## CARE affair







Editor-in-Chief & Project Lead Sabine Wilke (wilke@care.de)

Art Direction Jens Mennicke (mennicke@studiomennicke.com)

Design Jens Mennicke, Tanja Geltsch @ Studio Mennicke

Illustration Tanja Geltsch @ Studio Mennicke, Pia Zölzer S. 69–72

Printing Lehmann Offsetdruck, Norderstedt

#### CONTRIBUTORS

Anika Auweiler, Daniel Al-Ayoubi, Eliana Böse, Jennifer Bose, Stefan Brand, Marc Engelhardt, Anja Engelke, Prof. Dr. Ruth Hagengruber, Sven Harmeling, Rakiétou Hassane Mossi, Anica Heinlein, Esther Sophie Henn, Dr. Wolfgang Jamann, Johan Mooij, Bettina Rühl, Simone Schlindwein, Mia Veigel, Elissa Webster

> Research and support: Leah Bibi Hanraths Kurmoo, Bettina Meinardus, Ninja Taprogge, Verena Wilke

The views and opinions expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of CARE.

This magazine is published by CARE Germany-Luxembourg, represented by the board of directors: Karl-Otto Zentel, Stefan Ewers.

This publication is printed on paper that was bleached without chlorine and comes from sustainably managed forests.

#### CONTACT

CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg Dreizehnmorgenweg 6, D-53175 Bonn T: +49 228 9 75 63-0 info@care.de, www.care.de

#### THE CARE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION

CARE Australia (www.care.org.au), CARE Canada (www.care.ca), CARE Danmark (www.care.dk),
CARE Deutschland-Luxemburg (www.care.de), CARE France (www.carefrance.org),
CARE India (www.careindia.org), CARE International Japan (www.careintip.org),
CARE International Secretariat (www.care-international.org),
CARE International UK (www.careinternational.org.uk), CARE Nederland (www.carenederland.org),
CARE Norge (www.care.no), CARE Österreich (www.care.at), CARE Perú (www.care.org.pe),
Raks Thai Foundation/CARE Thailand (www.raksthai.org), CARE USA (www.care.org)

Copyright © 2018 CARE Germany-Luxembourg.

CARE® and CARE Package are registered marks of CARE.



## "Des gens qui ont réussi à se créer des lendemains nouveaux" \*

The cover of this issue features Omar Victor Diop.

In his series "Diaspora", the young Senegalese artist and photographer pays tribute to historic personalities of African origin. His subjects lived in Europe during the Baroque or Renaissance periods and mostly arrived on the continent as slaves or "gifts". Diop reenacts the poses of men in historical paintings. And then adds items from the world of football – an omnipresent dream for young Africans longing to make it abroad today.

For the cover photograph, he puts himself in the shoes of Adolf Ludvig Gustav Fredrik Albert Badin. Known widely as "Badin", the servant at the court of Princess Sophia Albertine of Sweden was a prominent figure in the 18th century. "I wanted to introduce these historic characters to the current debate about the African diaspora, migration, integration and acceptance", says Diop.



\* people who succeeded in creating a new tomorrow for themselves

#### CONTENTS

Power Spheres of power and an introduction to this magazine.



38 The evolution of power Rich elites governing the continent. Young activists taking the streets. This is Africa in the 21st century.

18 A selfless calling? Philosophical thoughts about helping others.

"We have to work with 15 minutes" What's the power of primetime news? We spoke to an Editor-in-Chief.

Trouble in Paradise Vanuatu, a tropical dream. Really? Meet Martha and Balkon.

Our hands are tied CARE is neutral, independent and impartial. But still we have political asks. Why?

Yes, we earn. No suits and ties: Successful businesswomen in close-up.

Another day in Yemen Johan Mooij is CARE's Country Director in Yemen. His diary gives insights into life and aid in a war zone.

Going South The North gives, the South receives. ance models and cooperation.

The Tsunami Insults, threats and hate. What is going on online?

That is old news. Time for new govern-An insight from CARE.

62 The power of an image How do you recognize a fake image? We asked a specialist for photo verification.



CARE affair Nº. 11 - Power

POWER!

Sun, wind and water - renewable energies are the future. In Africa and around the world.

Writing contest: "Power"

CARE proudly presents: The winners of this year's contest and their entries.

Europe's doorkeepers
The EU wants to keep migrants out.
And uses its power to strike deals with
African governments.

Polygamy
Two women, one man, one marriage.
What is it like to live in a polygamous family? We spoke to a husband and his wives.

92 ← No commitments, no restrictions
Some relationship advice: The power of regular giving.

Who's the boss?

Tea pluckers have no say? Things are changing in Sri Lanka.

That's poverty porn. Isn't it?

Tiny arms, bloated belly. Starving

African children are a cliché, right? But what does an aid worker see on the ground?



106 -

dynamics donor coi

Show me the money Beggars in suits. The dynamics of international donor conferences.

108 - 1

My orphan project, my resume Doing good in an exotic place? Some thoughts on "volunteer-tourism".

112 -

What ever happened to ... Besnik Leka from Kosovo whom we met in CARE affair #7?





114 -

Authors

Meet the people who wrote for this edition.

116 -

Kiosk & Dialogue

Praise, criticims or an extra copy via mail? Get in touch with the editorial team.

2 ← Imprint

Contents 5



#### **EDITORIAL**



Dear readers.

What an unexpected topic for CARE to select for this edition of CARE affair. You might be surprised for a moment - but then you realize that CARE's work actually has a lot to do with power and how it is distributed in our societies. An NGO like ours often works in contexts in which unequal distribution of power and lack of justice deprive people of opportunities to develop. Based on this experience, CARE has formulated a strong statement: Poverty is injustice!

That's not to say that power in itself is either good or bad. Power is what you make of it. What does it mean, to have power? The German language uses the same word for "power" and "to do": Macht. It is similar in French: le pouvoir. So the original meaning of the phrase "to have power" is being able to do something: With and for oneself but also with or for others. Every one of us has power to a different extent and in different situations. Every one of us has power over other people, for example our own children. But through our behavior we also exercise power over people in distant regions of the world. Our lifestyle contributes to climate change that forces people to leave their homes. Through our consumption decisions we exercise power over farmers in Africa and workers in Asian textile factories. Are we always aware of this?

Power and abuse of power are the reasons for protracted wars, such as in Yemen, South Sudan and Syria. When we as aid organizations have exhausted all the means we have to ease human suffering, and when the conflicts continue to rage with undiminished

ferocity, disregarding human rights and international conventions, we have a feeling of powerlessness.

Power and justice should go hand in hand. They are inextricably linked. As early as in the 17th century, Blaise Pascal, the French philosopher, put it like this: "Justice without power is helpless; power without justice is tyrannical. Justice without power is opposed, because there are always bad people; power is accused if it is not just. We must then combine justice and power, and for this purpose we must ensure that what is just is strong, or what is strong is just."

Power in the German language is feminine: die Macht. But reality shows us another picture. In many places it is still women who are systematically excluded and denied important access. Girls often have to leave school first to support the family. In many countries women are still denied the right to own land, an injustice that makes them dependent on others.

Power is multi-layered. Sometimes it is exercised openly; but often, particularly when abused, it works in secret. Reinforcing stereotypes. Confirming prejudices. Adding fuel to conflicts ...

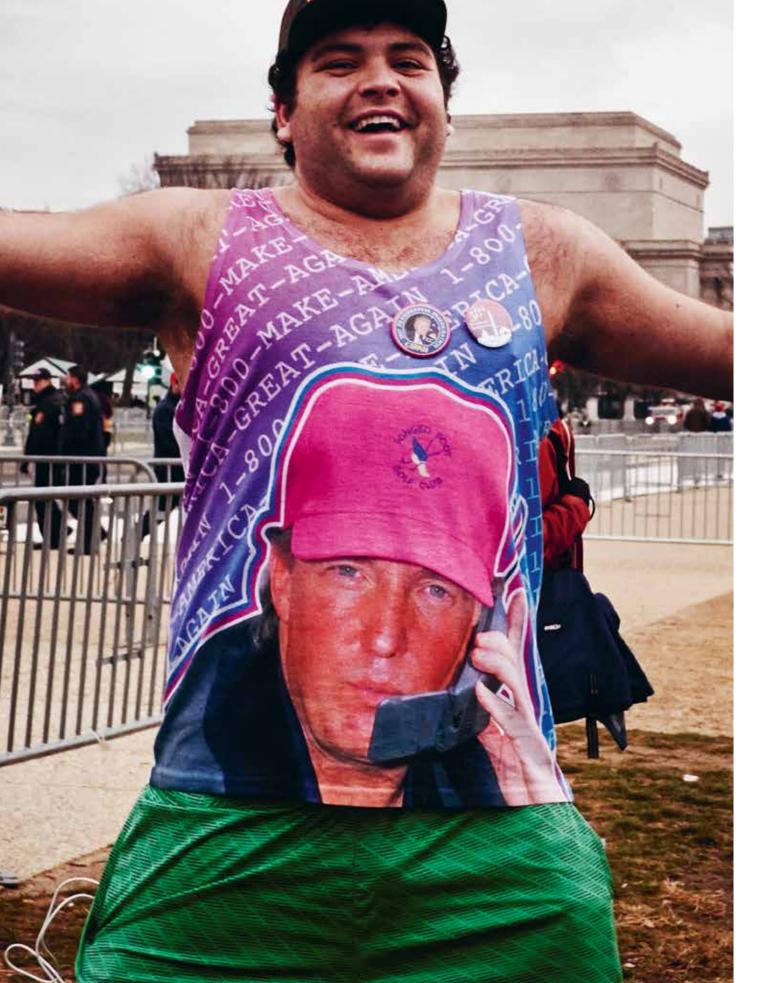
Things are changing across Europe and the world. Certain narratives gain momentum if not power. So it's high time for us to pay more attention to the topic.

Wishing you an interesting read.



Karl-Otto Zentel National Director, CARE Germany

**Editorial** 



#### **POWER**

Five letters full of meaning. What is power? Most people's first reac-

tion would be to associate the term with one area that greatly influences our everyday lives: politics. Politics is power, because politicians shape the life of society. But just a moment – aren't there more forces that have power over us? Plenty of people will think: money, obviously. Money means power, whether under capitalism, socialism or any of the many shades of the two economic systems. The world seems to be divided into those who have enough money – and those who are fighting to survive. But is that all? Knowledge is also power, isn't it? If you're well-informed you can make better decisions or position yourself more advantageously in competitive situations. Whatever you're aiming for, knowledge means the ability to act; half-knowledge or ignorance leave us open to manipulation and confusion.

This brief opening paragraph clearly shows that the word power has many facets, and that's exactly what makes it so interesting. Is power in itself good or evil? Or does it simply exist?

In their early semesters, students of political science learn about different theories of political power, from Machiavelli to Max Weber and Hannah Arendt. Stockbrokers know the power of the market, the speed of the small or large shocks. Citizens who live in democratic systems make a cross on a ballot paper to give their power to a political representative who is meant to assert their interests - in a power balance that at the same time also protects minorities. Inhabitants of autocratically-ruled countries or dictatorships are helpless in the face of the state's power and experience despotism as an instrument of power. The absence of an independent judiciary means that they are at the mercy of the will of those in power. And on a smaller scale within our own four walls and in our daily work, we experience power or the absence of it. Who takes the decisions in a family? In most cases, probably the parents in the end, however much the children may be allowed to join in the discussions. Being a minor means not having the same power as an adult. And an employee has less formal power than a manager.

Speaking of

employees: if you look on the internet for images on the topic of power, you find on one hand the well-known symbols that illustrate the term: a crown, a scepter, a fist. But many pictures also show situations that clearly refer to the world of work: a large person shouting down at a group of small people. A fine leather brogue, about to trample on a man in a suit. It is perhaps in our working worlds that we are most clearly confronted with power. There are clear hierarchies: almost every one of us has a boss. The boss may trust us, motivate us and spur us on. But the image of the choleric boss is still more widespread - the boss who demands more and more until the workers are completely exhausted, yet too afraid of losing their job to defend themselves.

This magazine covers the many facets of power that CARE encounters in its environment and its work. We have deliberately selected this topic at a moment when the world is shaken by many political upheavals. New governments in the USA and some European countries, the dynamics of Brexit, ongoing power struggles and wars in the Middle East, power games relating to global challenges such as climate change and tax havens, civil society protests in many places, refugee movements, complaints about systematic sexual abuse, sharp political rhetoric, terrorism. It's a long list. But why should an aid organization be concerned with power? Aren't we unpolitical, non-partisan, neutral - and shouldn't we stay that way? Absolutely. But power is everywhere. It starts wherever two or more people meet. It goes from family into the community, it affects social classes, age groups, the sexes. It ranges from regional government to national politics, then on to the international stage where once again people are faced with each other and their power relations. We can't ignore power. We must understand and yes - use it, in order to achieve positive changes. It's an exciting topic that certainly is not exhaustively covered here. Power is serious. And it affects everything around us. Let's take a look at some spheres of power:



Power



Being your own boss?
Mable Chibala Kafwembe from Zambia has made it. Her shop means financial independence for the widow and mother of two. Yet this sort of independence is still out of reach for many women around the world.

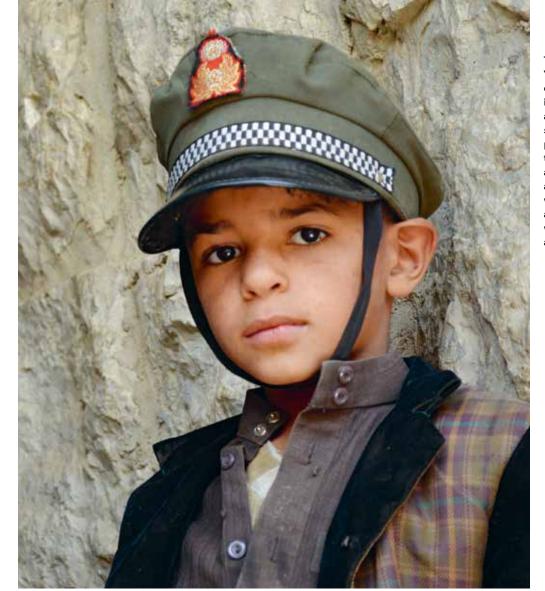


#### **FAMILY**

In many countries around the world there is a clear division of power within families: The man calls the shots. Women worldwide earn on average almost a quarter less than men, while at the same time doing two-and-a-half times as much unpaid work, for example as caretakers, looking after children and the elderly and managing the household chores. A study by the World Economic Forum reveals that in 18 countries around the world, women are only legally allowed to work with their husband's permission. Children have the fundamental right to an education but often it is only the boys who are sent to school while the girls have to help with housework and are married early. Father, mother, child – that's what we call a family in our cultural area. But polygamy is widespread in many areas of the world, where one man can marry several women. On page 83 we ask a polygamous family in Niger what power means to them. And we take our readers to a supposed tropical paradise: Vanuatu in the Pacific. You can read what Martha and her husband Balkon have to say from page 23.

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 10





This little boy lives in Yemen. The country on the arabic peninsula has been in a state of civil war since 2015. External powers meddle through military coalitions, arms trade and influence. Those who bear the brunt, as usual, are those who do not carry arms: the civilians.

#### WAR

Syria, South Sudan, Yemen, Ukraine. The list of wars being fought around the world today is long. And the frontlines are becoming more and more blurred. Who is good, who is bad? Who is getting arms from whom? And how can civilians be protected? War is an arena where force and power are exercised. Wars are fought to keep or gain power. Truth is the first victim of war, as the old proverb says. And who's the second victim? Anica Heinlein says "Our hands are tied" on page 48 and talks about situations when aid organizations have to seek political support to be able to do their jobs. And Johan Mooij from Yemen tells us about an aid worker's day in a war zone in his diary on page 55.



Power

12



Little Precious lives in Zimbabwe and watches a borehole being drilled. CARE captured the moment that fresh water came to the surface. A strong proof of what donations can make happen on the ground.

#### AID

According to UN estimates, over 18 billion euros will be needed worldwide for aid in 2018. By the way, in 2015 the global market for chewing gum was 21 billion euros. Many of the crises that one reads about in prognoses like this seem to be foreign and far away. What doesn't appear in the evening news program isn't happening. The much-quoted CNN effect is reflected again and again in the amount of donations aid organizations receive for different disasters. And at the same time, institutional donors such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the European Union decide how much money they will provide for which crises. Marc Engelhardt reports on page 106 onwards about the stage provided for them at so-called donor or pledging conferences. And from page 44 onwards we talk to Dr. Kai Gniffke, chief editor of the German national daily TV news programs Tagesschau and Tagesthemen. He himself says, "We are not powerful". Is that really true? And what about a person who donates regularly and unrestrictedly – what power does that person have about how their money is used? Daniel al-Ayoubi explores this topic from page 92. But just a minute – is aid always good? Can't the abuse of power occur in this field, too? From page 18, Professor Ruth Hagengruber takes us on a journey through the philosophy of power in the humanitarian field.



Happy African children: Photos commonly used by aid agencies show the contrary. What does this do to our idea of people and regions far away? The power of an image has always been and will always be a force to be reckoned with

#### **PREJUDICES**

"These NGO photos of starving children are undignified." We've heard these complaints many times before. But how do you react in a hospital in Somalia when you're standing next to a severely malnourished child and talk to his mother? And she asks you to tell the world about their suffering? Jennifer Bose travels to many crisis areas around the world for CARE and describes the fine line between fact and cliché in a personal essay on the power of photos and stories on page 100. Every year, Fortune magazine lists the 500 most successful companies. Is a career woman from Sri Lanka among the CEOs? The usual stereotypes about women from developing countries portray them as peasants, mothers or survivors of violence. Our photo essay on page 28 shows another facet of women: successful entrepreneurs: A Fortune 500 list of a rather different kind.



Power 13

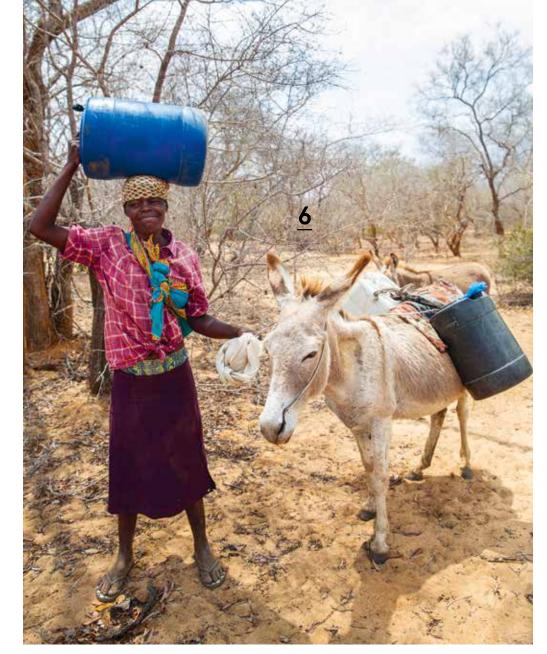
Thousands of miles away, but just a few bits and bytes apart: This mother phones up her child from a refugee camp in Greece. Her 15-year-old son is in Sweden and they hope to reunite soon. The internet connects, enables and educates. But it can also disseminate lies and hate at incredi-



#### THE INTERNET

The digital world is our constant companion, for information, exchanging news with family and friends, for work, for forming our opinion. And the power of Google & Co has often been vividly described. But another powerful group on the internet are the haters and trolls who attack groups or topics: sometimes subtly, sometimes openly inciting violence. From page 34 Anika Auweiler talks about the dynamic power hatred can develop on the internet. And in a conversation with Aric Toller on page 62, we find out why a picture doesn't always say more than a thousand words. He is an expert on fake images, the bogus pictures that circulate on the internet.

CARE affair N°· 11 — Power 14



Drought. Again and again. More frequently and severely. This is the reality for many women like Teresinha Sumbane from Mozambique. Climate change is already showing its severe impacts today. And who can stop it? Those in power in countries which heavily emit CO2. And all of us, through a global energy revolution. Teresinha's influence however is limited. She needs to deal with the harsh consequences for her life and her family.

#### THE FUTURE

From classical philosophers to new challenges: "Energy companies have been working for years on disinformation campaigns to sow doubt about climate change." That sentence was to be found in the weekly paper Die ZEIT in December 2017. No global topic is more urgent and nothing requires more collaboration and discernment than global warming and its dramatic effects. And on no other topic is time so short. The powerful giant energy companies which are still investing in fossil fuels are risking all our futures. Powerful states such as China and the USA, but also the European Union, have a great influence on the rules agreed in international contexts on emissions and climate protection. If in doubt, these rules tend to be those that will not weaken their own economic power. From page 65 Sven Harmeling reports on how climate protection can receive more power – through renewable energy, that is green, sustainable electricity. And through local involvement, whether in Africa or in other regions around the world.



Power 15

between Serbia and Hungary which had just been closed. Longing for Europe: Refugees at the border

Fleeing to Uganda: Women and children from South Sudan





## US. AND THE OTHERS

Prosperity for all, equality, partnerships between equals. That is the aim of development cooperation which is often the target of criticism. The power divide between what is called the wealthy North and the poorer countries of the South is visible in many places; including in the structures of international aid organizations, whose members are often still divided into "donors" and "recipients". But things are starting to change, reports Dr. Wolfgang Jamann, who was Secretary General and CEO of CARE international until the end of 2017. The global South is at last joining us at the table, he reports from page 58.

Travel to exotic countries while boosting your resume - this concept seems ideal for many young people. They practice so-called volunteer-tourism. Mia Veigel and Eliana Böse explain from page 108 what that is and why we should be skeptical of it. And Bettina Rühl describes in an essay (page 38) how Africa's political elites are being challenged by young activists. On the topic of Africa: Money in exchange for reinforced border controls. That is the European Union's current strategy for collaboration with African countries. Simone Schlindwein writes about it on page 74 - who is pursuing which interests and what it means for the human right to asylum.





# A selfless calling?

By PROF. DR. RUTH HAGENGRUBER

Philosophical thoughts about helping others.

A selfless calling?

Photo: Evelyn Hockstein

Anti-globalization discussions swept like a wave through the early years of the 21st century. Among other things, aid programs around the world were controversially discussed and their purpose questioned: Development aid was revealed to be a modern form of colonialism with correspondingly disastrous effects. Instead of helping, it consolidated dependencies and fed corruption.

Ten years later, more detailed analyses are available that help us to understand why and when aid is necessary and where it is not needed.

The philosophical debate about the duty to help has always included the question of the aim and purpose of providing financial assistance, the need for it and its limitations. In this context John Locke and Adam Smith showed that there is a necessary relationship between production and the moral right to consumption arising from it. In the 19th century the feminist journalist Charlotte Perkins Gilman took this argument to trigger a critical debate about the question of women's rights. She called it a cultural perversion to exclude members of society from production and limit them to consumption. In this way women were denied any realistic access to insight into economic processes and thus the chance of understanding them.

