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Multilateral finance
The aspirations of the
African Development
Bank's new president

Digital technology
The World Bank
emphasises the
analogue foundations

Migrants
Why Bangladeshis go
abroad and what they
experience



The power of sports

Focus: The power of sports

Great runners

Jamaica's achievements in track and field sports are legendary. Usain Bolt and many other Olympic gold medal winners are from this Caribbean nation. Local coaches spot promising talents, but they lack funding. Jamaican coach **Everton Leslie** discussed matters in an interview. In Kenya too, many young athletes hope to join the country's world-famous long-distance team, as journalist **Isaac Sagala** reports. [Page 14, 16](#)

Earning respect

Twenty years ago, **Christopher Minko** founded the Cambodian National Volleyball League (Disabled). It was the country's first comprehensive sports programme for people with a disability. In an interview, he told Bophea Smith about the NGO's history. [Page 18](#)

Money matters

Cricket has become big business in India. What was once a game people played in their communities, is now a highly competitive and divisive spectator sport, writes **Faiz Ullah** of the Mumbai-based Tata Institute of Social Sciences. [Page 20](#)

The basics of compliance

Fair play is a sports principle, but doping, manipulation and corruption are all too common. Coordinated action is needed to improve things, argues **Sylvia Schenk** of Transparency International Germany. [Page 23](#)

Hope and despair

The Olympic Games are drawing attention to Rio de Janeiro. The local people want to see substantial progress in their city. **Julia Jaroschewski** who specialises in urban development gives account. [Page 26](#)

Mental dimensions

Physical exercise helps to free the soul, so it does more than serve physical fitness. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a faith-based organisation is running a sports and exercise programme, helping traumatised women and girls to regain self-confidence as well as control of their body. **Susanne Bischoff** of Brot für die Welt, a Protestant NGO, assesses the matter. To boost girls' self-confidence, moreover, boxing can prove useful. Whether in Berlin's multicultural Kreuzberg neighbourhood or in rough areas of African agglomerations, participants in Boxgirls programmes become self-assured – and able to bring about change in society. **Theresa Krinninger**, a journalist, outlines the approach. [Page 29, Page 32](#)

Editorial

Games in times of crisis

➔ The Rio Olympics were supposed to be a special moment of Dilma Rousseff's presidency in Brazil. Now legislators have started impeachment proceedings, however, and it is uncertain whether she will still be in power when the games begin in August.

When the Olympic games and the Football World Cup were awarded to their country years ago, Brazilians celebrated. They felt that their nation was finally being recognised globally. The mood has turned sour however. After a long boom, Brazil's economy is now in deep recession, and masses of protestors are rallying against corruption and government failure.

It currently looks as though some sports facilities may not be ready in time. Some major infrastructure projects are running late too. The sense of frustration is strong, but organisers promise that the games will go well, and to gather from similar experiences in other Olympic cities, that will probably turn out to be true. With some luck, the games will even boost Brazil's self-confidence. What is sure is that the eyes of the world will be on Rio. Global sports events fascinate billions of people. It is exciting to watch top athletes compete, and people take pride in winners from their own country. Those who come home with medals are celebrated, and governments hope that pride in athletes will boost their own standing.

Sports and physical exercise matter far beyond such considerations, of course. Exercising serves physical fitness as well as mental health, reducing feelings of despair and strengthening self-confidence. Fair play is an important principle in all areas of social life, not only sports. Team sports, moreover, help to build team spirit. Social acceptance, personal acknowledgement and ideas of attractiveness are linked to the body. Accordingly, the Paralympics are probably the single most important regular event that promotes the social inclusion of people with disabilities.

Sports excitement has dark sides, however. Doping is one. Some athletes abuse pharmaceuticals to perform better. All too often, they are egged on by their governmental or corporate sponsors. Corruption distorts results.

Many Brazilians are angry because the Rio Olympics will cost the equivalent of some € 8.7 billion. They certainly have a point in that some money is probably syphoned off and that Brazil remains a dramatically unequal society. That said, most of the investment makes sense for the city's future, and its infrastructure has been improved. The run up to the Olympics was an opportunity to tackle large-scale urban challenges, and the Football World Cup served that purpose in other cities as well. Without the sports event, urban planning would have been less ambitious and less effective.

Brazil has big problems. Corruption is one, but the Olympics are not. An irony of the impeachment proceedings is that the president is not accused of personal wrongdoing, while many politicians who are driving the impeachment process are. Rousseff's party is not clean, but nor are the other political parties. It would be best to let the courts deal with the criminal cases and let voters draw political conclusions when they next go to the polls. The impeachment drama is a symptom of exaggerated politicisation. The talk of systemic disaster is dangerous as it may prove self-fulfilling. It would make more sense to keep calm, carry on and let the judiciary do its work. That approach would be in line with democratic principles, including fair play. ←



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Abir Abdullah/picture-alliance/dpa

Exploited migrants

Millions of Bangladeshis have left their country. Many are exploited and even live in conditions reminiscent of slavery. Laws do not protect them. **Ridwanul Hoque**, a law professor, assesses the matter. [Page 37](#)

Unleashing entrepreneurship

Akinwumi Adesina, the president of the African Development Bank, elaborates why he wants economies to diversify and why young Africans must be employed in Africa. [Page 34](#)

Debate



Yassine Gaidi/AA/picture-alliance

Pay attention and lend support

Terrorists are threatening the only democracy to emerge from the Arab spring. Tunisian security forces managed to stop an ISIS attack in March. Nonetheless, the country needs more support from the international community and especially the EU, argues **Tawfik Jelassi**, who served as minister for higher education in the transitional government. [Page 40](#)

Understanding the human factor

Conventional theories of international relations are distorted, according to a new book that was edited by two scholars from the German Development Institute. The reason is that human beings are much more cooperative than assumed. An inadequate understanding of human nature, however, has a bearing on global governance, making cooperation more difficult and more likely to fail.

Scholars of international relations generally assume that governments act in their country's narrowly defined self-interest. This idea is closely related to economists' notion of the "homo economicus". They pretend that human beings are rational, utility maximising individuals who only cooperate with others if doing so brings benefits. In this view, cooperation is the exception, rather than the norm, as it is only expected to take place if there are incentives.

Homo economicus is a fiction. The theoretical concept helps economists to design mathematical models, but it is not rooted in a deep understanding of human nature. Empirical research done by social anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, sociologist and even economists has shown for a long time that people differ from homo economicus in many ways. They are social beings who depend on their communities and ultimately cannot pursue only their immediate personal interests.

Dirk Messner, the director of the German Development Institute (DIE), and Silke Weinlich, one of the institute's senior researchers, propose to apply this insight to international relations. According to their reasoning, it is not only wrong to assume that governments tick like the imaginary homo economicus, but even dangerous.

The reason is that, in view of many global challenges, humankind needs more effective global cooperation, and such cooperation is unlikely to come about if relevant actors believe that governments' instinct will always be to try to act on

their own. Issues such as climate change, financial stability or poverty – to name only three – cannot be tackled effectively by national governments this way. Lasting solutions depend on joint efforts, and, in view of the environmental crisis, humanity is running out of time.

Interdisciplinary approach

Messner and Weinlich see reason for hope. Matters are spelled out in the book they recently edited ("Global cooperation and the human factor in international relations", London 2016). It includes contributions by scholars from different disciplines, including biology, social anthropology and complex systems sciences. The editors aspire to pave the way for "a new interdisciplinary approach to global cooperation research". Their effort was supported by Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

In Messner's and Weinlich's perspective, it is misleading to read the stalemate in many international settings simply as the result of emerging powers challenging the established order, with the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) pitted against the USA, the EU and Japan. Diplomatic failure, the book argues, is also rooted in an outdated understanding of sovereignty and poorly designed international institutions. To improve matters, it would make sense to foster cooperation by other than the conventional means.

In one essay Messner warns that "the assumption of the impossibility of cooperation in a time of global power shifts can become a self-fulfilling prophecy". He is a political scientist and co-authored the essay with Alejandro Guarín, a geographer, and Daniel Haun, a psychologist. The three scholars point out that human cooperation generally hinges on seven enabling factors:

- reciprocity,
- trust,
- communication,
- reputation,
- fairness,

- enforcement and
- we-identity.

These factors are obviously interrelated. In the long run, trust depends on fairness and reciprocity, while communication helps to build trust and reputations and is also necessary to enforce agreed norms. A we-identity, in turn, is likely to grow on the basis of successful cooperation and then facilitate further cooperation. According to the three co-authors, "the current crisis in international cooperation could be due to the underprovisioning of the seven basic enablers, and any solution should seek to foster them."

Current practice is not up to the challenges, according to the authors. For example, "the setup of international development as a deeply unequal North (donor) – South (recipient) relationship needs to be replaced by one based on a reciprocal perspective of achieving common goals together."

In an interesting twist, Messner and Weinlich write in another essay, that "homo economicus exists – and is a great ape." Their point is basically that apes are limited to instrumental rationality. The crucial point, however, is that humans, unlike apes, can engage in complex communication and build institutions. Accordingly, the factors that facilitate cooperation must be considered at several levels in the global governance context. After all, they concern the personal interaction of individual diplomats as well as the historically-evolved relationships between national governments.

The evolution of diplomacy

Attitudes and institutions change in the course of history. In the book, Iver B. Neumann, a social anthropologist from the London School of Economics, elaborates how the interaction between organised groups of human beings evolved from the invention of big-game hunting 300 000 years ago to the establishment of permanent multilateral settings after the Napoleonic wars in the early 19th century. His brief evolutionary history



Monitor

Tensions between established and emerging powers do not explain everything: finance ministers and central bankers from the G20 with IMF head Christine Lagarde (centre) in Shanghai in February.

of diplomacy suggests that better global cooperation than we have today may yet evolve, and one of his predictions is that non-state actors will become more important.

According to Siddarth Malavarapu, a political scientist at the Delhi-based South Asian University, issues such as language, memory and affect matter for improving global cooperation. In his eyes, multilateral institutions should pay more attention to them. One challenge is to take different perspectives in order to be able to understand and accommodate all parties involved in an issue. Malavarapu warns that institutional designs flounder “when they lack or deny themselves the capacity or sensibility of ‘perspective taking.’” He

suggests that institutions should do more to learn from past examples of successful cooperation.

In line with Malavarapu’s reasoning, it would be better to speak of “global” – rather than “international” – cooperation, for example, since the former word emphasises the unity of humankind whereas the latter implicitly refers to nationhood. It is a much greater challenge, however, to deal with history in ways that promote collective memories that are conducive to cooperation. History, after all, is full of instances where one group of people was victimised by another.

The new book is inspiring because it casts a new light on global cooperation.

However, it does not provide tangible advice to policymakers on how to improve matters. It neither discusses conflicts of interest nor the many disappointments and frustrations experienced not only, but especially by leaders from Africa, Asia and Latin America in international relations since the colonial era. Doing so would obviously have been beyond the scope of a single book. As the editors point out for good reason, much more research into what makes global cooperation work is needed. To bear fruit soon, that work must be done fast.

Hans Dembowski

Book

Messner, D., and Weinlich, S. (eds.), 2016: Global cooperation and the human factor in international relations. London, New York: Routledge.

Everyday violence against the poor

Poor people experience indiscriminate oppression and injustice on a daily basis. The lack of legal security blights any prospects they might have and locks them into poverty.

A book by legal experts Gary A. Haugen and Victor Boutros decries the fact that billions of poor in the world are denied the human right to liberty and security. It finds that penniless people are helplessly exposed to sexual violence, forced labour and slavery, land theft, abuse of police power and torture. The authors substantiate this with shocking case studies in Peru, India, Kenya and elsewhere. They conclude that everyday violence thwarts every attempt that people make to free themselves from poverty. As a result, it also undermines poor countries' economic development and torpedoes every effort to reduce poverty.

Many poor people in developing countries live in a de facto state of lawlessness. Haugen and Boutros point out that laws are not enforced and that prosperous, influential people have taken advantage of broken and corrupt legal systems to suppress and exploit the poor. Many countries still have legal systems established by former colonial powers – systems solely designed to protect the regime from the people. And according to the authors, they continue to do just that in many cases today. Furthermore, rich and powerful elites have availed themselves of private security services, which undermines the public legal system even more.

Ailing legal systems have been characterised by:

- arbitrary prosecution and arrest;
- abuse and torture of detainees on remand, potentially for months or even years until a case goes to trial – if indeed it ever does;
- poor police training and pay;
- poor legal training;
- lack of vital resources and infrastructure;
- defendants denied legal counsel;
- trials conducted in a foreign language (e.g. English or Spanish rather than the

relevant local language) which defendants neither speak nor understand;

- absence of trial transcripts that could serve as a basis for a retrial.

Haugen and Boutros hold donor countries partly responsible for the poor enforcement of laws. The jurists conclude that they have not devoted enough attention to the issue and have not channelled sufficient funds into remedial action. Only around one to two percent of official development assistance (ODA) has been earmarked for measures specifically designed to improve the judicial system and legal protection for all. In most cases, the reason for this is found in development agency statutes. They effectively prohibit support for the police and justice sector to avoid interference in the internal affairs of countries and to ensure that the agency's work does not strengthen corrupt governments even more. The authors believe, however, that proper enforcement of laws and a functioning legal system are absolutely vital for sustainable development.

Boutros is a US federal prosecutor who investigates and tries cases of police or official misconduct such as corruption and abuse of authority. Haugen is founder and CEO of the International Justice Mis-

sion (IJM), an international human-rights organisation that protects the poor from violence, slavery and human trafficking. Presenting projects supported by IJM and other organisations as examples, the authors show that it is possible to change non-functioning legal systems in developing countries so that they provide effective protection for the poor. The fact that this can be done is evidenced, in their eyes, by the history of the police service in the United States for example. Haugen and Boutros point out that no country started out with a legal system that protected the poor and weak.

The authors call upon development agencies to step up their efforts in this area. In return, they urge developing countries to commit more vigorously to the development of legal systems that also protect poor sections of their population.

Dagmar Wolf

Book

Haugen, G. A., and Boutros, V., 2014: The locust effect – why the end of poverty requires the end of violence. Oxford University Press.

Link

International Justice Mission:
<https://www.ijm.org/>



Young slave labourers in the fish industry in Ghana.

Violent conflict

Ethnic divisions are not the problem

After last year's outbreak of violence, an eerie quiet has taken over in the central African country of Burundi. Exiled politicians and journalists as well as international experts fear the country could slide into civil war. Ethnic tensions are fuelled to cover up the political crisis, they warn.

