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LAW

Why legislation
guiding ODA would
be useful in Germany

EXPERIENCE

Better skills assessment
would boost aid workers'
long-term opportunities

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Argentina and Brazil
had very different
experiences with the IMF



Development achievements

Monitor

Conflicts and climate change in the Lake Chad region | Tackling neglected tropical diseases | Mid-eastern strife seen from an Arab perspective | Increasing KfW funding for development | Carbon taxes can contribute to funding SDG agenda | Nowadays: Burundi's hippos | Imprint

4

Debate

Pakistan's new prime minister | Turkey's financial problems | Elections in Zimbabwe

12

Tribune

MARKUS KALTENBORN AND REINHARD HERMLE

Why a German ODA law would make sense

15

GABI WAIBEL AND LUTZ SCHRADER

Aid workers keep acquiring skills

17

JORGE SABORIDO

Argentina's traumatic experience with the IMF

19

CARLOS ALBUQUERQUE

Brazil's positive experience with the IMF

21

Focus: Development achievements

INTERVIEW WITH HOMI KHARAS

World Poverty Clock shows daily progress and fight against poverty

23

BELAY BEGASHAW

Paradigm change due to Millennium Development Goals

24

MEEKAEEL SIPHAMBILI

Botswana is defeating malaria

27

B. KAGINA, H. HUSSEY, R. MULOIWA AND G. HUSSEY

Immunisation campaigns are changing Africa

28

INTERVIEW WITH ALISA KAPS

The world population is growing much slower than it used to

31

ALPHONCE SHIUNDU

African literacy rates are rising

33

ASSANE DIAGNE

In terms of democratic elections, Senegal is a front runner

34

ESTHER DOPHEIDE

Charitable organisations must emphasise results

35

INTERVIEW WITH IMME SCHOLZ

How development success and official development assistance are linked

36

HANS DEMBOWSKI

Hans Rosling showed that things are much better than many people believe

38

FOCUS

Development achievements

Monitoring poverty online

The World Poverty Clock indicates the number of people daily escaping poverty. It was designed by the World Data Lab. Homi Kharas, one of its advisers, explains how it works.

PAGE 23

Global action

The Millennium Development Goals led to a global paradigm change, as Belay Begashaw of the Kigali-based SDG Center for Africa elaborates.

PAGE 24

Progress in the health sector

Botswana is triumphing over malaria, reports journalist Meekaeel Siphambili. Benjamin M. Kagina and a team of scholars from the University of Cape Town assess the difference vaccines have been making in Africa in recent decades. Hans Dembowski of D+C/E+Z considers progress made in containing Ebola.

PAGES 27, 28, 30

Reduced population growth

Overpopulation is a serious issue, but it looks much less devastating than predicted. Alisa Kaps of the Berlin Institute for Population and Development discussed matters in an interview.

PAGE 31

Glasses half full

Literacy rates and internet access have improved in sub-Saharan Africa, but more needs to happen, according to Kenyan scholar Alphonce Shiundu. Journalist Assane Diagne reports that Senegal has democratic elections, but lacks effective constitutional checks and balances.

PAGES 33, 34

Ensure success is seen

Charitable organisations must not only emphasise need, but also motivate private donors by telling them what they achieve, states Esther Dopheide of CBM, an international non-governmental organisation.

PAGE 35

Strategic concerns

In an interview, Imme Scholz of the German Development Institute considered how development success is linked to official development assistance. She was a contributor to a strategic study that was prepared on behalf of Germany's federal ministry of economic cooperation and development (BMZ).

PAGE 36

Longer and better lives

Half of the children born in Japan today will probably live to see their 100th birthdays, as the Financial Times reported in August. The government in Tokyo has therefore adopted new policies to prepare the nation for century-long lives. The idea is to grasp opportunities and avert risks. Yes, social safety nets – especially health care and the pension system – will be tested. On the upside, however, people are expected to stay fit and healthy longer. That will allow them to stay active longer – in their social life, public affairs and even pursuing professional ambitions.

Around the world, life expectancy has increased dramatically. As a rule of thumb, people now grow 20 years older than they did two generations ago. This is the result of broader based prosperity which translates into more people getting more food, improved health care, better education et cetera.

Though people in rich nations tend to feel gloomy about global trends, the truth is that many indicators show considerable progress. In 1970, one third of humankind was reckoned to live in desperate poverty. Today, not quite ten percent are, even though our absolute number has more than doubled to 7.6 billion people. More good news is that population growth has been slowing down and is likely to stop in the second half of this century.

A peaceful earth inhabited by about 10 billion people without anyone suffering poverty is not a wild fantasy. It is feasible. That is what the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are ultimately about.

That something can be done, however, does not mean that it will be done. To facilitate further progress, we must understand the progress made and what brought it about. Experience shows that global trade, technological innovation and open, fact-driven debate have been beneficial. It is odd that this is not more generally appreciated.

It is even odder that many people in development circles do not even speak of progress anymore. The obvious reason is that the term has connotations of western bias and western arrogance. It is true, of course, that the colonial powers that invented the philosophy of enlightenment were racist, abusive and oppressive at the same time. But its principles are not wrong simply because its origin was contaminated. It would be helpful to acknowledge that the SDGs are rooted in a universal – rather than merely western – understanding of human rights and that this agenda is geared to bringing about further progress.

Further progress is not guaranteed, so determined action is needed. The SDG agenda is of vital relevance. Abandoning goals such as climate protection, the eradication of poverty or global peace will cause tremendous suffering, and no country will be able to shield itself from the devastating impacts. International cooperation is not something nice that we can afford to do so long as we do not have more serious problems. It is the only option we have for preventing ever more serious problems.

US President Donald Trump is currently setting the wrong example. Zero-sum thinking, ideas of putting one's own nation first and disrespect for multilateral agreements add up to a recipe for disaster. Disdain for experts and empirical truth will not help 10 billion humans to share the earth peacefully. In contrast, the SDGs are designed to allowing people of many countries, not only Japan, to look forward to longer and fulfilling lives.

► 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.



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Debate



Widespread disappointment

Zimbabwe's people expected recent elections to usher in a new era of openness. Since security forces clamped down on protests after the votes were cast, they now wonder whether such hopes are still justified. Journalist Jeffrey Moyo assesses the situation.

PAGE 14

Tribune



Divergent experiences with IMF

Argentina and Brazil have many things in common, but the experiences they had with the IMF were completely different. Jorge Saborido of Buenos Aires University and Carlos Albuquerque of Deutsche Welle tell their countries' stories.

PAGES 19, 21

Lessons for aid workers

On mission, aid workers keep developing skills. Experts recently assessed how such learning can be made more effective. Gabi Waibel of the Association of German Development Services (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Entwicklungsdienste – AGdD) and Lutz Schrader, a consultant, discuss the results.

PAGE 17

CLIMATE CHANGE

A vicious circle at Lake Chad

In the Lake Chad region, climate change is exacerbating smouldering conflicts. At the same time, the conflicts are preventing people from responding sensibly to climate change. It is a vicious circle. A study by the adelphi think tank makes these connections clear and considers possible solutions.

By Lea Diehl

On behalf of the G7, the group of the seven most important industrialised nations in the western world, adelphi is currently conducting a risk analysis in the Lake Chad region. The countries concerned are Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. The analysis should help determine the impact of climate change on livelihoods, security risks and the resilience of the people.

A first interim report on the situation is now available. The report shows that climate change exacerbates existing risks and tensions. The authors believe that it may have an enormous negative impact on the stability of states and societies in the future.

According to the report, climate change is not the direct cause of the conflicts in the Lake Chad region, but it is adding to existing tensions. It is also further hampering sustainable development and peace-building processes. As the authors argue, the impacts of climate change on the region and its connection to the political situation have not yet been sufficiently researched.

The adelphi experts aim to change that. The goal is to cooperate with local actors to explore options that would strengthen people's resilience. Furthermore, recommendations will be made for how foreign-policy makers should best tackle risks of climate-induced fragile statehood. The authors also want to ensure that humanitarian aid and official development assistance (ODA) are applied in an appropriate and effective way in both the short and the long term.

SECURITY RISKS

The Sahel region on the southern edge of the Sahara desert is marked by poverty, low lev-

els of education and weak socio-economic development. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), over 7 million people suffered food insecurity in the past year. As a result of decades of political marginalisation, people have lost trust in their governments. Many cannot identify with political institutions.

All of that has allowed armed opposition groups like the Islamist Boko Haram to dominate in the region. It first recruited supporters in Nigeria, then in neighbouring countries. Groups like it are an enormous security threat in the region. They terrorise the people through rapes and systematic executions. In defence, people form militant vigilante groups. Conflicts between the Nigerian state, vigilante groups and opposition groups have exacerbated tensions, according to the report.

The security situation has had a significant impact on the resilience of the people. Terror and the loss of livelihoods have spurred flight and displacement both within countries and across borders, as the authors explain. The flow of refugees has caused new conflicts and intensified competition over resources between displaced people and the local population.

The ongoing conflicts have prevented people from confronting the challenges that arise in the region due to climate change,



A fisher and his son on Lake Chad in Chad.

the report states. The authors explain that climate change has limited the availability of natural resources. Moreover, access to these resources is being controlled by the conflict parties.

Groups like Boko Haram control large territories and have weakened the economy of the region. They destroy harvests and infrastructure like roads, making it impossible for traders to transport their goods. These actions have had disastrous impacts on food security in a region where 80 to 90% of the people depend on farming, fishing and animal husbandry. The report points out that these industries have also been particularly hard hit by climate change.

EXTREME CHANGE

Climate change has dramatically transformed the entire area of the Lake Chad Basin. The lake's water level is becoming ever harder to predict, the weather is volatile,

and precipitation is highly variable. The Lake Chad Basin makes up eight percent of the African continent and comprises diverse climate zones, ranging from the desert in the north to humid tropics in the south. The unpredictability of rainfall has presented local people with significant challenges and has had disastrous consequences for food production.

If this vicious circle of climate change and conflict is not broken, the current crisis will worsen, and the entire region will become increasingly unstable. The authors recommend that four aspects must be taken into account when considering future solutions:

- Armed groups are very adaptable. They have proven themselves to be extremely resilient and can develop strategies to respond to change.
- Many self-defence militias have formed as a reaction to armed groups. Their role in future conflicts and with

regard to stability remains very unclear. Whether they will be willing to demobilise once the threat of armed opposition groups has diminished, is an open question.

- Urbanisation is increasing, not least due to resettlements. These challenges must be managed well. The challenge is to create sustainable livelihoods for people in cities as well as to help refugees return to their homelands.

- Finally, it is important that humanitarian aid and ODA be both transparent and focused on the long term. The authors emphasise that the causes of the crisis must always be borne in mind.

LINK

Nagarajan, C., et al, 2018: Climate-fragility profile: Lake Chad Basin.
<https://www.adelphi.de/de/system/files/mediathek/bilder/Lake%20Chad%20Climate-Fragility%20Profile%20-%20adelphi.pdf>



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Lack of trust

Janani Vivekananda interviewed
by Lea Diehl

What are the biggest risks of violence in the Lake Chad region?

Resource scarcity, livelihood insecurity and extreme poverty have exacerbated tensions between and within groups of pastoralists, farmers and fishers – often to violent effect. We see tensions at the societal level as well as the family level. For example, there is an increase of forced marriages. We also identified violence between different generations. We saw that young men face a lack of jobs and money; they blame these and other problems on the older generation – and the other way around. Conflicts between and within ethnic groups and across communities are increasing as well. And we are also seeing increased grievances between local communities and the government as people realise that the government isn't able to provide security against armed opposition groups such as Boko Haram. It is actually perpetrating violence against citizens itself.

How is climate change related to these problems?

There are links. Increased livelihood insecurity and social tensions are compounded by conflict and climate-related rainfall variability. Weather variability was increasing before the Boko Haram crisis, but communities were mostly able to cope or adapt, with the exception of certain groups such as herders, for example. However, increased climate variability – namely

more unpredictable rainfall patterns – is making some livelihoods unviable and reducing livelihood diversity. People in the region have always relied on diverse livelihoods to cope with weather shocks, but with climate change and the conflict, they find that they aren't able to adapt to the changing environment. For example, there are fishers who would switch to farming in certain weather conditions, but they cannot do so if Boko Haram or state-security forces restrict access to the land they would cultivate. As a result of climate change and the conflicts, fights over natural resources are increasing. Livelihoods are becoming more insecure. One destructive coping strategy is deforestation for charcoal sales. This issue is often overlooked – but it compounds climate change. Some evidence from interviews with ex-Boko Haram fighters indicates that lack of livelihoods

contributes to people joining armed groups.

What can be done to reduce these risks?

To find solutions, we must consider the root causes. At the moment, we see lots of humanitarian aid. Yes, people do need food and shelter. But it is not enough to address day-to-day needs. If climate change and insecurity are not dealt with, things are set to get worse. It's important to tackle historical marginalisation. The region is politically neglected and local communities have long been marginalised. Basic services must be provided. People need climate proof livelihoods. They need to experience that their voices matter and that they belong to society.

What are the tasks for civil society and the international community?

A lot of good work is being done at the local level. Many groups are promoting human rights, agriculture and food security. The great challenge is the lack

of information on how the different risks in the region interact with each other. Local communities need better opportunities, and they need reliable advice on how to respond to climate change. It bears repetition, their livelihoods must be made climate-proof. The tasks for the international community are:

- to ensure that regular climate-risks assessments are carried out and that
- such assessments are followed up with action.

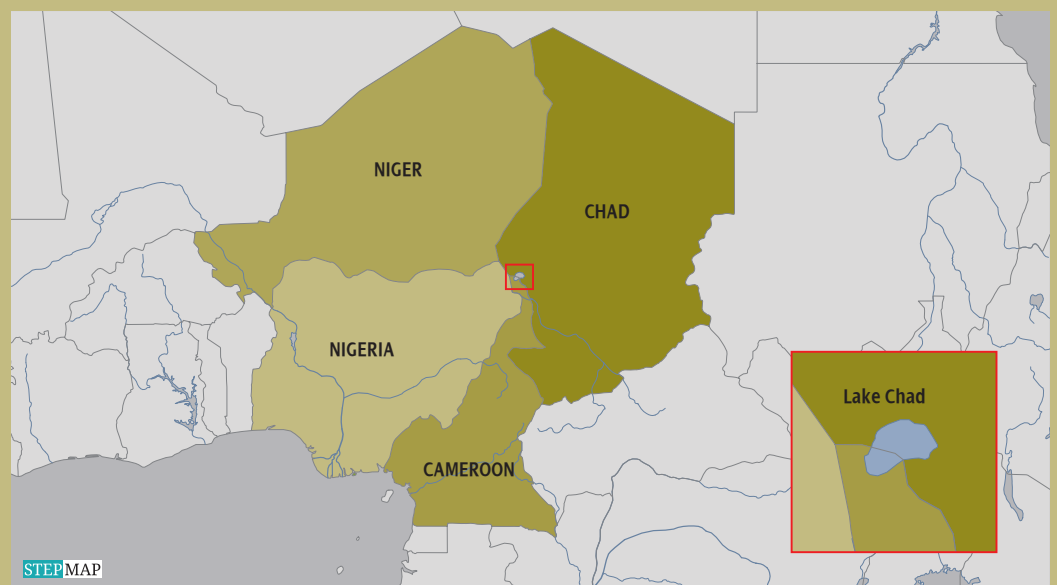
Apart from the adelphi study, the region's climate and fragility risks have not been assessed. Donors should ensure that people can rise to the challenges. Institutional capacities and local leadership are needed – and deserve support.