Aid as it is given from one country to other countries nowadays has changed the character of the support that arises in a particular conflict situation. It is almost as institutionalized as women's dependency. The culturally organized exclusion of women from production however appears to have institutionalized itself "naturally" and across all country borders.

It's a difficult matter, helping. The issue of whether, where and when aid is appropriate was raised in the earliest theories of states. In Plato's Republic the prosperous citizen Polemarchus answers the question of what makes a state good by saying that the answer is not difficult: "It is the duty to help friends and damage enemies". In addition, Socrates, a poor man, declares that he is rich in comparison with someone who possesses a hundred times as much, but who is always faced with requests for assistance. Of course aid policy today is still related to friendship policy. So is the desire to help in itself an imperialistic idea?

It is true that many people refuse to accept help: An attitude that you can either call "pride", or a way of being cautious, to avoid slipping into a dependent position. Even well-meant help honors the giver, not the recipient, even if the latter is in no way to blame for their situation. When is aid appropriate? Redressing injustice and alleviating hardship is a human duty. It is a duty that applies to everyone, but every individual also has the right to be able to support him – or herself.

It is always worth going back to classical writings. In the ideal situation, authority and power are combined with intelligence. In this case political power is granted by citizens, replacing rule by force. In future political rule should not take the form of rule by force, but rule by the best. The idea of equality of birth and priority based on personal achievement became the foundation of the idea of democratic equality in classical Athens. It expresses the demand that beyond socially established orders, in other words beyond birth, class and clan, a foundation for power should be constituted on the basis of virtue and intelligence. At this early stage, people devised an alternative to force as an instrument of power.

It demands both - the empowerment of the individual as an equal and the appointment

The individual was intended to become the basis of political organization and responsibility and to use his or her abilities to shape people's lives in the same way as family, clan or territorial communi-

of the rulers who exercise power - ac-

cording to the criteria of excellence.

ty used to do. The wide-ranging consequences that can be derived from this idea are still breathtaking. In how many countries, even in those that formally claim to be democracies, does the hierarchy of birth carry far more weight in an individual's career than the principle of equality?

Interestingly, in classical times the idea of equality was linked with the idea of autarchy. Autarchy, the recognition of the necessity of autocracy, is a genuine part of this freedom. Only someone who has self-control and is not dependent on others is also capable of political rule. Abuse of power begins where power is exercised over a person who is denied or prevented from exercising the opportunity to empower him – or herself. Gifts, dependencies and promises lure people into giving up self-empowerment. Self-empowerment as demanded for each individual aims to perfect the individual's abilities in the hope that these – within the framework of their own possibilities – give him-

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 20

The power of a classroom! These girls in Haiti proudly pose for a photo in their school. They spend long hours in the morning walking to school. About 40 percent of the population of Haiti is illiterate. Those who can read and write are more in charge of their destiny. Education is key to empowerment – no matter in which country.



self and others power. Therefore, education and upbringing are the only legitimate means of assistance, because ideally their sole aim is to enable this self-empowerment.

The idea of the duty to develop abilities and skills instead of distributing aid supplies emerged in international development aid. The UNESCO Roadmap Education for Sustainable Development was developed in 2014. The empowerment of the individual became a factor in prosperity. Educational funding is an investment that strengthens economic growth, increases productivity, promotes personal and social development and reduces social inequality. Around the world the link between the educational level and employment level can be seen – and this applies both to the population as a whole and to men and women separately, as differentiated analyses show. The only possible and justified aid export is education. It is the only way of giving aid that does not demonstrate abuse of power, the other side of the coin.

Aid as something that enables others to live a life of human dignity is a noble aspiration. It is a form of development intended to lead to independence, enabling people to exercise their own rights and possibilities and at the same time, putting them in a position to choose voluntarily to submit to a power, or to acknowledge a power without being weakly subjected to it. This new concept of rights and duties alters our understanding of poverty and therefore our ideas of how poverty can be overcome. We switch from quantitative to qualitative thinking. When aid is understood in this way, the provision of aid goods must also change accordingly.

An intense discussion broke out in the debate called "Our Creative Diversity" on how to deal with cultural habits in the context of aid measures. On what basis could you justify the right to enable people to protect themselves against a culture that injured them, when this culture to which they belong is based on the right to do exactly that? How can Western ideas of the right to life and the pursuit of individual happiness be justified when women are being burnt or subject to genital cutting?

Recent decades have indeed seen a social discourse take place in which above all, cultural identity was valued and respected more highly, even if this involved the abasement of individuals. The practice of power is a group phenomenon which can only be preserved through recognition by a group and the exclusion of others from the

group. This leads to tensions with those who insist on defending their individual freedoms. Wars and battles that we hear about every day originate in this problem area, and are caused by it.

In view of the complexity of the modern world, philosophical reflection can be seen as a possible way to address issues of humanity in a sensible dialogue. When the education ministers of a range of countries met in London in 1942 to found the UNESCO, their aim was that this institution should combat war, to recognize it as an ideology. Only in emphasizing the importance of educating individuals can this advantage be gained for all: the empowerment of individuals to determine their own future, to maintain it and to share their power or even give up their power to those who seem worthy, the "best" people for the task; only this can run counter to the logic of war and violence. This empowerment of the individual is directed against attacks by other individuals, but also by cultural, nationalist clan-based or group-based societies. The quest for good cannot succeed if it does not include everyone.

Values as realized in societies made up of free, equal individuals, values not forced upon other people, can also be powerful. It always seems to me that sending CARE packages had this kind of individualistic character. The parcels were - on a simple level - sent by one individual to another, and realized by one for the other. The contents communicated a person's individual culture; it was honestly reflected and was handed over, with all its small, personal items, to another person in another part of the world without imperialistic flourishes, but as an act of personal presentation. As Hannah Arendt would put it, it was an act in which an individual was revealed. And the recipient was free to accept it, exchange it, reject it, be amazed at it. In this way, one can imagine that encounters between individuals could develop into a community life and a communication that would be different from nationally, culturally or economically institutionalized community life. The undogmatic encounter between individuals is already taking shape today in an interesting way on social media. Despite all the problems linked to these media, they also offer a great opportunity for people to develop a global community with mutual perceptions and the humanistic idea of understanding people as people, beyond all the constraints and compulsions that they are all subject to in various ways through their birth and culture.

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 22



Few people have heard of Vanuatu – a scattering of 83 islands and 270,000 people floating in the South Pacific Ocean. Those who have will associate it with its picture-perfect beaches and hammocks swaying under coconut trees. But while Vanuatu's holiday credentials are undeniable, life is not always so beautiful for the people who call it home. So let's ask two people what life is like in this presumed paradise. Meet Martha and her husband Balkon.

By Elissa Webster

Trouble in Paradise 23

## Meet Martha





CARE affair N°. 11 – Power

I left my island, Tanna, in 1996, when I married Balkon and we moved to Ikaokao on Aniwa Island. When I first arrived, the people were like bush people - they didn't speak (the national language) Bislama, they didn't accept outsiders because they couldn't understand them, and they would just hide when I tried to talk to them. I've had to learn the language, and I've taught other women to figure out who they are. Now, most of them want to come close to visitors from other places, they want to learn more because life is changing and they realise it.

Women in Aniwa look after the kitchen, the garden, the children, and most of the other jobs! Men have plenty of time to rest - except my husband, because I make sure he helps me. Even when their wives are menstruating – our custom is that women don't cook when they menstruate - some men take their food and find an old woman in the village to cook it for them. The same as men all over Vanuatu! The men do some of the jobs that are physically hard, like building. They think that women only do the easy jobs, but they don't see that it's hard to be working all the time. The men also go to community meetings but then go and drink kava and forget to pass on the information when they get home. The women are too busy to join these meetings.

These roles come from our culture. People teach their children this is the way it should be. They teach it to their children, and on it goes. But this is not how it should be. The problem is that these roles affect how men think – they think that they have power and authority over women all

the time. It affects women too – even though they can do plenty of things, they don't, because they are so used to being kept down.

Usually about three times a year, there will be violence between a couple in our community. It's less than before, because people are starting to get more information, but still people think that violence is normal. When it happens, everyone knows, because this is a small place. It's a bad business. The man's family will always take his side and say he hasn't done anything wrong. The woman might feel ashamed, and she will be less likely to speak up at home because she is afraid. The man won't be ashamed; he will just think he has more power because his family will support him. But their relatives and friends might avoid visiting to stay out of the trouble, so the couple can end up being quite isolated. Sometimes, it can even cause divisions in the community if people take sides.

When a man and a woman are equal, there are less problems between them. And a man and a woman are what makes up a family, and a community, so it's better for everyone when there is equality.

When we got married, my husband (who was formerly a member of the John Frum cargo cult) didn't have much education and he didn't know the things I knew, because I had gone to Year 12. He thought he could do what he wanted and I would just do all the work. But I knew things to help us make money and save money. So I went slow, slow, and I made money for the school fees for our six children, I helped him with things, and slowly, slowly he saw that

my work gave us what we needed. Now he understands that things are equal between us, and we work together.

Today is the first time that I've ever heard Balkon say, 'If you need anything done, ask my wife, she can do anything.' All these years, I've been going slowly, slowly, all that I can, showing him what I can do, and now he knows, and he can even tell other people.

But it's not like that for lots of couples. Young boys and young girls should be educated about the role of the father, the role of a mother, and how they should share decisions and be equal – before they get married! Otherwise, men just think the woman has to do everything. Lately, the women have had awareness training about equality between men and women, and we know it's true – but in the back of our minds, we know that our custom gives men the authority. Men need training to understand that it's not how it should be.

Trouble in Paradise 25

### Meet Balkon



Comfortable in his role: Balkon.



I was born here in Aniwa in 1967 and I've lived here my whole life, apart from six years when I went to Port Vila and stayed on some of the other islands. That's when I met Martha.

The women here work at home and in the garden, and look after the children. The men also work in the garden, and they go fishing and feed the pigs sometimes. They look after fixing the house when it needs it. Our custom is that men should be the boss of the house, but the church tells us that we should work together.

Before, the roles of men and women were inherited; they came down the bloodlines, passed down from generation to generation. Women couldn't talk freely. When women have something inside their hearts and they can't share it, it's not good. When women can share their ideas, and share their work, things are better.

Something has changed here now, and it is good. The women are talking up more since CARE came and started working here with us. Before, we followed our custom – men made all the decisions and women didn't. It was no good for women and children. The power of women was kept down. Now, it's more equal.

Before, people just didn't know it was wrong for men to beat their wives. Now they do – but some of them do it anyway. If a couple has a problem, the woman can go see the CAVAW (Committee Against Violence Against Women), but often they just come to Martha's and my house. We work together with a chief and then refer it to the police if needed. These days, the law is stronger than custom. I also do a talk about good relationships at church every week, and that has helped reduce the violence.

When two people aren't in a good relationship, it's not good for the whole community – people end up leaving and going to Tanna or Port Vila. You need to talk together and forgive each other. You have to try to see each other's point of view.

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power



According to a 2011 study by the Vanuatu Women's Centre, 60 percent of women experience physical or sexual violence in a relationship in their lifetime. More than one in four girls' first sexual experience is forced. These are some of the worst statistics on family violence in the world. Many ni-Vanuatu women live in fear of the men who are supposed to love them the most – but their society widely accepts and condones the violence they live with. In fact, a 2013 Citizen Access to Information in Vanuatu study on domestic violence found that 81 percent of men and 79 percent of women believe there are times that a woman deserves to be beaten. Some say that ni-Vanuatu custom gives men the right to beat their wife; others say it's part of the Christian faith, which more than 80 percent of the population adheres to.

But a growing movement of government and civil society organisations are rising up in Vanuatu to challenge these prevailing attitudes, with CARE Vanuatu championing the change. The Vanuatu Government has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and has a dedicated Department of Women's Affairs within the Ministry of Justice, while a number of faith-based organisations are working to tackle misconceptions about the Bible's teachings. CARE is focused on changing gender relations from the community level up, by working with groups of young people in tiny communities to teach them the skills and knowledge they need to build healthy, equal relationships that are free from violence.

Based on evidence that shows that teaching young people positive, respect-based relationship skills is an effective means of preventing violence against women and girls, CARE has developed a training package specifically targeted at young men and women in rural Vanuatu communities. It includes activities on consent – such as one where people work in pairs and one person has to ask the other person to give them a lolly they have hidden on their body, without using words. It explores what it means to have an equal relationship and practices the skills that an equal relationship requires, like assertive communication and identifying and managing anger. It unpacks the concept of power, the ramifications of power imbalance and the realities of the power differential between the genders in Vanuatu.

Will shifting the mindset of this small sub-sect of the population make a difference to transforming the statistics in Vanuatu? Based on the experience of Martha, changing power dynamics doesn't happen quickly – but when it does, it changes everything.

80

81

9

Trouble in Paradise

27

## Photo: Malin Fezehai

## A trendsetter in the world of home cooking.



Raeda Al Barri,

Owner and CEO, Raeda Kitchen Supplies, *Jordan* 

Running a business selling kitchen supplies, Al Barri is a true trendsetter in the world of home cooking.

Q: With your business, you have been a source of inspiration for people around you. In what way would you say you impact others?

A: First of all, as a result of my success I have seen a couple of other players getting into my field of business. But more importantly I can proudly say that I have inspired other people around me, making people in my community interested in starting their own business.

Q: You have built your own business; how would you say being an entrepreneur has changed you as a person?

A: It has definitely improved my social skills. I'm much better at approaching different personalities and dealing with people both privately and in business.

CARE affair N° · 11 − Power 28

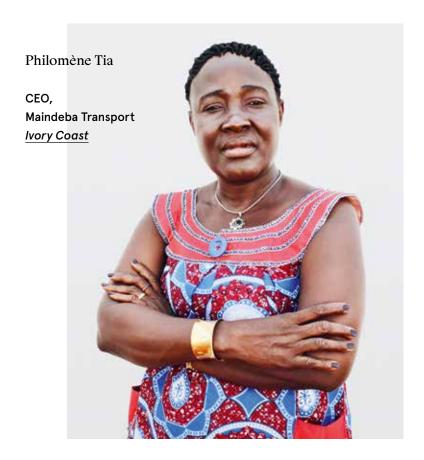
# YES, WE EARN

TIME Magazine has their person of the year. The business magazine Fortune annually lists "Fortune 500", the most successful enterprises worldwide. Forbes magazine publishes a hitlist of the richest people in the world and also the most powerful women worldwide. In 2017, Angela Merkel topped the list. But isn't something missing here?

Together with the H&M Foundation, CARE travelled around the world to meet successful women. Trailblazers with ideas who founded their own business. But not in New York, Berlin or Tokyo. They make their living in Ivory Coast, Sri Lanka or Peru. This list spells pure female power. Far away from the world of white, male collar suits and the usual emblems of power.

Yes, we earn 29

## "I founded the first bus transportation company in West Ivory Coast."



Becoming an entrepreneur was not the plan for Philomène Tia. But shaped by the upbringing in a big family with 42 siblings, she quickly learnt how to make it on her own. Philomène Tia has grown multiple businesses from a startup stage to major players in the Ivory Coast. Nowadays, her story is told on local TV and radio stations, and she's been invited to meet with Alassane Outtara, the president of Ivory Coast, who acknowledged her as a true entrepreneur and role model for women of the Ivory Coast.

Q: You own a transportation company, Maindeba Transport, with 90 busses, a hotel complex, a chain of 24 beverage stores and you're involved in a cattle breeding operation with over 1,200 oxen. How did you manage

to create such a diverse business portfolio?

A: I'd say activity and creativity. I know it's not the most concrete tip, but trying to think ahead is what has made me succeed. Be in it for the long run, not for short gains.

Q: What is the biggest challenge your business has faced?

A: I lost all my properties due to the civil war that started in 2002. I fled to Guinea and only returned home in 2007. Back home, I had to start over with nothing but my previous experience, but I was determined to make it work. After a while, I got a loan that made it possible to re-start my businesses in selling fish and breeding cattle. By saving my money, I was able to invest in two minibusses to start a taxi service which grew into the first bus transportation company in West Ivory Coast. Today, we operate about 90 buses.

Q: There's a lot happening in the transportation sector across the world and it keeps redefining itself. How do you keep up with new challenges?

A: Recently, I started bringing people together in associations and cooperatives. I enjoy sharing my experiences with others, especially women, and to hear their ideas. I often tell other women that it is the force inside you and your brains that will bring you wherever you want to go. I mean, I started with nothing and I don't even speak proper French, but look at me now.

Q: So what's next for your business group?
A: I really like to explore new types of business and combining them, otherwise it would have been impossible to keep the energy and to keep growing.

Regarding exactly what's next, your guess is as good as mine.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 30

Yara Ghassan AlAsayreh

Founder, Yara Crochet, *Jordan* 



High school dropout Yara Ghassan AlAsayreh doesn't let adversity get her down. Only 21 years old she is now running a startup in a passion driven business field. Q: How did you come up with the idea for Yara Crochet?
A: It wasn't possible for me to stay in school and I had to find a new solution. When I first got in contact with the fashion business, I immediately fell in love and knew I wanted to do this. I get to create, which is a passion of mine. And I feel the company gives me the opportunity to keep developing all the time.

Yes, we earn 31

Peru

Not all 20-year-olds can call themselves president of a farmers' association, or say they are running a trout farm. However, Andrea Gala from Peru is the exception – breaking conventions and paving way for a new generation of self-made entrepreneurs.

Q: Having chosen quite an unusual career path for a person your age, can you tell us about a normal day for you?

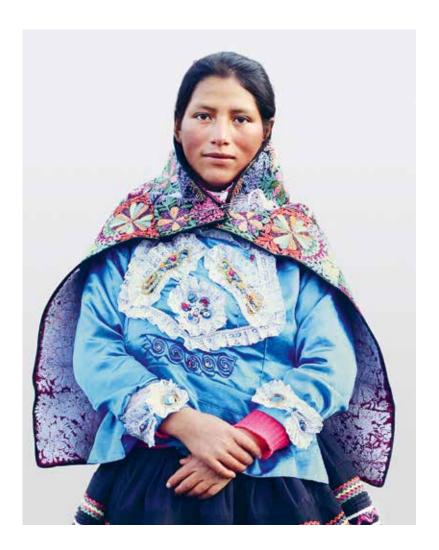
A: I wake up at 5 AM and have a very set morning routine. At about 8 AM I get out to the farm. On a normal day I make sure the fish are fed and the ponds are cleaned and then I meet with buyers. On Sundays, I sell our product, which is grilled fish from the farm, on a local farmers' market.

Q: You are an association of 20 women who are producing trouts, how does it work?

A: We all have trout farms, and together we try to improve both quality and the business itself. It's a more lucrative business than field work and by collaborating, we can create something really big.

Q: Interesting. What's in the pipeline?

A: We are planning to venture into the restaurant business and try to make the area a tourist location. Since there are so many of us, we can create an amazing atmosphere where people can relax and



enjoy our food. We have received requests from other women interested in joining our association and some have already started constructing their breeding ponds.

Q: What would you say is the best part of being an entrepreneur?

A: I am so much more confident now compared to before! Nowadays, I really dare to dream and visualize how we want to see things in the future.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 32

Husriana

Founder
Uncle Ping Meatballs,
Indonesia



29-year old entrepreneur and business leader Husriana is a veritable troubleshooter. Her solution is bold and innovative, and combines technology, health, canny marketing and a delicious product.

Q: You left a promising career within the educational sector to make a deep dive into the food industry instead, what caused your shift of focus?

A: I saw great potential within the meal-production industry and how it can provide jobs for many

people at low cost. But more importantly, there was something in my heart that said I didn't reach my full potential, and that I could do so by founding my own business. That's how Uncle Ping Meatballs was born.

Q: According to Euromonitor, the global sales of healthy food products are estimated to reach \$1 trillion by this year, do you see any signs of this growing trend impacting your business?

A: Definitely, we've had steadily increasing monthly sales at Uncle Ping Meatballs during the past period. I would say that the typical Uncle Ping customer is a health-aware mother or father. Nevertheless, more and more people are getting conscious about what they are putting into their bodies.

Q: What does the "ping" stand for in Uncle Ping Meatballs?

A: Unlike the large scale mass-producers in the industry, we prepare our meatballs entirely without any MSG or artificial preservatives. The rich flavor comes from natural spices, such as chili, which gives you a "ping!"-sensation in the mouth.

Q: How do you incentivize your target group into choosing the healthier alternative?

A: We are constantly optimizing our marketing strategy in order to get our message about MSG – and preservative-free meatballs across. We use Facebook as a platform and find new, innovative ways to advertise. Besides that, a great tasting product is the best incentive there is.

Q: Your vision is to become a future leader within the healthy food production. What do you hope to accomplish in the coming years?

A: I have a clear vision for the future. Uncle Ping Meatballs will be a major employer within the industry, enhancing the community through job opportunities. We will especially strive to create opportunities for women in Indonesia, who as for now might feel the pressure to work overseas. To make it possible for these women to stay with their families in Indonesia is the higher purpose with Uncle Ping Meatballs.

Yes, we earn 33



#### THE TSUNAMI

Trolls, haters, opinion-makers: How hate speech works on the internet.

By ANIKA AUWEILER

"Refugees are a danger for our women."

"Shut up you b\*\*\*..."

"The migrants rely on us to look after them and laugh their heads off at the do-gooders!"

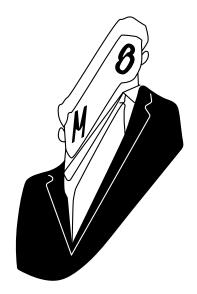
"The lying Jewish press has been trying to fool us for years and in the meantime they divide up our money among themselves."



The Tsunami 35

Racist, sexist, misogynist or simply defamatory hate comments and remarks like these roam the internet every single day. Sometimes it's a short, unsavory comment to a news article. On other occasions the haters turn up in packs and join forces to attack their victim with mocking, insulting comments. Insults and lies, also called "fake news", are used to intimidate or to influence opinion. At the same time, so-called trolls feed their own power fantasies with hatred and mockery. Trolls are people who enjoy exercising power over others by using the comment function to humiliate or frighten them. The culprits almost always show clear symptoms of extreme psychological states. They are narcissists, Machiavellian characters or sadists. The motives behind the insults and intimidation is to evoke violent reactions such as fear. anger, disgust or panic in the person addressed. The culprits perceive this as a demonstration of their own power and enjoy it. The fact that trolls enjoy humiliating others also makes them perfect members of the gangs of virtual thugs attached to political groups whose world view is based on debasing minorities and pointing the finger at them, whether it is migrants, gays or refugees. Trolls don't necessarily belong to a movement - but movements that build up their strength on hatred and humiliation offer these trolls an ideal home.