When Burundi's president Pierre Nkurunziza announced a year ago in April that he would run for a third term, it unleashed a wave of protests, particularly among young people. A coup attempt in May was brutally put down by government forces.

The country's constitution, established in 2005 after decades of civil war, banned a third presidential term. But Nkurunziza was nevertheless re-elected in July 2015, in a vote deemed invalid by international observers. A constitutional court vote changed the term limit, but only after a number of its members had fled the country.

Since then, an eerie quiet has taken over, which many observers say is just the calm before the storm. "A deceptive quiet," Kassimi Bamba, African Union (AU) special envoy for Burundi and the Great Lakes region, calls it. Exiled politicians from the opposition and ruling party alike and refugees in neighbouring countries say Burundi is sliding into a violent conflict, supported by the government's spread of ethnic propaganda that serves only to perpetuate its own power.

"This third term is illegal, and this is the position of the African Union," Bamba says. Many citizens have been arrested, imprisoned and tortured. Hundreds have died, and around 250,000 people have sought refuge in neighbouring Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, according to the UN.

"This is not an ethnic crisis as many people believe – it is entirely a political crisis," stresses Bob Rugurika, journalist and director of the private radio station



Burundian refugee children sitting on a pile of wood at the Gashora refugee camp in Rwanda.

RPA (Radio Publique Africaine). The government "plans an ethnic crisis to distract from the political crisis," he said at an event in April at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin. Rugurika is one of the many who have fled from the conflict.

Rugurika and others warn the government's propaganda could unleash an explosive conflict between the country's two major ethnic groups, Hutu and Tutsi. After decades of warring, a peace treaty had brought a fragile peace to the country in 2005, when Nkurunziza (leader of the Hutu CNDD-FDD party) was elected. Quotas systems for the groups were meant to keep a certain balance in the system, but instead have created structural discrimination along ethnic lines, says Claudia Simons, Africa expert at the think tank Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Berlin. But, she adds: "The majority of people do not want to be mobilised according to ethnic criteria."

Kordula Schulz-Asche, Green Party member of the Bundestag, visited the country with a group of German parliamentarians in 2015. "All of the Burundian parliamentarians stressed to us that ethnic divisions were not the problem," she recounts.

Without international intervention, this conflict could spread to other regions,

especially as rebel militias are said to be training across the borders. "The international community has not done enough to prevent the worsening of this situation," says the AU's Bamba. The African Union shelved plans to send around 5,000 peacekeeping troops to Burundi, which many people had hoped would restore order. Instead, the UN Security Council voted at the beginning of April to send a small police force. This will amount to only around 20 to 30 policemen, according to Bamba. "This will not help much," he says, adding that he hoped the resolution would be revised.

The only way forward, all agreed, was to start up peace negotiations. But with widespread fear and many dissenters abroad, the Burundi government's recent commitment to a "peace dialogue" with the opposition will be very one-sided, says Rugurika. "Who will participate in a dialogue when most of the opposition is in exile?" he asks. The government has issued arrest warrants for many of those who would need to participate, he says. In the view of Schulz-Asche, peace talks would have to take place outside of Burundi.

"People are underestimating the potential for catastrophe," says Rugurika. "Does the crisis have to get to the point of a genocide like in Rwanda first?"

Ellen Thalman

Emerging markets overtake industrialised nations

More money is being invested in renewable energy than ever before – and for the first time, industrialised countries are being outdone by developing countries and emerging markets. Nevertheless, only a tenth of the world’s electricity is currently generated from renewable sources. Much more needs to be done in order to reach the Paris goals.

Global investments in renewable energy are at an all-time high. According to the report “Global trends in renewable energy investment”, \$286 billion were invested in solar, wind and other renewables in 2015, up 5% from 2014. For the first time last year, renewables accounted for more than half (53%) of the increase in power generation capacity.

With \$107 billion and \$80.9 billion in investments respectively, wind and solar power took in the most money by far. They also achieved the highest levels of growth: investments in solar power rose 12% compared to the previous year, and investments in wind grew by 9%. Investments in all other renewable energy sources were down compared to 2014.

“Much of the action is taking place in developing countries and emerging markets,” emphasised Martin Cremer, co-editor of the joint report by the Frankfurt School-UNEP Collaborating Centre and Bloomberg New Energy Finance at the launch in Frankfurt at the end of March. The report shows that investments from non-OECD countries as well as Chile, Turkey and Mexico exceeded investments from industrialised countries for the first time. With \$103 billion in investments, China is the clear frontrunner: it is now responsible for over a third of all investments in renewable energy worldwide.

According to Cremer, developing countries have also realised that renewable energy is indispensable. Investments in those countries are reportedly up 30% from the previous year, though they remain low. “The business climate is the



The world’s largest concentrated solar power plant is located in Ouarzazate, Morocco.

decisive factor in developing countries,” Cremer explains. “Is there security for investors? Is there a regulatory agency?”

Ulf Moslener, another co-editor of the report, points out that despite record investments, renewable energy still accounts for only 16.2% of power generation capacity worldwide. “It’s even more sobering to consider that renewables actually only make up 10.3% of the electricity mix.” This discrepancy is due to the fact that wind and solar power are not always available and plants often cannot make full use of their capacities.

Moslener also calls attention to the circumstance that especially in developing and newly industrialising countries, power plant complexes are relatively new. “At least half of the world’s coal-burning power plants are under 23 years old. If we assume a service life of 40 years, they will be operational for another 17 years or more.” However, the goals agreed at the UN climate conference in Paris presume that fossil fuels will be phased out in the second half of this century. “We must do more than develop renewables in order for that to happen,” Moslener cautions.

Electricity storage is a particularly important consideration. Storing energy offers a way to react to variable power generation from wind and solar and to deal with spikes in consumer demand.

According to the report, 250 megawatts of energy storage capacity were added worldwide in 2015, excluding pumped hydro and lead-acid batteries, compared to an increase of only 160 megawatts in 2014. Silvia Kreibiehl, head of the Frankfurt School-UNEP Collaborating Centre for Climate & Sustainable Energy Finance, thinks it is essential that energy markets be restructured in order to accommodate even greater shares of renewable energy. To that end, “investments in storage media and the expansion of the grid must play a larger role in the future.”

The authors expect that the trend will continue and that both investments in renewable energy and renewables’ share in the energy mix will continue to rise. They predict that if the cost of technology continues to fall, the policy environment will become less and less important. “The available resources will become the main drivers,” Moslener believes. According to that theory, countries with the highest feed-in tariffs would no longer be at the forefront. Instead, they would be replaced by countries with the most sunlight and the best wind conditions – a trend that is already playing out. *Katja Dombrowski*

Link

Global trends in renewable energy investment 2016 report:

<http://fs-unep-centre.org/publications/global-trends-renewable-energy-investment-2016>

Nowadays: Schoolgirl mothers

Teenage pregnancies and early marriages cause social, medical and psychological problems for both girls and boys. Zambia is grappling with thousands of cases each year.

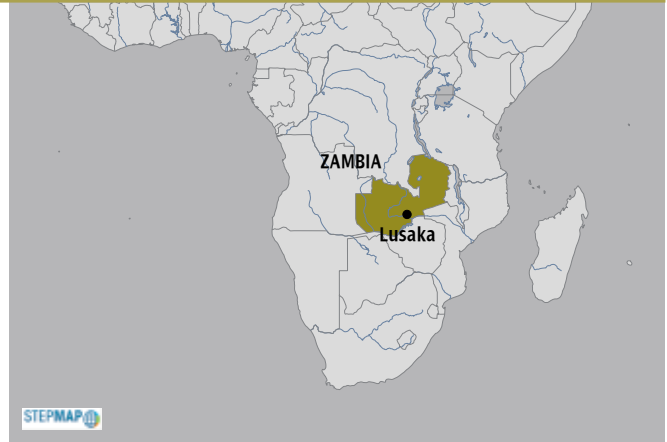
According to figures from Zambia's Ministry of Education, 16,376 schoolgirls got pregnant in 2014. The number for 2013 was 14,938. The data for 2015 have not been published, but are expected to be similar. The official statistics, however, refer only to girls who go to school. The real figures for teenage pregnancies are higher.

Teenage pregnancies are not a phenomenon that only concerns lower classes. Recently, the 17-year-old son of a former minister of defence was arrested

for murdering his pregnant girlfriend. When the girl informed the boy that she was expecting his child, the boy took his father's gun and shot her. Police have since charged him for murder.

This is an extreme and high-profile case. Many other people struggle to manage unwanted pregnancies in very difficult conditions. The Zambian newspaper "Daily Nation" recently reported the case of a 15-year-old girl in a rural area of Luapula Province. At that tender age, she was already married and had two children.

According to Zambian law, a girl under the age of 16 cannot give consent to sex. Male partners can be charged with defilement,



as sexual abuse is called. That rarely happens however.

Having babies too early has serious consequences. Mubiana Inambao, head of obstetrics and gynaecology at Ndola Central Hospital, says that young pregnant girls do not only risk social marginalisation, but also medical and psychological complications. According to him, when "having unprotected sex, both girls and boys can contract HIV/AIDS or sexually transmitted diseases".

He adds that a girl's body is "not fully developed before she reaches the age of 18". Common complications include "continuous bleeding or obstructed labour due to narrow birth canals and infections from

unsafe abortions".

A terrible damage is the so-called "obstetric fistula", which is a hole between the vagina and rectum or bladder caused by prolonged, obstructed labour. The vagina often tears when a pregnant teenager is giving birth. That has serious long-term implications, leaving women incontinent of urine or faeces or both.

On top of this, young girls may not be psychologically prepared for the task of being a mother. The Zambian education system allows girls to go back to school after they give birth, but their school performance often suffers. Teenage pregnancies are not accepted socially, so under-age mothers are stigmatised.

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

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Transatlantic cooperation

Food security is at risk in several world regions due to climate change or political crises. Two think tanks have published a briefing paper on how transatlantic cooperation should contribute to more reliability in the world's food supply without accelerating global warming.

Famines are currently threatening to devastate southern and eastern Africa. The El Niño phenomenon is exacerbating climate change, causing one of the worst draughts in decades. Aid agencies and the UN expect that more than 45 million people need – or will soon need – food aid.

A harsh drought similarly preceded Syria's civil war, write Michael Werz from the Washington-based Center for American Progress and Benjamin Pohl from adelphi in Berlin. The two think-tank employees consider food shortages a cause of the uprisings.

Food crises are not merely a humanitarian issue. They lead to political and economic instability all over the world and cause social unrest, the authors argue. In their eyes, climate change is causing or compounding draughts and water shortages. To rise to these challenges, they recommend more international cooperation. In particular, they call for innovative and farsighted transatlantic policymaking.

According to Werz and Pohl, leaders from the EU and the USA are only beginning to draft measures and programmes and providing international capacities. The risks are interrelated, they warn, so any solutions must be based in all fields of policymaking. Measures must not counteract one another in core areas such as climate protection, humanitarian aid and peace promotion.

To illustrate problems, Werz and Pohl discuss investments in hydropower. This

approach helps to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions, but it may undermine food security if dams lead to water shortages downstream. The authors point out that it is currently more profitable to use water to generate electric power than for irrigating fields. In their eyes, the USA and EU should prevent market distortions of this kind. The international community should set incentives to make countries take action in order to safeguard food security without exacerbating climate change. They point out that the production of agrarian fuels contributed to food shortages too.

Werz and Pohl admit that it is not easy to rise to complex challenges. Holistic solutions are needed. Sharing information is essential, according to the two experts, and the USA and EU should assume leadership. Big food corporations in particular should provide access to their data, the authors demand. So far, they are not doing so.

There are several things the USA and EU could do, according to Werz and Pohl.

- First of all, they could improve data access in order to allow for more rigorous numbers crunching. It would make sense to spot disturbances of the global food system before they cause harm.
- Second, the USA and EU could boost the effectiveness of existing initiatives.
- Third, the two partners should consider increasing humanitarian aid given that ever more people are displaced from their homes. Humanitarian aid should serve to enhance the resilience of the affected communities. Development assistance and humanitarian aid need to be linked in a better way, the authors demand.

Finally, Werz and Pohl want the institutions of global governance to be strengthened. The USA and EU could convene multilateral meetings such as the G20 to get a grip on food security, for example.

Sabine Balk

Link

Supporting global food security in a changing climate through transatlantic cooperation:

<https://www.adelphi.de/de/publikation/supporting-global-food-security-changing-climate-through-transatlantic-cooperation>



Maize harvest in Ethiopia.

Koene/lineair



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www.twitter.com/forumdc

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



The power of sports



Cambodia versus Sri Lanka during the Disabled Volleyball World Cup in Phnom Penh.



Major sports events such as the Olympic Games attract the attention of millions of people all over the world. Small clubs, on the other hand, boost social cohesiveness and so do school and neighbourhood matches. Exercising can have an empowering impact on women or minorities, including people with disabilities. Youngsters experience team spirit. Nonetheless, there are downsides. Some athletes and managers are driven by greed for money and power, so they cheat and manipulate in neglect of fairness. Aggressive nationalism is sometimes fostered. Major sports events, moreover, require major infrastructure investments, and the projects often don't work out as smoothly as they should.

“A quitter never wins”

Jamaica’s achievements in track and field sports are legendary. Usain Bolt and many other Olympic gold medal winners are from this Caribbean island. Local coaches detect promising talents early on, but they lack funding. Jamaican track and field coach Everton Leslie discussed matters with Sheila Mysorekar.

Interview with Everton Leslie

Why is Jamaica so prominent in athletics, especially running?

Fitness relates to food. The local Jamaican diet includes yellow yam, with strong carbohydrates which give you stamina. And the children are fit, they don’t take buses – often because they lack the money for public transport. In order to get to school, they have to go up and down the hills. In rural communities, kids don’t walk to school – they run. In the communities, everybody knows which kid is a good runner.

When do sports professionals spot young talents in Jamaica?

Mostly at an early age of up to 11 or 12 years, when they are in primary or prep school. All schools have sports competitions, including at the regional level. The competitions are tough, and the schools send their best runners to represent them. All people come and watch, and this is how talents are spotted.

What role do schools play?