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NEGLECTED TROPICAL DISEASES

Forgotten patients

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 1.5 billion people worldwide need treatment for neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) like schistosomiasis or African trypanosomiasis. Eradicating them requires more than medication however.

By Monika Hellstern

Schistosomiasis is caused by parasitic worms and affects 240 million people worldwide. More than 700 million people live in areas where it is endemic, according to the WHO. The disease is spread via contaminated water.

It can be treated with tablets that kill the worm, but the medication is not approved for children under the age of six. Jutta Reinhard-Rupp, who heads the German pharma corporation Merck's Global Health Institute, is part of a consortium that wants to change matters by developing a new formula of the medicine Praziquan-
tel. A smaller, better-tasting tablet would be suitable for children and boost compliance in general.

All too often, however, people who received treatment go back to bathing in the same contaminated river, Reinhard-Rupp says, adding: "Medication is not enough, we also need to invest in awareness and prevention."

NTDs are a group of diseases caused by viruses, bacteria, protozoa and parasitic worms that mostly affect poor people in Africa, Asia and the Americas (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/03, p. 28). They never got the same attention as diseases that affect rich nations. Moreover, the UN considered the fight against HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria to be more important. Accordingly, only scant funding for prevention and research was committed to NTDs. Between 2000 and 2011, only four percent of the 850 new drugs approved worldwide were indicated for an NTD.

Non-profit organisations like the Drugs for Neglected Diseases initiative (DNDi) are trying to fill the gap. With donor support, DNDi is developing new pharma-

ceuticals. Together with Sanofi, a pharma giant, DNDi has been working on a treatment for African trypanosomiasis or "sleeping sickness". The new drug has been tested and is currently being evaluated by the European Medicines Agency. "We believe it will contribute to the elimination of the disease," says Graeme Bilbe, research and development director of DNDi. "Results like these can be achieved by setting ambitious

over, civil-society organisations are putting pressure on companies, governments and international organisations. Such action, Gebauer points out, helped to make anti-retroviral AIDS treatments affordable in developing countries.

Medication is only one part of the puzzle however. "Neglected diseases are neglected patients," Franz von Roenne, a GIZ expert on global health, said at a public event organised by his agency and local media in Frankfurt in August. Poor infrastructure, mismanagement and corruption mean that many people do not get access to pills. With the support of GIZ, Cameroon has set up regional funds for health promotion to facilitate decentralised pharma distribu-



Mobile health workers educate rural villagers in Ethiopia on trachoma, a disease caused by bacteria that leads to a loss of eyesight if left untreated.

goals and bringing together stakeholders like governments, researchers, pharmaceutical companies and generics producers."

In the eyes of Thomas Gebauer of medico international, an international non-governmental organisation, the neglect of NTDs is a result of the intellectual-property laws: "The patent system allows pharmaceutical companies to inflate prices so they focus research on well-off patients who will pay high prices." Innovation in other fields is thus stifled. "Competitors try to gain access to lucrative markets, so they develop slightly altered versions of existing drugs and have them patented." Gebauer says that 50% of newly developed drugs do not make health-care systems stronger. He argues that a publicly funded research pool would be best suited to address the issue. More-

tion, involving community representatives at the grassroots level even in rural areas.

Ultimately, improving health will depend on addressing social factors. Adequate housing, clean water and sanitation, nutritious food, working conditions, education and other factors highly influence health outcomes. This requires an integrated multi-sectorial approach – which would also help to improve health care in general. After all, non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, cardio-vascular diseases and obesity are increasingly plaguing developing countries (see focus section of D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/03 and print issue 2018/03-04).

LINK

Drugs for Neglected Diseases initiative (DNDi):
<https://www.dndi.org>

PERSPECTIVES

War and chaos in the Middle East

In the west, the decades since the end of the Cold War are regarded as one of the most peaceful periods in history. In his recently published book "Krieg und Chaos in Nahost – Eine arabische Sicht" ("War and chaos in the Middle East – an Arabian view"), the German-Syrian journalist Aktham Suliman looks at the same period from an Arabian perspective, pointing out the death and disorder that the last quarter of a century has brought to the Middle East.

By Dagmar Wolf

In the eyes of former Al Jazeera correspondent Aktham Suliman, the First Iraq War in the early 1990s marked the outbreak of the "Third World War". Unlike the First and Second World War, however, the main theatre of hostilities is the Middle East, so the war was never considered to be global by many in the west. The situation was made more complicated by the fact that prolonged fighting took place – and still takes place today – on diverse fronts for diverse reasons.

The author traces a line connecting the First Iraq War of 1991 with the 9/11

attacks, the Second Iraq War from 2003 on, the Arab Spring and ISIS terrorism. He contends that the First Iraq War sowed the seeds for many subsequent events that affected the Arab and Islamic regions as well as the west. He cites both the Second Iraq War and the Arab Spring uprisings as examples.

In the First Iraq War, around 700,000 soldiers from more than 30 countries fought for the US-led anti-Iraq coalition. Within weeks, US fighter aircraft had dropped more bombs than during the entire Second World War, destroying not only military facilities, but also industrial installations and civilian infrastructures, including power and water supply and transport links. Media coverage was sensationalised by live broadcasts beamed around the world.

The author argues that this "stone age strategy" towards Iraq and the rising toll of civilian casualties transformed the Arab world's view of the west. He writes of a growing perception that the west had destroyed Iraq in order to show the Arab world as a whole who called the shots when it came to asserting political and economic interests in the Middle East.

Suliman argues that the way western societies responded to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 reinforced the negative impression in predominantly Muslim countries. There was not only collective mourning, but calls for revenge. In very short time, Muslims were generally under suspicion. Practically overnight, the nationality of more than a billion people in the world – Arabs and non-Arabs – suddenly did not matter anymore: "In the eyes of western media, politicians and societies, Syrians, Egyptians, Turks, Pakistanis, Iranians, Senegalese and many others suddenly mutated into just Muslims." As a result of such abrupt rejection, many Muslims acquired a new and deeper Islamic identity, the author writes, with prejudice fuelling prejudice on both sides.

The author argues that the past quarter of a century gave rise to a new ideological orientation. The Arab Left lost its ideological support when the Soviet Union collapsed, and Arab nationalism withered in the wake of the First Iraq War. Suliman speaks of a virtual dearth of ideology and argues that the vacuum it left in the Middle East made possible the rise of Islamism as an ersatz ideology. Since Wahhabis, Muslim Brothers and Shias promote quite different versions of Islamism, however, this world view is incoherent.

Suliman stresses that he does not wish to play down inter-Arab conflicts; nor does he seek to bash the west for its misdeeds and mistakes. Nevertheless, without the west's influence, the Middle East would not have become what it is today. The author believes that media images of war and linguistic trivialisation of military force in the west helped give rise to contra-groups like ISIS in the Middle East.

The journalist deliberately speaks in his book of "an" not "the" Arabian view because he does not claim to speak for the more than 400 million Arabs living in the Middle East and abroad. He appreciates there is always a range of opinion about every situation. It is obvious, moreover, that various Islamist forces are fighting one another in the region's various conflicts.

REFERENCE

Suliman, A., 2017: *Krieg und Chaos in Nahost – eine arabische Sicht. (War and chaos in the Middle East – an Arabian view)*. Frankfurt: Nomen Verlag.



The way the west treats people in the Middle East has a crucial bearing on the development of the region: taking prisoners during the First Iraq War.

FINANCIAL COOPERATION

More money for development

In 2017, Germany's development bank KfW and its subsidiary Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft (DEG), committed € 9.7 billion to new development projects. That was more money than ever before.

By Monika Hellstern

Almost 40% of the total sum, about €3.7 billion, will be used for projects in Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East. Projects in these regions are among the main drivers of commitment growth. KfW is increasingly involved in supporting peace and implementing measures to “fight the root causes of flight”. Last year, the bank's focal areas were peace and security, vocational training and employment, and climate and environmental protection.

Recently, support to refugees has become an important part of KfW's work. The bank currently spends more than €3 billion on 117 projects related to refugees in 28 countries. In a conversation with the press, Joachim Nagel, a member of KfW's executive board, spoke about the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan. About 78,000 Syrian refugees currently live there. “Young people in those camps need jobs,” he says. KfW projects support the camp in terms of water and electricity infrastructure as well as educational programmes.

In fragile contexts, donors need to provide basic physical and social infrastructure in a fast and efficient manner. However, bureaucratic processes often slow down implementation. According to Nagel, discussions with Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung – BMZ) are underway to facilitate more efficient procedures in emergency situations. He appreciates that development cooperation has gained traction in German public discourse.

KfW aims to act in a sustainable manner, including in its development efforts abroad. More than half of the money committed to projects in developing countries

and emerging markets was earmarked for climate purposes and environmental protection. “This share is high compared to other donors,” says Nagel. “The commitments made in 2017 will help to reduce carbon emissions by 13.7 million tons.”

The bank wants to expand its climate-related projects with an eye to reducing emissions even further. For example, it intends to increase its funding of forest protection and renewable energies. Additionally, KfW has set up the InsuResilience Solutions

and there have not been any cases related to KfW.” He says the bank will introduce additional training measures to ensure employee's compliance with the institution's code of conduct.

Increasingly, German development agencies try to harness digital technologies for development. DEG, a subsidiary of KfW, is concerned with private sector development in developing and emerging-market countries. “In 2018 we want to focus even more on supporting our partners in implementing innovative business models including digital technologies, for example FinTech (financial technologies) or eLearning,” said Christiane Laibach, chairwoman of DEG's management board.

At the beginning of this year, DEG invested €4 million in a mobile money tech-



A man shops without cash in a supermarket equipped with iris scan technology in Zaatari refugee camp, Jordan.

Fund in support of the InsuResilience Initiative, which was launched last year at the UN climate summit in Bonn. The goal is to support the development of innovative insurance products in regard to climate risks. The ambition is to insure 400 million poor and vulnerable people in developing countries (also see Chinedu Moghalu in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/07, p. 23).

Nagel addressed the recent discussion on sexual abuse in the aid sector. “I take the issue very seriously,” he emphasises. “We have investigated the problem internally,

nology provider in Ethiopia. M-BIRR, similar to Kenya's M-Pesa, is a cashless money transfer and payment service that enables users to pay by mobile phone. DEG also supports German small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) with investing in developing and emerging-market countries. They have set up “German Desks” with partner banks in Nigeria, Kenya, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Peru. To facilitate investments, a bank employee helps German SMEs and their local partners with banking services and financing opportunities.

SDG FINANCE

Carbon pricing for sustainable development

To achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), trillions of dollars are needed each year. In many countries the costs look unaffordable. According to a recently published study, developing countries could charge duties on carbon emissions to generate the necessary revenues. Such “carbon pricing” would address two challenges at once – global warming and the underprovision of public goods.

By Katja Dombrowski

Many developing countries subsidise fossil fuels, thus encouraging wasteful consumption and hampering sustainable development. In some cases, such as Libya and Iran, such expenditures amounted to almost one fifth of GDP in 2014, according to the International Energy Agency.

Such harmful subsidies should be discontinued everywhere, a team of German scholars argues. Instead, it would make sense to put a price on carbon emissions that is consistent with the goal of the Paris Agreement to keep global warming below 2 degrees Celsius. Lead author Max Franks and other scientists from the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK) and the Mercator Institute on Global Commons and Climate Change (MCC) reckon that fiscal reforms of this kind in a number of coun-

tries would suffice to generate a large share of the public funds needed to implement the 2030 Agenda. For example, Vietnam, Bangladesh and Pakistan could fund between one quarter and one third of the measures needed. According to the scholars, India could even cover 95% of its requirements this way. In some countries simply cutting the subsidies would suffice – for instance in Cape Verde and Egypt. In the years 2012 to 2015, the government of Cabo Verde spent as much as an annual \$ 700 per capita on fossil fuel subsidies.

At the third UN conference on Financing for Development in Addis Ababa in 2015, the international community agreed to use all available financing options for sustainable development. Nonetheless, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda fell short of a binding commitment (see comment by Bernd Bornhorst in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2015/08 p. 43). Three years later, financing gaps are still huge. The new study points out that developing countries will have to bear the primary costs of the SDG agenda. It concludes: “Domestic resource mobilisation, in particular by raising tax revenues, will thus play a central role.”

The UN Sustainability Development Solutions Network (SDSN) estimates that the lower- and lower-middle-income countries together will need \$ 1.5 trillion per year

to achieve the SDGs by 2030. The extent to which climate-related levies can contribute to the fundraising depends on a variety of factors and differs greatly from country to country. Some sectors are more suitable for private-sector engagement than others. For example, private companies are more likely to make a difference in terms of infrastructure and food security than in the areas of public health or the protection of biodiversity.

According to the PIK-Mercator study, the need for public funding is particularly great in low-income countries. The authors write that countries like Myanmar, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, Chad and Somalia offer only scant opportunities for private SDG financing. In these places, carbon pricing could be an interesting policy option.

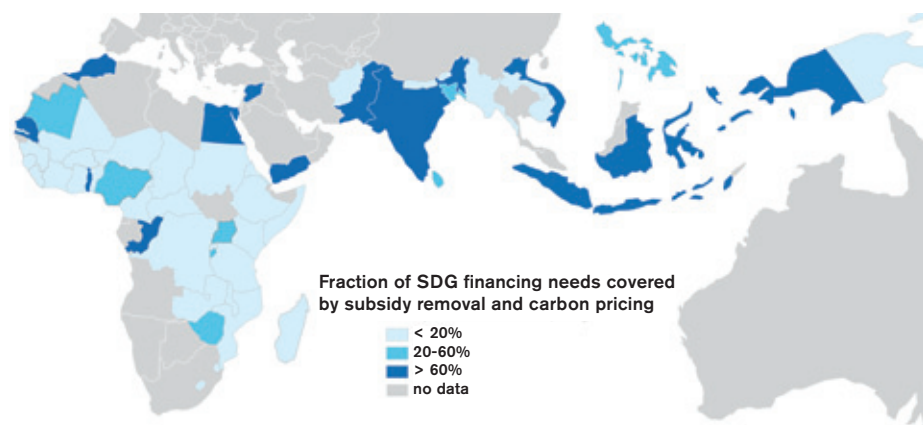
The authors concede that the proposed reforms will be politically challenging. Moreover, not all revenues will be fully available for SDG purposes. One reason is that those who are negatively affected by carbon pricing will have to be compensated.

