VOICES OF THE MARGINALIZED

How did EU policies affect the poorest

Jiří Silný
Khondoker Shakhawat Ali
Paulin Polepole
Tomáš Tožička
Zuzana Uhde
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VOICES OF THE MARGINALIZED
How Did EU Policies Affect the Poorest

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<td>African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes</td>
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<td>ACHPR</td>
<td>African Comission on Human and Peoples’ Rights</td>
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<td>ACPROD</td>
<td>Action Communautaire pour la Promotion des Défavorisés / Community Action for the Promotion of Disadvantaged</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>ALBA</td>
<td>Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América / Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America</td>
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<td>APDMAC</td>
<td>Action pour la Promotion des Droits des Minorités Autochtones en Afrique Centrale / Action for the Promotion of Indigenous Minority Rights in Central Africa</td>
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<td>APRODEPED</td>
<td>Action pour la Promotion et la Défenses des Droits des Personnes Défavorisées / Action for the Promotion and the Defence of the Rights of the Marginalised People</td>
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<td>ARAP</td>
<td>Action pour le ReGroup et Autopromotion des Pygmées / Association for the Regrouping and Self-promotion of the Pygmies</td>
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<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Antiretroviral treatment/therapy</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>BBS</td>
<td>Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<td>BCI</td>
<td>Basic capabilities index</td>
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<td>BDERM</td>
<td>Bangladesh Dalit and Excluded Rights Movement</td>
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<td>BMMS</td>
<td>Bangladesh Maternal Mortality Survey</td>
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<td>BPD</td>
<td>Business Partners for Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAMV</td>
<td>Centre d’Accompagnement des Autochtones Pygmées et Minorités Vulnérables / Support Centre of the Indigenous Pygmies and Vulnerable Minorities</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>Central Africa Time</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHT</td>
<td>Chittagong Hill Tracts</td>
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<td>CHTC</td>
<td>Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission</td>
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<td>CIP</td>
<td>Country Investment Plan</td>
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<td>COMESA</td>
<td>Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa</td>
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<td>CPAKI</td>
<td>Collectif pour les Peuples Autochtones au Kivu / Collective for Indigenous Peoples in Kivu</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRONG</td>
<td>Conseil Régional des Organisations Non Gouvernementales / Regional Council of Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRPD</td>
<td>UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<td>DRC</td>
<td>The Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<td>EASA</td>
<td>European Aviation Safety Agency</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
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<td>ECCDC</td>
<td>Enhanced Copping Capacity of the Disadvantaged Community</td>
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<td>EDF</td>
<td>European Development Fund</td>
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<td>ERND</td>
<td>Environnement Ressources Naturelles et Développement / Environment, Natural Resources and Development Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign direct investment</td>
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<td>FSLN</td>
<td>Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional/Sandinista National Liberation Front</td>
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<td>GCAP</td>
<td>Global Call to Action against Poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>GII</td>
<td>Gender Inequality Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNI</td>
<td>Gross National Income</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Heavily Indebted Poor Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICAO</td>
<td>International Civil Aviation Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>IEC</td>
<td>Information, Education and Communication</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>IP</td>
<td>Indigenous Population</td>
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<td>ITN</td>
<td>Insecticide-treated Nets</td>
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<td>ITUC</td>
<td>International Trade Union Confederation</td>
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<td>KBNP</td>
<td>Kahuzi-Biega National Park</td>
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<td>LDC</td>
<td>Least Developed Countries</td>
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<td>LLIN</td>
<td>Long Lasting Impregnated Nets</td>
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<td>LMIC</td>
<td>Low and Middle-income Countries</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MPI</td>
<td>Multidimensional Poverty Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAACL</td>
<td>National Airports Corporation Limited</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NPO</td>
<td>Non-Profit Organisation</td>
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<td>PIDP</td>
<td>Programme d’Intégration et de Développement du Peuple Pygmée / Program for the Integration and Development of the Pygmy People</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLWHA</td>
<td>People Living with HIV/AIDS</td>
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<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public-Private-Partnership</td>
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<td>PNDP</td>
<td>National Development Plan</td>
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<td>PNDH</td>
<td>National Plan for Human Development</td>
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<td>REOPA</td>
<td>Rural Employment Opportunity for Public Asset</td>
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<td>RIB</td>
<td>Research Initiatives, Bangladesh</td>
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<td>SAMS</td>
<td>Sundarban Adibasi Munda Sangastha</td>
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<td>SBA</td>
<td>Skilled Birth Attendant</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBA</td>
<td>Traditional Birth Attendants</td>
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<tr>
<td>UEFA</td>
<td>Union pour l’Emancipation de la Femme Autochtone / Union for the Emancipation of Indigenous Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>Value Added Tax</td>
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<tr>
<td>VGDUP</td>
<td>Vulnerable Group Development for the Ultra Poor Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZRA</td>
<td>Zambian Revenue Authority</td>
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Learning from the MDGs for the Sustainable Development Agenda

As world leaders have endorsed a Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - and largely declared its predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to be a success - it’s imperative to understand the extent to which the MDGs did and did not eradicate poverty in the Global South.

A frank assessment of the past fifteen years, based on grassroots analysis and inputs from the most vulnerable and marginalised communities is essential if the world is going to be able to realise the SDGs and truly ensure a Life of Dignity for All.

The Millennium Development Goals established eight interlinked concrete time-bound targets to halve extreme poverty by 2015 and eradicate it by 2025; however, latter target was dropped along the way. The Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP) mobilized hundreds of millions of people across the globe to demand accountability from their governments, declaring that governments must “keep their promises” to achieve and exceed the MDGs.

GCAP has now brought together constituents from four countries, across three continents to reflect on the implementation of the MDGs and their impact. Representatives from Bangladesh, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nicaragua and Zambia share their analysis and discussions with people from affected communities. It is clear that many problems and challenges persist, particularly the inclusion of the most marginalised and socially-excluded individuals and communities.

GCAP’s renewed approach of building participatory reports from facts and evidences at local and national level constitute an alternative report to official statistics and analysis by international institutions. While there is no doubt that the MDGs have been partly achieved, there is major need for improvements. An inclusive and transparent learning from MDGs should be the basis for the upcoming implementation of the United Nations’ new Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

MDGs – The Pyrrhic Victory

Representatives of governments, the UN and its many specialized agencies declared the success of the MDGs. Although all the goals have not been met, we acknowledge that in general terms, extreme poverty has been reduced by half and progress has been made on other goals, such as the access to drinking water and education for all genders has significantly improved.

But despite these and other partial successes, we must question why this agenda has not been effective in addressing structural causes of poverty – particularly inequalities.

A current example of a major challenge are the high number of refugees and internally displaced people – in 2015 the biggest numbers that the world has known since the Second World War.
Income inequality continues to grow and the world’s 85 richest people are worth as much as the poorest 3.5 billion - which equates to half of the globe’s population. Moreover, 20% of the world’s population - representing the rich and the so-called “middle class” worldwide - consume 80% of the planet’s ecological resources which emphasises a global state of inequality and which also causes direct harm to people and planet.

The fundamental human rights of more than 1 billion people, including the rights to education, health, water, sanitation, food, and a safe clean environment, are denied daily.

Man made discrimination and unequal treatment deny the rights of women and socially excluded communities, often relegating them to lives of exploitation and poverty. 70% of people who live in extreme poverty are women.

Greed for money, power and natural resources directly cause armed conflicts and violence in nearly one out of every three countries, preventing their inhabitants from enjoying peaceful lives.

Over 700 million people live on less than $1.25 a day (extreme poverty, in 2005 prices, a ceiling which in itself is questionable) and over three billion people (almost half of the world population) live with less than $2.50 a day. Those people are mainly women, young people and members of communities that are excluded or marginalised due to caste, gender, race, sexual orientation or migrant status. A Financial Transactions Tax of just 0.05% could raise upwards of $400 billion a year.

Can we still deny or postpone the urgency to address the structural and systemic causes of exclusions and inequalities when current economic and political models lead to such levels of poverty, violence and insecurity? Our reply as GCAP to this question is loud and clear: NO!

A fair picture of the current global situation has been described in the communiqué issued at the GCAP Global Assembly in September 2015, New York: “An unsustainable development model – obsessed with the market and economic growth – is driving rising and untenable inequalities, man-made climate change and the further exclusion of socially and economically marginalised communities. The concentration of wealth and political power in fewer hands is detrimental to society, as is the discrimination and unequal treatment that mostly affects women, girls and minority communities. Across the globe, billions of people are suffering.”

Sustainable Development Goals Move Forward

The recently adopted international Agenda 2030 with the ‘Sustainable Development Goals’ (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change go far beyond the MDGs and offer the hope of a future where people will live in harmony on a safe and sustainable planet. Unlike the MDGs, the SDGs include goals related to inequalities, peace, decent work, justice and transparency, while also vowing to end violence against women and children, human trafficking and dangerous climate change.

While we welcome the adoption of the SDGs, we are worried by the weakness of the discussion on the structural and root causes of inequalities and poverty. In addition, there is no critical assessment of the role of the private sector (especially multinationals) which is exclusively portrayed within the SDGs as part of the solution, even though businesses often exacerbate inequalities, including gender inequality, poverty and climate change.
The industrial disasters of the nuclear power plant in Fukushima (Japan) and a garments factory in Dhaka (Bangladesh), showed the limits of uncontrolled capitalism and corruption permeating even the top of governments and public institutions, disregarding the environment and people. The past experience shows that transferring the “responsibility” from at least somehow democratically elected representatives to corporations and their management, only accountable to shareholders, threatens an already weak political participation and the democratisation of societies. This naive approach towards the private sector is also a threat to the vital interests of the majority of the population, especially the poorest, and to the core definition of “public interest and global goods”.

The SDGs are just one framework for engagement. People’s movements and grassroots’ activities, as represented e.g. by GCAP, will continue to challenge the structural aspects and causes of inequalities and poverty. We will hold all actors accountable, including the governments, private sector and international institutions, including the UN and the EU. This report is one step in this process. To achieve the SDGs, policies promoting equality, such as tax justice, decent work, distributive measures, social protection and gender equality, are crucial.

Participation and Collective Action

The sustainability of development approaches will not be achieved if actors do not involve local people and communities all over the process. At this point it is worth mentioning the research and results of Elinor Ostrom, the first woman to win the Nobel Prize in Economics. In her book, The Samaritan’s Dilemma – The Political Economy of Development Aid, she wrote: “Project planning documents should clearly identify the intended owners and include an analysis of the anticipated impact that this designation of ownership will have on sustainability.”

It is also necessary to strengthen the self-governing procedures to enable people to participate in decision-making on matters concerning them and common-pool resources they could manage themselves as much as possible. Rather than think of what is good for developing countries from New York, Brussels and other capitals in the Global North, it is necessary to study how to strengthen the capacities of the most vulnerable people to help them collectively find solutions to improve their situation.

Responsible investment and granting means that funds are invested in accordance with the interests of local populations, communities and local institutions.

Therefore, it is necessary to overcome the outdated cliché “Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime” which still reflects a paternalistic approach: in this wrong assumption donors seems to know what should be donated and what and who needs to be taught. Our experiences, as well as previous large-scale studies, have shown that vulnerable and marginalized communities principally need access to resources including know-how and technology and the opportunity to freely do activities that improve the lives of their communities. The development cooperation, whether in European urban neighborhoods or in rural South Africa, needs cooperation amongst the different involved civil society organisations, governmental actors and donors, with the local people and with a clear focus on the real needs of local communities, involving their capacities. Cooperation with local authorities, traditional leaders, ethnic and religious communities is also absolutely essential.
History Will Judge Us

In his opening speech of the UN summit for the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, the Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen said: “The new (SDG) Agenda has laid out our vision of where we believe the world should be in 2030. History will judge us – and hold us accountable for achieving the results that we owe our children. And their children.”

This current report is a modest, but honest contribution to the learning on MDGs and the forward looking needed to implement the new agenda with a special focus on most vulnerable groups.

This report shows that the most critical point is the collaboration among all actors at the local and national level, any action but be tailored towards the needs and capacities of people and their organisations and institutions. If this case study contributes to a better integration of the vulnerable and marginalized groups in future development initiatives, we will be able to conclude that this piece of work has met its initial ambition.

The EU and other donors including NGOs need to learn from this report, go beyond the superficial positive narrative of nice words to create a reality where Nobody is left behind.

Nelson Mandela, who accompanied the GCAP’s launch in 2005, told the anti-poverty campaigners: “Sometimes, it falls on a generation to be great. YOU can be that great generation. Let your greatness blossom.”

But the victory is still far away. And we have no choice but to keep trying to find ways to fairness, dignity, and equal rights for all. It is not just a question of altruism and help for people suffering somewhere far away, but also a practical decision to protect our freedoms. Because, as Martin Luther King, Jr. said: “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.”

Tomáš Tožička, EDUCON and Ingo Ritz, GCAP
ADDRESSING SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN BANGLADESH

Mapping the Role and Impacts of the European Union Through Hearings and Consultations with Socially Excluded Groups

Khondoker Shakhawat Ali
Bangladesh
Capital: Dhaka
Official languages: Bengali
Other languages: English
Ethnic groups: 98% Bengali
2% other
Religion: 86.6% Islam
12.1% Hinduism
0.6% Buddhism
0.4% Christianity
0.3% Others
Area: 147,570 km²
Population: Total: 168,957,745 (8th)
(2015 estimate)
Density: 1,033.5/km² (12th)
GDP (PPP): Total: $572.440 billion (34th)
(2015 estimate)
Per capita: $3,581 (144th)
GDP (nominal): Total: $205.327 billion (44th)
(2015 estimate)
Per capita: $1,314 (155th)
Gini (2010): 32.1 (medium)
Human Development Index (2014): 0.570 - 142nd
Currency: Taka (BDT)
Time zone: BST (UTC+6)
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1. Introduction

Despite remarkable efforts in terms of economic and human development, Bangladesh still belongs to the group of the Least Developed Countries (LDC). About 60 million people live below the poverty line in terms of income and calorie intake and 30 million are living under the lower poverty line. They are called “extremely poor”. Most of those poor are not included in development programs. According to the World Bank (October 2014), the poverty rate is 24.47% and approximately 12% of the rural population currently belongs to the group of extremely poor, which means low consumption, hunger and malnutrition, lack of access to basic health services, illiteracy and other forms of social deprivation. Those deprivations create a big gap between poor and rich, basically in terms of income and wealth distribution. Social power and class structure has been playing a crucial role to create those disparities. With that social context, Bangladesh has reduced its extreme poverty by average 6% between 2010 and 2014, which indicates significant progress in achieving the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of poverty reduction by 2015 (BBS).

The number of the extreme poor among religious, ethnic and indigenous minorities is extraordinarily high. These communities are widely affected by exclusion, which has severe consequences for their access to developmental benefits. The fact that a large share of the extremely poor population and the minority groups still remains outside the reach of development services of the Government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is a big challenge for all development actors. Extreme poor people from mainstream Bengali society and religious, ethnic and indigenous minorities, as well as people with disabilities, are to be called in the context of this study as “socially excluded people”.

The objectives of the consultations and hearing conducted in order to compile this report were to analyze the deficits of EU strategies with Bangladesh to address social exclusion and to provide recommendations on how social exclusion can be addressed more effectively as part of the post-2015 framework i.e. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

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1) BBS, Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) 2000, 2005 and 2010. About 49 percent of the population lived in poverty in 2000, which was reduced to 40 percent in 2005, 31.5 percent in 2010 and to an estimated 25.6 percent in June 2014. On the other hand, more than 34 percent people lived in extreme poverty, which dropped to 25.1 percent in 2005, 17.6 percent in 2010, 13.1 percent in 2013 and to an estimated 12.4 percent in June 2014. The rate of poverty reduction over the last four years was on an average 6.0 percent which is the highest in the history of Bangladesh.

2) The extreme poor poor’s are not a homogeneous group but comprised of landless laborers, female headed households or families with a disabled household head. Extreme poor living on less than US$ 0.50 a day are currently suffering under price hikes for essentials. Though they only have 1-2 meager meals per day, they spend 80 percent of their income for food.
2. Consultations and Hearing Methodology

Until 2015, the dialogues are going on to determine to which extent the MDGs have been achieved and how to continue in the Post-2015 agenda. The EU (EC and member states) is an important stakeholder in this process. A strong dialogue between Civil Society and EU institutions is needed, leading up to 2015, to further work for a strong role of the EU in this process. The EU shall do its best to work towards the achievement of the MDGs and to strengthen a post-2015 framework that includes the interest of socially excluded people. This study is part of that initiative and funded by the EU. The methodology brief of this study is following.

Review secondary literature and existing analysis of civil society, national and international institutions (EU). What does “socially excluded people” mean and what are causes of social exclusion? What are the instruments to address social exclusion?

Hearings and consultations with local level civil society organisations and socially excluded people, consultations organised in a qualitative and participatory way. How do they define themselves and where do they see the causes of social exclusion? How do they address social exclusion themselves?

Discussion of the report with CSOs in the country and dialogue meetings with the EU Delegation in the country and with the responsible persons of EuropeAid. What are the activities that are aiming at impacting socially excluded people?

Area selections: The consultations and hearing have focused mainly on plain land indigenous communities and the Dalits. Mainly RIB (Research Initiatives, Bangladesh), a partner organisation of NETZ Bangladesh, facilitated the field level activities.
3. Poverty Dynamic of Last Four Decades

Bangladesh today is out of the shadow of famine (last occurrence in 1974), but poverty continues to be the dominant concern for the nation. It is also true that in the last four decades, the country has achieved remarkable gains at macro level – for instance-GDP growth rate, infrastructural development, technological innovation, communication and transportation, expansion of agro-based industry, booming of garments industries, increasing flow of international migration and foreign remittance etc.

Beside these macro level achievements, several gains can also be seen at micro level such as private entrepreneurship in rural and urban economy, micro-credit, social safety nets programs for seasonal hunger and poverty, primary school enrollment, immunization, birth control, physical mobility and gender parity. This impressive development at macro and micro level did not happen by chance, it has rather been the result of collective efforts in which successive governments, national and international NGOs, international donors and most importantly the citizens of Bangladesh as economic actors have played their roles and responsibilities. Bangladesh presently is facing new developments, each featuring implications in shaping the multifaceted patterns of poverty in the country.

Firstly, an adverse agricultural environment, as well as remoteness and climatic shocks/hazards, have direct impacts on poverty distribution in Bangladesh. There are some specific poverty stricken regions, where clear a correlation between natural disaster and poverty exist. Char, haor, coastal and monga areas are the most ecologically vulnerable regions in the country and the instance of poverty is higher in those regions compared to other areas. River erosion, drought, flash flood, seasonal flood, cyclones, tornados and other climatic shocks and hazards severely damage the livelihood of the poor living in these areas.

Secondly, remoteness and market accessibility between centre and periphery is another crucial factor that has a direct impact on the persistence of poverty in certain regions. Poverty prone areas are far away from the economic hubs of the country. Worse transport and communication facilities between the capital Dhaka and char, haor or monga regions create serious obstacles by consuming more time in travel with negative impacts on agricultural growth. Moreover, due to remoteness, people living in rural areas do not get proper healthcare facilities, which has bad effects on their life, health and livelihoods.

Finally, social exclusion is considered as another root cause of poverty for many minority groups in the country. Socially excluded people are often deprived of opportunities available to others to develop their economic status and get away from the vicious cycle of poverty by their own attempts. Here discrimination takes place in public institutions, like in the education and health sector, legal system as well as in social institutions like the household and at the community level. Thus, even


4) While new imageries of corruption, poor governance and confrontational politics bedevil the country, it is instructive to see what else has been achieved. Uniquely for a country facing an extremely vulnerable ecology, Bangladesh has established a credible record of sustained growth within a stable macroeconomic framework. (Source: Wahiduddin Mahmud and Isher J. Ahluwalia (ed.), State of the Bangladesh Economy: Pluses and Minuses, Special Issue of Economic and Political Weekly, September 4, 2004).
though the macro economy and per capita income levels may increase, excluded people are likely to be left behind and remain in poverty.⁵

"Giving an immediate boost to agricultural production, the impetus to rural infrastructure building by LGED (i.e. Local Government Engineering Department) from the late 80s, far-reaching reforms in the food distribution system in the early 90s, the impetus to non-crop agriculture in the early 90s and the robust growth of these sub-sectors in the late 90s, the consolidation of the micro-credit network over the 80s and 90s, consolidation of safety-net initiatives in the late 90s, and above all, the robust engagement of ordinary citizenry on all available opportunities, local and international, have played a part in bringing Bangladesh out of the shadow of famine."⁶ However in that time frame, while choice horizons have expanded, the political leverage of the poor over power structures and decision-making processes shows little evidence of any significant change.⁷

Furthermore, it is evident that wealth disparities between the rich and the poor have been increased throughout the decades in the country. A strong ground of chronic capitalism through the use of political power has developed in Bangladesh where political elites, business elites and bureaucracy play a powerful role in mobilizing national resources at macro, meso and micro levels. This leads to the creation of adverse arrangements inside the local level government bodies through regional and local elites and that the extreme poor are deprived of benefits from development interventions.

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4. Defining and Mapping Socially Excluded People

4.1 Social Exclusion in Context of Class and Caste

Social exclusion has been used as a significant terminology to broaden the understanding of multidimensional poverty in countries like Bangladesh. Social exclusion focuses on the social relations of power. According to sociologist Samuel Konenig, “a class which has a strictly hereditary basis is a caste. A member of caste is never allowed to break through its rigid barriers, whereas one belonging to a class may, under certain conditions, change his status. The term ‘caste’ first was used by the Portuguese to denote the divisions in the class system, which was divided into castes, and it meant ‘lineage’ of ‘bread’. The Sanskrit word for the caste is varna, which means ‘color’. One of the most tragic consequences of the caste system is that it prevents the development within the population of a general national consciousness and thus denies the individual from the feeling of belonging to the common people.”

According to Peter Davis (2011), social exclusion approaches attempt to draw attention to social and patterned processes of “shutting out”, to stigmatization, to alienation, to the monopolization, or sequestration of scarce resources – sometimes by, and for the benefit of more advantaged groups. Social exclusion systematically denies certain groups of people from the same rights, participation and opportunities as are afforded to others on the basis of their ethnicity, cast, religion, sexual orientation, gender, age, disability, health status, identity etc. As a result, social exclusion of particular groups of people reduces their productive capacity, leads to higher rates of poverty as well as reduces the rate of reduction in poverty of a society as a whole (Ali, 2013).

4.2 Social Exclusion in the Form of “Untouchability”

Poverty and exclusion are strictly interlinked to each other. However, there are instances of exclusions, which exist in the absence of poverty. And there are instances of poverty, which may not be rooted in social exclusion. Thus, it is important to analyze the historical, political, geographical, environmental, cultural and socio-economic context to explore the root causes of social exclusion.

According to Louis Dumont (Homo Hierarchicus, 1972), caste and profession were linked through the intermediary of religion. Caste discrimination is a systematic human rights abuse that leads to extreme poverty, violence, inequality and exclusion. Perceived as polluted of inferior, the Dalits are prevented from participating in political, economic, social and cultural life.

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The experiences and practices related to social exclusion are not homogenous. E.g. the Dalits and ethnic minorities both are socially excluded groups in Bangladesh, but their ground realities of discrimination and exclusion not similar. Thus, the practice of deprivation and discrimination among excluded groups needs to be understood by focusing on the complex relationship that they have with state authorities and the society at large.

4.3 Religion, Professional Bondage and “Untouchability”

In Bangladesh, the caste hierarchy operates through the practices of “untouchability”. Major patterns of exclusion and discrimination based on “untouchability” are inter-generationally transformed among the descent. The unavoidable choice of professions, fixed residential locations, restricted social mobility and interactions are the main processes which persist inter-generational discrimination among the Dalit communities and other socially excluded groups.

There is no official data available on the demographic or social aspects of people discriminated based on work and descent. During the latest census in Bangladesh in 2011, an advocacy campaign was taken up to ensure the collection of disaggregated data on the Dalit population, but the outcome was nil. However, reliable estimates reveal that around 5.5 to 6.5 million people in the country face caste-based discrimination (BDERM, 2014).

Among the Dalits of Bangladesh, cleaners or sweepers, mostly called Harijan are the most discriminated groups who live all over the country [see annex-2, Benchmarking the Draft UN Principles and Guidelines on Elimination of (Caste) Discrimination based on work and descent study]. Common features of their residential arrangements are that they are very crowded, segregated from people outside their group and with little or no fundamental facilities. In almost all cases, their identity and occupation, which are inter-generationally transmitted, create the structural arrangement of long term deprivation and prejudice.

Dyrhagen, G. and Islam, M. (2006) show that in Bangladesh, the Dalits are socially discriminated and avoided by other communities excluded from public events and religious spaces. Discriminatory practices do exist to a wide extent, both in Hindu and Muslim communities. This paper describes how Dalits are excluded from public and social spheres. It argues that basic provisions like shelter, food and water are not adequately provided for in areas where Dalits live and that they have inadequate access to health care facilities and education. They also lack housing, employment and access to political spheres. The paper concludes that although Dalits are playing a significant role in the country’s economic, environmental and social development, Dalit communities are some of the most economically marginalized and socially excluded groups in Bangladesh (see annex 3).

12) Benchmarking the Draft UN Principles and Guidelines on the Elimination of (Caste) Discrimination based on Work and Descent: Bangladesh Report-2014, (Nagorik Uddyog & Bangladesh Dalit and Excluded Rights Movement (BDERM), Dhaka 2014). According to the BDERM-2014 report, three broad categories of Dalits reside in Bangladesh; one, Bengali Dalits who live in villages all over Bangladesh; two, Muslim Dalits who again can be found across the country; and, three, Dalits who migrated (or were forced to migrate) from India to the then East Bengal – now mainly living in urban areas and tea plantations. It is evident that the forms of exclusion and deprivation that Dalit communities go through are not fully identical.

4.4 Social Exclusion and Development

Zohir, Rabbani, Mallik, Huq and Afsana (2008) conceptualized exclusion in terms of space and attributes or characteristics. They incorporated two dimensions in defining exclusion: “attribute” and “space”. Attributes are considered characteristics of individuals, households or communities that lead to exclusion in one or more spaces. Individuals may be born or acquired these attributes, e.g. through religion, ethnicity or descent. Some of these attributes may be permanent (such as ethnicity, disability) or temporary (such as descent, occupation). Education and health services, land rights, housing facilities, employment, financial services, and access to markets are some of the spaces where exclusion is more prominently practiced.

4.5 Social Exclusion and Gender

Empowerment of women promotes and improves social and economic life of any community. Women’s of socially excluded groups are still living in a marginalized position in the patriarchal social structure that dominates the society. They face various discriminative practices in their everyday life. Thus, social exclusion creates severe obstacles to both men and women, however, many of these barriers are higher for women.

It is evident that education can give women greater access to the labor market and increase their status in the family and society as a whole, which ultimately might improve their lifestyle and future well-being. But education status among women of socially excluded groups is very low. They face physical, verbal and sexual abuse in their workplace. Often they are forced to marry at early age, which creates a lifelong trap of physical and mental suffering. Their participation in decision making processes in their own community is very low. As a result, women in socially excluded groups often suffer from a double disadvantage.

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5. Contextualizing MDGs, Achieving Milestones and Challenges

The experience of Bangladesh highlights the utility and significance of effective contextualization of MDGs implementation. Particularly, the adoption of social mobilization approaches and getting intermediate milestones right in the attainment of the goals have been two success areas.

Bangladesh has shown remarkable results in achieving the targets and goals of MDGs. Social mobilization approaches, which create effective partnerships of Government, NGOs and local governments and which use campaign methods as well as specific incentives have brought major achievements. The latest report on MDGs (2012) demonstrates that Bangladesh has already met some targets of MDGs, like reducing poverty gap ratio, achieving gender parity at primary and secondary levels education, growing immunization coverage, reduction of under-five mortality rate, the spread of road-side forestry, restraining HIV infection, children under five sleeping under insecticide-treated bed nets, detection and cure rate of TB under DOTS etc.

Moreover, a recent study shows that out of the total 49 least developed countries, Bangladesh and Cambodia are the top performers in the MDG index (CPD, 2014). A snapshot is given below to illustrate the achievement of Bangladesh in MDG 1 to 6.

5.1 Extreme Poverty

Bangladesh has made admirable improvements in respect of eradication of poverty and hunger among the developing countries. The inclusive growth has resulted in impressive poverty reduction from 56.7% in 1991–92 to 31.5% in 2010. The rate of reduction being faster in the present decade than the earlier ones. The latest HIES 2010 data shows that the incidence of poverty has declined at an annual rate of 2.47% in Bangladesh during 1992–2010 against the MDG target of 2.12%. Bangladesh has already met one of the indicators of target 1 by bringing down the poverty gap ratio to 6.5 against 2015 target of 8.0. The estimated figures suggest that the MDG target of halving the population living below the poverty line (from 56.7% to 29.0%) has already been achieved in 2012.

For Bangladesh, remaining challenges concerning this MDG are: reducing prevalence of poverty in the country to zero percent, addressing socially excluded group in safety nets programs and scale up mobile banking as a financial inclusion tools for the extreme poor.

