moved to the Federal Republic. Three of Frankfurt's inhabitants of non-German origin shared experiences with Sabine Balk of D+C/E+Z: Sengül Yalcin-Ioannidis from Turkey, Mariame Racine Sow from Senegal and Giselle Zenga from Argentina. **PAGE 29**

### Financial flows reduced by pandemic

In the course of the Covid-19 crisis, migrants' remittances have been in decline. As Dilip Ratha of the World Bank argues, that has serious repercussions in many countries of origin. Host countries should make it easier to transfer money. **PAGE 32**

## Monitor

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Economies of developing countries and emerging markets are affected by reduced remittances and fewer foreign direct investments **32**

## Sharing fundamental values

Throughout human history, people have left their homes to live elsewhere. Global migration is increasing for several reasons in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Researchers have noted, for instance, that existing diaspora communities attract people from their country of origin. For example, there is a pattern of people moving from Turkey to Germany, and it was established 60 years ago. Historical and linguistic ties matter moreover. People from North or West Africa often chose to live in France, the former colonial power. South Asians similarly tend to prefer Britain.

First-generation migrants normally maintain close ties to their former home country as long as they live. They support their families financially, feel loyal to the culture, and some are still eligible to vote. Their remittances enhance the livelihoods of relatives and help them to spend more on health care or education, for example. In many countries, such transfers have become important drivers of the economy.

Apart from financial impacts, there are socio-political benefits. When members of diaspora communities return to where they grew up, they display new attitudes which result from the experiences they made. Their example can incrementally change the culture, for example in regard to gender roles. On the other hand, conservative attitudes sometimes harden in the host country and can even lead to extremism. Home-grown Islamist terrorism in Europe shows how great the danger is.

In the near future, experts expect more migration from developing countries to advanced nations, not least because the latter need immigrants in view of aging societies. Western governments must prepare and draft sensible policies to promote inclusion. The lack of such policies in Europe is striking – and frightening.

It is essential to involve migrants in decisionmaking and take into account their socio-political backgrounds. It is equally important to convey to them the values of the host country. Experts recommend relying on schools, evening courses and various kinds of events to promote the basic tenets of liberty, democracy, gender justice, tolerance and religious freedom, for example. If host countries truly want to convince the newcomers, however, they must treat them in ways that allow them to experience the benefits of those values. Migrants must feel protected by the law, for instance. They must have a right to work and to stay in the country they have chosen to live in. Not only for this reason, double citizenship makes successful integration more likely.

The goal is not total assimilation. Everyone is entitled to live according to their own culture and traditions, given that they respect human rights. Living to their culture is also a fundamental human right – and in a circular logic, it helps to promote those rights. The host countries themselves benefit from tolerance. Their own culture becomes richer as people's outlook on the world becomes more nuanced and better informed.

\*\*\*\*\*

In spring last year, we introduced our Covid-19 diary, and we have now decided to discontinue it in our e-Paper. The reason is that the pandemic has become a mainstream topic, leaving its mark on very many contributions. A separate segment no longer makes sense. On our website [www.dandc.eu](http://www.dandc.eu) we are still posting important coronavirus-related content in our briefing called Covid-19 diary.

► You'll find all contributions of our focus section plus related ones on our website – they'll be compiled in next month's briefing section.



**SABINE BALK**  
is member of the editorial team of D+C  
Development and Cooperation / E+Z  
Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit  
[euз.editor@dandc.eu](mailto:euз.editor@dandc.eu)

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## Debate



### A world without hunger is possible

The Covid-19 pandemic has compounded problems of hunger and poverty, which have become more deadly than the virus itself. According to Gerd Müller, Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation and development, that need not be so. He calls for a more determined response to the crisis.

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## Tribune



### Livable cities

A growing share of the world population is living in urban environments. Well-designed master plans can ensure that their needs will be met in the future. Katie Cashman, a Minnesota-based consultant, spells out what needs to be done. Involving the communities concerned is very important.

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### Escaping extreme poverty

Scholars from the University Duisburg-Essen have studied what kind of policies best support the poorest people. What matters most is social protection, legally secure ownership of (or at least guaranteed access to) land and effective support for farmers, write the consultants Frank Bliss and Karin Gaesing.

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OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

# Shaky foundations

**Government officers normally do not write long essays assessing what the respective ministry can and cannot achieve. Their job, after all, is to draft and implement policy, not to cast doubt on government action. Nonetheless, Wolfram Stierle of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has written an excellent book exploring the limits of what his institution can achieve.**

By Hans Dembowski

The book's title is a pun. "Über Leben in planetarischen Grenzen" literally means "On life within planetary boundaries" but can also be understood as "Surviving within planetary boundaries". The author's point of reference is that the BMZ not only promises to promote sustainable development, but indeed aspires to promoting the global transformation to sustainability. As Stierle elaborates convincingly, this is a massive mandate that a single government department cannot rise to on its own.

The short book has a not even 180 pages, but Stierle thoroughly dissects BMZ rhetoric. He starts with an excellent review of 50 years of critical writing about official development assistance (ODA). From the start, the declared goal was to reduce poverty. Initially, donors promised to develop "underdeveloped" nations after World War II. Today, eyes are set on a global transformation to sustainability (see Mahwish Gul in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/09, Focus section). To what extent it was achieved always remained in doubt. Over the decades, important points that critics raised included that:

- development programmes only deepened newly independent nations' dependency on former colonial powers,
- aid money fostered corruption, whilst blocking policymakers' ambitions to develop their nations, or
- aid really did not make much of a difference in the global capitalist system.

To some extent, it would be easy to prove the critics wrong, but Stierle is quite

generous. While he does note in passing that the share of desperately poor people around the world has been in decline for many years (see Sabine Balk in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/09, Focus section), the author is more interested in appreciating valid points than in finding flaws in critics' arguments. He then declares that more fundamental criticism of development efforts would make sense.

## SOFT-LAW PRINCIPLES

In his eyes, it is a core problem that BMZ policies are based on soft law. For example, neither the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, nor the UN's Sustainable Development Goals nor the Paris Agreement on Climate Change are binding law. Governments around the world have officially endorsed them, but they have also made sure that they are not enforceable against their will.

Adding to the difficulties, the soft-law principles are more controversial than gen-

erally acknowledged. Germany and other western nations, for example, have never shown a serious interest in the social, economic and cultural human rights. Moreover, there is also an implicit tension between the environmental SDGs and the economic and social SDGs. If the goal of eradicating poverty is achieved through economic growth, for example, the global environment is doomed. Reducing inequality is high on the SDG agenda, and the BMZ promises to make it happen. However, as Stierle points out, Germany does not have a track record of limiting inequality at home. Instead, social disparities are widening.

Another issue Stierle raises is that we have no clear understanding of what "transformation" means. On the one hand, it is well understood that business as usual cannot go on in view of the climate crisis, the dwindling of biodiversity and related ecological challenges. On the other hand, donor agencies still pretend that advanced nations are leading the way. The full truth, Stierle insists, is that no prosperous country has so far adopted a sustainable lifestyle.

For a long time, multilateral and bilateral development agencies have been responding to criticism by publishing evaluation reports which claim to assess the achievements objectively. Evaluation is sup-



**Germany's Federal Government tends to prioritise the interests of the automotive industry over the global transition to sustainability: cars on display for promotional purposes at Hannover fairgrounds in 2019.**

posed to serve several purposes, from proving effectiveness to improving operations. As Stierle argues, the evaluation industry has generated many jobs, spawned a jargon of its own and published libraries' worth of documents.

Nonetheless, evaluation efforts have not convinced the general public of the merits of aid. Part of the problem is that the results of a project differ from outcomes at the community level, which in turn differ from much needed macro-level change.

Stierle shows convincingly just how shaky the foundations on which BMZ policies are built really are. Nonetheless, he insists that ODA efforts must go on. The point is that our future is doomed if humankind does not rise to the global challenges of poverty and environmental change. The SDGs may only be soft law, but they are the international community's valid response to very real problems. Giving up is not an option.

Civil-society agencies have long argued that the BMZ is struggling with whole-

of-government problems (see, for example, Bernd Bornhorst in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2016/04, Debate section). Stierle agrees. Within the cabinet, it is the development minister's job to represent global interests, while other ministers focus on German interests. German arms exports or European farm subsidies have a tendency of undermining BMZ efforts. In a similar sense, the cabinet tends to prioritise the interests of the car industry over SDG achievement.

### BECOMING MORE COMPETENT

Stierle does an amazing job of analysing these and other matters. His conclusion is that the BMZ must increase its competence in:

- dealing with ambivalence (because very few developments are either entirely good or entirely bad),
- promoting modernisation (since incremental progress is often ambivalent, achieving some positive results but also triggering new crises),

- driving transformation (which is only insufficiently understood so far),
- boosting its own legitimacy (which current rhetoric does not safeguard properly) and
- referring to social values and religious beliefs (because people's faith has a bearing on society which ODA efforts have neglected for far too long – see Hans Dembowski in D+C/E+Z 2017/05, Monitor section).

This is a daunting agenda. To a large extent, Stierle does not offer solutions, but is trying to guide expert discourse in a direction that may eventually lead to solutions. The scope of what is needed may seem discouraging, but it is a good sign that a BMZ officer is able to assess the dilemmas so accurately. To find the right answers, one needs to ask the right questions first.

### REFERENCE

Stierle, W., 2020: *Über Leben in planetarischen Grenzen* ("On life within planetary boundaries", in German). Munich, oekom verlag.

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The print issues do not include everything we post on our website ([www.dandc.eu](http://www.dandc.eu)), but they are useful in terms of documenting important aspects of global debate long term.



## RELEVANT READING

## Decades of crises

The Middle East is one of the most fragile world regions, marked by complex crises and strife. Gilles Kepel, the French sociologist, assesses matters in “Away from chaos”, his most recent book. He considers the region’s political, religious, economic and social developments in recent decades as well as how they have affected the entire world.

By Dagmar Wolf

In Kepel’s eyes, 1973 was a decisive year. In October, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel. That war is known as the Yom Kippur war, the Ramadan war or the fourth Arab-Israeli war. In this context, oil-producing Arab countries decided to raise prices and reduce exports. The goal was to exert pressure on Israel and its allies in order to force Israel to respect the rights of Palestinians as well as to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights, both of which Israel occupied in the six days war of 1967.

The result of this decision was unprecedented financial wealth for Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates. Henceforth, the Saudis claimed a role of leadership in the Muslim world and began to promote their fundamentalist Salafi version of the faith.

In 1979, the Iranian revolution established a Shiah counterweight to the Saudis’ dominance of Sunnis. Both countries have since been involved in many proxy wars. In many places, Islamism reshaped the political order, often triggering hostilities between Sunnis and Shiites as well as aggression against “infidels”. The Arab region is now split into two camps, and violence keeps escalating.

In the second part of this book, Kepel elaborates what impact the fight for dominating the Muslim world has had on pro-democracy movements and their demands for human-rights appreciation. He assesses the Arab Spring and its consequences in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria. The uprisings inspired hope, including in western countries, but they were fast manipulated by the competing Islamist pow-

ers. As Kepel writes, the results included the incredible violence and gruesome terrorism of ISIS.

According to Kepel, jihadism developed in three stages:

1. Initially, the goal was to protect Muslim territories attacked by “infidels”. The targets were Israel and its allies as well as the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, though supposedly deviant Muslim dominations were sometimes attacked too.



Belgian soldiers patrolling a Christmas fair in Brussels after terror attacks of 2015.

2. The Al Qaeda attacks on New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 made jihadism a global phenomenon, and the USA’s response – the “war on terror” and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq – paved the way to the next stage.

3. In 2014, ISIS conquered large parts of Iraq and Syria and declared them to be a new caliphate. The terrorist network recruited fighters on the internet and expanded its reach to Europe. Terror attacks in Europe and the inflow of refugees from Syria

and Iraq contributed to right-wing populism gaining strength in the EU.

The third and final part of the book is about what has happened since ISIS lost the territory in Syria and Iraq. It analyses the Middle East’s emerging new strategic order. According to the author, ISIS has been weakened because it now lacks its former hubs. Moreover, the falling oil price has reduced jihadist funding. Nonetheless, he warns that Islamist terrorism remains a serious threat.

Kepel concludes that reconstruction of eastern Mediterranean countries will be decisive. These countries must be strengthened in order to serve as a link between Europe and the Middle East. Otherwise, he warns, the crises of past decades will only

escalate further. Kepel wants European governments to reconsider their approach to the region and abandon narrowminded Euro-centric positions.