Schools are very important, because it is through school-sports events that talented kids are detected, and they help promising runners get into proper competitions. But the geographical location matters too. Schools in poor rural areas cannot offer their pupils anything in support, not even track shoes. The schools need sponsors; some do fundraising. Sports coaches from richer areas grab the talented runners. For instance, some better-equipped schools promise parents to exempt them from school fees so the child changes to their school. The small rural schools lose the talents.

How do you identify a talented runner in a bunch of rural children?

Well, it’s not only about competition results. It is also important to see who can go a long way. I first look at their physical appearance – generally, sprinters have high butts, and long-distance runners have flat butts. Some are simply born athletes. When such talent is identified, you have to build on it. Often you know you have a talented runner, but there are no coaches available to carry and support him or her. Patience and willpower must be trained too. Kids from poor backgrounds and rural schools typically don’t receive enough support.

Do young athletes have to go abroad to train professionally?

Such options are usually linked to their school performance. If somebody is merely good at sports, that is not enough to get a scholarship. But if young runners are also good at an academic level, they can go abroad to train, mostly to the USA. Some of them will drop out after high school, because they don’t have the grades to go on to university and get support like a sports scholarship. Personally, as a track and field coach, I always point out to the kids in my team that they need to balance their sports and academic performance. I want the children to concentrate on their school achievements, first and foremost.

What do the young people hope for?

They want to be discovered and supported by a talent scout in order to become the next Usain Bolt! I tell them: You need hard work, self-discipline, time and commitment. A quitter never wins, and a winner never quits. But not everybody can become the next Usain Bolt. This Jamaican sprinter has won six Olympic gold medals, 11 world championships, and he holds the world records in 100 and 200 metres dash and – together together with his teammates – the 4x100 metres relay. He is also the best-paid sportsman in the history of track and field.

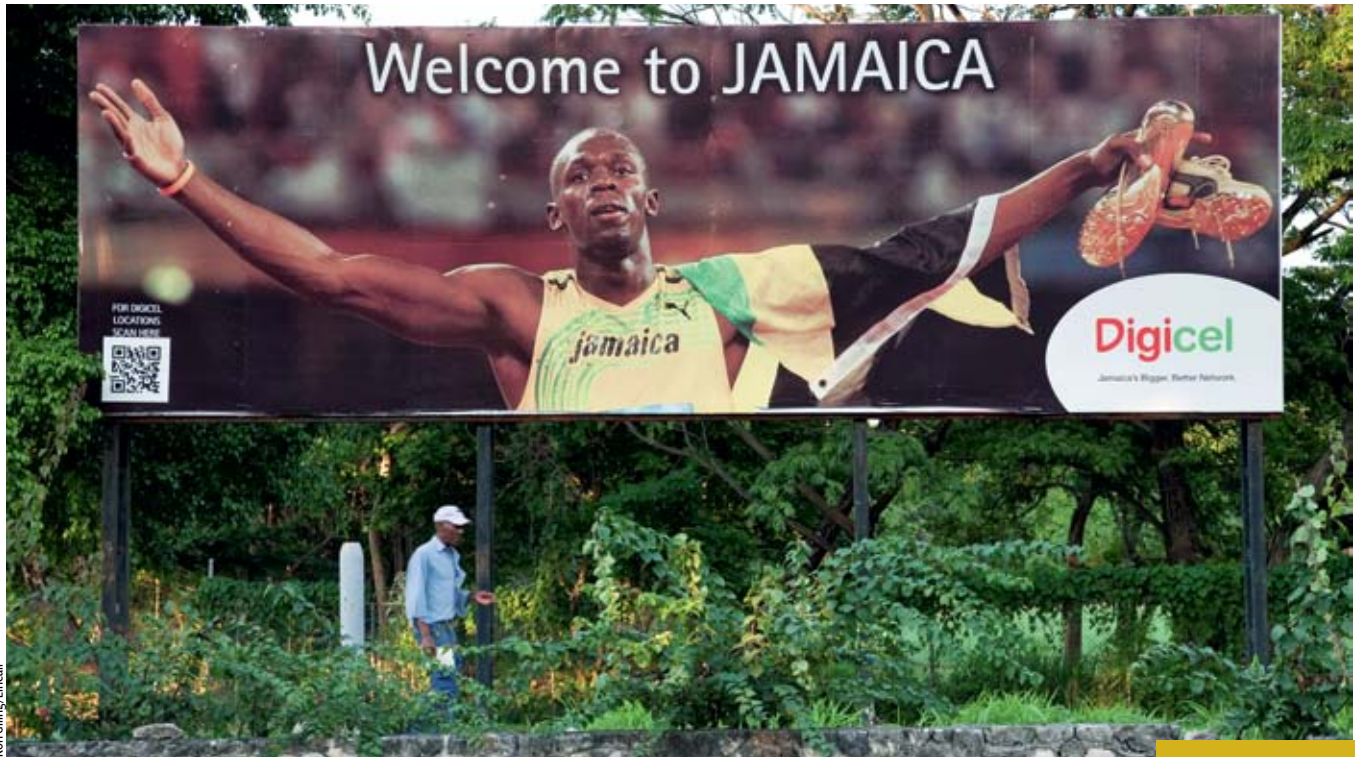
What becomes of young athletes who don’t make it, but who have given up school for a sports career?

Usually the boys join the police or military, and the girls get pregnant. But on the positive side, the females are often better at academics, so they have better chances of getting university scholarships. Shelly-Ann Fraser-Pryce, the world champion in 100 metre dash and Olympic winner, has a university degree and owns her own business, a hair parlour. In contrast, Usain Bolt has no university degree, but he can live off his sponsors.

Once young athletes are identified, what institutions support them?

There are two possibilities. Either the newcomers receive sponsorship from a private-sector company, or they are supported by the state-run Jamaica Athletics Administrative Association (JAAA), which is the body that governs the Jamaican track and





Ron Gillies/Linear

fields sport. The JAAA is in charge of athletes at the national level. The problem is that they have no money to help young talents on their way up.

Are there sports academies in Jamaica?

Yes, but they don't support young talents, they only give stipends to athletes who represent the country at an international level. Sports academies provide running gear, jerseys, spikes, food, accommodation and travel expenses for our athletes who compete internationally.

Are there good track and field training facilities in Jamaica?

The University of Technology in the capital Kingston has a good athletes' club. And there is the Racers Track Club. Usain Bolt trained there. Kingston with its stadiums is best for athletes, because they can train on proper tracks. There is also Catherine Hall Stadium in Montego Bay, which is in the north of the island. Elsewhere, tracks tend to be bumpy and full of holes. We urgently need more sports facilities in the rural communities. We also need more community centres with playing fields and multi-purpose courts, like basketball and so on. That would help children to find out early in which field they excel. Today, some talented athletes are only discovered at university, which is a bit late for a good career.

Who makes the money when a Jamaican athlete wins international competitions?

The managers, mostly. At top levels, the athletes also live a good life, but only when he or she lives abroad. Regarding everybody else, particularly young people, it looks fairly bleak. Most athletes are underfunded.

If they are not top athletes, the clubs won't sponsor them. Sometimes people have to give up their jobs in order to have the time to attend international championships, but when they come back, they may not get their job back.

If Jamaicans had more opportunities to practice other disciplines like tennis, for instance, would they also excel?

Possibly. Running is comparatively inexpensive; you only need tracks and shoes. But hardly any Jamaican excels in other types of sports, because we lack the infrastructure. Even if you are an excellent swimmer in the sea, you'd need access to a proper swimming pool in order to train for competitions. For all disciplines which require special gear and infrastructure – for instance, tennis or cycling – you need corporate sponsors, but in Jamaica, most companies only support track and field sports.

What can be done internationally for Jamaican sports?

I think it would be extremely helpful to have exchange programmes between poor rural Jamaican high schools and overseas schools, like having joint workshops or exchange of students. This would boost motivation and expose the kids to new experiences. Generally speaking, promising young people have to be offered contracts with overseas clubs to get new experience and training. International sponsors could invest more in Jamaican sports, not only in track and field, but other disciplines as well. ←

Link

Jamaica Athletics Administrative Association (JAAA):
<http://www.trackandfieldjm.com/>

Jamaican advertising billboard with Usain Bolt.



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Kenyans run to world fame



Hordes of young Kenyan athletes aspire to escape poverty by entering the country's world-famous long-distance team. Most of them come from one community in the Rift Valley which apparently has the best prerequisites. However, the sport is threatened by doping and corruption.

By Isaac Sagala

➔ In the 1968 Summer Olympics, the Kenyan Naftali Temu ran the race of his life in an exhausting duel in the heat of Mexico City. He beat Ethiopian runner Momo Wolde in the 10,000 metres race by only 0.6 seconds and became Kenya's first Olympic gold medalist. His success inspired an entire future generation of the young East African country that had just gained independence from colonial rule a few years earlier.

Kenya has since dominated long distance races globally. Last August in Beijing, Kenya startled traditional athletics superpowers like the USA, Jamaica and Russia by topping the overall medal tally at the World Athletics Championships for the first time. The country scooped seven gold medals.

Generations of great athletes continue to emerge. Their idols are Kenyan champions like 800 metres world record holder David Rudisha and 3000 metres steeplechase supremo Ezekiel Kemboi, amongst others.

Children run to school

Interestingly, almost 80% of Kenya's successful athletes come from one community, the Kalenjin tribe. They live in the Rift Valley in the western part of the country. Scholars have come up with different theories to explain this phenomenon. Some argue that the Kalenjins' genes favour running, others say that a combination of poverty and children running to and from schools over long distances plays a part. Schools are several miles away, and most children can only reach them on foot. Altitude certainly matters (see box below). Most athletes are found running in the towns of Iten and Eldoret.

Here, young Kenyans are joined by athletes from other parts of the world wishing to rise to the top. Asked about the opportunities of future Kenyan runners, Benjamin Limo, winner of the 1999 World Cross Country Championships, says: "Children run long

Runners' breeding ground

Iten is a laid back, small town in the Rift Valley in western Kenya. It prides itself on being the "Home of Champions" as indicated on a massive signpost welcoming visitors into town. Iten is picturesque with an amazing landscape and scenery. It has a backdrop of luscious greenery, dozens of hills and gentle valleys. For a casual observer, it may pass as just any slow, small town. But the place is most significant for Kenyan runners: it is the breeding ground of most Kenyan elite athletes.

Hundreds of runners from all over the world attend the High Altitude Training Centre here. At over 2400 metres above sea level, the air here carries considerably less oxygen

than at sea level. The athlete's body acclimates to this lack of oxygen by increasing the mass of red blood cells and its ability to take in oxygen. Altitude training can increase speed, strength and endurance.

Among the big names in athletics who have used the facility are Mo Farah, the Somali-born British long-distance runner and gold medalist in the 5000 meter and 10,000 meter at the 2012 Olympics, and Paula Radcliffe, the English former world champion in the marathon, half marathon and cross country.

Both elite and novice Kenyan athletes train in the High Altitude Training Centre. Julius

Kuto, an amateur athlete, traverses the hills and plains of Iten regularly. He hopes to win athletics gold some day and change his fortunes for the better. "I want to be remembered in road races. I hope that if I train well I can perform in races and get money to improve my livelihood," Kuto says.

Timon Motosio is another aspiring athlete. He says: "Most of the athletes are motivated by their poor backgrounds. That is why they persevere in their training until they make it. Their target is to get money and support their families. However, there are also those athletes who are passionate in running and do it for that reason."



Willens/AP Photo/picture-alliance

The Kenyan athletes Stanley Biwott and Mary Kaitany won last year's New York City Marathon.

distances to school; this gets them used to running. Everybody is fighting for a better life, an opportunity to become famous. But the government is not investing in them."

According to Limo, the business of running has its own dynamics. It is an expensive enterprise: running shoes are costly, booking training facilities can be prohibitive. "You need a manager who links you to a running shoes company. When you get prize money, tax is deducted. This can range from 20 to 35%. The manager takes 20%. Travelling costs eat up up to 30 to 40% of what you make. You might end up keeping just 20% of the prize money."

Furthermore, the Kenyan government plans to tax prize money won in international competitions. "That is unfortunate," Limo says. "They should instead promote the sport by waiving taxes for training facilities. If the government wants to tax us, let them tax the property we own, not the prize money that is already taxed abroad."

There is no incentive from the government to motivate runners. Recurrent promises of setting up training facilities across the country have not been actualised. Aspiring runners are left to their own devices, and most elite athletes do not feel recognised at home. Companies see business opportunities in sports events and make millions of dollars from registration fees. Every month, there are marathon events organised by bankers, telecoms companies, media houses, milk companies and others.

Of course, not everyone who wants to be a professional athlete succeeds. Some of those who lack talent or stamina try to cheat. Last year, athletics officials intercepted a runner who was trying to cheat himself into second place to win \$7000 of prize money during a marathon event. The runner had hidden amongst the crowd and only joined the race in the final stretch.

Doping and corruption

In the recent past, athletics in Kenya has been mired by allegations of doping and corruption. Nearly 40 Kenyan athletes have tested positive for drug use in the past two years. The International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) is threatening to ban the entire track and field team from the Olympics in Rio this August for being non-compliant with the World Anti Doping Agency (WADA) code. Kenya is accused of attempting to cover up drug taking.

Three senior athletics officials have been provisionally suspended for 180 days by the IAAF over alleged corruption and accusations of subverting anti-doping processes. The officials are accused of potentially diverting sponsorship funds by secretly pocketing nearly \$700,000 from sportswear manufacturer Nike.

Dozens of athletes stormed the Athletics Kenya premises last November and staged a sit-in calling on senior officials to step down over the allegations of corruption and mismanagement. ←



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Sport as a vehicle

Twenty years ago, Australian-born Christopher Minko founded the Cambodian National Volleyball League (Disabled), CNVLD. It was the country's first comprehensive sports programme for people with a disability. He told Bophea Smith about the NGO's achievements and setbacks, and why it will now close.

Interview with Christopher Minko

You are an Australian and have been living in Cambodia for 20 years. What brought you there, and why did you establish a sports programme for people with a disability?

I arrived in Cambodia in 1996 as an Australian government volunteer with a broad mandate to raise awareness of landmines and disability issues as well as support the inclusion of Cambodians with a disability in mainstream society. I chose sport as the vehicle for this rehabilitative process. I recognised the power of sports to rebuild an individual's health, self esteem and self confidence, thus giving that individual an opportunity to move forward in life. I focused on team sports which foster team work and community spirit. Men's volleyball was the first sport we started, followed by men and women wheelchair racing, track and field, and a recent programme focusing on the development of a women's wheelchair basketball programme.