5.2 Putting Education First

Bangladesh is the only country in South Asia other than Sri Lanka to have already achieved gender parity in education, not only at primary but also at secondary level. Bangladesh has gained momentous progress in escalating impartial access in education, reduction of drop-outs, improvement in completion of the cycle, and implementation of a number of quality enhancement measures in primary education. The national education enrolment rate is 98.7%, i.e. 99.4% for girls and 97.2% for boys. The Constitution of Bangladesh has a provision for free and compulsory primary education for all. Achieving gender parity in primary and secondary enrolment is another area where Bangladesh shows an impressive result.
Despite these encouraging developments, e.g. rising enrolment rates, many children of extremely poor and socially excluded communities are excluded from the formal, i.e. by the state, and non-formal, mainly by NGOs, education sector, and are therefore deprived of their Right to Education. According the UN report “Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children” (January 2014) still more than 5.6 million children have no access to primary (grades 1-5; 2.6 million children) and lower secondary (grades 6–8; 3 million children) education.

5.3 Women’s Agency

Women in Bangladesh have achieved important improvements concerning visibility and mobility. Bangladesh achieved gender parity in primary and secondary education. This progress has happened because of some precise public interventions targeting on girl students, such as stipends and exemption of tuition fees for girls in rural areas, and the stipend scheme for girls at the secondary level. Furthermore, the access to birth control measures and micro-credit compare favorably with the situation in other developing countries. Social attitudes created to looking positively on women’s economic participation have become near universal as well. The Government is committed to attaining the objective of CEDAW (though mentioning several reservations); Beijing Platform for Action and MDGs in conformity with the fundamental rights enshrined in the Bangladesh Constitution and has adopted the National Policy for Women’s Advancement (2011) and a series of programs for ensuring sustainable development of women. There has been an increase in the number of women parliamentarians elected (almost 20 percent of total 350 seats, 50 of them are reserved for women) in the last national election.

However, beyond these first-round victories of visibility and mobility lie new constraints and new areas of strategic challenges. Entrenched patriarchal attitudes and insecurities of public spaces serve to inhibit wider engagement by women to unfold their opportunities. Existing social attitudes still put a low priority on maternal health. While women’s economic participation has expanded, female labour productivity remains very poor.

5.3 Improve Maternal Health, Child Mortality

According to official statistics, Bangladesh has already met the target of reducing under-five mortality rate: against the target of achieving 48 per 1,000 live births in 2015, it has already achieved 44 per 1,000 live births in 2011. The objective of reducing the infant mortality rate is also on track. The successful programs for immunization, control of diarrheal diseases and Vitamin A supplementation are considered to be the most important contributors to the decline in child and infant deaths along with the potential effect of overall economic and social development.

Although there are still deep-seated attitudinal problems to be observed in the society, one clear policy failure has been to promote skilled birth attendants (SBA) bypassing traditional birth attendants (TBA) located within the communities. There are not only technical skill issues but also superstition and lack of knowledge. Contextualization and innovating on local monitoring systems are really challenging (i.e. there is a lack of participation in program design, monitoring and evaluation). To address these issues, we need to utilize existing institutional capacities, such as local health centers, local government

bodies, NGOs, for effective pre-natal care. In that case, bottom-up approaches for reducing child mortality would be a right way to looking forward in future. Another issue of concern and weak area at contextualization is to project the anesthetic program as a case of specialists whereas an effective short-term training could enable locally-based health workers to assist on the matter.16

The maternal mortality ratio in 1990 was 574 per 100,000 live births in Bangladesh. However, according to Bangladesh Maternal Mortality Survey (BMMS), maternal mortality declined from 322 in 2001 to 194 in 2010, a 40% decline in nine years. The average rate of decline from the base year has been about 3.3% per year, compared with the average annual rate of reduction of 3% required for achieving the MDG in 2015.

5.5 Enhancing the Focus on Nutrition

Nutritional status is a key dimension of poverty. Bangladesh has significantly reduced poverty and lowered fertility rates and child mortality. There have also been significant improvements in some development indicators such as basic education and rice production. These all help to bring the country towards the aim of its present government of attaining middle-income status in 2021. Prevalent under-nutrition is one of the major obstacles to achieve this goal.

Nutrition is a multi-sectoral issue with many social and contextual determinants. In that case, the Country Investment Plan (CIP) for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition Sector Development Programme (HPNSDP), the health, food, agriculture and education sectors have the opportunity to impact under-nutrition.

To further improve maternal and child nutrition, Bangladesh needs to strengthen direct (nutrition-specific) and indirect (nutrition-sensitive) interventions within sectors (Local Government stock and rural development, social welfare, women and children Affairs, Life stock and Fisheries, Information, Industry, Planning, Finance and others) under a comprehensive multi-sectoral nutrition strategy.17

5.6 Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases

Bangladesh’s performance in combating the communicable diseases under this goal is appreciated by the world community. Existing data shows that the frequency of HIV/AIDS in Bangladesh currently is less than 0.1% and thus is still below an epidemic level. There was a considerable progress in the decline of malarial deaths in the country over the years.

Expanding quality diagnosis and effective treatment of 90% of malaria cases, promoting use of long-lasting impregnated nets (LLIN) and insecticide-treated nets (ITN) in 100% households in the three districts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and providing intensive Information, Education and Communication (IEC) campaign for increasing mass awareness of prevention and control of malaria are some major interventions that were undertaken to control malaria. Bangladesh has already achieved the MDG targets of TB case detection and cure rates.

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16) Ibid.
17) The European Union, Under nutrition in Bangladesh: A common Narrative, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
5.7 Urban Poverty: An Emerging Challenge

Despite all progress, urban poverty is increasing. Through social safety nets programs, the Government of Bangladesh focused almost exclusively on rural vulnerability and the rural population. Urban poverty is only weakly acknowledged. Housing, internal migration, water, transportation, labor market access, environmental pollution and climate change impact such as different issues are more significant in the lives of the urban poor and have to be factored into the design of responsive social protection programs. So in future, policy direction and public expenditure will need to include as well interventions for the poor urban people.\(^{18}\)

5.8 MDGs: Weak Points

However, some significant weak points can be found in the formulation of MDG\(^ {19}\). Firstly, the MDGs follow a top-down course of action and actions are often not based on rights-based approaches, specific issues were dealt in a fragmented way. Therefore, MDGs in some cases only tackled the symptoms instead of the root causes of the problems addressed. Secondly, the progress of specific target and goals are measured by specific indicators, which ignored the structural relationships that may have evolved from the external sources of the progress. It is evident that the success of poverty reduction is dimmed by the existence of high inequality in the societies of developing countries, which is raising more questions towards the poverty reduction strategies that strongly followed specific indicators determined by MDG 1. Furthermore, MDGs had very little focus on human rights and human development. Finally, the issue of mutual accountability along with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities was practically absent from the MDG framework.

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\(^{19}\) Post 2015 Development Agenda: Bangladesh Proposal to UN Post 2015 Development Agenda, prepared by Bangladesh, a Proposal to replace MDGs for which the terminal Year is 2015. UN will have a new Development Agenda for Post 2015 era, for which the UN system is requested for having proposals from the Member Nations to be submitted to UN by June 2013.
6. Field Reality of Socially Excluded People

6.1 Deprivation: Common Ground for the Excluded Groups

Socially excluded groups who live in different part of Bangladesh are not homogeneous. More than 45 indigenous communities live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) and plain land areas of the country. Beside them, there are the Dalits who also show different socio-cultural characteristics in comparison to the mainstream Bengali society. This study took Santal, Munda and as the representative of indigenous communities and Harijan, Rabidas, Bagdi and Rishi as representatives of the Dalit community.

6.2 Power Relationships and Land Grabbing

The indigenous population (IP) of the CHT, their land including forested areas, constitute resources (which resource directly related their life-cycle acclivities) indispensable for their physical survival as well as provisioning their distinctive social, cultural and religious needs. Land grabbing constitutes the key driving force of the conflict in the CHT between the IP and interest groups of Bengali settlers backed by the military and the state. In addition, there are new patterns of land grabbing among Bengali interest groups, as well as within indigenous groups. These parallel processes, taking place along intra-ethnic and class lines, have made the land conflicts of the CHT even more complex.

To understand the major mechanisms of land grabbing in the CHT one has to understand the role of agencies of the state and the role of various interest groups and organizations in the private sector. Land grabbing happened in different political contexts before and after the introduction of the peace treaty (CHT Peace Accord). Different types of land laws and forms are creating space of land grabbing in the CHT. The system of land property in the CHT is characterized by the co-existence and parallel operation of the three major types of land laws:

(I) formal laws, which apply to the entire country;

(II) formal laws specific to the CHT and its indigenous population;

(III) customary laws of the indigenous population.

Similar things are happening for plain land IP, of whom Santals are one of the biggest groups. Indigenous people of Rajshahi region had been discriminated against for a long time and have lost their land (because of geo-political reason Santals are politically out of focus, NGOs are recently working in these areas). Today most of the land of Santal is occupied by Bengalis. Political interest groups try to occupy their land for economic gains. The right to possess their land, where they have settled for many generations but often do not hold land titles, is a major demand of the Santals.

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6.3 Occupational Identity Works as a Caste

Harijans are not an ethnic group but considered as the Dalits. Their group is defined by the work they are doing as sweepers. Their occupation is passed on to their children. In Saidpur, the Harijan community is facing several types of discrimination. Not only the Muslims but also Hindu communities look down on them. Because of the social and ideological influence of “impurity”, they get oppressed in the society for a long time. They cannot enter a restaurant, people are not having food sitting beside them and do not drink water from the same glass. When their children go to school nobody wants to sit with them. Furthermore, they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples. Discussions with them indicate that these types of discrimination lead to a lack of self-awareness and self-respect among the group members.

6.4 Powerlessness and Issue of Social Dignity

The condition of the Dalits is not possible to change only by developing their economic condition. Problems are manifold and differ in origin. For example, in Saidpur 80 Rabidas families are considered to be advanced from Harijans and they can go to eat at public restaurants, which is not possible for Harijans, who even cannot get their haircut at local barber shops. The mainstream society has impoverished them socially. The thinking of the mainstream society needs to be changed. Due to powerlessness and the prevailing caste system deprived communities are oppressed. As a result, they suffer from an inferiority complex so that most of them do not even try to change their occupation. Their situation has somewhat improved for those who have changed their job, although their number is very low. Their main reason to change their occupation was and is a reducing job demand for sweepers or other occupation that are traditionally conducted by the Dalits. The Government has reduced job opportunities, which forces sweepers to change their occupation.

Rabidas community is a professional community and shoe repair is their main work and they face similar discrimination as Harijan. About 3,000 Rabidas live in Saidpur municipality area, basically from 56 extended families. In 2002, the local organization “Harijan Oikkoparishad” was established to advocate for the rights of all Dalit communities in Saidpur. In 2009, it split into two groups: 1) one group of Rishi and Robidas, 2) Harijan. This separation was triggered as well by a conflict of two national NGOs working with the different groups.

The situation of the local Santali community is quite different, who are whether Hindu or Christians. The latter receive specific support through local missionaries. Their language is even taught at some school of the area. The development of agriculture in this region has changed the lives of indigenous people, triggered by the Barendra Land Development Plan. Traditional delivery still takes place at home, but Santals have the opportunity to visit hospitals in complex cases, which is not possible for Dalits. Therefore maternal and infant mortality has been reduced significantly among the Santal community as well.

Although the diversity among the above-mentioned groups is visible, one significant point where most of the socially excluded groups show common feature is that they are the most disadvantaged people among the poor. It leads to extreme poverty and powerlessness that create a structural arrangement for exploitation and inequality for the socially excluded people.
In the national context, Bangladesh has shown tremendous achievement to fulfill the targets of MDGs. Still, doubts remain about the overall success that was measured by MDG indicators. Additionally, the MDGs failed to change many structural and institutional arrangements that are directly or indirectly responsible in reproducing discriminative practices and ideology in society. Work and descent based discrimination, e.g. in the form of “untouchability” among the Dalits, are still visible in Bangladesh. IPs are still deprived of their indigenous land rights. They are deprived of citizen rights. The rate of poverty among the socially excluded groups is still higher compared to the other groups. However, it is also evident that the level of awareness and understanding of the importance of education has increased significantly among socially excluded people. As part of this study, more than 60 members from different excluded groups have been contacted and all of them send their children to the government and non-government primary school and are able to do so.

However, especially the situation of gender parity and women’s empowerment among the socially excluded groups are not pleasing. Notions of gender inequality are strongly embedded in differential structures of power and hence vary according to different social positions. Women’s participation in politics is very low among the excluded groups. Early marriage, violence against women and dowry are the very common practice among them. Poverty, social insecurity and cultural norms are identified as the root causes of early marriage among the excluded groups. On the other hand, child and infant mortality rate among the socially excluded groups decreased significantly, almost similar to national rates. The successful programs for immunization, control of diarrheal diseases and Vitamin A supplementation are considered to be the most important contributors to the decline in child and infant deaths. It is also evident that the rate of maternal mortality has declined significantly all over the country. The maternal mortality rate among socially excluded groups shows similar figures as at national level. From all community members consulted for this study, only one person from the Bagdi community recalled a case, seven years ago, in which a woman from their community died during delivery.

There was a considerable progress in the decline of malaria deaths in the country over the years. The frequency of HIV/AIDS in Bangladesh currently is less than 0.1 percent and thus is still below an epidemic level. Similar impact in declining Malaria and HIV/AIDS can also be found among the socially excluded groups.
8. Field Level Marginalized Group and Civil Society Recommendations

For the consultations at grassroots level, three districts have been visited and representatives of five socially excluded groups have been consulted. The districts are Saidpur, Rajshahi and Satkhira, the groups are Harijan, Munda, Rabidas, Santals and Rajbangshi. Lastly, a national level hearing was organized. Based on the recommendation from local level consultations and national level civil society representatives the following areas are being identified as the most crucial issues for further discussion (e.g. see annex 1 for details). These key areas and recommendations identified are described below.

8.1 Citizenship and Human Rights

- Establishing citizen rights based on the constitution of Bangladesh, particularly for IP in terms of acknowledgement of their ethnic identities.
- Specific law for the elimination of (caste) discrimination based on work and descent and its implementation.
- Recognition of indigenous rights as personal law of the specific indigenous communities.
- Enumeration of the actual number of socially excluded communities in the next population census.
- The introduction of reserved seats in parliament and at local government councils.
- Right to form political parties, which is not given at present due to registration criteria by the Bangladesh Election Commission.
- Implementation of the CHT Peace Accord, particularly activating the land commission.

8.2 Government Services

Education
- The introduction of a specific section in the National Education Policy for socially excluded people.
- Close monitoring for ensuring free primary education and reducing dropout and enhance quality education for children of socially excluded people.
- Separate educational stipends and budget allocation for excluded children.
- Promoting and implementation of mother tongue education in primary education, particularly for IPs.
- Establishing schools nearest to the communities and in each village/area.
- Increase education quota in higher studies, special scholarship programs, residential facilities and appointment of teachers from excluded groups.

Health
- Government policies should reflect cultural practices of IPs and establish cultural exchange centers and special opportunities for excluded groups in the health care system.
- Ensuring the presence of expert health professional at a micro level and good governance in the health sector.
- Introduce health insurance for extremely poor and socially excluded groups.
- Provide subsidy for the purchase of medicines and professional health care service.
- Identify the excluded groups separately in national health policy and social safety nets programs.
Job Creation and Safety Nets Programs
- Provide special attention to socially excluded groups in safety net programs, particularly in targeting and execution.
- Creating job opportunities through new programs for socially excluded groups through skill development projects.

Land, Natural Resource and Legal Assistant
- Creating correct database of socially excluded groups at union level, e.g. concerning natural resources and land rights.
- Access to *khas*, i.e. state-owned, land and open water bodies for livelihood opportunities and retention of this land from illegal occupancy from the mainstream society.
- Specific policy and budget allocation to rehabilitate the landless and excluded people with the *khas* land.
- Provide legal assistance to socially excluded groups to get any government service.
- Legal recognition of traditional land rights of IP.
- Ensure effective functioning of the CHT Land Commission.
- Proper implementation of the Forest Reservation Policy.

Housing
- Ensuring safe and secure residential facilities for socially excluded groups.

8.3 Areas for Policy Intervention and Create Employment Opportunities

Education
- Promote technical and vocational education to children of socially excluded people.

Health
- Launching special and innovative health care programs (such as prize card/ health card) for socially excluded groups.

Create Employment Opportunities
- Eliminate work- and descent-based discrimination and create enabling working atmosphere.
- Establishing quota system in government, non-government and autonomous institutions for socially excluded groups.
- Ensuring access to financial services and small capital for small business.
- Create indigenous or community health worker among the excluded groups.

Policy Advocacy
- Create a national platform for deprived communities for mobilizing resources regarding health and education.
- Adequate allocation for research on socially excluded groups and their land rights.
- Formulating and implementing a National Plan for resolving the water logging crisis.
- Financial assistance for disaster preparedness and development of infrastructure for socially excluded people.
Land, Natural Resource and Legal Assistant
- Distribution and retention of the khas land and water bodies among landless excluded communities.
- Include the socially excluded communities in governments’ rehabilitation and settlement projects (such as “one house, one farm”) and other activities.

Climate Change
- Land acquisition, development and compensation for socially excluded people affected by climate change.
- Creating and implementing an inter-state agreement for climate change.
- Claiming carbon tax from industrialized countries.
9. EU funded Programs for Social Excluded Groups and Impacts

9.1 Does the EU Development Cooperation Include Socially Excluded People?

During the last 15 years, Bangladesh has experienced multidimensional interventions to improve the livelihood of socially excluded people by the development partners. Among them, the European Union has been given special focus towards the marginalized groups of the country. The EU prioritized rights based approaches to implementing MDGs. To some stance that approach has been found appropriate in developing awareness and sensitizing Government and other development actors on human rights. Below one organizational contemporary case is provided, which provides a snapshot about one European Union funded intervention for socially excluded groups of the country.

Case: Parittran

Implementing partner: Partittran

Name of the project: Enhanced Copping Capacity of the Disadvantaged Community (ECCDC)

Duration: 32 months (from May 2012 to December 2014)

Local Partner: SAMS (Sundarban Adibasi Munda Sangastha)

Summary of the project: Parittran, a local human rights and development organization constituted by a group of student from the Dalit community has been working since 1993 to ensuring human rights of the Dalits. Parittran implements “Enhanced Coping Capacity of the Disadvantaged Community” project funded by the European Union in the sub-districts Tala, Satkhira Sadar and Symnagar under Satkhira district. The main objectives of this project are:

1) Enhanced community-based disaster preparedness to response natural disaster and climate change.
2) Strengthened institutional preparedness of the Local Govts,(LGs), Ward Disaster Management Committees (WDMC), Upazila Disaster Management Committees (UDMC), Civil society organizations (CSOs), to implement appropriate community-based disaster risk reduction measures.
3) Enhanced accessibility into information of the disadvantaged communities.
4) Enhanced capacity of the project personal and those involved for project service delivery.

The disadvantaged Dalits and marginalized communities like Rishi, Munda, cobblers, Fisherman, marginal farmers, Kayra (pig breeder), Behara, Tati (cloth maker), Shikari (hunter) and Moiali (honey collector) are the target beneficiaries of this project (see Annex-4: Protom Alo Dialogue on “Preserving the right to Dalit and deprived community: Anti-Discrimination Act”).
9.2 Is Participation of Socially Excluded in the Development of the Country Strategy Ensured?

In the period 2014–2020, the EU will promote a more equitable growth and improved democratic governance in Bangladesh with the aim of eradicating extreme poverty and increasing resilience, in line with the Agenda for Change and the country national development strategies (Bangladesh Perspective Plan 2010–2021, Outline Perspective Plan of Bangladesh, Vision 2021, and the 6th Five Year Plan 2011–2015, hereafter referred to as the plan).

From mid-2015, the EU aid will synchronize with Bangladesh 7th Five Year Plan 2016–2020 and the EU is committed to the launching joint programming in selected areas with interested EU+ member states. Following an assessment of the existing national development policies and an analysis of the key issues, the MIP proposes to focus on three sectors, which are considered to contribute to the achievement of EU-Bangladesh strategic objectives and the EU Agenda for Change. The proposed priority sectors of EU should consider socially excluded groups specifically.

9.3 Are Socially Excluded People Included in Presents Programs and Projects?

During the field research, this consultant visited two, recently completed, EC-supported projects. One project was “Enhanced Copping Capacity of the Disadvantaged Community” (ECCDC) implemented by Parittran in Satkhira district. The target people were socially excluded groups living in emerging poverty prone areas of the coastal belt. The project followed a rights-based approach, focusing on social awareness as well as mobilization, campaign and advocacy. The other project was “Sustainable Technology Transfer to Enhance Productivity for the Ultra-Poor” (STEP UP) implemented by NETZ Bangladesh in several districts in Bangladesh. Ultra-Poor and socially excluded people are the target group and through agricultural technological interventions the project aims at upgrading livelihood of people (e.g. through crops, livestock and fisheries). Out of these two projects, the EU e.g. also invested in programs implemented by the UNDP and Government. These programs were “Rural Employment Opportunity for Public Asset” (REOPA) and “Vulnerable Group Development for the Ultra-Poor Women” (VGDUP).21

9.4 Are Socially Excluded People Reached in Reality?

In a case of the Parittran project, the total number of final beneficiaries is 25,000 families. Coordination meetings among Ward Disaster Management Committees (WDMC), volunteers and civil groups courtyard meetings with the disadvantaged peoples, workshops with ECOs, CSOs for contingency plan, mass awareness campaigns in different places through drama, skill development training on livestock, as well as networking meetings with stakeholders, are some of the key activities that have been carried out through this project. Besides these, Parittran successfully linked up beneficiaries to get health services from community clinics, tube-well and latrine from local governments, Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF), Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) cards, old-aged allowance, widow and disable allowances through networking and communication through the project intervention.

Rights-based approaches have been adopted in this intervention to raise awareness and enhance coping capacities of the target group during natural disasters. As a result, rights claiming initiatives by community members have increased and group members are claiming services to local service providers as part of their coping mechanism. Women’s active participation in the awareness meeting has also been raised after the project intervention. One other important fact is that through this project Parittran has developed a working relationship with Sundarban Adibasi Munda Sangastha (SAMS), who are the local partner in implementing this particular project. SAMS is composed by Munda community members, who are an indigenous community. Through this partnership, two different community-lead organizations came together to claim their rights and mobilizing their limited resources. This partnership is also a sign of collective voice among the socially excluded groups.

9.5 What is the Impact of EU Policies on Socially Excluded People?

There are some direct impacts of EU policies on socially excluded people. They are mentioned below.

1) The EU follows visibly a rights-based approach, which we saw e.g. at the Parittran project, and EU-supported projects target on real extreme poor and socially excluded people.

2) The EU funds social and economic empowerment projects, such as REOPA and VGDUP, which also contribute to the empowerment of women from socially excluded groups. These projects were designed following a graduation focus, i.e. multiple components combining protection and promotional goals. That is reflected as well in targeting and coverage: i) in REOPA 24,444 destitute women in eco-vulnerable locations for 2 years; ii) in VGDUP project seasonal food insecurity reduced and the job was created for 80,000 destitute women in the same socio-economic condition over 5 years.

3) Continuity and scale up of the projects are the big challenges, particularly regarding the successful graduation projects.

9.6 Is There Policy Coherence?

The proposed EU 2014–2020 Country Strategy Paper focuses on the following three sectors: good governance and human rights, food security and nutrition as well as education and skills training. Firstly, the EU intends to invest in electoral assistance, local governance and access to justice as well as to provide continued support to the development of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, good governance in general and the promotion of human rights. Secondly, the EU intends to promote food security for the most vulnerable women-headed households, in highly food-insecure areas of the country, which are particularly prone to natural disasters and the consequences of climate change. Thirdly, the EU wants to continue support in the field education, including technical and vocational training. Building human capital through education and skills development is seen as a key to the success of the Bangladesh aspiration of becoming a middle-income country in the years ahead. The linkages between education/skills and jobs will, therefore, be emphasized. These three sectors indicate a coherent policy approach to the future development of Bangladesh. That strategy would combine both issue i.e. growth and poverty. But the challenge is financing, the size of coverage and the scaling up all over the country.

10. Suggested Focus for EU Agenda Concerning Socially Excluded People

In the light of the above-mentioned positive developments that have been achieved by EU-support, several gaps persist. Points that the EU agenda should include in future regarding socially excluded people in Bangladesh are listed in the following.

10.1 Human Development

Education is the greatest ladder for social mobility, but an emerging quality divide is rapidly eroding the social mobility potential of education. The quality divides are not only fuelling new economic inequalities but also creating fertile grounds for social conflicts and non-social behavior. An associated concern is the narrowing of interpretive focus across madrasa (religious) education, which stands at odds with the generally more tolerant social practice of religion.

MDG-influenced discourse emphasis on summary indicators, such as enrolment rates in primary and secondary education, because it is easy to achieve. A shortcut mentality has come to prevail amongst politicians and administrators, and indeed even within the electorate, which unwittingly militates against a more holistic engagement on such critical issues as teaching quality, service ethics, classroom environment, performance monitoring and system development. Investment in education and human development especially for socially excluded people will boost up economic growth and reduce poverty.

A comprehensive development instrument on education should be based on certain values: strengthening the solidarity among socially excluded people and their inclusion in social structures, strengthening the cultural identity of the children, promoting active participation as citizens, understanding and deep respect for people from other religions, ethnicities, sexual orientations and physical constitutions. Therefore, further recommendations to EU, following suggestions by consultation with socially excluded people and national civil society, are:

1) Support the Government of Bangladesh to introduce a Right to Education Act to ensure the achievement of “Education for All” with quality and equity.
2) Support advocacy initiatives of CSOs for establishing the Right to Education as a fundamental right.
3) Support governmental and NGO education programs to take into consideration the living conditions of the hardest to reach, as for example of children from alluvium islands and from socially excluded groups as well as children with disabilities; this has to be considered in budgetary procedures and has to result in higher allocations to these population groups.
4) Continue the support of NGOs to reach the hardest to reach children (not reached by PEDP III) in order to fill the gap of children out of school. There should be ensured a better quality of these schools through improved training and higher teachers’ salaries than in the present NFPE schools.
5) Support the Government and the civil society for ensuring adolescent literacy and continued education including open and distance education system for extremely poor and socially excluded groups.
Support the Government and the civil society to establish and stimulate an integrated Early Childhood Development program in the country.

10.2 Nutritional Security

The core finding of recent poverty trends is the contrast between relatively rapid progress on hunger indicators and the persistence of high child malnutrition as indicated by the two indicators of stunting and low birth weight. The challenge of high child malnutrition impinges on behavioral change in terms of food habits, awareness and social factors such as the low age of marriage, which leads to low birth-weight. The EU should address this key “off-track MDG” agenda.

Further recommendations to EU, following suggestions by consultation with socially excluded people and national civil society, are:

1) To achieve the MDGs as a multilateral partner of the development cooperation with Bangladesh, the EU should direct more intensively their development politics to the needs of extremely poor and socially excluded people in future governmental negotiations.
2) Improved rights protection of socially excluded people should be obtained by institutionalizing the access to the judiciary system.
3) The food situation of under-and malnourished infants should be supported by activities of the Government in cooperation with NGOs and UN organizations systematically.
4) Free access to public health system should be ensured for all socially excluded people.
5) The social safety net should be expanded for socially excluded groups and people that cannot work. In doing so, it must be assured that the real needy, as for example widows with children or persons with disability among extreme poor families and old age, will receive support. Diminishing corruption and the introduction of better control mechanisms are requisites for its achievement.
6) Expand support to the Government of Bangladesh and NGOs in carrying out the food security and livelihood improvement programme focusing on the extremely poor and socially excluded people by starting selection from the bottom of the poverty line (first those with less than 1,600 kcal per day).

10.3 Promotional Safety Nets and Graduation

For addressing a comprehensive social protection strategy, protection and promotion are increasingly recognized as dual goals. However, graduation consequences of promotional safety nets pursued by poor household and especially socially excluded people themselves over and beyond specific project time-lines is a conspicuous knowledge gap. In future, EU-supported projects should focus on promotional safety nets and graduation.

10.4 Poverty Trends in Poverty Pockets

The current poverty trends and feature of poverty in Bangladesh shows a concentration in certain poverty pockets. Areas such as the Monga belt in northern districts have been in policy focus for some time. An updated understanding of poverty trends in such pockets and on the specific situation of excluded groups is an important knowledge gap. Such updated analytical understanding will provide important inputs for the design of the EU future projects.
10.5 Climate Change and Vulnerability
During the last years, climate change poses new vulnerabilities, e.g. in the coastal areas. These areas are already becoming burdened with various vulnerabilities. Communities, particularly at risk, include the coastal population, a population in the low-lying haor areas, people living along and on islands within the larger rivers and urban settlements. A researched understanding of their specific risks will be critical in planning for supportive measures, which should be part of any future EU supported project.

10.6 Urban Poverty
Urban poverty is very limited in analytical understanding of the growing phenomenon. The differential characteristics of urban poor vis-à-vis the rural poor has not been adequately captured. The face of urban poverty may also differ across the urban spectrum: from mega-cities to secondary towns. The urban poor face different kind of vulnerabilities, but are presently addressed by rural poverty mitigation approaches. To address this existing, this knowledge should be a priority towards the future development agenda for the EU.
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12. Annexes

12.1 Annex 1:
Benchmarking the Draft UN Principles and Guidelines on Elimination of (Caste) Discrimination Based on Work and Descent - Study by Nagorik Uddoyog

Significant Gaps

General:
- The Constitution of Bangladesh does not make any specific reference to practices related to caste-based discrimination and segregation, such as a prohibition on ‘untouchability’ practices that restrict people from freely accessing shops, restaurants, barber shops, hotels and places of public bathing, or places of worshiping. Nor are there any guidelines for promoting the improvement of the economic and social conditions of work and descent-based communities.