### REFERENCE

Kepel, G., 2020: *Away from Chaos. The Middle East and the challenge to the west*. New York, Columbia University Press.  
(French original, 2018: *Sortir du Chaos. Les Crises en Méditerranée et au Moyen-orient*. Paris, Gallimard.)

CLIMATE PROTECTION

# Stimulus programmes must save climate

According to the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), coronavirus-related subsidies offer opportunities for reducing carbon emissions. Climate goals are achievable if stimulus programmes around the world support “green” reconstruction and boost climate protection in meaningful ways and fast.

By Katja Dombrowski

UNEP reckons that global carbon emissions went down by seven percent in 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic’s impacts on industrial production, energy use and transport. However, this temporary reduction will only have a tiny impact on the global climate. According to UNEP, it will make global temperatures rise by 0.01° Celsius less by 2050 than would otherwise have been the case.

Post-pandemic reconstruction, by contrast, offers serious climate-protection opportunities. The authors of UNEP’s Emissions Gap Report 2020 estimate that billions worth of stimulus spending can reduce expected emissions by up to one quarter if governments opt for supporting green investments. Prudent choices, they point out, would do a lot to keep global temperatures from rising by more than 2°, the declared limit set by the Paris Agreement. For that purpose, support must be channelled to climate-friendly technologies and infrastructures. At the same time, subsidies for fossil fuels must be cut and no additional coal-fired power plants may be built.

Unfortunately, things so far do not look good, according to the report. Only five of the G20 nations have earmarked a share of their Covid-related spending for reducing emissions. The G20 together account for about 78% of global carbon emissions. The UNEP experts regret that most subsidies promote carbon-intensive business as usual. Given that it is still possible to change course, they want governments to grasp cli-

mate-protection opportunities in their next stimulus programmes.

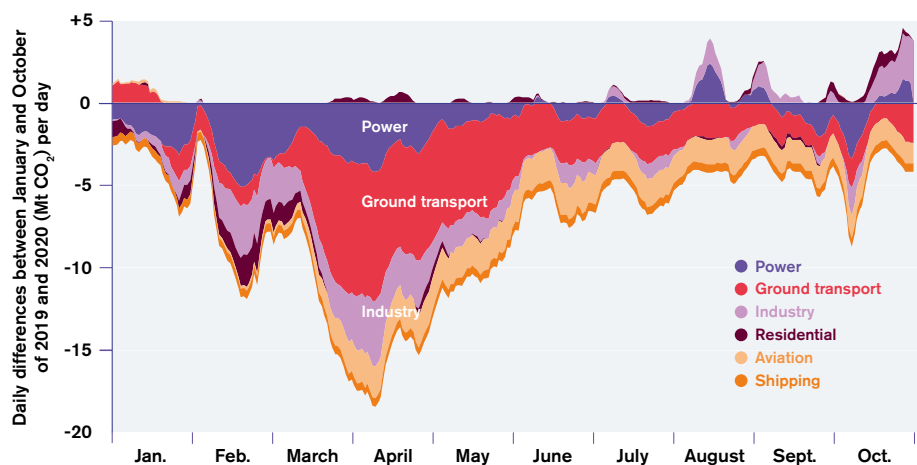
The Paris Agreement on Climate Change, which was concluded by the international community in 2015, states that global warming must be limited to 2° at most and, if possible, to a mere 1.5°. The annual UNEP Emissions Gap Report serves to assess the gap between estimated future greenhouse-gas emissions if countries implement their climate pledges and emission levels needed to achieve the Paris goals.

On the upside, the experts appreciate that an increasing number of countries have announced the intention to make their economies carbon-neutral by mid-century. When they finalised the document, 126 national governments had either adopted such policies, declared that goal or at least begun to consider taking that step. The authors consider this an important and encouraging development.

## INSUFFICIENT COMMITMENTS

Now tangible action is needed, they insist: pledges to achieve carbon neutrality must translate into more stringent nationally determined contributions (NDCs) towards achieving the goals of the Paris Agreement. The ambitions spelled out in the NDCs so far do not suffice, the authors warn. To stay within the 2° limit, three times more must happen than pledged so far, and to stay within the 1.5° limit, even five times more is

Reduction in emissions in 2020 relative to 2019 levels due to Covid-19 lockdowns.



At current trends, UNEP expects global temperatures to increase by more than 3° in the course of the century.

The share of carbon molecules in the atmosphere is said to have risen for the third consecutive year in 2019. That year, global carbon emissions increased by 2.6%, the report states, and amounting to an unprecedented 59 gigatonnes. The annual increase of greenhouse-gas emissions since 2010 was 1.4%. According to UNEP, huge forest fires were the main reason why the trend accelerated in 2019.

needed. Under the Paris Agreement, countries were obliged to update their NDCs in 2020, but many did not do so in time. The formal deadline was nine months ahead of the annual UN climate summit, which was supposed to take place in Glasgow at the end of 2020. Due to the pandemic, it was postponed by one year.

LINK

UNEP: Emissions Gap Report 2020. <https://www.unenvironment.org/emissions-gap-report-2020>

## Fouling the waters

Despite being home to two major rivers – the Zambezi in the north and the Limpopo in the south – as well as countless streams and lakes, Zimbabwe is suffering a severe water crisis. Droughts that began in 2018 and worsened due to continued poor rainfall have dried up reservoirs and caused water rationing.

Making matters worse is a rapid deterioration of what water there is, through siltation – a form of pollution in which fine particles of sand, mud and other materials are suspended in water. Siltation can make water nearly unusable; unfortunately this is happening in rivers and reservoirs across the country.

Nationwide figures on the loss of capacity in Zimbabwe's dozens of large reservoirs and thousands of smaller ones are scarce. Environmentalist Hapison Chikova estimates that nationwide, 108 rural reservoirs have been lost to a combination of siltation and drought over the past 20 years.

Local statistics point to the gravity of the problem. In the Mwenezi district in southern Zimbabwe, 23 reservoirs formed by earth dams have been ruined by siltation. Many others are heading for extinction, says the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency. In Beitbridge, near the South African border, at least 32 reservoirs have been damaged by siltation, according to Zimbabwe's department of Agriculture Extension Services.

Similarly the Mazowe dam – built on the Mazowe River about 35 kilometres north of Harare and a major source of water – is becoming heavily silted due to illegal gold mining activities. At the same time, the basin is running dry: it has a holding capacity of 35 million cubic metres but is only 21% full.

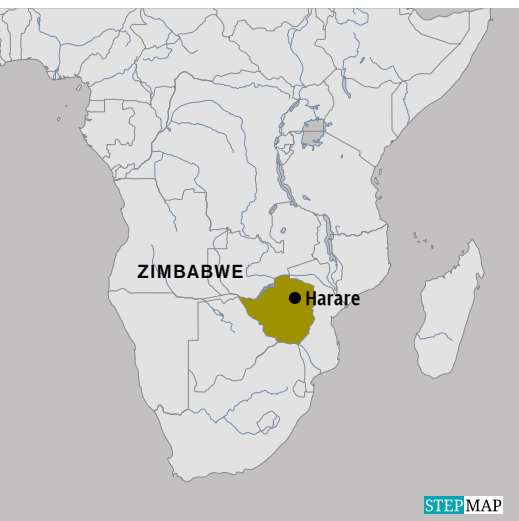
Significantly, it is people, not forces of nature, that cause much of this damage. Farmers create siltation by planting crops too close to water resources, so that earth is washed into waterways after a rainfall. Gold panners produce siltation by excavating riverbeds. Gravel poachers do the same when they dig up gravel near streams and leave behind mounds of loose sand that is then washed into the water.

All these activities cause severe problems for other people – namely anyone downstream who needs water for drinking, cooking, washing, raising cattle or growing crops.

“I can't sustain my vegetable garden now, because the usable water from the reservoir is gone in no time,” says Silibaziso Masukume, a villager in Mwenezi District. “We only have water for three to five months during the rainy season,” says village subchief Kange Sibanda, whose territory includes the rural Musambasi reservoir in the same district. “After that, everyone struggles to find water that can be used even for domestic animals.”

Part of the solution is to change cultivation methods, says Joseph Tasosa, director of the Zimbabwe National Environmental Trust. “At times people practice stream-bank cultivation, and when it rains those cultivated areas are washed straight into the water. As time goes by, this soil fills the water basins, and in the end the reservoirs are filled with silt.”

The work of gold panners is also coming under scrutiny. In Beitbridge, officials blame them for damaging streams. Panner Denis Juru replies that the downstream effect is not the panners' concern. “I dig for gold, which I sell to make money,” he says. “I don't sell water.”



**JEFFREY MOYO**  
is a journalist in Zimbabwe.

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

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ENGAGEMENT GLOBAL gGmbH  
Service für Entwicklungsinitiativen  
Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 40  
53113 Bonn  
Phone: +49 (0) 2 28 2 07 17-0  
Fax: +49 (0) 2 28 2 07 17-150  
[www.engagement-global.de](http://www.engagement-global.de)

ADVISORY BOARD:  
Thomas Loster, Prof. Dr. Katharina Michaelowa,  
Dr. Susanne Neubert, Prof. Dr. Imme Scholz, Hugh Williamson

PUBLISHER:  
FAZIT Communication GmbH  
Executive director: Hannes Ludwig

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 OFFICE:  
Dr. Hans Dembowski (editor-in-chief; responsible for content according to Germany's regulations), Sabine Balk (managing editor), Dagmar Wolf (assistant)  
Freelance support: Katja Dombrowski, Aviva Freudmann, Monika Hellstern (social media), Jan Walter Hofmann (layout), Malcom Bell (translation), Claire Davis (translation)  
Claire Davis (translation)  
Phone: +49 (0) 69 75 91-31 10  
[euz.editor@dandc.eu](mailto:euz.editor@dandc.eu)

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ADVERTISING AND SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE:  
FAZIT Communication GmbH  
c/o Cover Service GmbH & Co. KG  
PO Box 1363  
D-82034 Deisenhofen, Germany  
Phone: +49 (0) 89 8 58 53-8 32  
Fax: +49 (0) 89 8 58 53-6 28 32  
[fazit-com@intime-media-services.de](mailto:fazit-com@intime-media-services.de)

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Kurfürstenstraße 46  
D-64546 Mörfelden-Walldorf, Germany

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## FIGHTING POVERTY

# A world without hunger is possible

Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation and development calls for more determined COVID-19 response.

By Gerd Müller

We had been making good progress in the fight against global hunger: since 1990, we had been able to reduce the number of starving people by 200 million, even though there are now 2 billion more people living in the world. However, in the last few years the number of starving people has been rising again.

The COVID-19 pandemic is now exacerbating the situation quite dramatically. The lockdowns that have been ordered have caused delivery and supply chains to collapse. As a consequence of the pandemic, 130 million people are now slipping back into hunger and poverty.

COVID-19 has long become a pandemic, a multiple crisis of unemployment, hunger and poverty. Experts calculate that more people will die from these consequences than from the virus itself.

That is why combating hunger is not just vital emergency assistance. It is also forward-looking peace policy. It is therefore irresponsible that food programmes are not being adequately financed. In Yemen, where one person out of every two is dependent on food aid, measures have had to be cut by 50 per cent. Yet it only costs 50 cents a day to feed a refugee child in Yemen or in Africa. If we fail to act now, then it will cost us much more later on. What needs to be done?

What we need first of all are **political solutions to the conflicts**. Otherwise we will never conquer hunger. That can be clearly seen in studies carried out by organisations such as Welthungerhilfe.

We must **quickly close the funding gaps of the UN relief agencies**. Germany is one of the few countries that responded in 2020 to the burgeoning crisis, expanding its support efforts with a global Emergency COVID-19 Support Programme. But all governments need to do their bit. The same goes for the private sector, for companies that are



Where even an ox plough seems like a luxury: farm women in Burkina Faso.

doing especially well during the COVID-19 crisis. I am thinking here of big businesses like Amazon, Google, Facebook or Apple.

We must finally get away from the same old pattern of **only responding when a crisis strikes; instead we need to invest more in preventing crises**. This is, above all, a question of political will. Because, we have the know-how and the technologies to feed all of the people on this planet. That is why I am also saying: hunger is murder; because we could do something about it.

A world without hunger is absolutely possible. The latest research shows how it can be achieved: with a green agricultural revolution and additional annual invest-

ments by the industrialised countries of 14 billion dollars a year between now and 2030.

That is a lot but it is doable. Each year, the world spends 2,000 billion dollars on arms and defence. Together with many aid organisations I am therefore campaigning for this imbalance to be redressed.