There isn't necessarily a troll lurking behind every hate comment. Many people feel insecure due to the speed with which the rules, conditions and fellow players in the competition for economic and social success are changing and becoming



more complicated. Globalization and digitalization have challenged many certainties in recent decades; they open not only borders, but also the floodgates of fear. Fighting one's own sense of inferiority by blaming others is not a modern invention; it's a form of human behavior that has been tested over millennia. On top of this, there is the flood of information that pours out on people from screens, loudspeakers, in fact from every direction. The fine line between "no longer able to classify" and "no longer

want to think about" is getting thinner and thinner. At the same time the large gains in votes for populist parties suggests that the desire for clear, unambiguous messages is growing.

In this area too, history shows that hate messages and unproved accusations can be much more easily presented in catchy slogans than well-grounded, thoroughly researched comments, essays or articles. Being out of one's depth, uncertainty, fear and undoubtedly ignorance also thus provide the ideal fertile soil for leaders - or tempters. They promise simple solutions to complex issues and so recruit a growing following of armchair supporters who contribute their insults to internet discussions and eagerly spread fake news. Hiding behind false identities, and with little need to fear legal or social punishment for their verbal attacks, even less brave people are encouraged to join in the hate-spreading for a while.

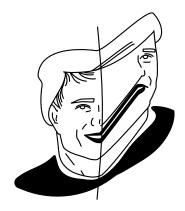
So a complicated situation arises out of digital platforms, inadequate punishment mechanisms, fears of loss and anxiety about the future that are smoldering in society, and centuries-old prejudices. All this works to inflame the battle for the authority to interpret reality and gives opportunities to extreme personalities (among both the trolls and the politicians) in the form of a communication culture of half-truths and insults. One comment piles onto another, often creating a tsunami whose destructive power works into the real world. For example, racist and sexist attacks are increasing in numbers in the USA since the election of Donald Trump, who is known for his highly polarizing rhetoric on

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 36

digital platforms such as Twitter. But there's no need to look across the Atlantic to find other examples. In Germany too, the number of political, particularly right-wing, crimes are constantly increasing with verbal crossings of red lines.

When hatred is not consistently opposed in its digital form, the spiral of violence gains traction in the real world too. Many people in western societies grew up in the belief that democracy is more or less the highest level of collective human development, and therefore unassailable. But gradually people are becoming aware that democracy and the values associated with it, such as human rights, a free press and equality of opportunity, cannot be taken for granted; on the contrary, they must be jointly worked out and further developed and defended.

With this in mind, CARE worked with the creative agency M&C Saatchi in 2017 to initiate the campaign #CAREdonthate. Why does an aid organization get involved in the topic of hate on the internet? Karl-Otto Zentel. CARE's National Director. explains: "Hatred and prejudice are the opposite of what we as CARE work for throughout the world: a just world, free of poverty; for tolerance, equality and peace. With this action we are consciously calling on people in Germany to send a strong message to the minority of haters. Prejudice, false information and cheap propaganda against refugees and their home countries - that concerns us as an international aid organization, because we work every day to support people in need, regardless of their religion, color or origin."

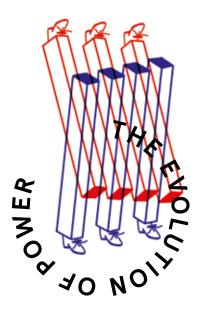


The core of the campaign was a short film called "The wall" by award-winning director Chiara Grabmayr. It shows a mother and her son fleeing from a war zone and how they are held back by a wall of hate comments when they think they have reached safety. The film has more than 170,000 YouTube views by now. On the campaign website, www.caredonthate.de, viewers can take action themselves to digitally tear down the wall. To mark the start of the campaign, a ten meter long wall of hate comments was built at Gendarmenmarkt in Berlin that was torn down by passers-by, VIPs and members of the German parliament.

Many other organisations, societies and private individuals are active against internet hatred as well. With the Network Enforcement Law (NetzDG) passed on 1 September 2017, the Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection obliges giant internet concerns like Facebook to delete hate comments on their pages more quickly. However, many think that the law doesn't go far enough while for others, it is an infringement of freedom of opinion even in its present form.

But what can one actually do in concrete terms against hate comments? Platforms such as "Aufstehen gegen Hass im Netz" (Stand up against hate on the internet) give very practical tips on how one can effectively combat hate on the internet. These range from "solidarity with the victim" to "explain things to the hater" and "counter hate with facts". The campaign "Hass hilft" (Hate helps) is also taking strong action: for every dehumanizing comment, one euro is donated to EXIT Deutschland and Aktion Deutschland Hilft. So far over 60.000 euros have been collected in this way. EXIT Deutschland helps people in Germany to get out of right-wing extremism. And the relief coalition Aktion Deutschland Hilft, that CARE is a founding member of, raises money for disaster aid. Working together to counter hate is also the concept behind the movement #ichbinhier (I am here), founded by Hannes Ley in 2017. This group is an association of Facebook users who work together to counter hate and fake news on the platform with something simple, but powerful: facts.

The Tsunami 37



Young Africans demand accountability from their governments and an end to bad governance. How do they protest? Online and on the streets.

By BETTINA RÜHL

Africa is the world's youngest continent, measured by the age of its population. In 2017, 40 percent of the population was below the age of 15. At the same time, nowhere in the world are young people more powerless than here. Power is clearly in the hands of older people, meaning very old people. Members of "youth organisations" are often in their forties, and only Europeans find that strange. Respect for age is still almost undisputed as a value throughout the continent. With the resignation of the 93-year-old president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, the average age of African leaders has sunk considerably, but his successor, 75-year-old Emmerson Mnangagwa, is now seen as a sign of rejuvenation and a new beginning: that says it all.

But something is changing across the continent. Youth and young adults in many African countries are no longer prepared to let themselves be meekly governed by the old elites. They are no longer prepared to accept poverty, repression, corruption and mismanagement. Instead they are protesting against their governments, claiming their democratic rights, demanding their share of their countries' wealth. Resistance movements made up of mostly young and often well-educated activists have arisen in recent years in Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Zimbabwe and Tanzania, among others. This uprising of young people has been made possible by technological developments. Younger people can form a critical mass in a new way, thus becoming a factor in the power balance. The activists in all these different countries get to know each other through social media channels such as Facebook, Twitter or through films on YouTube. They are interested in each other: what are the others doing? What can we replicate in our society?

One of these young people is Boniface Mwangi from Kenya. Now 34, he is a photo journalist who founded the first of several civil initiatives in Kenya in 2009, aiming to change society. One year earlier, his country almost sank into civil war triggered by the controversial result of the 2007 presidential election. Over 1,200 people died and hundreds of thousands were displaced. During the unrest, Mwangi spent his time in slum areas where fire broke out. He was armed with his camera and came across many dead bodies in the streets. What he saw politicized him. He ran for election to parliament in Nairobi in 2017, raising money for his campaign via crowdfunding and Facebook. His participation in the election made a political

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 38



statement. It showed that even the expensive stage of official politics may one day be conquered by people of integrity, representatives of a new generation. But it will take time:

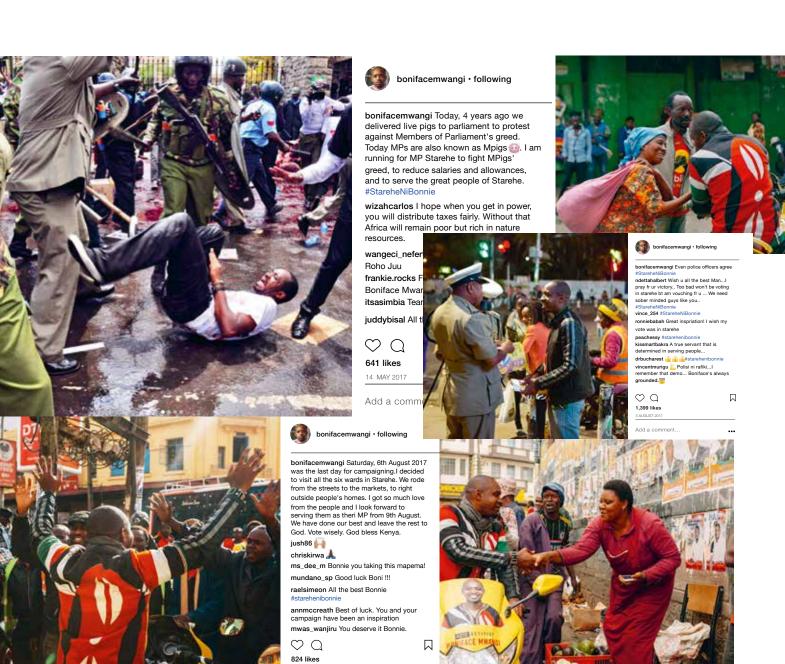
Mwangi was defeated in the end by his established political opponents.

Mwangi is the manifestation of a movement that spans the whole continent. Young African activists joined together in South Africa in the summer of 2016 under the title

"Africans Rising". Members of the initiative use the internet to spread their message. Their official music video is also freely available on the internet. The film clips take the viewer right into the heart of urban Africa. An attractive young woman puts on headphones and saunters to the rhythm of the music through a lively street. "The whole world is looking at us", runs the text, "they know that the money of the future lies here. They need it, we

have it – let the world come and get to know this wonderful continent". Hashtags such as #AfricansRising, #AfricaWeWant or #EndInequality are used by young Africans to share their thoughts, visions and demands. For example, "We've had enough of being silenced, repressed and isolated". Or "We have a right to peace, social participation and a share of the wealth".

The initiative's full title is: "Africans Rising for Justice, Peace

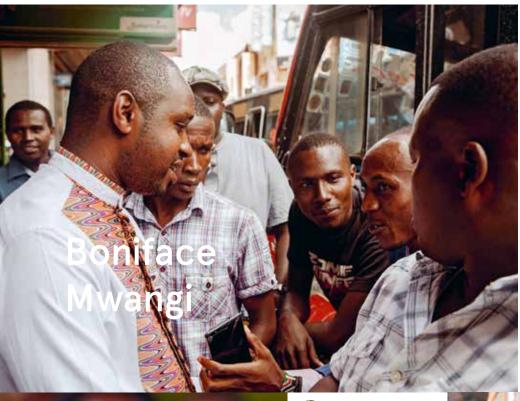


AUGUST 2017

and Dignity". The motto for Africa's advancement, "Africa rising", popularized in 2011 by the British weekly journal The Economist, referred to economic growth. The GNP of many African countries has indeed grown considerably in recent years, sometimes even in double figures. At the same time, millions of African citizens sank even deeper into poverty because their governments did not share

this wealth with the population. The initiators of "Africans Rising" took the motto of Africa's advancement, reinterpreted it and moved it from the economic to the political field.

Many young activists see themselves as heirs to the tradition of freedom fighters such as Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Nelson Mandela or Julius Nyerere. But the new movement is categorically nonviolent. The activists are not aiming for political positions or to become part of government. Instead they aim to be citizens in the full sense: they demand their rights, want to monitor those in power, and in return, to fulfill their duty as citizens. "We must ask ourselves what our responsibilities are," states Mohamed Youssouf Bathily, lawyer and human rights activist from Mali. "The government collects and administers our taxes. We citizens have the duty to





#### bonifacemwangi · following

bonifacemwangi Most politicians address you from the sunroofs of their limousines. I speak directly to you. #StareheNiBonnie annitahshwan Starehe people open your •• n vote for this guy Bonnie...all the best

mwakesi Could it be beacuse they have larger crowds at every single stop? GODSPEED my friend

口







28 JULY 2017

Add a comment...





bonifacemwangi It's hard to believe things will become better but if we lose HOPE, life becomes meaningless. Keep HOPE alive. #TeamCOURAGE

**dzombofostino** webtend to be driven by hopes and courage

annemawathe True. It is odd when I listen to people from different places and hear the difficulties in global democracies...at times I wonder f they are talking about me only to realise that there is so much turmoil around the world it isn't the right time to lose

tonykukigher Thank you Bonny!!! HOPE simseaman Hope is is tha last thing we die

shabani\_mwangoda Comrade please check your dm...it's very important



 $\square$ 



## Ras Bath

Mohamed Youssouf Bathily, commonly known as Ras Bath, is a prominent figure of civil society in Mali. His radio programme had a large following and his public appearances for democracy and transparency always make the headlines.



monitor what it does." To ensure that this actually happens at last, he founded the "Collective for Defense of the Republic" in Mali in 2012. He has already gained thousands of supporters in both the analog and digital worlds, who call him Ras Bath, the abbreviation of Rasta Bathily - the name he used as a radio host in Mali. As a passionate Reggae fan, Bathily had a weekly music program and presented very critical political features. In August 2016, however, he was banned from his profession due to his political activities, and is still not permitted to appear in radio or on television. Since then, he became all the more active in social networks. Now over 40 years old, he doesn't look his age: he has short dreadlocks, black-rimmed glasses and wears a short chain around his neck. Ras Bath decided in early 2012 that things had to change in his home country. The serious political crisis in Mali that still continues today had just begun at that time. In January 2012 the Tuareg rebelled in the north; in March a military putsch occurred; soon after that, militants were advancing on the capital. The French army intervened at short notice and worked with African troops to drive back the militants. Mali now has a new government under president Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta and a large-scale UN mission is trying to help stabilize the country. Despite this, the security situation in the north and center of the country is worsening. Armed groups continue to carry out attacks on UN soldiers and the Malian army; crime is on the rise. And president

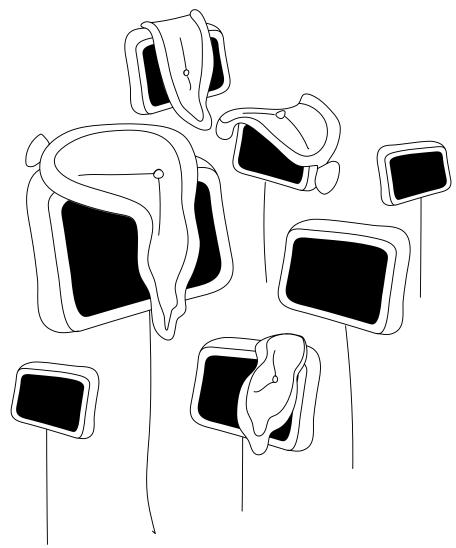
Keïta, hailed as a beacon of hope on his election in 2013, has mainly been conspicuous since then for mismanagement, corruption and nepotism.

Ras Bath sits in his small office giving advice to citizens who seek his help, or preparing for the public meetings that he regularly organizes. He uses these events to speak about the most recent government reshuffle, for example, or to expose the background of each minister: who has already attracted attention due to corruption and in what context; who has occupied positions that are notorious for corruption and for how long. Even Mali's public authorities back off in the face of Ras Bath's popularity. When he was arrested in August 2016, furious demonstrators forced his release two days later. The authorities accused him of hurting national feelings and shaming the nation. Only a year later did a court in Bamako sentence the activist to twelve years in jail and a fine equivalent to 150 euros. Ras Bath happened to be touring Europe when the sentence was handed down; he gathered thousands of supporters in France and Spain too, and spread his message further: "We ourselves are responsible for what kind of government we have. We can change the circumstances that make us suffer." On his return to Bamako, a cheering crowd welcomed him at the airport like a popstar. Despite the sentence, he is currently at liberty. His protection and the basis of his power is his support among the population - which would be inconceivable in this form without the technological developments of recent years.

The Evolution of Power 43

# "We have to work with 15 minutes"

An interview by STEFAN BRAND and SABINE WILKE



Dr. Kai Gniffke has been chief editor of the news department of public broadcaster ARD, the German equivalent to the British BBC. He is responsible for the two main prime time news broadcasts, Tagesschau and Tagesthemen. In a recent campaign, "Say it to my face", Gniffke attracted attention when he answered online critics' questions live on Twitter, Facebook and co. The result was a refreshingly open and honest discussion between equals.

CARE affair also got Gniffke on the line for half an hour to discuss the power of news and what makes a story cut through the noise.

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 44

SB \_\_\_\_\_ The Tagesschau has over ten million viewers every evening, making it the biggest news broadcast in German television. How powerful would you say you are?

KG

SW

KG

SB

We don't see ourselves as powerful. Perhaps that used to be the case years ago, when there were very few television channels in Germany and no internet. But nowadays we don't have power in the sense that we can influence opinions or the climate of thought in Germany. We are much more modest. But of course we are aware of the impact the news we broadcast can have and the responsibility that goes with that.

\_\_\_\_\_ What are you looking for in a piece of news to give it attention in your prime time news programme?

We assess the event's basic relevance. Of course you can disagree about what is relevant. At our daily news programmes, we do the following: For one thing, we look at how many people are affected by an event the bigger the number, the greater the relevance. Then we also consider how influential the actors involved in the event are. Finally it is also important to consider what consequences an event has, that is, how crucial this event is for ongoing world history. Those are our relevance criteria and we select our topics along those lines. In addition, the topicality and proximity of the event are of great importance. Proximity in this context is not simply assessed in spatial terms; it also includes closeness to a particular cultural sphere. And of course, another aspect is a visual one: Do we have strong images? And last but not least we look at the conversational value of a topic. A new trainer at FC Bavern football club may not have global political consequences, but a lot of people will be talking

Your answer indicates that what we call Western countries somehow play a greater role in your reporting; that you look more to the West than for example to the global South. Is that the case?

Yes, it is, and I wouldn't dispute that. Although the geographical distance is about the same, the USA for example are closer to the German public than India. There is a cultural closeness, and there's no reason to apologize for it. The main reason for it is the influence of the United States after the Second World War. Since that time, if not before, US society is closer to us than the Asian, for example.

KG

SW

KG

SB

———— One of our ways of helping to free the media somewhat from this "Western-influenced viewpoint", is our report "Suffering in Silence" which we publish once a year. It looks at the media coverage of humanitarian crises and finds out which of them receive the least media attention. In 2016, for example, those were the disastrous famines in Eritrea, Madagascar and North Korea. None of these countries is close to the German cultural sphere at all. To what extent do you see a report like this as a criticism or a spur to action?

That could be a good spur to encourage us to examine whether we have a deficit on this point; whether there

are conflicts and crises that we perhaps haven't yet reported on sufficiently. One basic problem however is that as news makers, we always wish we had more time to cover more topics. Unfortunately people only have a certain amount of time for their news consumption and I would say that currently, this amount of time is about 15 minutes per day. This quarter of an hour is what we have to work with, and we must

fit a range of topics into it. Of course a humanitarian disaster in Eritrea is always more important and dramatic than, let's say the discussion about the retirement age of 67 in Germany. There is nothing worse than misery, suffering and death. Neverthe-

less we still see it as part of our task to focus on what is happening in German society. That may seem cynical at first glance, but in the end we always have to decide what the German viewer wants to see.

\_\_\_\_\_ We understand that you have to report on topics related to Germany. But wouldn't it be worth perhaps consciously considering a differ-

about it the next day.

Photo: Christian O. Bruch/laif

ent approach and reporting on the crisis in Eritrea rather than talking yet again about another Donald Trump tweet? Sometimes one has the feeling that you don't take opportunities like that.

KG

We are often criticized for reporting too much about this or that. Every day we wrestle with the question: What are the most important events today? And I must also point out that the news presents what is different from the norm, what is new. Unfortunately it is a fact that in certain regions of the world, corruption or climatic events often result in food crises. That is sadly normal for those areas. That's why we don't always give



them the same amount of attention as for example dramatic failed harvests somewhere in Europe. It is incredibly difficult to keep the balance here. There is no unit of measurement that you can apply as you can for the long jump. Every day you have to make the effort to sense which topics are relevant.

\_\_\_\_\_ That sounds to us as though NGOs like CARE should perhaps find a new trick when we want to place a topic. Would it be more interesting

## for you if we as an aid organization didn't always just talk about acute crises, but also about crisis prevention, a solution or a success?

KG

SB

KG

KG

On that topic there has been a very interesting discussion in international journalism in the last two or three years, it's called "constructive journalism". This type of journalism aims to point to existing solutions. We too are increasingly paying attention to this type of reporting. That doesn't mean that we present "the good news of the day" every evening, but we do want to report where there are initiatives that attempt to solve problems. It is always a fine line for us journalists, because we do not want to take up a particular cause. As soon as I present an initiative, I give the viewers the impression that precisely this work is a particularly good solution. Aid organizations are also competing for attention, for donations, and that makes it difficult. That's why we're very careful about how we select topics. Many organizations make enormous efforts to bring their projects to our attention.

We can understand that you don't want to advertise. But on the other hand we often find that journalists count on us in order to reach a remote area to report from there. We invest in logistics and support to enable reporting from Somalia, for example. In the report we then simply hear that water is being distributed "by an aid organization". You surely understand we aren't too happy about that. It is not like if CARE were mentioned in the report, we would get millions in donations or have any other big advantage. But the recognition would justify the logistical efforts our team makes on the ground and it's also a question of appreciation.

It's definitely not a total no-no to mention an aid organization by name. Recently we did use film material from an aid organization. But fortunately we have an extensive network of correspondents, and can arrange trips like that ourselves. It's a bit easier for us if the material comes from Unicef.

## SW \_\_\_\_\_ Why does it make a difference if it's Unicef?

I realize that Unicef is competing for donations just like any other aid organization. But because it's a UN organization, it has the status of being non-partisan.

CARE affair N° 11 — Power

SW

46

KG

SW

KG

SB

we also observe inaccuracies or a certain exploitation of clichés in reports about humanitarian aid. For example, an ARD reporter was in a village in Nepal in 2015 and reported on national television that no aid had yet arrived in that particular village. That was strictly true, but he didn't mention the fact that at the same time hundreds of other mountain villages had already received aid and that it was simply a matter of time to reach everyone. The impression the viewer is left with is that the aid organizations on the spot aren't doing anything. Can you understand that this type of simplistic reporting damages the trust of the public in our work? When there's a report like that in the evening news, our phones ring the next day and our donors complain.

I understand that. But if the people in the village complain that nothing has happened for four days, there is nothing wrong in communicating the mood. But if the reporting is as pointed as you describe, it suggests that the money has been diverted.