- National censuses and government surveys do not take account of caste-based social groups and, therefore, there is no reliable official disaggregated data or information at neither the national or state levels about the exact population of the Dalits nor the extent of caste disparities in such areas as development and security of life. There also has not been any comprehensive data or survey on social and economic discrimination built into any of the current Government of Bangladesh statistical data collection tools, which could also be disaggregated by caste and gender. This makes any specific planning for the Dalits and Dalit women, and targeted interventions in terms of development and financial assistance for this excluded community, difficult.

- No affirmative action has so far been taken to improve the socio-economic conditions of Dalits in line with Article 14 of the Constitution. There is no quota or reservation in government jobs for Dalits. The government has not taken any steps to expand the categories of reserved posts to include Dalits.

- Major government policies, such as the national housing policy, water policy and education policy, do not categorically forbid practices of ‘untouchability’ and caste discrimination. On the one hand, certain policies are framed through a universalist perspective or provisioning for all communities, such as the National Food Policy and National Water Policy. No emphasis is thus placed on socially excluded communities such as Dalits, nor in setting a norm of non-discrimination in place when dealing with access to these basic amenities. On the other hand, other policies like the National Housing Policy obligate the government to ensure essential, emergency and limited rehabilitation/housing among ‘ultra poor’, ‘uprooted’ people and to ensure pure drinking water, sanitation of slum dweller and ultra-poor people. Within this broadly targeted policy, no mention is made about socially excluded groups such as Dalits; nor is non-discrimination prescribed as a norm.

- No specific measures for Dalit women, or mention of Dalit women within general gender measures, have been created. Even though the National Women’s Development Policy mandates special attention to the right of women from ‘backward groups’; this has not been translated into specific programmes as yet that benefit Dalit women.
• The current budgetary allocations for some welfare measures for mainstreaming the Hijra, Dalit, Harijan and Bede communities are inadequate in comparison to the extent of deprivations faced by the communities. In the absence of official assessments of the expenditure and impact of such measures, it is not possible to assess the effectiveness of such financial outlays.

• Though the state has made periodic submissions to UN system as regards different treaties and covenants, it has not taken sincere measure particularly to operationalize the directives of CERD as regards widespread sensitisation on non-discrimination based on caste. The spirit of CERD Recommendation XXIX is yet to resonate in Bangladesh’s legal and policy regimes. This gap needs to be repeatedly brought to the government’s notice.

Security of Life and Access to Justice:
• Given the current lack of recognition in law and policy of the Dalits as a separate social group requiring special protection, there have been no government steps taken to encourage the Dalits to register complaints of caste-based discrimination and violence. Moreover, no police station maintains any separate registrar to record the complaints made by the Dalits, which enables the nature and extent of caste violence to remain hidden.

• Despite several laws and policies for the elimination of all forms of physical and mental violence against women in Bangladesh, there is little understanding of the additional vulnerabilities of Dalit women to such violence. Hence, no special mention is made of the nature of intersectional caste and gender violence and exploitation.

• Notwithstanding the Constitution of Bangladesh’s provision for equality of all citizens before the law, no law or policy has included any specific provision for ensuring access to legal justice for the Dalits as systematically excluded the group. This includes the lack of a legal entitlement to legal aid and other measures to promote the Dalits’ access to justice.

Employment and Labour:
• The Government of Bangladesh and Local Government Institutions have not made substantial and systematic efforts to create alternative employment opportunities and open up access to markets for the Dalits. Moreover, no policy or programme has yet been taken up that can facilitate the transition of different Dalit communities from their conventional occupation to market-based employment.

• No comprehensive legislation has been enacted to ensure the rights to decent work, a living wage and basic labour rights for Dalit communities. Neither do the existing laws on employment and labour rights specify in any place caste equality and special protection for the Dalits to ensure their decent and dignified work.

• Manual scavenging – which in Bangladesh context basically means manual sewerage work, and occasionally involves the manual clearing of solid human waste, particularly in semi-urban and rural contexts – is widely practised, but there is no government focus nor plan of action to eradicate this ‘inhumane’, ‘unhygienic’ and ‘risky’ occupation.

• None of the laws, policies and programmes on forced, bonded or child labour currently being implemented by the Bangladesh government make any reference to caste vulnerabilities to these
forms of prohibited labour. There seems to be a lack of understanding of the close correlation between being poor and being vulnerable to discrimination, and between being subject to multiple and persistent forms of discrimination at work and being vulnerable to forced labour or child labour.

- The Bangladesh government has not yet adopted any specific policy regarding the elimination of descent-based work, which is also a form of forced labour.

- IFIs, MNCs, TNCs and other market entities that work in Bangladesh are not – as much as it can be understood from their annual reports and other official documents – aware or sensitized about the extent of discrimination that is practiced in Bangladesh society on the basis of caste. Therefore, they do not follow any principle of ‘affirmative action’ while recruiting employees.

**Living Conditions, Health and Education:**

- No mention is made in any government policy, law, budget or programme regarding targets or goals for ensuring the availability and non-discriminatory access to healthcare, sanitation and basic hygiene standards for the Dalits.

- Despite a constitutional pledge to build an inclusive nation, social exclusion when it comes to land is entrenched as far as the Dalits are concerned. The current rules make it virtually impossible for the Dalits to get a share of government allocations and schemes in relation to land distribution and rural housing. One main reason is that the Dalits or their ancestors are not peasants, connected to agrarian professions. This is an issue that needs to be clearly identified, talked about and then resolved. Even if the Dalits were not connected to agrarian professions in many cases, they deserve to have a minimum level of land ownership as they are amongst the most vulnerable groups of people in the country.

- Education programmes and policies to date talk about access and equity and refer to the backwardness of ‘tribal’ people and of women and poorer section of the population. No specific mention is made of Dalit communities, nor special provisions made to ensure their educational development on par with the rest of the country’s population.

**Disaster Management:**

- Neither the Government of Bangladesh nor international organizations working in the country in disaster recovery and development programmes have much awareness or understanding on issues of caste discrimination in disaster relief and recovery. Hence, measures such as social equity audits and caste analysis frameworks in order to tackle exclusion and discrimination in all development and disaster recovery programmes are not at all present.

- National mechanisms for disaster management, relief and rehabilitation do not refer to Dalits, nor provide grievance redress mechanisms that Dalits can access in case of facing any discrimination while access disaster relief and rehabilitation programmes.
V. Significant Recommendations

General:
• In Bangladesh the first and foremost necessity for eliminating caste discrimination in access to public spaces and services, and physical segregation are to give recognition to the fact that caste-based discrimination is part of its social fabric that needs to be addressed. Without this ‘recognition’ no fruitful action might be taken effectively. Hence, public campaigns and information sharing must be undertaken to create a ‘discourse’ on the Dalit situation in the country and to promote the elimination of caste discrimination and ‘untouchability’ practices.

• A law should be enacted for prohibiting caste discrimination and the denial of equal access to public places and services, and laying down punishment for such practices. In this regard, the government should prioritise the enactment of the Anti-Discrimination law proposed by the Law Commission, in consultation with the National Human Rights Commission and civil society organizations.

• The government should promote discussions between officials and Dalit communities and leaders in order to examine the scope for expanding the existing ‘affirmative action’ regimes to include the community for their development on par with other Bangladesh citizens. It is necessary to have a better understanding of how quota system reform might be put to the better service of the Dalits, especially in the areas of both public and private sector employment and education.

• Disaggregated data – national, state, district and community/group-based data - is required on different demographic aspects of Dalit communities, including their population, education and employment status, as regards different demographic aspects. With such data in hand, the government should engage in a participatory process to enable the creation of targeted measures that meet the fundamental development and other needs of the Dalits.

• As an immediate measure, a special survey and study should be commissioned by the government to produce data as regards different disadvantaged women groups including Dalit women.

• The government should integrate training for all government officials and police at the national, district and local government levels on to understand the heterogeneity of Bangladesh society, gender and caste awareness, and how to particularly address the specific vulnerabilities of the Dalits and Dalit women.

• All mediums of public communication, including television documentaries, dramas and movies should be utilized to portray a positive image about the Dalits, both Hindu and Muslim, and to debunk the adverse perceptions of this community.

• More systematic work should be done by religious, cultural, educational and media institutions to build the capacities of the Dalits – via inclusion initiatives into such institutions, building their skills to be able to document their life histories and struggles, by engagement with the communities to build understanding and promote harmony among castes and religions.

• All intergovernmental organisations, including international financial institutions, should ensure that development or assistance projects which they support to take into account the socio-economic situation of the Dalits. International Financial Institutions should incorporate caste and gender disaggregated analysis into corporate social development strategies and poverty and...
social assessments in order to ensure equal benefits to the Dalits. Prior to approval of projects and in on-going projects, in consultation with Dalit NGOs and academics, these institutions should investigate the effect of their proposed policies and programmes on caste discrimination and ensuring equal access and enjoyment of basic entitlements, and seek ways to strengthen Dalit communities in new and on-going projects through anti-discriminatory and pro-Dalit measures.

- A monitoring mechanism in the form of a Dalit Commission or Equity and Inclusion Commission should be created to monitor the situation of Dalits in all areas including access to any government measures intended to protect and promote their rights.

**Security of Life and Access to Justice:**

- The government should issue strict guidelines as to the conduct of police in registering and investigating crimes of discrimination and violence against the Dalits. It should be made mandatory that all complaints of caste-based discrimination and violence be immediately registered by the police, and that police officials don’t resort to investigations without the proper registration of the case.

- Legal awareness programmes must be introduced among Dalit communities, so as to make them aware of their rights and support them in accessing legal remedies for any discrimination or violence done to them. In this regard, the government should link with community-based organisations in order to reach to communities. The Dalits have to be convinced that it not their ‘destiny’ to routinely become subject to discrimination, ill-treatment and violence.

- The government should amend the Legal Aid Rules in order to incorporate the mandatory provision of legal aid to the Dalits who need to access justice.

- Laws and policies to address violence against women need to be re-examined in order to make specific reference to the Dalit women and girls, or multiple discrimination and violence, and should outline protection measures that are particularly applicable to them.

**Employment and Labour Rights:**

- A comprehensive employment law, covering both public and private sector employment, with a special emphasis on the Dalits, must be developed. This legislation should specify reservations for the Dalits in employment in the public and private sectors.

- Comprehensive legislation, as well as time-bound plans for the complete eradication of manual scavenging, must be formulated and implemented, which also provide for the rehabilitation of those engaged in manual scavenging into decent, skilled work.

- With the implementation of economic policy reforms, labourers are at the receiving end. Hence, social security provisions for Dalit workers in the unorganised sectors need to be enacted and implemented by the government.

- To break away from caste shackles, one effective way would be to seek out a livelihood through professions that ‘tradition’ does not attribute to a Dalit. Vocational training, basic education and competent linking up with the market could be basic forms of support. Adequate and targeted vocational training initiatives need to be developed to equip Dalit youth with gainful and decent
employment. This must be coupled with methods to reach information on such initiatives to Dalit communities in rural and urban areas, in order to facilitate their access to such opportunities.

- The government should review its programmes to eliminate prohibited forms of labour - bonded, forced and child labour, including trafficking - and report on both how many Dalits are victims of these forms of labour as well as how many Dalits become beneficiaries of the various government efforts in this regard.

Living Conditions, Health and Education:

- Major livelihood-related policies such as health, nutrition, water, sanitation, land and education policies in Bangladesh need to categorically refer to the disadvantageous condition of the Dalits and provide a framework for improving their access to such basic entitlements.

- For populations such as the sweepers, bathroom cleaners, tea-workers and others there need to be specialized health and medical centres established to cater to their health needs. City corporations and municipalities have the responsibility to ensure the physical and mental health of the sweepers and other Dalit workers. They must take up specialized programmes targeting the Dalits in this regard.

- It is important to assess the severity of the problems in Dalit colonies across the country and, accordingly, develop a time-bound plan of action to ensure that adequate and discrimination free housing, water, food and sanitation facilities are provided to all Dalit households. Dalit communities should be allowed to participate in the evolution of this plan of action.

- The government should ensure that all infrastructure programmes supported by the government facilitate Dalit communities to access water, food, sanitation, land, irrigation and social infrastructure proportionately and without discrimination.

- With proper policies and programmes from the government, the district administration, in particular districts, can take up specific programmes for improving the overall housing and living condition of the Dalit people. This can be done in collaboration with the Local Government Institutions and Directorate of Public Health Engineering (DPHE) under the Ministry of Local Government.

- A national survey should be undertaken to identify which social groups have access to land and which do not. Based on this survey, all Dalits without title to their ‘ancestral’ homestead land should be identified and a process started to grant them a title. Moreover, targeted land allocations of khas lands can be made in order to ensure the prioritising of land entitlement grants to landless groups such as the Dalits. The land title should be granted in women’s names, or as a joint title. Moreover, all lands allotted to the Dalits being non-transferable under any circumstances to non-Dalits.

- The government should constitute an ‘Equity Working Group’ within the Education Ministry to continually devise and monitor targeted education schemes for the Dalits. These schemes should be devised in consultation with Dalit communities and CSOs. Schemes would include scholarships allocated for Dalit children in order to encourage their schooling and higher education.

- The government should identify and develop activity-based modules to promote diversity, equity and social inclusion in classrooms and schools, and these should be included in teacher training modules. Time should be allocated within the school schedule for such processes and activities.
Government officials need to have a comprehensive understanding of the issue of caste discrimination. Discussions on caste, stratification and the politics of exclusion can be included in curricula of training organizations such as BPATC, Judicial Training Academy and Police Academy and other civil services related academies and centres.

**Disaster Management:**

- The government authorities, through community resource mapping exercises like infrastructure audits, should assess the livelihood patterns, specific vulnerabilities and needs in Dalit localities. This would enable the authorities to set up mechanisms of direct warning signals and would help in devising needs-based employment generation programmes for the Dalits recovering from disasters.

- State agencies should collaborate with CSOs to develop tools based on participatory methods and principles of social equity audit, for monitoring/auditing the extent of social equity and an inclusion of the Dalits in disaster response and risk reduction programmes. This should be coupled with procedures laid down so that the complete inclusion of Dalits and other vulnerable groups is ensured as a non-negotiable entitlement in disaster management.

- The National Plan for Disaster Management should be amended to contain a grievance redress mechanism in case of denial or discrimination in access to disaster relief and rehabilitation materials.

### 12.2 Annex 2:

**10 Demands for Dalit Groups**

1) Establishing Anti-Discrimination Law for securing Human Rights of Dalits and Harijan community. And declaring ‘untouchability’ as an offensive act in the public and private domain.

2) Ensuring the active participation from Dalits and Harijan Communities in preparing a National Development Plan by Mainstream Political Parties and placing it into their election manifesto to ensure the socio-economic development and empowerment of the Dalit and Harijan communities.


4) Introducing Reserve sits in National Parliament and Local government bodies for the Dalits and Harijan communities for ensuring their Representation.

5) Safety net programs of the government (such as old age allowance, widow allowance, disable allowance, VGD & VGF card etc.) will have to prioritize the Dalits and Harijan communities.

6) Constitutional amendment 29 (3) have to establish for Dalits and Harijan communities, which is already committed by the Honorable Prime Minister, to create Employment and Education opportunities for the Dalit people. Education stipend program also needs to be launched for these communities.

7) Up-to-date the Employment Policy for Harijan community in the City Corporations and municipal corporations should be updated and 80 percent position of cleaners or sweepers have to reserve for the member of Harijan community.

8) Fifty percent quota should be secured for Dalits in overseas employment.

9) Ensuring permanent allocation of khash land for Dalits and Harijan communities and providing financial support to build a house at their present residential location.

10) Enumerating the Dalits and Harijan communities properly in the national census.
Annex 3:
Prothom Alo Dialogue, Preserving the Right to the Dalit and Deprived Community: Anti-Discrimination Act

Mizanur Rahman, Chairman, Human Right Commission
The condition of the Dalit in Bangladesh is very unsatisfactory. We have been running movement against this for a long ago. There is no place of discrimination in the constitution. Despite, there is discrimination in every stage of the society. The form of discrimination against the Dalits is very shocking. It violates the basic rights of the people. An incident of Jypurhat has shocked us. A lawyer of Rabidas community dined with some his community people in the lawyer’s cafeteria. The utensils used during dining were sent to his home and forced him to pay for these utensils because other lawyers would not use these. Can you imagine this in this 21st century? I went to Birganj with some young lawyers in 2002 or 2003 to conduct a research. There I observed some bitter experiences. The extreme truths those are hidden in these incidents are really inhuman and pathetic. We took initiatives in the Senate Building of the University of Dhaka with Mansuher Jonno Foundation, Law Commission, Representatives of the Dalit community, and different organizations of civil society to enact a strong law. After completing some consultation meeting, we prepared the Discrimination Eradication Act. Another consultation meeting was conducted and the results were sent to the Law Ministry with some amendments and additions. We hope the Act will be passed as soon as possible.

Milon Das, Executive Director, Parittran
I am a member of the Dalit society. We have been experiencing the discrimination in every step of our lives. I went to a sweat shop with other friends when I was in class five. I was given sweat in paper instead of any utensil. Even water was denied in a glass. I went to a barbershop to have my hair cut for visiting my uncle’s house. After getting my identity, the barber stopped cutting hair in the middle. Then I had to go to uncle’s house with a bald head. Thus, the pattern of discrimination has been changed hardly till today. Hamida Hossain and Meghna Guhthakurta came to see our problems in 2005. From that time, we have been running the movement against such discrimination and for enacting the law against discrimination. Then we thought as if it was the problem of Satkhira, Jessore and Khulna regions. Now it has been turned into a national problem. Though we have progressed in education, job market and trade and business, we cannot get rid of hate of the people. We have to live below human standard. I had to get me admitted into education institution after a hard struggle. But I cannot go much with my education life. People throw hateful languages like “The son of cobbler will be a barrister!” People hate our occupation. We are afraid of living in the coming future. The condition of Dalit women and children is much more dangerous. Most of the time, we are denied of justice. Sometimes we are threatened to be ousted. We demand a respectful life in all sectors of life including education and jobs. In this regard, the state has to be more empathetic.

Ratan Das, PORITRAN
There are 100 of disrespectful proverbs in the society about the cobblers. In these circumstances, where a community will a get a place to feel relieved? I had the dream of being a teacher and gathered the quality that is required for being a teacher. Till today, I sat for the exam in 46 schools for a job. I have to stop at one point- I am the member of Dalit community. I admit that I am not Moheshwar Das, I am Muchi (cobbler) Das. When my identity is revealed, job disappears. I was asked about my caste in every school. I taught in several schools without remuneration for a long time. The sad thing is that I didn't get any job in those schools too. I sat in the exams of the government primary schools for eight times.
After knowing my name, they don’t want to listen anything else. I attended the exam of government high schools for twice and several times in family planning. Still I have not broken within. I will keep trying. In some schools, although I secured the first position in the job examinations, they could not recruit me. The dream of being a teacher will never be removed from my heart. I will go to anywhere of Bangladesh if any one calls me for teaching.

Meghna Guhathakurta, Executive Director, RIB

The law has to be passed in the quickest possible time in parliament. Though it has been stated in the constitution that all people are equal, but there is no practice of that in the society. It is required to have some complementary laws to eradicate discrimination completely from the society. That is why the initiative of an anti-discrimination act has been taken up. A good law not only drives out crime from the society but also creates a social value system. Everyone expressed doubts about the application of this law. I too have doubts. A value system should be developed in the society to apply the law properly. The best way of developing social value system is education institutions. It is essential to have anti-discrimination cell in every education institution. In this regard, the mass media can play a crucial role. If media publish the discriminations of the society intensively, people will be aware of that. There are some other communities including indigenous and gipsy groups who are deprived. It is urgent to bring them under this law too. If the law is implemented properly, Bangladesh’s reputation will be increased internationally.

Sereja Targa, Ethnic Group Representative

This law is necessary for two reasons. One: through this law, the Dalit and deprived community will be strengthened. Two: Bangladesh will gain reputation internationally. Discrimination against any community is unacceptable in any democratic society. Racial discrimination is the worst form of discrimination. It disrespects humanity. Racial discrimination should be given special importance. Every human has the right to live with dignity. As a human being, people of all class and occupation should be given their deserved right and dignity. That is why this law should be passed so that no one is subject to racial discrimination and everyone can be proud of his/her community. Names of every community should be mentioned in the law, because, identity increases people’s dignity.

Ashok Das, Dalit Group Representative

It seems that discrimination is our fate. We demand relief from this condition. Many of us have changed their identity to live with dignity. If anyone changes his title for living with dignity, what can be more sorrowful than this? That is why we demand something that can free us from this condition. Though the term Muchi (cobbler) has been changed in the law of 1962, still this term is used in many books. In this regard, the state is not behaving properly with us. We hope, you all will consider our issue with due importance.

Nirmol Chandra Das, Horijan Leader

There are a lot of laws in the country. This is not the fact that all laws are serving good purposes. We have been suffering from discrimination from the beginning of our birth. We are having jobs, education with these discriminations with us. We never got hopeless. If we become subject to discrimination after passing laws, we can be able to resort to laws. Law will work as strength. We have been running movement struggle for a long time for passing such a law. The number of population of the Dalits is 1 crore. Among them, the people of Horijan community are more
neglected than all. If we did not exist, how could you be able to live in this city? We keep the city clean and clear. If we can access to a better livelihood, we will be able to work better. We do not have ownership to lands other than the government lands. We were born here; still we are living here and will die here as well. Nonetheless, we are victim to ousting regularly. Then where should we go? Finance minister allotted 10 crore taka for housing last year. But there was not a single brick inserted. Where does money go? Again, this time, 50 crore taka has been allotted. We do not know whether anything will be done with this money or not. Many developments take place to the country, but there is no change to our fate.

Suhrid Sarker, Dalit Group Representative

The Dalits are a part of the working class people. Working class people are very often deprived of their rights. The movement-struggles Dalit people are going through have not been futile. Now, the law to protect these people is going to be passed. This roundtable meeting proves how far Dalit people have reached. The movement with good intention never goes into vain. People of all communities should come forward to fight against discrimination.

Sanjib Drong, Adivasi Representative

I have seen the draft of the anti-discrimination law. What was enshrined in the law of indigenous people, it is missing in this law. For example, the fact that the Dalits and deprived people are repressed historically should be inserted in the forefront of this law. This fact was included in the law for indigenous people. We are a human being at the end. But what kind of discrimination prevails between people! The Dalits are victims of injustice historically. That is why such a principle should be taken so that the state remains on the side of the Dalits and deprived people. The identity of the people is a big issue. If there is any disrespectful thing within the identity of anyone, he/she cannot stand up. One of the major goals of our freedom movement was to build a society free of discrimination. But today, discrimination is in every step of the state. The human values should be created out of the inner core of the state. The law may protect the Dalits from hate and discrimination; but what will be the case of their land rights? These issues should be taken with due importance.

M. Shah Alam, Member Law Commission

We have submitted the draft of the law in the ministry. But it has not been passed yet. In this regard, the mass media including Prothom Alo should work with the proper salience of the issue. The Law Commission has made a draft and submitted to the ministry on the basis of the drafts you have submitted to the law commission. The number of the Dalits is more than 70 lacs in Bangladesh. Due to the incorporation of other communities into this community, the number exceeds 80 lacs. The communities we have discussed today have been brought under this law. Therefore, this is very unlikely that any community will be going missing. We have noted all the instructions and suggestions you have recommended. But still, if you find anything is missing, notify us; we will try to bring those under the law. This law tells about each and every class based community. But the names of the communities are not mentioned. It is because we did not intend to ensure the civic rights under particular name instead of greater civic rights. There are names in the concept paper. Very often, there are questions in the police verification. That is why we have given the duty of verification to the Human Rights Commission. Keep the movement struggles continue until the implementation of the law. We hope this will be a good law for you.

In the period 2014–2020, the EU will promote a more equitable growth and improved democratic governance in Bangladesh with the aim of eradicating extreme poverty and increasing resilience, in line with the Agenda for Change and the country national development strategies (Bangladesh Perspective Plan 2010–2021, Outline Perspective Plan of Bangladesh, so-called Vision 2021, and the Sixth Five Year Plan 2011–2015, hereafter referred to as the Plan).

From mid-2015, EU aid will synchronise with Bangladesh 7th Five Year Plan 2015–2020 and the EU is committed to launching joint programming in selected areas with the interested EU+ Member States. This will require a review of the MIP 2014–2020 for the remaining 5 years, including possible amendments. Following an assessment of the existing national development policies and an analysis of the key issues, the MIP proposes to focus on three sectors which will contribute to the achievement of EU-Bangladesh strategic objectives and the EU Agenda for Change:

I) Strengthening Democratic Governance.
II) Food and Nutrition security.
III) Education and Skills Development.

Support for the implementation of the Peace Accord in the Chittagong Hill Tracts will continue under the three sectors above. This will help reduce regional disparities.

PRIORITY SECTORS AND SPECIFIC OBJECTS

I) Strengthening Democratic Governance (Indicative Amount EUR 103-138 Million)

The following overall and specific objectives will be pursued:

Overall objective: Support at different levels of government and society an efficient system of good governance, consistent with democratic values of participation, accountability, justice and respect for human rights.

For each of the specific objectives the main expected results are:

Specific objective 1: Foster democratic ownership
- An empowered civil society, social partners and social dialogue contribute to a more accountable and legitimate State.
- Adolescents and youth participate meaningfully in decisions that affect their lives.

Specific objective 2: Strengthen local governance
- Capacity, accountability and coordination mechanisms at the lowest levels of local government strengthened for dispute resolution/access to justice and land administration.
Specific objective 3: Enhance financial governance
- Public expenditure and participatory fiscal management strengthened.

II) Food Security and Nutrition (Indicative Amount EUR 276-310 Million)

The following overall and specific objectives will be pursued:

Overall objective: Reduce food insecurity and malnutrition

For each of the specific objectives the main expected results are:

Specific objective 1: Enhance livelihoods, in particular for extremely poor women & increase resilience
- Food and nutrition security policy enhanced.
- Social protection system strengthened.
- Income earning opportunities, services and market linkages for the extreme poor scaled up.
- Vulnerability to shocks and stresses reduced including expected impacts from climate change.

Specific objective 2: Improve maternal and child nutrition
- Nutrition governance strengthened.
- Child care, hygiene and diet improved.

III) Education and Skills Development (Indicative Amount EUR 276-310 Million)

The following overall and specific objectives will be pursued:

Overall objective: Contribute to a better educated, trained and qualified human capital in Bangladesh

For each of the specific objectives the main expected results are:

Specific objective 1: Increase access to, and completion of, quality and equitable education.
- Efficient, inclusive and equitable primary education system further improved.
- Access to and completion of education for hard to reach children improved.
- Absorptive capacity, completion, and quality of secondary education improved.

Specific objective 2: Improve access to an equitable labour market
- Skills development systems further improved.
- Individual employability, awareness of rights, and ability to adapt to labour market enhanced.
CASE OF PYGMIES IN SOUTH KIVU

Improving EU Development AID Policy for a Better Framework of POST–2015 Agenda in Favour of the Socially Excluded in the DRC

Paulin Polepole
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Capital:</strong></th>
<th>Kinshasa</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Official language:</strong></td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other languages:</strong></td>
<td>Lingala, Kituba, Swahili, Tshiluba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Ethnic groups:** | Bantu (80%)  
Pygmies (2%)  
Others |
| **Religion:** | 80% Christianity  
10% Islam  
10% Others |
| **Area:** | 2,345,409 km² |
| **Population:** | Total: 81,680,000 (19th)  
Density: 33.01/km² (182nd) |
| **GDP (PPP) 2015 estimate** | Total: $61.579 billion  
Per capita: $753.907 |
| **GDP (nominal) 2015 estimate:** | Total: $35.571 billion  
Per capita: $435.497 |
| **Gini (2006):** | 44.4 (medium) |
| **Currency:** | Congolese franc (CDF) |
| **Time zone:** | WAT and CAT (UTC+1 to +2) |
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1. Introduction

The MDGs, adopted by the international community in 2000 and defined by 7 goals, are going to be evaluated in 2015. The DRC is listed among the evaluated countries. The time has come to reflect on the post-2015 period through national consultations led simultaneously by UNDP on the one hand, and a collective of CSOs on the other. Therein related reports resume the results accomplished by the Congolese government and the aspirations of the Congolese people for the period after 2015. Certain social groups there are described as vulnerable minorities (women, disabled people, people suffering from HIV, unassisted seniors…) that deserve special attention within the action of the government. The Pygmies are not on the list, even though the international plan recognizes them respectively. Furthermore, the EU is one of the biggest donors to DRC in several sectors. Despite its aid, the vulnerable groups linger in their situation of extreme poverty. Hence the concern of what to do for the EU aid to be more effective in favour of Pygmies. Specific solutions are suggested in this paper. On one hand, this document informs about the discriminations that the Pygmies face, their situation of extreme poverty, their social exclusion in relation to several political and social processes; on the other hand, it provides propositions to steer the EU and its members to change their development aid policy in favour of the poorest and vulnerable.

The current report deals with a study conducted in the province of South Kivu. It focuses on the impact of MDGs on Pygmies in comparison with the situation of other national groups.