We should focus the additional investments for a world without hunger on **four priority areas**:

- First of all, farmers need secure land rights and loans so they can invest – and these rights and loans should be equally available to women and men.
- Secondly: without energy there is no food. We have launched a programme called “energy self-sufficient villages”, so that the upturn also reaches rural areas. This is because the fight against hunger will be decided in the fields. To win that battle we will need to make an even stronger push to roll out renewable energies, especially in Africa.
- Thirdly, farmers need development which has their families as its starting point. For example, with cooperatives like the ones we developed in Germany 150 years ago. This means working together on planting, on buying supplies and on marketing.
- And they need better seed and adapted farm machinery. Many African agribusinesses are only achieving a third of their potential output. One of the reasons is that four out of every five farmers are still working their land by hand. For them, even an ox-drawn plough is a luxury. With farm machines for small farmers and new seeds, agriculture would be able to make a huge leap forward. With this goal in mind, 15 green agricultural centres have been founded in Africa with German development cooperation funding. For example, in Burkina Faso we have planted a variety of rice from Asia and implemented new production methods; and within just a few years yields have tripled.

But knowledge alone is not enough. The political will, worldwide, to act is needed. The 2020 Nobel Peace Prize for the World Food Programme is therefore a wake-up call for all of us, telling us that: a world without hunger is possible. We just need to act with determination. Now.



**GERD MÜLLER**  
is Germany's federal minister  
for economic cooperation and  
development.  
[www.bmz.de](http://www.bmz.de)



Smog in Lahore in November 2019.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

## Cleaner air for Punjab

The regional government of Pakistan's most populous province is taking steps to reduce air pollution. It is subsidising machines that allow farmers to make use of crop residues instead of burning them. This is a good start, but far more must happen.

By Imran Mukhtar

Air pollution is a serious health hazard in Pakistan. In 2014, the World Bank reckoned that it causes an annual 20,000 premature deaths of adult persons. Moreover, millions of children were said to suffer illnesses because of air pollution. Things have probably gotten worse since then, since hardly any steps were taken to improve air quality.

Thick layers of smog do not only cause low visibility, but also respiratory diseases, eye infections and allergies. Things are especially bad in autumn and winter. In 2020/21, that coincided with an alarming surge in Covid-19 infections. The novel coronavirus too attacks the respiratory system.

The provincial government of Punjab has decided to take action. About half of Pakistan's 220 million people live in this prov-

ince. The hope is to reduce air pollution in the agriculture sector.

### A BURNING PROBLEM

Farmers traditionally burn paddy crop residues after the harvest in October and November. This ancient practice allows them to get rid of the waste in order to prepare soil for the next planting season. This needs to be done fast because many farmers grow rice in the rainy season and then wheat immediately in the following weeks. They have to hurry to make best use of the time before winter makes agriculture impossible. Other advantages of burning crop residues include that it does not require much work, but serves to fight weeds and pests. These are things the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported in a study of air pollution in Punjab in 2019.

Burning crop residues causes smog however, and the situation has been getting worse for years. The provincial government wants farmers to take a new approach and is giving them financial incentives. Two machines are needed, and farmers who buy

them will only have to pay 20% of the price, with the government bearing the other 80%.

The first machine is called rice-straw shredder. It allows farmers to break the rice stubble and mulch it in the ground and plough it into the fields as organic fertiliser. The second machine is called happy seeder. Its purpose is to sow wheat seed fast after the rice harvest. Over two years, the Punjab government expects to spend the equivalent of \$2 million on these machines in support of farmers in 15 major rice-growing districts.

The approach makes sense. One of its strong points is that the machines are locally developed. The new policy is certainly a step in the right direction.

However, other major sources of air pollution remain unchecked. According to the FAO, transport accounts for 43% of air pollution in Punjab, and industries for 25%. Agriculture only comes third with 20%, while coal-fired power plants (12%) are the fourth most important emitters.

Not only Punjab, but the entire country still lacks a comprehensive and well-coordinated strategy to improve air quality. The depressing truth is that some relevant laws exist, but are not enforced. The government is supposed to issue fitness certificates to public and private vehicles to keep their emissions to a minimum. No effective mechanism exists for doing so. Nor is there a policy to promote public-transport services in order to bring down the number of motorbikes, cars and trucks: a new electric-vehicles policy was adopted in June, but it does not amount to a serious effort to replace Pakistan's masses of old, rickety and heavily polluting vehicles. All the while, the burning of municipal waste continues, and industries keep spilling out thick black smoke.

We will see next year what difference the farm-machine subsidies will make in Punjab. We also know that more needs to be done, no matter how successful it turns out to be.

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**IMRAN MUKHTAR**

is a journalist based in Islamabad.

[imranmukhtar@live.com](mailto:imranmukhtar@live.com)

Twitter: @imranmukhtar



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**German Chancellor Angela Merkel welcoming President Alassane Ouattara to the Compact with Africa conference in Berlin in 2019.**

to initiate political change at polling stations, they express their anger in the streets.

## THE ROLE OF THE WEST

Côte d'Ivoire is a sovereign nation. Western leaders are not in a position to decide whether Ouattara's third term is constitutional or not. Nonetheless, they – including German leaders – must take a clear stance on fundamental values such as democratic participation, separate branches of government, freedom of expression or the right to life and liberty. Upholding these principles must be a precondition for cooperation and even more for a country being defined a reform partner.

Germany should have become involved more actively as a mediator in Côte d'Ivoire, ensuring the opposition was not isolated. Moreover, Germany should have deployed election observers, safeguarding voters' right to elect policymakers of their choice.

## NICE RHETORIC, NO ACTION

Germany's Federal Government did not make comments beyond stating it accepts the Ivorian court's decision. The EU only uttered a few admonishing words. Quite obviously, the EU as a whole could exert more pressure than any individual member state. Europe bears a responsibility for sustainable development cooperation, which must include following core principles.

The German approach of focusing development cooperation on reform-oriented countries makes sense, and the EU should adopt it too. An option would be to apply the so-called Copenhagen criteria, which all countries must implement, in development contexts. The criteria include stable institutions, democracy and rule of law as well as respect for human rights and the appreciation of minority rights. These criteria do not only make sense in development contexts, of course, but should guide diplomacy in general. Admonishing words are simply not enough.



**CHRISTOPH HOFFMANN** is a member of the German Bundestag and serves as the liberal Free Democrats' spokesperson for

international development.  
[christoph.hoffmann@bundestag.de](mailto:christoph.hoffmann@bundestag.de)

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

# Reform partner in standstill

**In Côte d'Ivoire, the controversial third term of President Alassane Ouattara has begun. The country is one of Germany's "reform partners". Germany's Federal Government would have been well advised to do more to promote fundamental principles such as democratic participation, separate branches of government and the freedom of expression.**

**By Christoph Hoffmann**

In December, Ouattara was inaugurated as president of Côte d'Ivoire for the third time. It was most controversial that he ran once more, and the election was overshadowed by riots that left 85 people dead and several hundred wounded (see Anderson Diédri in D+C/ E+Z e-Paper 2021/01, Tribune section).

In the eyes of German and European leaders, however, Ouattara's re-election is not a problem; they only condemn the violence. Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has stated that a broad range of reform programmes have made good progress under Ouattara. In 2017, it declared Côte d'Ivoire to be one of its "reform partners". This category of countries gets special sup-

port and is considered to be particularly geared to reforms (see Hans Dembowski in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/07, Monitor section). According to the BMZ, Germany's Federal Government is paying close attention to the performance of Ouattara's new government.

The BMZ emphasises that Côte d'Ivoire's top court, the Constitutional Council, allowed Ouattara to run for the third term. The problem, however, is that it is the president who appoints the Council's chief as well as three additional judges, who together constitute the majority. The speaker of the parliament appoints the other three top judges.

The opposition in Côte d'Ivoire sees its democratic rights violated. Such feelings are not just about decisions taken by the Constitutional Council. The credibility of the policymakers who claim to act on behalf of the people is at stake given that elections no longer seem to offer opportunities to opt for change.

The opposition told supporters to boycott the elections. In response, the government started to ban public rallies in mid August 2020. At that point, security forces had already dispersed opposition demonstrations several times and arrested many participants. When people are denied the right

URBAN MASTER PLANS

# Designing liveable cities

Cities are home to a growing majority of the world's population, making it more important than ever to ensure they meet residents' needs today and in the future. Urban master plans can contribute to that goal – as long as planners follow sound administrative procedures, coordinate with other city departments, align with cities' budgets, and ensure that urban plans rest on sound legal foundations. Planners should also ensure that citizens have input into urban master plans.

By Katie Cashman

It's easy to tell the difference between cities that are well planned and those that are not. Well-planned cities offer:

- economic, recreational and cultural opportunities that are accessible and affordable,
- a safe and peaceful environment,
- clean air and water,
- convenient and affordable transport as well as
- efficient use of land and energy.

Proper planning also ensures that these conditions will continue in the future.

Poorly planned cities do the opposite, burdening residents with urban sprawl, decaying and unsafe housing, congestion, crime, pollution and social strife.

Moving a city towards the former category is the job of urban planners, together with a wide range of public officials, community groups, private companies, non-governmental organisations and citizens.

One of the main tools is the urban master plan, a guide for a city's growth and development that takes into account expected changes in population, economic activity and needs for housing, transport and community facilities. A master plan for a city – and often also its surrounding region – tries to define an achievable vision of the agglomeration's future while addressing its immediate needs.

The right kind of master plan can improve a city's resilience to man-made and natural disasters. This message is spelled out by UN-Habitat, the UN agency that promotes the development of sustainable cities and communities, in its "World Cities Report 2020". The Covid-19 crisis highlights the importance of planning cities that can

deal efficiently with the problems such crises create, such as health-care bottlenecks.

Urban master plans look at a city on a wide scale rather than at individual features such as its transport system or community parks. They aim to fit the pieces together – the city's overall land use concept, its built environment, its air and water quality, its energy use and its transport, communication, waste management and distribution infrastructure.

## AVOIDING 'STRUCTURAL DISCONNECT'

Fitting the pieces together can be especially challenging in developing countries, says Shipra Narang Suri, chief of UN-Habitat's urban practices branch. Municipal governments in developing countries often have a "structural disconnect" between departments, making cooperation difficult. This is the biggest barrier to successful urban planning. At a minimum, planners and implementers of an urban plan should be located in the same building, Narang Suri says. UN-Habitat offers itself as an "honest broker" promoting collaboration among city government departments as well as with external organisations.

Planners should work especially closely with city budgeting officials, to ensure the plan aligns with the city's financial priorities and capabilities. Narang Suri points out: "In urban planning, we often don't think enough about how the plan will be financed. Looking at innovative financing as part of the planning process is fundamental." Innovative financing might include, for example, levying a new local tax, raising capital through public-private partnerships or facilitating the transfer of national funds to local projects.

Beyond coordination, however, planners must be careful to focus as much on the process of drawing up a plan as they do on the master plan itself. The two – process and output – cannot really be separated, Narang Suri says. "For too long, master plans have separated the design and technical aspects from the policy, legislative and governance aspects," she adds. "Planning processes have been disconnected from other priorities, structured in different ways, and managed by different teams."

A sound process would involve first assessing a city's institutional capacity to produce and implement a master plan. That



Curitiba in Brazil is a well-planned, pedestrian-friendly city with good public transport.

evaluation would look closely at the adequacy of a city’s governance, policy making and legal frameworks. UN-Habitat calls this phase the “urban situation analysis”.

As part of the analysis, planners may, for example, identify a policy weakness that could hinder planning, or an existing policy arrangement that might facilitate it. This analysis is critical to the success of subsequent planning phases – the drawing up of a strategy, an action plan and a physical plan.

These initial steps should not be skipped or curtailed, Narang Suri emphasises. “The plan is meaningless without the strategy, the vision and the institutional framework that must underpin it,” she says. “The urban master plan is important, but the way it is developed will determine whether it is adaptable, successful, measurable and impactful.”

Finally, the plan must be supported by an explicit and enforceable legal framework. The legislation underpinning an urban plan should include planning standards, land use policy, the structure for coordinating planning and land administration and the relevant tax and fiscal laws.

To guide cities in this planning phase, UN-Habitat produced a “Planning law assessment framework” in 2018. It recommends ways to determine in advance whether a city’s planning laws will provide a reliable, long-term legal framework for urban development outlined in the master plan.

This document identifies two sets of indicators that can be used to determine the effectiveness of a city’s planning-related laws. The first set looks at the laws governing planning, and whether they set consistent objectives, offer transparency about processes, define the mandates of various implementing institutions and set standards and enforcement measures to be used when implementing the master plan. The second set is more technical and looks at the core areas of planning law, namely laws governing land use, standards for plots and blocks, development rights, building codes and financing.