Back in 1996, Cambodia was still fighting the Khmer Rouge, and the country was in political turmoil. Was there any sports programme for disabled people, any organisation, any support whatsoever?

No, there wasn't any disability sporting option when I arrived. We kick-started the programme with volleyball which was the de facto national sport. It was played by all. It was also a very cost effective option. All one needs is a ball and a net. My main focus was on the rehabilitation of landmine survivors, the majority of whom were amputees. Volleyball is a perfect sport for amputees. I started the programme according to international sporting guidelines and benchmarks. On this base, I created the National Paralympics Committee of Cambodia which is now a well established organisation that cooperates with international bodies to develop Cambodian disability sports.

Is there an above-average number of disabled people in Cambodia, and if so, why?

As a share of the population, Cambodia has one of the highest rates of disabled persons. This is one of the many tragic legacies of the Khmer Rouge's reign of terror and horror in the 1970s.

The main causes of disability are landmines and polio.

How does participation in a sports programme help to include disabled persons into society and to raise their self esteem?

Sport has a unique ability to foster positive change for persons with a disability. It improves an individual's health and physical wellbeing – often also assisting the physical rehabilitation process. One result is a vastly improved positive outlook on life. Playing sport on a competitive basis, nationally or even internationally, is a way to showcase the abilities of disabled people to the broader community. In Cambodia, the whole nation followed the national disabled volleyball team's efforts in a series of volleyball world cups. Moreover, team sports allow athletes to build a support network.

One kind of volleyball for the disabled is "standing" volleyball. The players are allowed to use prostheses, although some prefer not to. "Sitting" volleyball is for people in wheelchairs. You introduced standing volleyball for men, and soon there was a very successful national team.

Yes, we managed to establish a national league of 13 teams and hold annual competitions. Athletes from this league were chosen to represent Cambodia at the world cups. As early as 1999, this team won a silver medal at the ASEAN Para Games in Thailand. In 2001, Cambodia won the gold medal at the Asian Games in Busan in South Korea. In 2003, the team participated in the world cup in Greece and won fifth place. It won fourth place in Slovakia in 2005. In 2007, 2009 and 2011, Cambodia hosted the Standing Volleyball World Cup. The team's biggest success was when it came in second after Germany in 2011. The world cup was broadcast live on all Cambodian TV stations. Some 96% of the people watched. It was a wonderful opportunity to promote the abilities of Cambodian disabled persons. The athletes were given an audience by the prime minister after their success in 2011.

Were there any setbacks?





Luke Duggleby

Man Veasna, a Cambodian player, warms up at the 2007 Standing Volleyball World Cup in Cambodia.

Well, establishing the programme was not easy in a nation devastated by war, and the early years were hard. But over time, we really achieved great success. Sadly, there was one major setback. The International Paralympics Committee (IPC) has become biased towards the needs of the developed nations and is now catering for expensive sports such as rowing and equestrian sport. That's where the money is. The IPC is failing to take into account the needs of developing nations. It should encourage the development of cost-effective sports such as standing volleyball. The IPC made a tragic mistake in removing standing volleyball from the Paralympic games after Sydney 2000. As a result, the Cambodian programme was discontinued, and the focus shifted to wheelchair-based sports.

What new programmes did CNVLD establish, and what role does sports for disabled people play in Cambodia today?

CNVLD has established two more very successful programmes: wheelchair racing and wheelchair basketball. They are now integrated into in the government's physical rehabilitation centres in the provinces of Kampong Speu and Battambang. The wheelchair basketball programme includes a programme for women. Disability sports is now well recognised in all sectors of Cambodian society. Last year, the National Paralympic Committee of Cambodia sent a team of athletes to the ASEAN Para Games in Singapore with considerable success, including a number of gold and silver medals won in the wheelchair racing events.

How was the work of CNVLD financed?

We got support from a variety of donors over many years, including the Australian and German governments, who not only helped with money, but also provided expert coaches. They came to Cambodia on short term tenures to train coaches and athletes according to international standards. Other donors were NGOs such as the International Red Cross and Australian Red Cross as well as private donors and corporate sector donors. CNVLD is very proud that 80 % of all funds were used to directly assist the athletes. Only 20 % was allocated to administration. I worked on a volunteer-level salary myself all the time. Funding is still a significant challenge, however, and there is an enormous need to build proper sporting facilities in Cambodia. For example, swimming is one of the best rehabilitative sports for persons with a disability, but there are little to no public swimming pools in Cambodia.

What are your plans for the future?

After 20 years, I am rather exhausted but also very proud of the achievements. CNVLD is now being closed and its programmes will be handed over to the National Paralympic Committee and the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation. These organisations are capable of managing and developing the projects. They are being run by Cambodians for Cambodians – this is the greatest success of CNVLD. I will however stay in touch with CNVLD athletes and provide advice where and when possible. They are truly inspiring people to work with. I will remain in Cambodia and focus more on my musical roots through my work with the Phnom Penh based band "Krom" who has recently signed a contract with a major US label. ←



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Money matters

Cricket has become big business in India. What was once a game people played in their communities, is now a highly competitive and divisive spectator sport.

By Faiz Ullah

➔ Earlier this year, Pranav Dhanawade, a 15 year old from Kalyan in the state of Maharashtra broke more than a century old world record for most runs scored in a single inning. He amassed 1009 runs in an under-16 inter-school tournament game.

The teenager's feat was celebrated excessively by the country's mainstream media. But what was ignored was the overwhelmingly one-sided nature of the match. Given the constitution of the opposing side, Dhanawade's team was so strong that it did not need most of his runs. The other school's coach had decided to rely on much younger students because most of his U-16 players were absent. His two main bowlers were aged around 10. They had not held a full-sized ball in their tiny hands or bowled on a standard 22 yards pitch ever before.

Schools should encourage young students to embrace the values of fairness, respect, comradeship and love of sports. In this case, however, a youngster was unfortunately egged on to ruthlessly pursue personal ambitions. Dhanawade is too young to be at fault. The team administrators should have intervened and stopped his silly display of triumphalism.

That they did not do so is linked to the political-economic context. Cricket has been redefined again and again in India, and the process has weakened its ethical sinews and robbed it of communitarian values. The Gentleman's Game, as it was once known, is now big business and it has, under commercial pressure, become extremely competitive.

Attracting the masses

Today, a promising young cricketer may earn as much as the equivalent of an annual \$ 1.25 million in the Indian Premier League. With a few good years of performance, he could emerge as a star and advertising brand and may make \$ 20 million.

A distinctive product of the British Imperialism, cricket was always a very popular sport in India. In the past decades, however, a new international format of one-day games called Twenty20 was introduced. They are much shorter than the languid classic five-day test matches version, though they still take four times as

long as a football match. This innovation won over new constituencies which earlier had found cricket with its complex and arcane rules boring.

In 1983, India unexpectedly won the World Cup against the West Indies, which had a reputation for invincibility. The World Cup in 1987 was hosted jointly by India and Pakistan, boosting the popularity of the sport in the country even more. Henceforth, any public place, no matter what size, could become the ground for a cricket game, with improvised equipment and rules to suit the setting. Cricket became the sport kids play in the streets, on playgrounds and even in school hallways.

Back then, cricket was still much less of a spectator state than it is today. The state monopoly on broadcasting and the extremely limited access to TV sets meant that far fewer people could follow matches. Cricket was actually played much more than it was watched. That was before India formally initiated its economic liberalisation programme in 1991 and opened its doors to the world.

Liberalised media

The story of cricket after '91 is in many ways the story of India. India's domestic market is huge, and the growth-oriented economic policy gave an impetus to the private sector. It also brought in substantial foreign investments. The consumer market grew fast, and so did the middle class. TV, and specifically cricket, turned out to be a bridge between the two.

In the past, India had a single state-owned TV network. Now, an average urban household in India today has access to several hundred private channels in various languages and genres, including dedicated cricket channels. Cricket has become a sport people, especially the middle class, consume at home. The excessive focus on it, however, has been crowding out other sports, including hockey, which got India eight of its nine Olympic gold medals so far.

According to estimates, India is now contributing well over 75 % of the International Cricket Council's (ICC) global revenues. The ICC is the sport's governing body. The sums spent on sponsorships, broadcasting



Ritesh Shukla/NurPhoto/picture-alliance

and licensing rights in India compares to any other popular sports elsewhere in the world. In October 2014, Star India and Star Middle East, which belong to 21st Century Fox, Rupert Murdoch's US-based corporation, reportedly agreed to pay the ICC around \$ 2 billion for the broadcasting rights for its events from 2015 to 2023. A single tournament today may fetch the ICC sponsorship revenues worth \$ 60 million. Of such sums, 90 % is advertising by businesses interested in India's market.

The Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) has sometimes used its economic heft strategically – and mostly in a roughshod manner – to tilt the balance of power in its favour on the global cricket stage. For instance, it had referees removed, fought for the interests of its sponsors and resisted reforms in game administration, including anti-doping measures. On the other hand, it has been quite tolerant of corruption, both on and off field. The BCCI is run by powerful politicians. It has not fulfilled its mandate of building quality infrastructure and creating opportunities to support the game in a significant way.

Match-fixing scandals

Sports administration in India, by and large, has been a bastion of cronyism and corruption. To give but one example, the International Olympic Committee in 2014 suspended the Indian Olympic Association for 14 months. The reasons were corruption, government interference and a lack of guideline observance.

At the turn of the millennium, Indian cricket was rocked by several betting and match-fixing scandals. Several players were indicted, suspended, and banned for sharing game related information with bookmakers or agreeing to loose matches. For millions of fans,

this was a low point. In the end, the Supreme Court intervened and appointed a three-member committee headed by a former chief justice of India to make recommendations on cleaning up the system.

In the meantime, some upwardly mobile sports fans had begun to cultivate interest in several other sports, including football, tennis and motorsports. Greater access to global media helped. To catch up again, the BCCI began to experiment with more television-friendly formats. The Indian Premier League (IPL), which relies on one-day games called Twenty20, was established. It helped to revive the sport's fading popularity.

Cricket is no longer about participating or even playing oneself, but about consuming images of fierce competition, whether in public or private spaces. It has become a dividing practice, celebrating distance, difference and competition at the expense of contact, unity and cooperation.

Testing patriotism

Cricket is used as a crude political instrument to mark "others". Support for the Indian team is considered a sign of patriotism, for example. Recently, 67 Indian students were arrested for cheering the Pakistani team in India. Things are not better in Pakistan, where a man, claiming to be a fan of Indian cricketer Virat Kohli, faces 10 years in jail for hoisting the Indian flag. Being an Indian Muslim, I was myself often asked as a child by taunting classmates whether I was happy about Pakistan winning a match.

Currently, sporting ties between the bitter rivals India and Pakistan are suspended because India accuses Pakistan of supporting terrorist groups.

TV broadcasts have made a difference.

Similarly, the Indian state of Tamil Nadu has barred Sri Lankan sportsmen from playing on its territory in response to how ethnic Tamils are treated in the island nation. Political groups have petitioned the national government to not allow cricketers from the two neighbouring countries to play in the IPL. Given the shared love for the game in South Asia, it is ironic that the game has been used more often to polarise communities instead of strengthening relationships between them.

Cricket is the most popular sport in India. It has been thoroughly economised and politicised, but it still has the power to keep even a disenchanted fan in front of the TV set during a closely fought contest. Its future, however, rests on the ability of its administrators, votaries and fans to ease it from the unrelenting tyranny of the living room and bring it back into the galis and maidans (streets and parks). The only way to preserve the game is to keep playing it. ←

Hero worship

The devotion of Indian cricket fans to their icons is probably unparalleled. Not all forms of hero worship are healthy however.

In mid-2014, the British newspaper The Guardian wrote: “Hell hath no fury like a Sachin Tendulkar fan scorned”. Tendulkar is undeniably one of the all time greatest exponents of the cricket. He played almost 700 international matches and was captain of the Indian team for a long time. Nonetheless, he is probably not a household name to anyone unfamiliar with this sport. Indian fans were furious, however, when Tennis player Maria Sharapova claimed she did not know who he is. They created the hashtag #WholsMariaSharapova, which trended so strongly on Twitter worldwide that The Guardian decided to report the matter.

In India, of course, Tendulkar enjoys god-like status. Indeed, a temple has been devoted to him in the northern state of Bihar. He enjoys a bit of earthly power too since he was appointed to the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian Parliament, by the president. The head of state nominates twelve members of this chamber for six-year terms.

Tendulkar has also been given the honorary title of group captain by the Indian Air Force. He regularly takes part in official military functions – and so does MS Dhoni, his one-time teammate and current captain of the Indian cricket team. Dhoni is an honorary lieutenant

colonel in the Indian Territorial Army.

Not all are happy about cricket heroes being celebrated that way. Some Indian states are suffering political violence and have become heavily militarised. It might be worth considering why

football, instead of cricket, is the most popular sport in the conflict-ridden north-eastern states. The army enjoys sweeping powers and immunity there, but it has routinely found itself under scrutiny for human-rights abuses. Nationalistic imagery is not popular in the regions concerned.



picture-alliance/dpa

*Celebrities meet:
Britain's Prince
William and his wife
Catherine Duchess of
Cambridge with Sachin
Tendulkar in Mumbai
in April 2016.*



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“Basic principles of compliance”

Fair play and sports are supposed to go hand in hand. Doping, manipulation and corruption often make headlines nonetheless. As Sylvia Schenk from Transparency International Germany told Hans Dembowski in an interview, coordinated action is needed to improve matters.

Interview with Sylvia Schenk

Are all sports tainted by corruption?

Yes, they are. No sphere of life is totally free of corruption, and that applies to sports too.

Why has corruption in sports become such a big issue?

It's because sport is very competitive. People want to succeed by any means, and some resort to doping or manipulation. As the internet emerged, we saw games being fixed to cheat in betting, and that is obviously not acceptable either. If you consider management, moreover, a lot of power, influence and public attention is at stake. Even the president of a third league football club is a respected man in his town. And it goes on, all the way up to assigning hosts for major events like the Olympic Games and

the FIFA World Cup. Competition is tremendously fierce. It is about a lot of money and reputation. Accordingly, the risk of corruption rises. Adding to the problems, corruption still pervades the politics and economies of many countries.

Are you suggesting, for example, that there is more corruption in Italian football than in German football?