The realisation of this paper required a literature summary of existing works. Additional set of information was acquired during consultations with Pygmy communities in three territories of the province, namely the territories of Kabare, Kalehe and Walungu, and during hearings with the CSOs that support the Pygmies. The methodological note in the annex provides further details.

The goal of this approach is to achieve an improved framework of post-2015 MDGs in favour of the poorest and to see the EU show greater commitment to improving its development policy and the policy of its Member States.
2. Pygmies: A Minority in South Kivu

F. Capotorti states that a group of individuals constitutes a minority once it is numerically inferior to the rest of the population, occupies a non dominant position, and same in political, economic, social and cultural terms; once its members possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics different from those of the rest of the population, and likewise if tied by a bond of solidarity based on the preservation of their culture, tradition, religion or their language. J. Deschenes implies very much alike.

In South Kivu, Pygmies possess these characteristics and can be recognized as a national minority in the DRC. The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) recognizes the existence of Pygmies as ethnic minorities in the countries of the AU where they live. They present a numerical minority: the Congolese government estimates some 63,600 of individuals in the province of South Kivu.

Discrimination and Exclusion of Pygmies in South Kivu

After the 29th session of the ACHPR in Libya in 2001, the representatives of indigenous people testified the violations which they were victims of: discrimination and scorn, alienation of their lands, destruction of their means of subsistence, of their culture and their identity, extreme poverty, lack of access and participation in political decisions, lack of access to education and healthcare etc. The report of experts of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations of ACHPR recognizes the Pygmies as victims of these violations and even worse: Pygmies do not have civil status records (birth certificates, death certificate, marriage certificates,…), which are, however, the records that prove nationality and that enable execution of citizen rights, they are not represented in state structures and do not participate in the management of public affairs.

Bringing into effect an EU-funded project on the rights of ethnical minorities, indigenous people and other victims of discriminations, the NPO APRODEPED published a report which outlines the indescribable misery of this social group: they are malnourished; they have no access to healthcare, drinkable water, housing, employment, education etc. If they succeed in finding work, their income is really negligible to cover their basic social needs, such as their children's school attendance, alimentation… Their salaries are much lower compared to those of Bantus for the same tasks.

Consulted Pygmies and the CSOs confirmed these assertions. Moreover, they topped them with the prohibition to exercise the right of use within protected areas, as stipulated in the Forest Code: reportedly, they would be arrested, detained or even tortured for being found with honey, mushrooms, deadwood or bitter little eggplants within the boundaries of the KBNP,… although it is permitted by law.

Particularly Disadvantaged Regions

The areas inhabited by Pygmies are particularly affected by wars and armed conflicts. Nowadays, there still exist several active armed groups in the areas inhabited by Pygmies. This subjects them to permanent insecurity.
Furthermore, with the exception of the Ruzizi plain, all Pygmy campsites are unaccessible due to the impassability or the absence of roads. Generally speaking, there is no market, no radio station to provide information to certain locations.

No politico-administrative authorities visit these campsites, no elements of police or national army are present.

Any reasons for the discrimination of Pygmies?

The consulted Pygmies and the CSOs that support them think that they are discriminated because:

- They have not studied for a long time, which disables them from taking part in public debate.
- The language, the inferiority complex and the condescending attitude of certain Bantus constitute handicaps for the equal access to rights.
- They lack financial means and judicial system knowledge. The judicial system being heavily affected by corruption and sometimes biased against Pygmies, who, above all, lack their civil status records.
- The lack of lands, which were dispossessed by the State without any side measure.
- They are a numerical minority.

The Particular Situation of Pygmy Women

The Pygmy woman is particularly affected by the presence of armed groups in her everyday environment. In fact, “there is a misbelief according to which having sexual intercourse with a Pygmy woman renders one invulnerable to bullets and weapons of an enemy. It is believed that the invulnerability is total if one sleeps with a virgin Pygmy. This leads to more sexual violence towards little Pygmy girls”.

As far as maternity is concerned, Pygmy woman is not assisted during the childbirth because of lack of means to cope with the costs. In each campsite, there are always a few “wise women” without appropriate education who assist with the childbirth. The Pygmy woman feeds her family via the deadwood production, which she provided fraudulently in the park, and the production of craftwork (pottery). She is a great victim of the extreme poverty that characterises her community. Albeit, there is a Pygmy woman serving as a minister in the provincial government of South Kivu. Her peers say they expect positive changes after her promotion. The CSOs consider her case a good thing, but not a sufficient sample. Further Pygmy women are needed in other institutions or in public administration.
3. MDGs' Impact on the Congolese

Situation of National and Regional Groups

In its report on the socio-economic situation in 2010 at a national level in the DRC, the UNDP noted that the vast majority of the Congolese population is poor. Refer to simulations carried out within the framework of DSCR-2 in 2011, the incidence of poverty was estimated at 70%. The gross primary school enrolment ratio saw a clear improvement and it reached slightly over 90.8% in 2009/2010, but only 56.7% of pupils completed primary school. The net primary school attendance ratio is at 75% of whom 46.3% are girls. The gross secondary enrolment rate was 36.5% in 2009. The literacy rate in the DRC is on average 66.8%, 76.9% for man and 57% for woman. At a regional level, according to the CRONG South-Kivu report, more than 80% of the population live on less than $1 a day. The school enrolment rate remains very low: half of the school-aged boys does not attend school and neither does more than a half of girls. The school completion rate represents only 25.3% of secondary school students, of whom 15.9% are girls.

HIV/AIDS has remained relatively stable in the DRC during these past 5 years, according to the aforementioned UNDP report. For the community as a whole, the last Demographic and Health Survey from 2007 placed the prevalence rate at 2.5%. For pregnant women receiving prenatal care, the rate diminished from 4.5% in 2004 to 4.3% in 2008.

Those consulted as part of the UNDP study recognise that MDGs influenced the government to include headings intended to fight against poverty, taking charge of HIV/AIDS, free primary education, in the budget. The report on the national consultations on the post-2015 period argues that the MDGs enabled the implementation of sectoral projects particularly in the areas where there are armed conflicts and these types of projects were very useful in addressing humanitarian catastrophes.

The infant mortality rate declined significantly to below 2% thanks to the childbirth assistance of practitioners or trained persons of over 80%, and this decreases maternal mortality, too.

Specific Situation of Pygmies

The situation of Pygmies in South Kivu is specific and does not reflect the figures at national and regional level of all the other social groups. During the consultations, Pygmies declared they did not have any income and they only got money when a visitor would give it to them. Exceptions were observed in Kalehe centre and in Idjwi, where certain Pygmies cope in one way or another, and succeed in earning money just like everyone else. Still, there is a problem, as Pygmies are not paid on an equal basis with other social groups for the same tasks. On this subject, the CSOs believe that as a result of the awareness-raising work there are Pygmies who currently receive an income, albeit still very low, below $1 a day.

The Pygmy CSOs consulted claimed that since the 2000s there have been Pygmy children newly enrolled in school. Unfortunately the figures are not coordinated and consolidated. For example, in 2004 there were 200 children enrolled in primary school by PIDP, but only 117 completed their education. In 2009, the survey conducted in 5 territories by a group of 5 CSOs supportive of Pygmies
informs that, of 6593 pupils enrolled in 18 primary schools, there are 235 Pygmy children, comprising only 91 girls, out of total of 2000 school-aged Pygmy children. Since 2011, there are 117 Pygmy children enrolled in school with the help of private benefactors in various campsites in the hinterland of the city of Bukavu. The men to women ratio in education is not comparable in the case of Pygmies, because the girls do not attend school. The causes include the fact that they essentially retain the poverty of their parents, the insufficiency of awareness-raising activities, the discrimination by other children and early marriage.

The association APDMAC, which provides support to Pygmies in the area of fighting HIV/AIDS, motivated 11130 persons to undergo voluntary screening, within which 37 Pygmies were diagnosed the malady.

The contribution of sectoral projects carried out in armed conflict areas do not reach out to Pygmies. Their communities still experience unrest and instability related to insecurity under the armed groups. Their children are vaccinated because the vaccination is free of charge and the vaccinators search them in the campsites. In Idjwi and Kalehe (Ziralo), there are Pygmies who started enrolling their children into school on their own, following the awareness-raising activities as part of EU funded projects (PIDP et APRODEPED) since 2004. Still, these children do not make it past primary school because of a lack of means.

Perceptions of These Differences

MDG benefits for Pygmies, compared to other social groups, lie in the discriminations they are subjected to, and the extreme poverty that characterizes them. In fact, even when a school is built in a village or a health centre, the Pygmies who live there do not have access to it, for lacking financial means does not meet the fact that the services provided are not free of charge. Thus, Pygmy children are not enrolled in schools while schools exist in the village of Kahungu in the Kabare Territory, Kamanyola in the Walungu Territory and Kalonge in the Kalehe Territory.

It should be thus noted that the Pygmies are overwhelmed with incapacity to compete, make themselves heard or be assertive against these discriminations. They are merged into the mass of population and the government does not pay particular attention to them. It would have been better if some share had been explicitly reserved for them.
4. Some Results of Consultation Work on Post-2015

4.1 The Results of National Consultations of CSOs on Post-2015

The report of consultations carried out by CSOs on the post-2015 agenda indicates that the Congolese were conscious of the following priorities:

- Establish security, peace and justice.
- Reinforce democratic governance.
- Promote access to income opportunities, basic infrastructure and social services.
- Promote health for all and food security.
- Ensure environmental sustainability.
- Promote alternative sources of energy.

4.2 UN and Government Consultation Results

The report of consultations conducted by the UNDP indicates that CSOs made the following observations:

- From 2000 to 2013, new priorities in the country arose, which the MDGs, in their initial version, did not take into account and it is thus necessary to integrate them for post-2015. These are climate change, armed conflicts, the problem of youth unemployment.
- Discrimination and inequalities are at the root of poverty.
- The DCR will not be able to achieve all targets by 2015. During the last period passed, important and encouraging progress was made in achieving certain goals, such as education and gender. However, the progress in other areas is very weak, such as eradicating extreme poverty, achieving employment, hunger and undernourishment reduction (MDG 1), reducing child and maternal mortality (MDG 4 and 5), the fight against HIV/AIDS and malaria (MDG 6), ensuring access to drinkable water and sanitation (MDG 7).

However, contrary to this, the study carried out by CRONG in South-Kivu shows that objectives 4 and 5 saw significant progress to the extent that in certain territories child and maternal mortality reached a reduced figure lower than 1.

For the post-2015 framework, the expectations are formulated in terms of objectives as following:

- Objective 1: Promote good governance.
- Objective 2: Consolidate peace and fight against degrading violence.
- Objective 3: Promote justice for all.
- Objective 4: Reduce extreme poverty.
- Objective 5: Reduce the risks of food insecurity.
- Objective 6: Ensure health care for all.
- Objective 7: Reduce maternal and child mortality.
- Objective 8: Ensure education for all.
- Objective 9: Promote gender equality and the empowerment of women.
- Objective 10: Ensure environmental sustainability.
Objective 11: Improve the living conditions of populations.
Objective 12: Ensure decent and sustainable work for all.
Objective 13: Implement an inclusive global partnership for development.
Objective 14: Create conditions for inclusive economic growth.

According to this report, the topic of governance was of highest concern to the participants at consultations, and this is why it occupies the first place in the debates of consulted persons.

The participants in national consultations were particularly interested in new global partnership framework for the MDGs. On that matter, they proposed a certain number of conditions to be fulfilled in order to achieve these objectives in the period after 2015. These include:

- Deadline flexibility depending on the level of development of each country.
- Increased mobilisation of available resources.
- Public aid to development freed and stripped of political constraints.
- Coherence between different development frameworks (Adjustment, GPRSP, New Deal) of less-developed countries.
- Greater involvement of emerging and less developed countries in global governance.
- The appointment of a High Commissioner for MDGs.
- Development of an inclusive global leadership.

4.3 The Expectations of CSOs Working with the Socially Excluded

The CSOs working with Pygmies in South Kivu expect the EU to:

- Influence the Congolese government to elaborate and implement an appropriate policy and programme for Pygmies. This policy should consist of an official recognition of Pygmies as a minority and vulnerable group of the DRC. These CSOs would like to see the government adopt a specific law on Pygmies, as does with other vulnerable groups (women, PLWHA, elderly people...); integrate the UN declaration on indigenous people, adopt the ILO Convention No. 169 etc.
- Influence the Congolese State to find a sustainable solution to the land problem of Pygmies in the country. There are two ways to achieve this: either the State enables their return to their former lands that were turned into protected areas, or it grants them new lands in new locations and gives these lands a special status in order to prevent plundering.
- Influence the Congolese State to adopt a specific policy for the access of Pygmy children to education. For example, provide subsidies or other forms of support to schools where Pygmy children study and oblige them to accept Pygmy children with no fee requirement.
- Totally pacify the areas inhabited by Pygmies. The armed groups in these zones to be disarmed or expelled.
- Simplify conditions and procedures to allow NGOs that support Pygmies to access funds. The CSOs feel that the evaluation steps of project proposals are too many, to the point where submitters become tired.
- Provide funds for longer periods of time, because funding from 2 to 3 years does not allow to consolidate what has been achieved in the project and there are always disruptions in activities when the project ends.
- Reserve some quota in political institutions by co-optation, like with other groups such as women or traditional leaders, which depicts a practice in other countries.
4.4 The Specific Expectations of Socially Excluded People (the Pygmies).

- That the State would build modern houses for them, like it did for the Bantus.
- That the State would find lands for them, where to live and carry out their daily activities. The preference is to return to their ancestral lands (unfortunately already turned into natural reserves).
- That the State would authorize them to exercise their rights of use in protected areas, as it is provided by the Forest Code.
- That the State would allow their children to attend school free of charge.
- That they themselves would be accepted in hospitals (even on credit or free of charge).
- That they would have an access to assisted childbirth.
- Specify Pygmies’ share in funds via stipulation in the government.
- Ensure security in the regions of their habitat.

There is a similarity with regard to the land problem. However, it is notable that sometimes the perspective for the Pygmy is short-termed and limited to immediate and temporary measures. Whereas for the CSOs there is a tendency for sustainability, which can radically transform the current situation of Pygmies into acceptable living conditions.

Some expectations correspond with those of CSOs and the intervention track of the EU though, such as security.

Some do not yet believe in the access to posts of responsibility.
5. About EU Development Cooperation Policy

5.1 Concept and Basis

The article 208 of the consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union stipulates that the Union’s policy in the field of development cooperation is pursued within the framework of the principles and objectives of its external action. The main objective of the Union’s policy in this area is the reduction and, in the long term, the eradication of poverty. The second paragraph of the article 209, same treaty, states that the EU has the mandate to conclude agreements with third countries or competent international organisations in order to achieve the realisation of objectives presumed in the article 21 of the EU treaty. Under the point d) this article stipulates that the EU has as objective to foster the sustainable political, economic, social and environmental development of developing countries with the primary aim of eradicating poverty.

Article 2 of the EU treaty specifies that the EU is founded upon values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law as well as the respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. On this basis, the EU should pay particular attention to minorities, in this case the Pygmies.

5.2 The Priorities for the EU in the “Country Strategy Paper” (or GPRSP)

In its press release on October 8, 2013, the EU delegation issued a statement in which it is said that the choice of intervention is the result of consensus with the recipient State. Reading the EU documents on the DRC, we found an intervention approach quasi preferential of the sector of governance. In fact, even the aforesaid press release has the word governance in its title. From an article published on the webpage of the EU, it is stated that the EU directs the bulk of its intervention to the sector of the reconstruction of the country, also the stabilisation of still troubled areas, the security including the army and the police.

Another area where the EU directed its interventions is fighting the violence against women and promoting equality between men and women. These elements correspond with the policy of the DRC as described in the GPRSP 2. Indeed, among the 4 pillars listed the strengthening of governance and peace are placed at the top. This pillar is articulated in the following priorities: strengthening the State authority, the process of decentralisation, … Reinforcing the authority of the State is achieved through the strengthening of political and democratic institutions, which in turn includes citizen participation, judicial reform, and the promotion and protection of human rights. There is thus a certain number of objectives included in the post-2015 agenda that is met by the policy of the EU, namely: Promote good governance (i), Consolidate peace and fight against degrading violence (ii), Promote justice for all (iii), etc.

5.3 About the EU Development Cooperation Policy with Regard to “Socially Excluded” People

In his speech on 9 May 2014, in Kinshasa on the occasion of Europe Day celebrations, Ambassador Jean-Michel Dumond, Head of the EU Delegation in the DRC claimed that the 11th EDF programming
in the DRC is focused on peace, democracy, the rule of law, and the growth that benefits the population. For this reason, the budget allocated to the National Indicative Programme for the DRC will amount to 620 million Euros. In agreement with the authorities of the DRC, four areas of focus were defined: health; governance, particularly judicial, police and army reform; infrastructure; environment and protection of natural heritage, which must go hand in hand with sustainable agriculture and improvement of living conditions of communities around the national parks.

Evidently, certain Pygmies live at the fringes of natural reserves and could thus benefit from this aid. However, let us not be deceived. There are not only Pygmies near the parks and it will probably not be the first time when development or humanitarian actions will be considered for these areas. There are other social groups who have the assertiveness and capacity to absorb fully the allocated aid. This precisely will happen if Pygmies are not distinguished from national majority groups. The best solution would be to define a portion of the budget that would be allocated specifically and precisely to Pygmies. In any case, the information provided by the Head of the EU Delegation to DCR is an opportunity that deserves to be effectively employed.

In the DRC, there have been specific EU funded projects to support Pygmies and their outcomes are positive. For example, the project titled “Initiative for democracy and human right” (PIDP in 2004); raising awareness among duty-bearers in the application of laws on the rights of ethnic minorities, indigenous people and victims of discriminations (APRODEPED, 2003), the project EIDH 2013-308-408 (hope for all, 2013: all DRC).

These projects were primarily aimed at the social integration of Pygmies, fighting against discrimination by other social groups, the recognition of first-generation human rights and specific economic and social rights. These projects reached them directly and had an important impact on their lives. From these projects on, the Pygmies do not have as many complexes as before. They accept themselves as they are and recognize their own identity. Certain Pygmies started paying for the schooling of their children themselves.

5.4 EU Participation in the Development Strategy of the DRC

The declarations and promises made by the Head of the EU Delegation to the DRC show that the current and future EU policies and funding are not directly aimed at Pygmies. The documents of strategic development programming do not secure explicit attention to Pygmies. In fact, in the country, Pygmies or their representatives were not involved in drafting strategic documents and the conducted consultations, both by the United Nations and by the civil society, did not reach out to them. They were even forgotten or omitted from the list of vulnerable social groups identified by the UNDP.

5.5 Participation of the EU and its Member States in the Meeting in Kinshasa

In order to spread the word about this report, a meeting was organised in Kinshasa on 27 June 2014, in the hall of CARITAS CONGO. The EU delegation in Kinshasa, representatives of diplomatic missions of some EU Member States in Kinshasa, members of the Ministry of Planning of the Congolese national government, heads of international agencies and organisations in Kinshasa etc., were invited to this meeting.
Guests received the invitations in time and the organisation requested that they confirm their participation. To great surprise, no one confirmed own participation, nor informed of eventual representation by a third person who would not be a member of the diplomatic mission.

Likewise, no one attended the meeting and no one asked to be excused. Out of 6 expected guests, all were absent. More surprisingly, the EU had designated one of its partners based in Kinshasa to participate in the meeting, but not to represent it.

This would obviously mean the lack of interest or the EU and its Member States’ contempt of the issues of Pygmies. Hence it is necessary to raise an awareness to achieve a change on the part of the EU and its Member States in favour of Pygmies.
6. Conclusion

There is coherence between the EU development policy and the priorities listed in the national strategy of the DRC. The strengthening of governance and the restoration of the authority of the State is at the core of the outlook. The implementation of this strategy should have a positive impact on the life of Pygmy minorities in the DRC: security in their living environments, the access to basic social infrastructures and access to justice are crucial for them to benefit from the MDGs. However, the CSOs have an important part to play. These CSOs strive for the support of much about a long period in order to be more effective in their interventions.

There are serious expectations for the EU from CSOs, such as the simplification of evaluation procedure of submissions, long-term funding, prior determination of a quota assigned to Pygmies (an amount of the development aid fund allocated to the Congolese government) and use of its influence on the Congolese government to implement specific policy and development plan on Pygmies. The expectations of the socially excluded (Pygmies) match MDGs, as expressed during the consultations of national groups, and fit into the EU development aid policy for the DCR.
7. Annexes

7.1 Annex 1
Minutes of the Meeting for the Validation of the Report on Improving EU Policy in Favour of Socially Excluded People for the Post-2015 Framework in the DCR

The meeting was organized in Bukavu, in the hall of Flat Hôtel D’UBWI, on 21th June 2014, by the consultant, Mr. Polepole, for civil society organizations that support Pygmies. The objective of this meeting was to present a draft of the report in order to enrich its content and validate it before presentation to representatives of the EU Delegation and Member States in Kinshasa.

There was only one item on the agenda, namely:

The presentation of the draft of the report and adoption by the participants.

The meeting programme was as follows:

1) Welcome speech for participants delivered by the consultant;
2) Presentation of research context;
3) Presentation of report content;
4) Participants’ reactions and input;
5) Adoption of the report.

The following CSOs were represented: ERND Institute, CPAKI, APDMAC, CAMV, UEFA, CRONG, Coordination de la Société civile, RRN focal point South Kivu, ACPROD-Batwa, ACADOSHA, DGPA and RAPY. These are professional structures supporting Pygmies in ways relevant to this study.

I. About the Research Context

The context was presented by a consultant who notified the participants of the current research pertaining to the framework of MDG evaluation and proposal formulation for the post-2015 period. This report was commissioned by GCAP through its member operating in the DRC: 11 11 11. In fact, the MDGs, adopted by the international community in 2000 and concentrated around 7 areas, will be evaluated in 2015. The DRC is among the countries of evaluation. A study on the period after 2015 is already completed since September 2013 by the UN through its specialized agency, the UNDP, and the government of DRC through its Ministry of Planning and Monitoring Implementation of the Revolution of Modernity. This survey consisted of consultations with all national actors in all provinces. Another study was done by CSOs, likewise in all provinces of the DCR. These reports resume the achievements of the Congolese government, the difficulties encountered and the aspirations for the period after 2015. They define certain social groups as vulnerable minorities (women, people with disabilities, people living with HIV, unassisted seniors…) who deserve particular attention in government’s actions. Pygmies are not on the list. Furthermore, the EU is one of the biggest donors
to the DCR in several sectors. Despite this aid, the vulnerable groups remain in the same situation. This paper would like to provide proposals in order to persuade the EU to change its development aid policy in favour of the poorest and the vulnerable. A more intensive study will be conducted in the north by the CSOs alongside the EU. This is the research framework for this paper.

II. Presentation of the Report Content

The report depicts a syntheses of UNDP and CSO reports on national consultations about the achievement of MDGs, listed from 1 to 7. Another report by CRONG South Kivu describes the situation at the regional level. This report also contains elements drawn from activity reports of these CSOs and other information obtained during consultations with them and with Pygmies on the situation of Pygmies in South Kivu and elements that should inspire the post-2015 framework. These elements are translated in terms of recommendations to the EU. It must be noted with particularity that the Pygmies adhere to objectives as they are defined by other social groups, but, at the same time, specifically suggest to always have a part expressly assigned to them and hence not to be included in the global envelope. Specific actions should be addressed in their favour and they themselves should not be blended with the whole national community.

Details of the content can be found in the report.

III. Reactions and Input of CSOs

The CSOs that participated at the workshop expressed strong interest in this report and praised its inception. They praised 11 11 11, who acted on behalf of GCAP, in this research. They expressed the wish to see this paper made available to them so that they can use it in their daily work of advocating in favour of Pygmies.

The participants noted that the number of children enrolled in schools in South Kivu was not precise and it had to be completed. The draft mentioned a very low figure, whereas CSOs reported that they support the education of many Pygmy children. The reason for this difference is the fact that Pygmies consulted in villages made declarations which indicated that they were not receiving aid and they needed aid of all kind. To support their positions, the CSOs produced receipts of the payments they made for Pygmy children in schools. To convince the consultant to change the figure, representatives of CSOs present at the meeting promised to provide him with their documents (various activity reports) in order to vindicate the actual figure. This was also a case of the number of Pygmies in South-Kivu which had to be rectified, for the provided figure was also inferior. They preferred the figure to be provided by an official source, i.e. the Ministry of Mines. Another figure that had to be rectified was the number of Pygmies infected with HIV, which was lower.

Furthermore, the participants wanted for an action based on this report to be acknowledged by provincial authorities, other CSOs and donors.

The participants denounced the summarizing nature of the report, which they would have liked more detailed. Some would have preferred the report to further develop the issue of land ownership, saying that the land problem is at the core of all other problems encountered by Pygmies.

To this, we told them that in this study we were interested particularly in the MDGs and it was not
possible to put specific issues in detail. We need a paper that would be brief and general, yet comprehensive, which could be used by policy-makers.

Among the recommendations, they largely insisted on the reduction of conditions and evaluation steps of projects, which do not allow NGOs to support Pygmies in accessing the EU funds.

The participants expressed their surprise at seeing that UNDP did not include Pygmies among minorities and vulnerable social groups, although they were already recognized as such by the UN and the African Union and the DCR is a member of these two international organisations. The UN adopted a declaration on indigenous people. For them, this omission is a form of discrimination against Pygmies.

Conclusion

The meeting with CSOs in Bukavu attained its objectives: it made the participants aware of the report, let them comment and make contributions to the interest of Pygmies. The participants showed a sense of adoption of the report, which highlights the interest and the importance they attributed to the research topic. Their comments and input were effectively used in the preparation of the revised version of the report.

This activity was important having allowed correction of several points and the participants finally made available documents that they had not provided on our prior visits to their offices. We understood that this report would eventually go beyond the limits of its initial purpose of advocacy towards the EU. The CSOs promised they would use it at the regional level for their advocacy work towards actors present in the province.

The CSOs were satisfied with the level of their involvement in the realisation of this document.

With various corrections, the participants adopted the present report. They asked for a copy of the final version to be offered to each of them so that they could use it as part of their activities.

Having started at 14:00, the meeting came to an end at 17:30.

List of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Structures</th>
<th>Functions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innocent NTAKIBANJIRA</td>
<td>ERND</td>
<td>Technical Adviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUSSEIN MPARANYI</td>
<td>ERND</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
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<td>ILUNDU Stephan</td>
<td>ACPROD-Batwa</td>
<td>Executive Secretary</td>
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<td>Herman Tuteene Kusimweray</td>
<td>APDAMAC / DGPA</td>
<td>Coordinator/ Spokesperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christophe SAFARI</td>
<td>Bureau de coordination de la société civile</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donation MINYALI KACIBAASA</td>
<td>CPAKI/RAPY</td>
<td>Executive Secretary/ Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean-Marie MUCHESO</td>
<td>RRN</td>
<td>Focal Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUMBO KULYA</td>
<td>ACADOSHA</td>
<td>Administration Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONO NTABUGI</td>
<td>CRONG</td>
<td>Gender and Development Deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghislaine MAOMBI</td>
<td>CAMV</td>
<td>Legal Consultant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Espérance BINYUKI NYOTA</td>
<td>UEFA</td>
<td>Coordinator</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paulin POLEPOLE</td>
<td>Organisation of the reunion</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
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7.2 Annex 2
The CSOs Consulted

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<tr>
<th>Name of the organisation</th>
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<td>ACADOSHA</td>
<td>Descates MPONGE</td>
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<td>ILUNDU Stephan</td>
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<td>ABIAS</td>
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<td>DGPA</td>
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<td>ERND</td>
<td>KADESIRWE Jacques and Innocent NTAKOBANJIRA</td>
<td>21/05/2014</td>
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List of consulted Pygmies

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<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Mwembo Maliasi, Pandasi Malenga, Kabwana Bahidika, Seka Mutangwire, Shauri Mulimo, Kandende Kafunzi Marco, Dunia Chindaruba, Marcelline Mandanda, Florence Mwembo, Mutangwire</th>
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### 7.3 Annex 3
Cartography of Pygmy Villages in South Kivu

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<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Chieftaincies/Groups</th>
<th>Groups of Indigenous Pygmies</th>
<th>Campsites of Indigenous Pygmies (IP)</th>
<th>Estimative No. of IP Households</th>
<th>Comment on the estimation of IP individuals</th>
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<td>SOUTH KIVU</td>
<td>KABARE (2 Chieftaincies)</td>
<td>Chiefstaincy of Kabare (groups of Bugobe, Bugorhe, Bushwira, Bushumba, Cirunga, Irhambi-Katana, Ishungu, Kagabi, Lugendo, Luhiri, Miti, Mudaka, Mudusa, Mumosho) and Chiefstaincy of Nindja (Ihembe, Irega-Barony et Luhago).</td>
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<td>Kabare (with 14 groups)</td>
<td>Miti.</td>
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<td>Irhambi-katana</td>
<td>Tchombo-Chibati, Buhama, Muhonga, Mulangala, Mantu,</td>
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<td>Kamakome, Muyangne,</td>
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<td>Nindja (3 groups)</td>
<td>Irhega-barhonyi</td>
<td>Nindja, Chulwe, Mupoke/ Kalungu, mupoke/ Monga, Ngoma</td>
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<td>(2 Chieftaincies)</td>
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<td>Bunyakiri</td>
<td>Kishenyi, Sakiro, Bunyaki-centre, Bukumbi, Buruhuka, Bushonga</td>
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<td>SOUTH KIVU</td>
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<td>SOUTH KIVU (8 ter- ritories) and 3 communes</td>
<td>WALUNGU (2 Chieftaincies)</td>
<td>Ngweshe (16 groups)</td>
<td>Mulamba</td>
<td>Mulamba, Kishadu, Kamanyola, Mizinga, Matale</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>435; ‘Report raising awareness Forest and Mining codes 2005’</td>
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<td>Chieftaincy Basile (groups of Babulini, ballobola, Bamunda, Basilubanda, basimwendal, Basimwenda II, Basitunga, Batumba, Bawanda, Bazelungulu), Chieftaincy Burinyi (groups of Birhali, Budaha, Bugobe, Buhogo, Chirindye, Chiriri, Chizuka, Cirere, Itudu, Kalambo, karhendezi, Kitwabaluzi, Lukulu, Mirindja, Mulanga, Ntindo, Tsheshero); Chieftaincy Lwindi (groups of Ilanga, Ilangi, Ilowe, Kalambi, kigogo, Klembwe, kiomvu, mukangala); sector Itombwe (basikamakulu, Basimukinje I, basimukinje II, Basimunyaka, Basimwenda); Chieftaincy of Luhindja (groups of Bujiri, Burhembo, Chabanda II, Idundwe, Kabalole, karhundu, Luchiga, Luduha, Lulama); Chieftaincy of Warnuzimu (groups of babongolo, Bagezi, bakute, Baligi, Balinzi, Bamulinda, Banaalyungu, Banamukika, Bangunda, Basiegembe, Basikamakulu, basikakasa, Basimukumbilwe, Basimbili, Basitabbyale, Bause, Bawanderme, Bingili)</td>
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<td>Batumba</td>
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<td>Lwindi (8 groups)</td>
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Total estimation of indigenous Pygmies in South Kivu by households as well as by individuals. 2573 households/ IP families 13240 individuals
PEOPLE’S PRIORITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT
Consultations with Vulnerable Groups in Nicaragua

Jiří Silný and Tomáš Toříčka
Capital: Managua
Official language: Spanish
Other languages: English, Miskito, Rama, Sumo, Miskito Coastal Creole, Garifuna, Rama Cay Creole
Ethnic groups (2011): 69% Mestizo
17% White
9% Black
5% Indigenous
Religion: Christianity 84%
Other 16%
Area: 130,375 km² (97th)
Population (2012): Total: 6,071,045
Density: 51/km² (155th)
GDP (PPP) 2015 estimate: Total: $31.721 billion
Per capita: $5,069
GDP (nominal) 2015 estimate: Total: $12.557 billion
Per capita: $2,006
Gini (2009): 45.7 (medium)
Human Development Index (2014): 0.631 (medium, 125th)
Currency: Córdoba (NIO)
Time zone: CST (UTC−6)
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1. Facts about Nicaragua

Nicaragua has 5 million inhabitants and it is divided into three regions: Pacific, Central and Caribbean. Nicaragua is the poorest country of the Central America and the second poorest in Western hemisphere (after Haiti). There are historical reasons for this phenomenon.