## GIVING PEOPLE A SAY

An essential element throughout this process is involving the public in urban planning. In the traditional sense, urban plans



**New transport infrastructure will have long-term impacts: road construction on the fringes of the Dhaka agglomeration in Bangladesh in 2017.**

are guidelines for changing city environments. But they are also capacity-building exercises for local governments. The process of drawing up an urban master plan can – and should – offer an avenue for improving local governance.

Ideally, planners should identify key stakeholders in the community, in academic circles and in the private sector and ensure their voices are heard. Reaching out to women in particular is important, but all too often neglected. Input from the public helps political leaders and planners to understand the needs of city residents. Public consultations enable information sharing, consensus building, stakeholder engagement and clarification of priorities.

To a considerable extent, urban planning thus serves democracy-building as well, but UN-Habitat does not formally emphasise this issue. The UN agency is careful to steer clear of appearing to intervene in countries’ domestic affairs. Its technocratic advice for city administrations nonetheless includes: a master plan that is drawn up without input from local stakeholders is unlikely to succeed.

UN-Habitat offers a vision of city life that benefits from competent planning. It is possible to create compact, integrated and interconnected urban areas that use resources efficiently and offer a good way of life. Such cities ensure walkability for example. They also provide attractive and safe public spaces that foster inclusive public life

and ensure that these conditions are sustainable in the future.

To promote sustainability, UN-Habitat suggests that city planners prioritise five issues:

- providing adequate space for streets and an efficient street network,
- aiming for high urban density of at least 15,000 people per square kilometre,
- promoting mixed land-use, with at least 40% of floor space allocated to economic use in each neighbourhood,
- ensuring a social mix, with 20% to 50% of floor area in each neighbourhood reserved for low-income housing and
- limiting land-use specialisation, with single-function blocks limited to less than 10% of any neighbourhood.

## LINKS

**World Cities Report:** <https://unhabitat.org/wcr/>  
**Planning Law Assessment Framework:** <https://unhabitat.org/planning-law-assessment-framework>



### KATIE CASHMAN

is a sustainable-development consultant who has worked with the international social change platform 2811 and

UN-Habitat (United Nations Human Settlements Programme), among other organisations. She would like to thank Shipra Narang Suri of UN-Habitat for her input. [katie@2811.ci](mailto:katie@2811.ci)



**Support for farming is crucial for reducing poverty: Women in business as commercial vegetable growers in Burkina Faso.**

RESEARCH

# Pathways out of extreme poverty and hunger

**Researchers at Duisburg-Essen University have been studying ways in which people facing extreme poverty and hunger can be better assisted to escape poverty in a sustainable way. Social security, land ownership, land-use rights and the appropriate support for farming play a crucial role, they found out.**

**By Frank Bliss and Karin Gaesing**

The team working on the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) research project spent four and a half years investigating “Ways out of Poverty, Vulnerability and Food Insecurity”. Their approach was to identify good-practice projects on social security, land-tenure security and value

chains in Ethiopia, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cambodia and Kenya and to examine their effectiveness in reducing poverty. The results flowed into recommendations for German development policy.

One of the research team’s findings is that the ultra-poor cannot be helped out of poverty without social security systems. At present, donors and even non-governmental organisations (NGOs) focused on poverty reduction feel the extremely poor and the ultra-poor are often beyond reach.

The INEF researchers believe that needs to change. The best solution in their view would be to create social-security systems in the world’s poor and extremely poor countries. They see two different models

for this: one based on direct, unconditional cash payments for individuals or families where no one is fit for work, the other is involving insurance-based solutions for those who are fit for work but have no chance of finding work (see Hans Dembowski’s Monitor article in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2019/11).

To set up either system, a poor country needs at least temporary financial support, which Germany should help to provide. Also important is the need to see the vulnerability of people living just above the poverty line. It is equally important to stop vulnerable households slipping (back) into poverty as to help the extremely poor lift themselves out of poverty (called “graduation”).

The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2014) wants to see a universal and sustainable social-protection system established worldwide (initially in the form of health and pension insurance) to prevent people from falling below the poverty line.

## **SUPPORT IN THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR**

The study shows that support in the agricultural sector should be provided not only for

medium-scale farming but also for small-holders. At present, farming-support programmes are often too limited, especially where communities are poor or the climate is challenging. So far, the focus has mostly been on promoting agricultural production itself. Land tenure and land-use security and the need to conserve natural resources are not always sufficiently taken into account (see our article in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/07, Focus section).

Ideally, development-policy measures in the agricultural sector should do the following:

- They should support programmes or projects securing longterm land-use rights – especially for women. When land titles are registered, for instance, traditional land-use rights should not be lost. Individual land titles are not the best solution everywhere. Secondary rights (overlapping, unclear or disputed rights of use) also need to be taken into account. The conflict between arable land farmers and nomadic pastoralists in the Sahel countries of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Chad is a clear example (see Djeralar Mi-ankeol in Focus section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/07).
- Soil and water conservation measures should be implemented wherever necessary and appropriate. The restoration and, above all, improvement of soil fertility – and thus productivity – are also important measures, on which further support can build. A change in land use can be useful here, for example for the introduction of irrigation, diversification of crops or planting of (fruit) trees.
- The success of support for agriculture can hinge crucially on infrastructure devel-

opment, for example construction of roads to permit access to markets or connection to power and water-supply systems to facilitate product processing. The thrust of strategy should be generally towards integrated rural development.

It is also important in this context that small farmers should have access to loans (through a group or cooperative project, for instance, with stored produce as collateral). Credit is often needed for production, for example to recruit extra labour during short planting periods.

### AGRICULTURAL SUPPORT

Another relevant aspect of credit access is the length of time granted for loan repayment. This should extend two to four months beyond the harvest period so that producers can profit from price rises and are not forced to sell at low post-harvest prices. In light of the need in many countries for (simple) mechanisation, additional financing options should be created with repayment periods spanning two to three years. This would enable poorer households to purchase equipment such as a hand tractor.

Analysis at INEF also revealed that, alongside collective support for production, more thought should be given to cooperative resource-management models. Good examples of successful endeavours in this area are seen in Ethiopia and Burkina Faso. Another area where the researchers believe action is needed is in the creation of cooperation structures for entire water-catchment areas. This is being undertaken by the

government in Ethiopia, although in a top-down approach.

Producer cooperation and organisation up to regional and national level are a key to market power, both on the sales side and for the procurement of agro inputs and equipment. Moreover, a project in Kenya shows another benefit: a stronger lobby (for example for women’s groups), which should also be more vigorously supported.

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**FRANK BLISS**  
 is a professor of social anthropology at Hamburg University and an independent development-policy

consultant.  
[bliss.gaesing@t-online.de](mailto:bliss.gaesing@t-online.de)



**KARIN GAESING**  
 is a geographer and spatial planner at Duisburg-Essen University and an independent development-policy

consultant.  
[kgaesing@inef.uni-due.de](mailto:kgaesing@inef.uni-due.de)

## Strengthening cross-cutting issues

Mainstreaming cross-cutting issues such as gender, participation and socio-cultural factors of development contributes to poverty reduction. At present, gender aspects are quite often not treated as a cross-cutting issue interna-

tionally; rather, they are viewed as an additional challenge or, not infrequently, as “extra work”. This is not the case in technical cooperation (TC), where gender aspects are more intensively taken into account. However, gender inputs often

come fairly late in a project, so they can no longer substantially influence objectives or areas of activity.

Participation, in the sense of public involvement in the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects, is now no longer a concept enshrined in German government development policy. In practice, participation occurs very rarely and at most in form of public stakeholder consultation (as

opposed to collaboration or co-determination). Decisions on changes that will radically affect people’s lives are usually taken before the project starts. The people who are consulted thus have no say in what exactly should be done to improve their living standards.

If development policy takes these aspects into account, it can make an important contribution to reducing extreme poverty. fb/kg





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The World Bank reckons that the money migrants sent home amounted to about 10 % of the Philippines' gross domestic product in the past decade.



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Couple attending an Africa festival in Munich in 2018.



## Diaspora

Migrant communities build development-relevant bridges between nations, affecting both countries' future. Not only the money that people send home to families and relatives matters. The impact on politics, culture and society is important too. Governments of host countries and of countries of origin

should engage with diaspora communities and make them partners in the global quest for sustainable prosperity.



The contributions of this focus section have a bearing on all of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).



**Daisy Tanja Scheffler (second from right) speaks with students attending a workshop on media skills that was organised by Future of Ghana and financed by the Telekom foundation.**

Advancement is always the goal. In that respect, the career-orientation project is a continuation of the role-models project. The focus here is on career advice, which we dispense in a variety of formats, like job fairs, company visits and stipends, as well as job coaching and help with job applications. During this process, we work a great deal with companies and try to establish contacts. In our business project, however, the goal is primarily to network young Black people with other founders, regardless whether they are absolute beginners or have already founded their own company or organisation. The emphasis here is on exchange, and we offer workshops to help founders to further develop their business ideas. Generally speaking, all of our projects always aim to improve the economic and social status of Black people in society. And we want to dismantle prejudices against Black people.

**The name of your organisation is Future of Ghana Germany. What is your connection to Ghana?**

The name comes from our sister organisation, Future of Ghana in England. In Germany, however, we want to be an organisation for the entire Black community. Prior to our establishment in 2017, founder Lucy Larbi took part in many events in Britain and decided that we needed something similar in Germany because Black people are often not seen here, their potential is squandered, and the community is also not very close-knit. She then put out an appeal on Facebook, and a group came together. The connection to Ghana can also be seen in our team. Out of the 12 members that make up our core team, 11 have a Ghanaian background and one a Nigerian. Our other members are more diverse.

**How did the organisation start?**

Parallel to its founding, the role-models project was started on the initiative of Lyn Birago, who was studying special education at the time. It was the first project to get underway and remains our largest. Back then, Lyn was a classroom aid at a school in Hamburg and noticed that many children didn't believe in themselves at all. Not only did they think that they couldn't pass their A-levels; they didn't even believe they could finish high school. In discussions with teachers, Birago then determined that many

ORGANISATION FUTURE OF GHANA

## Making Black people visible and strong

**"We make Black people visible wherever they are invisible." This is the motto of Future of Ghana (FoG) Germany. The organisation believes that Black people in Germany are not represented enough. The capital "B" is consciously used to stake out a social-political position in a majority white-dominated social structure and is considered a symbol of emancipatory resistance. FoG wants to show success stories and give role models, as employee Daisy Tanja Scheffler explains to D+C/E+Z.**

**Daisy Tanja Scheffler interviewed by Claudia Isabel Rittel**

**Who is your organisation directed towards?**

We include all people who are interested in the Afro-German community and the African diaspora – whether they are old or young, Black or white. We are very open, since we have various projects that are aimed at various target groups. Our focus, however, is on young people with African roots. Currently we are active primarily in Hamburg, Berlin and Hanover.

**One of your projects is called "role models". How does it work?**

Role models is a mentoring project. That means that we find mentors for Black children and young people who meet with them regularly over the period of a year. They primarily get together for free time activities. One of our main concerns is empowerment. We want to give children and young people a contact and a role model who can open up new perspectives for them, also when it comes to their future careers. The goal is to expand young people's horizons.

**Who are the mentors?**

The idea is: Black mentors for Black mentees. We believe that young people need mentors who understand their cultural difficulties and challenges at home with their parents and likewise the structural discrimination that young people are exposed to. We try to make sure that mentor and mentee have a similar background. We recruited our first mentors from our circle of friends and acquaintances, and then word got around pretty quickly. Now a lot of people are also getting in touch through our social media channels.

**What other projects are you working on?**



**Future of Ghana also supports micro-enterprises in Ghana.**

**Police violence against Black people in the USA, but also in Europe, has once again sparked an international debate about racism. What role does the Black Lives Matter movement play in your community?**

Black Lives Matter (BLM) has always been important to us. This year, thanks to the movement, we have received an enormous influx of volunteers who now want to take an active part in strengthening our community. Furthermore, in May and June, when the issue was receiving a lot of attention, the media frequently reached out to us to discuss BLM. At the time I had the feeling, however, that interest was fleeting and would not be sustained over the long term. Nevertheless, I see on social media that there are more and more formats that address our community. I have the impression that more discussions are happening now and that our community is also getting more actively involved than before. In society in general, I have the feeling that younger people are doing a lot of thinking and are also apologising for things they have said in the past. But I see less interest in older people over 50.

of the Black children supposedly had special needs. Next she approached other Black people – including me – and asked whether we could support these pupils.