Viewers often have the feeling that the media all show the same news because the competition has also published this or that news item. But in the end, it is the balance of news that suffers and the different news programmes mutually determine each other's coverage. Can you share this criticism? No, I can't. I'm thoroughly familiar with the accusation mainstream media"; I've heard it often enough in the

KG

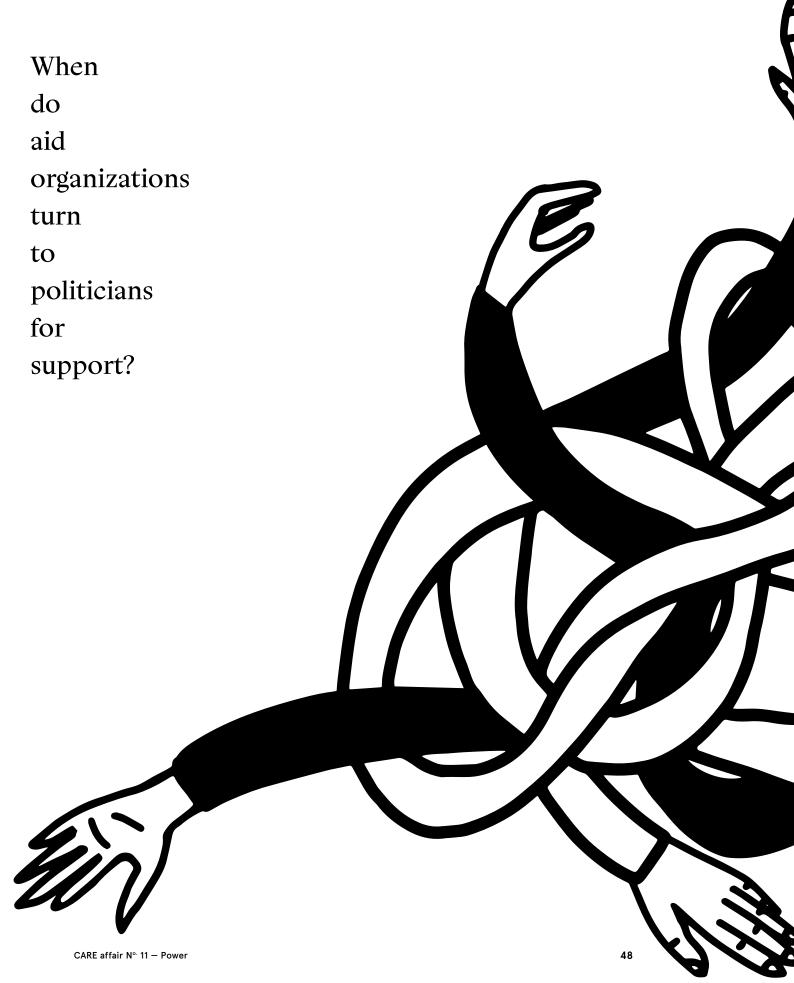
"mainstream media"; I've heard it often enough in the last three years and I don't share this critical viewpoint. Even though we are based in North Germany, we follow the Bavarian motto: "We are who we are". If other news channels report on something, that in itself is not a reason for us to present the same topic in the Tagesschau. Of course it is interesting for us to look at the other media who follow completely different paths and to see whether this or that topic is interesting for us too. I can't say whether that happens the other way around as well. After all, most of the national newspapers have already gone to print when the Tagesschau airs.

Finally, let's go back to the term "power". You said at the beginning that you don't feel powerful. But power can also be positive. Why are you so modest?



We certainly don't need to hide our light under a bushel. We reach ten million people every day at 8 PM with our evening news programme Tagesschau. We are aware of the impact that can have – but we also know that it means responsibility. But we're no longer the only ones out there. We cannot set the agenda in Germany. There are too many sources of information for that, and in that case modesty is appropriate. But having said that, when it comes to humanitarian disasters, I realized ten years ago with Darfur, how public awareness can slowly be built up. We reported about this topic with great regularity in the late news programme Tagesthemen. And I believe we did play a certain part in the fact that others took up the topic, and that the conflict gained more public awareness. But we alone can't push-start a topic.

O care-international.org/suffering-in-silence/





#### **SOME BAD NEWS**

#### 06/03/2017

New immigration order still puts vulnerable refugees at risk, says CARE

#### 13/03/2017

Sixth year of Syria crisis: 650,000 civilians still trapped in hard-to-reach areas

#### 05/04/2017

Syria: CARE condemns Idlib attacks

#### 20/06/2017

New CARE study: Syrian refugees, cash-strapped and without work, struggle in urban context

#### 09/08/2017

Yemen: Closure of Sana'a airport: One year of suffering

#### 28/09/2017

Myanmar refugee crisis: Women and children in urgent need of assistance, warns CARE

#### 17/10/2017

Bangladesh: Almost half a million refugees in need of protection from gender-based violence

#### 20/11/2017

Yemen: 12 days into the blockade – We are running out of fuel, food and medicines

These are only some of CARE's press releases issued in the second half of 2017. They reflect our activities, but also clearly show our limitations. A large proportion of CARE's work consists of emergency aid. As the term indicates, this support is meant for people in emergency situations. Whether it is war, conflict or natural disaster: people may have escaped with their lives but often have literally nothing left apart from the clothes on their backs.

The United Nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like CARE provide humanitarian aid for affected communities. We distribute food and clean drinking water, provide people with shelter, organize health care and also work to provide education and opportunities for people in need. In doing all this, aid organizations are committed to the humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence.

These principles go back to Henry Dunant of Switzerland, founder of the Red Cross movement. On a business trip to Solferino in Upper Italy in 1859, he happened to witness one of the bloodiest battles of European history with over 40,000 wounded and dead. Shocked by the victims' suffering and the care workers' helplessness, he wrote down what he saw three years later. In his book "A Memory of Solferino", Dunant first drew up the idea of international aid organizations that would care for the wounded after a battle, on the basis of neutrality and voluntarism. The Red Cross was born.

States were also interested in Dunant's ideas. As early as 1864, twelve countries picked up his recommendations and adopted the first Geneva Convention "for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armies in the field". It laid the foundation for today's human rights in which the protection of civilians in war situations is also regulated.

The work of humanitarian aid organizations today is based on the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 which are still valid today and two additional protocols of 1977 that address in particular the ban on direct attacks on civilians and the right to humanitarian aid in armed conflicts. In accordance with these conventions, four groups of people are to be protected particularly in international armed

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 50

#### THE HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES

#### **HUMANITY**

The focus is on human dignity. Where people suffer due to disasters or conflicts, they have the right to aid that also honors their human dignity. Aid must not deprive them of the right to make decisions; it must extend a hand to people in need.

#### **IMPARTIALITY**

Human need is the sole criterion for aid. Ethnic origin, gender or religious and political affiliation may not play any part in aid distribution. Aid must reach those who need it most and who are least able to help themselves.

#### **NEUTRALITY**

Humanitarian organizations may not take part in a conflict or express support for or against one party in the conflict.

#### INDEPENDENCE

Humanitarian organizations must be able to carry out their work freely and without external influence. This entails a necessary distance to all parties in a conflict, but also from donors. Humanitarian aid is not a foreign policy instrument. The reason why private donations and a wide range of donors – such as governments, international organizations, foundations – are so important is that this helps aid organizations maintain their independence.

2.98

SYRIA IN SEPTEMBER

2017

419,920

million people were living in hard-to-reach areas.

people were cut off from humanitarian assistance.

conflicts: the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field (Geneva Convention I), wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of the armed forces at sea (Geneva convention II), prisoners of war (Geneva Convention III) and civilians in wartime (Geneva Convention IV). The Geneva Convention's protection also extends to workers of aid organizations and others who are providing care and aid; in other words, the humanitarians.

When I first heard about the four humanitarian principles years ago, I thought someone was joking. "Humanity", that was clear enough, but "neutrality", "impartiality" and "independence" seemed to me to be just three ways of saying the same thing – at least, at first glance and taking the words as they stand.

But the terms deal in substance with completely different aspects. They provide the essential framework that enables aid organizations to be perceived as external actors in a conflict. That is why the humanitarian principles are so central and why attacks on aid workers are considered a serious violation of international law.

Basically it's easy to explain: Aid organizations and their staff help those who need it most, regardless of who they are or which group they belong to (impartiality). They are independent of all other interests apart from this aid (independence). And they do not take sides in the conflict in which they move (neutrality). A closely-woven net of safeguards to ensure that aid workers can actually reach those who need help most urgently.

So far so good.

Almost all aid organizations today employ advocacy experts. Their titles may vary, but these people's job is to seek and maintain contact to political decision-makers. At CARE in Germany there are three topics on which we mainly carry out political advocacy: Drawing attention to humanitarian crises, demanding action against climate change and its negative effects, and the global elimination of hunger.

So is CARE Germany still neutral when we make contact with political decision-makers and, for example, demand that the German government take decisive action to solve a conflict? If we do so, are we not violating the humanitarian principles and risking our neutral image and stance, thus becoming a target? Shouldn't we keep out of the political arena and

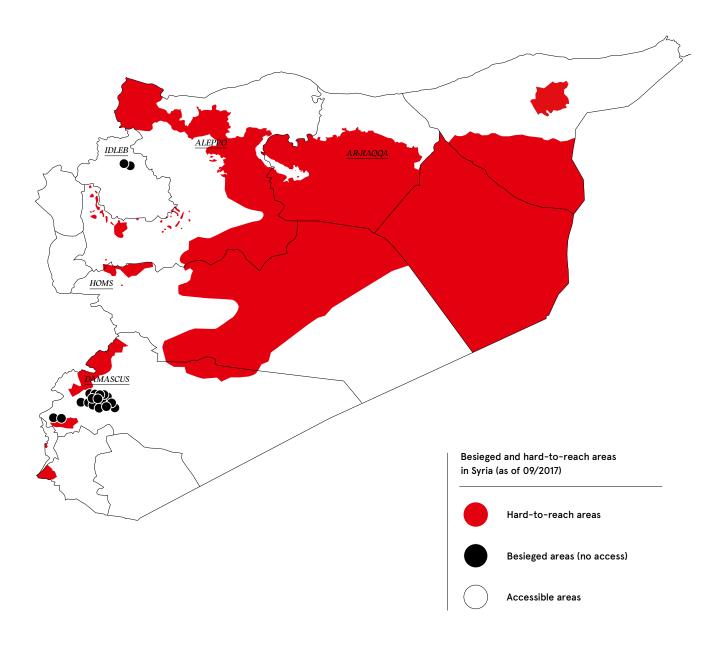
concentrate on our work, i.e. practical aid for people on the spot?

One example: March 2017 marked the sixth anniversary of the outbreak of conflict in Syria. 23 NGOs gathered in front of the German parliament to form a joint, powerful image under the motto: "Our hands are tied". They demanded access to those areas in Syria where very little or no aid was getting through because of ongoing fighting or blockades. The public stunt was accompanied by a paper listing their demands.

In the paper we appealed urgently to the Federal Government to increase diplomatic efforts to bring an end to the conflict in Syria. We pointed out that to achieve this, first a permanent, independently monitored ceasefire was necessary, after which a political agreement between the parties to the conflict should be reached. And we demanded that independent representatives of Syrian civil society should have a substantial role in all negotiations. We demanded that pressure be applied to all parties in the conflict to protect the civilian population from military operations. And we urgently pushed for international humanitarian law to be complied with and violations to be punished by means of international criminal courts.

## SYRIA

Many factors hamper effective aid delivery in Syria and make it a dangerous mission to support the civilian population: Ongoing fighting; local and national authorities refusing permissions for aid transports; broken ceasefires; disagreements on access routes and the non-compliance of proceedings at checkpoints by the conflict parties.



When our hands are tied 53

And of course we also demanded complete, immediate, unconditional, safe, unimpeded and permanent access to humanitarian aid for everyone in Syria.

That's quite a lot of demands for actors who are actually supposed to be neutral.

However these demands did not violate our neutrality. In formulating them we neither supported one side nor did we take anyone's part. We did not take up a party-political position or speak out in favor of any of the parties in the conflict. On the contrary, we did what we see as our mandate in addition to providing humanitarian relief on the ground: To give those people a voice who aren't heard or prioritized. We speak for the same people with whom we discuss on the spot the most urgent needs that must be met, and whose wishes, demands and concerns we therefore know very well. Because that too is a form of humanity: Not to make decisions for the people affected, but to decide with them what support they need, to avoid degrading them to mere recipients of aid.

We are most contented when these men, women and children speak for themselves. For this reason we try as often as possible to bring the people affected and colleagues from our project regions to countries in Europe, to Canada, the US or Australia, for example. We arrange for them to speak to members of parliament and representatives of ministries, so they can report directly about the situation in their home countries without detours. It simply is more powerful if there is a woman called Minet Aguisanda-Jerusalem of the Philippines in front of you who can speak of her own personal experience of the devastating impact of typhoon Haiyan in her country. And how she and her local NGO work hard to prepare people better for future disasters. But it is not always possible to put people on a plane. And this is when we take on this task in "headquarter" countries, always keeping close contact with affected communities to be able to truthfully speak on their behalf.

As an aid organization, CARE is politically neutral. However we do not practice neutrality when it comes to complying with international law and respecting human rights. We stand up decisively for these things, there is no grey area here. We expect politicians to do the same and to forcefully support the creation of a secure, reliable framework for our work. Unfortunately it is all too often necessary to constantly remind the

political decision-makers about this – and sometimes to criticize them for their positions or inactions.

In many conflicts we experience moments when our hands are tied: When we cannot reach the people who need our help most. When borders are closed, and relief supplies cannot enter the country, as described in a press release about Yemen in November 2017. When aid workers become the targets of attacks, putting them in even more danger than they are anyway simply due to working in a crisis situation. On this level we are powerless and depend on political decision-makers. It is then time for them to stand up for those in need and for us, the ones who try to help on the ground.

54

CARE affair N° 11 − Power



## **Another day in Yemen**

Johan Mooij is CARE's Country Director in Yemen.

In November 2017, fights escalated and all borders were closed off.

In his diary, he describes what it feels like for an aid worker to find oneself in such a situation.

6.30 A.M.

I wake up and before I get out of bed I check if there are any urgent text messages and emails. Being part of the CARE family means that emails continue to come in throughout the day (and night). But today I'm lucky: nothing to deal with immediately.

7 A.M.

I like coffee and it is the first thing I make after checking my emails. I don't have a proper coffee machine yet, but I settled for instant coffee. I can hear the generator coming on, which means that I can have a hot shower! There is little water but I don't complain. I heard that the price for water has doubled in the past months. Most people in the capital, Sana'a, do not even have water, several clinics were forced to shut down because of the shortage of water.

7.30 A.M.

I spend a bit of time on my rooftop, which I often use as my workplace. The city is waking up. It feels like Sana'a is a village. I hear birds singing, children playing, the horn of a car, and some lady speaking through a microphone. From up top you can see the many solar panels that cover the city and allow people to use a fridge, lights and electricity. They are an important source of energy since one cannot guarantee that generators, which run on fuel, will remain functional at all times, especially with the 40-60 percent increase in fuel prices and lack of fuel since the blockade.

Another day in Yemen 55

## 8 A.M.

It's time for my first radio interview today, followed by breakfast with a few colleagues. Breakfast is generally a good time to share security information with the others. Two of my international staff members are outside the country for meetings and holidays; we have relatively few of them here. Every week we send an update on the number of our international staff in Yemen to the UN so that they can plan for possible evacuations. In total, there are about 120 international NGO staff members in Yemen and we are all stuck here because of the blockade. One of them told me that he will probably miss his son's birthday.

## 8.30 A.M.

The office is across the street. Our guards make sure we get safely to the other side. I take time to greet all the staff members in the office. The CARE Yemen team is very good – I have rarely seen such committed and qualified staff. It is a joy to work with them. Some have been with CARE for more than 10 years. Just as I get to my desk, I receive a brief update on the security situation. More airstrikes! They become part of our daily routine. I wonder how many have died this time ...

### 10.30 A.M.

One of our area managers calls me. After we finally get permission to work in some parts of Hudayda, I am told that the area was declared a military zone. I have no idea what that means, but the result is that we cannot work there. Because we did a needs assessment in another area, we ask the relevant authorities whether we can work there. It looks good. This means that the people in the military zone will not be able to receive our help, but others will. I struggle with the principles of justice.

## 11 A.M.

More crises mean more meetings. This one is on our food distributions together with the World Food Programme. I inform the safety staff where I want to go to and at what time. They check whether it is a safe environment and organize a car and a driver. Once I get into the car, I turn on my tracker so that the operations room knows where I am. Since I cannot attend all meetings by myself, my colleague who is temporarily supporting us is willing to attend a few of them.

## 12 P.M.

I receive about 150 emails per day. I make sure that I reply as quickly as possible to the most urgent ones but it is impossible to answer them all. When multiple people are addressed, I assume that others will reply. Hopefully no one copies my strategy!

### 1 P.M.

As I am on my way to yet another meeting with partners and donors, I start hearing the sound of a small weapon shooting. Although I am inside the UN compound, I feel very vulnerable. Fortunately the shooting is not aimed at us and I continue to move to the meeting room. The donors are interested in hearing how the blockade affects our humanitarian interventions. We explain that because of existing stocks in the country, we continue business as usual. But we also make clear that if the harbour does not open in time, new supplies will arrive too late. International staff is not able to move in and out of the country. A smaller problem compared to the one regarding commercial markets that are disrupted, with prices for food and other supplies skyrocketing. There is not a lot of money in circulation because government salaries have not been paid in over a year. Someone said that if famine occurs, all people will die at the same time because Yemenis are used to sharing even their scarce resources with one another.

## 4 P.M.

Today's lunch: a packet of biscuits that I shared with colleagues during the afternoon meetings. I receive a security update regarding the threats one of our staff members received on the phone a few days ago. We are still not sure who was behind it but we know that the situation for aid workers in Yemen continues to be dangerous.

## 5.30 P.M.

Interview with a Dutch radio station and ABC Australia. I actually enjoy doing interviews. We mainly talk about the deteriorating situation in Yemen. More than seven million people depend on outside food aid. There's a real shortage of water, health care and so much more. This blockade needs to stop. When the journalists ask what we can do, I think they realize how difficult the situation is. However I tell them that we will continue as long as we can with the limited amount of funds we have. We don't give up hope and we call on governments to build up more political pressure.

## 8 P.M.

Finally I get some time to eat. Our cook has left some lovely food in the fridge. Halfway through the meal I do another live radio interview. My wife thinks I will become famous, but these interviews are serious business. It is about informing the general public about this terrible development.

### 9 P.M.

While I am watching the news, I fall asleep. After ten minutes our safety officer calls up to say that there are airstrikes in various places in Hajja and Sana'a. Maybe also in other places but we don't know yet. I decide to stay awake for a bit longer just to make sure that the airstrikes don't happen in our neighborhood. We have a house with a basement which we use when the airstrikes get too close. I check our emergency food supplies that would allow us to survive for about 15 days. I need to talk to our safety staff because we need to discuss a second exit from the basement in case our neighborhood is hit.

## 11 P.M.

Time to go to bed. I had an exciting day and I feel satisfied with all the work that was done. I am proud to be part of the CARE Yemen team. Although Friday is normally a day off, I think I will use the day to catch up on some emails and start yet another day in Yemen. With that thought I fall asleep.

Another day in Yemen 57

# Going South

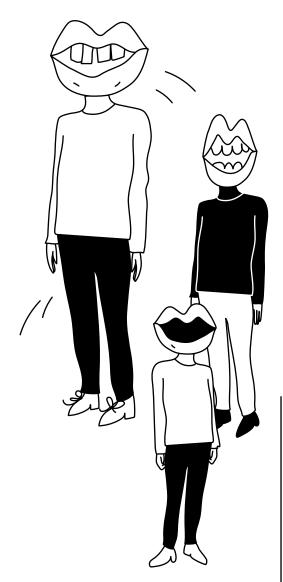
By DR. WOLFGANG JAMANN

Is "power" an appropriate topic for discussion by an international charitable organization such as CARE International? At first glance, we are working primarily on the basis of need, close to the people on the ground, trying to make a difference to the lives of the most marginalised and the poor – so what does power have to with all of this, one might ask, and aren't our values of working in partnership conflicting with the need to address power imbalances?

Well, power matters. A bit harshly but perhaps realistically, the



CARE affair N°· 11 — Power 58



World Bank puts forward this challenge to the development community: "The ability of institutions to deliver the level of credible commitments, coordination and cooperation needed for development ... is shaped by patterns of power, including exclusion, capture and clientelism".

New Civil Society organisations in the Global South have criticized large NGOs for not sharing, or giving up power, resources and influence. One of the most outspoken ones, the Kenya – based Adeso, has accused large INGOs of having lost

their moral compass: "Power is never given," Degan Ali, the head of Adeso declares. "Power is taken."

The Southern voices of civil society are becoming more audible and need to grow in strength and be really listened to in order to bring about the power shifts in the international community, and more so, address bad governance and corruption. At CARE International, we need to be aware of these trends, and recognise that they are consistent with our ambition that drives our mission and our vision of a world of hope, tolerance and social justice. CARE's history, rooted in a response to post-war need, is that of a charitable movement, characterised by solidarity, reconciliation, and anchored by the spirit of giving. This carries a constant reminder of the imbalance between those who have, and those who have not: 100 million CARE packages were handed out to starving and suffering people in post-war Europe and this great act of solidarity has continued to shape relations afterward. Throughout CARE's development in recent decades and its commitment to overcoming structural issues of poverty and injustice, this DNA shows up in the North-South solidarity that we seek. It is mostly observable through the fact that CARE is a confederation of 14 independent member organizations, largely from the global North, and working in over 70 countries in the global South. Only three of our members are "Southern" - CARE Peru, CARE India and Raks Thai (Thailand).

One focus area of our global programme strategy is the economic empowerment of women, also meant

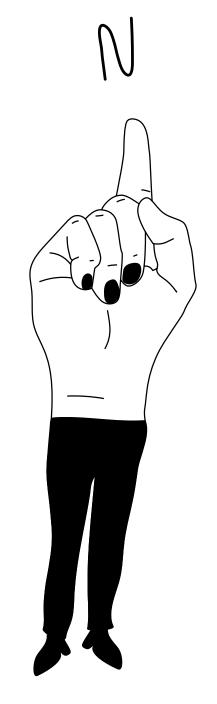
Going South 59

to overcome social structures which disempower people. But is the sheer concept of 'empowerment' not questionable as well, especially if it seems to imply that yet again, something is "given" to people, rather than developed from the bottom-up?

Traditionally, power comes with a strong linkage to the control of resources. In the development and humanitarian aid sector, this is sometimes subtle and other times. more overt. Public donors bring in their ideas, connected with political agendas, such as global security concerns or the wish to keep refugees at bay. An organisation such as CARE, which receives over 70 percent of its funding from government donors, needs to acknowledge this, particularly in times of increased instrumentalisation of aid under political or economic premises.

In addition to power, size matters too. CARE International is an 800 million US-Dollar organization, but not a monolithic block. Our organization has members, big and small, from rich and poor countries, and from different geopolitical regions. Decision-making within the organization is neither easy nor very formalised, and it has always been difficult to develop fair and sophisticated decision-making procedures that reflect both size and numbers, and represent the collective will of CARE International.

In a recent survey conducted by the International Civil Society Centre, more than two-thirds of organizations stated that their governance is – at least sometimes – too slow, too cumbersome, and much too focused on balancing national interests. This frustration is shared by many partners and affiliates in the Global South who still feel dominated by the North and demand a fair share in the organizations' decision-making. Consequently, the governance of international NGOs is increasingly seen as both ineffective and illegiti-



mate. Being self-reflective about these issues, CARE has taken a journey that is similar to many other decentralised international organizations, aiming to develop more as a network of peers, with a better balance between the North and the South. In light of such observations, the CARE International Board decided in 2014 in Delhi, that by 2020 the CARE network should be composed of more members from the global South than from the North. This comes with an expectation that internal decision-making is changed, as well as diversity and internal perspectives and not surprisingly, a recognition that is a bold ambition given the requisite implementation needs in a short timeframe.