Nicaragua faced decades of Somoza clan dictatorship backed by United States (1927–1979). During this time the Somoza family and their allies privatised big portion of national wealth. After the popular revolution led by the leftist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) with later president Ortega faced the new regime and its ambitious pro-poor politics (land reform, nationalisation of plantations, popular education etc.) soon military intervention and civil war. In the elections of 1990 Sandinistas lost, and Violeta Chamorro's US-backed liberal party came to the power followed by several liberal governments till 2006 which reversed many of the social reforms. Since 2006 Daniel Ortega became president again and the FSLN became the main political power reintroducing social programmes. Besides the political turmoil natural disasters (earthquake in Managua 1972, hurricane Mitch 1998) and the impact of climate change are obstacles to faster development. The geographical division of the country is equally important. The Spanishs-speaking Pacific side is much more developed than the Caribbean Coast with Indian and partly English-speaking population.

At the moment Nicaragua ranks as a lower middle income country in the World Bank classification. GDP amounted to $ 10.64 billion in 2012 and $ 11.25 billion in 2013.

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<tr>
<td>GDP (US$ Million)</td>
<td>8,381</td>
<td>8,938</td>
<td>9,899</td>
<td>10,645</td>
<td>11,256</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP Growth Rate</td>
<td>-2.76%</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
<td>5.69%</td>
<td>4.95%</td>
<td>4.61%</td>
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In 2012 the GNI per capita was only $ 1.650 and 42.5% of the population lived under the national poverty line back in the year 2009 (48.3% in 2005).

The impact of the economic crisis of 2008/9 was hard (GDP fell by - 2.76% in 2009), because of dependency on exports of agricultural products and on remittances of migrants (15% of GDP). These sources of foreign currency diminished substantially. But the economy of Nicaragua recovered quickly and it reached a respectable GDP growth of 4.61% in 2013.

Human development index (HDI) ranks 129 and reaches 0.599. The trend is steady grow, however quite slow in the last years. Nicaragua’s HDI of 0.599 (2012) was below the average of 0.64 for countries in the medium human development group and below the average of 0.741 for countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, between 1980 and 2012 Nicaragua’s life expectancy at birth increased by 15.8 years, mean years of schooling increased by 2.6 years and the expected years of schooling increased by 2.9 years.

Basic capabilities index (BCI) amounts to 84 points (of 100) and ranks as “low” in Social Watch reports.

For Gini index data are available for 2001 and 2005 and they show a decrease from 43.1 to 40.5. It means a positive development towards better distribution of wealth.
Corruption Perception Index of Transparency International places Nicaragua very low (127th position steady in the last years) which shows that corruption is a major obstacle to development.

Nicaragua is one of the Post-HIPCs (Highly Indebted Poor Countries). Nicaragua became part of HIPC initiative in 2000 and it adopted the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper in 2001. The HIPC completion point have been reached in 2004 and Nicaragua benefited from substantial debt relief. According to the IMF and the World Bank the actual risk of debt distress is “moderate”. It amounted to $ 1.6 billion in 2011. And the debt service makes $ 658 million per year (22.3% of public income).

Nevertheless, the World Bank states that “Nicaragua’s economic turnaround has allowed the country’s decision makers to shift from crisis control mode to longer-term, pioneering strategies to fight poverty, particularly in remote rural communities.”

Since 2003 the National Development Plan existed (PNDo) and it targeted especially poverty reduction though it was not very successful. The Ortega government gave a high priority to poverty reduction since 2007. It put in place the free education and health care service, and it introduced special programmes for the poor, such as Hambre Cero and Usura Cero. It is expressed in Nicaragua’s National Plan for Human Development (PNDH) 2007–12, which is being updated through 2016. Its overarching goal is to reduce inequality by increasing poverty reduction spending and boosting investment in social sectors and rural infrastructure.

Nicaragua has some very ambitious plans for modernisation of the country as well (mostly through attracting of foreign investments). It is especially the channel between the Atlantic and the Pacific Coast which is prepared in cooperation with Chinese partners. Water dams in cooperation with Brazil are planned and the amazing progress in building of renewable sources of energy is on-going.

Despite the progress in many fields, the level of living standard is very low for too many people and the disparities in chances for a decent life are very large between different regions of the country. The need for development co-operation will last for sure in the post-MDGs period.
2. Nicaragua and MDGs

The starting position of Nicaragua was not good and even the first years of MDGs efforts didn’t promise much hope for the final achievement. In the year 2004 most of the MDGs showed “low possibility” of achieving.

Probably the debt relief in 2004 and the following comeback of the FSLN government and the Ortega presidency starting in January 2007 helped to improve the performance. Already in 2010, was Nicaragua ranked between the 20 best achievers world wide in some points. But still, there are some basic problems. The Social Watch national report of 2013 sees the “achievement of MDGs in danger” and indeed the “main” number one goal was to reduce extreme poverty by half which is unattainable. As well as the goal 7 is in danger of failure.

Goal 1: Extreme Poverty and Hunger.

Between 1991 and 2012 the proportion of the population below the minimum level of dietary energy was reduced from 55.1% to 21.7%, which amounts to a decrease of 61% (“moderately high hunger”). But the decrease in the last years is quite slow and 1/5 of the population endangered by hunger is still a very high number.

Proportion of population living below $1.25 (PPP) per day decreased from 18.3% in 1993 by 35% to 11.9% in 2005 what is seen as “moderate poverty”.

The distribution of the poverty in Nicaragua is very uneven: the rural poverty is more than twice as high than the poverty in urban areas. It is also higher in the Caribbean Region than in the Pacific Region.

The most recent survey data available for estimating the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) figures for Nicaragua were collected in 2006/2007. In Nicaragua, 28% of the population lived in multidimensional poverty (the MPI ‘head count’) while an additional 17.4% were vulnerable to multiple deprivations. The intensity of deprivation – that is, the average percentage of deprivation experienced by people living in multidimensional poverty was 45.7%. The country’s MPI value, which is the share of the population that is multi-dimensionally poor adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations, was 0.128.

Goal 2: Universal Primary Education.

Nicaragua has been well known for its efforts in education after the Sandinist Revolution when the government doubled the education budget and an unprecedented alphabetisation campaign was started in 1980 being led by 90,000 students and volunteers thus reducing the percentage of illiteracy from 50% of population to 23% in half a year. The educational campaigns of the Sandinist government gained repeatedly an international acknowledgment. Similarly to the liberal governments after 1990 it used to support education widely to bring back “conservative values” and thus to diminish the leftist heritage. The governments after 2007 claimed the education to be of a high priority as well. The General numbers are satisfactory, but there are structural problems connected to the so called “development dividend” – a number of young generations has to be still educated. “The population structure typical of most LMIC, is predominantly young (49% under age 19).”
Considering the **Net Primary Enrolment**, Nicaragua represents one of the countries with the highest annual rates of relative progress: from 69% to 97% between 1991 and 2006/07. Moreover, it reached 117% in 2010. That means that even people below or rather above the schooling age are in the process of education.

But there are still high inequalities prevailing between the urban and the rural areas, especially in the East Coast.

On the other side, the country has a very high number of universities and colleges, but most of them are located in the capital city. The graduates are often leaving country for a better life in USA or in Costa Rica.

The main problems are related to the level, to the accessibility of primary education in distant regions and to the lack of apprenticeship institutions.

**Goal 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women**

The girls’ enrolment in primary school shows the parity with boys. Women’s share of paid enrolment was 38.1% in 2007. The representation of women in national parliament reached a high level, which resulted in a spectacular growth - 40.2% in 2013 (14.8% in 1990)

Nicaragua has a Gender Inequality Index (GII) value of 0.461, ranking 89 out of 148 countries in 2012. In Nicaragua 30.8% of adult women have reached the secondary or the higher level of education compared to 44.7% of their male counterparts. The Female participation in the labour market is 46.7% compared to 80% for men.

The Gender Equity Index measures education, economic activity and women empowerment. The Social Watch gives Nicaragua 0.74 points (2012) - quite a high rank.

The high representation of women in political positions gives a good outlook for the protection of women’s rights.

There is especially one strong point of criticism from the women’s CSOs - the bill restricting abortion passed by the National Assembly before the general elections in 2006. The bill prepared by the Bolagno government was agreed upon by the FSLN deputies in order to gain votes of the conservative Roman Catholics in coming elections. Nowadays, Nicaragua is one of the five countries in the world where abortion stays illegal with no exceptions.

**Goal 4: Reduce Child Mortality**

Under-five mortality rate (deaths of children per 1,000 births) was reduced from 66.1% in 1990 to 24.4% in 2012, it means 63% less. The effort organised by UNESCO since 1980s by the expansion of health communitarian strategies, the targeted interventions to improve health and the education of poor women and children contributed to the improvement of the index.

But there are still challenges. The reduction was fast in the first decade and there are still big differences between the urban and the rural areas. In some cases the figures of neonatal deaths in the lot of under-five mortality have even risen in some periods.
Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health.

Maternal mortality should be reduced by three quarters. In fact, however, between the years 1990 to 2010, maternal mortality in Nicaragua fell by a negligible 4%, from 173 to 166 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births.

Even if it is “low mortality”, the target will probably not be met.

The outcomes of access to universal reproductive health are however much better. The contraceptive prevalence (percentage of women aged between 15 – 49 years, married or in union, using contraception) rose from 48.7% in 1993 to 72.4% in 2007, which is 49% more. On the contrary, the unmet need for family planning in the same group decreased from 23.9% to 10.7% (decrease by 55%).

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases.

Nicaragua has one of the lowest HIV infection rates in the region. The HIV incidence rate (number of new HIV infections per year per 100 people aged between 15 – 49 years) was 0.03 in 2011. The estimated adult prevalence was 0.2%, with about 7,700 people living with HIV in 2010. Several factors limited HIV transmission during the 1980s, including a 10-year civil war accompanied by an economic blockade by the US, which isolated the country for several years; a relatively controlled commercial sex industry; low infection rates for injecting drug users; and a ban on the commercial sale of blood. In the late 1990s, however, the spread of HIV rapidly increased. In 2009, the Nicaraguan Ministry of Health anticipated an 11.2% annual increase in cases by the end of 2010. The prevalence of HIV–tuberculosis co-infection has also risen.

The supply of ART and drugs to treat opportunistic infections relies on financial support, mainly from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The increased use of ART dramatically reduced AIDS mortality from 36% in 1997 to 7% in 2007.

The most pressing communicable diseases affecting Nicaragua are mainly waterborne, such as leptospirosis, bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever. Eventually, they are vector driven transmissions such as dengue fever, chagas and malaria. It is true that Nicaragua has successfully controlled the spread of communicable diseases preventable through immunisation by achieving and monitoring vaccination coverage levels but there still remains the problems of eliminating the spread of diseases from poor hygiene standards and through vectors, most obviously, mosquitoes that carry the parasites. The Ministry of Health has managed to increase the budget year on year to 3.22% GDP in 2008.

Goal 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability

For this goal, mixed achievements are the case.

The reverse of loss of forest was not successful yet: The proportion of forest covered land diminished from 37.2% in 1990 to 25.7% in 2010 (-31%).

It was also not possible to halve proportion of population without improving drinking water. The access to drinking water rose only by 15% from 73.9% in 1990 to 85% in 2011. Still, 15% of the population do not use drinking water.
Still only 52.1% of the population used improved sanitation facility in 2011 which is only 21% more than in 1990 (43.1%). This situation is the most important challenge in distant rural areas.

The outcomes of the reduction of the proportion of urban populations living in slums are better. This figure decreased from 89.1% in 1990 to 45.5% in 2007 (by 49% less) which is still high proportion of slum dwellers. The problem is targeted by governmental programmes but they are not fast enough in comparison with the fast growing population.

Nicaragua is working towards sustainability in energy supply. The ambitious goal of the government is to cover 90% of energy supply using renewable sources till 2017. Already in 2013, the country reached 51% of energy supply coming from renewable sources (41% more than in 2012). This was made up by 16.7% of geothermal energy, 14.87% of wind energy, 12.16% of water energy and 7.25% of biomass. The National Program aims to bring electricity to 700,000 people that are still missing access to it. The governmental micro-loans and the foreign direct investments should make it possible to achieve this goal.

Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership For Development

Internet users serve as a unit of measurement for the goal. Nicaragua’s achievement in this field is still poor: only 13.5 users per 100 inhabitants in 2012.

Nicaragua used to have support of solidarity worldwide and of development co-operation from citizens groups and governments from former socialist countries and West European countries after the Sandinist Revolution. After FSLN lost the elections in 1990 and the Soviet block has been dismantled, one important source of development co-operation money disappeared but it was partly replaced by additional USAID funding. After Daniels Ortega came back in 2007 and, his re-election, doubts about the level of democracy emerged in several donor countries and in parts of Nicaraguan civil society. As a result, many traditional donor countries stopped their bilateral support (e. g. Sweden, Netherlands, Austria) and the budgeted support from EU was stopped as well.

But the change of political orientation in several Latin American countries opened new ways to bilateral cooperation or to the frame of regional integration. Especially, ALBA treaty initiated by Venezuela under president Chávez helped Nicaragua with supply of cheap oil from Venezuela, medical support from Cuba etc.
3. CSOs Perceptions and Expectations of the Post-2015 Agenda

In February 2014, two researchers visited Nicaragua to collect information from local CSOs and experts. Two consultations organized involved 26 participants from 22 organisations, communities and groups. The first consultation was organized in cooperation with Martin Luther King Evangelic University in Mangua (Universidad Evangélica Nicaragüense Martin Luther King) and its rector Benjamin Cortes. The second consultation with members of Coordinadora Civil was organized with help of the local representative of GCAP Fidel Moreira. Some information was collected in ad hoc interviews with local people.

The participants range in the consultation included worker in social communication, journalist, community leader, street worker, coordinator of a village community’s network of water and sanitation supply, representatives of national association of the deaf, church social workers, Miskito women activist, representatives of local and national CSOs networks (GCAP, Social Watch, Coordinadora Civil).

Several points of interest prevailed in perception of the most striking problems of the poorest population.

WATER AND SANITATION

The accessibility of safe drinking water and sanitation in the rural areas was seen by many participants as a very serious problem. This corresponds to the MDGs survey as shown above. The lack of safe water and sanitation is an eminent factor for health (MDG 4) and for environmental sustainability (MDG 7).

This is a paradox because Nicaragua is very rich in waters sources (water availability of 35,000 cubic meters per capita per year), but the distribution is very uneven and climate change worsens the availability (rising temperature and decreasing rainfall).

Most of the rural population has at its disposal only shallow wells, rivers, streams, and lakes that are often polluted. In these, people do their hygiene, wash clothes and bring their animals to drink at the same water source. Together with poor sanitation, this is a source of inflectional diseases.

On the local level, there are committees for water and sanitation organized by people. The aim is to cut down on water consumption, to protect the water resources, to deliver and to improve sanitation. The water committees are supported by municipalities and different CSOs. Water and sanitation are often subjects to development projects. The use of efficient filters can be expensive but often even much cheaper chlorine is missing to make the water safe.

The participants gave a high priority to water and sanitation projects.

EDUCATION

Nicaragua’s achievements in educational policies, especially in the time after the Revolution are well known. For the time being, the efforts of the government are acknowledged but at the same time
The criticism towards the government targeted lack of funding (educational budget) and unequal distribution. This is seen as a crucial question in the time of “demographic dividend” – a high percentage of youth in the population.

The development programs for better education should be better financed and they should correspond to the needs of poor communities. Education should be seen as an important part of overall development together with improvement in health care, culture development and family support. The education in poor areas should equip the pupils and students with skills and knowledge suitable for vocational life so they can better contribute to the development of their communities.

A connected problem is the lack of jobs for youths and lack of public support for youth employment.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE

Culture in Nicaragua has a very high status and is not limited only to the elite. The visual arts (sculptures, mural paintings) are omnipresent and the Nicaraguan love for poetry is famous. The amazing Granda poetry festival is attended by thousands of visitors.

The participants of the consultations involved in cultural activities have seen the culture as an integral part of development concepts. To support creativity means to develop human capacities and to help to express the needs and hopes of people. The arts and culture seems to be quite naturally political in Nicaragua.

The cultural aspect is often overlooked in development programs concepts. The holistic approach to foster communities with strong involvement of local people already during the phase of identification of needs and of development of projects should become integral part of development cooperation.

HOUSING AND LAND

The housing problems are huge for the people living in extreme poverty. The existing governmental programs are not sufficient due to limited capacities and due to discrimination – politically loyal communities access houses more easily.

The CSOs can deliver at least some services in poor neighbourhoods such as child centres where food is provided, support in education, and leisure programmes.

In this situation the role of local communities is important. The coordination of activities and the solidary approach can bring an effective use of limited resources. The activity of local citizens can secure that the city planning becomes a matter of all stakeholders. Especially the access to land is most
important for poverty eradication and for sustainability. The private ownership is often unclear due to the unaccomplished land reform or to the current occupation of lands. The state should bring more security to poor farmers and to slum dwellers in this respect.

EXCLUSION

The situation of handicapped people seems to improve in terms of the access to education. It is more difficult for them to find a suitable job.

The most problems are concentrated in distant communities of native peoples, where even communication is very difficult. This is the case especially in the Costa Caribe, the Eastern part of the country, and the region Rio Coco which is the most remote in the country. The situation of women is especially precarious and they are not even aware of their rights. The access to education is difficult, the teachers have low qualification. The communities are too poor and too weak to manage problem-solving. The existing law on autonomy and restitution of rights is not really realized. A better education is the first step to improvement.

GENDER

The position of women in the society seems to be quite inconsistent. The role of women in the time of Revolution and the first Sandinist period was important and acknowledged. Later on, the patriarchal family model was put in place and the influence of church led to the well know total ban on abortion. This development is opposed by many women organisations.

The present policies formally support the gender equality. The Act 779 from 2012 states a holistic approach to women rights and it claims for example a 50% representation of women in leading positions. Much criticism targets the progress of implementation of these acts.

GOVERNANCE

The corruption and impunity have been identified as the main problems in the political sphere by the participants. Violence remains on a low level in Nicaragua in comparison to other countries of Central America, but it is on the rise. The same is the problem of drug abuse. Nicaragua is still mainly a transit country but the situation may worsen with increasing drug consumption and the influence of drug mafia.

Some participants felt a shift of political system towards a more authoritarian regime and they have expressed a need for a broader participation. On the other side, there are improvements in the legal system, but the formal framework is sometimes not fulfilled with content and legitimacy.

The influence of corporate interests jeopardizes development. Especially the concept of Public-Private-Partnership was criticized as a means to privatise the gains and to let the costs and losses be paid by public. Also, the impact of foreign direct investments in huge infrastructural projects is seen by many as doubtful, e.g., the concessions for foreign mining companies can lead to environmental damages and most of the income flows out of the country.
The Development cooperation projects often treat the symptoms but they do not consider the roots of poverty.

The expectations tend to prefer integral, holistic approach, based on engagement of stakeholders from the very beginning of the project design, and while targeting the systemic problems of underdevelopment of the weakest classes. Besides of securing the basic needs, the education should play an important role.
4. Case Study: Fair Trade Coffee in Nicaragua

The fair trade is defined by the FINE organisation as “a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. Fair trade organizations, backed by consumers, are engaged actively in supporting producers, awareness raising and in campaigning for changes in the rules and practice of conventional international trade”.

Nicaragua is one of the countries where the fair trade, as we know it now, was born. The coffee of Nicaragua played, a symbolic as well as a real economic, role in the solidarity movement after the Sandinist Revolution. As a matter of fact, the Nicaraguan coffee was the first food commodity widely sold in the fair trade system, which had been before trading mainly with handicraft products of disadvantaged small producers from the South.

The coffee is the most important cash crop for Nicaraguan economy. The Sandinist government supported the coffee industry in the 80s focusing especially on development of cooperatives. This changed with the rule of liberal governments since 1990, when the governments became suspicious of the cooperatives, being viewed as a part of the Sandinist Movement which represented obstacles to their performance. “As a result, the cooperatives feel obliged to take the place of the state, which has progressively retreated from its former role in providing credit and training.”

The cooperatives, involved in fair trade system with the access to the markets in rich countries, could sustain even in the hard times of coffee price crisis in the 90s. A good example is the umbrella organisation of cooperatives CEOCAFEN which was established in 1997 and nowadays is composed of two regional unions (Uniones de Cooperativas Agropecunarias) and of 10 base cooperatives with 2600 members (1900 in 2006) in the departments Matagalpa, Nueva Segovia and Jinotega. One third of the production is organic and the main part is a high quality and fair trade certified coffee. In fair trade, there are also means for community development available (social premium) used, e.g. for infrastructure improvement, education, small credits, women initiatives etc.

At the beginning of fair trade initiatives, there usually are development projects supported by donors so that the fair trade certification is paid. Supporting fair trade initiatives is a very efficient way to favor local development. Fair trade promises a long term sustainability, locally based economic and social development connected with care for the environment.
Nicaragua used to be one of the most supported developing countries in the 80s. Former socialist countries as well as the EU and the West European countries were the main donors. After the defeat of the Sandinist government in 1990 and political changes in Eastern Europe, the US supported Chamorro’s government and its followers even stronger. Again with the comeback of Ortega and the Sandinists the landscape of support changed. Especially after the local elections in 2009 with some accusation of electoral fraud during the municipality elections in 2009 and other criticism, many West European donors finished their support to the government and the EU with other donors stopped the financial support of Nicaragua in 2010.

The budget support being invented as an instrument of stronger ownership can obviously serve as a means of pressure on Southern partners as well.

For the government of Nicaragua it meant to look for alternative solutions. The support from Venezuela in the form of cheap oil was important but had uncertain future. The governments support of foreign direct investment and public-private-partnership seemed to be successful but the impact on development of the country was mixed, especially regarding the reduction of extreme poverty.

That is why the continuation of the EU support in form of project financing continued to be an important tool to improve the situation.

The development cooperation between Nicaragua and the EU is based on dialogue and agreements and Nicaragua is a beneficiary of the EU Generalized System of Preferences. The priorities are formulated in the Country Strategy Paper 2007–2013. The financial support to Nicaragua for this period amounted to € 214 million in 4 priority areas:

- Improving democracy and good governance.
- Education.
- Economic and trade issues.
- Socio-economic development in the rural environment.

In the future, the EU cooperation strategy in Nicaragua will be focused on education, economic and trade development and adaptation to climate change. In the upcoming years 2014–2020 the EU plans to allocate € 10 million less than in the previous period (€ 204 million).
6. Recommendations for Further EU - Nicaragua Development Cooperation

Respecting the current stage of relations between EU and Nicaragua, observing the efforts of Nicaraguan government in combating poverty and analyzing the outcomes of dialogue with representatives of marginalised and excluded people we met in Nicaragua, we bring following suggestions of priorities for the next period of development cooperation.

The Amount of Financial Support Shouldn’t Be Reduced but Rather Raised.

Existing good outcomes of poverty reduction and improving of sustainability (even in comparison with other countries in the region) show, that the limited resources are in general used effectively, and using this momentum, can bring relatively quick progress.

The Highest Priority Should Be the Reduction of Extreme Poverty.

We identified as the main problem, the uneven geographical distribution of wealth and opportunities for development. On one side, the average outcomes are impressive, but they rather show the development of a more developed regions of the country (West, urban areas). In the rural areas and especially in the Eastern part of the country, the progress seems to be very slow or even non existent. The “trickle down effect” fails here as usual.

Many communities just do not have the capacities to do anything for their development or even communicate their needs and/or are too distant to cooperate with others.

The development projects improving such situation may not be very costly but need to be designed together with the beneficiaries and other stakeholders and experienced organizers are needed to run those projects. However, these projects may be more sustainable than spectacular big projects bringing only short-term outputs.

The actions should combine measures securing the basic needs of beneficiaries: clean water supply and sanitation, access to electricity on the local level access, combined with basic health education (especially for mothers), support for subsistence farming, improving the quality of basic education and offer the possibility of vocational training in accessible distances.

Facing the Climate Change

The climate change predictions by the Ministry of National Resources and the Environment indicate that within this century rainfall will decline by an average of 30%, and temperatures will rise by 1–2 °C.

The development projects should target this problem by supporting protection of forests, supporting food security and sovereignty rather than cash crops for export, protect the soils from over-
exploitation, support the already important organic farming movement. As agricultural export crops, high quality products such as organic and fair trade coffee and cocoa, grown in combination with local food crops should be favoured in development projects.

Support Rather Small and Medium Enterprises than Big PPP Projects

Nicaragua attracts foreign direct investments and it plans some big projects such as the channel between the two coasts (with Chinese partners) or dams (with Brazil). It seems that private sector is ready to invest in the country. The development projects should, then support small and medium local enterprises. The concept of Public-Private-Partnership is widely criticized by the civil society and it may lead to public losses especially when there is a quite high lever of corruption.

Good Governance

The civil society of Nicaragua is very active, diversified and experienced one. It means that there are many human capacities and community engagement for improving the quality of life and to bring more participation into the society.

But the financial, infrastructural and technical resources are still missing. Even small financial means could probably bring substantial outcomes in many cases.

The support for CSOs should avoid the mistake for which the current government is in some cases blamed: not to choose only projects of politically conform organisations.
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8. Annexes

8.1 Annex 1

NICARAGUA

Who are the Socially Excluded People in the Country?

What are the poorest and most discriminated groups or communities in the country?

**Ethnic Minorities**

The poorest and most discriminated groups in Nicaragua are the ethnic minorities. This are the indigenous populations of Nicaro people (11,113 people), Matagalpa (15,240 people), Ramas (4,185 people), Sumos (9,756 people) Ulwa (698 people) Sutiva (19,949 people), Mange (46,002 people) and the most numerous Miskitos (120,817 people). All except Nicaro live in the Eastern part of the country, in the two autonomous regions: Región autónoma del Atlántico Norte (RAAN) and Región autónoma del Atlántico Sur (RAAS). In the area, as well, the most of black Nicaraguans are living – mostly the ascendants of fugitive slaves. That is why the language spoken on the coast is English (another aspect of exclusion in the Spanish speaking country). The Northern region (Rio Coco) has worse condition than the South, where as well improvement of infrastructure, labour opportunities etc. can be expected in the course of building the new water canal. The Caribbean region has an estimated 700,000 residents.