The experts insist, however, that successfully implemented, carbon pricing could have positive side effects. It would boost the efficiency of the tax system in countries with large informal sectors, for example, because taxes on energy are much more difficult to evade than taxes on labour or capital. The authors support a global development policy that emphasises local capacity building, including in terms of tax administration. They point out that “if such a policy succeeds on the national level, a common commitment to carbon pricing might also be achieved internationally.”

SOURCE

Franks, M. et al., 2018: Mobilizing domestic resources for the Agenda 2030 via carbon pricing. *Nature Sustainability*, Vol. 1, July 2018, 350-357.

<https://www.nature.com/articles/s41893-018-0083-3>



Endangered hippos

At Lake Tanganyika in Burundi, more than 20 hippos have been killed in only two years time. Humans encroach the animals' habitat and regard them as dangerous.

Lake Tanganyika is the second largest lake in Africa. It is shared by Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The lake is home to abundant wildlife, including 500 to 600 hippopotamuses.

However, people are building more and more settlements on Burundi's lake shores, thus reducing the mammals' places of retreat, reproduction and feeding. Nowadays, hippos that leave the water at night in search for food come to far away human settlements. For instance, last November, a large hippo was sighted in a water retention basin in front of the national radio and TV station in Kibondo, a district of the capital Bujumbura. Security forces killed it on the environment minister's order. He argued that the animal was wounded.

About 20 hippos have been killed since 2016. Ditches were dug on the lake's shores to trap the animals when they leave the water. Some Burundians appreciate the meat.

According to Gaspard Ntakimazi, an environmental scientist and university professor, it is high time to protect the hippopotamuses, limit pollution and stop

building lakefront settlements. If hippos show up in the water basins of residential areas, he says, they should not be killed, but chased back into the lake. People should make a lot of noise to drive the pachyderm away.

However, the fast growing population needs land. Accordingly, people have settled along the river Ruzizi which flows into Lake Tanganyika. This river serves as a breeding ground for fish and crocodiles and as a reproduction site for hippopotamuses.

Samuel Ndayiragije, general director of the Burundian office of environmental protection (office burundais pour la protection de l'environnement – OBPE) laments the bad relationship between humans and aquatic animals. Hippos are not as dangerous as Burundians think they are, he argues – as long as they don't get attacked. People have to learn to cohabit with this endangered species. He wants people to respect the hippos' reproduction areas and grazing grounds.

Strictly applying the Burundian water directive would be useful. It limits cultivation and construction to 150 meters off the shore of Lake Tanganyika and 50 meters off rivers and lakes in the north of the country. In the real world, things are different. The lakeshore is lined with residential buildings and hotels.



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CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

Flamboyant icon of the past

Clad in traditional Shalwar Qameez, rolling beads of rosary in his right hand, Pakistan's new Prime Minister Imran Khan took office. He promises change, and his Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf PTI (Movement for Justice) routed the two mainstream political parties in the general elections last month. What the charismatic leader will deliver remains to be seen.

By Afshan Subohi

Pakistanis long for peace and prosperity, and they are fed up with the archaic establishment unresponsive to people's aspirations. In three different elections, they voted three different parties to power. Military rule ended in 2008 when Pervez Musharraf resigned as president. Shortly before the election back then, Benazir Bhutto was killed, and her Pakistan People's Party (PPP) won. Five years later, the voters kicked the PPP out, and Nawaz Sharif of the PMLN (Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz) became prime minister.

Now many people hope that Imran Khan will deliver the peaceful and productive future that neither the PPP nor the PMLN managed to bring about. The PPP is dominated by the Bhutto clan, and the PMLN by the Sharif family. Both are embroiled in multiple cases of corruption.

Whether the PTI will prove to be different remains to be seen.

Khan is a former cricket star. Led by him, Pakistan's team won the world cup in 1992. He became politicised after retirement and raised his profile through philanthropy. He used to have an image of a playboy earlier but has projected himself as a God fearing Muslim in politics. A senior analyst calls him a "flamboyant icon of the past" who turned into an "engaging politician".

Khan's first TV address to the nation focused on austerity and accountability. He pledged to reside in a small three-bedroom house and turn the palatial PM House in Islamabad into a university. He said he needs only two house servants, whereas 500 are engaged for the upkeep of the luxurious PM House.

In 70 minutes, he touched many issues of public concern. He spoke of employment, education, agriculture, water, health care and the environment. He mentioned inflation as well as the budget and current account deficits, but he shied away from the most controversial economic policy issue. He did not make a commitment on whether he will or will not turn to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a bail out. Pakistan's exchange rate has recently fallen fast, and the foreign-exchange reserves are dwindling. A crisis is brewing. During the

campaign, Khan promised to create an "Islamic welfare state", but the country lacks the revenue for major investments in social services.

He mentioned the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), in the context of which Beijing has granted Pakistan huge loans. Unlike the previous prime ministers, however, he does not seem to be too excited over China's engagement, but he did not comment on how he will handle the CPEC induced debt burden.

Khan announced he will make the government lean and clean. Whistleblowers in the public service – especially in revenue collection – are not only to get legal protection. Khan said he will design an incentive package to motivate them.

Another important topic Khan did not mention was the Islamist militancy that has claimed thousands of lives in the past two decades. His approach to foreign affairs remains unclear too. He did not go beyond the platitude of desiring friendly relations with all neighbours.

After previous governments disappointed the nation, people hope Khan will prove better. There are doubts however. One observer says that the world is getting increasingly unpredictable and scarier. In his eyes, the misdirecting of populist sentiments gave rise to Narendra Modi in India and Donald Trump in the USA. He sees Khan as the third corner of a "trouble triangle". This observer voted for the PMLN because the Sharifs took on the military establishment. In contrast, Khan's campaign found support in military circles.

A business leader says that he will wait for three months "before committing unfettered support to Khan". The decision will depend on what the new prime minister does to weed out corruption and make business easier. According to an expert from the Pakistan Business Council, a private think tank, the crucial issue is how the PTI government will handle the balance-of-payment problems. He says the economy can grow at a sustained rate of seven percent annually if that goes well. Unfortunately, that is quite a big "if".



Imran Khan
addressing the
nation on 19 August.



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FINANCIAL MARKETS

Turkey's lira in downward spiral

Compared with the dollar, the Turkish lira has lost about 40% of its worth this year. There are several reasons. The two most important ones are that the dollar is appreciating internationally and that interest rates are rising in the USA. Both trends matter because the Turkish economy has been driven by the cheap dollar for the past decade.

By Hans Dembowski

In the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008, investors from G7 countries have been channelling funds to the private sector in emerging markets. The idea was to get higher returns than were to be expected in advanced nations. Due to the inflow of foreign capital, loans became unusually cheap in Turkey and other emerging markets. A stronger dollar and higher interest rates in the US mean that this trend is now ending and even going into reverse (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/08 p. 21). In face of similar problems, Argentina's government prudently asked the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for help (see article, p. 19).

At this point, global trends are hurting Turkey in particular. According to some estimates, Turkey needs an inflow of about \$ 200 billion per year. Instead, money has begun to pour out of the country. The Turkish economy is caught in a downward spiral. As the dollar appreciates, Turkish borrowers find it increasingly difficult to service dollar-denominated loans. Accordingly, investors doubt they will get the returns they expect. The incentives to withdraw from Turkey thus increase as the lira depreciates, putting additional downward pressure on the lira. Many private-sector companies must service dollar-denominated loans and are under increasing stress accordingly.

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, however, is in denial. To strengthen the lira and fight inflation, Turkey should tighten its monetary policy and reduce public spending. Instead, Erdogan has been saying for a while that high interest rates cause inflation. Economic history proves him wrong. International business papers

are discussing when – not whether – Turkey will need to turn to the IMF for support.

Erdogan is not the only one to bear responsibility however. A financial crisis is not brought about by one party alone. If unsustainable debts accumulate, debtors as well as creditors are at fault.

In normal times, all governments would be expected to cooperate on containing a crisis. We are not living in normal times however. US President Donald Trump thinks he can take advantage of Turkey's macroeconomic problems. By tightening sanctions, including higher steel and alu-

market currencies – down are much stronger.

By making Turkey's economic problems worse, however, Trump is playing with fire. One characteristic of financial crises is that they can fast spread to other countries if investors think the scenario is similar. At some point, the solvency of major international banks may be at risk, and the global system could freeze to a standstill as it did in 2008 when Lehman Brothers failed. The risk of things going terribly wrong is real.

Global cooperation is needed to safeguard global public goods, and containing a financial crisis is a global public good. To judge by past experience, international institutions do not always handle such crises well. However, they have been quite successful in some cases. Lessons can – and must – be drawn (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/08, p. 23).



Checking dollar bills at an exchange bureau in Ankara.

minium tariffs, he has accelerated the lira's downward spiral. Trump wants his Turkish counterpart to free an American pastor, but Erdogan says this man has ties to those who orchestrated a failed military coup two years ago. He is now complaining that Trump is at fault, distracting from the underlying macroeconomic issues.

It is important to bear in mind that Trump has not caused them. He is only making them worse. The US president does not have the power to redirect flows on international capital markets. The forces that are dragging the lira – and other emerging-

Multilateral action can succeed, though Trump's destructive stance on multilateralism is well known. At the same time, Erdogan's claim that he has alternatives to cooperating with the USA is reckless. Qatar recently committed to investments worth \$15 billion in Turkey. That is useful, but the sum is too small to really stem the tide in the long run. Russia might also want to help Erdogan, but quite obviously lacks the funds. If and when other emerging markets are sucked into the crisis, moreover, there will be only one alternative to multilateral cooperation: severe crisis.

GOVERNANCE

Unconvincing rebranding efforts

Zimbabwe's people hoped that the recent elections would usher in an era of openness in national politics, economic affairs and international relations. After the security forces have cracked down, they wonder whether that hope is still justified.

By Jeffrey Moyo

The elections themselves were peaceful. It was the first time that Robert Mugabe was not on the ballot. The independence leader had run the country as prime minister from 1980 to 1987 and as president from 1987 to 2017. He used to have an iron grip on his party, the Zimbabwe Africa National Union – Patriotic Front. His rule was marked by economic decline and brutal political repression.

ZANU-PF has close ties to the military, the top brass of which disagreed with Mugabe's plans to be succeeded by his wife Grace Mugabe. Therefore, the army toppled him in a coup last year. Emerson Mnangagwa became the new president and called elections in order to get democratic legitimacy. For many years, he had been Mugabe's vice president. When Mugabe fired him to make way for his wife, the military stepped in.

Zimbabwe's other big party is the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Morgan Tsvangirai, who died of cancer this year, used to be its leader. He won international fame when he beat Mugabe in the first round of the elections in 2008. Back then, ZANU-PF gangs launched violent attacks on MDC supporters, several of whom died. In view of such repression, Tsvangirai dropped out of the race, so Mugabe remained president. As ZANU-PF did not have a majority of seats in parliament, an awkward coalition followed, with Tsvangirai serving as prime minister.

As prime minister, Tsvangirai managed to bring hyperinflation under control, but the people did not give him credit. In the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2013, Mugabe and ZANU-PF triumphed once more. Nobody had any doubt about the regime's autocratic tendencies.

After Mugabe's downfall, Mnangagwa promised free elections. Indeed, debate seemed free, and politicians from the different parties interacted peacefully with one another in the big cities. In remote rural areas, however, military officials were intimidating villagers, demanding that everyone vote for ZANU-PF. Only few people had the courage to speak up, so the general public only became aware of such action rather late. The military's ploy worked out, and ZANU-PF won most rural constituencies.

After the elections on 30 July, the results were not announced for two days. Pro-

Nelson Chamisa, the MDC Alliance's presidential candidate.

Eventually, the Election Commission announced that the ZANU-PF had won 145 of 210 seats in parliament. It did not inspire trust that the results of the presidential elections were still not published. At last, Chairperson Chigumba appeared in public and declared that Mnangagwa had won. Opposition leader Chamisa spoke of fraud and turned to the Constitutional Court on 10 August. The Election Commission fast declared that his complaint was not valid for various formal reasons.

Indeed, the judges approved the election results, so Mnangagwa was sworn in again in late August. The people expect him and his party to rule for another five years. They are used to official procedures not being transparent, and the repression of protests fit the established pattern of the Mugabe era. Many had hoped there would



Tanks on the streets of Harare on 1 August.

testers began swarming the capital city of Harare, castigating the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). The riot police was overwhelmed and fast got support from heavily armed soldiers. The troops shot at civilians, killing six people. It was striking, moreover, that Priscilla Chigumba, the ZEC chairperson, did not show up in public, even though other members did. Rumours about election rigging spread fast. Fuelling the flames, security forces harassed journalists who wanted to attend a press conference held by

be real change and an economic upswing. They are aware of the donor community shunning Mugabe because of his poor governance. In the light of recent events, however, they know that Mnangagwa's rebranding efforts look unconvincing.



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Brazilian-German cooperation: a Brazilian wind power plant funded by the KfW Development Bank.

LAW

Continuity through a new legislative basis

Gerd Müller, Germany's federal minister for economic cooperation and development, has announced that he will introduce an investment law to promote economic development in Africa. It would also make sense to follow the example of many other countries and pass a law that applies to development policy in general. Such a law could ensure continuity in politically uncertain times.

By Markus Kaltenborn and Reinhard Hermle

An investment law is, without a doubt, a good idea. Providing a legal basis to German companies that operate in Africa could significantly contribute to strengthening

business ties between German and African partners. However, legal regulations applying to other development-policy issues would be useful too.

Most donor countries have such legal regulations in place. Parliaments have created a legal foundation for their governments' cooperation with the global south. Legislation thus regulates essential matters. For instance, the Belgian law on development cooperation gears Belgian policymaking towards UN development goals, including the target of spending 0.7% of gross national income on official development assistance (ODA). Britain's International Development (Official Development Assistance Target) Act similarly makes reference to the 0.7%

target, and French legislation includes a corresponding provision in the annex to the Guidance and Programming Law on Development and International Solidarity. Austria and Switzerland, moreover, have laws that endorse central components of the international aid-effectiveness agenda, including the principles of developing countries' policy ownership and donor alignment to their institutions and procedures.