Yes, though Germany has seen scandals too. There was the case of Robert Hoyzer, a referee in the second tier Bundesliga, or the case of striker René Schnitzler. Many more cases have come to light in Italy's Serie A and B however. Games were manipulated – either for sporting reasons like avoiding relegations, or for betting reasons.

Sepp Blatter in 2012, when he was still FIFA president.





“Sports are very competitive”: football game in a Brazilian favela.

I’m uncomfortable with this kind of comparison, because we Germans like to think that other countries have huge corruption issues and that things are clean in our country, but that is obviously not accurate.

Yes, Germans must be watchful too. And that is why it is a good thing that dubious payments surrounding the 2006 World Cup are now being looked into.

Uli Hoeness, a football manager who, as a player in the 1970s, used to be part of the national team, was sentenced for tax fraud, but his case doesn’t relate directly to the sport. What can be done against corruption in sports? After all, it is hard to imagine football without foul play.

Thanks for the good cue. There are actually clear rules in football concerning fouls, plus a system to monitor and enforce the rules. The referee punishes

the violation of rules, and if he does not do that consistently right from the start of a match, he will be unable to control it. It is the same with corruption actually. We need rules that can be monitored and enforced, with sanctions for those who break them. These are the basic principles of compliance – and they are needed everywhere, not just on the pitch but as well in business and politics.

So who is the referee off the pitch?

You need a complete compliance system, with clear rules and procedures, directives and sanctions. Criminal law does not suffice. Integrity is more than not committing a crime. We need rules on what kind of gifts and invitations are appropriate, how one must behave in situations of conflicts of interest and on disclosure. And there are different risks. In a private-sector company, a secretary who only writes letters will warrant less monitoring than a pur-

chasing manager who deals with many suppliers. In sports, doping might occur in figure skating, but the risk of doping is probably much higher in sports where you need above all power or endurance, like cycling or weight lifting, because in these disciplines the impact of doping on an athlete's performance is much higher. Doping also becomes more likely in the preparation for an important competition – or after a period of rest due to an injury. These specific risk situations must be taken into account.

Isn't it more important to fight corruption in other spheres of society than sports?

Of course, one might say that other areas matter more than sports, but since people love sports, flawed behaviour gets noticed by a huge public. This kind of attention helps us to spread our message, especially as sport is supposed to be based on fair play. If people accept the idea that corruption occurs even in sport, is normal, and nothing can be done about it, then we might just as well stop fighting corruption altogether. Successes in the fight against corruption in sports send signals. On the other hand, we must not promise too much. It won't be possible to clean up sports completely.

Why not?

Because no sphere of life is free of corruption, and because sport is a global undertaking. Associations like the International Federation of Football Associations (FIFA) or the World Swimming Association have members in up to 200 countries. Anyone who is familiar with Transparency's Corruption Perception Index will know that many of those countries are quite corrupt. Who leads the athletics association there? Probably not one of the few people with integrity, who you fortunately can find in all countries. The top of the national sport federation will usually be reached by officials, however, who know how to prevail in their societies, and then they will play a role in the world association too. It is like in the UN context, where every country is represented, no matter what kind of government it has.

Are you saying that the global sports associations are corrupt because of their members from the countries listed in the lower half of Transparency's list?

Well, widespread corruption raises the risk. We must bear in mind, however, that corruption always has two sides, the givers and the takers. In the FIFA scandal, the FBI investigations with spectacular arrests in the USA were started because US-based companies had bribed Latin American sport officials for TV rights. By the way, that was not directly linked to FIFA business, but the investigations put pressure on FIFA to come clean and ultimately led to the downfall of Blatter. Joseph Blatter, the former FIFA president, is not from Asia, he is from Switzerland, and Michel Platini, who was expected to become his successor, is not from Africa, but from France. Both have been suspended from FIFA because of dubious payments.

Corruption is not limited to specific countries or continents.

Gianni Infantino, the current FIFA president, was mentioned in connection with the Panama papers. Does that mean that things have not changed since Blatter?

One must be careful with accusations of that kind. According to what I have read, there is nothing in the Panama papers that incriminates him. He was the head of the law department of UEFA, the European Football Association, and thus responsible to oversee all contracts. Some contracts were worth hundreds of millions of euros. People who handle that kind of sums do not normally bother about contracts worth 100 000 Euro. That is not their job. Besides, it is pretty obvious that a European association shouldn't be handling TV rights in a far-away country like Ecuador itself. They need agents who know the place. In this case, a tender or auction was held according to standard procedures. The highest bid won. Infantino cannot be blamed in this context. To fight corruption, we need clear rules and an enforcement system. It is counterproductive to display outrage just because of a suspicion without having looked into the details.

Corruption is a constant issue in international development affairs. Do sports have a bearing in this context?

Well, one should monitor all spheres of life, including funding for sport programmes or sporting events. One must make sure that funds are used correctly, and not for instance by some sports association official's spouse on a shopping spree.

Assigning host cities for major sports events appears to be especially problematic. Wouldn't it be smarter to auction the Olympic Games or the World Cup? Then the country that pays most would stage the event, and no bribes would be paid.

Yes, that would be feasible, but there are good reasons why that approach hasn't been taken. These events are not designed for the richest countries. They are meant to be shared fairly among continents and countries. They are supposed to generate interest in sports and support for sports. When it was decided in 2007 and 2009 that Brazil would host the World Cup and the Olympics, that was generally welcomed, both at the international level and in the country itself. Back then, Brazil's economy was booming. Moreover, it was plainly South America's turn. Mexico had previously hosted Olympic Games, but no South American country ever had. Today, Brazil is in economic crisis, and the situation has changed. We should bear in mind, however, that several things were done to improve transparency. Some Brazilian regulations would make German business leaders squirm. Day-to-day corruption is still alive in Brazil, and corruption in politics is a big issue, however, and that is why the current situation has become so explosive. ←



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Between hope and despair

First the Football World Cup in 2014 and now the Olympic Games this year: major sports events draw attention to Brazil and Rio de Janeiro. While the country is politically and economically torn, the people of Rio want substantial progress.

By Julia Jaroschewski

➔ Deodoro is a poor neighbourhood in the west of Rio. It did not have much to interest the world or the media in the past. Most of the news coverage it got related to shootings and muggings or to Bangu, one of Rio's biggest prisons.

In August 2016, a different kind of shooting will make positive headlines here. Deodoro is one of the four venues chosen for the 2016 Summer Olympics. Apart from the marksmanship contests, it will host events in ten other disciplines. As far as completion is concerned, work on the Deodoro facilities is making better headway than at Olympic Village in Barra. This is partly because 60 % of the buildings already existed when Rio bid for the 2016 Games.

The city needs success stories, because the country is in a deep crisis. Brazil's oceanside metropolis is the first South American city ever to host the Olympics. Its leaders planned to do a lot to meet high expectations placed. Among other things, the authorities promised to

- build an Olympic Village that will later be converted into a residential area,
- completely redevelop the port area,
- give poor neighbourhoods a facelift and
- clean up Guanabara Bay, on which Rio is situated.

The list of projects amounted to a virtually complete renewal of the city. Back in 2014, Mayor Eduardo Paes made it clear that the idea was not just to stage a sporting event but rather to focus on economic and social development: "For Rio, the Olympic Games are a chance to implement projects within a predefined time frame. They are not just an international sporting occasion."

Even if the city at the foot of Sugarloaf Mountain is a popular tourist destination, the economic heart of the country beats 450 kilometres farther west in São Paulo. Rio desperately needs investments. But Brazilians are still reeling from the €8.5 billion bill run up for the FIFA World Cup. The most expensive World Cup ever, it prompted angry demonstrations on

Brazil's streets. Now the Olympic Games might break all records as well, with costs currently running up to € 8.7 billion.

Powder keg

Politically, economically and socially, Rio is a divided city. Over a thousand favelas are growing within the city limits, close to prosperous gated communities. Rio was always a powder keg of social inequality, and it seems to be exploding in 2016 because the country is in deep recession. Inflation is at a record level, companies are going bust, the new middle class is wondering what is left of the advancement it hoped for. Politically, the country is descending into chaos (see box, page 27).

In the run-up to the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, everything was supposed to get better in the slums. Police were stationed in favelas to raise the quality of life for the marginalised communities. Today, eight years after the first unit was established, many consider the police pacification project (UPP) a failure.

It fast became clear that pacification largely served to improve security for foreign visitors. Even today, fewer than 260 of the thousand-plus favelas have a permanent police presence – and that presence extends only to places that might be frequented by tourists and foreign visitors: access roads, stadiums and beaches.

"The city showed concern for the safety of tourists," says Raull Santiago, an activist and resident of the favela Complexo do Alemão. "For a long time, our demands were ignored. The UPP creates new problems, more and more innocent people are dying in shootouts." The police have become a threat, he argues, instead of guaranteeing the security of favela residents. Every month, people die in the growing number of clashes between police and drug gangs. The police officers deployed are often young,



poorly trained and unable to cope with the situation.

The security services lack staff and equipment. That is partly due to the bankruptcy of former business wunderkind Eike Batista. That Brazil's richest entrepreneur stumbled in 2013 had dire consequences for the UPP because Batista promised to invest 20 million reais (the equivalent of about € 5 million) a year in the police force. After he was declared bankrupt, financing the security scheme for mega-events became a challenge. The recession is now compounding problems only months before the Olympic Games are due to start.

In mid-March, José Beltrame, Rio's senator for internal security, announced that security manning levels would have to be reduced for the sporting

event. Accordingly, the UPP that was approved two years ago for the Maré favela community will not be set up this year. There is no money for extra police officers and overtime. According to Beltrame, two billion reais have been shaved off the projected 11.6 billion reais budget for Rio's security during the Olympics. Assaults, however, have increased by 26 % since last year, and murders are up by 23 %.

The extension of the metro line may also not be completed before the games. It will connect Rio's poorer north with the genteel South Zone.

The two major goals of providing Rio with an extensive sewerage system by 2016 and cleaning up Guanabara Bay remain utopian. Industrial waste, garbage and unfiltered sewage from Rio and neighbouring towns flow into the bay. In early 2016, Rio's Gov-

Descent into chaos

Once the foremost power in South America, Brazil now seems to be on the brink of collapse. President Dilma Rousseff is fighting to stay in office. Impeachment proceedings have begun.

Formerly on the board of directors of the semi-public energy giant Petrobras, Rousseff is at the heart of a massive corruption scandal, though she is not accused of having taken money herself. Politicians of all parties, however, have benefitted from kickbacks for contracts. New inconsistencies emerge almost daily – the scandals show no sign of stopping.

In the 2014 presidential elections, Rousseff was returned to office by a thin majority. Since then, all hell has broken loose on Brazil's streets. In 2013, ahead of the Confederations Cup, all sections of the people took to the streets to protest about failed investments and corruption. Today, however, they are divided into two big camps: one for and one against the government.

During weekly demonstrations, critics of the government shout "Dilma out, Lula behind bars!" For even former President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva is part of the corruption scandal. To the annoyance of opponents, Rousseff wanted to save her mentor Lula from investigations in spring 2016 by making him a cabinet minister and thus granting him immunity.

In March alone, more than 3 million people took part in protest marches through Rio

and another 300 Brazilian towns and cities, calling for the overthrow of the president and her Workers Party's resignation from government.

In Rio's favelas, however, most people are behind the president. Lula and Rousseff introduced social programmes that really improved the lives of disadvantaged people. "Fome Zero", "Bolsa Familia" and "Minha Casa, Minha Vida" provided social housing and food and helped lift many Brazilians out of absolute poverty. Lula set the bar high for himself: "If every Brazilian can eat three times a day when I leave office, I will have accomplished my mission in life." That won him kudos.

But in the current crisis, the poor fear cuts that could roll back what they have gained.

Even now, health centres in Rio face closure, lacking doctors and equipment. Teachers are on strike because conditions in state schools are unacceptable and public sector workers have not yet received their pay this spring because

Rio is in financial difficulties. Police officers who are not paid on time, moreover, are susceptible to bribery, which profits the drug gangs in the favelas.

Brazilians are disappointed by their government.



Jaroschewski



picture-alliance/cipa

Dilma Rousseff with the Olympic flag.

ernor Luiz Fernando Pezão said: “It is regrettable that we have not achieved the target of an 80% clean-up.” He then tried to soften frustrations: “But conditions will be adequate for water sports.” Rio’s yachtsmen are still fighting their way through dirt and rubbish. And at Rodrigo de Freitas Lagoon in the south of the city, where the rowers will compete, the water quality is atrocious.

Polluted water is linked to another grievance: the Zika virus is rampant in Rio, transmitted by mosquitoes found near standing water. The dilapidated sanitary facilities and, in favelas, the lack of sewerage systems, are problems that the local government has failed to address despite protests staged in the communities concerned.

Real improvements

Brazilians had high expectations that hosting the mega sporting events would raise living standards for the people of Rio. And indeed, a number of projects will be completed on time, bringing improvements for the population. The new Museum of the Future attracts visitors from all over the city to a formerly run-down neighbourhood. A light rail transit system will run through downtown Rio, bypassing the permanent road congestion that holds up daily bus services. A new bus rapid transit (BRT) system is speeding up long-distance services.

Libraries, sports centres and nursery schools have been set up in the favelas, providing services that the communities desperately need. Numerous projects have made it possible for young residents, in particular, to gain better access to education – even university studies are now within reach for some poor.

Young favela residents previously did not have opportunities as today. Free English courses and sports programmes have been made available even on the outskirts of the city. New support funds have invested in local projects and non-governmental organisations.

Raull Santiago has co-founded “Papo Reto” (straight talk): residents get together with local opinion leaders and discuss problems such as the increase in police violence. In Complexo da Maré, there is a longboard group and photo exhibitions. In Cidade de Deus, there are theatre groups and contact points for musicians.

In recent years, moreover, favela residents have discovered that they have a voice. They no longer put up with prejudice and refuse to be discriminated against just because they come from the slums. On the contrary, they celebrate favela culture with pride. “What we experience here day after day would be unbearable for a South Zone resident,” writes Mariluce from Complexo do Alemão on Facebook. Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp are helping youngsters mobilise and discover that they no longer need the established media to be heard.