The problems concentrated here are: lack of infrastructure (some regions are accessible only on the rivers, available are only traditional boats because motor boats are not affordable), schools (distant, low quality of teachers), medical care (distant), jobs (in some parts 80% unemployment). Available are hard and bad paid jobs in extracting industries (Bonanza gold mines etc.) or fishing for big firms. Subsistence food production is endangered by climate change. In big parts of the region is no safe water accessible. The mistrust against central government is high (the history of civil war, when indigenous people felt misused by both parts; the conflict on ban of traditional turtle fishing) and even some separatist ideas are present.

It means that a concentrate multitask effort to improve the situation is needed and no quick progress can be expected. There are some encouraging examples like the University URACCAN (Universidad de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense) improving access to high education (territorially and using local languages) and even integrating some traditional knowledge (health, agriculture) in the curriculum.

**Poor Rural Population**

Nicaragua has in one of the highest proportion of rural population (45%) in Latin America and in the same time the lowest population density in Central America. This leads to the lack of services in rural peripheral zones (accessibility of education, health care, transportation ways, affordable seeds) and

2) http://www.uraccan.edu.ni/home.seam
together with safe water and sanitations problems it causes difficult living conditions. Working for big farms or cultivating a small piece of land without property rights, brings no chance for sustainability. In combination with climate change impacts and difficult access to market for selling products the situation for small farmer families is hard.

In Nicaragua a strong cooperative movement exists and this shows the way how to use mutual cooperation to improve the situation of all. Still the support of state and development projects are needed for infrastructure, education, common facilities (seeds banks, drying facilities etc.) and access to markets (transportation means, marketing). As well consequent finalisation of land reform is needed to give the needed rights for the soil on which they work.

### Poor Urban Population

The life in cities promises more opportunities but has its specific difficulties. Education and health expenditures are higher for poor people in urban areas and life in the cities mean higher housing costs, poorer quality, often conditions of illegality, insecurity and risk, insecure tenure and property.³

The explosive population grow causes huge housing problems – several hundred thousands flats are missing to cover the needs especially of young families. Families with more children are likely to be poor, and the proportions of poor children are above the average and the proportions of poor for all the other age groups. Concentration of housing problems exists in Managua, the capital and biggest city (1.2 million inhabitants).

The state and the municipalities have housing programs but the resources are not sufficient. For projects of mutual help and community housing projects clearing of property rights and expert assistance can be the contribution needed. Projects for children care and health care, street work for youth endangered by drug abuse and crime, are another fields suitable for projects.

### Women

Women are more likely to lose jobs in times of economic crisis, compared to men in Nicaragua as well. They are overrepresented in the informal labour market, especially in the stages of marriage and motherhood. Families with a greater number of small children and where women do not work, are those with a higher proportion of poverty. Gender gap in payment in job is in Nicaragua relatively low, but it can reflect the homogeneity of low wages and poverty for men and women in poorest countries⁴

Domestic violence is an issue, connected to the cultural matrix of the “machismo”, but fuelled by the poverty. Some women even prefer to not get married with their partners to not become too dependent in the case of conflict.

The women's movement in Nicaragua is strong and active in expressing the needs and the critique. To improve the situation of women, the economic independency is important. It means projects improving access to education, supporting women economic initiatives, small business, cooperatives, organising child care.

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⁴ Gomez 7
FOCUS ON INEQUALITIES

Consultations with CSOs in Zambia

Zuzana Uhde, Tomáš Tožička
Zambia
Capital: Lusaka
Official language: English
Other languages: Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Kaonde, Nyanja, Chewa
Ethnic groups (2003): 21.5% Bemba
11.3% Tonga
5.2% Lozi
5.1% Nsenga
4.3% Tumbuka
3.8% Ngoni
2.9% Chewa
1.1% White
44.8% others
Religion: Christianity 87%
Others 13%
Area: 752,618 km² (39th)
Population (2015 estimate): Total: 16,212,000 (69th)
Density: 17.2/km² (191st)
GDP (PPP) (2014 estimate): Total: $61.786 billion
Per capita: $4,113
GDP (nominal) (2014 estimate): Total: $26.611 billion
Per capita: $1,810
Gini (2010): 57.5 (high)
Human Development Index (2014): 0.586 (medium; 139th)
Currency: Zambian kwacha (ZMW)
Time zone: CAT (UTC+2)
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1. The Zambia Context: Growing Inequality in a New Middle Income Country

Recently, Zambia has experienced low inflation and steady growth in GDP (5.2% for 2005 and 6.5% for 2011), driven especially by the copper mining industry and auspicious global market copper prices. Following this development, the World Bank reclassified Zambia as a middle income country in 2011. Nevertheless, the economic growth documented by macroeconomic indicators does not benefit local communities and the poor in an adequate way. The Gini index for Zambia was 0.53 for 1998, 0.57 for 2010 and 0.65 for 2012 which makes Zambia one of the most unequal countries in the world and implies rising inequalities despite the growing economy.\(^1\) Zambia is rated as one of the world’s worst countries for workers in the 2014 International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) Global Rights Index, obtaining a score of 5: “Countries with the rating of 5 are the worst countries in the world to work in. While the legislation may spell out certain rights, workers have effectively no access to these rights and are therefore exposed to autocratic regimes and unfair labour practices.” (ITUC 2014: 15) The Zambian economy is over-reliant on the copper mining industry, which has been privatized since 2001. Ever since the state has struggled to collect taxes from the mining corporations.\(^2\) The gender inequality measures are also high in Zambia. The Gender Equity Index (Social Watch) was 58 for 2007 and 49 for 2012, indicating the worsening of gender inequality despite some progress especially in girls' enrolment in primary education.\(^3\) Zambia has 46% of the population under the age of 15, which presents a challenge for the future development in terms of education, employment and family planning. The vast majority of the working population works in the informal sector with no job security, no social benefits or social protection. About 60% of the total population live in rural areas. Accordingly, those living in extreme poverty or poverty live in rural areas. Rural areas face not only consequences of environmental degradation (esp. deforestation) but also poor road infrastructure, energy and water supply, as well as a lack of access to health services, medical facilities and quality education. The agricultural production is concentrated on maize products.

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1) Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. Gini index of 0 represents perfect equality, while an index of 1 implies perfect inequality.


3) The Gender Equity Index (GEI) measures the gap between women and men in education, the economy and political empowerment. Social Watch computes a value for the gender gap in each of the three areas in a scale from 0 (when for example no women is educated at all and all men are) to 100 (perfect equality). www.socialwatch.org
2. MDGs: Development and Critique

Despite progress in some areas, namely in combatting the prevalence of HIV and TB, in increasing the enrollment rates for primary education by girls', and successfully tackling the prevalence of underweight children, the pace of improvement in many areas has been slow. Moreover, areas such as reduction of extreme poverty, adult literacy, women's representation in political decision-making bodies, maternal and child mortality, sanitation and environmental sustainability have all seen a reversal. Significant changes are urgently required in the current approach to these issues in order to meet the goals in the future. The experience so far has confirmed that a more holistic approach, putting to the forefront the elimination of poverty and equal distribution of wealth, is needed.

When the CSOs representatives consulted in Zambia, they reflected upon the process of how the MDGs themselves were defined and put into practice over the past decade, they criticised the lack of involvement of grassroots organisations and communities in the initial process. Thus, MDGs have continued to operate to a large degree within a previous framework of donor granted money that did not meet the genuine needs of local communities. Moreover, the complex agenda of social development was, in practice, fragmented into separate goals and targets without the essential focus on their coherence.

Goal 1: Extreme Poverty and Hunger.

The proportion of people living in extreme poverty has decreased, however the pace is too slow and the targeted goal to halve the population in extreme poverty by 2015 will probably not be met (42.3% for 2010 vs. the 2015 target of 29%). Extreme poverty in Zambia is concentrated in rural areas with the highest proportion (above the national average for rural areas of 57.7% for 2010) in Luapula province, Western and Eastern provinces. While the target for the poverty gap ratio has been met in urban areas, there are still deep inequalities in rural areas, especially in Luapula province, Western, Eastern and Northern provinces.

Gender is a significant factor in poverty distribution. The female-headed households are more vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity. The limited access of rural areas to infrastructure, such as electricity, roads and medical facilities impedes development. According to 2010 estimates, only 22% of households are connected to electricity. The economic growth does not translate into poverty reduction due to high income inequality and low redistribution.

The national target to halve the proportion of underweight children under five years of age will probably be met, however the Copperbelt, Central and Southern provinces still need to direct resources towards this goal. Nevertheless, the goal of 12.5% prevalence of underweight young children still presents a significant challenge for the future.

Eradication of extreme poverty is a key precondition for sustainable social development. The situation when only a very moderate millennium development goal to halve the population living in extreme poverty is not going to be met is thus alarming and requires a significant change of the so far prevalent approach to social development and wealth redistribution. Rural areas in particular require a concentrated focus on creating the necessary infrastructure (roads, access to electricity, sanitation, running water, public transport, access to both health care and quality education).
Goal 2: Universal Primary Education.
The area of primary education has seen a significant progress in Zambia, reaching 94% net enrolment in 2010. Nevertheless, the quantitative increase is accompanied by a decrease in the quality of education (due to high teacher-to-pupils ratio, lack of teaching materials etc.). Moreover, there is a high drop-out rate; completion of grade 9 was only 53.2% in 2010. Young adult literacy remains to be a challenge, reaching 89% in 2010 with a relevant gender difference to the detriment of girls.

Although other aspects of education were not included in MDG 2, they seem to be important factors for improving the access to education. Adult illiteracy is high in Zambia and insufficient resources are spent on programs of adult and life-long education. Gender differences are increasing in secondary and remain high in tertiary education. Even though primary education is free, there are still indirect costs parents are required to pay. The fees in secondary and tertiary levels are a significant burden for majority of Zambian households.

Goal 3: Gender Equality.
Although gender disparity in primary education has been almost eliminated, the ratio of girls-to-boys in secondary and tertiary education remains disproportional (0.86 for 2010 in secondary education – lower than in 1990 [0.90] – and 0.75 for tertiary education). Teenage pregnancies, early marriage, sexual violence and gender-based expectation concerning household responsibilities are among the causes. Women’s representation in decision-making bodies remains low, even one of the lowest in Africa and world-wide (UNDP 2013a).

According to participants in consultations we undertook, gender equality saw only a minimum progress within the MDGs that are much weaker than the Beijing Platform for Action formulated during the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women. The more concentrated effort to work with traditional leaders, to invest in family planning and accessibility of contraceptives and health care, establishment of publicly funded child-care facilities, food security and combating sexual harassment and violence in schools and on the way to schools is needed.

Goal 4: Child Health.
The proportion of child mortality (under 5) and infant mortality (under 1) remains high in Zambia. Although Zambia reached 94% coverage of measles immunization for one-year-old children in 2010, other diseases, malnutrition, mother's malnutrition preventing her from breastfeeding, poverty, poor sanitation and lack of access to safe drinking water and medical facilities prevent progress in this area.

Goal 5: Maternal Health.
Maternal mortality remains significantly higher than the target goal for 2015 (483 per 100,000 live births for 2010 vs. 162.3 as a target for 2015). Estimates suggest that one third of cases of maternal death are caused due to unsafe abortion. Improvements in prenatal health care and the ratio of deliveries supervised by medically trained personnel are important. Nevertheless, the goal to significantly reduce maternal mortality is preconditioned by elimination of poverty, developing the infrastructure in rural areas and the involvement of local communities and traditional leaders in a concentrated effort with regards to family planning.
Goal 6: HIV/AIDS and Malaria.
Zambia made progress in lowering the HIV prevalence rate, meeting the 2015 target nationally with the exception of the Lusaka, Copperbelt and Central provinces. However, the incidence rate of new infections is still high in order to combat the disease effectively. Moreover, the antiretroviral therapy programs depend to a large degree on international aid. The strategy of medical male circumcision promoted especially by USAID is not reliable and may set back the efforts to promote the use of condoms.

The incidents of malaria as well as the malaria fatality rate have increased since 1990 due to reduced resources and inadequate access to medical care.

Goal 7: Environmental Sustainability.
The proportion of population without access to an improved water source is still above the 2015 goal (48.6% in 2010 in rural areas and 15.3% in the same year in urban areas vs. 25.5% 2015 goal). The coverage of population with access to improved sanitation is also low.

Environmental challenges are driven by deforestation and the mining sector. The population living in the Copperbelt province faces high levels of sulphur dioxide emissions and cases of chemical poisoning of water sources.
3. CSOs' Perceptions and Expectations for the Sustainable Development Goals and Agenda 2030

In March 2014, we realized four consultations with civil society organizations in Lusaka and in the Copperbelt province, in total we spoke with representatives of 21 civil society organisations representing or working with different socially excluded and vulnerable groups and focusing on key problematic areas in Zambia. In addition to those, two consultations were undertaken in local rural communities (see Annex 1). Here we summarise the main points that were discussed when we reflected upon the articulation and practical implementation of MDGs and the key priorities for the Agenda 2030 that emerged out of the discussions (for further information see Annex 2 and 3). The three areas, holistically defined, that are crucial for social development were agreed upon as being

1) QUALITY EDUCATION,
2) ADDRESSING STRUCTURAL CAUSES OF POVERTY and
3) ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT AND JUST GLOBAL GOVERNANCE.

1) Quality education. With the 2015 deadline for the individual Millennium Development Goals approaching some goals were fast-tracked the last years in order to fulfil at least some MDGs. This was the case for education, namely primary education. Whereas the participants recognised the impressive increase in enrolment rate in primary education, they highlighted that primary education is supported at the expense of secondary and tertiary education, vocational training and adult literacy programs. Adult literacy that was almost entirely outside of the MDG focus and was seen as a key prerequisite for both children's attendance and their success in school as well as people's capability to claim their rights and act as responsive citizens. The quantitative MDGs indicators also led to overlooking and decreasing the quality of school education. Many pupils, especially in remote rural areas, lack adequate learning materials. There is a high teacher-to-student ratio, in some cases up to 1 teacher for a class of 100 students. The schools are underfinanced which results in rising indirect costs for families. The facilitation of transition from primary to secondary education was also pushed aside and today there are not enough places in secondary schools. School fees for secondary and tertiary education is another barrier for equal access to education. Discrimination against children with disabilities accessing education and lack of inclusive policies are prevalent.

Quality education was among the top priorities for the post-2015 agenda, not only primary but also secondary, tertiary education, vocational training and adult education. More investment is required for educational infrastructure, building laboratories, student hostels, and houses for teachers in remote areas as well as the provision of professional teachers. As one participant put it, “quality education is a social equaliser”. Education at all levels should be free and inclusive. The eradication of poverty, food security and health care is closely related to the goal of education, because, as another participant stated, “hungry and sick children will not finish their education”.

2) Addressing structural causes of poverty. The broad issue of poverty was underlined which includes land distribution and land ownership, maternity benefits and public child-care facilities that are crucial for women’s empowerment, road infrastructure necessary for the development of remote areas, access to electricity, sanitation and clean water, access to information and technology, access
to health care, food security, decent jobs and the protection of workers. All these issues were included under the heading of eradication of poverty in order to address the structural causes of poverty, not only poverty itself.

**Land.** The land is a crucial source of livelihood for the majority of Zambians; the tendency to sell or lease the land to foreign investors and big companies has contributed to increasing poverty. This trend should be stopped and reversed in favour of local communities. The gender discrimination preventing women from land ownership needs to be addressed in cooperation with the traditional leaders.

**Women's empowerment.** Gender equality needs to be a priority for the post-2015 agenda. Women are primarily responsible for raising children, thus empowering women will also empower the young population. In the rural communities women have more children because many of them are likely to die, thus food security, family financial benefits and health care are closely interlinked with the issue of gender equality. The introduction of maternity benefits to provide women with some financial resources when they care for small children is necessary; this benefit should be unconditional so that it covers also women working in the informal sector. The rise of gender-based violence and violence against women comes with poverty.

**Infrastructure.** The necessity to enlarge the road infrastructure was highlighted. In remote areas during the rainy seasons schools remain closed because the roads are not passable. The road infrastructure is also crucial for the development of remote areas and agriculture. Support of science and technologies is needed. Access to electricity remains low in Zambia, especially in rural areas. The sustainability of renewable energy sources depends on trained professionals, so the lack of vocational training is coupled with the lack of access to electricity.

**Health care.** The health care infrastructure is deficient, not only in terms of material infrastructure but also in terms of medical staff and trained doctors. People-focused development requires the promotion of universal and free access to quality health care.

**Decent jobs and protection of workers.** With regards to the young population of Zambia and the large proportion of Zambians working in the informal sector, there is an urgent need to create job opportunities. The stress was put on decent job conditions and the social protection of workers. The precarious conditions of the majority of workers need to be addressed. Foreign companies need to be held accountable and to abide by the labour laws. The bottom-up approach of defining priorities demonstrates preference for cooperatives and community ownership rather than private corporate ownership.

3) **Accountable government and just global governance.** A sustainable development strategy should be based on people's participation, including participation in defining priorities, distribution of resources and use of public budget, as well as cooperation with the traditional leaders and churches. The move towards decentralisation of decision-making processes is necessary for the promotion of an accountable government. At the time of the consultations in Zambia this was translated strongly into the claim to adopt a new constitution.

According to participants in the consultation process, sustainable development goals cannot be accomplished without fair and just global governance which includes the elimination of tax havens and off-shore centres and an international effort to eradicate tax evasion and tax dodging. The process of privatisation of the mining industry was highly criticised as it effectively disabled Zambia to use and benefit from its natural resources. Low levels of taxation for mining companies, tax dodging,
unfavourable deals guaranteeing cheap electricity, low wages, precarious working contracts and low environmental protection standards, all these issues cannot be reversed solely at the national level. They require international cooperation and support in order to be achieved (for more information see subchapter 5).

The concept of public-private partnership promoted by the UN High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda is regarded as a means for diverting development support into the private sector. In the past, this approach has not proven to be fruitful for poverty reduction, as foreign direct investments and the private companies' preference for profit over the well-being of people dominates. It is also regarded as a strategy to support Western companies at the expense of local business development. If the participants embrace the concept of PPP, it has a different meaning. For them it means consenting to the law and the payment of fair corporate taxes, or possibly the involvement of the private sector in areas where the logic of profit is not detrimental to their inherent goals. Areas that need to remain in the domain of public responsibility are education, health, roads etc.

As we have seen, the bottom-up approach does not necessarily follow established categories and framing of the development agenda which should be reflected in the Post-2015 SDGs. While the extensive process of world-wide consultations about the post-2015 agenda was welcomed, participants were concerned that it would end up only as lip service. The need for a radically changed approach was highlighted, an approach focusing on people, communities, participation, social and economic rights and the redistribution of wealth. Moreover, the interconnectedness of individual issues was strongly highlighted: quality of education was seen as a means towards improving people's quality of life, eradicating poverty, and developing participatory and responsive political systems. Analogously, the eradication of poverty is a precondition for the improvement of education. Moreover, neither eradication of poverty nor participatory and responsive political system can be met without fair and just global governance.
4. EU Development Cooperation

During the consultations with the representatives of CSOs in Zambia, several concerns were directed to the strategies of EU development cooperation in Zambia. Namely, the priorities and supported sectors are changing too often to provide a coherent and continuous development in particular areas. Contrary to its proclaimed goals of poverty eradication, sustainable development and support of local communities as part of human development, EU development aid is directed to areas that appear to have only limited effects on these issues, such as the aviation sector as discussed in the following subchapter. The participants at the roundtables even suggested that the current tendencies in development cooperation focusing on project financial support are detrimental to the civic spirit. Since civil society organizations lack the resources to secure staff continuity and institutional infrastructure such project financing programs contribute to the fragmentation of the development financial support for non-related and unsustainable activities (see Annex 2). Last but not least, while rural communities and people living in remote areas belong to the most vulnerable groups, the preference to support bigger projects precludes applications for project support from civil organizations working in these areas. Local communities do not have the capacity to pursue such large scale projects and provide the required co-financing. Yet, when the local communities are the direct beneficiaries, the results tend to be more sustainable. All these issues raise serious concerns if the EU development cooperation in the form in which it is promoted today: can it ever boost a human development and emancipation of local communities by lifting them out of poverty or is it rather tailored to fit the interests of multinational corporations connected to the European Economic Community?

4.1 Case Study of the EU Support of Zambian Aviation Sector

In July 2009, the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) imposed a ban on Zambia. EU travel agencies have been advised not to book their clients on any Zambian-registered aircraft, suggesting that their travel insurance policies might not cover their clients on Zambian aircraft. The ban also stopped Zambian planes from flying into the Eurozone airspace. EASA said it was due to Zambia’s poor safety standards, which were revealed in an audit conducted by International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) between February and April in 2009. In December 2011, NTU – Strategic Development & Consulting won a 1.7 million EURO for a 36 months project to manage a civil aviation project in Zambia starting from January 2012. This money came from the 10th European Development Fund. The same year Zambia made it to another list, the UN’s list of Least Developed Countries of 2012, so called “Poorest of the poor list” If the country’s only economic opportunities were in tourism, maybe we could understand such a heavy EU investment in Zambia’s civil aviation. But the wealth of Zambia is certainly not in tourism, it lies particularly in copper mining.

By January 10th, 2013 Zambia was reported by ICAO as having successfully resolved the Significant Safety Concern. The ICAO report stated it was “a very crucial step towards the removal of Zambia from the ICAO Safety Watch list and subsequently from the EU Ban List”. Nevertheless, more than a year

later both bans are still in place. In April 2014, the European Commission updated the European list of airlines subjected to an operating ban or operational restrictions within the European Union. Zambia was not removed from the list. The EU states that “promising progress was also noted in Zambia and that continuation of this progress could lead to positive decisions in the future.”\(^8\) The European Commission did not change its stand after the 2013 ICAO report, nor was it softened by the Zambian Minister of Transport, Works, Supply and Communications Christopher Yaluma, according to whom since the 2013 ICAO report, “the government has embarked upon a program to upgrade the country’s aviation industry with the technical assistance coming from the EU.”\(^9\)

The EU Delegation to the Republic of Zambia and COMESA plans to continue directing money into aviation within the framework of the upcoming 11th EDF as representatives confirmed during the meeting with the GCAP team in March 2014. This means that money will now flow to the European aviation contractors not only from the EU development funds, but also from the Zambian government, which is ready to purchase modern technology for its four international airports. One must ask if a country on the list of “the poorest of the poor” really does need such facility.

In February 2014, the Zambian government confirmed the release of nearly one billion dollars to fundamentally transform four international airports. “Financial injections have been made by the Government to the tune of US$360 million for Kenneth Kaunda International Airport, $522 million for Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe International Airport, $50 million for Harry Mwanga Nkumbula International Airport while the cost of revamping Mfuwe International Airport is as yet under consideration.”\(^10\) In the words of Robinson Misitala, the National Airports Corporation Limited (NACL) managing director, “Kenneth Kaunda International Airport specifically, will bear comparison with the best airports in Africa, both in infrastructure as well as in services delivery.”\(^11\) Such proclamations came in the same year as the World Bank listed Zambia in terms of poverty density with its 75% of population living below the poverty line, amongst the five most densely poor countries in the world.\(^12\)

The goal of the development cooperation between the EU and Zambia should be poverty reduction, sustainable development and gradual integration into the world economy (Zambia – EU CSP: 6). The unsuccessful EU program “Support to the Zambian Aviation Sector” which was later enlarged by an independent decision of the Zambian government to build new airports appears to be deeply incoherent with the 10th development fund and the Acra agenda.

There is no doubt that Zambia needs a significant support in transportation infrastructure. The large majority of roads in Zambia are in bad or very bad shape. The main roads are damaged by heavy tracks loading the goods, particularly semi products of copper. The railway – track, machines, signalisation and loading facilities – enable only limited use. In contrast to aviation, roads and railways seem to be – as for many landlocked countries – crucial forms of transportation. With regards to the problems of rural transportation and challenges Zambia is facing when it comes to the transport of its goods, the importance of the aviation program seems relatively low. Moreover, the EU investment did not lead to the removal of the EU ban which raises concerns about the hidden interests behind this project.

\(^9\) International aviation body urges EU to lift ban on Zambian planes January 29, 2013; http://www.china.org.cn/world/Off_the_Wire/2013-01/29/content_27830311.htm
\(^10\) Major airport projects to transform Zambia, Times of Zambia February 23, 2014; http://www.times.co.zm/?p=11109
\(^11\) Ibid.
\(^12\) World Bank says growth alone can’t end poverty, The Guardian April 10 2014; http://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/apr/10/world-bank-poverty-growth
5. Exploitation in copper mining industry

Zambia is a country rich in natural resources, particularly copper, and at the same time one of the poorest and most indebted countries. The Gini index lists Zambia as one of the most unequal countries in the world and implies rising inequalities despite the growing profits of the multinational companies operating in Zambia. Copper makes up 75% of the Zambian export revenue. Yet, copper mining contributes only 2% to domestic income (Das, Rose 2014: 10). Similarly to other countries, Zambia was forced by IMF and WB to apply structural adjustments of liberalisation and privatisation that led to the privatisation of the Zambian mining company ZCCM in the beginning of the new millennium. Since then, several studies have pointed out the unfavourable conditions of these privatisation agreements which guarantee up to 20 years of low priced electricity, limited environmental and working standards, low taxes and tax deductions. Eva Joly, counsellor at the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation during 2005 and 2009 period, states in the documentary entitled Stealing Africa – Why Poverty? that according to the 2006 data, Zambia was at a loss if one compares the value of Zambian exports (3 billion US$) and tax revenues the state collected (50 million US$), supplemented with the amount of money the state effectively paid to the mining companies by means of guaranteed electricity prices (subsidy amounts to 150 million US$).

The Zambian tax administration, the Zambian Revenue Authority (ZRA), which collects taxes on the government’s behalf, has a very weak position in the face of large corporations operating internationally and skillfully in tax optimisation. Multiple factors surrounding the mining companies has led to a situation when they contribute virtually nothing to Zambia's budget. In 2004 even the World Bank report recognised that “tax incentives and low tax rates enable the mining sector to benefit from a marginal effective tax rate of around 0%.” Dr. Mathias Mpande, professor at the University of Zambia (Lusaka) and former vice-minister of mining, states that the situation is even worse because the mining companies pay no taxes and they also ask the ZRA for reimbursement of the Value Added Tax (VAT). He suggests the reintroduction of the 25% windfall tax on copper to help Zambia enjoy at least a small share of the high profits mining companies are making on the country's natural wealth. In 2010 he explained that with the high international metal prices and “the projected output of 700,000 metric tons of finished copper cathodes, the mining sector would have contributed tax revenues of about US $1.2 billion from projected earnings of US $4.8 billion.” Transfer pricing, tax evasion through tax havens and under-declarations of production and export of ore are further contributing to the extractive exploitation of Zambia. The main mining companies in Zambia are Vedanta Resources, Glencore International and First Quantum Minerals.

13) Stealing Africa; Director Christoffer Guldbrandsen, Producer Henrik Veileborg, Produced by Guldbrandsen Film. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WNYemuiAOfU
The policies promoted by IMF and WB, which were intended to attract foreign direct investments, show several flaws, mainly in their prerequisite that FDIs would bring growth and sustainable development benefitting the people. Not only do investors avoid taxes already negotiated at the very low level due to unjust global arrangement, but they also lower standards of worker's rights and cause serious environmental degradation. Africa Progress Report 2013 states that “returns on investment in Africa are high by the standards of other developing regions: 20 per cent compared with 12 per cent to 15 per cent in Asia and Latin America” (Africa Progress Panel 2013: 46). Yet this is not translated into human and infrastructural development. On the contrary, it is accompanied by an increasing precarity of work and growing social inequalities and persisting poverty (see Counter Balance 2010; Das, Rose 2014). Foil Vedanta report notes that “of KCM’s 18,000 employees an estimated 11,000 are contract labour. A Christian Aid report claims that sub-contracted labourers at KCM are paid just £37 per month instead of £150 they require for a living wage. Meanwhile Vedanta has bragged in investors presentations that 50% of their tax contributions in Zambia are via worker’s Pay As You Earn (PAYE).” (Das, Rose 2014: 23, 25) Since the privatisations of ZCCM, many workers have lost their jobs and the threat of further retrenchment is omnipresent.

A series of incidents of water contamination and air pollution has been recorded. Water contamination by acid or heavy metals, and sulphur dioxide pollution have severe health consequences for people living in mining regions. There is also a high rate of industrial accidents in the mines.

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Table 1: Some of the top shareholders of Zambia’s main mining companies as of 30th Dec 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BlackRock Global Funds – World Mining Fund</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>Capital Group Companies Inc</td>
<td>1.04%</td>
<td>Prudential plc</td>
<td>3.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chase Nominees (on behalf of GIC Private Ltd)</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
<td>Standard Life plc</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>Carmignac Gestion</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIC Private Ltd</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
<td>Government of Singapore</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
<td>JPMorgan Chase &amp; Co</td>
<td>2.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volcan Investments</td>
<td>66.93%</td>
<td>Glencore Xstrata plc</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>Unlisted shareholders</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackrock Inc</td>
<td>5.62%</td>
<td>Qatar Investment Authority</td>
<td>8.15%</td>
<td>Blackrock Inc</td>
<td>9.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Life plc</td>
<td>5.11%</td>
<td>Blackrock Inc</td>
<td>6.43%</td>
<td>Capital Group Companies Inc</td>
<td>7.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackrock Investment Management (UK) Ltd</td>
<td>4.41%</td>
<td>Government of Norway</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>Affiliated Managers Group Inc</td>
<td>4.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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16) KCM states for Konkola Copper Mines owned by Vedanta Resources.
This situation also calls into question the proposed concept of public-private partnership as a flagship of the post-2015 agenda. The same approach seemingly putting together business, civil society and states for the benefit of all was applied by Business Partners for Development (BPD) initiated by the WB in 1998, which was highly criticised – and later abandoned – as it proved to be a cover for pushing through the interests of private companies.\textsuperscript{17}

The challenge for future development lies also in the finitude of Zambian natural resources. If multinational corporations and the EU institutions responsible for funding and supporting them are not held accountable, the result will be (is) another African country plundered and decimated by western corporations in cooperation with the EU (see Annex 4). Such practice will turn the EU’s proclamations of supporting development, employment, or environmental sustainability into empty phrases with dark and bitter connotations.