ENSURING POLICY COHERENCE

In view of the need to take a cross-sectoral approach for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), several countries have adopted regulations to ensure coherence between policymaking in regard to development and other relevant fields. Furthermore, guidelines have been issued for humanitarian aid, multilateral cooperation and cooperation with non-governmental organisations. From an institutional perspective, it is interesting that several donor countries (like Denmark, Italy, Switzerland and France) have provided the ministry in charge of development matters with an ad-

visory body that includes a variety of stakeholders. Last but not least, almost all of the respective laws of our European neighbours specifically mention focus areas for government's international development efforts. Typically, these areas include poverty reduction, economic development, sustainability, peacekeeping as well as the promotion of democracy and the rule of law.

Germany has, of course, addressed many of these issues in regulations that guide its development policy. For instance, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has published "Guidelines for bilateral financial and technical cooperation with developing countries". These administrative rules provide orientation to agencies, and so do various strategy papers on diverse topics. However, these regulations are of intra-administrative relevance. These guidelines and declarations are not binding in the strict legal sense. The basic principles of German development policy would carry much more weight if they were enshrined in a "development policy act". Such a law would boost their legitimacy. By the way, this proposal is nothing new. Unfortunately, a related legislative initiative did not bear fruit in the 1990s.

WHY DO WE NEED A "DEVELOPMENT POLICY ACT"?

It makes sense to ponder whether such an act is really needed. So far, German development efforts have gotten along quite well without it. To judge by the trends of recent decades, Germany is not one of the donor countries that need legal constraints to enforce their global commitments. Germany's ODA has substantially grown in recent years, and its quality has improved – though there certainly is still scope for improvement (major challenges are regularly spelled out in the reports from *terre des hommes* and *Welthungerhilfe*, two civil-society organisations, on the "reality of German development policy").

Moreover, it certainly is not the case that German development administration would operate in a legal vacuum. Indeed, agencies must adhere to specific guidelines and priorities as laid out in the annual national budget, which is passed into law by the Bundestag, the federal parliament. Moreover, the above-mentioned intra-administration rules apply. Legally binding



Street vendors in Lusaka, Zambia: experts suggest to put the fight against poverty as developmental goal into German law.

international agreements, including those on human rights, also set important standards for development. Their extraterritorial dimension is relevant, and so are all the soft-law commitments Germany made in international settings, ranging from the final declarations of global high-level forums on aid effectiveness in Paris (2005), Accra (2008), Busan (2011) and Nairobi (2016) to the obligations arising from the UN Financing for Development conferences or the SDGs.

Nevertheless, there are good reasons to follow the example of other donor countries. Various programmes funded by the BMZ relate to basic constitutional rights. For instance, measures that are designed to benefit specific population groups must not counteract the constitutional principle of equality. It thus makes sense to ask why the programmes themselves should not be based on a specific law.

Even if one sets aside such legal considerations, there are two more arguments in favour of a development policy law. One is that Germany expects its partner countries to involve their parliaments in development cooperation. According to BMZ rules, projects must meet the standards of Germany's human rights-based approach. The implication is that these programmes themselves should generally be founded in law.

The second argument is primarily of a domestic nature, but it is no less important. Given the increasing clout of parties on the far right, it is conceivable that, one day, a new government may want to pursue

a radically different foreign policy and drastically cut spending on international development. As a development-policy law might be changed accordingly, it would obviously not present a permanent obstacle. Nonetheless, it would make it harder to change course since the new government would have to overcome a legislative hurdle. The parties at the "centre" of the democratic spectrum should take note: in politically volatile times, a law can contribute to ensuring the continuity of development policy.

LINK

Guidelines for bilateral financial and technical cooperation with developing countries:

<http://www.bmz.de/de/mediathek/publikationen/archiv/reihen/strategiepapiere/konzept165.pdf>



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Development worker talking to project partners in Cambodia 2005.

QUALIFICATIONS

Development service as a place of learning

Development workers acquire a variety of skills while on assignment. A recent study, which was commissioned by the Association of German Development Services (AGdD), examines how development service can be made a more motivating and effective setting for learning.

By Gabi Waibel and Lutz Schrader

The study “Entwicklungsdienst qualifiziert” (which loosely translated means “development service teaches you something”) was published by AGdD last year. It has a double focus:

- First of all, it investigates how professionals learn and adopt new skills over the

course of their assignments so they can meet the challenges they face.

- Second, it recognises the period of service as an important chapter in an individual’s learning biography, during which professionals acquire valuable knowledge for their future careers.

The authors interviewed 42 professionals, consulted over a dozen education experts and assessed the latest research on non-formal and informal learning.

The study comes to a positive conclusion, arguing that Germany’s government-approved development service providers as well as institutes of further education are providing professionals with good or very good support. That is so before, during and

after assignments. In line with the double focus, the study issued recommendations in two main areas:

- How can professionals’ learning and skill acquisition be more effectively supported while they are on assignment?
- What options are there for documenting the experience, knowledge, proficiencies and skills gained?

KEEP LEARNING

Nowadays, development workers increasingly serve as advisers. However, they can only obtain a limited amount of the knowledge they need during three-to-five days training courses (DEval 2015). Most of their learning actually happens on the job. Ideally, the working practice will go hand-in-hand with continual improvements in their advisory skills. The study especially focussed on two ways to better support self-directed learning among development workers: autodidactic skills should be explicitly cultivated during the training, and agencies should do more to support their staff’s learning during assignments in part-

ner countries. Convincing schemes would do both.

The study suggests that training courses should devote more time to “learning how to learn”. That would include information on how individual and collective learning is achieved in general. Moreover, one’s own learning behaviour should be considered. Professionals who understand their personal style of learning – including what motivates them – are better able to organise themselves and will make more targeted efforts. Professionals should acquire suitable learning strategies and methods. Of particular importance are partner and group learning methods like dialogic learning, peer consultation, theme-centred interaction as well as intervision, supervision and coaching.

Professionals obviously depend on support from their employers. Good support for learning in the field starts with an accurate definition of the project objectives, including tasks and infrastructure for the job assignment. Supervisors should see themselves as their employees’ learning coaches, and staff deserve to be offered inter- and supervision regularly. Moreover, platforms for virtual learning and collaboration are becoming ever more relevant, and they should be closely linked to agencies’ knowledge management.

Additional “soft factors” matter too. Most of the professionals interviewed emphasised how motivating it was to discuss successes and failures openly – whether with supervisors in the field, colleagues during conferences or other people, even on vacation. A healthy learning culture gives professionals some say in decision-making. Their interim and final reports must be read and evaluated.

LEARNING NETWORKS

Several challenges matter, and it makes sense to think in terms of “transformative learning networks” (Goldstein et al. 2017). Learning networks are voluntary, non-hierarchical and collaborative, and they involve more than one organisation. The goal is to boost learning as a means to drive social change. All partners that are involved in the planning and implementation of co-operative efforts are part of the network. Along with all other participants, development agencies must assume responsibility

for everyone’s learning success. In transformative learning networks, those who initiate and coordinate joint activities play key roles. Such people are called “netweavers”. On site, agency managers, representatives of partner organisations or the development workers themselves can serve as netweavers. Steering committees made up of several people make sense too.

AFTER RETURNING HOME

Particularly for professionals who are on their first assignment abroad, it is a formative experience to spend several years working in development assistance. In this time, they learn a great deal and must prove themselves in challenging conditions. This is true in regard to work as well as personal lives. As a result, development workers broaden and solidify their professional profile. Some people use their service period as a launch pad for an entirely different career. When development workers come home, it is therefore important to offer them support to identify the skills they have acquired. To some extent, AGdD seminars are serving this purpose. The organisation has assumed responsibility for assisting those who have completed their assignments. Some professionals, moreover, make use of employment agencies or privately financed counselling services to identify their strengths and weaknesses and/or compile a skills profile.

The AGdD study recommends that professionals document in a clear and verifiable way the skills and knowledge they have acquired on assignment. Doing so improves their career opportunities and educational perspectives at home. So far, such information has been presented at best in a rudimentary way in the letters of reference that German employers write for former staff members. Of course, professionals can draft skills profiles themselves and hand them in when applying for a job.

The best way to help professionals to document experiences, knowledge and skills is probably to issue something like a skills passport. The ProfilPASS is a model (Hülsmann, 2018). It certainly makes sense to tackle related issues right from the start. Professionals should develop a good sense of their strengths and weaknesses early on. They would be well-advised to direct their own learning efforts in a systematic manner

and to document achievements in a timely fashion. When they return home, they once more deserve advice from their agency on these matters. Their experience and professional qualifications should be summarised in an official and professionally compiled document.

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In Buenos Aires in December 2001, protestors declared the government to be a thief and demanded their money – some of them were wearing masks with the face of then President Fernando de la Rúa.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Always returning to square one?

Despite being a country with great potential, educated citizens and many natural resources, Argentina has a tendency to regularly slides into economic crisis.

By Jorge Saborido

For the past seven decades, Argentina has not developed in a continuous and healthy manner. The country has never tapped its potential, and is in a worse situation than it should. Political instability is a reason, even though Argentina has had a democratic system ever since 1983. This development failure is irritating and needs to be explained:

- First of all, the state plays a strong role in Argentina's economy, which depends on the export of commodities, including agro-industrial products. Exports do not generate enough foreign exchange reserves to satisfy the country's needs. This has been the most

important obstacle to development. So far, it has been impossible to boost manufacturing in order to sell goods of higher value internationally. Even when exports increase, the need to import basic goods causes an external trade imbalance. Inflationary pressure does not subside, so the exchange rate of the peso, the national currency, keeps decreasing. Eventually, a recession sets in. This pattern has held for a long time. A variety of different economic policies did not break it. Various governments tried to stimulate industrialisation in the hope of substituting foreign imports. However, Argentinian manufacturing never became competitive on world markets.

- Second, most entrepreneurs in Argentina operate in protected markets. Many benefit from close relationships with the state apparatus, with businesses even depending on obtaining confidential infor-

mation. The expression "Patria contratista" (which loosely translated means "nation of contractors") illustrates the illegitimate connections between private business and public institutions. Remarkably, even union leaders are part of these networks.

- Third, Argentina's savers tend to stockpile dollars, just in case inflation heats up and the peso gets devalued once more. That pattern is quite familiar, after all. Experts don't agree on what causes inflation. Orthodox economists say, an inefficient and corrupt state tries to mitigate a self-made deficit by printing more money. Others argue that inflation is the least painful way to resolve distribution issues, as wages always "run behind" inflation.

THE SELL-OUT

In this unbalanced scenario, foreign debt has been a fundamental component of Argentine economic structure. As is the case in other emerging countries, the roots of current problems can be found in the crisis of the 1970s, when the oil prices rose and Argentina was ruled by a brutal right-wing military junta. The dictatorship's finances were

opaque, and it borrowed heavily abroad. People's standard of life declined, and the return to civilian rule in 1983 did not change that trend.

The decade of the 1990s marks a "before and after" in Argentina's economic history. Those were the years when President Carlos Menem was in office. He was the leader of the "Peronistas", a party that considers economic nationalism one of its main principles. Menem was first elected in 1989, at a time of hyperinflation. This extreme situation was the backdrop for radical cutting back of the public sector. Later, the Menem government opted for a fixed exchange rate, with one peso equalling one dollar. The measure was supposed to stop inflation, but the implication was that the peso had to be backed up by market-generated for-ex reserves.

Historically, Peronism had stood for government control of the economy and the nationalisation of major industries. Menem opted for the very opposite however. He opened the economy, got rid of regulations which had restricted foreign trade and dismantled state institutions, selling government-owned companies to private investors from Argentina and abroad. Menem and Domingo Cavallo, his minister for economic affairs, accepted the dogmas preached by international financial institutions at the time, drafting unprecedented strategies for their country. The IMF basically endorsed the policy, and funded it with several loans.

The market-radical approach seemed to work initially. Foreign capital flowed into the country because investors wanted to benefit from the privatisation drive. The economy recovered to some extent. However, some industries collapsed without state protection. Unemployment became a persistent problem.

MELTDOWN IN 2001/2002

Other problems soon became evident as well. Mexico's financial crisis (the so-called "tequila" crisis) in 1994 had a contagious effect on other emerging markets which were believed to be running similar risks. Capital was fast withdrawn from Argentina too, so the country's economy shrank by three percent in 1995. It recovered somewhat in the following years, but the situation was obviously instable. Inflation set in again. Due to the fixed exchange rate, the peso was

soon overvalued, which further reduced the scope for exporting goods with high added value.

Problems escalated shortly after President Fernando de la Rúa was elected in 1999. His liberal alliance "Alianza para la Justicia, el Trabajo y la Educación" had defended the currency peg in the election campaign. Facing a decline of economic activity, a deep fiscal crisis and the growing flight of capital, the Alianza proved its incompetence by trying to maintain the convertibility at any cost. At one point in late 2001, a government decree limited how much money people were allowed to withdraw from their bank accounts as the government tried to stem the outflow of capital.

If people cannot access their money, however, a currency peg is meaningless. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) decided to withdraw its support. Lacking fresh money, the government had to declare default. The currency peg was abandoned, and people's savings lost their value over night.

The economy collapsed. Ever since, the IMF's reputation in Argentina has been very bad. People remember that it had endorsed the market-radical approaches as well as the currency peg and that its withdrawal led to an economic melt down.

In the chaos of late 2001/early 2002, riots and looting rocked the country. The police killed at least 36 people. The established political forces were totally discredited an "Que se vayan todos" (may they all just go away) became the popular slogan. De la Rúa resigned, and three of his successors only lasted in office for a few days. The economy was in free fall. Soon it was almost a quarter smaller than in 1998. The share of urban people living below the poverty line went up to 57.5%.

Eventually, the political situation stabilised under an interim president, Eduardo Duhalde. The economic situation improved slowly, from a very low bottom. It helped that the decline had been so steep that a total restart was needed. Having defaulted, moreover, the country was no longer bound by IMF conditionalities.

The global economic environment suddenly became more favourable as agricultural commodities – especially soybeans – were in strong demand. For some years, Argentina actually had a positive trade balance. President Nestor Kirchner, who was

elected in 2003, took advantage of these trends. He was a Peronist of the statist tradition. He managed to negotiate a restructuring of most of Argentina's foreign debt, according to which two thirds would be forgiven. However, the debt problem was not solved conclusively because some private-sector investors made claims and a US court ruled in their favour. Nonetheless, Argentina no longer owed money to international financial institutions and foreign governments, so it could become a more or less normal member of the international community again.

Kirchner was succeeded in 2007 by his wife Cristina Fernández, who stayed in power until 2014 (Kirchner died in 2010). Manufacturing did not take off, and private-sector companies' connections to government agencies became ever more important again. While the government increasingly became known for corruption, the lasting problems of Argentina's commodity-driven economy remained unsolved.

