Front page: Over a period of six orbits on February 3, 2012, the recently launched Suomi NPP satellite provided the Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) instrument enough time to gather the pixels for this synthesized view of Earth showing North Africa and southwestern Europe. Although it may sometimes seem, that Europe is far from Africa, on this satellite image, it is visible, that these two continents are influenced by common environmental aspects.

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MDGs, SDGs and the Change of Paradigm

Petr Lebeda // lebeda@glopolis.org,
Glopolis, Prague, Czech Republic

Have you ever asked yourself the question: what does a change of global paradigm look like in daily life? Every now and then we hear that a paradigm change is happening around this issue or in that field. Digital content, mobile phones and social networks have brought disruptive changes to our lives. 3D printers are just about to do so. Yet, social change is substantially slower. Outside the markets for private goods, change has much more to do with how we perceive and think, rather then what technology we use. A reframing of collective action on public goods usually first takes place in the minds of a few thinkers. It takes quite a long time to get the mind shift to scale and to translate it into an actual behavioural change of a whole society.

It is also easier to spot old patterns dying than new structures being brought to life. I have witnessed the collapse of the recent global development paradigm at a number of events over the past few years. Some of the events were organized by businesses, but many by civil society and academia, especially those focused on environmental or (sustainable) development education. For me the most vivid example was the 2012 European Congress on Global Education in Lisbon, which practically broke down amidst irreconcilable perceptions, emotional statements and the widespread feeling of shattered confidence in commonplace explanations. Heated debates with more questions than answers, more focus on processes rather than substance and more inquiries into personal rather than global development led to the rejection of the pre-agreed final outcome, calling instead to open up space in order to rethink basic assumptions concerning development.

People in the field of sustainable development have already been talking about the need for paradigm change for decades. Meetings of high-flyers always attract thinkers. Therefore, global summits marked some of these changes: the Stockholm UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 brought ecological challenges to the forefront of international debates and triggered a wave of establishing environmental ministries; the 1992 Rio de Janeiro UN Conference on Environment and Development raised the notions of sustainability, defined key principles (such as those of precaution and common, but differentiated responsibility) and launched the first action plan with a global impact (Agenda 21); the 2000 Millennium Summit expanded on the priorities related to the eradication of poverty and, under the label of MDGs, mobilized unprecedented political, financial and human resources towards advancing social development in poor countries.

The latest UN figures show that the number of people living in extreme poverty has declined globally by more than half (1.9 billion in 1990 down to 836 million in 2015). The number of out-of-school children has fallen from 100 million in 2000 to an estimated 57 million today, with many more girls in developing regions in schools then 15 years ago. The global mortality rate for children under five has dropped by more than half;

maternal mortality is down by 45 per cent. 2.1 billion people have gained access to improved sanitation. Nonetheless, the results of the MDGs paradigm are insufficient and highly uneven, both among and within countries. Little or no progress has been recorded in the poorest countries and among the most marginalized groups. Women and girls still face more violence, worse jobs and barriers to them having their full share of decision making. The global environment keeps deteriorating, with CO_2 emissions 46 per cent higher today than in 1990. The MDGs mindset also largely omitted the role of larger human structures, especially the quality of nations' economies and institutions, the crucial role of security and the far greater responsibility that both the so called developed countries and non-governmental stakeholders need to have in global sustainability.

Therefore, the new Agenda 2030 approved on the 25th of September at the UN Sustainable Development Summit in New York comes with another label – the SDGs - and another paradigm change. Apart from a commitment to finish the unfinished business of the MDGs, it once again marks an effort to shift the global mindset, reconcile the myriad of contradictory experiences and offer an innovative approach that would give birth to new methodologies of cooperation and effective solutions to global challenges. However, much of this is hidden in complex, cumbersome language and even found only when reading between the lines of the outcome document. These islands of positive deviation are much more visible today in a variety of mostly local contexts; concrete issues. Connecting these dots, therefore, is the name of the next game. Adjectives such as universal, integrated, inclusive, transformative and human, certain to soon become new buzzwords of the administrative jargon, are the code names for the new approach.

Do not launch individual Goals! The set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (and 169 targets) is interlinked, mutually reinforcing and can only be delivered as a whole. Their ambition is to tackle root causes, not symptoms. This was the key message Amina J. Mohammed shared with participants at a seminar organized in New York by The Guardian and UNICEF a few days before the launch of the SDGs. As Special Advisor to the Secretary General on Post-2015 Development Planning, she knows better than anybody else about the paradigm change hidden in SDGs. This charismatic Nigerian is not only the mother of six children, but also of the new SDGs consensus in the UN.

Originally a Columbian idea, the SDGs were prepared by all (the global North and global South, governments, NGOs and businesses), require contributions by all (as the saying went around the summit - when it comes to sustainability we are all developing countries!) and are meant to improve the lives of all so that no one is left behind. In the words of David Miliband, former UK Secretary of State, we can only move from "applause to action" through accountability to the most excluded and vulnerable. Growth matters, but it is not a panacea unless truly green and inclusive. As one of the Indian delegates at the summit noted, success needs to be redefined by putting the last mile first!