CARE has now brought four new affiliate members on board, from Indonesia, Morocco, Egypt and Sri Lanka, with the aim to develop them quickly into full members of the network. They have developed business plans, started to establish their own Boards and Governance, are almost entirely staffed by nationals, and follow very different paths. CARE Sri Lanka has turned into a social business named "Chrysalis", which is seeking to provide its expertise in rural development and community empowerment to national and international development actors. In Indonesia, CARE's community work will have to be coupled with disaster preparedness; at the same time fundraising will start in this country which has a growing middle class with a strong history of solidarity in times of catastrophes. CARE Morocco has already formed its own Board, has been founded as a national organization from the very beginning,

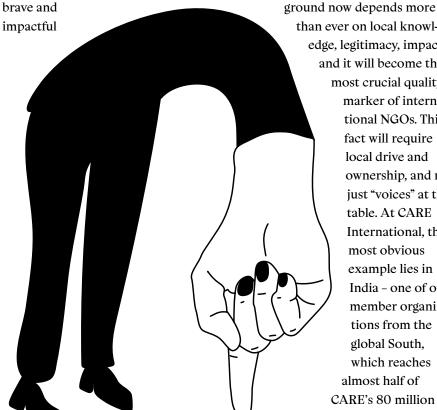
CARE affair N° 11 — Power 60

and has started its first successful fundraising activities. In Egypt, political advocacy and influencing lies at the centre of the 'localisation' of CARE's activities on the ground. All these new affiliates are on exploratory missions, and receive support from other members of the CARE family. The journey is into unknown territory, but looks promising.

The main reasons for expansions and shifts to the Global South are not just gestures of "political correctness" or response to expectations or pressure from the outside, but driven by the recognition of global trends that matter to our work: Global power shifts to new actors and regions in a multipolar world order, the challenges to legitimacy of civil society organisations, the increasing role of local actors, and also the development of considerable wealth in countries of the South. Such trends challenge the traditional intermediary role of International NGOs and their 'Northern' characteristics. Among other commitments, the hope is to increase impact, local relevance, and the deployment of local capacities through a strengthened role of Southern members.

The journey has been exciting so far. Within a year only, new colleagues and perspectives have started shaping CARE's governance and strategic decision-making. When CARE International welcomed the new affiliates in its 2017 Annual Council meeting in Oslo, pride and emotions were felt strongly in the room. The internal conversations about our way forward have changed since then - more and more we will have to answer questions on the ways

in which our confederation's structures and processes apply or matter to our colleagues on the forefront of humanitarian and development action, and address meeting the need to be politically



our advocacy work. In a way, this is helping the organization to rediscover its mission and sharpen focus on the need that shaped its beginnings, only addressing them with the knowledge and experience of

our current times, and curbing the intensity of processes, matrices, and systems that can consume daily work. Power, size and last but not least: money. It matters too as the challenges around finances are solidarity from North to South will continue to matter in the future. But the ability to make a difference for people on the

> than ever on local knowledge, legitimacy, impact, and it will become the

most crucial quality marker of international NGOs. This fact will require local drive and ownership, and not just "voices" at the table. At CARE International, the most obvious example lies in India - one of our member organizations from the global South, which reaches almost half of CARE's 80 million

beneficiaries worldwide, with the support of an international foundation based in the US.

Building up the global South embraces the potential to even out distribution of resources, close gaps between rich and poor, and contribute to socially just societies. We must listen to our

Southern members and partners, learn from their lead, and yes, shift the power for the sake of a greater good.

O care-international.org/who-we-are/governance

61 **Going South** 

# The power of an image

By STEFAN BRAND

Standing all alone in front of the Eiffel Tower in blazing sunshine? It's not a question of perspective, but of technology. A bit of photo editing makes it possible. But what if we're not talking about trivial holiday snaps but about supposed witness photos of an attack or photos of starving people in war zones? What happens when these images are edited to reinforce a particular opinion, a particular political aim – but the truth looks quite different?

The American Aric Toller is specialized in this type of images. He researches, verifies and checks digital photos. A researcher at the Digital Forensic Research Labs (DFR), a network of global analysts that exclusively use digital channels to research into the smallest detail of stories, he is often confronted with fake photos.

AT

AT

SB \_\_\_\_ What kind of people share fake photos on social media or other internet platforms? AT Most of them are internet trolls who crave attention and just want to see how far they can go with their story. Of course there are also those who deliberately misinform, but they are a small minority. SB \_\_\_\_\_ What exactly motivates you in your work as image researcher? In most investigative cases my biggest motivation AT is solving the little secrets and inconsistencies. Of course, verification and deep research into a photo or video are important in themselves because I want to find out whether it is genuine or not. But when carrying out the work I often discover quite different information - information that I didn't know

existed beforehand. This background information

is what helps me to gain a much better understanding of the situation.

SB \_\_\_\_\_ What kinds of fake photos do you most often encounter in your work?

First I must draw the fundamental distinction between deliberately faked photos and images that have been recycled. The latter are photos that are used in the wrong context.

SB \_\_\_\_\_ Can you give us an example?

For example, Donald Trump's social media director Dan Scavino Jr. posted the following image during Hurricane Irma. It soon emerged that it wasn't Miami airport that was shown as being flooded at the time; in fact the photo was two weeks old and showed an airport in Mexico.

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 62

https://www.buzz-



The power of an image 63

SB Do you believe that Mr. Scavino deliberately uploaded the image in order to dramatize the situation in Florida during the hurricane? ΑT I can't say whether Mr. Scavino deliberately posted the image in order to present a fake emergency. I can only say that he apologized once it emerged that the airport in the photo was not Miami airport. And he deleted both the tweet and the photo. SB SB \_ Apart from US politics, you also took a closer look at German politics during the German ΑT Bundestag elections, in collaboration with Bild newspaper, under the hashtag #electionwatch. Did you also find fake photos as you carried out this work? ΑT SB Yes, we did. For example, a photo was shared by the Regensburg district association of the AfD party on their Facebook page. The photo is clearly intended to show a woman during the New Year's Eve night in Cologne. In fact ΑT neither the woman in the photo nor the people in the background were ever in Cologne. We found out that the image is a montage photo of two pictures - a photo taken at Tahrir Square in Cairo in 2011 and the face of a model. The faked photo originally came from an ultra-right-wing SB anti-Semitic website. SB \_\_\_\_\_ If something about a photo seems suspicious to you, how do you start work? ΑT There are several stages. First we ask ourselves where the photo was taken. In 95 percent of cases you can find out whether a picture was really taken in the location claimed by using geolocation and Google Street View.

If you can't find out about any of these factors, it's more difficult. Then the real detective work begins. For example, we look more closely at shadows, light sources or people in the background. We also ask ourselves whether the background figures were deliberately photographed out-of-focus, or whether there are reflections that don't seem to fit. ■ Why is it so important to you to take action against fake photos and disinformation? In democratic societies like ours it is important that political decisions are based on facts, otherwise it is not even possible to make the correct decisions. Decisions based on false information are bound to fail. \_ Photos often suggest a real image of an actual moment. Do you think that is the reason why more people trust and believe a photo than for example a text or audio recording? Yes, to an extent. However you should always be critical. My motto is: be inquisitive! But basically the responsibility lies with the journalists, media and those

who upload and disseminate the photos. In these

contexts, photos should be more carefully checked.

\_ Thank you for the interview.

Third, I look at details in the background of the image. Are there signs, display boards, advertising or film posters that couldn't have been at the location claimed, for example because they are out of

date or only appeared in a particular country?

a mosque for example or mountains in the background? Then it is easy to compare the surroundings

Second: What is in the background? Is there

CARE affair N° 11 — Power

using Google Maps.

64

## Power



By SVEN HARMELING
Photo: MUSTAFA SAEED

A group of friends in Hargeisa, Somaliland, gathers in front of the church after a wedding ceremony. Taking and sharing pictures with a few clicks – a world of possibility thanks to electrical power and the internet.

Power 65

Energy is power. It has not only been the driving force for human development – just think of the restrictions of a life without electricity to lighten the darkness or to provide air conditioning in hot regions. Energy production and supply, or rather, the direction these take in future, is currently a "power struggle" in a dual sense: on the one hand, a power struggle between energy companies and on the other, a contest between different energy (power) systems that will decide the future of planet Earth and its inhabitants.

Global climate change is gain-



ing speed with drastic negative effects. It is fueled by CO2 emissions that are produced by combustion of the fossil fuels coal, oil and gas.

The Paris Climate Agreement aims to limit the global rise in temperature to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, to prevent climate change impacts from becoming uncontrollable. So far global average temperatures have risen by about one degree Celsius. The maximum threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius can only be maintained if worldwide emissions are reduced radically and fast, to almost zero by mid-century. What does that actually mean? All our energy must be renewable. Sun, wind and water must replace coal, oil and gas.

The bad news is that these emissions are not yet being reduced sufficiently. After stagnating between 2014 and 2016, it is anticipated that CO2 emissions increased again

slightly in 2017. Many countries, including Germany and the other G20 states, are still subsidizing the exploitation and use of fossil fuels to the tune of billions. And that does not even include the cost of the negative consequences of these fuels.

However, there is good news as well: all around the world, renewable energy sources are being expanded. For example, the capacity of solar generation installed in developing countries over the last three years has tripled. About 1.5 million households in Africa now operate domestic solar systems for which they transfer payments by cell phone. Two years ago, there were only half that number of solar collectors in Africa. More and more investors are pulling out of coal, due to the climate and business risks. New studies show that many countries could shift their energy supply to 100 percent renewable sources. That would kill two birds with one stone: The 1.5 degree limit could be achieved while creating millions of additional jobs and dramatically reducing air pollution.

As a result, renewables are already economically competitive in many countries. According to data from the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), the costs of solar modules, for example, fell by 75 to 80 percent between 2010 and 2015, while the cost of wind energy dropped by about 30 to 45 percent. This makes decentralized solutions in poor regions of developing countries much more affordable, so that clean, renewable energy is increasingly becoming a key factor in combatting energy poverty. The poorest gain "power" in a dual sense,

as can be seen in an example of CARE's work in Niger in West Africa.

Under the umbrella of the "Adaptation Learning Programme", CARE is supporting remote villages in Niger to prepare themselves more effectively against the impacts of climate change and extreme weather conditions. The village of Aman Bader also took part in the programme. More and more people in Niger are using mobile communication, also for local business activities. This opens up new opportunities for the communities. But cell phones need to be charged. And classical mains power is rarely available in many rural areas of Niger, and in Africa as a whole. The villages are far from the electricity network and the network itself is often unstable. The CARE project equipped the



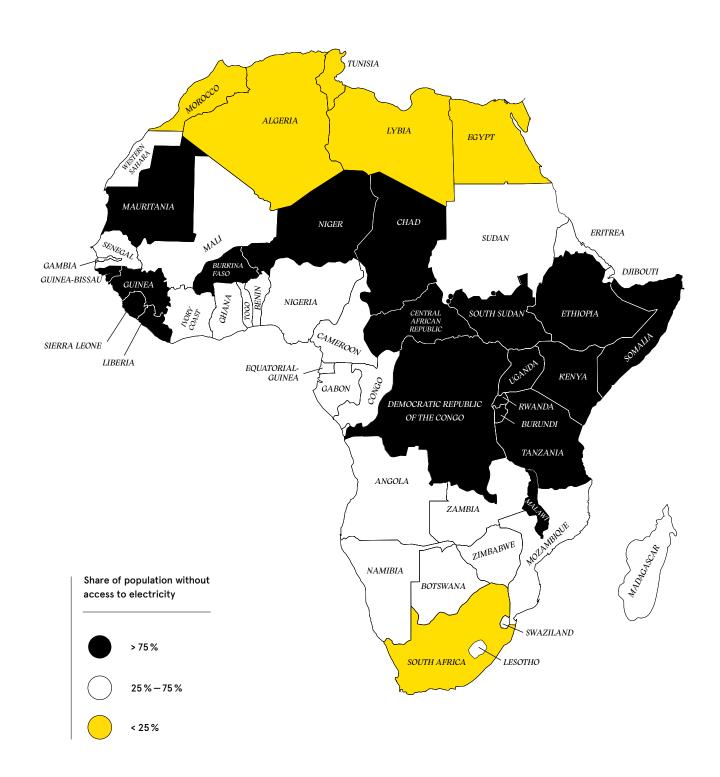
village of Aman Bader with a solar module that supplies power for the locals to charge their cell phones.

Zennou Boukari explains, "At the general meeting, the women of my village elected me as the person in charge. They trust me. Now I look after the solar module and manage our income." Zennou lives in Aman Bader and has long been selling peanut and palm oil for a living. The villagers pay

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 66

## **Power**

#### MAP



about ten eurocents to charge their cell phones; the money goes into a community fund of the local women's group. The members of the saving group can take out small loans from the income from the solar module. They can use the money to buy food, for example, when a drought reduces the harvests from their fields.

Having a reliable electricity supply also makes communication much easier for the villagers. They can now call people from their village and make

long-distance calls

be-

cause their phones are

always charged. In this way they can pass on weather information, for example about the amount of rain, to local authorities that can inform others via local radio stations. Knowing how much rain has fallen and where helps people to protect themselves from heavy rainfall and to plan the work in their fields.

"The solar power system brings in money that helps in times of crisis. That makes us stronger," Zennou says. Women are often disadvantaged in the energy field. Studies show that in developing countries, it is usually the women who supply the household with energy. They spend hours collecting firewood and then breathe in poisonous fumes over the fireplace. Therefore, it is important that "clean" solutions are particularly designed to meet women's needs.

Many studies now show that for a long time, the big energy companies that still rely on fossil fuels tried to present climate change research as not credible. Despite knowing the true situation, they continue to campaign against the implementation of a climate protection policy that would change fuel use in favor of renewable energy sources, thus destroying their business model. The consequences of their lobbying affect the whole planet, but in particular

the poorest communities around the world that suffer most under the effects of climate change.

That is why the behavior of these energy companies is subject to growing criticism.

Their reputations are suffering and more and more investors are turning their backs; the companies are increasingly subject to legal action and the suggestion is increasingly often heard that those mainly responsible for climate change should pay for their reckless behavior. In the end, the issue is also to redistribute the power of a few large energy companies to more people. Decentralized renewable energy generation is a crucial factor in this context. Spreading the power more widely is also a key demand of significant civil society actions and demonstrations such as the climate march in New York in 2014 in which about 400,000 people took part, and the November 2017 climate demonstration in Bonn on the occasion of the UN climate conference. This was the largest climate demonstration in Germany so far with about 25,000 participants. Each individual in Germany in particular has the opportunity to convert completely to power from renewable sources, so taking part in the transition of energy generation - through an individual solar power system, or by switching to a professional supplier that provides green electricity. The economic and technological development of renewable energy generation makes possible a faster transition to renewable power than was conceivable a few years ago, despite all the obstacles that must still be overcome. At the same time, climate change makes it urgent to act fast. We do not have very much time. If we drive forward a radical energy transition, we could still prevent a much more radical deterioration of our planet's livelihoods. The power of the many will decide whether our energy systems can be reshaped to become sustainable and renewable.

O careclimatechange.org

CARE affair N° 11 — Power 68



The Winners.

CARE
Writing Contest
2018

CARE Writing Contest 69

**#8** 

#### POWER!

Five years ago, CARE initiated a writing contest. Since then, young, creative talents are invited to submit their essays or stories on the subject of the respective annual CARE affair magazine. The young writers' ideas are quite different from what the editorial team usually associates with the topic, us wearing our "CARE glasses". So we are happy to get this fresh perspective.

This time, our call was short and precise: What does power do? Who has power? Is power needed, and if so, what for?

The CARE writing contest is open to teenagers aged 14 to 18 and young adults from 19 to 25. A prominent jury, including best-selling author Kerstin Gier (The "Gem"-Trilogy), chooses the best entries. This year, she was accompanied by Jonas Schubert, singer and songwriter of pop band OK KID, author and journalist Ute Wegmann as well as Stefan Ewers, CARE board member and long-time companion of the writing contest.

What's in it for the winners? The two winning entries are published in CARE affair. But that's not all: now in its second year, CARE is a guest at the renowned literature festival Lit.COLOGNE. The young writers will meet the jury and read their texts to a big audience. It is an exciting moment when the written words echo through the microphone into the big hall, capturing the attention of hundreds of people, giving a voice to these young ideas and opinions.

This year, CARE received almost 200 submissions for the writing contest. The topic, "Power", inspired a wide range of interpretations. Many texts were quite gloomy, mostly about the current state of the world. Other contributions were very personal. Stories about violence, flight and marginalization. About the power men exercise over women, or the power one person has over another. But there were also many texts about love and hope. All authors proved to be very courageous, using their unique style of writing to voice their opinions on what matters.

We are very proud to present the winners of the fifth CARE writing contest: "The new boy", written by Katharina Hopp (16) and "Naked" by Kathi Rettich (20). Congratulations!

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 70



## The new boy

By Katharina Hopp

Old scars cover the new boy.

They seem to be older than he is. Bulging skin, like worms winding through the tissue. In a time he did not have these scars, when his skin was still smooth and pure – like his spirit, and when his father was still alive, the father always said: "Power destroys peace." The boy was yet too young to understand the meaning. Now he has realized that power is bad and peace is good. Now he lives in peace. That's what they assured him of.

He is sent to school. There are other kids as well. Noisy kids, playing and laughing aloud.

They talk and look differently, brighter somehow. And they don't have scars. The boy likes the light skin, it looks cheerful somehow. At his first day in school, the kids take his hands, cross their fingers with his and dance in a circle. They welcome him, says the teacher. He does not understand what it means, this hopping around, and just moves very slowly behind them, the shoulders lowered and his head bent down, protecting himself.

What is it, power, he once asked his father. "When you have power, you decide on everything, you destroy everything, you throw bombs. The only one who should have power is Allah – he knows how to deal with it." A couple of days later, the power blew his father up to heaven.

The boy reflects a lot about power. During lesson he does not talk. He never talks. The words remained in Syria together with the death. Whenever a door bangs, he throws himself down on the floor. It is a reflex. In these moments, down on the dustless floor, the power becomes tangible. It overtakes his trembling body and sends pictures into his

head. Red dust, flying into the air. Glaring flashes, piercing everywhere, not only in the eyes. You may not look straight into them. This is why he closes his eyes whenever there is noise.

A girl then crouches down next to him. She waits until he opens his wet eyes and then she smiles. Smiling is good. It means that everything is alright. He sits down on his chair again and his ears capture words, incomprehensible like explosions faded away long ago, incomprehensible.

The people he lives with are very quiet. With them, he barely needs to let himself fall down on the floor. He likes them. He likes their warm eyes, warm like a blanket covering his shoulders when he cannot fall asleep.

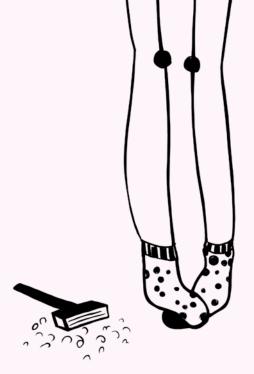
Very often, they hug him and mumble words he does not know but for him belong to this warm place. The place where his father lives as well. He likes watching them, the woman and the man, who talk to him as if he would answer. Who seem to understand when they see his wet eyes and for whom he even pulls up the corners of his mouth. Then, even his scars bend and become nice curves, no longer rough and sharp. Actually, he likes to laugh. Maybe because it makes others smile as well. And maybe because his eyes dry up.

The woman and the man call it the power of love.

CARE Writing Contest 71

## Naked

By Kathi Rettich



Inge is naked.

Entirely nude, except for the yellow dotted socks and tufts of pubic hair

So she stands in front of the bathroom mirror, locked in. Gazes at herself with fixed eyes and a throbbing heart.

A heavy body in children's socks.

But underneath, barely imaginable, behind masses of skin and bunches of pubic hair, Inge is almost beautiful.

She just has to change her looks.

Nothing else. Indeed, Inge would be somehow beautiful.

Almost like all the other girls in her class, fine-boned outlines with long hair, elf-like. Everyone likes these girls. Then, everything would be fine.

And Inge lies down. Lies naked on the cold floor tiles. Sets up her fat legs, lifts this mass that is her body upwards. Repeatedly.

Once again says the voice in Inge's head, just once, believe me, it is worth it. And Inge obeys, because discipline is what Inge is good at. Next, on and on.

Finally, she lies down, sweaty fat on cold stone. It was not enough.

The throat aches, it aches from old pain and the air she breathes. Never enough.

Inge gets up, trembling legs, sticky skin, the pattern of the floor tiles engraved on her back. No permission to rest.

She takes her mother's razor, somehow embarrassed but decisive. Does not stop until the skin is sore and naked. The floor covered in bunches of pubic hair.

Inge stares at her reflection in the mirror. For minutes. Examines crease by crease.

A heavy body in yellow dotted socks. After all, still. Nothing changed.

But Inge will continue because this is what Inge is good at. And she knows, the power in her head knows what needs to be done. On and on.

The mother is standing in front of the door. Listens to every

CARE affair N° 11 – Power 72

sound for hours, hands cramped around the door handle. Counts the breaths. In, out, breathe, Inge, just breathe.

As if Inge could stop breathing just like that. Like she has stopped eating lately.

Inge is just a hint of what she used to be.

The mother sees her in front of her eyes, disheveled curls, mouth full of cotton candy. She dances on the street, accompanied by an accordion that someone is playing. Back when Inge was still Inge.

Now all that is left is a skinny body and a lifeless face.

There are days when the mother decides it is enough. Inge is only a child, somehow, still so young.

Stop it, she says, Inge, stop it. As if that was enough. Inge needs so much more.

And Inge says everything is all right, no worries mother, I've got it all under control. And the mother wants it to be true.

Does not want to lose her to this strange power that eventually replaced her, the mother. That now has the say in Inge's head.

Must protect her, somehow.

The others say you must not cling to her, give her room, and so the mother stands in front of the bathroom door. Locked out of Inge's life.

Inge rushes out of the bathroom, the bulk of herself hidden under various layers of clothing. No one should see it, the disgusting body she is wearing.

Inge would love to be invisible.

Meets the mother who reaches for her, holds onto her as if she was still a child.

But Inge frees herself because she hates that. Body contact. Does not want to see how much it takes to embrace her, meters of arms and so much strength to hold her.

You need to have breakfast, says the mother, begging her. Nevertheless, Inge leaves.

Even though she is hungry, somehow longing for food and love. But discipline is what Inge is good at. Nothing can stop it.

Before school, quickly another lap in the park, maybe two.