#### **Does your work here in Germany have an impact on Ghana?**

Yes, there has already been a delegation trip, and we were invited to the country talk on Ghana by Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) to discuss frameworks and goals for Germany's cooperation with Ghana. There will be more exchanges in the coming year. In addition, many of us privately support various organisations or companies in Ghana.

#### **You also support the founding of companies in Ghana and Cameroon from the diaspora?**

Yes, we do so together with GIZ, which is carrying out the BMZ's WIDU project (see Sabine Balk in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/11, Monitor section). The background is that many migrants send money back to their home countries. Using the online platform WIDU.africa, people in the diaspora and people in the country of origin put together money for a business idea that will be carried out in the developing country. The German government supplements the do-

ated funds in order to support a start-up or micro-enterprise in Ghana. We accompany this process online and also offer workshops on the topic.

#### **What do you consider a particular success?**

We've only been around since 2017. In this relatively brief time period, we have created structures ranging from staff positions to opening our own office to recruiting a large number of volunteers. We have arranged over 80 sponsorships through the mentoring project. We have grown very quickly. Even though we rely almost entirely on volunteers, with the exception of one permanent position and a few mini-jobs, we work constantly. This year, we even won the Hidden Movers Award from the Deloitte Foundation for our role-models project. Another highlight was a conversation with the vice president of Ghana about how the diaspora in Germany can contribute to Ghana's economic and social development.

#### **What difficulties have you encountered?**

During the first two years we had virtually no money. And in our role-models project, we had to keep explaining why we only wanted Black people to act as mentors. It is also a challenge to carry out so many projects relying almost entirely on volunteers.

#### **What are the organisation's plans and goals?**

First we want to focus on our internal structures and make them stronger and more transparent. In terms of content, we have different goals for individual projects. In general, however, we want to continue to grow. At the end of 2020, we expanded to Hanover, our first location outside of Hamburg. We want to test our projects and establish them there if possible. Furthermore, we are currently planning two exchange projects with Ghana. The first is a youth exchange trip that will allow young people to meet up in Ghana. The main topic will be environment and sustainability. For our second trip to Ghana, we are organising meetings between experts from Germany and Ghana who work with people with disabilities.



**DAISY TANJA SCHEFFLER** is the only full-time employee of the organisation Future of Ghana Germany. She studied media and communication

management and initially worked in television. Her mother is from Ghana, and her father is from Germany.

[t.scheffler@futureofghana.com](mailto:t.scheffler@futureofghana.com)  
<https://fog-germany.de>

BURUNDI

## Unknown finance flows

**Burundians who live abroad contribute to the development of their home country. They send money to their families and finance the construction of important infrastructure like hospitals, schools and hotels. There is no record, however, of how large this cash flow actually is.**

By Mireille Kanyange

People from Burundi live everywhere in the world. Popular emigration destinations include, for example, Canada, Australia and Belgium. Many also stay on the African continent: for instance, a large number of Burundians live in neighbouring Tanzania. Precisely how many live in any particular country is unknown, however.

Many Burundians who live abroad send money back home, albeit significantly less than migrants from other countries in the region: according to a World Bank report, in 2016, Burundians sent home an average of \$140, whereas Tanzanians living abroad sent an average of \$1448 and Kenyans abroad sent as much as \$1593. It is possible, however, that money is also flowing through other, unknown channels.

Those who want to not only support their families, but also invest in Burundi, get government support. They are aided by the Agence de Promotion des Investissements (API), which works closely with the tax authority, the Office Burundais des Recettes (OBR).

### A LACK OF FOREIGN CURRENCY

To transfer money, most members of the Burundian diaspora rely on Western Union. One implication is that the recipients get the money in the local currency, Burundi francs. The central bank wants to retain control over the country's foreign exchange. This desire is one reason why it ordered all currency exchange offices to close in February 2020. Now, only banks are allowed to exchange money.

“The country has a striking lack of foreign currency, and the central bank is at-

tempting to use authoritarian measures to control all foreign currency that comes into the country, and to prevent the depreciation of the Burundi franc against the dollar,” says

Faustin Ndikumana, an independent analyst.

### NATIONAL DIASPORA POLICY

In 2016, in cooperation with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Burundi drafted a national diaspora policy. The goal is regular exchange with Burundians living abroad via the diaspora organisations that they have founded. With the help



A famous Burundian living abroad is the singer Khadja Nin, who lives in Belgium and was photographed here at the Cannes Film Festival in 2018.



of embassies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wants, among other things, to ease customs matters. It also wants post offices to handle remittances.

With support from the IOM, the government has launched an initial census of Burundians living in two foreign countries, says Philbert Murekambanze of the Foreign Ministry's diaspora office. He does not indicate which countries are concerned. According to him, the government does not keep track of who leaves the country, so the total number of migrants is not known.

Since 2016, the government has regularly held a diaspora week in Burundi at the end of July. During the third annual event, in 2018, which was attended by 300 Burundians living in 26 countries, the head of Burundi's diaspora organisations, Japhet Legetil Ndayishimiye, stressed that the diaspora is contributing to the country's development in many areas, including health care and education. He cited examples like a complex in the village of Kigutu in the southern province of Bururi, which includes a hospital and a boarding school. It was built by Deogratias Niyonzima, who lives in the US. Burundi's former president, Pierre Nkurunziza, honoured Niyonzima twice for his contribution to the country's development.

Another example is André Nkeshimana, who lives in the Netherlands and directs the organisation IZERE-Hollande. Among other things, it provides surgical services that meet Dutch standards to correct cleft lips and palates. It also runs income-generating programmes. Other Burundians living

abroad have helped to establish a university and a community radio station.

## DIVIDED LIKE THE COUNTRY

In 2015, Nkurunziza triggered a serious political crisis by running for a third term as president (see Gesine Ames in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/07, Focus section). This crisis affected the diaspora and its representatives. The current representation reportedly has close ties to the government. Other members of the diaspora supposedly sympathise with the exiled opposition. For ethnic reasons as well, the Burundian diaspora is not a homogeneous group, nor does it speak with one voice – despite the fact that the diaspora agency at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives the impression of unity.



**MIREILLE KANYANGE**  
is a journalist and reporter for  
Radio Isanganiro in Burundi.

[mika.kanyange@gmail.com](mailto:mika.kanyange@gmail.com)

## DIASPORA COMMUNITIES

# Longterm phenomenon

**Masses of Filipino women live and work abroad. Relatives depend on the money they send home, and so does the economy of the Philippines.**

**By Emmalyn Liwag Kotte**

"Many times, the pain of loneliness was too much to bear, I thought I was going mad," says Jane as she recalls those first few months when she arrived at the small village of Schleddehausen in northern Germany. Prayers saved her, and she often went to church. Occasional meetings with other Filipina nurses who, like her, were terribly homesick helped too. They would share the pain of having left small children and families behind, wailing together until the pain in their hearts subsided. Of course, growing

up without their mothers was tough for the children too.

Jane made efforts to learn German well, and eventually started to appreciate her new environment. She worked hard and was accepted by her colleagues. The money she earned allowed her to send her children to a good school in the Philippines. She does not regret her choice, even though it was tough.

## POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Jane was one of the many nurses and midwives who left the Philippines in the 1970s. Not only Germany's health-care sector was recruiting foreign staff. Countries like Britain or the USA needed immigrants too. In the Philippines, the government of then-

President Ferdinand Marcos saw large-scale labour migration as a temporary solution, helping to address huge unemployment at the domestic level as well as rising foreign debts.

The first recruits were mostly men, many of whom were moved to oil-extraction sites in the Middle East. They were referred to as overseas contract workers (OCWs) as they left the Philippines with work contracts signed by their employers.

The exodus continued even after Marcos, a despotic strongman, was toppled by a broad-based popular movement in 1986. The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), which had been created in 1982, is still operational. Its mission is to implement "a systematic programme for promoting and monitoring the overseas employment of Filipino workers". Over the decades, it has supervised millions of employment contracts, averaging to at least 5000 overseas workers deployed every day in the past ten years.

The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) estimates that as of 2013, some

10.2 million Filipino men and women lived and worked overseas, spread across more than 200 countries and territories. The estimate includes some 4.9 million Filipino migrants who have permanently settled in



A Filipino nurse in a German hospital in 1993.

their countries of destination, most of them in the USA, Canada, Australia, Japan, Britain, Italy, Singapore, Germany, Spain and New Zealand. It also includes more than 4.2 million temporary migrants (with temporary job contracts) most of whom live in Asian countries and some 1.2 million undocumented migrants in countries like Malaysia, the USA and Italy.

The World Bank reckons that the money migrants sent home amounted to about 10% of the Philippines' gross domestic product in the past decade. The implication is, that not only the immediate families

benefit, but that remittances have actually become an important driver of the Philippine economy. Without labour migration, poverty would be worse in the Philippines, and the political order would certainly be less stable.

Filipino women comprise 56% of 2 million overseas Filipino workers (OFW) whose contracts were processed by the POEA in 2019, as the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) has reported. Not included in the data, however, are thousands of Filipino women who migrate through irregular channels. Since the 1980s, many have left as tourists – but stayed in the countries of destination to work as undocumented immigrants.

### DANGEROUS SETTINGS

Employment opportunities for caregivers and domestic helpers from the Philippines grew as women increasingly participated in the labour force of rich industrialised western and Asian countries in the past decades. Almost 40% of the newly deployed migrants are engaged in elementary occupations such as domestic work, says the 2019 survey of the PSA. Saudi Arabia was the top destination, followed by the United Arab Emirates, Hongkong, Taiwan and Kuwait. But that entails considerable risks, including sexual and physical violence and exploitative working conditions. Especially the undocumented women suffer because they cannot go to the police in cases of need.

The hazards are made clear by the numerous cases of Filipino women who are abused and murdered by their employers. There is a pattern of violence, especially – though not only – in the Middle East.

A prominent case was that of domestic helper Joanna Demafelis. The slain 29-year-old woman was found in the freezer of her employers' house in Kuwait after she had gone missing. Because of the incident, the Philippine government banned the deployment of Filipino workers to Kuwait in February 2018. A few weeks later, however, the deployment ban was lifted, revealing just how important labour migration is in the eyes of policymakers.

### HEALTH-CARE EXODUS

Skilled women migrate too, of course, and they tend to get formal sector jobs with

better protection. Almost 17,000 Filipino nurses signed overseas work contracts in 2019.

In April last year, however, President Rodrigo Duterte temporarily suspended the overseas deployment of doctors, nurses, and other health workers because of the Covid-19 pandemic. According to the POEA, the step was necessary because a “shortage of about 290,000 health workers in the country, and an average annual migration of 13,000 health-care professionals aggravates the deficiency in the national supply”. Once more, the policy was changed fast, and the ban was partially lifted in November, allowing 5000 health professionals to leave the country annually.

Labour leaders had opposed the migration ban, stating that it violated workers' rights. Critics also noted that nurses' monthly salaries in the Philippines are the lowest in Southeast Asia. A recently approved law will raise the monthly wages of nurses in government owned hospitals to at least the equivalent of €545. It is yet to be implemented. In Germany, young Filipino nurses will earn €2,000, and though the cost of living is higher, they will be able to send substantial amounts home.

Marie is a Filipino nurse who came to Hamburg in 2016. She knows of colleagues in the Philippines who recently signed job contracts to work in German hospitals and are now eager to leave their home country. Germany's Federal Employment Agency has launched what it calls the Triple Win Project to attract health workers (see Richa Arora in Debate section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2020/06).

In important ways, things are not as difficult as they were in the 1970s. Marie stays in touch with her family through Messenger and Facebook. She learned German before leaving Manila and also attended orientation courses that prepared her for the job in Hamburg. Her income helps to fund her siblings' education, and she did not leave small children of her own. She planned her career in a way to make more money and support her family.



**EMMALYN LIWAG KOTTE**  
is a freelance journalist who lives in Germany.

[emmaly320@hotmail.com](mailto:emmaly320@hotmail.com)



The success of Kamala Harris, the first female, Black and South Asian vice president of the USA, is appreciated by women in Painganadu, the Tamil Nadu village her grandfather came from.

## MIGRATION

## Influential without voting

**Non-resident Indians (NRIs) have a bearing on the nation's politics, society and culture. All major parties enjoy some support among the diaspora.**

By Roli Mahajan

In India, this winter has been marked by farmers' protests. Thousands of farmers, particularly from the Sikh community dominated state of Punjab congregated in large groups in Delhi to protest against a new farm bill, which the farmers fear means loss of subsidies for them. The government wanted to give market forces greater sway.