Since 2015, President Mauricio Macri is in office. In the election campaign, he promised to liberalise and normalise the economy. International investors initially appreciated him, however, they lost patience with him earlier this year. The reason was that he did not want to proceed as fast as initially pledged. In view of a fast depreciating peso, Macri had to turn to the IMF for help, and the economy is now in recession. The underlying problem, however, is a change in the global macroeconomic setting. For years, the dollar had been cheap as interest rates in the USA were low. Accordingly, speculative money poured into emerging markets. The appreciation of the dollar and higher interest rates mean that private investors are now more likely to shy away from countries like Argentina.

The economy is in recession now, but things are not as terrible as they were in the winter of 2001/2002. The long shadow of that crisis is on people's mind, of course. The mood is tense. Most do not expect the crisis to escalate as severely this time – but they did not expect that to happen back then either.



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Brazilian experience

In Argentina, the financial crisis of 2001/2002 resulted in government default and economic collapse. A few months later, financial bottlenecks plagued Brazil. Though the scenario looked similar, Brazil was in a better position thanks to better political leadership. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) granted a very generous credit, and the economy kept growing fast.

By Carlos Albuquerque

The IMF wanted to prevent Argentina's crisis from spreading to Brazil. Moreover it hoped to have a lasting influence on Brazilian policymaking. Lula da Silva, the left-wing leader, was obviously set to win the presidential elections. That outlook was actually compounding Brazil's financial problems because private investors were withdrawing capital from Brazil. At that point, Lula promised to accept international treaties and stick to the economic guidelines of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. With that reassurance, the IMF granted Brazil a \$30 billion loan, which was not linked to further strict conditionalities. The fresh money sufficed to solve the problems, including capital flight.

Before and after that event, Lula regularly expressed criticism of the IMF. He must have found it easy to promise to adhere to Cardoso's policies however. His predecessor had indeed managed to stabilise Brazil's economy in an intelligent and unusually successful way.

Brazilians remember the 1980s as a lost decade, but things changed for the better in the mid-1990s. Like Argentina, Brazil had been under military rule and suffered serious economic instability (see Jorge Saborido's essay on p. 19). People's purchasing power was

Serving as finance minister, Cardoso managed to break the vicious cycle. His "Plano Real" introduced a new currency and backed it up with important policy choices:

- Prices and wages were no longer tied to inflation indices, and the dollar served as a point of reference instead.
- Order was restored to public budgets and that was not only done by cutting spending,

families got welfare payments under the condition that they sent their children to school and had them vaccinated ("Bolsa Familia"). Masses of people were happy that inflation had become an issue of the past. The dollar was a reference point, but the exchange rate was not rigidly fixed.

Brazil has very many people and a huge domestic economy. Its manufacturing industries were always comparatively strong. For these reasons, imports and exports are of smaller relevance than in Argentina for example. Though Brazil is exposed to the impacts of global economic trends, its government can draft policy in a sense of relative independence.

The IMF appreciated Cardoso's policies and supported his government with loans, which Brazil could always service. Lula built on that foundation and expanded the social programmes. He repaid the IMF loan as fast as possible, and consistently criticised IMF orthodoxy. After the global financial crisis of 2008, he increased Brazil's shareholding in the IMF in order to gain more influence.

That was then. The scenario today looks completely different. The long boom ended in recession in 2016, and the economy is still fragile. Brazil is stuck in a serious political crisis (see my comment in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/07, p. 11), and Lula is in prison because of a controversial corruption sentence.



Fernando Henrique Cardoso (left) and Lula da Silva in the fall of 2002.

eroded by inflation. New currencies were introduced four times, but made no difference. Since all market participants expected higher prices, they used inflation indices to adjust important transactions, and that automatic adjustment kept driving inflation. Another problem was that public-sector banks were handing out politically-motivated credit without concern for borrowers' business data. The annual inflation rate rose to a disastrous 2,500 % in 1993.

but also by increasing taxes and privatising non-performing public enterprises.

- Privatisation was done pragmatically, ending, among other things, irresponsible lending by public sector banks.

Cardoso went on to win the presidential elections in 1994 and again in 1998. Macroeconomic policy stayed geared to stability, but the government was not striving to make the state as small as possible. Cardoso was more interested in fighting poverty. Low-income



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School lunch in
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Development achievements

Around the world, considerable progress has been made in recent decades, but it is not always taken into account. All too often, people think that things are only getting worse. While it certainly makes sense to point out what still needs to happen, excessive gloom is not helpful. Further global advancements depend on taking stock diligently and drawing lessons from past experience.



Screenshot: World Poverty Clock.

“We can end extreme poverty”

The World Poverty Clock is a digital tool that shows the number of people living in extreme poverty worldwide. Its website illustrates how many people escape or fall into poverty every second. According to its data, 637 million people – eight percent of the world population – were living in extreme poverty at the end of August. The World Poverty Clock was created and is maintained by the World Data Lab in Vienna, Austria, with funding from Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Homi Kharas, a Brookings Institution expert on global development advises the World Data Lab.

Homi Kharas interviewed by Sabine Balk

What does the World Poverty Clock (<https://worldpoverty.io/>) show?

Our main goal is to build awareness of what is happening about poverty in different places across the world. We intend to present the best, most up to date, estimates of poverty and of poverty trajectories.

How is the reduction of extreme poverty progressing worldwide?

Well, at the beginning of 2016, about 727 million people – or 9.8% of the world population – were living in extreme poverty. The figure for 30 August 2018 is 639 million – only about 8 % of the world population, which, by the way, has grown by about 200 million in the meantime. So the data is good news in the sense of showing that we are moving in the right direction. But progress is not fast enough. To be on track for achieving the first Sustainable Development Goal, the eradication of poverty, 40 million more people should have escaped poverty by this date.

Is there a real chance to achieve SDG1?

Yes, we can end extreme poverty. The resources and knowledge to do so exist, and we have real-world examples of how countries have been successful. At the same time, we are still facing large challenges that need to be overcome in many places.

Does the World Poverty Clock offer country-specific information?

Yes, you can see which countries are doing well and which are doing not so well. In general, countries in Asia, especially South Asia are doing quite well, while countries in sub-Saharan Africa are doing much less well. Many of these latter are faced with climate shocks and are experiencing episodes of violence.

In your view, where is need for action?

The focus of attention should be on Africa. This is where the speed of reduction of poverty is slowest and may even be sliding backwards. Compounding the problems, Africa continues to have high rates of population growth, and we should ensure that none of the young generation are left behind.

Why did you choose a visual depiction?

To build awareness, you have to engage with the audience. We found that few people understood or looked at World Bank graphs and charts, and these are too static. We wanted to emphasise the dynamics of poverty. We wanted to highlight that progress is being made as well as that many people are being left behind because the pace of poverty reduction is still too slow. To eradicate poverty by 2030, more needs to happen.

Where do you get your data from?

We use data from summary statistics which the World Bank publishes on the basis of household surveys. They are available on the Bank's PovCal data base. We supplement this information with data on GDP growth, relying on statistics provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Vienna, Austria. The IIASA has developed what it calls Shared Socio-economic Pathways for all countries in the world. It also has very good data concerning demography and population growth.

How reliable is the data?

There are of course issues with the quality of the data, especially in regard to comparing countries with one another. Different countries use slightly different methods to conduct surveys, so comparisons are tricky. We feel very confident about the country-specific trajectories, however, because the methodologies hardly change over time, so the direction of change is clear. That said,

it is obviously very difficult to assess the situation in places affected by war. The good news, however, is that the majority of countries are not hit by massive violence, and the vast majority of the world population is not affected. Accordingly, our overall picture is quite accurate.

What implications does the Poverty Clock have for development policy?

Well, we should certainly praise the successes in reducing global poverty levels over the past two decades, but we should also be sounding alarm bells that the speed with which poverty is coming down is slowing down. If policies do not change, we will soon have to respond to a new narrative of much slower progress on extreme poverty reduction. Development policymakers must figure out how to deal with difficult places that do not have stable and effective governments, and places that are subject to shocks – impacts of global warming, health pandemics or conflict. Poverty is worst where these kinds of crises occur.

What is the Poverty Clock's next goal?

We aim to produce sub-national data. We have successfully piloted the sub-national module in Kenya and have also been fine-tuning the methodology for Europe and the US where better data exists. We are now working on Pakistan, Brazil and Indonesia. We hope, through these efforts, to develop more automated techniques that we can then deploy globally.

We are also producing more fine-grained regional clocks, such as a clock for Africa, as well as extending the methodology to highlight rural poverty and perhaps clocks for other SDGs like hunger or water and sanitation.

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Think globally, act globally

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) brought about a paradigm shift in international cooperation. The agenda emphasised the need of the global north and south to share responsibility and act together. The follow-up agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is even more comprehensive and demanding.

By Belay Begashaw

The MDGs mark a unique spot in the history of development cooperation. Their legacy for cooperation, inspiring shared vision and sense of responsibilities is unprecedented. They brought about a paradigm shift in cooperation between sovereign partners who otherwise would have pursued different interests and priorities. With the adoption of the MDGs in 2000, the world for the first time acted outside the tradition of sign-

ing treaties and conventions by appraising a global action plan with defined targets.

The agenda aimed to curb abject poverty and thus introduced an integrated development approach, which would be instrumental for the implementation of the set of goals comprehensively and simultaneously.

The MDGs significantly shaped our thoughts. They promoted policy convergence through a shared vision and the introduction of new global values and partnership modalities. Taking into account challenges humanity faces on the globe and attempting to resolve them seamlessly was the defining principle.

Recognising the increasing interface between nations through globalisation in the 1980s and 90s, the international community had for the first time determined that untimeliness will be the potential fac-

tor to jeopardise all the gains and booms of the civilised world. Thus, no matter where and how challenges occur, we are all responsible for the cause and solution – while also implying the need for doing things differently and urgently.

The MDGs went beyond inspirational slogans and wishes. They had clear targets to be delivered in a defined target space. This shift also helped to alter the old view of “think globally, act locally” by emphasising the need to act globally – along with the thinking. Some global acts worth mentioning within the MDG process were:

- establishing a global fund for supporting different MDG goals,
- worldwide debate on experiences and programmes and
- establishing standards for rating and evaluation.

SUCCESSFUL FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

Notwithstanding its wide adaptation, the MDGs' impact and performance varied between countries and across the goals. Compared to the 1990s' baselines, dozens of



The adoption of the Millennium Development Goals helped to control communicable diseases such as tuberculosis. Immunisation of a baby in Indonesia.

countries in Africa and Asia made substantial progress in the fight against poverty and lifted millions of people out of the poverty trap. Almost as many people benefited from “quick win” issues such as:

- improving primary education enrolment,
- narrowing gender disparity,
- reducing under five, neo-natal and maternal mortalities and
- controlling communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, Malaria and HIV/AIDS.

On the downside, the gains tended to be quite volatile. Too little was done to build a proper system to sustain them. The lesson is that concerted action can make a difference, but long-term durability requires appropriate institutions.

In regard to governance and implementation, there were several weak links and loopholes in all stages of setting the MDG agenda and building capacities for implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The entire process was mostly pre-defined and did not benefit much from the global debate that accompanied it. Things are supposed to work out better for the SDGs.

A core lesson is that the MDGs were not multifaceted enough. They were not comprehensive in the sense of bringing about the needed transformational changes. Due to their focus on certain quick-impact areas,

the MDGs tended to neglect fundamental issues such as climate change and inequality. Consequently, the progress made brought less satisfaction than was hoped.

Barely any attention was given to the question how to multiply and scale up success stories. As is widely recognised now, coordinated investments in health, education, agriculture and infrastructure create important synergies. Good performance in agriculture goes hand in hand with the effort for better nutrition, and girls’ secondary education helps to reduce population growth. Healthier children learn better and attend school more reliably; schools teach health-promoting activities; infrastructure such as electrification and clean water enhance both health and education. Failures in one sector, on the other hand, have negative impacts on all other sectors.

Furthermore, the international donor community embarrassingly failed to follow through on its commitment to raise official development assistance (ODA) to 0.7% of GNI. The group of 29 donor countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) had an ODA rate of only 0.32% of their combined GNI in 2016. That signified an annual shortfall in aid of roughly \$ 170 billion. This lack of ODA radically limited the financial capacity of MDG implementation in developing countries.

CHALLENGES FOR THE NEW AGENDA

The 2030 Agenda calls for societal transformation. Its ambition is beyond addressing poverty in the national socio-economic context. The goal is to save the planet. Sustainable development is about sharing benefits and building resilience. Humanity needs economic growth within the planetary boundaries without leaving anyone behind.

However, the SDGs themselves have met with considerable criticism. Important points range from the half-baked concept to implementation constraints and unclearities of the governance system. Though specific goals and targets are defined clearly, the pathways that are needed to achieve them are not. Hence, it is essential to ensure that development paths chosen for implementations are technically feasible, financially affordable and – most important – not environmentally harmful. Those in charge must therefore rise to massive challenges.



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Improvement in many fields

At the Millennium Summit in 2000, world leaders adopted eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to be achieved within 15 years. In 2015, the UN took stock on the basis of data from several UN organisations. Its main conclusions were published in the final MDG report of 2015.

GOAL 1: ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER

Extreme poverty declined significantly in the two decades before 2015. In 1990, nearly half of the people in developing countries lived on less than \$ 1.25 a day. By 2015, that share was down to 14%. Globally, the number of people living in extreme poverty declined by more than half, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015. The share of undernourished people was almost halved – from 23.3 % in 1992 to 12.9 % in 2016. The number of people in the working middle class – whose purchasing power per person is above four dollars – almost tripled between 1991 and 2015.

GOAL 2: ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION

The net enrolment rate for primary schools reached 91% for all developing countries, up from 83% in 2000. Around the world, about 100 million children of primary-school age did not go to school in 2000. That number dropped to an estimated 57 million in 2015. The greatest improvements occurred in sub-Saharan Africa.

GOAL 3: PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN

In 2015, many more girls were in school than 15 years earlier. As a whole, the developing regions succeeded in eliminating gender disparity in primary, secondary and tertiary education. In Southern Asia, only 74 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys in 1990. By 2015, 103 girls were enrolled for every 100 boys.

GOAL 4: REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY

The global under-five mortality rate went down by more than half, dropping from 90 to 43 deaths per 1,000 live births from 1990 to 2015. The number of globally reported measles cases was reduced by 67% in this period. In 2013, about 84% of children worldwide received at least one dose of measles-containing vaccine. The respective figure for 2000 was 73%.

GOAL 5: IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH

From 1990 to 2015, the maternal mortality declined by 45% worldwide. Globally, more than 71% of births were assisted by skilled health personnel in 2014, an increase from 59% in 1990.