Come on, Inge, says the voice in her head, almost angrily. One more, on and on. And Inge runs even though she no longer can.

No longer can.

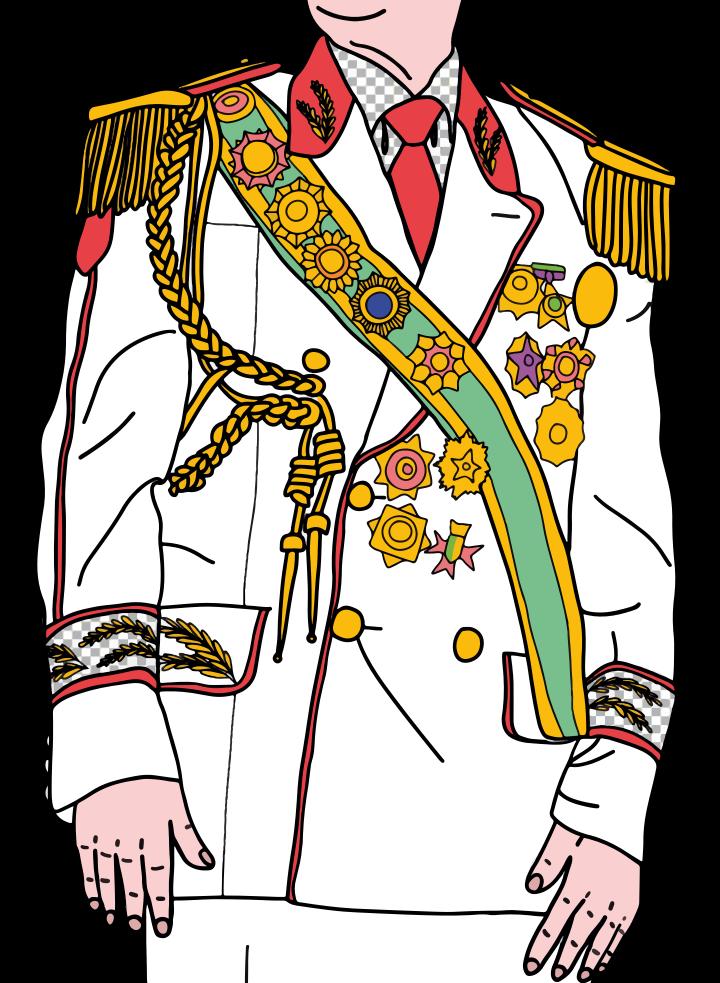
Just a bit more, says the power in her head and Inge obeys. Because that is what Inge does.

Then everything turns black. Inge falls. And with her a girl that was once beautiful.

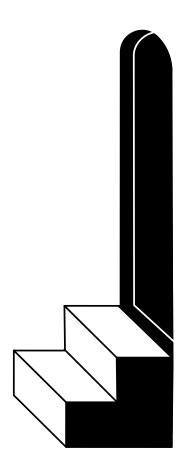
Because beauty is more than what you see.

And the mother stands in their home and cries. On and on.

CARE Writing Contest 73



# Europe's doorkeepers



By SIMONE SCHLINDWEIN

Europe's doorkeepers 75

President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita of Mali is greeted by French president Emmanuel Macron in Celle Saint Cloud near Paris. In late 2017, the heads of state of Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Mauritania, Germany, France, Italy and Saudi Arabia met to discuss counterterrorism measures.



La Celle Saint Cloud

2017

CARE affair N°· 11 — Power 76

It was the 29th of December, 2016 when the European Union (EU) got what it wanted. Or at least that's what they thought in Brussels. Two planes approached Bamako, the capital of Mali, each carrying one man whom France wanted to deport to Mali. Both asylum applications

had been rejected and neither had a passport. It was a test case for the EU laissez-passers, travel documents issued by the EU authorities for rejected asylum seekers whose country of origin could not be established with certainty. The EU wanted to find out whether Mali would do what Brussels had attempted to persuade African countries to do in marathon negotiations lasting one to one-and-a-half years: take back African refugees and migrants unconditionally.

Mali's president Ibrahim Keita had already promised an EU delegation that he would soon conclude what is known as a migrant return agreement. The agreement was to achieve "concrete and measurable results in the rapid operative return of irregular migrants" as the EU strategy paper on the topic reads.

In return, the strategy paper notes that the EU and its member states paid 1.7 billion euros so far for projects and military missions in Mali between 2014 and 2017. But then protests broke out in Bamako and the president was forced to change direction to avoid the risk of losing power.

The fact is that in Mali, migration is considered a success story. About four million Malians work abroad, most of them in neighbouring countries, and only 300,000 of them in Europe. They send more money home than the amount of development aid received by Mali: around 53 euros per inhabitant per year. That is almost ten percent of the country's GDP. So from Mali's point of view, returned migrants are a bad deal.

And so it was quite a sensation when on the evening of that day in December 2016, the Malian border police refused to allow the two men to enter the country. The French police escorting them protested for hours, but the Malian officials stood firm. The next morning, the two Malians were back in Paris. Mali, a former French colony, had defied not only Paris, but the whole EU.

Whether Mali, Ethiopia,
Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, Niger, Chad,
Gambia, Senegal, Ghana, Ivory Coast,
Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco or Nigeria
– since the spring of 2016 the EU has
"tailor-made country packages" up its
sleeve for the governments of all these
countries in order to engineer similar
return agreements. The EU's aim is
to increase the number of returns of
rejected asylum seekers. However it
would not be possible to ease restrictions for African migrant workers
in exchange, the documents state.

Europe's doorkeepers 77

# Photos: Antonio Calanni/AP

### Valletta Summit

### 2015

The content of this policy is not new, but the extent of it is. And EU aid funding is being linked to conditions more than ever before. This was seen not least in November 2015: the EU invited 33 heads of state from African countries to Valletta, including representatives of long-isolated dictatorships such as Eritrea and Sudan. Malta's capital city is a symbolic location, for it lies in the middle of the Mediterranean where thousands of Africans risk or lose their lives attempting to cross from North Africa to Europe. The African heads of state promised "joint efforts in the battle against irregular migration", as the 17-page communiqué, simply titled "Action Plan", states. In return, an "Emergency Fund for Africa", worth three billion euros, was launched.

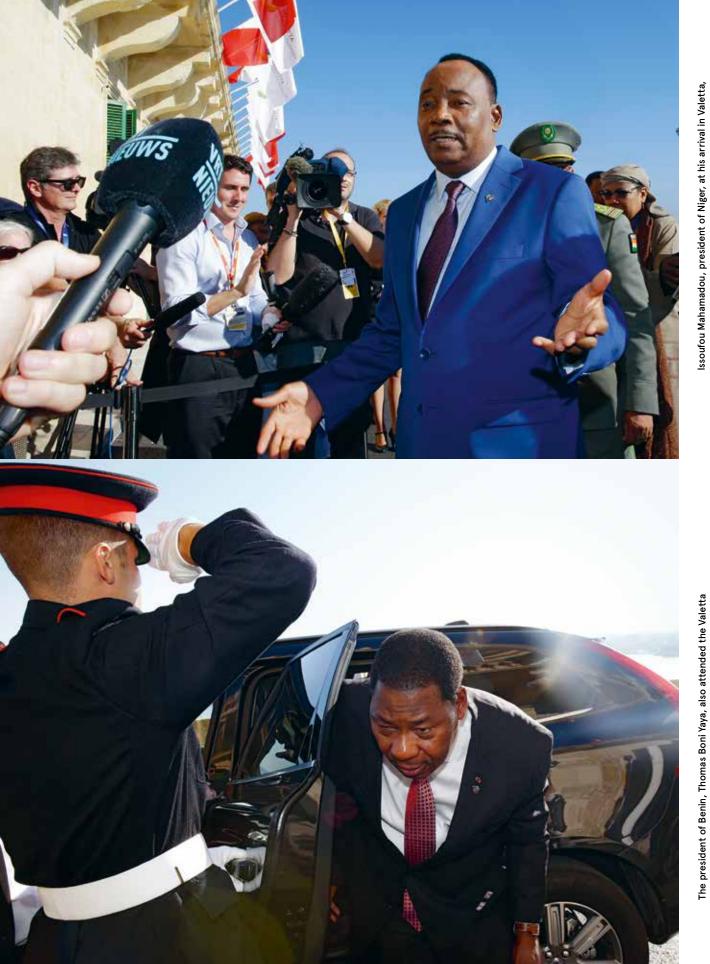
The fund was only one step in a broadly-based EU policy on Africa: Agenda for Migration, Africa-EU Partnership, Action Plan for Migration, Compacts with Africa, Valletta Process, Khartum Process, Rabat Process: a whole labyrinth of printed pages. All these concepts basically have one purpose: To stop the migration to southern Europe from its neighboring continent.

The fact that the title hints at development aid while the content more often consists of migration control is a process that began long ago. Altogether the EU has released funds of at least 14 billion euros in the past 15 years, to ensure that refugees and irregular migrants stay where they are. The feature linking all the budgets contained in this total is that key words such as "improved borders", "improved migration and border management", or "combatting causes of flight" are explicitly contained in all the relevant project descriptions.

No money without something in return – "This idea was present in the Europeans' minds from the start of the Valletta Process negotiations",

states Pierre Vimont, leading EU negotiator. Many of the EU interior ministers made it clear to Vimont: Only when more migrants return to Africa and are taken back by their home countries will these countries be granted more development aid. The Valletta summit meeting of 2015's final declaration does not mention this mechanism. But in the new partnership frameworks from 2016, the EU explicitly makes this a condition of aid: "The EU's development and trade

CARE affair N° 11 – Power 78



Issoufou Mahamadou, president of Niger, at his arrival in Valetta, the capital of Malta. EU member states met with African governments to speak about migration control.

The president of Benin, Thomas Boni Yaya, also attended the Valetta Summit. The result of negotiations was a "fund for Africa" worth 3 billion euros to prevent migration.

policy will include a mix of positive and negative incentives to reward the efforts of those countries willing to cooperate effectively with the EU on controlling migration, and to ensure consequences for those that refuse to do so." Martin Schulz, then president of the EU parliament, emphasized this point: The aim was "to reward those third countries willing to cooperate effectively with us, and to ensure that there are consequences for those who do not".

So European aid has become a way of putting pressure on several of the poorest countries in the world. It is linked to conditions, repurposed, concentrated, more openly and comprehensively than ever before: directed to areas where Europe has its political priorities. Countries that do not help to keep back undesired migrants will lose not only aid payments, but also access to markets. "To create and apply the necessary leverage, by using all relevant EU policies, instruments and tools, including development and trade", as stated in the European Council's conclusions of June and October 2016.

The EU gives an extra portion of development aid, on the other hand, to those countries that agree to cooperate on migration control. Thus the impoverished desert state of Niger, previously almost ignored by the EU, became Europe's main partner in the fight against irregular migration in Africa.

Up to now, the city of Agadez in Niger has been the hub for migrants from West Africa heading for the Mediterranean. For millennia, everything heading from West Africa through the Sahara has passed through this historical trading city in the heart of Niger: goods, traders, camels and migrants. Agadez is the last big oasis before the









Sahara. The caravans always passed through the city. Because flights are expensive, Africans prefer to travel by bus. Interregional bus routes are popping up all over the continent, particularly in the economic union ECOWAS, where freedom of movement exists – as it does in the Schengen Area in Europe.

The EU, on the other hand, would like to see more controls in the region. A civil servant from Frontex, the EU border protection agency, was sent to Niger. With the aid of high-resolution satellite images, Frontex follows tire marks in the desert sand on screens in their headquarters in Warsaw. From Agadez, the trucks, buses and pick-ups packed with goods and migrants have to drive thousands of miles through the desert to reach the Libyan border. They stop to fill up water bottles at watering places on the way.

The EU promised Niger over 600 million euros last year if it stops migrants and arrests the people smugglers. Germany supplied the Nigerien army with vehicles and radar equipment. With the aid of French soldiers, Niger's army positions its units deliberately at the watering places along the desert route from Agadez to Libya. The French teach their Nigerien comrades arrest techniques. As early as 2015, the government passed a law that provides for prison terms of up to 30 years and fines of up to 45,000 euros for "trafficking in people".

Since then the Nigerien army hunts vehicles carrying migrants through the desert. It posting

soldiers at the watering places leads to more and more drivers making long detours to avoid arrest. The result: increasing numbers of migrants and refugees die of thirst during the long, difficult journey through the Sahara. In early June 2017 the Red Cross in Niger reported that a truck had broken down in the Sahara. Only six people managed to walk to the next water source. Two of the survivors led rescuers to the accident location where they found 44 bodies, including 17 women and six children. Further east on the same day, the Nigerien army rescued 40 people who had been abandoned in the Sahara by people smugglers. Only a few weeks earlier, eight migrants, including five children, died of thirst in the Nigerien desert on the way to Algeria.

The European Commission congratulated Niger on December 15, 2016 on the fact that fewer migrants were coming to Europe. Smugglers were arrested and tried, 95 vehicles used for transporting migrants impounded and nine policemen suspected of corruption were arrested. Niger is providing a great service as doorkeeper to the EU. In contrast, Albert Chaibou, Nigerien journalist and founder of an emergency hotline for migrants, laments the fact that, "Our country has become a graveyard in Europe's service".

The EU aims to introduce similar migration agreements with over 20 African states located between the Mediterranean and the equator, even with regimes such as those of Sudan and Eritrea that the EU has long refused to deal with. An

international arrest warrant exists against Sudan's president Omar al-Bashir. The United Nations accuses Eritrea's dictator of crimes against humanity.

Now the EU is making them an offer they can't refuse: the once outlawed regimes can return to the fold of the international community. As an additional lure, both countries are offered the chance of getting aid funding.

The EU is applying leverage in its negotiations in every case: Some countries like Niger are so poor that they can't say no to the windfall from Brussels. Others, like the island state Cape Verde, one of the first to sign many EU agreements, are so small that they simply cannot say no to the giant European Union. Others like Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, are so big that the EU has to make them a larger offer: Nigeria will receive about 600 million euros. The EU is buying Africa's governments as doorkeepers.

"Investing in young people for a sustainable future" was the slogan for the fifth EU-Africa summit that took place in Ivory Coast in late November 2017. It was intended to be about young people in Africa and their chances of building a future in their home countries. But the true situation of Africa's young people was shown in all the headlines and international TV channels a few days earlier: At a slave market in Libya, a country torn by civil war, militias are selling off young African men and women like goods at dumping prices. Photos prove the horror of this crime

against humanity. There was an outcry in Africa; the reaction in Europe was muted, almost indifferent. Chancellor Merkel commented bluntly: The images of the slave auction in Libya have a "highly emotional significance for Africans". This leads to a joint interest: namely to stop illegal migration. This logic sounds cynical.

The reaction came quickly:
The heads of state of Ruanda and
Nigeria announced simply that they
would send planes to Libya to free the
Africans – a gesture of solidarity, a
clever propaganda move against the
EU, the entity that is considered by
many Africans to be responsible for
this development.

The gulf between the EU and its neighbouring continent could hardly be deeper. And when observers now say that the summit did not achieve anything concrete, that is only half true. The central result of this round of negotiations is that African and European interests are diametrically opposed. As long as they do not overlap there will be no equal partnership. And until then, the EU will continue to make efforts, applying all its concentrated economic, financial and even military power, to force through its interests on the African continent.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 82

Polygamy refers to the cohabitation with several partners. From the anthropological point of view and in the everyday meaning, it usually means marriage with more than one partner, sometimes also known as multiple marriage. Although the image persists that only men live in polygamous relationships, the term itself is gender-neutral. However in most cases it is polygyny: A man lives with several wives. In some countries such as Gabon, women are also permitted multiple marriages; this is known as polyandry.

Polygamy is most widespread in mainly Islamic African countries including Niger and

Senegal, where up to women are in polyga-Statistics for men are amy is legal in Senegal for example. In Niger other hand, polygamy ry of customary law. several marriage partpermitted, but the Despite legal prohifrequently practiced in as Ghana. Apart from relationships between



50 percent of the mous relationships. harder to find. Polygand Burkina Faso, and Nigeria, on the falls into the categolin those countries ners are not officially practice is tolerated. bitions, polygamy is other countries such the African continent, more than two part-

ners are widespread above all in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, but are also legal and often practiced in many other Asian countries.

There are many attempts to explain why polygamous relationships have become established in so many cultures. An important factor is certainly that women are seen as status symbols in some countries: the more partners a man has, the more wealth and influence he possesses. In tropical areas where small children are particularly vulnerable to diseases such as measles, mothers reject all sexual activity for up to two years in order to breastfeed their children for as long as possible, protecting them from infection. Wives often agree to an additional marriage during this period. More polygamous marriages are also found in countries where death rates among men are particularly high. In these cases there is simply an excess of women, often due to armed conflicts.

Polygamy 83

## King Mswati III

King of Swaziland

14 wives, approx. 30 children



Swaziland's King Mswati III is a polygamous man. His father had 70 wives and is said to have fathered 210 children. Mswati himself is currently married to 14 women. Estimates speak of at least 30 children. Three of his wives have left Mswati and now live in exile in South Africa. He is the last absolute monarch in Africa. Since 1973 all political parties are banned. Political activities can be sentenced with up to 20 years in prison.

CARE affair N°· 11 — Power 84

But how is power distributed in a polygamous relationship? How are the roles allocated; who takes responsibility?

We put these questions to Bori Abdou and his two wives Safia Chewa Ali and Fatouma Boulama.

They live in Guidan Kadji, a small village in Niger about 70 kilometers from the regional capital Diffa, near the Nigerian border. With a total of 22 children, the question of authority is very important in the family.

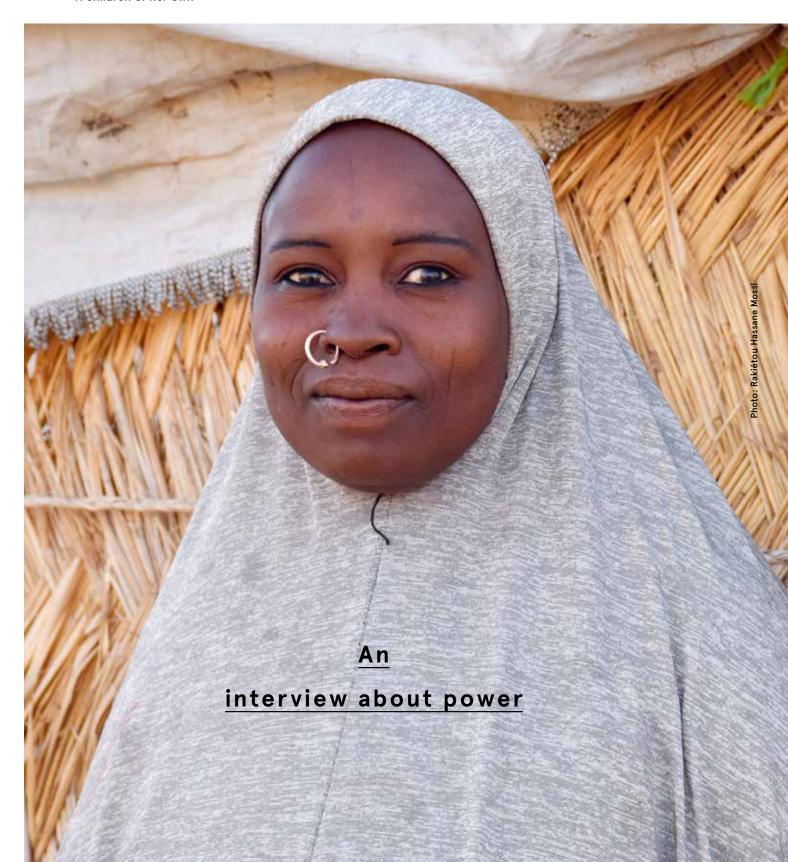
Polygamy 85

Safia Chewa Ali

Age: 40

Bori's first wife

11 children of her own



Fatouma Boulama

Age: 40

Bori's second wife

11 children of her own



What does power mean to you two?
Safia: To me the word describes the process of reaching a decision, but you also have power when you have children. As a mother, I have power over my children because I bring them up and involve them in the household. If one of my children refuses to obey me, then as mother I have the power to punish him or her.

Fatouma: To me, power means obeying someone and doing what they want or demand. In relation to children in particular, power means that my children must do what they are told.

What do you think makes a person powerful? Safia: I think that someone becomes a powerful person through intelligence, a sense of responsibility, patience, generosity, behavior, children and money.

Fatouma: Authority and strength of character – this is what power means to me.

\_\_\_\_\_ Who makes the decisions in your household?

Safia: My husband makes the decisions in my household because he is the one who paid my bride price and took me into his home. He takes care of my needs and those of our children.

Fatouma: The husband of course!

\_\_\_\_\_ Was there ever a situation in your life when you felt powerless?

Safia: Yes. One day rebels attacked our village and when we arrived in Guidan Kadji, where we live now, we had

nothing apart from the clothes we and our children were wearing. That was very hard.

Fatouma: There were two situations in my life where I felt powerless. The first time was when I married, because the first wife Safia and I argued a lot. I was hurt and felt that there was nothing I could do about the pain. The second time I felt powerless was when our village was burnt down. We lost everything and I was in a hopeless situation. Before that I was successful and independent. From one moment to the next I lost everything and felt powerless, because I didn't know how I would look after my family. I was traumatized. We tried to rebuild our house and they burnt it down again. I was in utter despair.

\_\_\_\_\_ Do you think that wives and husbands have the same power?

Safia: No, my husband is the head of the household. I can't do anything without his approval. There are so many things he can do which I have no right to.

Fatouma: Yes, we all have the same amount of power. We and our husband make joint decisions for our children and we trust each other in the way we bring them up. As I said, we wives argued a lot to start with, but then we realized that our children are all brothers and sisters, and nothing in the world can change that. Today we are friends, and I even gave my last child her name, Safia Chewa. We both realized that in our household no one is above the others and that bringing up our children is the most important thing.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 88

\_\_\_\_\_ What decisions can the children in your household take?

Safia: My children are always in first place, because everything I do, I do for them.

Fatouma: My life revolves around my children. My time is organised according to my children's timetable; for example, when they have homework. I never take a decision without thinking about how it will affect my children.

\_\_\_\_\_ What would you do if you had absolute power over your household, your community and your country?

Safia: I would help everyone in my community to have a peaceful life. I would give food and protection to the poor and weak. And I would like to go back to my old village to rebuild it.

Fatouma: If I had absolute power over everything and everyone, I would make sure that everyone has equal rights and no one is in danger. Everyone would have enough to eat and could live a carefree life.

\_\_\_\_\_ Who should have more power in the world and why, in your opinion?

Safia: The people who care for others without any discrimination should have power. Women should also have more power, because they are caring and kind-hearted by nature.