The protestors faced police repression as well as tough weather conditions. While things looked grim domestically, prominent expats – in particular from the Sikh community – picked up the cause. Obviously, many of them have close relatives in India, and many of those families depend on agriculture.

Tanmanjeet Singh Dhesi, who is a member of the British Parliament and belongs to the Labour Party, had tweeted, "I stand with farmers of Punjab and other parts of India, including our family and friends, who are peacefully protesting against the encroaching privatisation of #FarmersBill 2020".

Another prominent protest supporter was Canada's defence minister, Harjit Sajjan, who is also a Sikh. A tweet of his read: "The reports of peaceful protesters being brutalised in India are very troubling." Even Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau weighed in, telling his people that his government had "reached out through multiple means directly to the Indian authorities to highlight our concerns".

Given the context that Sikh political lobbying is a strong force in Canadian politics this is not surprising. Indeed, 18 of 338 members of the country's national parliament belong to this particular community.

As a consequence, all major Canadian parties have commented on the controversial reform plans in India.

In January, the Supreme Court blocked the reform plans. The government is working on sorting things out in negotiations with farmers' organisations. The situation remained tense, and at the end of the month, protestors disrupt Republic-Day celebrations in Delhi and stormed the famous Red Fort.

An important point the protests highlighted, however, was that the diaspora has an impact on how the country of origin develops. India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi does not appreciate what he considers foreign interference in domestic affairs. The full truth, however, is that whatever concerns Sikhs in India becomes an issue for their community abroad. More generally speaking, the entire Indian diaspora has an impact on the home country.

Modi, a right-wing populist, is uncomfortably aware of centre-left members of this diaspora assuming important positions in the administration of US President Joe Biden, including, most prominently, Vice President Kamala Harris, whose mother was from Tamil Nadu. Many Indians are proud of such achievements and consider leaders



like Harris role models. The full truth is that all major Indian parties, including Modi's Hindu nationalist BJP, enjoy some support from NRIs and want the domestic public to take note. In political terms, Modi was much closer to Biden's predecessor Donald Trump, whose administration also included persons with an Indian background. The most prominent was Nimrata Nikki Haley, who served as UN ambassador until the end of 2018. Indeed, Trump too enjoyed considerable support from the Indian diaspora, and tens of thousands of them celebrated him and the Indian head of government at a mass rally in Texas in 2019. The motto of the event was "Howdy Modi".

### 31 MILLION PEOPLE

India, one of Asia's two "population giants", has 17.5 million migrants living outside the country according to the UN's International Migrant Stock of 2019. The Indian diaspora has increased 10% from 15.9 million in 2015. It now comprises 6.4% of the total global migrant population, making it the largest in the world. Indians constitute the largest number of highly-educated migrants in the OECD countries. At the same time, there are many unskilled migrants as well, especially in the oil-rich-Gulf nations. India's Ministry of External Affairs reckons that the full number of NRIs and people of Indian descent was 31 million in 2019.

In recent decades, India has thus been among the world's top recipients of remittances, the money that migrants sent home. In 2019, those transfers made up a little less than three percent of the country's gross domestic product (see Dilip Ratha on page 32 of this issue). Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the total amount of remittances was projected to fall by nine percent to \$76 billion in 2020.

The influence of the diaspora, however, goes far beyond monetary transfers. India's IT sector benefits from international networks that link it to Silicon Valley and other international tech hubs. The same is true of engineering firms in general.

In the long run, moreover, migrants who prosper in foreign countries have an impact on the attitudes of people who stayed behind. Their example shapes gender stereotypes, for example. Bollywood films have tackled diaspora topics, and some were even set abroad.



Narendra Modi and Donald Trump attending a diaspora event in Houston, Texas in 2019.

According to Ingrid Therwath, a French journalist who wrote her PhD dissertation on the diaspora's impact on Indian politics, the perception of NRIs is ambiguous. They are seen to represent both "capitalist and consumerist modernity" but also "patriarchal Hindu traditionalism". On the one hand, they are considered to be "an instrument of western modernity in India", but they also stand for "India's recognition as an international power in the west". In many cases, successful migrants prove how important a formal education can be, especially when members of lower castes rise to influential positions in advanced nations. On the other hand, high-caste Indian IT experts have been found to discriminate against lower caste co-workers in California, which shows that Diaspora communities have an impact on both home and host countries.

### INDIAN ELECTIONS

So far, the direct impact of the diaspora on electoral politics in India has been marginal. NRIs who have the Indian citizenship are eligible to vote, but they have to be registered and physically present in India to go to the polls. Accordingly, a mere 25,000 of them were reported to have participated in the general elections in 2019. On the other hand, NRIs did play a role in terms of donating to campaigns, promoting the parties of their

choice on social media, providing technical advice and lending other forms of support.

India's Election Commission, however, has recently proposed to extend the postal ballot system to NRIs. Test runs are being considered in sub-national elections this year – in the states of Assam, Kerala, Puducherry, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

The hotly debated question, obviously, is which parties would benefit. Some political scientists think that the Congress party would be at an advantage. Others disagree and point out that Modi's BJP has done a lot to garner support from the Hindu diaspora. The Left Front, which is currently running the state government in Kerala, might also benefit from NRI votes. About 75% of the NRIs who are registered to vote in India are from this state, and its government has made considerable efforts to promote their interests. Kerala is special because it has large Muslim and Christian populations, and a long history of labour migration to the Gulf States.

Whether the number of NRIs voting in Indian elections will rise considerably, remains to be seen. What is obvious already is that, to have an impact on the nation, this diverse community does not need to vote.



**ROLI MAHAJAN**  
is a freelance journalist based  
in Lucknow.

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



Islam is part of Germany: Muslims break their fast at the Turkish-Islamic DITIB mosque in Göttingen in 2012.

#### TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

## Split community

Since Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's president, rose to power, he has actively pursued a policy of encouraging Turks living in Germany to identify with him and with Turkish values. This attitude fractures what is already a very heterogeneous community even more.

By Timur Tınç

The first Turks came to Germany as labour migrants almost 60 years ago. They were called "Gastarbeiter" – guest workers – because they were supposed to stay in the country for only a limited time. But many settled in Germany permanently, had children and grandchildren here. Today, around 3 million people with Turkish roots live in Germany, and roughly half of them have the German citizenship. Turkish immigrants – and Islam, accordingly – are now part of German society. Nonetheless, many of the first

generation's children and grandchildren have identity problems. They have no clear sense of belonging to either Germany or Turkey; they are caught between two worlds.

The problem is fuelled even more by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. "Assimilation is a crime against humanity" is a much-quoted sentence from a speech he gave in Cologne in February 2008. At the time, he was at the zenith of his power. At home, he enjoyed widespread support, even though he had not yet extended control over the media. Abroad, he was regarded as a reformer who would strengthen the Turkish economy and move closer to the EU. But as Yasar Aydin, a social scientist specialising in Turkish affairs, explains: the Cologne speech was perceived by the Germans as a threat, even though most of its content was actually unproblematic. "A foreign head of state mobilising people in Germany was

unprecedented. Nothing like that had ever happened before."

Erdogan thus paved the way for the policy he would adopt towards Turks living in Germany. Many of them were increasingly receptive to that kind of propaganda. Racist attacks in Solingen and Mölln and later the activities of neo-Nazi terror cells like the NSU (National Socialist Underground) shattered the Turkish community's confidence in German state institutions.

### "WE ARE YOUR PROTECTORS"

"Erdogan took those developments as an excuse to send a signal to the Turkish diaspora: we are your protectors", says Atila Karabörklü, federal chair of the Turkish Community of Germany (TGD). After winning the parliamentary elections of 2002, Erdogan's Justice and Development Party (AKP) placed a special focus on Turks living abroad. In 2004, the Union of European Turkish Democrats (UETD) was founded to lobby for the AKP.

In 2008, the Turkish parliament amended electoral law and for the first time allowed Turkish citizens living abroad to

vote in elections and referenda without having to travel home. In 2010, the AKP government established the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). Among other things, it hands out scholarships to students of Turkish origin and provides funding for the establishment of Turkish-language high schools and cultural centres in Europe.

Before Turks abroad were able to vote, there was no direct way they could have an impact on developments in their country of origin – but there were indirect ways. “The influence of diaspora Turks on Turkey and vice versa is a multicomplex and multifarious issue, with footprints changing over time,” says Karabörklü. From the 1960s to

isolate Turkey internationally. Then there are issues where Turks living in Germany fall between two stools, such as Turkish national football players saluting the Turkish army invasion of Northern Syria. The German side demands disassociation, the Turkish side demands solidarity. “There is pressure from both sides,” Karabörklü says.

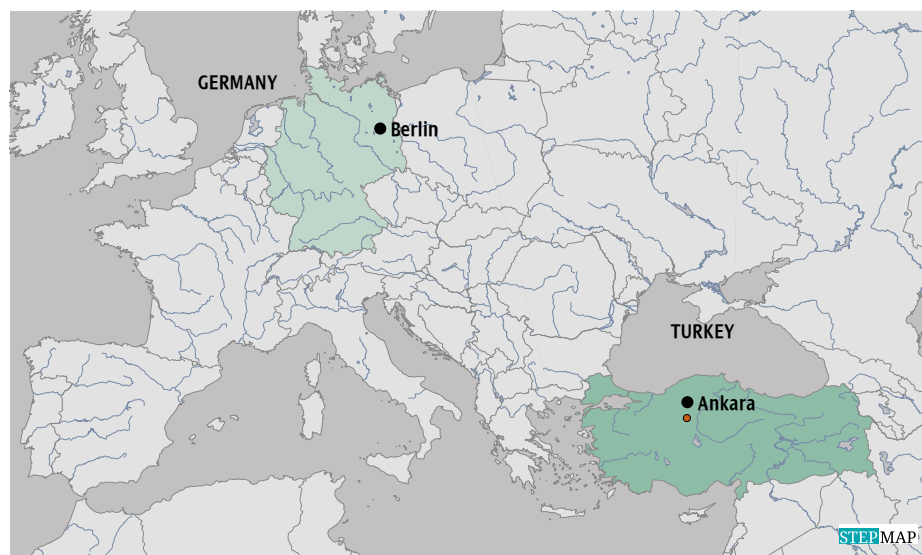
### WEDGE FELT IN GERMANY

At the same time, President Erdogan’s sustained divisive politics have driven a deep wedge into Turkish society, which can also be felt in Germany. There is no longer a basis for dialogue between liberals, Kemalists, Alevites and Erdogan’s nationalist, con-

In recent years, public debate in Germany has focused on the role of the Islamic association DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs). Founded in 1984 as a branch of the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs, it coordinates around 960 of the 2,600 mosques in Germany from its headquarters in Cologne. The federal chair of DITIB is also the counsellor for religious and social affairs at the Turkish embassy and is thus directly linked to the Turkish state. In recent years, the DITIB mosques have become a political instrument of the Turkish government.

The religious attachés sent out to Turkey’s consulates have always monitored mosque communities. Since the failed coup attempt in Ankara, the focus has widened to include political leanings. After July 2016, the attachés instructed imams – who are Turkish officials – to spy on Gülen supporters in their congregations. The followers of the Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen are blamed for the attempted coup (see my article in Focus section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/12). This has created a climate of mistrust. What is more, the federal governing body of DITIB has joined the religious attachés in working to step up the pressure on regional associations and remove Erdogan critics from the ranks. This has even brought DITIB to the attention of Germany’s Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

TGD chair Karabörklü warns against attributing all these developments to Erdogan alone. “Turkey is more than the president,” he stresses. The Turkish diaspora’s focus, he says, is on macro-level developments, with a desire for socio-political change in Turkey. But its efforts bear no fruit. According to Turkey expert Yasar Aydin, opposition voices from abroad go unheard in Turkey. “Exiled Turks and critical journalists like Can Dündar may try to form a kind of opposition but they have no impact.” The reasons for this, according to Aydin, are that the opposition in Turkey fails to speak with one voice and can hardly make itself heard in a media landscape that toes the government line. Voices from abroad certainly fall on deaf ears.



the 1980s in particular, Turks living abroad sent a great deal of money home and thus contributed to economic growth in Turkey. Moreover, all of the political movements in Turkey were active in Germany from the outset and financially supported their parent organisations in Turkey.

With Erdogan’s increasingly autocratic policies, Karabörklü has noted an increase in intra-Turkish conflicts, which also directly influence the diaspora. The TGD Federal Chair expresses regret that this has resulted in “trench warfare within the community, but also in a deepening rift with the majority society”.