“New media are enabling us to show that exciting things are going on in the favelas, that there are creative people, workers and students here – not just criminals,” says Daiene Mendes, who is involved in cultural projects and reports for the citizens medium Voz der Comunidade. With smartphones and internet, favela reporters and residents also document human-rights violations, such as excessive use of force by police. The mega-events have not fulfilled the hopes of fundamental change and peace in the favelas, but they have had a positive impact on how the city perceives itself. ←

Untangling mental knots

Physical exercise helps to liberate the soul, so it does more than improve physical fitness. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), a faith-based organisation is running a sports and exercise programme to help traumatised women and girls to regain self-confidence as well as control of their body.

By **Susanne Bischoff**

➔ Thirteen women and men stand shoulder to shoulder in a circle. They raise their arms and close their eyes. Each hand must find the hand of someone else in the circle. It takes a while. There is lots of waving, lots of laughing.

Finally, the instructor gives the signal to open eyes. A strange tangle of arms has been created – and it must now be undone without anyone letting go. The group determinedly tackles one part of the knot after another. Closely entwined, the men and women cooperate, discussing approaches, trying ideas, climb-

ing over one another. Every member of the group matters. Solutions can only be found in teamwork.

Without it needing to be said, everyone respects the others' physical limits. Sometimes an attempt to untangle bodies fails because the openings between arms are too small. In those cases, the group has to start anew.

In the end, it works out: the bodies are untangled. The men and women find themselves holding hands in a big circle. They cheer, jump for joy and start to sing. Then the game starts all over again. It is part of

Finding balance together: YWCA-DRC leader Bibiche Kankolongo (centre) takes part in exercises herself.



Bischoff

an eight-week course called “Sport and Movement after Trauma”. It is held at the Young Women’s Christian Association of the DR Congo (YWCA-DRC). The YWCA-DRC is a non-governmental organisation with an office in Kinshasa with 17 staff members and small offices run by volunteers in other regions. The association has around 500 members.

“YWCA-DRC focuses on the development of girls, women and communities in the broadest sense,” says general secretary Bibiche Kankolongo. “Sport takes us into a new realm that I believe is important, because wellbeing depends on a whole range of physical factors,” she adds. YWCA-DRC seeks to offer girls, women and men a way to gain control over their body and boost their self-esteem, spirit and soul at the same time. The guiding principle is that “what counts is the personal sense of wellbeing.”

Since 2013, YWCA-DRC has applied this maxim as a partner organisation of Bread for the World – Protestant Development Service in a project supported by Germany’s Civil Peace Service (CPS) in the DR Congo. A German expert is seconded to the project.



Difficulties in daily life

In the crisis-haunted DR Congo – a country nearly seven times the size of Germany – violence is a daily experience. In the Great Lakes region in the country’s east, women, girls and even boys frequently become victims of mass rape by so-called rebel groups. Corruption, exploitation, traumatising, fatigue, the fight for minimal democratic rights and the lack of adequate health care mark the lives of the majority of the people. That is so even in Kinshasa, the capital city.

The people are exhausted by the adversities of daily life, which range from transport problems and torrential downpours to disease and fear of physical violence or abuse by government institutions. Money is always short, whether for water, medical treatment, electricity, telephone subscriptions or wages.

Physical exercise or sports can provide release, give a person structure, encourage and strengthen

them. It can also be oppressive, however. Sports and physical activity can open up behavioural alternatives or reinforce existing roles. This is true everywhere, but especially so in a country like the DR Congo. As all experience of life is linked to the body, there is a risk of negative experiences being exacerbated, dissociating people from themselves and causing re-traumatisation in the worst cases. Sensitive healing is possible too, however.

Far too often, sports – whether in Europe, the DR Congo or elsewhere – are designed to serve pedagogical, political and religious purposes. Rules are imposed on the body until the conscious mind is persuaded that they seem right and it no longer raises questions. For example, this is evident even 55 years after independence from Belgian colonial rule in Congolese schools, where youngsters are still drilled in an authoritarian style reminiscent of a Prussian sense of discipline. Boys, however, are generally allowed to romp around and play more freely than girls.

Another approach to exercise makes more sense – one that aims to promote emancipation and change, especially in gender roles. This approach can draw upon many national traditions, including music and dance, and it has given both deep joy and strength to many women and men in the DR Congo.

Bibiche Kankolongo puts it like this: “Sport is a great instrument for peace that we can use to reconcile communities and individuals locked in conflict.” She believes that shared sports experience overcomes barriers and enmities. She sees a connection between sports and peace. In order to engage in sports, she says, we need both external and inner peace.

Initial problems

The YWCA-DRC project had teething troubles. After three months, discontinuing it was discussed. There were problems concerning premises and materials as well as cultural and age-related differences in the team. But the initiators endured. They could not find affordable premises, so they opted for a small, uncomfortable room at the YWCA-DRC, where they ran exer-

Sport in peace work

Any peacebuilding that aims to emancipate persons and redefine gender roles requires a clear mind. People need to be prepared and encouraged to question their inner feelings and change attitudes. Doing so liberates them from a sense of helplessness.

In a fragmented world marked by fear,

peacebuilding requires practice and training. Asian martial arts such as Qigong, Tai-Chi or Aikido are most useful in this context. They permit the persistent, fear-free repetition of exercise that is needed to foster the kind of personal growth that leads to the awareness of painful patterns and habits and resolve them in new patterns of action and thought.

Peacebuilding also requires protection of individuals by the community as well as security in it. There is a chance of linking physical sensations and emotions to conscious thought in groups guided in a competent manner. The result can be behavioural change in the sense of stronger personal coordination and self-confidence.



Bischoff

Massage for everyone after back training.

cise sessions with groups of seven to twelve women. The emphasis was on rhythm, coordination and training one's dorsal muscles.

However, the response of some women was frustrating. They said things like: "I'm tired after work" or "I'm thirsty and hungry." Ideas for improvements emerged over the weeks. For instance, more water was made available. Moreover, it proved to be better to start sessions seated or lying down rather than standing upright. Chairs actually have a symbolic relevance: they signal security and privacy, and that is appreciated by women who have suffered severe traumas. The chairs have thus become a therapeutic aid. Women were given the liberty to stand up and choose where they wanted to sit.

In the meantime, a lot has been achieved – though it still seems like a drop in the ocean. In 2013, a swimming group was set up. It has been attracting new participants ever since. There were two eight-week training groups on "Sport and Movement for Post-Traumatic Stabilisation", and three seminars on *Wen-Do*, an empowering form of self-defence for women. More courses are planned in Kinshasa and in partner projects south of the capital this year. A back exercise group open to everyone meets regularly in a nice room at the *Maison de France*, which belongs to the *Institut Français*, and there is a new group for "Sports for Women after Breast Cancer". Women enjoy exercising at the YWCA, moreover, using various kinds of balls, mats and a mini-trampoline during breaks.

Low cost, big impact

Does sport really help to build peace? Abuse and corruption scandals, doping and right-wing hooliganism seem to suggest otherwise. But Bibiche Kankolongo and her fellow campaigners know they have a positive impact: "Participants' self-respect and self-confidence are growing," she says. She also notes a general improvement in stamina and physical fitness. Some participants report a measure of relief from pain and illness. "Team spirit and personal relationships have grown," Kankolongo adds. "Exercise is experienced as a moment of happiness and stress-relief."

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon is convinced of sports' impact on development. In April 2014, he told a conference on *Celebrating Sport for Development and Peace* in New York: "Sport helps reduce stigmatisation and promote the integration of marginalised minorities and people with disabilities." A comparatively small investment can have a dramatic effect. Ban Ki-moon concludes: "Sport is a low-cost, high-impact tool."

YWCA-DRC staff are similarly convinced that their work is meaningful. They sense moments of peace in participants, and that is more than just the temporary absence of the daily fight for survival. During exercise and movement, the people radiate an inner strength and there is hope in their eyes. Sport and movement give momentary strength and serve to untangle the psychological knots caused by trauma. ←



Susanne Bischoff is a sports and movement therapist specialising in psychological issues. Since July 2013, she has been working with the Young Women's Christian Association of the DR Congo as a Civil Peace Service expert deployed by a non-governmental Protestant German agency. The project in the DR Congo is supported, among others, by Werder Bremen, the Bundesliga football club.
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Assertive girls

Boxing is more than just a sport, especially when young women compete in the ring. Whether in Berlin's multicultural Kreuzberg neighbourhood or in African townships, boxing girls gain self-confidence – and bring about change in society.

By Theresa Krinninger

➔ Ten year-old Fate is standing in front of a blue corrugated sheet in a small backyard in Kariobangi, a Nairobi slum. "I am proud to be a boxer, because I know what I want to kick out of the world," she says in a video on Youtube. HIV/AIDS, poverty, crime and rape are among the issues she wants to thrash.

"Boxgirls" is the name of a project that was started by social scientist Heather Cameron in Berlin in 2005. Born and educated in Canada, the scholar teaches sports- and integration pedagogy at Berlin's Free University. She later started the Camp Group, which she calls a "think and do tank" in Berlin. The Boxgirls project is now part of the Camp Group.

Cameron wants to support and motivate women and girls to become more independent, more active and better able to make their voices heard, and boxing is a means to achieve those goals. One of the mottos is: "Strong girls bring about social change." Boxgirls projects have been also started in Kenya and South Africa.

The Camp Group offers other educational programmes for children and youths, but boxing is a core issue. "It does not only strengthen your body, it changes your personality too," says Cameron at her Kreuzberg office. She looks determined, even combative. "I decided to box, because it is a beautiful and challenging sport."

Cameron has been boxing for many years now, and she coaches girls on a voluntary basis. Being a boxer has shaped her own personality. "You are alone in the ring, you have to control your fear, your arrogance, really all your emotions, to become an effective boxer," she says.

More self-respect

The sport does more than deliver gratification through competitive success and physical strength; it makes girls understand their own body. For young women, it is especially important to have a positive feeling about their bodies, Cameron argues, and by being active as an athlete, they understand that they have control over their bodies: "They get a better sense of self-respect."

Such boosts are necessary, no doubt. All over the world, women are exposed to gender-based violence. In 2013, the World Health Organization (WHO) first conducted systematic global research on violence against women. The results were shocking. One out of three women worldwide had experienced physical or sexual violence at least once. The study also showed that gender-related violence occurs in all countries, cultures and segments of society. In a recent update, the WHO stated that things have not improved.

Germany is affected too, as Cameron points out. Though violence against women is much more explicit in Kenya and South Africa, she says, girls in Germany have to cope with patriarchal power relations at home or in their schools. Many of the girls she works with grow up in socially and economically disadvantaged families, and many have foreign roots. Some 50 % of Boxgirls Berlin have a family history of migration.

But do martial arts really help to stem violence? Yes, boxing does so, say Boxgirls supporters. In amateur boxing, the goal is not to knock out counterparts, but to beat them in technical skill. To win, a girl must read her opponent, anticipate her movements and develop the right strategy. Boxing is more about attitude than punches.

Cameron is convinced that boxing helps young women to develop more self-confidence and self-respect. That makes them "able to oppose domestic or sexualised violence", she says. There is scientific proof of her argument. In the USA, many studies have shown that teenage girls who are active members of sports clubs are less likely to become pregnant or experience sexual violence in their relationships.

Breaking a taboo

According to Cameron, girls who box are likely to achieve more than others. "First of all, they have fun doing the punches." That sense of fun contributes to building personalities. The girls become aware of having an impact on the world, rather than only feeling affected by others. Boxing empowers girls to take their fate into their own hands and to strive for goals they set themselves.



Boxgirls

It also matters, as Cameron says, that “women who box still break with many taboos.” After all, boxing is considered manly and brutal. It is about punches and lots of body contact. The sports scholar says that successful female boxers show that women can compete in a male-dominated sphere, and that applies to other spheres as well.

One example is Zeina Nassar, Berlin’s 17 year-old box champion. A practicing Muslim, she fights wearing a headscarf. Her parents did not approve of her choice of sport initially, but she remained firm about her passion. Today she is the star of Boxgirls Berlin and the poster child of the project’s successful integration efforts.

Just like Zeina, many African girls would like to become more independent – for instance in Nairobi slums, where life is tough. The Boxgirls project in Kenya has reached out to more than 600 girls and young women in six different Nairobi neighbourhoods. The initiative was started in 2007. It has since become fully independent and is run by local coaches. They cooperate with primary schools and meet the girls there once a week for practice.

Boxgirls South Africa has recently added further activities. In the township of Khayelitsha, 15 primary schools now offer what they call “afterschool clubs”. The girls can go there and do their homework under supervision. But the afterschool clubs serve another function too. Being together allows the girls to share their thoughts and feelings about problems they face at home and in their neighbourhoods. The supervisors become role models who help the girls to master difficult situations. Moreover, team work teaches the girls how to best deal with conflicts and to de-escalate encounters that might turn violent.

The Berlin-based Camp Group serves as an adviser to all Boxgirls projects. The long-term approach is to support projects in a way that allows them to become self-sufficient. Boxgirls Kenya and Berlin have already

become independent partners within the international Boxgirls network.

Good evaluation is crucial

Success is tangible, but it remains difficult to prove the projects’ precise impact empirically. “We don’t only want to tell nice stories of happy kids,” Cameron says. Her team is cooperating with universities on designing good methods for measuring the social impact of Boxgirls.

So far, they found a promising approach for the afterschool clubs in Cape Town. Research fellows from the German Sports University Cologne and the University of the Western Cape assess the girls’ social and communicative skills before and after participating in the project. To do so properly, they defined four evaluation phases. They also consider the girls’ school performance in mathematics and English, and they consult the parents and supervisors. The results from a first baseline study are promising.

But even without hard data, Boxgirls looks convincing. The sports committee of the German Bundestag picked Boxgirls as a model project in 2005, the UN Year of Sport and Physical Education. Four years later, the initiative won the German Federal Chancellor’s special prize in the contest Startsocial.

Heather Cameron herself was chosen as Germany’s professor of the year in 2010. She was the first foreign scholar to get this prize. She didn’t win only because of her theoretical work. “I am not that interested in writing articles for the library,” she says. Her core concern is “to work with the girls on the ground.”

Assertive girls from South Africa, who learn to fight for an independent and self-determined life.



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Links

Boxgirls International:
<http://www.boxgirls.org/>

Camp Group:
<http://www.respect.org/home/>

“Africa’s youth must be employed in Africa”

Akinwumi Adesina took office as president of the multilateral African Development Bank (AfDB) last summer. In an interview, he told D+C/E+C about his aspirations.

Interview with Akinwumi Adesina

Your predecessor Donald Kaberuka did a lot to make the AfDB more professional and effective. How do you assess its current performance and what are the most important institutional challenges you must rise to?