GOAL 6: COMBAT HIV/AIDS, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES

The number of new HIV infections fell by approximately 40% between 2000 and 2013. In June 2014, 13.6 million people

living with HIV were receiving antiretroviral therapy (ART) internationally, a huge increase from just 800,000 in 2003. ART averted 7.6 million deaths from AIDS between 1995 and 2013. Over 6.2 million malaria deaths were prevented between 2000 and 2015, primarily of children under five years of age in sub-Saharan Africa. The global malaria incidence rate fell by an estimated 37% and the mortality rate by 58%. Between 2000 and 2013, tuberculosis

1990 and 2014. In 2015, 91% of the world population had safe drinking water, compared with 76% in 1990. While 147 countries met the drinking water target, 95 countries met the sanitation target, and 77 countries met both.

GOAL 8: DEVELOP A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT

Rich nations' official development assistance (ODA) in-



MDG success: the number of terrestrial and marine protected areas increased like in South Africa near the Cap of Good Hope.

prevention and treatment interventions saved an estimated 37 million lives. The tuberculosis mortality rate fell by 45% and the prevalence rate by 41% between 1990 and 2013.

GOAL 7: ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

Terrestrial and marine protected areas in many regions have increased substantially since 1990. In Latin America and the Caribbean, coverage of terrestrial protected areas rose from 8.8% to 23.4% between

creased by two thirds in real terms from 2000 to 2014, reaching \$ 135.2 billion. In 2014, Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom exceeded the UN target of spending 0.7% of gross national income on ODA.

Sabine Balk

LINK

The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015:

[http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20\(July%201\).pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/2015_MDG_Report/pdf/MDG%202015%20rev%20(July%201).pdf)

“Killing mosquito larvae is the best prevention”

Malaria used to be a major health problem in Botswana. The government started measures to control the disease in the 1950s and has achieved remarkable results especially in the past few years.

By Meekaeel Siphambili

Malaria is a major health challenge in many developing countries, especially in Africa, though it is no longer the problem it used to be. The World Health Organization (WHO) warns that, after an unprecedented period of success, progress has stalled in terms of malaria control. The Millennium Development Goal of reversing the incidence of this disease was met, with the number of new cases world wide dropping by 37% from 2000 to 2015. However, infection numbers have since risen somewhat again. According to the WHO, Africa bears 90% of malaria cases and 91% of malaria deaths worldwide and deserves special attention. Botswana, however, has applied the measures needed.

The disease is spread by female anophelines mosquitos. Malaria control in Botswana started in the 1950s, according to Kabo Garegae of the National Malaria Program (NMP). In 1974, a comprehensive malaria control was launched. Nonetheless, Garegae reports that “sporadic epidemics have been experienced in the years 1996, 1997, 2006 and 2013.” Matters tend to be worst in the rainy season between November and May.

Thanks to the NMP, Botswana, which has a population of about 2.3 million people, has reduced malaria cases from 8056 in 2000 to 456 in 2013 – a 94% decrease. Malaria deaths declined by 80% from 35 in 2000 to seven in 2013.

INSECTICIDE USE

A policy change in 2010 proved most effective. The main reason was the introduction of the chemical compound dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) for spraying inside houses and on mosquito resting and

breeding areas. Besides that, mosquito nets have proven to be the best prevention tool and are widely used in Botswana. The net covers the bed and keeps mosquitos out. Some of them, the long-lasting insecticide-treated nets (LLINs), kill mosquitos as they land on the net.

Another important measure was the training of health workers in malaria-case management. The NMP conducts courses in cooperation with the WHO and other part-



In wetlands such as the Okavango Delta in Botswana the risk of malaria infection is particularly high.

ners. This helps to improve malaria diagnosis and treatment.

Botswana has 674 health facilities plus 900 mobile-clinic stops. Moreover, district health management teams serve every village in the country. In the past years, the rapid spread of cellphones has helped anti-malaria campaigns to reach more people. Radio programmes spread the message as well. There was advertising on buses in malaria-endemic areas.

General advices include the use of mosquito repellents at home and wearing clothes that cover the whole body at night, when anopheles is active. Keeping the surroundings clean is also important. “Discard-

ed tires, empty tins and other objects likely to collect water are the best mosquito breeding places,” Garegae says. Today, people are aware of the matter and get rid of such garbage. “Killing the mosquito larvae is the best prevention,” says the NMP official.

He adds that malaria prophylaxis is very important for people travelling to malaria endemic areas and that women living in those areas should take anti-malaria drugs throughout pregnancy until six weeks before delivery because the disease is particularly dangerous for pregnant women and the foetus.

Most malaria endemic areas lie in the northwest of Botswana which has rivers that hold significant amounts of permanent water. “Remote areas that are hard to reach have always been a challenge. But we overcame that minor setback by the intro-

duction of mobile clinics – four-wheel drive vehicles that transport medical personnel and medication to those areas,” says Garegae.

Kentse Moakofhi of the WHO confirms that Botswana has won the war against malaria: “As WHO staff we work with the Botswana ministry of health. The statistics prove that they have indeed managed to fight malaria.



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Immunising Africa

The disease burden of African countries has been reduced considerably since the World Health Organization (WHO) launched the Expanded Programme on Immunisation (EPI) in 1974. This essay assesses some of the major achievements as well as the political and technological background.

By Benjamin M. Kagina, Hannah Hussey, Ruzani Muloiwa and Gregory D. Hussey

Due to the EPI, immunisation became an integral part of countries' health sectors. Initially, the focus was on immunising children against six diseases: diphtheria, pertussis (whooping cough), tetanus, polio, tuberculosis (TB) and measles. Over the decades, immunisation programmes matured significantly in Africa. Today, six other diseases are targeted: rubella, hepatitis B, haemophilus influenzae, rotavirus, pneumococcal and cervical cancer.

In Africa, EPI is credited with the control of several infectious diseases such as polio and measles. Success, of course, depends on the efficiency and competence of national institutions, which can be negatively affected by political instability and other issues.

A nation's immunisation coverage is typically measured by the share of infants who get the third dose of the DPT3 vaccine, which protects people against diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus. Immunisation coverage among African countries has significantly improved since EPI was initiated. In 1974, less than five percent of African children got the necessary three doses of DPT3. By 2000, coverage had reached 52%, and it further increased to 76 % by 2015. Moreover, measles deaths have declined significantly too. New life-saving vaccines have been introduced with enormous benefits. In South Africa, for example, hospitalisation of children under the age of five was reduced by 60% within a year of rotavirus vaccine introduction.

The best result, however, is that some serious health risks have been eliminated or are about to be eliminated soon. The first big triumph was the eradication of smallpox.

The last known natural case of smallpox was reported in Somalia in 1977, and the WHO declared the world to be free of this disease in 1980. The lessons learnt from smallpox eradication have helped to improve EPI effectiveness. Important points are that:

- successful immunisation programmes require strong disease surveillance systems because the way infections spread must be properly understood and health institutions must respond to new cases fast,

provincial, national and within a world region.

ERADICATING DISEASES

In the meantime, poliovirus has almost been eradicated. Three types of wild poliovirus (WPV1, WPV2 and WPV3) were responsible for millions of paralyses and deaths among children before the launch of the EPI. Dramatic reductions of polio-induced paralysis were immediately observed due to improved polio immunisation. Nonetheless, polio still paralysed over 1,000 children per day in Africa in the late 1980s. Since 1999, WPV2 has been eradicated. WPV3 was last reported in 2012. From 2014 to 2015, not



Zambian health worker immunising a child with the DPT3 vaccine.

- supplementary action, including awareness raising, should support vaccination programmes, and
- technological innovation matters very much.

More generally speaking, capacity building, political commitments, international cooperation and adequate resource mobilisation are necessary. To deliver results, health systems must be designed properly and managed well. Maximum benefits of vaccines are only seen with high immunisation coverage at all levels: district,

a single wild polio infection was registered in Africa. However, an outbreak of WPV1 was last reported in August 2016 in Nigeria.

Polio immunisation is tricky however. The traditionally used vaccination (trivalent oral polio vaccine – tOPV) contains a weakened, but live WPV2 virus. In rare occasions, it mutates and causes vaccine-derived polio. The vaccine-derived polio mostly happens in under-immunised populations. In 2017 and 2018, a few such cases were reported in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Better vaccines are available

today, and tOPV is being phased out, so Africa looks set to eradicate polio.

Maternal and neonatal tetanus (MTN) used to kill several thousand children in Africa every year. Infections mostly occur when child birth is not attended properly and can be prevented by a vaccine. By January 2018, 43 of Africa's 54 countries had eliminated this disease. Immunisation programmes and better access to health care are making a difference.

The fight against meningitis is also advancing promisingly. There are different types of the meningococcal bacterium around the world, and a specific type (meningococcal A) has historically caused thousands of deaths in sub-Saharan Africa. Worst affected are the 26 countries in the so called "meningitis belt" from Senegal to Ethiopia. They witness periodic epidemics every few years. A major outbreak in 1996/97 led to some 25,000 deaths, killing about 10 % of the infected people. In response, African governments declared prevention of this disease a top priority.

They got support from international partners, including the WHO, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention among others. The Meningitis Vaccine Project was created, and the Serum Institute of India (SSI) embarked on the vaccine development. It managed to produce MenAfriVac® at the price of \$ 0.50 per dose. This price had been set by the African health ministers. This was the first vaccine to ever be developed specifically for Africa.

MenAfriVac® was introduced in the belt in 2010. By 2017, over 270 million people were immunised. The impact is huge. Reports indicate that meningitis cases due to the type A bacterium have been reduced by 99% in the 21 countries that are using the vaccine. It is projected that more than 400 million people will be vaccinated with MenAfriVac® by 2020 – and this will translate into the prevention of 1 million cases of meningitis A. That means that about 150,000 deaths and 250,000 cases of severe disability will be avoided.

WHAT LED TO SUCCESS

International cooperation was proved essential in many ways. Indeed, multilateral programmes have often triggered African action. That was not only the case with the

EPI. There are several other programmes worth mentioning:

- the Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI) which the WHO launched in 1988,
- the Children's Vaccine Initiative of 1991, which was endorsed by a range of private and public organisations and led by the WHO, UNICEF, UNDP, the World Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation,
- the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which the UN adopted in 2000,
- the Global Immunisation Vision and Strategy (GIVS) in 2006,
- the WHO's Global Vaccine Action Plan (GVAP) of 2012, and
- the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), beginning in 2016.

In the context of GVAP, world leaders – including those from Africa – committed to obtaining 90 % national immunisation coverage by 2020. To achieve this target, African leaders adopted the Regional Strategic Plan for Immunization (RSPI) in Addis Ababa in 2016. It is commonly referred to as the Addis Declaration on Immunization (ADI). Its goals are quite ambitious.

For obvious reasons, resource mobilisation is a crucial challenge at national, regional and global levels. A significant development in this regard was the establishment of the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI). GAVI was launched in 2000, with a \$750 million donation from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. African countries, however, bare part of the immunisation costs.

To promote the acceptance of immunisations, a growing number of countries has been celebrating the African Vaccine Week since 2011. At the technical level, co-operation on disease surveillance has made considerable progress. In 1998, decision was made to set up the Integrated Disease Surveillance system in Africa. Moreover, disease-specific surveillance networks have been initiated. The Africa Rotavirus Surveillance Network is an example. It was established in 2006 to provide reliable information on the region's disease burden and facilitate evidence-based decision making.

Scientific research is indispensable. To maximise the benefits, we must scrutinise the evidence. This is a technically demanding challenge, not least because it includes assessing trial of innovative methods. Research on vaccine preventable diseases in

the region has shown an upward trajectory from 1974 to 2017. Impressively, the research generated in the region is focused on the diseases that are on the priority list to the continent.

Despite these key developments and successes, Africa is far from attaining the full benefits obtainable by best use of the existing vaccines. Immunisation coverage remains below the target of 90 %, and funding for the life-saving vaccines is heavily reliant on GAVI. More needs to happen. Improved funding and more commitment from the national governments in the region is crucial. More research on the immunisation challenges and the associated solutions is needed.



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No news can be good news

In early May, a new outbreak of Ebola was reported in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Previous outbreaks had occurred in rural areas, where the disease is easier to contain. This time, Mbandaka, a city of about one million people was affected. Experts even feared that Ebola might spread to Kinshasa with ten times as many people.

By Hans Dembowski

When Ebola haunted the West African countries of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone in the years 2014 to 2016, some 28,000 people were infected, of whom about 40% died. It became evident that the response of international agencies, and in particular the World Health Organization (WHO), had been too slow. The disease should have been contained early on, but it was allowed to spread.

At the end of May, international media reported that things appeared to be going better in the DRC than had been the case in West Africa. The Economist, for example, praised the WHO responded fast and appropriately. The local authorities were said to be paying proper attention to the matter. Humanitarian agencies had deployed staff immediately. All concerned had joined forces and coordinated action.

At the end of June, the WHO stated that the outbreak had been “largely contained”. To most journalists, this was no longer front-page news. Agencies fulfilling their mission is considered business as usual after all. Sometimes no news is good news.

It helped that Ebola outbreaks have happened in the DRC before. The country’s governance system is chaotic, but its overburdened health-care system is aware of Ebola and its risk. This is where the disease was first diagnosed. It actually carries the name of a tributary of the Congo River. Jean-Jacques Muyembe is one of the doctors who were involved in the research back then. He confidently told the BBC in May: “We’ll stop this outbreak as soon as possible.”

Technological progress helped too. A new vaccine proved useful. The WHO is co-

operating with DRC authorities, UNICEF, Doctors without Borders (MSF) and Gavi, the global vaccine alliance, on administering it. They took an unusual approach. They did not try to immunise the population in general, but only targeted people who had been in touch with patients. This “ring” strategy made sense for several reasons:

- It was obviously important to contain the disease.
- The supply of this innovative vaccine was limited.
- The vaccine’s clinical testing had not been concluded, so side-effects were not



A WHO health-care worker preparing a vaccine for a frontline aid-worker in Mbandaka in late May.

well understood. Nonetheless, the use was ethically correct because its risks were sure to be smaller than those of an Ebola infection, which all too often proves deadly.

Nature, the science journal, reports that a new genetic test for diagnosing Ebola was being applied too. While health workers had to wait days to tell whether a patient was infected or not in the past, they now know the truth within hours.

It is too early to say whether everything will go well in the DRC. As WHO

spokesperson Tarik Jasarevic has warned, “experience has shown us that it only takes one case to set off a fast-moving outbreak”. He also stated in late June: “We are cautiously confident regarding the situation and know that a continued aggressive response is required.”

Yes, caution is required when dealing with something like Ebola. What has been happening in the DRC is encouraging nonetheless. National and international institutions have acted competently, and technological progress has helped them do so.

In August, the media reported new Ebola infections – this time in the Goma area, in the east of the DRC. Official statements that the new outbreak is unrelated to the one in Mbandaka are plausible. The distance is huge. The new outbreak will be harder to manage since various militias are wreaking havoc in the region concerned.