\textsuperscript{17} See http://www.bpdweb.com/
6. Recommendations for the EU

Following the results of our consultations in Zambia we suggest the following recommendations to the EU with regards to its Country Strategy Paper within the SDG framework:

- To strengthen the participation of local communities and key stakeholders (including churches and traditional leaders) in the process of Country Strategy Papers preparation by means of deliberative techniques and a transparent methodology.
- EU’s funding priorities need to be long-term surpassing the period of EDFs. Short term and non-predictable development programs don't support the building of local capacities of communities, organisations, institutions and society as a whole.
- Programs focused on the development of social infrastructure (such as hospitals, schools etc.) and democratic mechanisms (such as budget tracking, community building etc.) cannot be expected to be financially sustainable as these activities are not profit generating. Organisations and networks which are involved in these activities require institutional financial support.
- To implement new financing and monitoring mechanisms for cooperative, small and medium-sized local organisations that can reach local communities in semi-urban, rural and remote areas instead of giving a preference to large-scale projects that particularly benefit transnational companies and international NGOs at the expense of local communities.
- To rethink the political support for the concept of public private partnership. Past experiences show that the private sector, dominated by transnational companies, gives preference to its interests and profit accumulation at the expense of local people and there is no evidence to assume that it shall be different in the future.
- All activities, programs and projects financed from EU must comply at least with the ILO working standards to guarantee decent jobs, safe working environment, maternity leave and benefits, a living wage and social security schemes. EU donors should also support worker’s participation in ownership, i.e. the European Company and the Employee Involvement Directive. This policy should be supported by the EU in all international negotiations concerning the post-2015 development agenda.
- As established by Article 32 of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), all EU projects and programmes, whether mainstream or disability specific, have to be compliant with the CRPD, and promote the rights and full and effective participation for persons with disabilities, including supporting the work of representative organisations of persons with disabilities.
- All activities, programs and projects financed by the EU must comply with EU’s environmental policy, particularly in large scale industrial projects and investments. This policy should be supported by the EU in all international negotiations concerning the post-2015 development agenda.
- To implement a coherent support of education at all levels, i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary, vocational training and adult education. Education must be accessible to all social classes, women and men, people with disabilities and should be free of charge. Particularly, polytechnic education in primary and secondary schools and adult education are neglected areas.
- Land and natural resources should benefit the people and be under the people’s control. EU development policy should give priority to people’s governance of native resources rather than prioritising purely profit-generating activities and transnational corporations' ownership.
7. Resources


UNDP; Millennium Development Goals: Progress Report, Zambia; UNDP; 2013.

UNDP; A Million Voices: A World We Wanted, A Sustainable Future with Dignity for All; UNDP. 2013.

8. Annexes

8.1 Annex 1
The List of CSOs which Participated in the GCAP Consultations

**Civil Society Organizations:**
1) People’s Action Forum (PAF), Lusaka
2) Parenthood Association of Zambia (PPAZ), Lusaka
3) Zambia Federation of the Disability (ZAFOD), Lusaka
4) Zambia Land Alliance (ZLA), Lusaka
5) Women for Change (WFC), Lusaka
6) Society for Women and AIDS in Zambia (SWAAZ), Lusaka
7) Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), Lusaka
8) Society for Women and AIDS in Zambia (SWAAZ), Lusaka
9) Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), Lusaka
10) Global Call to Action Against Poverty Zambia (GCAP), Lusaka
11) United Church of Zambia, Lusaka
12) Advocacy for Human Development (AOHD), Copperbelt Province
13) Youth Skills for Development (YSFD), Copperbelt Province
14) Alliance for Zambian Informal Economy Association (AZIEA), Copperbelt Province
15) United Mine Workers Union of Zambia (UMUZ), Copperbelt Province
16) Children in Distress (CINDI), Copperbelt Province
17) Mine Workers Union of Zambia (MUZ), Copperbelt Province
18) Green and Justice, Copperbelt Province
19) Zambia Deaf Youth and Women (ZDYW), Copperbelt Province
20) Amnesty International, Copperbelt Province
21) ALEJO Community Support Project, Copperbelt Province

**Consultations With Local Rural Communities:**
1) Masuku, Choma district, Southern province
2) Nalyuanda, Central province

8.2 Annex 2
Results of GCAP/EDUCON Civil Society Consultations on Post-2015 Agenda in Zambia

In March 2014, we organized 4 roundtables in Lusaka and Kitwe (Copperbelt province) in Zambia. Altogether we consulted 21 civil society organisations which represent or work with different marginalized and vulnerable groups (children and youth, women, disabled, poor, HIV positive people, informal workers) and which focus on key problematic areas in Zambia (land distribution, poverty, community development, mining industry, ecology, reproduction health and education). Besides, we arranged two meetings in rural areas, one in Masuku (Choma district, Southern province) and the other in Nalyuanda (Central province) and some individual consultations. In total we spoke with 38 persons. The group dynamic during the roundtables was an important aspect of collective articulation of critical
insights into MDGs shortcomings and the up-to-now process of formulation of the post-2015 development agenda and new SDGs.

The interviews and roundtables were recorded and analysed using the thematic analysis in order to identify the main categories of civil society’s critique of the state-of-the-art of development cooperation and claims for the post-2015 development agenda. We sent the report to all the participants for comments and included their suggestions in the final version of the report.

Critical Comments on Development Cooperation
The participants stressed the limitations of development aid that is distributed through different donor agencies with different priorities. This approach of donor tied money can and actually do easily overlook the needs of the community and thus become ineffective.

The problem is shifting strategies. We end up being much more driven by who is paying the support, rather than what we really identify as being our own needs. A lot of times we end up being subject of a research, there are some successful pilot project but after the end of the program there is no continuity, the project stops. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

There is not enough civil society involvement in the development agenda; we are invited when things are already in progress. Before health was a priority under the 10th European development program, but we don’t know the reasons why now it is changing to energy, agriculture and governance. We are trying to translate our priorities in the language of gender mainstreaming because we have information that this is also very high on the agenda of the EU. (man, Lusaka roundtable)

The participants also criticised the project-oriented funding scheme that is detrimental for civil society organisations which need institutional support too. Moreover, this shift in funding strategies benefited international NGOs that can manage the administrative requirements of the projects but they also divert the money at the expense of the local people at whom the projects are directed.

Paris declaration proposed a direct support to governments and that Paris declarations killed the spirit of civil society because then the money started coming as projects, not programmes. It is as if you are saying that robots will do the work, not people, there is no money for administrative support. And I saw declining of a critical mass that Zambia had managed to have in terms of civil society work. From the Paris declaration Europe and USA brought their own NGOs to compete with us on the ground. They only came after the Paris declaration. Before we received money from the embassies ... Now we are slave labourers, we write proposals in conjunctions with these NGOs and they get the funding and they subcontract us to do the work in our own communities. We are subcontracted. And that also means that they make a buck, they don’t show us what their salaries are ... This is the double standard and hypocrisy ... they receive 5 million dollars and the local NGO gets 250 dollars. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

They make the proposal requirements so complicated. Once, the consultant from Denmark from the partner organisation had to come to work with us on the proposal because it was too difficult. How the small NGOs are supposed to do that? They cannot pay a consultant. We know we can put together a good proposal, we are not illiterate. And the small NGOs know what they want to do and what the community needs. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)
There is no continuity in what we are doing in our country; every plan must start where we ended during a previous period. We are not driven by what we want to achieve, instead, we are doing what project is coming... (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

Claims for the Post-2015 Development
The priority for all the participants was eliminating poverty and fighting sharp inequalities in Zambian society. As a matter of fact, this is the fundamental goal of development as they understand it: its principal goal is people's well-being. They stressed the need to address structural causes of poverty – economic, political or cultural. While they highlighted holistic approach addressing the roots of poverty, they also identified some issues that are of particular importance. Although the access to education is inherently connected to the principal development target of eradication of poverty, it stands as a separate goal as well. Quality education as a means to build citizens’ claim-making capacities was also regarded as a way how to strengthen participatory and inclusive political system and how to hold political representatives accountable. Accountable government at the local and national level is again necessary in the process of eradication of poverty. Yet more importantly, the participants pointed out that the national government, and more so in the case of African countries, are weak and they have little negotiating power via-a-vis wealthy states, international economic institutions and multinational corporations. Just global governance is thus a crucial condition of development.

The priorities for the post-2015 development agenda were articulated to include 1) quality education; 2) policies and actions addressing structural causes of poverty; and 3) promotion of accountable government and establishment of just global governance.

1) Quality Education
Equal access to quality education, free of school fees, is regarded as a necessary step to build future for Africa and its young population. It is not only a means to get people out of poverty but also a way to support and build people’s claim-making capacities and raise their consciousness as rights-holders.

We have seen over the past 2–3 years reduction in development support to education... Adult education is one of the area that is most neglected. In Zambia support to adult education is less than 0.01% of the national education budget. This is happening world-wide, adult education is neglected. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

The problem is also inclusive schooling, inclusion of children with disabilities; it is supported only on paper. (man, Lusaka roundtable)

In order to succeed in all the different areas of development, you need to have a population that has reached a certain level of capacities so that they can be part of the development... The only way to do that is to give them a chance to get an education. The educated people make sure that their children go to school, they are able to claim their land rights and to hold their government accountable. Adult education is the key. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Quality education is a social equalizer; educated people are able to defend themselves. Education brings in citizens’ empowerment. (man, Copperbelt province)
It was very clear, however, that the goal of improving education was very closely related to other issues, building infrastructure, and barrier-free buildings, access to electricity and water, health care, to modern technologies.

*If you look at it from the education point of view, with the previous government, there was the pronouncement that we need to take on almost everyone and it is difficult because the infrastructure could not allow that... The government policy, especially because of MDGs, demanded that almost everyone who is school-age, is at school, has a school certificate. In a school set up like here it is difficult. Our school is supposed to have 26 teachers and we have only 17... Such challenges are severe. Some years ago, this school didn’t have a good system of lighting. Solar system installation helped with that, also we have running water in bohos... With the coming of power [solar energy] if you look at the figures there is a steady improvement in school results.* (man, rural community)

*Teachers need to continue to learn. But you cannot leave because there is not enough staff. With a good internet and technology, teachers can learn from distance, you can do your assignments from here, you send a fax and the work is done. Even the road, to go to the town for a lecture, it takes a lot of time.* (women, rural community)

*We need also more computers, we are in a modern age, students should be exposed to these technologies.* (man, rural community)

2) Addressing Structural Causes of Poverty

It is virtually impossible to separate individual issues that are at roots of the problem of poverty. Any fruitful post-2015 agenda can only insist that there are several aspects and structural issues that can be translated in their mutual coaction into improvement of people’s well-being or contrary to reproduction of structures of poverty. These issues are land and distribution of land ownership, gender equality and position of women, road infrastructure, access to electricity, sanitation and running water, access to information and technology, access to health care, food security, decent jobs and protection of workers. Shortly, when people are speaking about human rights, they have in mind social and economic rights.

*Human rights approach is always the way to go. People want food security, clean water, housing, shelter, access to education, issues to do with health, maternity health centres... so social and economic rights.* (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

*When we are saying that economically Zambia is doing OK and at the same time poverty is rising and citizens are poor, I don’t think development priorities [under MDGs] are right because they are not bearing good fruits on the ground. People cannot afford one food a day. It is a distortion of development.* (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

**Land**

*The land remains a big issue; land is the life of many Zambians. Today, people are displaced from their land by the state and foreign investors. Population is growing and the land is diminishing...* (man, Lusaka roundtable)

*Land is being grabbed in Zambia, by Europeans, by Americans, by Chinese, at the expense of our own people. Only 6% of the land belongs to the government, the rest belongs to people, it cannot be sold.* (woman, Lusaka roundtable)
We need a land audit and a new land law which would secure people’s access to land. Especially under the customary tenure people are vulnerable, they don’t have any documentation. The other problem is inequality of women in terms of access to land. (man, Lusaka roundtable)

Here it is mostly customary land, small farms distributed by traditional leaders. Usually people who are working on the land are those who become victims when the land is translated into the property of government. This is a growth related, people living in areas that receive electricity, especially hydro [national electricity network], experience more pressure on land, slowly people are drifted, they have to move... (man, rural community)

When it comes to the area of mining, we hear that we need new investors and they want to open new mines but we fail to use what we have. New mines will not help you and they will take over the land that could be useful for farming. It is a backwards kind of development. ... Investors are coming to make money and they go and we remain worse than we could have been. (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

Women’s Empowerment
Poverty wears a woman’s face. We believe that the need is to focus on women in remote rural communities. We need to address structural causes of poverty in these communities. It is necessary to work with traditional leaders to change some traditions that inhibit men and women participation in the development process. The traditional leaders are custodians of culture, they need to be included. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

A lot of women in informal sector are breadwinners of their families, they need some security. When she has a baby the business goes down, so they go back to the market to sell things with a baby two weeks old. The government can help these women, they need at least some money to depend on when they have babies and young children. (woman, Copperbelt roundtable)

Zambia is not an island. In 1991 we changed from a one-party system to a multi-party system, we introduced liberalization, privatization. Since then we saw a lot of companies closed down, many breadwinners became unemployed, services that were free, those services became paid... The pressure is especially on women, they need to manage these difficult situation, they need to support their families. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Supporting cooperatives is good for women. Women have clubs, those are in fact cooperatives... For a long time, the ministry only dealt with registered cooperatives. It meant that women did not have access to fertilizer support. Only now it slowly starts to change. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Infrastructure
The issue of development of infrastructure concerned not only the need to build material structures, roads, schools, hospitals, electricity network, sanitations, bohos etc. but equally the need to provide educated professionals who will maintain and run the infrastructures and to communicate with local communities who need to understand and support the projects in order for them to be successful.

In terms of education, things here are improving but on the part of infrastructure there is not so much changing, it is the same as it was when I left 5 years ago. We need more buildings, classrooms, houses for teachers, more teachers, there is a lot to be done. (man, local community)
I think the development priorities should be education and technology. Zambia has a lot of natural resources, but we are not doing value addition, we need more manufacturing industry here in Zambia. European countries should help us to develop manufacturing industry, to get access to technologies. What they are doing now is misplaced, they don’t want to share technology, they want us to stay in perpetuate poverty. (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

You need to invest time working with people, explaining in their language what is needed to maintain the machines like an electric pump. And remember sometimes they have never been out of their village so they genuinely don’t understand what the new technologies require. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Health Care

We can see the government effort to build the infrastructure but it is not enough, you need people to run it, teachers, doctors, nurses. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

We don’t have a doctor here, we depend only on nurses, there are only two nurses for catching area of 15 to 20 kilometres ... The building is very old, there is no running water ... The staffing problem we have at a clinic, it is similar at school, we need more people and accommodation for them... (man, rural community)

Decent Jobs and Protection of Workers

We need decent jobs, not only jobs but decent jobs ... and then policies that can support social inclusion so that the vulnerable people are protected. (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

In 1991 government withdrew the support to cooperatives. The cooperatives are the best way, people know that working together is better than working alone, they can share information and benefit from what they already know. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

3) Accountable Government and Establishment of Just Global Governance

Participation

In order to promote more accountable national government and development, the participants stressed people’s participation and decentralization.

The key is to strengthen people’s participation in the whole system; somebody needs to ask questions and to hold the government accountable,... The key is the decentralization that this country is talking about but is failing to implement. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

What we need for development of education, agriculture, infrastructure network is decentralization; we need to start with involvement of community. The chiefdoms is a very decentralized system of governance, we need to involve traditional leaders, their role is critical in development. (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

I want to say that accountability is not about coins, it is about actions. The decentralization is not working because the government is afraid of devolution of power, the budget must come from people in local areas. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)
The most important thing is that every person can enjoy dignity and that people can participate in their own development, don’t tell us what to do from New York, you need to walk the talk, dignity for all should start with peoples’ participation. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

The issue of a new constitution that was a heated problem at the time of consultation was put as a priority for national government.

We need a new constitution which will guarantee social protection. And that is the support we need from international community. ... Many our problems are because our government system is not clear, too much power is vested in individuals. And that was the colonial kind of constitution. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Taxes
The issue of tax evasion by multinational corporations was a critical issue literally for all the participants.

There is a high taxation of working people and the costs of small business are high. At the same time, there are so many investors in this country which are evading tax, in sugar industry and copper mining industry. If you go to the provinces where these mines are, the roads are in a deplorable state. ... You can say that the government tried to do something to reduce poverty, but it is not of a great impact. We know where the greatest impact would be. If they reintroduce the windfall tax in these mines, if they strengthen the tax collection... (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Since the privatization the mining companies are not declaring any profit, every year they are declaring losses. Can you imagine they are doing this for so many years without any profit? There are studies showing how they hide the profit. The companies avoid paying corporate taxes, royalty taxes are low, they have a lot of tax concessions. When the government pushed to tax collection, mining corporations said they were going to dismiss 1500 people in one area because the costs are too high. Why? The copper prices are still high... (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

Just Global Governance
The participants highlighted that the structural causes of poverty stem from the political, at both the national and the international level. They criticized the structural adjustment programs and subsequent program of PRCS, which were forced upon African countries, and they pointed to causes of poverty in Africa due to unequal global power relationships.

The structural adjustment program that was forced down on this country contributed a lot to increasing level of poverty in this country. WB and IMF ignored the African alternative framework to structural adjustment programs called AAF-SAP that was agreed upon in the 80s, they ignored local suggestions... We refused Poverty Reduction Strategy Program. What rubbish it that? (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

European Union, USA and other cooperating partners do not do Africa a favour by insisting on economic growth at the expense of social empowerment of people and their own development. They know that our governments are weak and our governments will obey what they are saying at the expense of having dialogue with their own people. The weaker the government is, the better for EU, USA and their businesses. ... The EU and USA are fond of giving business to their companies here at the expense of labour laws, at the expense of women, they don’t insist that in their companies there will
be gender equality, they give grants to white commercial farmers... What about the clubs and cooperatives that women have? (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Whose interest they are saving, all of them, EU, USAID and others? What are their interests, we do not need to rely on aid if there are fair terms of trade. But they want to maintain certain status. There are also challenges in terms of our government. But we are poorer because of our relationship with the EU and USA. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

We need fair terms of trade, this continent is rich, this country is rich. We must be allowed to use the resources for the benefit of every Zambian. This is the challenge for the post-2015 agenda. There is no need for people to eat only every other day. (woman, Copperbelt roundtable)

Africans learned corruption from Europeans, we didn't know it. I am not saying that there is no corruption in Africa, but before you corrupt, there is a corruptor. Who is this one, who is invisible? (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

Foreign direct investments that come to our country are not involving Zambians and local business, there is no desire to create decent jobs and develop local industry and technology. We need deliberate policies that would clearly demand this. (man, Copperbelt roundtables)

Critique of Public Private Partnership
The critique was also directed to the concept of public private partnership as a concept yet again imposed on Africans, reiterating the arguments of the SAPs, privatization and liberalization, that was proved not to be working for the benefit of the poor and local communities.

At the end of the day private sector always looks at profitability of their projects. They want to get back what they spent. And we are talking about the poverty here. PPP is good for business, but it would leave underdeveloped areas poor. (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

People in the private sector are there only to make money. Private corporate responsibility is not working. It is hard to make them responsible to give back to the community; they should be not only responsible to pay taxes but also to benefit the community. (man, Lusaka roundtable)

All these things are laughable. The assumption is that people don't know, we know! The capital has no business in feeling sorry for you because you are poor; they would do everything for profit. When they talk about public-private partnership, they are talking about that the capital feels threatened that this community here is going to riot and the profit will not going to come. So to keep them calm, here is 2,000 dollars. ... These concepts are imposed on us and our governments implement them. These concepts do not please us, we can see through them. (woman, Lusaka roundtable)

When we are analysing the concept of PPP critically, when we are talking about achieving MDGs, there are areas where PPP cannot work because some of the programs under MDGs do not carry with them profit. ... PPP cannot be the way for sustainable development goals because the poor shall be poorer, the rich shall be richer. We need to draw a line when the PPP can arrive. Which projects can be done under PPP and which projects need to be the government responsibility, such as education, health, roads – where is the poor person supposed to get the money to pay for health care, education, to pass the road? (man, Copperbelt roundtable)
Development is supposed to benefit the people – the owners of the resources. You cannot call development if you invite the investor and the same investor displaces people from their land. What kind of development is that? (man, Lusaka roundtable)

PPP would increase corruption. Private sector will find a way to use PPP as a way to make sure they are the one who get the contracts... (man, Copperbelt roundtable)

8.3 Annex 3
Comparison of GCAP Civil Society Consultations and UN Consultations in Zambia

In this section, we will outline a comparison of conclusions emerging from our consultations and other reports, namely UN Zambia report (UN Zambia 2013), which was a source for A Million Voices report (UNDP 2013b), and UN Economic Commission for Africa report (UNECA 2013).

Although there is obviously a strong overlap between these reports, we would like to stress primarily the differences.

Although the UN Zambia report mentions the interconnectedness of different issues and the necessity to address them in a more integrated development agenda, at the same time it tends to separate individual issues and reproduce pre-defined categories used in My World Survey. Namely, the UN Zambia report highlights 7 priorities: 1) quality education with life skills, 2) better health care, 3) equality of income, gender, access and opportunity, 4) better job opportunities and enabling business environment, 5) eradication of poverty, 6) an honest and responsive government, 7) access to clean water and sanitation. As a top 3 issues the authors of the report stress the quality of education, health and governance. Our findings are consistent with the UN Zambia report when it comes to priority of quality education. Nevertheless, we argue that our consultations revealed more complex understanding of poverty; the participants pointed to structural causes of poverty and they claim that it is necessary to address them simultaneously and together. Under this heading category they included many issues that other reports name separately.

The main divergence is nevertheless the missing issue of just global governance in UN Zambia report. The analysis of our consultations revealed a comprehensive understanding of global relationships and power inequalities in negotiation processes between development countries and wealthy countries that can dictate the terms and hide their own interest under the pretence of development aid. The participants mentioned the need to create more opportunities for decent and more secure jobs but they also noted that the lack of them is partly caused by international and global political and economic environment that is unfavourable for developing countries. The mechanism of foreign direct investment was disguised as a mechanism to hijack local resources. Similarly, the notion of public-private partnership is treated uncritically in the UN Zambia report. The analysis of our consultations showed much more complex view on this concept. Some participants argued that it is a concept enforced upon African countries and others approached it with caution because it can possibly increase corruption, lead to more public borrowing and leave the poor yet again behind because the private sector is concerned primarily about profit. If the participants embrace the concept of PPP, it has a different meaning. For them it means the obedience to law and fair corporate taxes, or possible involvement of private sector in areas where the logic of profit is not detrimental to the inherent goals. Areas that need to remain public responsibility are education, health, road etc. The UN Zambia report
also omits entirely the issue of illicit tax dodging and tax evasion practices through tax havens which come to the forefront in our consultations.

A Million Voices report summarizes world-wide regional consultations and it divides the priorities into 11 areas: 1) addressing inequalities; 2) conflict, violence and disaster; 3) education; 4) energy; 5) environmental sustainability; 6) governance; 7) growth and employment; 8) health; 9) hunger, food security and nutrition; 10) population dynamics; 11) and water. Similarly as the UN Zambia report, A Million Voices report almost entirely omits targeting today’s unjust global architecture. Although it notes global governance as one of possible goals under the chapter of governance, this issue remains marginalized and vague.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa report takes a more integrated approach, although some formulations remain vague, allowing multiple interpretations. Moreover, it takes some concepts for granted. And these very concepts were put under critical scrutiny in our consultations. The report formulates four priorities: 1) structural economic transformation and inclusive growth (sustainable and inclusive growth; agriculture, food security and nutrition; green growth; industrialization and value addition; economic infrastructure development), 2) innovation, technological transfer and research and development, 3) human development (eradication of extreme poverty; education and human capacity development; universal and equitable access to quality healthcare; gender equality and women’s empowerment; population and youth dynamics; water resource management; disaster risk reduction; access to shelter), 4) financing and partnership (domestic financing; external financing; partnership).

The report seems to conform to today’s dominant belief in positive effects of global market and private corporate responsibility and it fails to address some of the crucial problems in the contemporary global architecture. The main discrepancies between UNECA report and results of our consultations are located within the fourth priority area. The UNECA report locates the shortcomings in terms of low tax revenues or illicit financial flows in the category of domestic financing. Thus, it ignores the fact that in today’s increasingly globalized environment these issues are to a large degree beyond the reach of the national governments, especially in case of development countries. Under the category of external financing, there is no reference to the detrimental effects of tax havens or multinational corporations’ practices. So called enabling global governance architecture is mentioned among development enablers. According to our consultations, just global governance appears higher on the list and it stands as one of the desired development outcomes. The same is true about people’s participation, it is not only development enabler as UNECA report suggests; it is also an end in itself and it is an integral part of priorities for post-2015 development agenda.

UNECA report mentions human rights approach only in terms of political and civil rights. Nevertheless, our consultations revealed that, for local actors, human rights approach means primarily protection of social and economic rights. Local people and CSOs representatives refuse to limit human rights to political and civil rights and to push aside social and economic rights under the heading of reduction or elimination of poverty.

The UNECA report also calls for promotion of public-private partnership without any critical examination what it means for different actors. Last but not least, it foregrounds private ownership.

1) My World Survey (http://www.myworld2015.org/) was designed as a quantitative survey that use pre-defined categories and each respondent can choose 6. Although there is a possibility to add another issue, the data from My World Survey have to be used with caution as they can distort the picture and reproduce the well-established understanding of development. The qualitative analysis of consultation process can help us to enlarge the picture of how people actually understand and define development.
On the contrary, our consultations revealed that civil society is critical of the concept of public-private partnership and understands it in terms of obligation to pay taxes and eliminate exploitation of workers. They also revealed the preference for cooperatives and community ownership rather than private corporate ownership.

Although the comparison of the results of GCAP consultations with UN Zambia report and the UNECA report on the African common position shows overlaps and common ground for articulation of post-2015 development agenda, we suggest that much stronger emphasis needs to be put on people’s participation and just global governance and economic architecture. We also suggest that some concepts deserve more critical examination in order to avoid the danger of enforcing pre-defined concepts onto developing countries. Namely the concept of public-private partnerships that becomes one of the innovations of the SDGs is understood differently by various actors. Also the term human rights approach takes different meaning for different actors.

8.4 Annex 4
Exploitation in Copper Mining Industry and the Role of EU: The Case of Mopani Copper Mine

As mentioned earlier, the main mining companies in Zambia are Vedanta Resources, Glencore International and First Quantum Minerals. The practices of Vedanta, which owns Kongola Copper Mines, are thoroughly analysed by the Foil Vedanta report (Das, Rose 2014). We focus here on the situation in Mopani Copper Mines (MCM) owned by Glencore International.

Mopani Copper Mines produces and sells copper and cobalt to the international market being one of the biggest mines and exporters in the world. In 2005, the MCM received 48 million EUR loan from European Union’s Investment Bank (EIB). Aim of the EU millions was supposed to be reducing pollution in the area by cutting dust and sulphur dioxide emissions from mining and supporting jobs, worker’s wages, tax revenues and social services.

EIB proclaims it invests in projects contributing to achieve EU goals. In Africa these goals top priorities are poverty alleviation, sustainable development, and a gradual integration of the African states into the global economy. On its website EIB informs that since the year 2000 its loans to the mining companies in Africa amounted to 650 million Euros. And from 2000 to 2007, over 80% of EIB funding in Zambia went specifically to the mining sector, where the most significant is the Mopani Copper Mine group². Looking at the amount of invested money and the fact that the mining industry is known to be rather devastating than developing, we ask, is the EU taxpayer’s money benefiting African communities as proclaimed by the EIB or the shareholders of the multinational corporations? Mentioned MCM, which also owns mines at Nkana and Mufulira, is predominantly a foreign consortium whose main shareholder is the Swiss firm Glencore International (by means of offshore companies). After a controversial privatization pushed forward by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Zambia’s government of Frederick Chiluba, Zambia, the previous full owner of MCM was left with only 10%, which makes the country the smallest shareholder of Mopani natural resources (see Picture 1). EIB was involved with Glencore already in the process of privatization. It was the EIB funds which enabled the Swiss company to privatize most of the Mopani mines.

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In 2010, the Czech filmmaker Ivo Bystřičan visited Mopani area to look for community benefits of the EIB investments. His documentary called *Copper Age* shows workers being laid off in large numbers while one of them explaining how it is unfair since the company is producing more than before, poisoned water running from the mines through the inhabited areas with children playing around, or children repairing roads leading to the mines with mud. Due to constant flow of heavy trucks from the mines the roads are badly damaged, but no one takes responsibility to repair them. The similar picture is presented in the documentary *Stealing Africa – Why Poverty?* directed by Christoffer Guldbrandsen.