On the one hand, there is the Turkish involvement in conflicts in Syria, the Caucasus and, most recently, the Aegean, which

servative and Islamist supporters. “Turkish society is fundamentally divided into two camps that are locked in political conflict: supporters of the Erdogan government – Cumhuriyetçi – and the opposition – Millet İttifaki. There is deep hostility between the two camps,” Karabörklü explains. Compounding problems, even Erdogan’s opponents often do not find common ground among one another.

Turkey’s political leadership supports this friend-or-foe mentality. Political scientist Ayca Arkilic notes that especially “Turkish Sunni groups have responded positively to Turkey’s involvement in the diaspora”. Other migrant groups such as Alevites and non-Islamic organisations are “not part of that inner circle”.



**TIMUR TINÇ**

is part of the editorial staff at the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a German daily newspaper.  
[timur.tinc@fr.de](mailto:timur.tinc@fr.de)

## DERADICALISATION

# “Teaching democracy is just as important as teaching maths”

**Psychologist Ahmad Mansour is an expert in deradicalisation and prevention of extremism. Himself a migrant, he came to Germany in 2004 as an Arab Israeli. He arranges projects against extremism in schools and prisons and provides support for radicalised young people and convicted offenders. In an interview with D+C/E+Z he describes how government and society can address and prevent extremist tendencies among young immigrants.**

Ahmad Mansour interviewed by Sabine Balk

## How great is the risk of radicalisation among young immigrants?

That depends on how you use the terms “radical” or “violent”. If the question is how many immigrants are willing to resort to violence in the name of an ideology, the answer is only a small minority. But if it comes to violence against women, it is a different story. Many refugees are willing to use violence against women – and have done so dozens of times – because they have different ideas about what a woman is allowed and not allowed to do. They do not accept that a woman can do what she wants with her body. Another example is religious equality. Many young Muslims believe it is unacceptable to criticise their religion.

## What is the reason?

Most refugees are young men who come from authoritarian countries where anti-semitism and contempt for the west are part of the educational canon. When the influx of refugees soared in 2015, the government struggled to cope, and the manner in which the new arrivals were received was not good. Moreover, new arrivals also struggle to cope with being in a foreign environment. They are unsure what the country and its society expect of them – so they can quickly succumb to fears of losing identity. That is fertile ground for radicalisation - even among second and third generation immigrant

children. Islamism has never been an issue confined to refugees.

## Why are the children of immigrants more likely to develop radical tendencies than their parents?

I can tell you that from my own experience. As a young man in Israel, I too fell into the clutches of radical Islamists. And I see many in Germany with backgrounds similar to

world full of acceptance, new rules and guidelines. I suddenly belonged to an élite. That was toxic for an insecure young man. I was passionate, I didn't even see myself as radical. I was convinced I was treading the right path. My salvation was that, at the age of 19, I went to live in a different place, came into contact with different people, read different books and had the curiosity needed to overcome those radical tendencies.

## So society has failed to reach these young people?

Yes, we have a huge problem with integration. There is a lack of good, proper, sustainable measures for promoting integration. The ones in place at present are not sufficiently professional, too general. Let me give you an example. In Zurich there are state programmes for women: 16 sessions, five of



Workshop for young refugees at a vocational school in Wunsiedel organised by Ahmad Mansour's Mind Prevention initiative.

mine. I was a lost soul at the time. I was unhappy with my life, I was bullied, I was anxious about the future, I felt a lack of interest and little love from my parents. We were very poor. In my search for guidance, I met an Imam who showed interest in me. He managed to connect with me, found emotional access to me. And I discovered a new

them on the subject of waste separation and not a single one on equal rights and freedom of expression. For integration to work, eye-level encounters need to be arranged. Bonds need to be forged. We have to go where the young people go, speak their language. We also need to provide them with longterm support, create role models and clearly

communicate host-society values. We need a way to teach young people democratic discourse and make them realise the importance of talking about taboo subjects. Young people need to learn that an exchange of views is promoted by arguments, not by anger, emotion and rejection. It is best to start not with taboo subjects but with freedom of expression in general, and that needs to be trained. When that basis has been created, when the young people are able to engage with one another in discussion and tolerate conflicting opinions – that is the point at which you can start talking to them about religious freedom and women’s rights. We often fail to reach this target group. The Islamists, Salafists, even Turkey’s President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and nationalists have in many cases had greater success. They have invested massive resources and time in recruiting new followers.

#### **So we need to be better and faster than the Islamist pied pipers?**

Yes, that is our motto when we go into prisons: be faster than the extremists, immunise people against their ideas. I once made the provocative statement that Islamists are the better social workers. How did ISIS manage to establish a more professional social-media presence some years ago than the Federal Agency for Civic Education? How could ISIS act at lightning speed producing videos that appeal to young people while it took

democrats days, weeks or months to come up with responses? We have to make it clear that we also have something to offer. These youngsters are interested in freedom but we don’t sell it to them in a way that arouses their interest. We have to get better at that.

#### **Surely schools are an appropriate place for teaching democracy.**

Yes, definitely. And some good projects have been launched in different places, but far too little is happening nationwide, and the subject is not part of the school curriculum. Teachers have to find extra time for it. In my opinion, teaching democracy and integration is just as important as teaching maths or English. It needs to be on the curriculum. Another problem is that teachers have no training in intercultural competence and dealing with diversity. That is one of the reasons I get invited to schools. Teachers don’t know how to handle aggressive, anti-democratic behaviour.

#### **How do you reach Islamists who have already turned to violence?**

We largely engage in preventive work, trying to reach people before they become radicalised. But we also do deradicalisation work in prisons, with people who joined ISIS or have carried out attacks. It is a long and difficult process. It involves psychological support and monitoring, identifying the reasons why the ideology was so attractive. The best

thing is if civil society, special prison services and security agencies work together. But that still fails to happen in many German states. Moreover, there is no guarantee of success. I cannot say that I have deradicalised all those I have worked with.

#### **What is your assessment of the understanding of democracy among sub-Saharan immigrants?**

We have worked with some of them in prisons and welcome classes. They are a very heterogeneous group, unlike those from the Arab world. They have a very different attitude towards freedom and democracy. We have come across people who have had very radical Islamist experiences. But I do not know a single offender convicted of terrorism. Those in prison are mostly there for committing petty crimes. And we need to be careful that they do not become radicalised behind bars. Others, however, are liberty lovers and came to Europe in the specific hope of finding a life of freedom and individuality.



**AHMAD MANSOUR** is a certified psychologist, expert in extremism and author. In 2018, he founded MIND prevention, the

Mansour Initiative for Promotion of Democracy and Prevention of Extremism. [info@mind-prevention.com](mailto:info@mind-prevention.com)

## IMMIGRANTS

# Life in Germany

**Around 21 million people with a foreign background and more than 11 million people with a foreign passport live in Germany. In some big cities, more than half of the population has a non-German background. D+C/E+Z’s Sabine Balk spoke with three immigrants living in Frankfurt about why they came to Germany, their experiences and how they find life in the country.**

Compiled by Sabine Balk

## Sengül Yalcin-Ioannidis

I am Kurdish and left my hometown Istanbul about 25 years ago. I could no longer stay there. I had been active in the left-wing opposition for years and had worked as a journalist. The repression got worse and worse and I was arrested two or three times. I was detained for several months in total. I don’t like to tell this story, because for Germans prison sounds like a crime. But in

Turkey it can mean that you are politically undesirable and were arbitrarily imprisoned.

I had lost hope that things would change in Turkey, so I decided to leave. I had acquaintances in Germany and that’s why I first went to Nuremberg. It took me a few years there to figure out where I wanted to go with my life. I worked in Nuremberg for a few years as a social worker with Turkish youths in a drug treatment centre. I didn’t need to speak German for that. I only started learning German after five years in the country.

In my late 20s, I decided to stay in Germany and study here. Since I had studied radio, cinema and television arts in Turkey, I was only allowed to study a similar subject



**Sengül Yalcin-Ioannidis.**

in Germany – even though no certificate from Turkey was recognised. So I studied theatre, film and media studies at the University of Frankfurt, although I would actually have preferred to study sociology or social work, the field in which I work today. In 2005, I met my husband, a German of Greek origin. Our children were born in 2010 and 2016.

I miss Turkey and especially Istanbul, the sun, the sea, the culture and particularly my parents, family and friends. I haven't been there since 2015. That is also the last time I saw my parents. Since I have been critical of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, I no longer dare to go to Turkey.

Homeland – what does that mean for me? A real homeland, where I am accepted as I am, unfortunately does not exist. In Turkey, as a Kurdish, Alawite and leftist person, I never really was part of the Turkish society; I was always an outsider. In Germany, at least I am accepted as I am by law. But there are unwritten laws in society, and I don't always fit into the German pattern. Even in Germany, I haven't yet found out how to express my opinion “correctly” or diplomatically. That's why there are sometimes misunderstandings and prejudices against me. That happens at work as well as in private life.

I see the notion of integration critically. Who is supposed to integrate where? The idea creates hierarchies and perpetrators and victims. Everyone brings their

own background with them, whether they are immigrants or Germans. The Germans are not a homogeneous mass either. Integration is definitely a task for society as a whole.

I can't identify with my fellow Turks in Germany either. Many live in very closed societies, in a parallel world to the Germans, perhaps also because of Germany's integration policy. I only get along with a few German Turks. But I don't feel I belong to the Germans either. I feel most like a European. Unfortunately, I defend the values of Europe today more than Europe itself does, such as refugee and migration policy, labour rights and women's rights.

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#### **SENGÜL YALCIN-IOANNIDIS**

**works as an educational facilitator for refugees and migrants and as a family aid worker. She is planning to found an association to provide educational and professional support to migrant women who want to escape domestic violence.**

### **Mariame Racine Sow**

A crazy coincidence brought me to Germany in 1989. When I was studying in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, I met a woman who was in contact with the Protestant Church in Germany. She gave me the idea of going to Germany. She knew a family that takes

in young female students from developing countries. But that fell through and I found myself without a plan shortly before my scheduled departure. I decided to go to Germany anyway – on a tourist visa. Luckily, I had a cousin who was studying in Frankfurt, and he offered me the chance to stay with him. So I set off on an unknown adventure.

I have never regretted that step. I quickly learned German at a language school because I wanted to attend university. I then started studying economics, but soon switched to sociology, politics and education. I supported myself with various jobs like cleaning and babysitting. My cousin and I lived in a room in the student dormitory in Frankfurt and enjoyed student life.

I grew up with my aunt in Podor on the border with Mauritania, about 500 kilometres from my parents' home. My aunt was widowed and had no children, so I was promised to her. In our country it is unthinkable for someone to have to live alone, and so I was sent to live with her when I was



**Mariame Racine Sow.**

18 months old. That is not unusual with us. In our country, children are not the individual property of their parents, but rather “belong” to the community, to the family. Today in Dakar, in the new generation, this is perhaps no longer the case. I bear my aunt’s first name, “Mariame Racine”. My aunt, who has unfortunately already passed away, was more or less my mother.

Things have always gone well for me in Germany. During my studies, a fellow student asked me if I would like to participate in the Africa seminars of the Oberursel Trade Union Youth. I did, and because I then became a member of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), I got a scholarship from the Hans Böckler Foundation. This enabled me to finance my university studies up to my doctorate.

I never felt strange as a black woman at university, as there were always students from other countries, including African countries. I was the only black woman in the Trade Union Youth, but I always felt well accepted.

I think I have an ability to accept things as they are. There seems to be an openness in my nature that makes it easy for me to do that. I’ve noticed that there are Germans who don’t want to have anything to do with black people. They keep their distance, and I have accepted that. Those who come to you are open and I’ve always gotten along well with them. I like German friendships; they are genuine. Integration came from within me, so to speak, I didn’t need a course. I even received the City of Frankfurt’s Integration Award in 2018.

At the same time, I have always kept in touch with Senegal, with my family and friends. For me, both countries are my home. I always feel homesick for Germany when I’m in Senegal. In Germany, I met my husband, who is originally from Mali, many years ago through a German course. My two sons were born here. We speak three or four languages at home – German and French as well as our African mother tongues.

I am happy in Germany. I have even become a naturalised citizen. I could always do the work I wanted. After my studies, I applied to Bread for the World as a specialist and got a job in Senegal. I went there with my family and after six years we returned to Germany.

Of course, there are also less nice things like racism, but I don’t let that rule

my life. I think people are more open today. Back when I came to Germany, there was a lot more racism, like the riots and attacks against foreigners in Rostock or Solingen. I don’t understand the xenophobia of eastern Germans. They dug tunnels in the former East Germany to get to the West and live their dreams. And today they don’t understand that there are people elsewhere who also have dreams and want to live them.