Fatouma: I think that women should have more power in the world. Women always think about their children first, whereas men think first of themselves. What I mean is, a woman who gets some money, for example,

thinks first of all about how she can make her children happy with it. She would invest the money in food and the household. A man on the other hand would think first about how he could use the money for himself. If we want to make the world a better place, women should take power.

Polygamy 89

What does power mean to you? Authority, leadership and the ability to assert oneself. \_ What do you think makes someone powerful? I consider a person powerful if they have a good character, are just, defend the poor, are rich and know a lot about politics, religion and administration. A powerful person should also be able to treat people well. \_ Who takes the decisions in your household? I do, of course, I'm the husband! The husband must take care of the family's peace and security. It's his job to ensure that the family stays together, that the children are well brought up and that everyone shows mutual respect. He gives advice, but doesn't force or punish anyone. \_ Was there ever a situation in your life when you felt powerless?

Yes, there was. I was born in Niger and went to college in Nigeria where I found work after taking my degree. Nigeria became my home. But after a change of government I, as a foreigner, was no longer allowed to work and earn money there. When our village was attacked by armed groups one day, I returned to Niger. CARE helped me to set up a new business here.

\_\_\_\_\_ Do you think that wives and husbands have the same power?

Yes, I think so. If the husband or children do something wrong, the wives can criticize them and give them advice. The wives are also responsible for planning everyday life and the household. They also have the power to decide how to use their money and gifts from their parents or friends.

\_\_\_\_\_ What decisions can the children in your household take?

My children can always tell me their opinions and their wishes. Their opinion is important to me and I always take it into account. If they don't like one of my decisions I have to think again. I would never force one of my children to do something they don't want to.

\_\_\_\_\_ What would you do if you had absolute power over your household, your community and your country?

If I had absolute power over everything and everyone, I would work for more social justice and freedom. I would always try to be fair and to ensure that everyone has equal rights. But I would also make sure that everyone did their duty in the community.

\_\_\_\_\_ Who should have more power in the world and why, in your opinion?

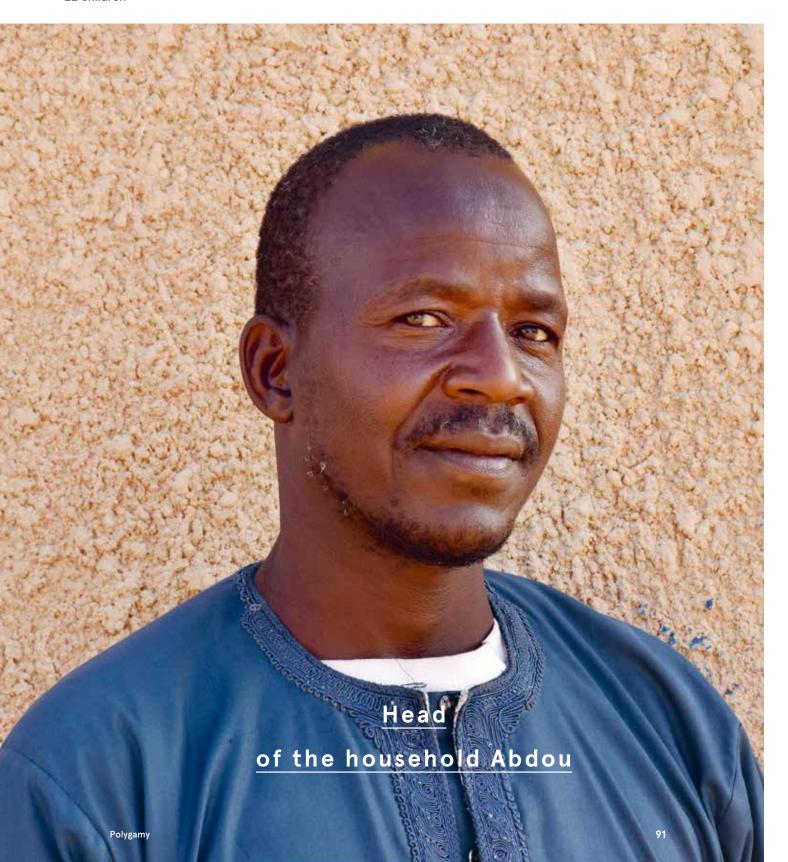
People who are honest and of good character. People who care for others, defend the weak and are a model for everyone else. People like that should have more power. Why? To guarantee social justice, equal rights and equal opportunities and so that everyone can live a better life without discrimination or exclusion.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 90

Bori Abdou Age: 47

Married to two wives

22 children



# No commitment, no restrictions

By DANIEL AL-AYOUBI

Don't worry: whatever the title suggests, this text is not an extract from a romantic novel. Nor does it gives relationship advice for Generation Y. On the contrary, we want to take a look at a unique set of people, a human phenomenon that after all comprises 35 percent of Germany's total population. If you, dear reader, feel that the words "unique" and "phenomenon" could apply to you, then perhaps you are already one of them. Perhaps you too are: a donor.

There are almost 600,000 registered societies and foundations in Germany, and almost all of them collect donations. If you were to give each of these organizations one

euro – let's be honest: it wouldn't make a great difference to all the good work that needs to be done. But if we turn it around and give 600,000 euros to one single organization, then it would look quite different: with that amount, the organization could make plans for

CAR
37.3
260

several
years and
achieve a
lot. Of course
this is purely
hypothetical,
but it does
show one
thing: the
German
market for
private

donations is large, the range of initiatives, societies and foundations worth supporting enormous. Every individual donor who decides to support one institution and gives them money for a good cause is therefore particularly valuable for that institution. Their contributions are what makes aid possible in the first place. If someone decides to take this step, let's say for simplici-

TCD 41.8 285

ty's sake that that person has reached Level 1 of giving.

But a Level 1 can of course be followed by a Level 2: if a



donor decides
to support an
organization
regularly
- let's take
CARE as the
obvious
example
- then they
become a
regular

giver. And in fact about half of all German donors give money regularly to the institutions they support. There may be several reasons for this: for example, membership of a society is often the trigger that prompts people to give. Sometimes it's simply the long-term sense of connection that one feels for the organization and their work. Or perhaps it's just habits.

But why is it important to make a distinction between the one-off and the regular donor? Is it really all just about dreary old



money?
About the final total sum that a donations-based organization can extract from an individual?
Does that represent the

above-mentioned value of a donor? The answer is a clear "no".

The reason is quite different: regular donations make it possible to establish more long-term plans. The

The numbers in grey indicate the percentage of the total funding appeal that has already been committed by international donors to the United Nations.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 92

amount of regular gifts that CARE receives each year enables the organization to predict the funds that will probably be available to us next

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

DRC

52.1

325

year as well. And that in turn makes it possible to consider, for example, expanding our work: to new regions where we would like to become active, or issues for which we could develop projects.

Of course you could argue that nothing can be planned in humanitarian aid, since it is characterized by quick-onset natural disasters or sudden outbreaks of violence. And because that is also true at times, we must talk about the Level 3 donor. This is someone we receive a very special gift from, concealed behind a rather technical term: an unrestricted regular donation.

As Martina Deller, coordina-

BGD 49.5 182 tor of direct marketing at CARE, explains, unrestricted donations give an organization much-needed flexibility and the freedom to make decisions: "Every restricted donation, that is donations that are linked to specific projects or countries, is always very valuable, of course. But donations that are unrestricted give us a certain level of independence when we develop our portfolio of sectors and regions where we want to make a difference." It also helps non-governmental organizations like CARE be less dependent on large institutional donors such as the German government or the European Union. And Wolfgang

And Wolfgang emergency aid nator at CARE, we can use this

ES VV

coordiadds that money to

reach parts of the world that receive very little public attention. "As true humanitarians, we don't want to be active only in the large-scale crises that make the news. We also want to support those who sometimes seem to be forgotten by the rest of the

world - displaced people in South Sudan, starving communities in Yemen, traumatized women and children in the Democratic Republic

SOM 50M 62.4 473

of Congo." Unrestricted regular gifts can be the key to provide this kind of help. They enable us to plan aid projects and open doors.

So what do Level 3 donors think about their contributions? Do they feel powerless because they don't

SYRA
52.5
3.5k

know exactly
what their
money will
be used for?
Let's ask René
Schirmer, a
long-term donor, member
of the CARE
donor council
and voluntary

CARE ambassador in Wolfsburg (and he has already written articles for CARE affair - in issue no. 8, on the subject of money): "Actually, my first thought as a regular donor was rather egoistical: I didn't want to have to look for a new project to support every time the previous project was completed. Besides, I'm not in a position to decide where the money is really needed. I wanted to hand over that decision to CARE. That's why I have signed up for unrestricted regular giving."

Finally, for all those who hoped for relationship advice when reading the title of this essay: in this context, it doesn't sound like a good idea. Love is something wonderful, and it consequently leads to commitment. However if you really want to enter into a long-term "uncommitted" relationship, we suggest a regular, unrestricted gift to CARE.

The numbers in red represent the amount (in million euros) that is yet to be funded for each appeal.

O care-international.org/donate-now

# Who's the boss?



CARE affair N°· 11 — Power 94

The alarm goes off, your feet find their way by themselves into the kitchen and your hands switch on the kettle. Open cupboard, teabags out, close cupboard, teabag in cup, pour on water, sit down. Your head is still half-asleep as romantic images emerge of dark green hills thickly planted with tea bushes. Somewhere in Asia or Africa.

By ESTHER SOPHIA HENN

Somewhere: that could be Sri Lanka, for example. The South Asian country was known as Ceylon under British colonial rule. The world-famous, popular Ceylon tea is still closely linked to the national identity. But the tea's good taste is paired with bitter working conditions: The people who work on the tea plantations picking tea by hand are mainly Tamils, who were brought over to Sri Lanka

from India as indentured workers during the colonial period in the 19th and 20th centuries. The working families live on the plantations and are often marginalized from the rest of the population. So at one end of the supply chain we still find the heavily disadvantaged, mainly female plantation workers and at the other end, booming exports. According to a German Tea Association report, Sri Lanka was the third biggest tea exporter in the world in 2016 with 280,874 tons.

Rajalakshmi was about eleven years old and had spent only six years in school when she admitted to herself that she wasn't interested anymore. So she stopped going to lessons at the plantation school. Neither the teachers nor her family seemed particularly concerned about this. But a few years later Rajalakshmi wanted to do a bit more in life than just look after the household and her younger siblings. She started to work on the plantation as a tea plucker. Her

Who's the boss?





After a long day of plucking, the tea leaves are weighed to check if the daily target has been met by the female workers.

mother was disappointed: She had hoped that her daughter would break the cycle of female tea pluckers in the family and find a different way to earn a living. But aged 16, Rajalakshmi began picking tea. A tea leaf may be very light, but the work behind a packet of tea bags in a supermarket somewhere in the world is quite a heavy lift: Shifts run from six-thirty in the morning to five in the afternoon; the collecting bag for the tea leaves is attached to a strap around the

forehead to leave the hands free for picking, and the harsh reality is that the overseers are very tough with the pluckers. They shout, drive them on and sometimes even threaten them.

In many Western countries, discussions about women in management positions are becoming more frequent and open. We speak about shared responsibility, female leadership and equal pay. In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, most tea plantation workers don't have the



CARE affair N° 11 – Power 96



Tea in Sri Lanka is still plucked by hand which makes it very valuable. The workers mostly live on the plantations with their families.

courage to raise their voices to the kangani, their male supervisors – and certainly not to the managers and owners of the tea plantations. The value of good working conditions for company productivity are often overlooked. The qualities of the "perfect" boss is a subject of vivid discussions in many Western countries. The power of a good management personality is often defined as being someone who inspires and encourages instead of dictating tasks. A good workplace today, there is consensus, should have employee participation and constructive criticism by the boss. Delegating responsibility is another item most practitioners and academics can agree on as a positive trait of a manager. Supporting your team to grow

and learn, giving praise and encouraging initiative. All of this speaks to a simple calculation: Happy employees work better and that benefits the company in return.

In theory this sounds like a simple solution, but in practice it must be adapted to the individual conditions of cultures and companies. And this is the beginning of the development towards more equality and participation for women, one of CARE's main objectives in its work around the globe. To improve working conditions on tea plantations in Sri Lanka, CARE has worked with plantation companies, the communities and the working men and women to develop what are known as Community Development Forums (CDFs). They act as a kind of mi-

Who's the boss?

ni-parliament, bringing everyone together around one table. They promote frank dialogue between all parties and give each individual a voice in collective and transparent decision processes. A particularly important aspect is that women and men have an equal role in the forums. The female workers have their rights explained and are even supported in demanding them. A tea plucker who joined one of the forums says, "We only found out that we have certain rights through the forums. Knowing this, we have the duty not to give them up but to protect them".

It seems logical that women should not be excluded from this open dialogue, but it is not always easy to achieve. Most plantation owners and supervisors find it difficult to imagine women in discussions or training courses, let alone as managers. They simply aren't familiar with such a thing. In the Sri Lankan tradition, women on the plantations are tea pluckers for their whole lives, nothing more. "Women can't supervise men. Do you really think women can work as kanganis?" This approach is typical in the discussions that



O chrysaliscatalyz.com

CARE has had on the spot with the plantation companies.

Twenty years later: Rajalakshmi's husband came home and told her that new kanganis were being chosen and that women could also apply. "Women! I wasn't sure I had heard correctly", she recalls. Rajalakshmi had the feeling that her heart wasn't big enough to contain all the good news: That women were given the chance to become kanganis; that her husband supported her, that all her hard work and skill hadn't gone unnoticed. And that her supervisor was even encouraging her to seek this promotion. Every applicant had to complete a written test. Rajalakshmi's results were quite good and she was given a trial position as a kangani, along with one other applicant. The new work also included new responsibilities. As kangani, Rajalakshmi must now ensure that the workers do their best and don't waste working time; she must weigh the tea leaves and keep everything under control. Rajalakshmi is of the opinion that a kangani, particularly a female kangani, must be a good model for the others. As a plucker she already had

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 98

high standards for her work and she now expects the same from the other workers. But she has also learnt that there is sometimes a fine line between strict instructions and an excessively rough tone. Even though Rajalakshmi has spent her whole life on the tea plantation, she has managed to become more empowered and self-reliant in her position. The eternal family cycle of tea workers who had no rights has now been broken.

When workers participate in decision-making and other processes on the tea plantations, it improves working conditions and productivity. Studies on the plantations reveal impressive economic effects: for every euro invested in worker participation, the plantation companies earn an additional 25 euros. The plantations that offer Community Development Forums also report a 25 percent increase in the amount of tea picked by the same number of workers. Women have career prospects in that they can become kanganis. And there is another positive aspect that shouldn't be underestimated: The time saved by managers. With the introduction of CDFs, managers save on average 16 hours a week that are otherwise spent on explanations and mediating conflicts. The reason for this is that the open, direct approach in the CDFs actually reduces the number of problems, as well as improving

the plantation managers' communication skills, encouraging them to involve their employees and work with them more fully. The traditional picture of a ruling boss who takes all the decisions and holds all the power no longer applies. The structures have changed, with positive effects for both the companies and their employees. With the help of the Community Development Forums, these changes were noticeable across all tea plantations that participated in CARE's project. "When I arrived on this plantation, I was used to the conventional management working method in which the relationship to the workers is formal and distant," one tea plantation manager in the Sri Lankan highlands told us. "And then they explained to me what these Community Development Forums are. Due to my conventional training I didn't like the idea at first and hesitated to take part. But soon I watched with delight as the participants tackled and solved their problems together. Now I can say that I would repeat this process if I transferred to another plantation."

Worker participation increases social and economic sustainability in the whole tea industry. Companies should stop viewing it as purely philanthropic and recognize that participation is a core aspect of responsible company management. More invest-

ment in systems such as the Community Development Forums is needed. Non-governmental organizations such as CARE are important partners in this process. Some NGOs have been firmly established within the system for years and enjoy a great degree of trust. In Sri Lanka, CARE was able to act as an impartial moderator and partner, helping with the design and implementation of worker participation. And CARE itself was changed by the process: CARE Sri Lanka was transformed into a social enterprise, calls itself Chrysalis today and has become an affiliate member of the CARE International confederation. Based on CARE's decades of experience, Chrysalis offers consultation and other services to strengthen workers' rights and productivity in the tea industry. A real gain for all sides - including for those of us who like drinking tea.

Who's the boss?



An

emaciated

African

That's poverty porn.

Isn't it?

child

with

a

bloated

An aid worker's

balancing act between ethics,

reality and attention.

belly

gazes

apathetically

into

the

By JENNIFER BOSE

camera.

Everyone knows pictures like these. We see them on railway stations, in pedestrian malls or on Facebook - they seem to be everywhere. Many view them as a cliché. Others just think of them as simply advertising for donations. Until recently, I too used to be one of those people who were numbed by years of being exposed to these terrible pictures. I found this way of presenting suffering to be degrading. Until the day my work for CARE took me to Somalia.

My job was to report about a severe drought affecting half of the population. And I had made a personal resolution to bring back different pictures, not the well-known starvation images. I wanted to show people in their dignity and strength, rather than presenting them as victims. But wherever I turned my camera, there were the children that I had previously only seen on those posters. I couldn't escape the shocking level of suffering around me. One of the children was Deez who had been sick for three months and who had neither moved nor eaten in the last few days. His parents could not afford milk and his little body could not take any other fluids, so his condition deteriorated dramatically. 1.4 million children in Somalia are suffering like Deez. They too are fighting for survival because they aren't getting enough to eat. But as well as dozens of malnourished children, I also met many desperate women who had no food to give to their babies, and families who had lost everything they had. All at once I was trapped in the horror of reality and faced an inner conflict: Should I show the situation as I see it or as I would like to see it? Should I give in to what I considered stereotypes or stick to my resolution of not perpetuating images of what is called "poverty porn" by many critics?

Without marketing, an aid organization cannot fundraise effectively – that is a simple rule that has been valid for decades. To support people in acute need to lead self-determined lives, aid organizations need funding. But to get through to potential donors nowadays, with the current flood of information, you have to portray the need extremely vividly.

As an aid organization we have pledged to present people as subjects of their own actions, not as objects of aid. CARE pays particular attention to truthful, accurate depictions. Our aim is not to compromise the dignity of the people shown in the photos. Our communications principles strictly forbid images or written accounts that present those affected in a degrading or humiliating way. But during my journey through Somalia I asked myself what I should do when my camera shows exactly that: an undignified, desperate situation. Am I distorting reality if I refuse to photograph the many naked children in the refugee camps? Am I giving a true image of the situation if I don't show the cholera patients who may be breathing their last? How do I reconcile a truthful and at the same time respectful portrayal? And can I really take this decision myself?

CARE affair N°. 11 − Power 102



In Somalia, CARE staff Jennifer Bose met little Deez and his mother in a hospital. And she was confronted with a dilemma: Should she photograph the little one in this terrible condition to report on the food crisis and appeal for support? Or would the usage of this photo be taking away the child's dignity? About 1.4 million children like Deez in Somalia suffered from acute malnutrition and fought for their lives at that time.

That's poverty porn. Isn't it?



Another continent, the same dilemma: In Bangladesh, Jennifer Bose met women from Myanmar who had experienced unthinkable violence. How do you speak to a woman about her ordeal without putting her back through the traumatic experience? And do you need a photo to tell her story to the world?

One of the stories that I can't forget is that of Begum. I visited her dark, humid tent in Bangladesh a few weeks ago. The south Asian country had just taken in over half a million refugees from Myanmar and I was on the ground to report about the aid CARE was providing. Begum was wearing a pink headscarf and holding her one-year-old son in her arms. "And then they raped me. Not once, not twice, but for three days", she told me, squeezing her eyes shut. She wasn't sad; she was furious. Begum gave me a three-minute summary of her story, brief and to the point: Men came, kidnapped her, raped her, she ran away. I was lost for words in my anger and sympathy at her account. I was determined to tell her story, to make it public. The world should hear about it and put an end to these crimes. But I knew that her brief, terse account

would not be enough to arouse sufficient reaction to her story: The reaction that was still missing particularly in the West in order to mobilize enough help for the crisis in Bangladesh. So I asked for more detail, though I was almost too ashamed to put the question: "How exactly were you raped?" She then told me every detail of how 20 men had raped her. I tried to suppress my visible horror while Begum led me through her terrible story. "I was sure I would die, but when I thought of my children I knew I had to survive", she said.

Before our conversation I had asked Begum whether I could use her story to inform the public about the difficult situation in Bangladesh and Myanmar. We at CARE always do that when we talk to people. It is one of our communication guidelines. The young woman nodded at once.

She wanted me to tell her story - in the hope that her suffering and that of other women could be ended in the future. It was clear that I would change her name so as not to endanger her. It was also important not to photograph her in order to protect her identity. As an aid organization we cannot be responsible for causing difficulties for hurt and traumatized people like Begum because of our reporting. My impression of Begum is that she would probably have nodded to all my questions. She wants to survive: she needs food for her three small children and urgently requires a small tent for herself and the family. For people who are as desperate and traumatized as she is, safety and privacy are often of secondary importance. Many do not realize what consequences photos and a public presentation can have.

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 104



That makes it all the more important to protect refugees like Begum. It is not only essential to have the person's written agreement to the photographs; we must also judge in each case whether a photo could endanger the person. In the case of children, the parent or legal guardian must give their agreement, but here too we must first take a very critical look at the issue of whether images and stories can reopen wounds or damage the child's wellbeing.

Photos are essential to give an impression of the situation on the ground. Photos give the viewer an insight into the lives of people who live in distant places and who need our help and solidarity. A degrading, dishonest or insulting portrayal of need and misery is not only wrong; it is simply immoral. But it is also important to present the affected

people's living conditions realistically. In the areas where I work for CARE, it is unfortunately not unusual that a child is severely malnourished and wearing ragged, dirty clothes, or that an older person is suffering from a disease, and close to death. That doesn't mean however that I should expose these people in their deepest suffering in order to shock. Would I want strangers to take photographs of me if I had no clothes on? Would I want a picture of my child to be on a poster in a big city, if I hadn't agreed to this? We would all answer these questions with a loud "No", for sure.

Yet the need is real. Aid organizations like CARE work on behalf of women, men and children, who in some cases are living in degrading conditions. It is our duty to inform the public about humanitarian crises and to appeal to do something

for these people. One aspect of this is also to describe the victims' living conditions realistically and to make clear how the situation can be changed for the better. So in every crisis it is and remains a balancing act between ethics, reality and public attention.

My deployments to areas of conflict and crisis have changed my point of view. Now when I walk through the mall, I don't see staged images of starving African children on the billboards and screens. I see children like Deez and hope that the attention and donations that these photos generate will enable him and many others to survive.

That's poverty porn. Isn't it?

# The power of money

By MARC ENGELHARDT

At donor conferences, aid organizations beg for money for the poorest. That is unworthy of their work, even though the summit meetings do provide opportunities.