According to the International Rescue Committee, the situation is bad. Problems in Goma, however, do not diminish success in Mbandaka. It would be good if the media made people aware of this truth.



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Lives are now 20 years longer

The world population is growing more slowly than it used to because birth rates have been reduced in most countries. At the same time, life expectancies have increased considerably. Overpopulation is a serious issue, but it no longer looks as overwhelming as experts reckoned in past decades. Alisa Kaps of the Berlin Institute for Population and Development assessed matters for D+C/E+Z.

Alisa Kaps interviewed by Hans Dembowski

Why is it quite certain that the world population will stop growing in coming decades?

Around the world, women today have only half as many children as was the case in the 1960s. In more than 80 countries, the birth rate is now below the so-called replacement level of 2.1 children per woman. At that rate, a country's population is stable unless there is migration. Accordingly, the relative growth of the world population has been slowed down by 50%, even though the absolute number of people is still increasing by about 70 million per year.

Is the trend towards fewer children stable?

Yes, we can expect it to continue, especially in the least developed countries where women on average still have more than four children. The UN prognosis is that the world population will stop growing in the second half of this century if birth rates there decline the way they did in other world regions in recent decades. If they are reduced more slowly, however, the world population might continue to grow in the next century. How soon its growth stops depends entirely on the poorest countries.

Why aren't women having as many children as in the past?

Birth rates go down as the standard of living improves. First of all, better nutrition and better health care reduce mortality, especially among infants. Next, higher education levels – especially of women – and greater prosperity mean that there are more options for planning one's life individually, and that results in women having fewer

children. Moreover, pension schemes are created, so elderly people no longer depend on being taken care of by their children. Advanced nations have developed that way, and their average number of children per woman has gone down to 1.5. In the least developed countries, in contrast, demographic change is only just setting in.

To what extent are higher life expectancies driving population growth?

At the global level, life expectancy has increased continuously, and this trend obviously contributes to population growth. On average, people now live 20 years longer than people did in the 1950s. On the one hand, more children survive infancy, and on the other hand, improved food security and better medical care allow elderly people to live longer too. People who retire from work in advanced nations have already overcome various mortality risks, and they can expect to live another 20 years. Developing countries have made similar progress.

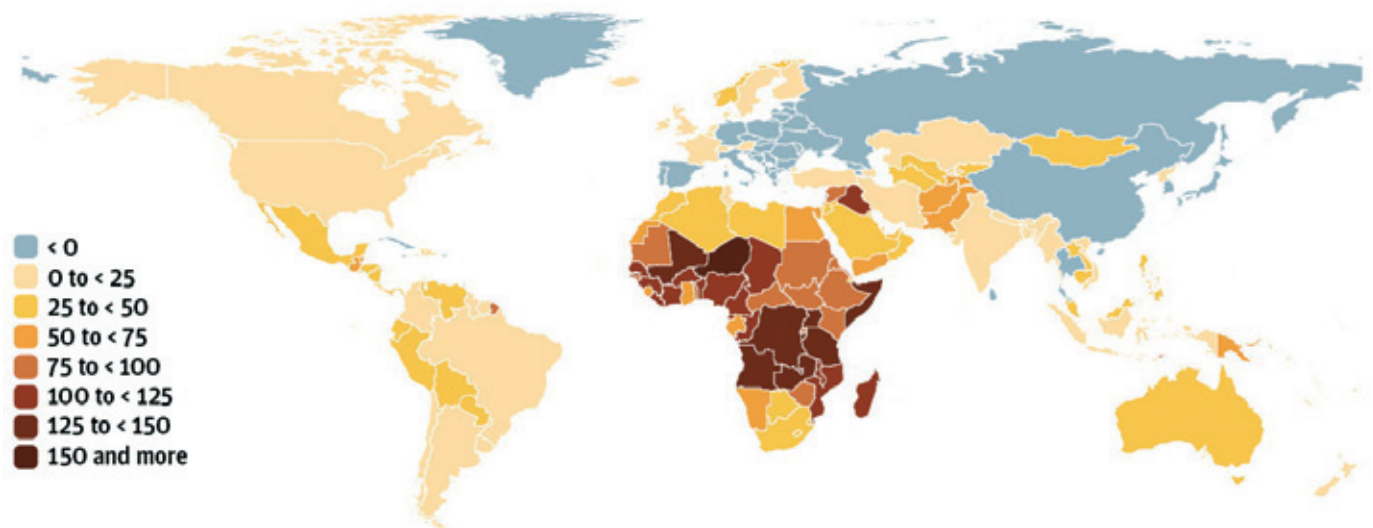
Are all these trends evident in sub-Saharan Africa too?



Lower birth rates and higher life expectancy: Ghanaian grandmother.

Forecasts for population growth, worldwide, in percent, 2018 to 2050

Source: UNDESA



Apart from very poor and conflict-ridden countries, birthrates have declined everywhere.

Yes, they are, but they are comparatively slow. Better hygiene and health have reduced child mortality by more than 50 % in sub-Saharan Africa over the past 50 years. In many places, international support made a difference in terms of vaccination programmes, safe drinking water or food aid, for example. However, the fertility rates are not declining as fast as it was the case in other world regions. That normally happens one generation after child mortality drops, but in some African countries it has not begun yet. Unless the birth rates go down, however, the population of sub-Saharan Africa will keep growing fast. It is expected to increase from 1 billion to 2 billion people in the next three decades. It is an open question whether all these people will be able to live peacefully in their home countries and can be provided for sufficiently.

So we should worry about overpopulation even though we know that the world population will probably stop growing within this century?

Well, population growth is certainly problematic in some regions. In the Sahel countries, for example, most people are still subsistence farmers or pastoralists. Climate change is undermining their livelihoods, and low education levels thwart the development of other economic sectors. If one considers these countries' level of development, their populations already exceed their carrying capacity. There is another kind of overpopulation moreover. In high income nations, resource consumption and harmful emissions – including greenhouse gases, of course – exceed what is environmentally sustainable. Humanity's future looks dark unless the countries concerned reduce consumption significantly.

What must policymakers bear in mind?

The governments of advanced nations must manage the transformation to sustainability. At the same time, they should promote investments in family planning and education in places where the number of children is still high. Education is the most important instrument for breaking the vicious

cycle of persistent poverty and fast population growth. Employment opportunities are needed too, as masses of young people must be given a future outlook. The point is that birth rates only go down when people are able to plan their lives individually. National governments are responsible for making that happen, but they depend on foreign funding so they can invest in infrastructure – including in the health and education sectors – and improve the employment situation more generally. Donor support is needed to stop population growth. Otherwise, famine, disease and war will end it in horrific ways. The situation is serious, no doubt. If appropriate policies are adopted, however, it looks manageable and should not trigger the devastating dynamics that were forecast in the 1960s and 1970s.



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More must happen

Literacy rates have gone up in sub-Saharan Africa, and internet access has improved considerably. Nonetheless, a lot must yet happen for this world region to catch up.

By Alphonse Shiundu

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) tracks literacy data with the help of national agencies. The statistics show that the literacy rate for sub-Saharan Africa was 65% in 2017. In other words, one third of the people aged 15 and above were unable to read and write. The comparative figure for 1984, was an illiteracy rate of 49%.

The UN agenda of the Millennium Development Goals led to improved funding for primary schools. Not least, donor support increased in many countries. This trend helped to boost literacy. Progress is too slow, however, and the actual reality may be worse than the official numbers suggest. UNESCO warns that some countries are using enrolment data as a proxy for literacy and advises against this practice.

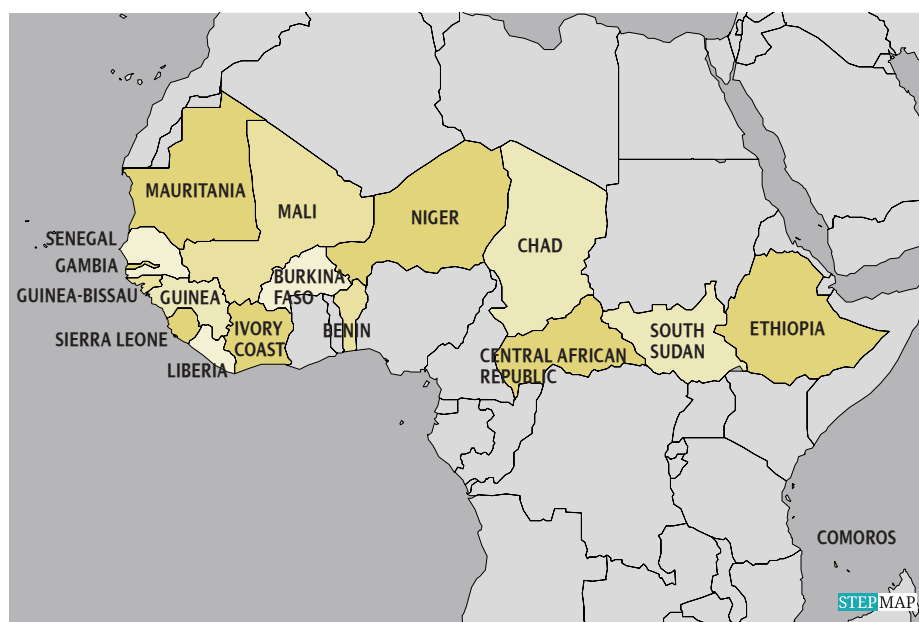
The background is that African societies traditionally rely on oral learning, with listening and speaking as crucial skills. Schools, in contrast, are associated with reading and writing. This cultural orientation persists, and people have a tendency to equate going to school with literacy. To governments, this kind of conflation makes political and budgeting sense. Expanding formal education was the priority in recent years, and not much attention was paid to the quality.

For good reason, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), therefore cautioned in its Human Development Report 2016 that while “many countries have made gains in access to education, improvements in the quality of education have not kept pace”. The demands of the 21st century go beyond being able to read and write simple statements. The capacities of thinking critically, being creative, communicating effectively and cooperating with others are important. Moreover, people must be digitally savvy.

These facts have led to concepts such as “computer literacy”, “media literacy” and “information literacy”. In 2017, however, only about 22% of Africans were internet users at all according to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), a UN agency. Yes, it is true that this rate is rising fast. In 2005, the share of internet users was a mere 2.1%. Nonetheless, the vast majority of Africans is still excluded from the web. This is mostly due to infrastructure hold-ups, but people who cannot read and write cannot properly use the web either.

In Africa’s major agglomerations, most adult people can read and write today, and urban life increasingly relies on people being literate. This is an achievement. It is encouraging, moreover, that the ITU statistics show that the share of young people (15 to 24 years old) who use the internet is almost twice as high as the share of the total population. However, no one should be left behind, and things look much worse in many rural areas.

As countries pursue the Sustainable Development Goals – especially in sub-Saharan Africa – it would make sense to standardise their statistical systems. All governments should use the UNESCO manual “Principles and recommendations for population and housing census”. As more countries strengthen their data agencies,



These 17 countries in Africa still have literacy rates of 50 % and below.

It is worrisome, therefore, that 27% of the world’s illiterate people live in sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO factsheet No. 45, September 2017) and that 17 countries in Africa still have literacy rates of 50 % and below.

These countries are poor, and many of them have been – or are – badly hit by civil strife. Survival is the priority for destitute people, not education. The greatest challenge is to educate the children of communities living in poverty, and poverty tends to be worst in remote rural areas.

governments will hopefully find a meaningful way to measure literacy. Moreover, they must take into account the needs of the digital economy. In the long run, the most important criterion for development success is whether those needs are met.



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Competitive elections

In terms of democracy, Senegal is an African frontrunner. Things are not perfect however.

By Assane Diagne

After the Eastern block collapsed, national conferences were held in many francophone African countries. They introduced democracy and pluralism. In 1990, moreover, François Mitterrand, then the French president, held his famous “La Baule speech”, tying official development assistance (ODA) to democratic governance. Multi-party systems and competitive elections became the norm in former French colonies.

Senegal was a frontrunner however. Democracy and pluralism had been established earlier in this country. After independence in 1960, Senegal was initially under one-party rule, but elections became competitive in 1976. Since May 1981, citizens have been free to start new parties without constraints. About 200 different parties are registered today. In 2000 and again in 2012, elections led to changes of government.

Senegal is one of few African countries to have never experienced a military coup. Under firm leadership of civilian governments, its army has contributed to restoring democracy in other member countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), including Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d’Ivoire and – most recently – Gambia (see interview with Vladimir Antwi-Danso in D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/02, p. 22).

The roots of democracy are actually quite old. The first independent newspapers were launched in the late 19th century. In 1914, a deputy from Senegal became the first African member of the Assemblée nationale, the French parliament.

Democracy in Senegal is not perfect however. It should be about institutional checks and balances, rather than only allowing the people to choose their head of state. Abdoulaye Wade, was elected president in 2000, ending 40 years of socialist rule. Soon after taking office, however, he started to adjust the political system to his needs. One of his first decisions was to dissolve the senate, the legislative body, of which he did not have

full control. He later reestablished this legislative body, but appointed all members himself. He managed to amend the constitution several times without consulting the parliament.

In 2012, he sought an unconstitutional third term as head of state. Senegal’s highest court, the Constitutional Council, approved his candidacy, but he had appointed all of its members. However, his decision to run triggered protests and a broad-based popular opposition. In the end, all other presidential candidates joined forces, ensuring that Macky Sall, who had fared best among them in the first round, beat Wade in the run-off.

President Sall, however, is also known to manipulate institutions. He has rein-

the endorsement of at least 0.8 % of the electorate to run for office.

The current rank of Senegal on the Press Freedom Index of the international non-governmental organisation Reporters without Borders, is 50. The USA (45), Italy (46), Argentina (52) and Poland (58) are in the same range. At the end of Wade’s rule, the rank had slid down to 93. Journalists who were critical of his regime were regularly jailed or even attacked. Currently, no journalist is serving a prison sentence, but occasional arrests still occur. Under Sall, a press code was adopted, but it is not implemented stringently. Moreover, protest rallies have been repressed by security forces.

Because of these things, one is tempted to wonder if Senegal is just an electoral democracy that lacks proper checks and balances. It is irritating, moreover, that President Sall’s increasingly authoritarian tendencies suggest that he considers Don-



A voter in Dakar.

forced his power by appointing members of his political party as executive directors of the public service media, including public television. It has become a propaganda tool of his party. Such things happen in other countries too, but the impact is particularly great where institutions are not strong.

Sall’s seven-year term ends in 2019, and it seems that he is becoming nervous about reelection. The electoral code was recently changed, and candidates now need

ald Trump, the US president, a role model. In various countries, top leaders currently feel encouraged to worry less about what relevance democratic governance has on their governments’ standing.



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Highlight hardship – but point out progress as well

People who donate to charity want to see that their money makes a difference and helps improve others' lives. So charity organisations must do more than just highlight the need for help; they also have to show that help works.