Indeed, Dr Kaberuka’s tenure was commendable. His accomplishments include the scaling-up of the Bank’s private sector operations, from \$ 200 million to \$ 2 billion per annum, the maintenance of the Bank’s triple AAA credit rating even in the midst of the global financial crisis and the establishment of the Africa50 investment platform for infrastructure development financing in Africa. My administration is poised to build on these achievements. At my inauguration, I spelled out a five-point vision – the High 5s:

- Light up and power Africa,
- feed Africa,
- integrate Africa,
- industrialise Africa and
- improve the quality of

life for African people.

The AfDB is only one of several players, and not even the biggest one, in the five fields you highlight. Can it really make a difference?

Africa’s current structural challenges are so multifaceted and deep-rooted that they cannot be addressed by just one institution. As a leading financial institution in Africa, the AfDB certainly has the responsibility to pave the way and catalyse financing and support from other development partners. For greater impact, we need to build strong partnerships, not only within the continent but also globally. And in each of our five priority areas, the Bank has already made significant footprints. At the Paris climate summit in December, for example, we launched

the ambitious African Renewable Energy Initiative (AREI) which seeks to generate 300 gigawatts (GW) of electricity for the continent by 2030. We are rising to key challenges. Africa cannot just remain in the dark, 137 years after the light bulb was invented.

Many young people from Africa are taking the dangerous route through the Sahara and across the Mediterranean Sea in the hope of better living prospects in Europe. How do you address this issue?

This migrant problem is essentially an African problem, and African governments and institutions like the AfDB must take bold steps to contain it. No effort must be spared. The international community can play its part, but Africa must take the lead. The industrialisation of Africa will be critical to unleash African entrepreneurship, build skills and create opportunities. There is no silver bullet, but industrialisation is certainly a step towards addressing Africa’s migration problem. We’ll have to ensure that our young people are prepared for the jobs that Africa’s industrialisation will create. Rather than migrating to Europe at great risk, Africa’s youth must be employed in Africa and rewarded by African industries. We are developing an initiative on Jobs for Youth in Africa jointly with the African Union and the UN Economic Commission for Africa. It will be a game changer, especially in the sense of creating rural jobs for young people and women. On the other hand, migration can be useful in the sense of restoring the global labour market equilibrium. Migrants, especially those with skills, must not be frowned upon.

So far, however, African economies still tend to be commodity exporters.

What can – and should – the AfDB do to drive diversification?

Yes, the overwhelming majority of African countries still rely on raw materials, with limited diversification of their productive structures. For example, commodity exports account for an average of about 60 % of merchandise exports in 41 commodity-dependent countries in Africa. This has led to increased vulnerability to external shocks, chief among them the recent decline in commodity prices, which has sharply reduced fiscal revenues and led to rapid depreciation of exchange rates in most countries. To increase their resilience and achieve sustained and long-term economic growth, African countries need to promote economic diversification. Last year, the Bank approved loans and grants amounting to \$ 6.33 billion in 2015 to support economic diversification.

African economies also tend to be geared to exporting to Europe, Asia and North America, but do not have much exchange with their neighbouring countries. How does this issue figure on your agenda?

Regional integration is among the Bank’s top priorities. The focus is on creating larger, more attractive markets, and supporting intra-African trade to foster the continent’s development. Indeed, recent estimates show that intraregional trade accounts for only 12 % of Africa’s total exports, compared to 52 % for Asia and 26 % for Latin America. Regional integration can help African countries exploit economies of scale, improve economic efficiency and reduce the high costs of doing business on the continent. In 2015 alone, the Bank’s support for regional integration amounted to \$ 2.1 billion, a 33.3 % increase on 2014. AfDB-supported projects included the Kenya-Tanzania Power Interconnection Project, the Tanzania Transport Sector Support Program and the Chinsali-Nakonde Road Rehabilitation Project in Zambia.

International Financial Institutions, including the World Bank, the Asian



Africa's future depends on jobs for the young generation: street vendor in Nairobi.

Development Bank or the International Monetary Fund, are often criticised for being too donor-driven, with developing countries having too little say. How does the AfDB ensure African ownership?

Following the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action, the Bank has continuously strived to ensure and uphold African ownership. The Bank encourages governments of regional member countries not only to take a lead role in their policy processes, but also to engage more with their parliaments and citizens in articulating those policies. The Bank maintains very close ties with its 54 African member countries, which are the real owners, through policy dialogue, advisory services, regular project supervision and field offices. More than two-thirds of the shareholders are African, only 26 member countries are not African. The agreement establishing the African Development Bank requires that the president, who is also the chairman of the Board of Directors, is an African.

Donor governments want African countries to use more of their own resources for development. What is your take?

Africa certainly has untapped potential to generate the resources needed for its structural transformation. Or course, we

don't eat potential resources; we have to turn them into actual resources. The AfDB will encourage African leaders to think differently. We need to leverage private capital markets, increase resource and tax mobilisation, unlock the potential of the agriculture and help peasants to move on from subsistence to commercial farming. We must invest in young people's skills and entrepreneurship. In other words, we must use natural wealth to create physical and financial wealth.

A precondition for economic development is stable statehood. How does the AfDB contribute to strengthening statehood and good governance?

Poor governance and lack of public accountability have always been among the main causes hindering Africa's structural transformation. Corruption is one of the most blatant manifestations of bad governance, costing Africa about \$ 150 billion per annum. This haemorrhaging of scarce resources is depriving Africans of decent livelihoods. Revenues needed for development are lost. AfDB takes the issue of governance and accountability very seriously, particularly in fragile states, not only because they are home to more than 200 million Africans but also because their instability might reverberate to neighbouring countries. The bank is fully engaged to enhance transparency

in resource use and management, governance in the public sector, the rule of law and building institutional capacities and frameworks for investment.

You are Nigeria's former minister of agriculture and a development economist. Your predecessors tended to be former finance ministers and central bankers. Is your outlook different?

Well, the Bank's mission is not simply to finance projects and programmes, we must broaden and deepen the process of Africa's transformation mainly by ensuring that growth is shared and not isolated, for all African citizens and countries, not just for some. Africa must take a broad and holistic approach to tackling its problems. Financing is one issue, planning is another and execution is probably even more critical. I believe I can make my own contribution, and I am happy to tell you that alongside me there are many committed men and women at the bank with a real passion to address Africa's development challenges.

Akinwumi Adesina

is the president of the multilateral African Development Bank.



<http://www.afdb.org>

Limits of digital growth

The digital revolution is creating new opportunities. Grasping them will require more than hardware devices and software programmes. Recent publications emphasise that digitalisation will only drive inclusive development if non-digital issues are tackled as well.

By Hans Dembowski

→ Kentaro Toyama has experienced as a technology enthusiast what social scientists have known for quite some time: it is easy to implement a single measure, but very difficult to bring about lasting, systemic change. Digging a well can be done fast, but the attempts all too often fail to get a village community to maintain it properly, use the water wisely and keep the well going over years. In a similar way, introducing a computer system or a smart-phone service is not what makes long-term development happen. The real challenge is to make people adopt the new options in their daily lives.

Toyama is an associate professor at the University of Michigan. His book draws on his experience as a Microsoft manager who was supposed to drive human development by spreading digital technology in India. He concludes that, while good hardware and software matter, they are not the key to success. Just as important are:

- implementing agencies' social commitment and grass-roots competence and
- target groups' active involvement.

Those who introduce a new approach must not only understand the new technology, they have to make it fit in to complex social settings. And even then, the new options will not make a difference, unless the beneficiaries adopt them.

In Toyama's view, too many technology enthusiasts believe in what he calls the "Tech Commandments". Three of them are:

- "Measurement over meaning: value only that which can be counted."
- "Ultimate goals over root causes: focus narrowly on the end goal to ensure success."
- "Innovation over tried-and-true: never do anything that has been done before, at least not without a new branding."

It is no coincidence, of course, that these commandments read like slogans from business schools, nor is it surprising that they fail in developmental contexts. To achieving lasting change for a disadvantaged community is a much greater challenge than to introduce an innovative product in a prosperous market.

Toyama states that all parties involved must show "heart, mind and will" if real progress is to be made. Empathy, intelligence and determination matter. The computer scientist expresses deep frustration with economic models that consider human beings basically to be utility maximising robots who care only for financial rewards. People are different, Toyama argues, because real fulfilment lies in improving the world, not making money.

In his perspective, policy-making should stimulate people's personal growth, rather than economic growth. This stance is interesting and makes sense in moral terms. In terms of policy-making, however, it looks a bit naïve. Money is a useful proxy because it stands for many, though not all things, that matter in life. Moreover, it is impossible for everyone to become as rich as Bill Gates in order to turn to philanthropy.

Development economists or sociologists have known for long time that there are no quick fixes. The merit of Toyama's book is to argue this case convincingly and compellingly from an unusual perspective: the perspective of the computer scientist.

Digital dividends

In a much more technocratic style, the World Bank's most recent World Develop-

ment Report (WDR) similarly emphasises that, to make the most of the digital revolution, the analogue foundation needs to be strengthened. The authors write that digital technologies must be made accessible, affordable, open and safe. Moreover, they want the digital economy to be:

- underpinned by effective regulations,
- managed in a sense of governance and
- driven by broad-based skills development.

Nations that rise to the challenges appropriately, they suggest, will speed up the digital revolution and can collect dividends for everyone.

The WDR points out that the digital divide within countries can be as wide as between countries. In 2015, only 3.2 billion people were assumed to have internet access – less than half of the world's population. The World Bank's experts declare that inequality is rising, and that those without digital skills are at risk of being left behind. Providing access to mobile phones and the internet will therefore not do, they state. Other issues matter as well. They call for:

- a business climate that allows entrepreneurs to thrive and create jobs,
- education and skills training that equip workers with the human capital they need and
- more responsive government agencies and service providers.

The WDR offers a lot of information, and its general thrust is correct. Sometimes, however, it seems a bit superficial. For instance, the introduction stresses that openness is important for digital economies to thrive, but fails to mention that some of the world's biggest internet business are Chinese companies which owe their success – at least in part – to the fact that their country's huge market is not open to global internet giants such as Google or Facebook.

For good reason, the WDR demands that government agencies become responsive and accountable. The snag is that it does not specifically spell out to whom. Governments everywhere are quite aware of what their national business



Tom Koene/Lineair

Charging mobile devices in the Central African Republic.

elites want. But will they really listen to the poorest 20%? And if so, who speaks for the poorest 20%?

The authors make sensible hints about improving education and inclu-

sion, but their technocratic jargon does not acknowledge the serious conflicts of interest that rage between the privileged and the disadvantaged in every society. Accordingly, the authors do not take sides either. They would, of course,

not be in a position to do so because the World Bank, as a multilateral agency, is not supposed to get involved in domestic affairs of governments it is accountable to itself.

For related reasons, the WDR shies away from tackling conflicts of interest between advanced economies and developing countries. For instance, it does not assess the benefits and disadvantages of open-source software in any prominent way. Powerful corporations based in rich nations benefit from intellectual property rights, but government agencies and private sector companies are probably well advised to opt for cheaper software they can fully control.

If the World Bank was fully independent it would take sides in this debate, spelling out what is best for development. But the Bank is not above the fray. This fact reduces the intellectual merits of its WDR. Nonetheless, the report deserves to make an impact because it contains many good examples and ideas. ←

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Human rights

“A situation of bonded labour”

Bangladesh is making progress, but it is still one of the least-developed countries. Millions have migrated to work abroad. Some manage to become prosperous, but many are exploited and denied rights. Ridwanul Hoque, a law professor, assessed matters in an interview with Hans Dembowski.

Interview with Ridwanul Hoque

Why does migration matter in Bangladesh?

Migration from Bangladesh for overseas work began in 1976 – and unofficially even earlier – as Bangladeshis started to go to Middle-Eastern countries, mainly Saudi Arabia. The numbers rose fast, and emigration has become the third pillar of Bangladesh’s economy, behind agriculture and the garments export

industry. Migrants remitted \$ 15 billion to Bangladesh in 2015, that was 13 times more than the total amount of foreign investment. In the past 40 years, almost 10 million Bangladeshis migrated to around 160 countries as skilled, semi-skilled or less-skilled workers, and some as professionals. Around 80% went to the Arab countries, 15% to Southeast and East Asia, and five percent to other

destinations, including the EU and North America. These are the official figures and they give us an idea of what is going on, though reality may be a bit different due to unreported cases.

Are the Bangladeshi emigrants men or women?

According to the official data, female migrants constituted only one percent of the total number until 2004. But things have been changing. In 2015, they constituted close to 20%. They are mostly employed as household helpers. Some, however, are working as nurses or in garment production.

What are the major reasons for migration from Bangladesh?

There are push and pull factors. Poverty and unemployment are the important push factors. Bangladesh has 160 million people. The economy has been growing at an annual rate of about six percent for some time. The country is definitely making progress – but not fast enough. We still have serious problems. After the independence war of 1971 it was so poor that policymakers in Washington indignantly spoke of a “basket case”. Nobody there says that anymore. However, young Bangladeshis, especially those

are higher there than in other world areas. It certainly matters that Arab countries tend to have authoritarian governments and lack adequate respect for the rule of law. Migrant workers really don't have rights there.

What happens to them?

It is easy to abuse them. They are eager to go abroad, and they do not have well-negotiated contracts. In some cases, they are not given work in the industries promised, or they are paid less than origi-

not committed any offence apart from not fulfilling formal procedures. But that is done in Bangladesh and many other countries.

So there are no problems with irregular migration?

No, that is not what I am saying. Despite legal channels and checks, many Bangladeshi have turned out to be undocumented or irregular migrants. I would cite three aspects of migration from Bangladesh which are tainted by legal breaches.

- Some overseas employment recruitment agents indulge in fraudulent practices, and, as I just elaborated, Bangladeshi migrants who aspire to work in the Middle East are exposed to myriad types of exploitation as a result.
- People in the poverty-stricken areas along the Bangladesh-India border adopt the means of unlawful border-crossing with the hope of seasonal work in India's northeast. Indian authorities often exaggerate the problem, but in Bangladesh it tends to be under-recognised.
- The most important issue, however, is the dangerous trend of unlawful departure. A large number of aspirant migrants try to reach Malaysia by sea in the hope of finding work there. Many have died at sea, and the rest ended up in human slavery or in prisons in Malaysia, Indonesia or Thailand. This kind of smuggling has assumed a systematically exploitative and criminal character. It is a totally unacceptable form of human slavery and human trafficking. Rohingya refugees from Myanmar are affected too. They are Muslim and speak a language that is related to Bengali, so many of them come to Bangladesh from Myanmar. As I have argued in your e-paper earlier, Asian countries must cooperate to rise to the Rohingya challenge (see D+C/E+C e-Paper 2016/04, p. 43).