Local communities in the mining areas are exposed to toxic waste, but hospitals or even public schools are now charging fees. To compare, these and other public services were provided free-of-charge to all the mining employees and their families at the times of the state ownership, as the Counter Balance organization report states. The report shows how EU development money supports detrimental practices of mining multinational companies (Counter Balance 2010).

Extremely high pollution of air, ground and water in the area is also making traditional activities such as agriculture, livestock farming and fishing practically impossible, or at least very dangerous for health. On the top of this, MCM even forcibly expelled subsistence farmers in the Mufulira area. In 2001, Oxfam

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*Picture 1: Shareholders in Mopani Copper Mine.*
Canada and the Zambian NGO Development Community Project (DECOP) laid charges against MCM because of this. In 2005, the year Mopani got the EIB loan, over 20 of its employees died at workplace accidents. But Tim Henderson, the CEO of Mopani, refused to answer the unions’ questions on security problems.³

In 2011, a Pilot audit conducted by lead auditors – Grant Thornton Zambia – and Econ Pöyry, a Nordic based global consulting and engineering company has revealed grave irregularities and inconsistency in production and revenue figures that Mopani Copper Mines submit to ZRA for tax administration, most of which the audit revealed were embedded in transfer pricing in revenues owing to Mopani’s links with Glencore International AG.⁴

Among other things, the audit found that:

- The increase of certain operating costs was inexplicable.
- Mopani has been carrying losses forward for 10 years and therefore it wasn’t subject to corporate tax, nevertheless these costs should have been “materially lower”.
- There were serious inconsistencies in the production volumes declared by Mopani.
- Mopani was selling copper and cobalt for a consequently lower price than the London Metal Exchange (LME) rate, to Glencore company (which is in fact the real owner of MCM), registered in Zoug, Switzerland, where there is one of the most attractive tax regime in the world.
- The pattern of price hedging used by MCM was “not normal” and appears “more equal to moving taxable revenue out the country than true hedging”.⁵

In the summer 2011, EIB finally blocked financing Glencore as it started to investigate “serious concern” about the commodity trader’s corporate governance, concerns that the pollution problem had not been addressed, and moreover issue of Glencore subsidiary Mopani tax avoidance allegations.⁶ As one Zambian blogger explains: “The audit revealed that Glencore AG, the purchaser, determines prices and that some copper from Mopani is sold under an "old" contract with copper in one instance being sold at 25 per cent of official prices at LME. In other words, they are not paying taxes over 75% of the copper ‘sold’ to Glencore under that contract.” The EIB kept the ban on new loans to Glencore in place, but still, without a single explanation. Nor to European public neither to Zambian people. So far it looks like EIB is trying to protect the company and even maybe itself from consequences of that information becoming public.

Glencore has always denied avoiding or evading tax in Zambia, but acknowledged what everyone who visited the mining area could see and smell, that its smelter causes sulphur dioxide pollution. The company originally promised to take care of the pollution by 2015, but amid intense pressure from campaign groups it agreed to bring the deadline forward to 2013. This deadline was also “missed”. It took a Daily Mail revelation on “how locals’ lives have been blighted by regular gas emissions, causing health problems and soil contamination” that makes Glencore remember its promise.

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On April 3, 2014, after three years of EIB’s silence on investigating Glencore, eleven world known NGO’s including Oxfam, Christian Aid or Les Amis de la Terre wrote a letter of concern to EIB urging it to release the Bank’s “investigation of tax evasion and avoidance allegations against Mopani Copper Mines plc, which is largely owned by Glencore Xstrata.” Following the leak of a draft audit report by Grant Thornton and Econ Pöyry, the Bank publicly announced its investigation of this matter in May 2011, still with no results. Christian Aid even lodged a complaint against the EIB with the European ombudsman, but the EIB does not seem to be worried too much. When asked by The Guardian about the NGO’s letter, a spokesperson of the EIB replied that the Bank never published the results of its internal investigations, so much for the transparency. And concerning the European ombudsman, he only replied the Bank will naturally cooperate in handling of this complaint.
People Know What They Need.

An Interview with Women Activists in Zambia

Zuzana Uhde and Tomáš Tožička

1) The interview was originally published in the journal Gender and Research and is available online at www.genderonline.cz. Cite as: Uhde, Z., Tožička, T. 2015. “People Know What They Need. An Interview with Women Activists in Zambia.” Gender, rovné příležitosti, výzkum / Gender and Research, Vol. 16, No. 2, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.13060/12130028.2015.16.2.220
The eight Millennium Development Goals agreed upon at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000 approached their deadline in 2015. They focused on reducing extreme poverty and hunger in the world as well as building foundations for social development by providing primary education, basic health care or employment to the global poor. Although they provided some tools to combat human suffering, the MDGs were also criticized for being disembodied from local activities and lacking strong objectives and analytical power. These shortcomings were to be overcome in the new post-2015 development agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs were adopted in September 2015 at the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit. The SDGs are ambitious goals to eliminate extreme poverty and hunger altogether, providing everyone with quality education, health care, clean water, decent work and access to sustainable energy. They also focus on gender equality and reducing global inequalities among countries. Moreover, they also endorse the commitment to sustainable development by changing industry, production and consumption patterns, combating climate change and deterioration of life in oceans, desertification and deforestation, and promoting world peace and global partnership. How these goals will be implemented is another challenge. Despite their ambition, concrete results are to be measured by fragmented and controversial indicators. Another contestation centres on the power of the private sector which was inscribed into the very logic of the SDGs.

In March 2014, we talked with women representatives of women’s and anti-poverty organisations in Lusaka, Zambia, about the contemporary development cooperation framework, the previous era of the MDGs as well as the upcoming challenges. Zambia is a country rich in resources, and yet there is a lot of poverty, a country with progressive past and uncertain future in today’s unjust global economic and political arrangement.

**Zuzana Uhde:** The Millennium Development Goals approach their deadline in 2015. It was clear that not all the goals would be fulfilled. How do you look back at the framework of the MDGs and development cooperation today?

**Emily Joy Sikazwe:** The women’s movement in Zambia was disappointed that the Millennium Development Goals diluted the Beijing Platform for Action, which we think was stronger. And we felt that the men in the United Nations and countries that they represent have hijacked the women’s agenda because they felt the Beijing Platform for Action was militant. If you compare the Beijing Platform for Action and the MDGs, the first was very clear, the latter is wishy-washy. That’s why it is important to bring it back on the agenda.

I think our position was vindicated. Talking about the MDGs in Zambia and their implementation, we issued a Social Watch report in which we show that Zambia was unlikely to meet the MDGs, except maybe one or two: education and maybe health to some extent. And this is only because the international community was focusing on those two, not because Zambia invested a lot of money in them.

**Priscilla Chileshe:** I agree. Moreover, these two MDGs are really not a threat to patriarchy, that’s why they are accepted. But there are other goals that challenge the status quo. Especially the MDG 3 on gender equality in which we saw a minimum achievement. It remains a battlefield. The African Ministers of Gender stated that the goal of gender equality has not yet been addressed across Africa. And for that reason, they pushed for a stand-alone goal on gender equality in the post-2015 agenda. For us a lot of things have not been resolved. The fundamental issue is that politically correct things will not do what needs to be done.
Diana Ngula: Firstly, I want to say that the MDGs were not consulted with people at grassroot levels and their implementation was not well connected with the needs of communities. The way the budgets are planned, needs to be consulted with people at grassroot levels; we need to ask them if what the community needs is to address water supplies or money transfers to vulnerable groups etc. There should be some form of consultation how the public budget should be allocated. For example, in areas such as social protection we do a lot of monitoring but then people have to wait how the funds will be allocated, they never really sit in the committee to decide what the community needs.

The important goal was to address poverty. But I think this issue demonstrated that our government did not show the political will. And we all know very well that the goal of halving the number of people living in poverty won’t be met. The poverty level is still very high. If we compare the indicators for 2006, 2010 and 2014, the poverty level is reduced 0.5, zero or 1.5 percentage points respectively. It’s nothing. It looks like it’s really a long way only to halve the poverty level in Zambia.

Juliet Kalaluka: I think the problem lies in our concept of governance – we elect a few people to run state affairs and we have no say until 5 years later. To include people in decision-making is an important challenge for us. The old model was that the government is the authority you don’t question. But people start to contest this, the government has the responsibility to us as citizens.

Emily Joy Sikazwe: I would like to add that the European Union and other cooperating partners are not doing Africa a favour by insisting on economic growth at the expense of social empowerment of people and their own development. They know very well that our governments are weak and our governments are going to obey at the expense of having a dialogue with their own people. Before China came on the scene, the EU and the USA enforced conditionalities on aid. But then the African governments said, we could turn to China for money. And the EU and USA have lost the power edge. The weaker the government is, the better for the EU and USA and their businesses.

We are not blind to that. We say poverty wears a woman’s face. We are concerned as the women’s movement about what is happening in our countries. Women are dying; maternal mortality rates are very high. Our children are poorly nourished. There is unemployment. Our children get a school degree but they can’t get a job. The farmers are just slaves on their own farms. The prices for agriculture products are very low. It is the 21st century and people don’t have drinking water. They share water with frogs and snakes and cows. They lack proper housing, people share one room and they sleep in turns with their children. So if you want to make love with your husband you chase your children to go to the street where they get raped because you want to have privacy. But there’s no space for privacy in one room. So these are some of the issues that concern us. We need social protection in terms of social and economic rights which would hold our governments responsible.

The EU keeps giving money but we don’t see this aid trickling down. The EU is also fond of giving business to their companies here at the expense of labour laws, at the expense of women. They don’t insist that their companies respect laws and promote gender equality. The EU gives grants of 250,000 US dollars plus to white commercial farmers. And where is the share for women? If they give any of that money to women, these are women who are friends of the ruling government or their own personal friends because they’ve worked in Zambia before and so they know them – I can give you the names of these women. What about grassroots women? What about the cooperatives that women establish? What about clubs women have? They do a lot with very little money. Ministers’ wives and businessmen’s wives receive money to grow roses instead of food.

So that brings the question in whose interest they are acting. It applies not just to the EU but also to
the USA. What are their interests? If only they were fair in terms of trade, we should be able to get something from our agriculture. They say they promote development but really that’s not the issue. We are poor because of these relationships with the EU and the USA. They challenge local governments only if it is in their self-interest. It is almost like collusion with those people who have the resources that we should all share.

**Priscilla Chileshe:** And if we ask: Where do our resources go? Where do our African leaders keep their money? It is in Europe.

For example, the war in Kongo sees no end. Because of those interests. But women are paying the ultimate price – they are raped, they are killed, they are made to send their children as child soldiers and we are watching.

**Tomáš Tožička:** What is the major problem in the way how money intended for development cooperation is distributed?

**Emily Joy Sikazwe:** Firstly, the Paris Declaration⁴ killed the spirit of civil society because now the money is allocated to projects not programs. And when you bring money as projects not programs, you are saying: robots do those projects. There’s no money for administrative support. And I saw the declining critical mass in Zambia in terms of civil society work. Secondly, after the Paris Declaration, the EU and the USA have brought their own NGOs here to compete with us on the ground. Norwegian Church Aid, Danish Church Aid, Christian Aid, Swedish Save the Children and other US organizations. They only came after the Paris Declaration; they were not in Zambia before. Before, we received money directly from embassies. But they said they cannot monitor activities and read our reports. So now we are slave labourers for big international NGOs. We write proposals in conjunction with big international NGOs and they get the funding, they subcontract us to work in our own communities. We are only sub-contracted. And this subcontracting also means that they get the bulk of money. They don’t show us what their salaries are. We don’t have a voice. International NGOs submit proposals for consideration to the EU and they subcontract local organizations. What about small NGOs working in local communities? The applications are so complicated. We can’t have paid consultants to write proposals. But we are not illiterate, we know what to do and how we want to do it and what we want to achieve.

This is the double standard and the hypocrisy. They get 5 million dollars, the local NGO gets 250 000, out of 5 million dollars. Why talk about transparency and accountability? They assume black people steal. And because of this assumption, they cannot trust us with money. But Africans learned corruption from Europeans. We didn’t know it before colonization. We had a barter system here so we didn’t know money. I am not saying there’s no corruption in Africa. But I say before you corrupt there is a corruptor. With whom did the local governments make corrupted deals?

**Priscilla Chileshe:** We must address structural causes of inequality and political and economic underpinnings of how development is pursued. Our European counterparts give us money so they also tell us what to do. When we are upset about this cooperation, we tell them what about the foreign interest which pays your salaries.

For Zambia one of the priorities is fighting against poverty. What can you do for families that care for children with no parents because of HIV/AIDS. Grandparents take care for 10 children. At least the Catholic Church is distributing food. Otherwise there are families where half of the members eat on

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Monday and then on Tuesday they fast so that the other half can eat. And the ones who ate on Tuesday cannot eat on Wednesday. That is the reality for many Zambians.

**Juliet Kalaluka:** Society for Women with AIDS distributes family support in these communities. Without that, children have nothing to eat. When they are starving how can they perform at school? This is poverty.

**Priscilla Chileshe:** A lot of schools have feeding programs because they found, children are not able to continue the school because they were hungry. So children can come to school and at least they eat something. I think the number of people in poverty is much higher than what the official statistics show.

**Zuzana Uhde:** If you look at the development over the past couple years, what do you think was successful in terms of fighting against poverty and what was left unanswered?

**Priscilla Chileshe:** Zambia is not an island. We face consequences of liberalization and privatization, as elsewhere. In 1991, we changed from a one-party state system to a multiparty system and we introduced liberalization and privatization. Along with that, we saw a lot of companies closed down. So a lot people on whose salaries many others depended were suddenly without jobs. Before, we had services for free. You could go for treatment to the hospital for free; you could send your children to school for free. At the same moment when jobs started disappearing, public services became paid. So it was a very difficult period. And also it placed the burden especially on women. They are the ones making sure their families survive, growing tomatoes, selling something on the market, anything. And women are the ones who are in debt. I overheard one conversation: “We were aircraft engineers in one minute and in the next minute there were no jobs.” I don’t know how many people died because of that sudden situation. It was too much to bear.

**Emily Joy Sikazwe:** It also brought about gender imbalance. Women keep families together. Men are frustrated without jobs.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) forced down on this country contributed a lot to the increasing level of poverty. The UN was present in Zambia at that time and they knew the SAPs are bad. G8 together with the World Bank and the IMF ignored the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes (AAF-SAP)\(^3\) agreed upon in the 1980s in Abuja. The SAPs killed industries, killed the human resources that Zambia had been investing into since 1964 by educating people. People are now dying because of poor nutrition, HIV/AIDS. So how can you reduce poverty if you lose half of the skilled population?

And for what industries can you educate people? For mining where our people who were engineers in the same mining company are now snipers?

**Diana Ngula:** The government introduced some measures to reduce poverty. For example, it increased the level of income which is tax free. But people who earn just little above that pay high taxes. Food and water prices increased. The cost of having a small business is very high. At the same time, many mining companies and other investors (i.e. Zambia sugar) are diverting taxes. Mining companies make huge profits but the provinces they are located in are in horrible state. The corporate social responsibility doesn’t work.

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So you can say that the government has tried to reduce poverty but it has not much of an impact. The greatest impact would be if we introduced the windfall tax on mining, if we strengthened the tax collection on big business, if we ended tax evasions. Corporations cannot just come, completely rape the land and leave people in poverty.

Emily Joy Sikazwe: Another problem is the sustainability of newly built infrastructures. It is not enough to build hospitals in rural areas. The communities need money to run them. Today, you see that rural hospitals lack basic drugs, they are understaffed, sometimes there are no doctors, only nurses.

Diana Ngula: The same applies to education. The enrolment rates are rising but the schools do not have capacities to teach all these children. There are classes in the Eastern province with 128 pupils in one class. They don't even have a chair to sit on. Sometimes it's really shocking. One teacher was supposed to teach all grades – one, two, three and four. But she cannot divide herself so she put them in one classroom and taught them successively. You can imagine the concentration of these children. And you can see the stress the teacher faces. You can see the quality of education that those pupils get. It is a good thing that children go to school. But this is not the kind of education we want at the end of the day. They have no books. And sometimes when it rains and the road is bad they can’t even go to school.

Priscilla Chileshe: Community schools, which are self-organized by parents and locals because there are no public schools in the area, are sometimes better than government schools. Children in community schools are doing better than those in government schools. So it speaks a lot about the quality of education. Government has introduced a policy of taking over community schools as Government responsibility.

Juliet Kalaluka: In rural areas a lot of talented children cannot continue to study. We are losing a lot of talents. It’s NGOs who are supporting these children and struggling to provide education for them, not the government.

And family planning. People have a lot of children; it is very difficult to provide for them. If the government expands family planning programs to reach also communities in remote areas and to educate women and their husbands about family planning, it would help to reduce child mortality.

Emily Joy Sikazwe: This would help only few. Without health care, others would still continue dying. If you talk about family planning, women look at you as if you are not normal. They say: “If I have four children, three are likely to die. So if you assure me that my four children will live, I don't need to keep on getting pregnant. Do you think I like to walk long distances to deliver a baby? Do you think I don’t know that dirty water, bad nutrition, diarrhoea get children sick?” That is the problem with family planning, people are so down. They think you are not normal telling them to have fewer children because nobody can guarantee them they will survive.

Zuzana Uhde: All these challenges – poverty, lack of infrastructure, education in schools in remote areas, gender inequality – how do you think we can address them successfully?

Priscilla Chileshe: We need to strengthen people's participation in the whole system. That is the key. Somebody must ask questions and hold the authorities accountable. Zambia has been talking about decentralization but it is not implemented. And we need the NGOs’ input to make sure people are invited to participate and ask questions, such as why there are no books in schools, why hospitals have no drugs, where are fertilizers for farmers when the government provided money to buy them? We need more transparency and openness.
Emily Joy Sikazwe: However, I have a problem with this issue of transparency and accountability. It is presupposed that accountability is about money. But it is not. It’s about actions for the people in poverty. We need to devolve power. And that is the key. Central government has no business in budgeting for people in local communities; the budgets must come from them and their needs. Decentralization and devolution of power could contribute towards eradication of poverty. We need to focus on structural causes of inequalities that cause poverty.

Zambia has been talking about decentralization for very long time. The Irish, the British are putting a lot of money into this. That decentralization hasn’t worked because the government is afraid of devolution of power.

Zuzana Uhde: During the negotiation of the post-2015 agenda the focus has been on public private partnership (PPP) as a new approach of achieving sustainable development goals. What do you think about this focus of the development cooperation?

Emily Joy Sikazwe: It is laughable. The Capital does not feel sorry for the poor. The owners and managers do everything for profit. When they talk about PPP, it is really about the interest of the Capital which feels threatened that the communities will riot and they lose their profit. So to keep people calm, they give some small change to communities and villages. In the name of PPP, people will get some crumbs.

Priscilla Chileshe: Actually, we have a very good example of how this works from the past. The copper mining companies. They make sure miners’ families are busy. They had youth training programs, women’s clubs for miners’ wives. But they have no possibilities to move forward with their lives. They have no possibilities for emancipation. If a miner loses a job, his family is worse off than people in rural areas. So this is really only window dressing. And there are many other examples of these private initiatives for the poor. Why should it be different this time? The interest of the private companies is their profit, what they can get for themselves. This is our experience.

Emily Joy Sikazwe: And again, these concepts are coming from the USA and Europe, the Bretton Woods institutions. They impose them on us, and our governments implement them. I don’t need to be an economist to understand that is a bad premise. How can it work? This is the way these companies operate. How can our grand/parents in the village negotiate with these companies? We can see through them.

Zuzana Uhde: This leads us to future priorities. What do you think should be the priorities both at national and global level for social development and how should they be articulated in order to eliminate poverty?

Emily Joy Sikazwe: I think, for Zambia the priority is to have a new constitution. Once the new constitution is in place, to goal is going to be to make it popular. Most of our problems stem from the fact that the governance system is not clear; too much power is vested in individuals. That is the legacy of the colonial system. I think this is the starting point. Since 1964 the women’s movement has been demanding a new constitution that would give women equal rights. And we want to have social and economic rights that protect the poor.

There are other points which we think need to be addressed at the international level. The EU and USA are pushing how we should govern ourselves. But the goal of the UN is to help all our governments to govern properly. It seems to me that those who have big money have more power. I don’t think that
local consultations on the post-2015 agenda are seriously taking place. Those who are preparing the post-2015 agenda are still using the same old approach. They are not really hearing what people are saying. And we think that should change.

We also need to talk about land issues. Land is being grabbed in Zambia by Europeans, Americans, and Chinese at the expense of our people. In Zambia only 6% of the land belongs to the government, the rest of the land belongs to people. Nobody should sell it. It belongs to our ancestors, to people living today and to those who are unborn yet. That land is priceless. Today the land is given away to big companies at the expense of women, at the expense of youth and everybody else. If there's going to be a war in Africa, it is going to be over the land. This is an issue that we seriously need to address.

Josephine Bwalya Muchelemba: Let me go back to the post-2015 agenda. I think it needs to be centred on citizen-led development. I think we will need to find a way to protect people at all levels, from other individuals, from their own government and from actors in the international and transnational arena who collide with them. This issue of land is just one example. The challenge is governance. Too much power is vested in authorities. We need to find a way in which people can make demands.

The globalization opens other issues. For example, fair terms of trade. We would not need foreign aid if there were fair terms of trade. Africa is not a poor continent. Zambia is a rich country. We must be able to use our resources for the benefit of all Zambians. This should be the goal for the post-2015 agenda. On a personal level I ask myself why I must write an essay just to get a visa to Great Britain. I don't even want to spend a week there. When they come here it is all easy.

Priscilla Chileshe: I think Africa is crying for leadership that is not self-interested but centred on the interests of people. This is what is lacking. We want leaders who have passion for the development of their own people, for the development of their land.

For me, gender equality is the priority in the post-2015 agenda. Women make up more than 51% of this country’s population. And if we are serious about the development of Zambia, it must be about gender equality. We need to unlock the potential that rests in women, they are held back.

Zuzana Uhde: What do you think communities need for developing their capacities for living dignified life and for their social development?

Emily Joy Sikazwe: As we said, it needs to be a people-centred development, which means that people have to know what is happening, why it is happening and what they can do about it by themselves. What will be the effects on their lives. They have their rich experience, they know their environment, they know their land. I think we need to build their capacity to exploit the assets they already have. They can tell you the rainfall pattern has changed so we need to plant at this time and not another. We are disempowering them because we think we know it all and they don’t. So our approach should be to start from where they are to build their capacity to be more resilient. If they need the training, we give them the necessary training. But we need to listen to them.

Priscilla Chileshe: I completely agree. People have the answers. Our role is only to steer them. To help them realise what they already have. They have a lot of experience. For me number one is to help them build their resilience. We can provide information, help to build capacities and just sit and see how well they’re doing and see how their own piece fits into the puzzle.
People can do informed choices if they have enough information. We taught them that working together is better than to work isolated. And they did. And it works. They are working in solidarity among themselves because they understand the issues, they form cooperatives and clubs. If you went to any area where these associations work and ask them what their basic rights are, they talk about water, health, education, food, security, shelter. And if you ask them what they want to see in the constitution, they will mention the same things. The government should put this in the legal language and put it in the constitution. They can tell that their children are walking 10 kilometres to school, barefoot on a hungry stomach and that’s why their capacity to absorb what the teacher is saying is very limited. They understand that. They see that women in labour are put on a sledge. There is no road, there is no car, there’s no bicycle. When the labour is difficult, they cannot handle it in the village. They’re pulling her on a sledge for 60 kilometres and she dies on the way. So they understand that. How can one say they don’t understand the right to healthcare or the right to education?

You need to give people information, you need to show them the structure in which they can participate when it comes to the budget or their social and economic rights and they can begin to advocate for themselves. We need to mediate the discussion between communities and public service providers. They ask why our children drink water from a fish pond at school. Why is there no borehole? And we see that after that the borehole is done. They ask why there is only one bed in the maternity ward in the rural hospital. Women are dying on the way and if they make it to the hospital they could not be admitted because there was no available bed. We saw the maternity ward was expanded to accommodate more than 10 women now. Once you give people information and you facilitate a platform where they can ask questions why certain things are going the way they are, then they are able to engage. But when they don’t know that they can question something, nothing will happen. Service providers know what is needed but only after you follow them and ask them where the money is, you begin to see the results.

Emily Joy Sikazwe: People can do informed choices if they have enough information. We taught them that working together is better than to work isolated. And they did. And it works. They are working in solidarity among themselves because they understand the issues, they form cooperatives and clubs. If you went to any area where these associations work and ask them what their basic rights are, they talk about water, health, education, food, security, shelter. And if you ask them what they want to see in the constitution, they will mention the same things. The government should put this in the legal language and put it in the constitution. They can tell that their children are walking 10 kilometres to school, barefoot on a hungry stomach and that’s why their capacity to absorb what the teacher is saying is very limited. They understand that. They see that women in labour are put on a sledge. There is no road, there is no car, there’s no bicycle. When the labour is difficult, they cannot handle it in the village. They’re pulling her on a sledge for 60 kilometres and she dies on the way. So they understand that. How can one say they don’t understand the right to healthcare or the right to education?

Emily Joy Sikazwe: I think cooperatives are the best way. Women in most places organize clubs and other groups. Those are, in fact, cooperatives. Some of them are registered, others not. These are seed growing cooperatives, cargo cooperatives, and other. In Zambia, villages are far from each other, information doesn’t flow very much, people are isolated. Government structures do not reach remote rural communities. People need cooperation to survive. If they work together, they have more muscle, they have more information that they can share and generate new ideas. The cooperatives work very well. Africans work in a cooperative world and we must build on this culture to make sure that people develop socially and economically together.

There is a strong history of cooperatives in our country. But with the change in government in 1991 and the shift to economic liberalization, the new government killed the cooperatives. They used to be strong, now they are weak. The Eastern province cooperative unions, the Southern province cooperative unions and also the Central province cooperative unions were the biggest and they had a political voice also at the international level, such as the UNEP Convention.

Priscilla Chileshe: It is true; we had a long history of cooperatives movement in this country. And we also found that there is a space for women, women are founding women’s clubs. However, the state support for farmers in the form of fertilizer goes through cooperatives. But only through registered cooperatives. A lot of women then don’t have access to it. This is what we need to change. Women’s clubs have to have access to farmer input support. Some studies we did in the Eastern province and
the Southern province show women were excluded or have traditional roles as secretaries. We also need to address the traditional mindset that men always need to have a higher position. We have some cooperatives benefit but one group is disadvantaged. Zambian women and men should equally benefit from the resources of the country.

**Zuzana Uhde:** Do you think the concept of ubuntu can be an inspiring way of development which is not enforced from outside but comes from within.

**Priscilla Chileshe:** That has been the bedrock of the African way of life. It means "I'm because we are". This idea has always been there and Keneth Kaunda (the first president of Zambia) in his own way really developed this into humanism. We all protect each other.

**Emily Joy Sikazwe:** Ubuntu means social protection. If I die today, there is always someone to protect my children. No orphanages. Traditionally there is a concept of killing the selfishness inside. And also it is built on the fact that we all have something to give. You must be concerned about what's happening around you and take care not only about your family but also about other people around. It is an important concept but it's weakening. However, it is not completely gone.

**Priscilla Chileshe:** In Church communities, there is help with funerals, for the sick, the poor, the orphans. This is the cooperative spirit where you learn to care for each other. This is something which we can build on. Not economic but social cooperative. The church is run basically by women, they do all these things and the priest supports them. But something went wrong. Practically people are overburdened and they cannot help each other. If you are a widow with ten children you cannot help your sister. But this is individualistic and this is where corruption and indifference come from because you focus on yourself, what you can get at the expense of others, and you don't hear somebody is crying for help. We have learned these vices but we can unlearn them.

**Josephine Bwalya Muchelemba:** Ubuntu is our way of life. This is the way we do it. Children used to call their mother's sister mother. So if their mother dies, they have more mothers and fathers. But it is changing. The concept of ubuntu is known in the international arena because of Mandela.

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**Emily Joy Sikazwe** worked as a director of Women for Change which was founded in Zambia in 1992. She focuses on gender equality and development of rural communities.

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Voices of Marginalized Authors

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Tomáš Tožička

is technician, theologian and expert on development issues in the organization EDUCON. Until 1989 he worked as a foreman, and then he studied theology in Prague, Czech Republic and Atlanta, GA, USA. He founded and directed social and community centres in the industrialized regions of the Czech Republic. He was a member of the Ecumenical Team of World Council of Churches at United Nations in New York, focusing on the topics of financing for development and debt relief for poor countries. Author and editor of many publications concerning international and local development. He is coordinator of GCAP campaign in the Czech Republic and he directed electrification projects in Angola, Bangladesh and Zambia.

Zuzana Uhde

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In this report GCAP has brought together constituents from four countries, across three continents to reflect on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) implementation and the role of the European Union (EU). Representatives of Bangladesh, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nicaragua, and Zambia share their analysis and discussions with people from affected communities. It is clear that many problems and challenges persist, particularly in terms of ensuring the inclusion of the most marginalised and socially-excluded individuals and communities.

GCAP’s renewed approach of building participatory reports from facts and evidences at local and national level constitute an alternative report to official statistics and analysis by international institutions. While there is no doubt that the MDGs have been partly achieved, there is major need for improvement. An inclusive and transparent learning from MDGs should be the basis for the upcoming implementation of the United Nations' new Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).


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