By Esther Dopheide

Emaciated villagers, parched fields, starving livestock – everyone is familiar with the images used to generate support for charity appeals. Showing the need for help is part of virtually all fundraising efforts. Does that mean the success of charity appeals hinges exclusively on depictions of suffering? Might it even be counterproductive to show how lives are improved in the global south? Could that impact negatively on people's willingness to donate?

It is not as simple as that. It is important, of course, to show that help is needed. No one donates money for people who have everything they need. But merely repeating reports of suffering will not work either. It is certainly no way to keep regular donors on board because at some point they will wonder what happened to the money that flowed into the project in the past and why it has done nothing to alleviate distress. Charity organisations thus need to achieve a delicate balance between highlighting hardship and pointing out progress.

All respectable charity organisations engage in detailed project monitoring. It enables them to verify and demonstrate how well they achieve their targets. Project evaluations also form an important basis for communicating successes to donors. For example, if CBM can finance more than 6,700 cataract operations in Africa, Asia and Latin America with the annual donations of roughly € 202,000 raised in the city of Freiburg, many will find that an impressive achievement. It shows that even small contributions can provide significant benefit. One operation costs € 30 on average.

Medical assistance is not the only area in which success is ostensibly easy to demonstrate. Clear and objective yardsticks are also available elsewhere, for example for livelihood building projects. Take, for in-

part in the programmes it finances. Mourine Yilamonyuy from Cameroon, for instance, went blind at the age of 33. How did her life change after she attended livelihood building workshops and self-help group meetings? The point is not just that she set up an animal-husbandry business that now provides her with a living. For people with disabilities, in particular, a comprehensive and lasting improvement in their quality of life means more than economic independence; it means they strengthen their social status, which makes for greater acceptance and participation in society. That gain is



Mourine Yilamonyuy from Cameroon set up an animal-husbandry business that now provides her with a living.

stance, someone with no or little income receiving a small loan to set up a business. If after a while that borrower is able to earn a living and pay back the loan, the project is deemed a success.

But for all the understandable need for objective performance indicators, we must not forget that the primary goal is to improve people's lives. Their subsequent quality of life must not be obscured by statistics – not in internal monitoring and certainly not in external communications.

For this reason, CBM keeps in touch with some of the people who have taken

hard to measure objectively and express in figures.

So, the “human” aspect should not be forgotten in aid organisations' impact assessments and communications. Nor should performance figures or the desperate suffering that still exists in large parts of the world despite all the progress made.



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“Change can be measured, the reasons for it cannot”

Imme Scholz, deputy director of the German Development Institute (Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik – DIE), was involved in the Delphi study as one of several experts (see box page 38). The mission was to identify global trends that will be important for development policy through to 2032. The study was conducted on behalf of Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). In our interview, Scholz talked about how development successes are linked to development cooperation. She also considered how these matters are perceived by policymakers and the general public.

Imme Scholz interviewed by Katja Dombrowski

The media frequently report on the misery in the world, on famines and disasters. Reports on development successes tend to be few and far between. What is your view? Has the world become a better or worse place since the turn of the millennium?

That depends on the standpoint of the observer. The trend of developing countries getting more room for manoeuvre has certainly become stronger. But from the industrialised countries' viewpoint, that could be perceived as a change for the worse. Ultimately, it means power is shifting away from them. The impact of this trend is compounded by the disintegration of the west that we are currently experiencing. Consensus with the US has broken down, and it has even become shaky within the EU. If one looks at the figures for individual factors – those published by the World Bank for instance – one certainly sees successes. Extreme poverty has decreased. But that does not mean the problem has been resolved: there are still lots of people living on very low incomes. My impression is that people in developing countries tend to be optimistic; they see new opportunities. Most do not share the view, which is widespread in the west, of

things getting worse on numerous fronts. We must bear in mind, however, that the “global south” is very heterogeneous. Some countries have seen improvements, others are worse off. Take Brazil, for example. Poverty and the extreme income inequality that were prevalent at the turn of the millennium have decreased; now the trend is moving in the other direction. And wherever there is war, life has become worse. Sub-Saharan Africa, moreover, is facing the prospect of sharp population growth, which will present massive challenges. At the same time, countries like China and India are now testing their own approaches to development cooperation there. The cards are being reshuffled.

So what do you consider the most important development successes of recent years?

The reduction of extreme poverty surely tops the list, but it must be considered in conjunction with social inequality. Some countries have succeeded in reducing both. Brazil, Cambodia, Mali, Peru and Tanzania are examples. In many countries, the interest in social-protection systems is growing, and that in itself is serious progress. Innovative cash-transfer systems are now operational in Mexico, India and Bolivia. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) demand broad access to health insurance. The relevance of pension systems is getting ever more attention. Developments of this kind, of course, reflect activism of social and political movements too. Another big step forward is that developing countries are able and willing to assume more responsibility – for improving life domestically as well as contributing to solving global problems. This is evident in the Paris Climate Agreement and in the 2030 Agenda. All countries have committed to take action. Developing countries are now seen as part of the solution, and they also regard themselves as such. The idea that the north sets targets and supports developing countries to achieve them is outdated, and the devel-

oping world's increasing strength reflects this truth.

To what extent are development achievements based on development assistance?

Poverty reduction is closely linked with economic growth, but it also requires redistribution through higher wages, fair taxation and the establishment of social protection systems. Other factors matter too, for example, expanding formal sector employment, which means more secure jobs. This issue has helped to reduce poverty in Brazil. The commodity boom has driven economic growth, but it has not helped to bring about a broad-based reduction in poverty, especially in Africa. Development cooperation itself does not result in economic growth, but it is often instrumental in strengthening social protection. Lots of innovative programmes, such as the cash-transfer models I mentioned, have been co-financed and supported by donor agencies. Donor evaluations now show where improvements are needed to achieve sustained positive impacts. Development cooperation also plays an important role in promoting the development of renewable energies and other climate measures. Developing countries need a great deal of technological support and financing in that area. The same applies to environmental programmes. Donors' facilitation has often been crucial for investments in environmental protection – just consider tropical forests in Latin America and Africa.

How does one measure the success of development assistance?

What we can measure are the areas supported by international donors and how funding changes over time. This has enabled us to show, for example, that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) contributed to focusing such funding on specific issues. It is harder, however, to establish how much it contributes to improvements in indicators such as school-attendance rates or access to safe drinking water. Such things need to be assessed in country-specific analyses and evaluations. The sharp fall in global poverty is largely due to development successes in China, which the country achieved on its own. The SDGs present a more complex challenge than the MDGs, by the way. The reason is that they cover so many areas of activity. It would be interesting to draw up a comparison, showing which of them



Many Brazilians have fallen back into poverty in recent years: slum dwellers in Rio de Janeiro.

receives donor support, and how much of it, and see whether improvements are achieved faster in the areas on which donor assistance is focused. Change can be measured, but causal relationships are very hard to establish. The needed reliable data is often unavailable. It would help if donors themselves did more to assess their impacts. That would require systematic evaluation, not just at the project level but at system level, over longer periods of time.

If change is measureable, as you say, are changes for the better communicated well enough?

No, I think they are not communicated well enough. But the blame cannot be laid at the door of the BMZ. The main problem is the lack of media interest. I would like to see journalists go to certain countries with

a more open mind, without preconceived ideas, and find out which problems matter to the countries' people. At the same time, I would welcome better coverage of international processes, including in the daily press. And I would like to see democratic political parties show more interest in developing countries. To create a basis for informed decisions, German policymakers could rely more on the political foundations, which are close to the parties in the Bundestag and have a strong presence in developing countries (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2017/12, p. 35). I have often been told by foundation staff that it is extremely difficult to generate interest in development policy within their parties. I find that quite worrying. It is important to ensure that the political basis for development policy does not disintegrate. Our society has a keen interest in sustain-

able development, not just in Germany and Europe but also in the global south. The importance of cooperating with developing countries needs to be communicated, in particular, to new members of parliament. It is not just about development issues; it has implications for security, foreign affairs, economic prospects and many other fields of policymaking. It is important to see developing countries as partners and not just as objects of development policy.

What are the main factors that will determine development successes in the near future?

The Delphi study highlights them quite well. I think all of the trends identified in it will be important. Population growth is particularly an issue in Africa, for example, whereas Asia already has a number of countries where

the ageing of society is the big demographic challenge. Digitalisation is an important trend that will have massive impacts on developing countries' comparative advantages. The automation of manufacturing, for instance, will reduce the advantage of low wages and impede integration in global markets. On the other hand, opportunities may arise on national and regional markets. Climate change will also be a major factor, as is already evident. The impacts will be felt more severely in developing countries than here because they do not have the same financial and knowledge resources to prepare for them. The more reluctant the industrialised world is to take preventive action, the greater will be the impacts on developing countries, especially in Africa or small island states. What I find interesting about the

trends flagged up by the Delphi study is that they are just as relevant for Germany as for developing countries. The ability to respond and protect may differ – but every country will be affected. And that presents an opportunity for cooperation.

How do studies of this kind help to make development efforts more effective?

For this study, experts were asked whether they agreed with a list of identified trends and whether development policy could make a positive difference. As far as the relevance of the trends was concerned, the level of agreement among the experts was very high; opinions differed widely, however, on the relevance of development assistance in various areas. Policymakers can now respond to the results. They need to decide

whether to act where the trends' impact is greatest or where the most help is needed, and whether to experiment with innovative approaches in new areas – and arrange for the experiments to be simultaneously studied and evaluated. The Delphi study can be quite useful if it contributes to informing strategic debate within the BMZ. The point was to start that debate. The paper does not contain specific recommendations for action.



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The future of development and development policy

What will the world be like in 2032 and beyond, and what will be the major drivers of change? Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has sought answers to that question in its second Delphi process. The Delphi method involves a consultation process and is used, amongst other things, to assess future trends. A total of 31 experts were consulted in the present study, including our interview partner Imme Scholz of the German Development Institute (Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik – DIE) (see main text).

Taking into account the findings of the first Delphi study in 2016 and the current state of research, the BMZ identified 30 trends, grouped into six thematic clusters. Experts from think tanks, bi- and

multilateral organisations and the private sector in the global north and south were then asked whether they agreed with the trends and whether they thought development policy could positively influence them.

The experts reconfirmed findings of the 2016 Delphi process such as the major transformative impact of new technologies and the negative impacts of environmental degradation and non-sustainable lifestyles. The participants also stressed that increasing fragility and inequality will remain major challenges in 2032 but that other trends such as growing urbanisation might offer positive development opportunities. New factors identified include the increase in nationalist tendencies, the growing role of China and the increas-

ingly pervasive nature of digitalisation and automation.

The experts broadly agreed with the trends presented by the BMZ. Agreement was greatest on the trend that fragile and conflict-ridden states will present major obstacles to sustainable development. In second place was the perception that changes in the labour market wrought by automation will create the need for new skills and regeared education systems. Almost as many experts agreed that climate change and environmental degradation will have increasingly adverse consequences for humankind's overall quality of life.

Less clear, however, are the conclusions drawn from the trends for development policy. While the experts see considerable scope for positive influence on medical progress, climate change and poverty, for example, there is widespread scepticism in other areas. Around a third of those interviewed believe there is no way

that development policy can impact positively in the context of China's growing influence; another third believe its potential is limited. Opinion is similarly divided on the issues of global energy transition and automation of work.

In the wake of the Delphi process, the BMZ sees a need for action on four levels:

1. change of paradigm,
2. increased analysis and research,
3. adaptation of development measures and
4. establishment of new partnerships and collaborations.

What form that action will take remains to be seen.

Katja Dombrowski

LINK

BMZ Delphi study, 2018:
Development policy in 2032.
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Middle-income majority

Hans Rosling, the prominent Swedish physician and statistician, dedicated the last years of his life to correcting the public's distorted perceptions. Humankind is in a better shape than many believe. The extent of extreme poverty tends to be overestimated, whereas global achievements in terms of health and education are mostly underestimated.

By Hans Dembowski

Rosling's views are spelled out in the book "Factfulness". It was published shortly after his death of cancer this year. Rosling wanted to make the general public aware of important, under-appreciated trends. In Europe and North America, for example, most people think that there is a huge gap between a small group of advanced nations and a big group of developing countries. The truth, however, is that the vast majority of human beings live in middle-income countries.

That this is so, is reflected in other trends: humankind's average life expectancy is 70 years today, and 80% of the world's one-year-olds have been vaccinated. On average, men who are 30 years old today have spent ten years in school. The average figure for women of the same age is nine years. This gap is much smaller than most people assume. Only 20% of all human beings lack access to electric power. The world population is still growing, but the reason is that people live longer. The number of children is no longer increasing.

For good reason, Rosling argued that we should stop using the categories of "developing" and "developed" nations. In his perspective, the relevant distinction should be people's income levels. In the book, statistics generally rely on four categories of people. At level 1, people have a purchasing power of up to \$ 2 per day. That figure rises to \$ 8 for people at level 2 and \$ 32 for those at level 3. Those who have more than \$ 32 belong to level 4. Of the world's 7 billion people, only 1 billion are at level 1. Three billion are at level 2, 2 billion are at level 3, and 1 billion are at level 4.

According to Rosling, the conventional categories of developed versus develop-

ing countries distorts people's perceptions. It suggests that there is a big gap between the categories. In truth, however, the income levels overlap national borders. If you judge by the average income, India belongs to the upper end of level 2. Averages hide relevant information however, and India indeed has a substantial number of pros-

fun. Where Pinker extensively and appropriately refers to tomes of literature, Hans Rosling tells of his personal experiences. His enthusiasm is as charming as his long professional career in global development affairs was impressive. Among other things, he worked as a medical doctor in sub-Saharan Africa.

While the Rosling family shows that many trends are better than generally assumed, they do not encourage complacency. Climate change, for example, is a serious challenge that humankind must rise to. They emphasise, however, that action must



Hans Rosling delivering a highly entertaining TED talk on religions and babies.

perous level 4 people. On the other hand, it has a huge number of people who are still stuck in the desperate poverty of level 1. In a similar sense, poor people in the rich world do not have the purchasing power of \$ 32 per day which would lift them up to level 4. Some poor people in the EU must cope with less than \$ 16 per day and belong to level 2.

Rosling cooperated closely with his son Ola Rosling and his daughter-in-law Anna Rosling Rönnlund. They are the co-authors of Factfulness. In many ways, the arguments made in the book resemble those made by Harvard scholar Steven Pinker (see D+C/E+Z e-Paper 2018/07, p. 16). The Roslings' book is easier to read – and more

be guided by solid data.

The book uses largely self-explaining terms such as the "negativity instinct", the "straight-line instinct" or the "fear instinct" to point out why people's perceptions are distorted. The authors want readers to do their best to educate themselves in a "factful" manner. The book's strongest point is that it serves this purpose in a very entertaining way.

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