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**MARIAME RACINE SOW**

is a social advisor in a refugee shelter in Frankfurt. She also volunteers with the Forward For Women association against female circumcision.

<https://forwardforwomen.org/>

**Giselle Zenga**

When I finished my university studies in Argentina to prepare for a post teaching Portuguese, I wanted to get to know Europe and went to Portugal for a year on a scholarship. I liked that very much. When I got back to Buenos Aires, I met my future husband who had also travelled around Europe and wanted to go back there. We both had the feeling that you can’t build a future in Argentina. The situation in the country with its economic and political crises made it impossible. That’s still the case today, by the way. It was easier for us to go to Germany and make reliable plans there and live in solid structures. In Argentina, you never know what’s coming. People do get used to this. But I have noticed that Argentines are constantly irritable and stressed.

So I went to Germany at the age of 26, even though I didn’t speak German. In Hamburg, my husband and I had distant acquaintances with whom we could stay for a while. The idea was to go on to Spain later. But that fell through pretty quickly and we liked it here so much that we wanted to stay.

I then applied for a study visa because I definitely wanted to continue studying in Germany. My husband wanted to work in the travel industry. But first we had to learn the language as quickly as possible. Because we wanted to start our life in a smaller city, we chose Würzburg – we had acquaintances there. In Würzburg we did an intensive language course for nine months. My father-in-

law lent us money for that and for our living expenses.

I felt welcomed and at home in Germany right from the start. It was certainly helpful that I have European roots – my grandparents emigrated from Italy to Argentina. Moreover, everything went the way I wanted it to from the very beginning. I was able to live my dreams. I studied in Germany and even got my doctorate last year. I worked at



**Giselle Zenga.**

the university and at schools as a lecturer and teacher. I had my two children here and always had many friends – Germans and also many Latinos and Spaniards.

I have always stayed in touch with my native Buenos Aires, my family and my friends. I am in Argentina regularly and can move freely between both worlds – except now in Corona times. I feel at home in both Germany and Argentina.

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**GISELLE ZENGA**

is head of language support and human resources development at the Spanish-German company HELMECA Personal GmbH.

## LABOUR MIGRATION

# Preserving a lifeline

**Remittances are funds sent by migrant workers home to their families. António Guterres, the UN secretary general, has called them “a lifeline in the developing world”. This lifeline is under threat, as employment of migrant workers falls and fees for sending the funds remain steep.**

By Dilip Ratha

The Covid-19 crisis has hit hard at a major source of income in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs): the remittances of citizens who work abroad. This is causing economic upheavals worldwide, especially in remittance-dependent economies like India, Mexico, the Philippines and Egypt.

Worldwide, the amount of money that migrant workers send home fell from an estimated \$548 billion in pre-Covid 2019 to a forecast \$508 billion in 2020, and is projected to fall further to \$470 billion in 2021. That is a 14% drop in remittances over the two-year period.

Making matters worse, foreign direct investment (FDI) – another crucial support for remittance-receiving economies – is falling even faster in LMICs, according to figures in the World Bank’s “Migration and Development Brief 33” of October 2020.

FDI into low- and middle-income countries declined from \$534 billion in pre-Covid 2019 to an estimated \$365 billion in 2020, and is forecast to fall further to \$373 billion in 2021, for a two-year drop of 30%. That is more than twice the percentage fall in remittances over the same period (see chart next page).

A notable aspect is that in 2019, for the first time since 1992, the volume of remittances, which tend to come from individual workers, was actually higher than the volume of FDI, which tends to come from companies and other organisations. The fact that remittance inflows exceed FDI inflows shows just how bad the economic situation is in many LMICs.

The steady fall in both remittances and FDI is a double-whammy in LMICs, on top of the domestic economic impacts of

the Covid-19 crisis itself. Some remittance-receiving countries also face concurrent crises including locusts, droughts, floods, non-Covid pandemics and severe macro-economic problems.

The main reason for the fall in remittances is the weak economies and resulting



**Mobil transfers help – M-Pesa is making a difference in Kenya and other African countries.**

higher unemployment in the host countries. For the first time in recent history, the absolute number of international migrants is likely to fall, as new labour migration slows, and many migrants return home. Additional reasons for the fall in remittances are weak oil prices and depreciation of host country currencies against the US dollar.

All this is deepening the devastation in remittance-receiving countries. Most individual remittances are small, in the range of a few hundred dollars. Yet without these payments, many families must cope without basic necessities such as food, health care and education.

## MOVING THE FUNDS

Against this backdrop, it is particularly important to encourage remittances by making money transfers as easy as possible. An important element of easing the process is lowering the fees that the migrant workers pay to financial intermediaries.

The UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set targets for reducing those fees, as well as for increasing the overall volume of remittances sent. SDG indicator 10.c.1 sets a target of reducing the fees charged by financial intermediaries to three percent of the amount remitted by the year 2030.

In March 2020, in a call for a coordinated response to Covid-19, UN Secretary General Guterres went further, saying those fees should be reduced to near zero. “Remittances are a lifeline in the developing world – especially now,” he said in a video address. “Countries have already committed to reduce remittance fees to three percent, much below the current average levels. The crisis requires us to go further, getting as close to zero as possible.”

There is a long way to go to achieve this goal. According to the World Bank’s Remittance Prices Worldwide Database, the average cost of sending \$200 to LMICs was 6.8% in the third quarter of 2020. That was still more than twice the SDG target.

In some cases, the fees for moving money are as high as 11%. Banks are the most expensive, with an average charge of 10.9% of the amount sent. Post offices charge on average 8.6%, followed by money-transfer operators such as Western Union, which charge 5.8%. Mobile operators, which provide transfers electronically over mobile-phone networks, charge 2.8%.

Geographically, the fees are lowest for sending money to South Asia, at around five percent, while for Sub-Saharan Africa the average cost is close to nine percent. Fees for many funds transfers within Africa and among Pacific Island nations are above ten percent.



In general, fees tend to be high for cash-to-cash transfers that many poor people rely on because they lack access to banking services. Opening up access by money-transfer operators to partnerships with national post offices, national banks and telecommunications companies would boost competition in remittance markets and lead to lower fees.

A further helpful measure would be to ensure that mobile money-service providers, which offer convenience as well as lower-average costs to migrant workers, have easy access to opening correspondent bank accounts. This would help millions of workers by offering more secure channels for sending money home.

There is an additional incentive to do so: governments can mobilise diaspora savings and investments by securitising future remittance flows and issuing diaspora bonds. This process could help to maximise the use of remittance flows for development purposes.

### A CALL TO ACTION

Global action would make sense. A coalition of national governments and international organisations spelled out what needs to be done in May 2020 in a document titled “Remittances in Crisis: How to Keep them Flowing”. This call to action has been endorsed by 30 countries and 17 organisations, including the World Bank, UN agencies, industry associations, civil society and diaspora groups. Britain and Switzerland played leading roles.

The document suggests that policy makers immediately declare that moving remittance funds is an essential financial service. That would allow financial services providers on both the sending and receiving ends to stay open and accessible to migrants – particularly to poor migrants and their families who may not have bank accounts or online access.

In the medium-term, the document calls for scaling up digital remittance channels, to give migrants and families more access to these cheaper channels. In the wake of Covid-19, digital operators have already seen a significant increase in remittance transfers. MoneyGram’s digital transactions surged 106% in the second quarter of 2020 compared with the previous year, while Western Union’s rose 50% in the same period.

To build upon this trend, the Call-to-Action document advises financial-services providers to offer financial-literacy programmes to migrants and to remittance recipients, explaining to them how to use digital remittance channels.

### SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT

Labour migration and remittances are not substitutes for economic development in LMICs. Yet labour migration can be managed better so that it supports economic development.

For example, the World Bank is helping remittance-receiving countries to issue diaspora bonds, to maximise financial flows for economic development. The Bank also supports development of safe and efficient national payment systems and infrastructure, which facilitate remittance transfers.

The Bank also continues to monitor the prices for sending remittances and is working towards eliminating barriers to entry into the remittances market. In doing so, the Bank has discovered significant data gaps that prevent real-time monitoring of remittance flows and migratory movements. Information is missing on stranded and returning migrants, among other data points.

The data collection systems should be improved. Through the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD), the World Bank is forming an

international working group on improving data on remittances, in collaboration with national statistical offices, central banks and selected international organisations.

With better data on remittances and stronger international cooperation on remittance issues, the world can come closer to meeting the goals of a smoother-functioning remittances transfer system. That should help to preserve a lifeline that is needed in developing countries now more than ever.

### LINKS

**KNOMAD, 2020: Call to action – Remittances in crisis: how to keep them flowing.**

<https://www.knomad.org/covid-19-remittances-call-to-action/>

**World Bank, 2020: Migration and Development Brief 33.** <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialprotectionandjobs/publication/migration-and-development-brief-33>

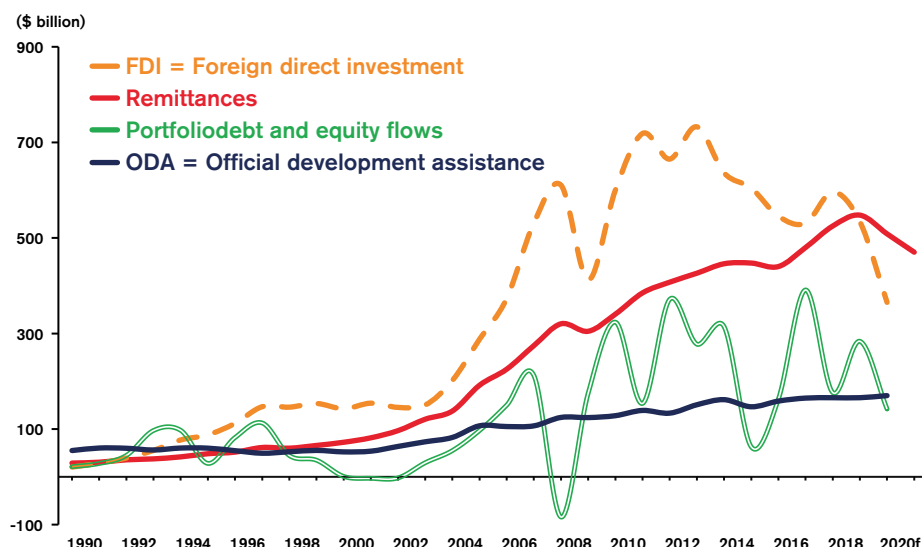


**DILIP RATHA** is the World Bank’s lead economist for migration and remittances and head of KNOMAD, a global think tank

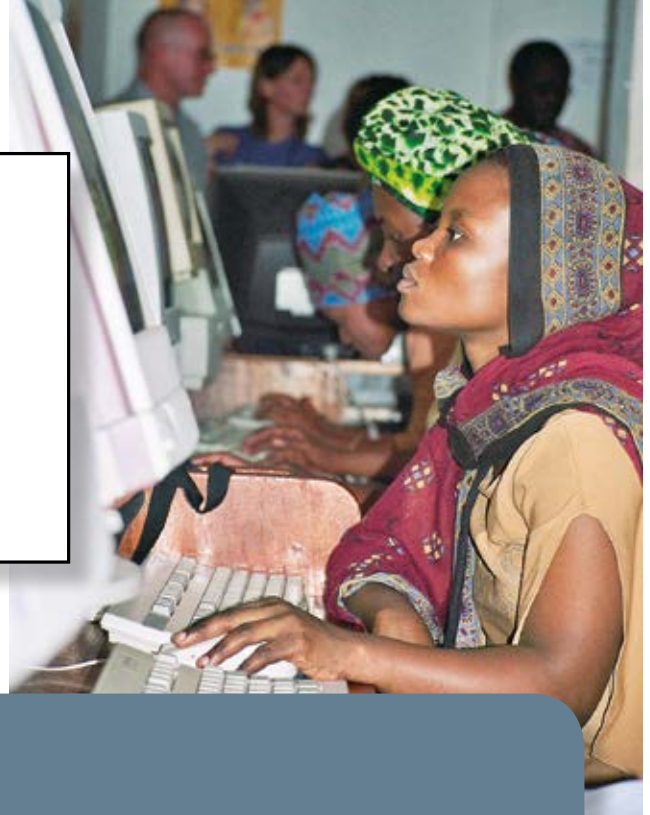
on migration and development headquartered at the Bank. It is supported by the EU, Germany and Switzerland, and it operates in collaboration with the IOM, the OECD and many UN agencies. [dratha@worldbank.org](mailto:dratha@worldbank.org)

### Remittance flows: heading south

Remittances to developing countries are falling, but FDI is falling faster



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