The reason I don't like to speak of “illegal migration” is that the migrants are normally the victims, not the perpetrators of crimes and abuse. Using language that implies their guilt, is certainly not helpful. ➔

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Abir Abdullah/picture-alliance/dpa

Eager to leave: when Saudi Arabia announced 10,000 workers would be recruited last, young men climbed over the fence of Dhaka's Expatriate Welfare and Overseas Employment Ministry to register.

without good education, often struggle to find work. Many are desperate to work overseas – and on the pull side, there actually are job opportunities overseas. Richer countries rely on migrant workers in a wide range of industries. It matters, moreover, that some Bangladeshi migrants managed to become affluent abroad, and they serve as role models for youngsters who decide to leave the country. Sometimes, relatively well-off people also send their young people abroad, for instance, because they want them to get a good education, or because the youngsters have become involved in crimes or destructive, radical politics. In general, however, present-day migration from Bangladesh is not driven by religious or political motives.

What is the experience of Bangladeshis abroad?

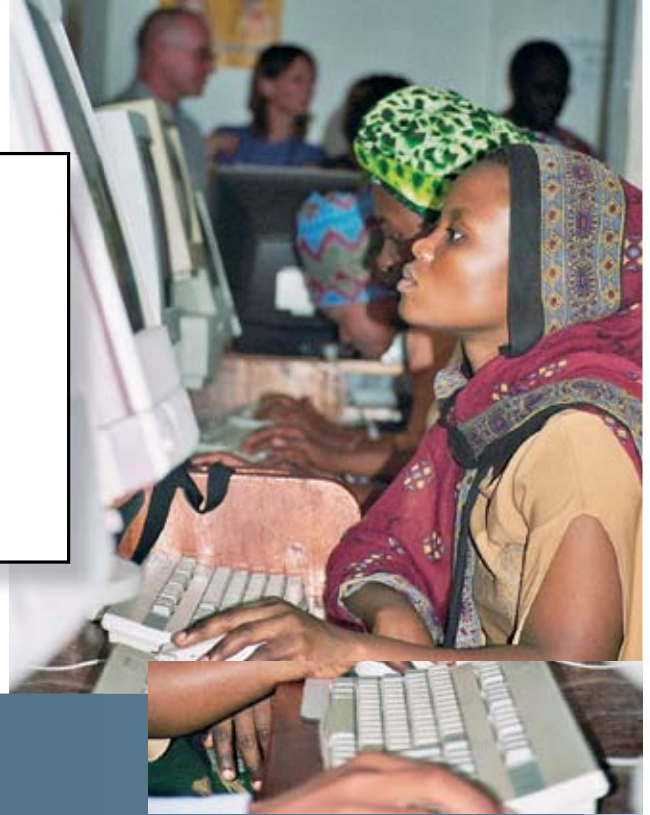
Overall, the experience of Bangladeshi migrants abroad is not a happy one, and particularly so in the Middle East. Reportedly, levels of exploitation and injustice

nally agreed. Some Arab countries have a system called “kafala”, which basically means employer's sponsorship. It means that workers cannot change employment. They cannot even complete the necessary paperwork regarding their work and immigration without the concurrence of the employer. Basically, kafala results in a situation of bonded-labour. On top of that, Bangladeshi women migrants who do domestic work often suffer in an aggravated way. Most live in the same house as their employer, have no free time and are sometimes sexually abused. In most destination countries of migrants, employment laws fail to protect their human rights and government agencies do not monitor matters properly either.

To what extent is migration from Bangladesh illegal migration?

Migration from Bangladesh is mostly legal, but let me say right away that I prefer the term “irregular migration” to “illegal migration”. I don't think people should be criminalised if they really have

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Tunisia deserves attention and support

Terrorists are threatening the only democracy to emerge from the Arab spring. Tunisian security forces managed to stop the ISIS attempt to take over the town of Ben Gardane in March. Nonetheless, the country needs more support from the international community and especially the EU.

By Tawfik Jelassi

2015 was a bloody year for Tunisia. There were attacks on the Bardo national museum in March, on a major hotel in Sousse in June and on the presidential guard in Tunis in November. This year, the terrorist militia ISIS even tried to take over the town of Ben Gardane, near the Libyan border, and establish an outpost in the country. This was unprecedented and deeply troubling.

Fortunately, the security forces were able to defend the city. About 50 terrorists were killed. It is worrisome, however, that they obviously enjoyed some support from within the country. Moreover, all of the terrorists who were so far identified turned out to be Tunisians. This raises a lot of questions. Perhaps there are more dormant terrorist cells in Tunisia.

The attack was launched from Libya. The violence that is rocking our neighbouring country is destabilising ours as well.

The problems transcend borders and concern the entire international community. Tunisia's nascent democracy is a beacon of hope in the Arab region. It deserves attention and support.

Tunisia needs security equipment. Among other things, it lacks advanced attack helicopters and night vision military capabilities to repel militant groups. It would also benefit from more intelligence sharing.

Security, however, is not only a military issue. The socio-economic situation matters very much. It is a huge problem for the country and a major challenge for any government that some Tunisian regions are lagging behind economically. The people, and especially the youth, need

jobs and opportunities, so infrastructure must be improved and industries developed. Without strong action and foreign investments, unemployment will only get worse, purchasing power will decline and the social problems will grow.



In some of the more remote regions, the Tunisian state is not doing enough in economic and social terms, and extremist groups are taking advantage of people's desperation. They recruit young men, promising money and a "better life". Some of the youngsters are brainwashed to believe that they are fighting for a 'noble cause' and that 'true Islam' gives them a sense of purpose. These youngsters are a minority – but a very dangerous one.

Most Tunisians think that the country is on the right path. They appreciate having a democratic society and enjoying more liberty than ever before. However, political freedom, so far, is not going along with economic prosperity. It is a major issue that people's standard of living is not improving. We should not forget that unemployment and economic hardship triggered the 2011 revolution.

Democratic transitions always take time. People's mind-sets do not change

overnight. Tunisians want to see more progress in their daily lives and are tired of empty promises. We need continuity of direction and policies, and the government must swiftly implement some urgently needed reforms. To rise to its huge challenges, it certainly needs – and deserves – international support.

At the G8 summit of 2011, several billion dollars were pledged to Tunisia, but the country has yet to receive any of it. Though Tunisia's problems are well known, our western allies have not been much helpful to date. They ought to put in place a Mar-

"Most Tunisians appreciate enjoying more liberty than ever before": supporters of a new political party in March 2016.

shall Plan for Tunisia. In spite of its strong ties to Europe, our country is often forgotten until there is a terrorist attack.

Tunisia is the only ray of hope remaining from the 2011 Arab spring revolutions. It is also the last buffer zone against terrorism prevailing in North Africa. If ever Tunisia falls (God forbid), this shield will drop and the EU will have a lot more to worry about. It is high time for the international community to help Tunisia address its economic and security challenges. By helping Tunisia, the international community will help itself. We need deeds, not just words! ←

Tawfik Jelassi



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Debate

Robbed of a role model

South Africa used to be an economic and political role model for the whole region. However, since President Jacob Zuma fired Nhlanhla Nene, his finance minister, at the end of last year, the country is in a downward spiral. Its neighbours' trust in democracy is dwindling too.

By Jennifer Dube

South Africa used to be our standard. The phrase "look at South Africa" was heard in most governance conversations in the Southern African region. But this was before President Zuma fired finance minister Nene in December 2015. Suddenly, Zuma was in deep trouble: in his party, in government and at home. There was trouble with the currency, trouble for the country and trouble for the whole region.

Apparently, the consequences of Nene's dismissal were bigger than Zuma had expected. Within hours, the Rand, South Africa's currency, crumbled at an unprecedented rate. The effects of its fall were quickly felt in Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Their economies depend on the Rand. Zambia saw its exchange rate drop at the same time. South Africa is the biggest investor in the region, and when its economy is struggling, the effects are felt throughout.

Next came allegations that Zuma was being micromanaged by members of the powerful Gupta family, which has business partnerships with members of the president's family, including his son Duduzane Zuma. On 15 March 2016, Vytjie Mentor, a member of parliament for Zuma's ruling African National Congress (ANC), alleged that members of the Gupta family had offered her a ministerial job.

One day later, Mcebisi Jonas, the deputy finance minister, claimed members of the Gupta family had offered him the position of finance minister. Jonas said he rejected the offer because it made a mockery of the country's hard-earned democracy and the trust of the people, since no one but the president can appoint ministers.

Within three weeks, the impacts of these sensational allegations were evident

in Zuma's environment. At the beginning of April, Duduzane Zuma was forced to resign as director of Oakbay, a company owned by the Gupta family. There are indications that the scandal will also claim the scalp of Zuma's ex-wife Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who currently heads the African Union Commission. Before the president's woes mounted, she was one of the two top contenders to succeed him in office. Now, her chances seem smaller. She has indicated that she will not renew her term of office at the AU, raising the suspicion that she is positioning herself to take

his predecessor Thabo Mbeki in 2008. But instead, the ANC announced support for Zuma, puncturing the confidence people had in the president and his party.

At the end of March, fresh evidence emerged that state funds were used in the construction of Zuma's private home in Nkandla. Zuma and the ANC had previously denied such allegations. This time, there was no refuting. The reason was that South Africa's Constitutional Court ruled that Zuma's failure to pay back the money was illegal. The country's top judges ordered him to personally pay the costs for the construction of a visitor's centre, amphitheatre, cattle kraal, chicken run and swimming pool at his homestead.

Zuma has let us down. His actions robbed us of a good-governance role model. All we have now are questions. Is



Supporters of the opposition Democratic Alliance party march toward the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg demanding the resignation of President Jacob Zuma on 15 April.

over from her ex-husband. The other top contender is Cyril Ramaphosa, Zuma's deputy in party and government.

In parliament, members of the opposition initiated impeachment motions against Zuma. Fortunately for him, the motions failed. When the ANC's national executive committee met on 19 and 20 March, it was widely expected that the party would recall Zuma like it did with

South Africa not as democratic as we used to think? And did the ANC endorse corruption just like other ruling parties continue to do across the region? ←

Jennifer Dube



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Failing India's democracy

The definition of Indian “nationalism” is currently being changed from one that embraced all religions and cultures to one that fits the fundamentalist ideology of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). This right-wing party is the political arm of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu fundamentalist organisation.

By Aditi Roy Ghatak

➔ In 1948, an RSS member became notorious for killing Mahatma Gandhi. Nathu Ram Godse, the murderer, is now being idolised in certain quarters, while secular/liberal Indians are being accused of being anti-national. Many Indians are appalled by this sorry turn of events. Others, especially amongst the privileged upper castes, are delighted.

The ordinary Indian is facing serious economic problems though. Unemployment is increasing and rural India is reeling under successive years of drought. Farmers commit suicide because of acute indebtedness. Indian campuses are becoming hotbeds of unrest as the BJP imposes its own supporters, even of poor merit, as university deans; as its election promises are exposed as lies; and as Hindu supremacists try to disempower the marginalised castes (dalits).

Those in power are stifling creative expression by film makers and writers who are out of sync with their right-wing ideology, arguing that repression is the key to what they call “good” governance. In multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious India, the BJP is trying to usher in a “one nation, one language, one culture” brand of nationalism. Making matters worse, the federal structure of the country is being eroded. The central government is using legal and administrative tricks to oust state governments that do not toe its line.

Not all freedoms can be taken away however. The judiciary is independent and many judges are sworn to democratic and secular values. Ongoing elections in five states, where the BJP is not in power, will see around 170 million casting their votes, and the BJP is expected to fair poorly. Newspapers can still decide whether or not to support the government and impas-

sioned social media posts abound, both for and against the central government.

Government agencies are overtly and covertly resorting to repression. High-profile assaults on freedom are legion. Examples include:

- the social, political and legal harassment of Teesta Setalvad, an activist on behalf of victims of the 2002 anti-Muslim pogroms in the state of Gujarat then ruled by the current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi;
- the blocking of Priya Pillai's trip to Britain, where the Greenpeace activist wanted to report on the trampled rights of forest dwellers in the state of Madhya Pradesh, where a mining project is being bulldozed through;
- the arrest of Dr Saibal Jana, who has been treating tribals almost free of cost; or
- the inhuman incarceration of the ailing and wheelchair-bound University of Delhi professor, G. N. Saibaba, for raising his voice in support of India's marginalised people, including dalits, tribals and women.

Campuses already simmering with a sense of deprivation erupted after Rohith Vemula, a dalit student in Hyderabad, committed suicide, seeing no future in the increasingly discriminatory ways of Indian academia. Demands for justice for Rohith flared up at the prestigious Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi, with protests against use of force in campuses and curbing of intellectual freedoms, followed by the arrest, for sedition, of Kanhaiya Kumar, the president of the students union and leader of Communist Party of India's student wing.

Planted evidence and doctored videos are commonplace. Sometimes the government takes a back seat and its student affil-

iates and hired goons unleash vigilante violence. In police custody, Kanhaiya was beaten up by lawyers supporting the BJP.

Party acolytes define any point of view that does not conform to their one-size-fits-all “nationalism” as anti-national. This mindset rejects the values enshrined in the Indian Constitution and the freedoms that it confers on citizens.

Suddenly the RSS and the BJP have become arbiters of who is a “good” Indian. The good Indian cannot eat beef — and the penalty can now be murder; the good Indian woman must conform to a conservative attire — and the penalty can be arrest; and the good Indian must cry “Bharat Mata Ki Jai” (Hail the Motherland).



Deepak Sharma/AP Photo/Picture-alliance

RSS members believe they are the ones who decide who is a good Indian.

In this emerging India, the growth rate matters, not distributive justice; environmental free-for-all is appreciated, not ecological ethics; blind acceptance of fundamentalist propaganda not reasoned debate hold the key. India's proud democracy is slowly getting ruptured. ←

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

Bringing girls back to school
Malawi's civil-society organisations help to keep girls from dropping out of school

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Thanks to the Olympics, Rio de Janeiro has a new light-rail public transport system. **Page 26**



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