Heads of state and governments march past a long row of flags, then pause before floor-to-ceiling screens showing appeals of anxious people in need followed by donors' commitments. Each of them receives applause and a good share of the spotlight. It's not often that donor summits are as pompous as the one for Syria in the Gulf emirate of Kuwait that took place in a gilded hall. But even in less luxurious settings, the principle is always the same: UN and aid organizations are bidding to be allowed to help. And the donors answer with promises expressed in concrete figures. The need for such promises is great. New crises are constantly being added to those that have already lasted decades. The staging of donor conferences plays a part in the decision on which need is alleviated to a greater and which to a lesser extent. The more public attention, the larger the promises made live on camera. "The donors align themselves to a great extent according to the level of public interest, and the crisis in Syria and refugee routes gain a lot of attention", explains William Spindler, a speaker for UNHCR, the UN's refugee agency. "Hardly any support is given to other less-wellknown trouble spots: some appeals receive less than one seventh of the required funding, particularly in Africa, because the crises there are forgotten by the media and the public."

One crisis that will depend on a particularly successful donor conference this year is happening in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The situation in the east of the country has been volatile for decades; that is now compounded by the fighting in Kasai provinces and the unrest to be expected during 2018, an election year. UN emergency aid coordinator Mark Lowcock believes that the DRC will be one of the most severe emergencies this year alongside Syria and Yemen. He estimates the number of those in need to be over 13 million, with a funding requirement of nearly 1.7 billion US dollars – that is more than double the previous year's requirement. And

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 106

Lowcock is not the only one who knows that to achieve this target, a dramatic announcement in front of a half-full press room in the Geneva Palace of Nations will not be enough. "Donor conferences give us the chance to show how urgently aid is needed in a particular country," explains Gareth Price-Jones, who coordinates CARE International's humanitarian advocacy. That is the positive aspect of the summit mania. "A donor conference creates publicity for a humanitarian emergency in the public eye as well as among the institutional donors."

That is why preparations begin months ahead, even for Price-Jones who has himself spent 15 years in the field. Public donor conferences are a platform both for donors and also for aid organizations like CARE. With videos and pictures, documentaries about people's fates and voices of those affected, they can have a decisive influence on how much attention a crisis receives. "A lot of diplomats here in Geneva are on our side; they know how important aid is," Price-Jones emphasizes, "But they also need material and good political arguments to convince their foreign ministers, their finance ministers, and their heads of government." That is why humanitarian aid workers use the power of images and voices at the donor summits to lobby for more support.

It is the donors, however, who have the real power. Even if they make big promises under public pressure and are celebrated for doing so at the summit, it is entirely up to them whether they actually keep their promises. No one can force them to do so, because the pledges are voluntary. And the figures are complicated. How much the promises of donors at the summit are really worth can only be stated with hindsight, and even that is difficult. In 2017, a total requirement of 8.9 billion dollars was estimated for Syria and the neighboring countries. At a donor conference in Brussels early in the year, 41 donor countries promised six billion dollars, "both immediate and long-term". Nine months later, these promises, known as pledges, could be set against 88 percent "contributions", that is, money that has been paid.

However, that does not mean that the aid has already arrived, because "contributions" is a misleading umbrella term.

In fact not even half of the promised aid - only 37 percent - had actually been paid at that time. The rest was either "contracted", meaning it is at least supported by a binding contract, or "committed", that may mean a plan or some kind of written agreement. And a large proportion, in Germany's case no less than 117 million US dollars, is simply uncertain. Yet Germany was not only the second-largest global donor after the USA, but is also considered very reliable. Others pay even later, or in goods, or not at all. Again and again, donors promise the same money a second time that they have already promised once. How much "fresh" money emerges from a donor conference is one of the most difficult calculations for the aid organizations. The UN's World Food Programme (WFP), one of the largest recipients of aid, therefore only pays marginal attention to the results of donor conferences. "Our planning is based on the results of what we have been individually promised in discussions with representatives of particular countries. That is more reliable", says Rasmus Egendal, who is responsible for donor contacts at WFP headquarters.

His problem is the same as that experienced by all other aid workers: When aid organizations end up with no money, the cameras are no longer running. Even open criticism is difficult. No one bites the hand that gives him money, regardless of how much actually arrives. After all, after the donor conference is always before the next one. WFP's head spokesperson Bettina Lüscher describes her colleagues as "probably the bestdressed beggars". That paints a picture of the degrading situation, for delays or shortfalls often have dire consequences for the aid recipients. "It is difficult to have to tell a refugee mother that she is no longer going to get the 28 dollars a month per person that she has a claim to, because we have to cut the rations." Many refugees are impoverished; there is often no money at all for schools or work programmes. The UNHCR believes that this is one

The power of money 107

of the reasons why over a million Syrians fled to Europe in 2015.

Before the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016, experts demanded guaranteed contributions. This summit was the first one of its kind that aimed to bring political, economic and civil society actors together around one table in order to better coordinate and fund global humanitarian aid. One target was that humanitarian aid should not be renegotiated in each annual budget; it should be borne equally between governments and economies and should integrate traditional funding mechanisms such as Zakat that is widespread in Islamic countries. Zakat is a donation to the poor that forms one of Islam's five pillars of faith. But there is no sign of a revolution of this kind. Even the UN emergency aid fund that is intended to provide a little more flexibility has to chase its donors. The change easiest to envisage would comprise one-sided commitments by the donors to pay reliable, non-dedicated, specified amounts of funding laid down for several years. Since the USA, Germany, the EU, the UK, Japan and Canada together pay more than two-thirds of all aid contributions, a decision by the G7 would be sufficient. But this decision is not likely, partly because of current US policy. The politics of the spotlight is too important. Abolishing all donor summits wouldn't be the answer either. Without the political currency of the spotlight, the donor countries' promises would probably tend to decrease rather than increase. This proves that aid organizations do have a certain amount of power at donor summits after all.

My orphan project, my resume \* SAINING COLA SAINING COLA

From personal experience:
MIA VEIGEL

Her white skin is shiny, her pink lips smile into the camera as she presses her cheek to that of a black child. "Orphans take the BEST pictures. So. Cute".

That is Barbie Savior. She trips on high heels through the landscapes of Africa, which she thinks is a country, not a continent. And she saves the poor orphan children who would be lost without her help. She carries a little pink bottle to catch all the tears that she sheds when looking at all these people who are so poor, yet so happy.

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 108

"Barbie Savior" is a satirical Instagram account that mocks the clueless white Westerners who aim to combine voluntary work in developing countries with a cool holiday trip. The people running the account criticize the fact that it's often far more about people polishing their own image than about real, effective aid on the ground.

But can you actually help at all as a young volunteer travelling to a developing country? Or to put it more accurately, who is helping whom?

Last year I went to Peru for four months after my school-leaving exams and worked in a home for children and young people on the north coast of the country. So I must also ask myself whether this work didn't in fact help me much more than it did the children in the home. While doing my work, I learnt about Peruvian culture and everyday life there from local people, and my Spanish also improved. I had lots of opportunities and the time was really enriching. But how does it look from the other side? How many Peruvians of my age can travel to Europe? How many of them can have the kind of experiences I enjoyed?

When I look back on my time in Peru, on the other hand I also have some really lovely images in my mind: colorful elephants now decorate the entrance to the children's home and the yard now features a big trampoline. Countless pieces of white paper were filled with color and home-made kites flew in the sky. The Peruvian staff had support in supervising the

children's homework, help with surfing classes and everyday tasks such as teaching table manners and hygiene. I am still in contact with the local staff and would love to return to Peru to give them and the children further support.

However, I must also admit that while I was working at the home, a few volunteers came for a very short time and then disappeared again. I think that this can be very dangerous, because the children in the home come from difficult backgrounds and have already been severely neglected and abandoned in the past. To keep losing trusted contacts can sometimes be more damaging than helpful.

And I also keep asking myself the obvious question: whether a local person couldn't have done my job. Someone who knows the country and culture better than I do; someone who is professionally trained to work with traumatized children.

Now I am spending a year in CARE's communications team as part of a federal volunteer service and have gained insights into the work of an international aid organization. I think it's important that a core aspect of CARE's work is helping people to help themselves, because the local staff best know their own culture and the needs of others. They are trained for the work they carry out on the spot.

And what is Barbie Savior's answer to that? "Who needs a formal education to teach in Africa? Not me!"

The full picture: ELIANA BÖSE

The idea of travelling not just for its own sake, to relax and have an adventure, but "for a good cause" and with a good conscience, is becoming more and more popular around the world. What is known as volunteer-tourism, a combination of voluntary work and the tourist experience,

is one of the fastest-growing forms of alternative tourism. Alternative tourism provides another option instead of mass tourism; it is a collective term for travel concepts that through their sustainable, sensitive character claim to protect the culture and environment in the countries visited. Ecotourism is another example. In 2016 about 4,000 volunteers travelled abroad with the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)'s weltwärts program, while about 25,000 people took advantage of the offers of commercial providers, as reported by the

# #BLACKBABIE SARETHECUTEST # SOCUTE # ORPHANS



weekly paper Die ZEIT. Above all, it is about privileged young adults from countries of the global North who set off laden with good intentions, seeking an authentic experience in the countries of the global South, hoping that their help will make a difference. The period between school and university, also known as the gap year, seems to be the ideal time for this very educational experience. This currently widespread idea that you can experience and find yourself

afresh when abroad is by no means new; it dates back to the 17th century. At that time the European aristocracy sent its youth to distant lands to visit foreign courts and learn how rulers behave. Nor is it a new 21st century idea to link voluntary work and travelling. But volunteer-tourism with its professionalized structures is rather a new phenomenon.

So the increasing commercialization of this apparently innocent form of travel is not surprising. The number of providers is constantly growing and the range of offers on the market is becoming increasingly less transparent and more diverse. The programs vary from stays of two weeks to several months and offer a wide range of service opportunities. Anything is possible - the keen helpers-tobe are spoilt for choice. Online provider auslandzeit.de makes this clear on its website: "Would you like to support school children in Nepal and teach them in English? Work on a nature conservation project in Peru? Help care for street kids in Romania? Or would you rather coddle up orphaned baby lions in a South African national park? Any of these things are possible, because there are volunteer projects in many countries, on every continent and in a very wide range of fields of activity. You can also combine two or more projects, perhaps in different countries or even on different continents."

To stress the difference between what they offer and mass tourism, the organizations emphasize their moral claim and the reciprocal character of the journeys they offer – in other words the aim that both traveler and host gain advantages from the encounter. Central to this claim is the supposedly sustainable, responsible and educational character of this type of travelling. The travelers themselves hope to gain personal growth, new skills, unforgetable experiences and intercultural encounters in distant lands while

CARE affair N° 11 − Power 110

at the same time doing good in the "underdeveloped" world. The travel agencies use these expectations and market their products accordingly. They focus on the potential travelers' wishes; the needs of the project organizations on the spot are often less relevant. The journeys on offer are tailored to the demands of the tourists and must be designed as flexibly as possible. All this for a chance to spend time abroad even for a short time and without the need for qualifications. This industry that organizes encounters between tourists and hosts and the links between sending and receiving organizations is embedded in asymmetrical, unequal global power structures. The very opportunity to experience a "life-changing" stay in countries of the global South is an expression of the inequality of power between North and South that in historical terms is rooted in the European colonial period. The providers' websites advertise with personal accounts and photos of former volunteers, but the actual impact of the voluntary work is not shown. Many providers tend to market places characterized by poverty as genuine, authentic locations that promise a worthwhile tourist experience. Local institutions and projects play a very minor role in the way the offers are presented. This reveals a problematic hierarchy between providers of voluntourist trips and aid recipients. The focus is often not on solving the problems of the areas visited, but the volunteers' education and requirein danger of being undermined. For the tourists, it is important that they gain an awareness of their own position in relation to the unequal power balance between North and South, to enable encounters on equal terms.

Stefan Ewers, member of the CARE board, remarks, "Volunteer work can promote the relationship between people and different cultures. That is very nice and worthwhile, but doesn't say much about the use and impact for the people on the ground. The utmost professionalism is required both in emergency aid and in development cooperation. Compromising quality in these fields in favor of widespread volunteer participation may even be dangerous in certain areas. If local actors are only minimally involved in implementing volunteer programs, they are forced into a passive role that can lead to a sense of Western superiority, making a relationship of equals impossible. However, if the local organizations in the places visited are recognized as equal partners and involved as such in the planning process, and if the aim is that the trips are not only beneficial for the volunteers themselves, then all sides could benefit. To achieve this, the volunteers would have to be qualified for their tasks, so that their work doesn't cause harm, but is helpful. If you then find a responsible partner who prepares and supports the volunteers effectively, then perhaps there are no impediments to a mission after all. "So in the end, everyone bears their own responsibility for thinking about how and where he or she can do good. You don't even have to put aside your own interests and wishes. Taking a critical look at one's

own abilities and how they could be sensibly used would be the first step. If anyone then decides self-critically that he or she is really only interested in the adventure of being abroad and the opportunity to get to know new places, they should be honest and stick to the role that is designed for these desires – that of the tourist. Every community is surely pleased to welcome curious, open and respectful visitors who bring a bit of money into the local economy with their journey, rather than so-called helpers who just cause more trouble than anything

ments, and the agency's profits. That

is problematic, because in establish-

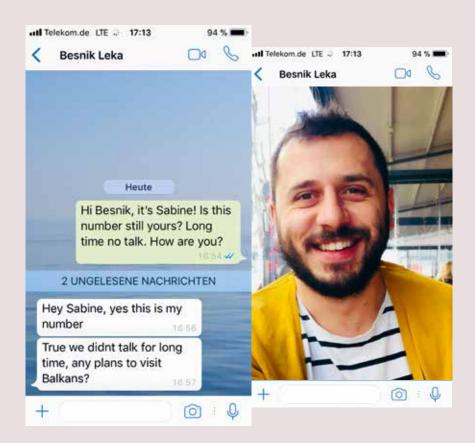
ing aid projects as a stage for tourists,

effective development cooperation is

## hoto: priva

# WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO ... BESNIK LEKA?

By SABINE WILKE



"Young man, young country" read the headline of an article published in the 7th edition of CARE affair back in 2013. The issue focused on the topic of youth and at that time, Kosovo was a young county. Five years earlier, it had declared its independence from Serbia. This was

supported by the European Union, but until today is not recognized internationally by all states.

Five years later. In the meantime, I have seen Besnik several times in Kosovo and once on a trip to Serbia where he attended a regional workshop. What has changed since then, for him, for his country, I ask Besnik?

"Young people in Kosovo are very disappointed. There are simply no jobs here, even if you have a good university degree. Nobody trusts politics. We all had very high hopes ten years ago. Everyone looks towards Europe, everyone here feels European. We thought the doors would open. But that simply was not true. Young people are concerned about visas and opportunities abroad: There are countries in the region, such as Croatia, Bosnia and Bulgaria,

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 112

where we simply cannot travel to with our passport. And a Schengen visa is almost impossible to get. Even for myself: My visa application for Germany was recently rejected. I wanted to visit my sister in Stuttgart. I have traveled to 52 countries around the world. Why would they refuse my visa application?"

Besnik says of himself that he is privileged. In 2015, he received a scholarship to study in the USA for three months. "I was at Dartmouth College and studied feminist theory and gender studies. I learned a lot of theory and was able to broaden my horizon. Little did I know about the nuances there are for ethnicity and sexual orientation. Furthermore, in Dartmouth I got the priceless chance to understand the applicability of feminist theory in various

contexts, which enriched my approach towards the issues we face in Kosovo." Today, Besnik continues to work in CARE's Young Men Initiative, a program that helps young men in the Balkans find their role in society - outside of the box of male stereotypes and violence. But the financing of such projects in the Balkans stands on shaky grounds. CARE can only plan for a few years. For some time, Besnik had to reduce to part-time. "To suddenly live off half your salary was very difficult", he says.

That's why Besnik has recently started to explore a second career as an entrepreneur. A social entrepreneur, to be precise. "My father was a forester, so as a kid I was always out in the woods. I love to work with wood. It just happened by coincidence: A friend of mine liked a lamp that I had built, with the lamp base made of wood. And then someone contacted me on Facebook and wanted to buy a lamp from me. Today I have a small store. And soon I want to hire young people,

two boys, two girls, I want to be a gender-equal entrepreneur. I collect the dead wood in the forest. I want to be ecologically mindful, so my plan is to plant 100 trees starting this year. I want to give something back to nature."

In the meantime, Besnik and the Young Men Initiative have also been working with fathers from a humble background. Many of them can neither read nor write. The project helps them to understand the responsibility and joys of being a father. "I always say there will be no law that will force you to get up at 2 AM to reassure your crying baby. You just have to feel it's your responsibility." After the CARE workshops, he often gets touching messages from the fathers: "I made pizza for my family today. Did not taste so good, but I practise." Or: "Today, for the f irst time, I told my son that I love him."

Besnik also sees changes in his own family.
"My father is 68 years old now. And suddenly he prepares the morning coffee. And he cooks and cleans! Sometimes my parents see me on television when I'm a participant in cooking shows to talk about our work with young men. They are very proud of me."

And where does the 32-year-old see himself in another five years? "I definitely want to stay here in Kosovo. After studying in the USA, I got an offer to work there at a university. That was very tempting. I left the email open for three days ... But this is my home. And I want to do my part to make Kosovo a home for young people."

What ever happened to ... 113

### **AUTHORS**

Meet the women and men who contributed to this edition of CARE affair.

### Anika Auweiler

is a musician and CARE's Events and Campaigns Manager. For this edition, she researched the phenomenon of online haters and trolls. Now she is on her personal mission as a troll of love, spreading compliments across the world wide web.

#### Daniel Al-Ayoubi

works as Online Communications Officer at CARE. After he has written the article about regular giving, he the next level. And that's not in gaming, mind you...

#### Eliana Böse

coordinates CARE's work with schools and volunteers. She also manages the annual writing contest and is always delighted to meet the faces behind the strong, personal essays on the day of the award ceremony.

#### Jennifer Bose

works as Emergency
Communications Officer for
CARE. She spends most of
her time reporting about
humanitarian crises and disasters around the world. She
always gives children a good
laugh when she takes their
photos and shows them the
picture in the camera display.

#### Stefan Brand

is a journalist by education and Media Officer at CARE. In his opinion, the term "power" is used far too often when it comes to describe decision-making "from above". Power also stands for the possibility to fight situations that seem hopeless. Stefan likes to tells stories about such powerful people through his work at CARE.

#### Marc Engelhardt

is a journalist based in Geneva and has been reporting about the UN and humanitarian aid since 2011. He just published his book "The World Community on the brink – why we need a strong United Nations" (available in German).

#### Anja Engelke

supports CARE as a Student Assistant. She studies journalism at Mainz University and is confronted with the power of words and language every day.

#### Tanja Geltsch

is a designer and lives in Bonn. This was her first time contributing to CARE affair. One of her important learnings during the creative process: Always keep a box of good cookies on your desk.

#### Ruth Hagengruber

is a Professor for Applied Philosophy and Director at the Faculty of Philosophy at Paderborn University.
In 2006, she founded the Teaching and Research Area "EcoTechGender" dedicated to the philosophic analysis

of the relation between Economics, Technology and Gender. In 2016 she became chief of "History of Women Philosophers and Scientists", an international research center.

#### **Sven Harmeling**

coordinates CARE's international policy work on climate and resilience issues. For him, the double meaning of "power" – meaning both energy and (physical) force – is quite inspiring and a shame that it doesn't resonate so well in German.

#### Rakiétou Hassane Mossi

is CARE Niger's Media and Communications Officer. She loves discovering new cultures, cooking and reading – and her job gives her all of that. She thinks power is only given to you by other people and not her cup of tea, that is why she had the help of two colleagues, Elizabeth and Lalo, to help her write the piece on polygamy in Niger.

CARE affair N°. 11 — Power 114

#### Anica Heinlein

is Senior Advocacy
Officer at CARE. She often
deals with powerful people
and encounters power in all
shapes and sizes: the power
of words, the power of facts,
the power of a personal
story. She is convinced that
no one is powerless. And
the power that arises when
people stand together must
never be underestimated.

#### **Esther Sophia Henn**

has been working for CARE for five years now. She started in 2013 as a volunteer in the online marketing team and is now a Student Assistant for private sector cooperation. This is her first article for CARE affair.

#### Wolfgang Jamann

was CARE International's General Secretary and CEO until the end of 2017. He is now the Executive Director of the International Civil Society Center in Berlin. The center promotes collaboration between international NGOs and thus builds on the power of knowledge and networking.

#### Jens Mennicke

is a designer and journalist. He has been CARE affair's Art Director since the very first edition. His ambition is to find the right visual tone for the stories that CARE tells. With the second issue of CARE affair, he won his first design award. Since then, his work has received over 30 awards. Jens lives in Düsseldorf and works in Cologne.

#### Johan Mooij

Is CARE's Country
Director in Yemen. In November 2017, fights escalated
and all borders were closed
off. In his diary, he describes
what it feels like for an aid
worker to find oneself in
such a situation.

#### Bettina Rühl

is a freelance journalist, mainly focusing on Africa. Since 2011 she lives in Nairobi from where she reports both about the region and about other places in Africa.

#### Simone Schlindwein

reports from Uganda,
Ruanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo,
and the Central African
Republic for the daily newspaper taz. In 2017, together
with Christian Jakob, she
published the book "Dictators being doorkeepers of
Europe" where she describes
how Europe moved its border controls to Africa.

#### Mia Veigel

volunteers for CARE in Bonn. As a big sister, she used to feel powerful when her parents left her and her younger brother alone. Today, fast forward a couple of years and some inches, the dynamics of power have changed.

#### Elissa Webster

loves words, sunshine and coconuts, which is why she is happy working as a Communications Officer for CARE in Vanuatu. It's a funny thing, power, she thinks. We all need it, lots of us strive to hold on to it, but either too much or too little can make or break us.

#### Sabine Wilke

is CARE's Director of Communications and Advocacy and Editor-in-Chief for CARE affair. She realizes that some things really execute too much power when you are actually supposed to proofread: the Skype chat, the Twitter feed and ... and ... and ...

Authors 115

## **KIOSK**

If you are interested in past editions, we are happy to send you a few copies via mail. Please note: Editions 1 - 9 are available in German only. Simply send us an email to redaktion@care.de.

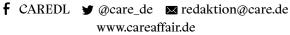


No. 11 Power



### **DIALOGUE**

You want to get in touch with the authors? Give your feedback, praise or ideas for this magazine? You want to order more copies? We are happy to hear from you on all channels:





Founded in 1945, CARE is a leading humanitarian organization fighting global poverty and providing lifesaving assistance in emergencies.

CARE places special focus on working alongside poor girls and women because, equipped with the proper resources, they have the power to help lift whole families and entire communities out of poverty.

Last year, CARE worked in over 90 countries around the world to assist more than 80 million people improve basic health and education, fight hunger, increase access to clean water and sanitation, expand economic opportunity, confront climate change and recover from disasters.