Everyone agrees that business as usual will not do. But what exactly does that mean for the work of sustainable development professionals over the next 15 years? Well, in my experience of the SDGs discourse, the debates point in about five directions. According to these we need to:

1) invest in **new partnerships** - coalitions of different stakeholders in general, better coordination and coherence of policies in particular; while under MDGs global partnership meant the rich paying the poor, the SDGs paradigm calls for much more equal relationships; horizontal, network and trans-sectoral (not just trans-disciplinary and trans-national) cooperation;

2) tap into **new resources** – while ODA plays a crucial, yet limited role (of delivering aid where no one else can help and leveraging other resources everywhere else), the goal is to move "from billions to trillions" in investment for sustainable development, by engaging ministers of finance, central banks and institutional investors, getting responsible business involvement to an appropriate scale, and also unlocking the full potential of women and micro approaches;

3) develop **new skills and competences** – indeed new mindsets (i.e. not teaching everyone more knowledge and expertise to compete in the global markets) in order to set in motion a new quality of social entrepreneurship; innovation is not only about thinking creatively how to work together to find novel solutions, but also about the culture of people working to empower other people;

4) **improve the measurement** because, as the famous Stiglitz report concludes, what we measure is what we do – higher quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, geographic location, and also migratory status, disability, sexual orientation and other relevant characteristics;

5) get more serious about **personal development** – the ultimate goal stipulated by SDGs is a decent and sustainable quality of life or well-being for everyone. An increasingly larger component of their indicators is subjective and has to do with how people perceive, feel about and reflect on their lives. If governments commit to comprehensive reforms and businesses go more green and social, then apart from glueing different sectors of society together, finding ways to make our individual and collective lives more comprehensible, manageable and meaningful might be the new challenge for civil society.

All these are tall orders, even for the most advanced societies. In the CEE region, they sound downright outlandish to most people. Unlike many Western countries, post-communist societies do not share the perception that many of our social systems are at the end of their life cycle. In general, we have not yet fully digested the transition to democratic capitalism, so calls for yet another transition are met with little enthusiasm.

Yet SDGs are clear proof that another change of paradigm is happening, whether we want it or not. While the starting line in post-communist countries is different, they do bring inspiration which is feasible in a regional context. Sustainable development professionals can certainly start to *inter alia* talk more to businesses and governments, think more critically about our educational system, take on the issue of various discriminations and expand and make more coherent their data sets. The best way to promote SDGs in both our professional and personal lives, I believe, is by "breaking down the silos among us, between us, and also inside us".

Petr Lebeda // Glopolis

Access to Education for Learners with Disabilities in Cambodia as a Post-Conflict Country

Jan Šiška // Jan.Siska@pedf.cuni.cz
Faculty of Education, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Ondřej Suchánek // ondrej.suchanek@charita.cz
Caritas Czech Republic, Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract

After a long civil conflict which ended in the late 1990s, Cambodia has been experiencing a period of rapid economic development. However, improvements in living standards and the advantages gained from the reintegration of Cambodian society into the outside world do not appear to have had a positive effect on Cambodian society in general. In particular, the situation for the majority of Cambodians with disabilities is very different from the rest of society. The genocidal Khmer Rouge regime in the late 1970s and the subsequent extended period of civil unrest are the main reasons for the high prevalence of people with disabilities in this Southeast Asian country.

In 2012, the Cambodian Government ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) and adopted the first laws for its enforcement. Government and public institutions, however, still directly and indirectly prevent disabled people from active participation on a large scale, and this is most evident in the approach to education. Although Cambodia has been considered to be a stable semi-democratic state for almost two decades, children and young people with disabilities still have limited access to quality education, despite international human rights obligations.

The Czech Republic has been supporting Cambodia in several projects run by non-governmental organisations such as Caritas Czech Republic. Since 2010 Caritas has been working in the central province of Takeo to support children with disabilities in their educational development. In this project, Caritas Czech Republic has been working with Catholic Relief Services and experts from the Faculty of Education of Charles University in Prague. This paper first introduces the situation of disabled people in Cambodia in the historical and socio-political context. Secondly, the results of a study focusing on the preparation of teacher institutions across the country for special and inclusive education are presented. The study was conducted during 2012 and 2013. The results show that only a very small number of these institutions are actively preparing educators to work with learners with disabilities. There is a need for more intense training for all tutors and teachers. The training programmes should focus on a range of disabilities, assistive devices, inclusive curriculum and management of inclusion in the context of the current demands on teachers at all levels of the educational system.

Key words: disability, inclusion, rights, socio-political context, access to education, Cambodia

Introduction

Before presenting the study on the access of persons with disabilities to education in Cambodia, a brief introduction to the historical context in Cambodia is provided, linked to the country's 20th century development, which is crucial to understanding the prevalence of disabilities in contemporary Khmer society.

Map 1. Provinces of Cambodia

(Wikipedia, 2015)

Up until the mid-20th century, Cambodia was a French protectorate. When the French lost their grip on the region during the Indochina war, Cambodia proclaimed its own independence in 1953. However, Southeast Asia was soon drawn into the Cold War and stricken by internal struggles for power. The US-backed dictatorship of Prime Minister Lon Nol ended in the mid-70s in a civil war, and this was a prelude to the onset of the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime. By the time of the revolution in 1976, the year when Phnom Penh fell into revolutionary hands, the number of victims of the civil war was officially set at 800,000 dead with 240,000 disabled (Ponchaud, 1977). Internal power struggles, the long-lasting civil war, pervasive corruption and the absolute ignorance of the elite-led Cambodia plunged the country into the radical Maoist Khmer Rouge regime over just three years. This was one of the most tragic chapters of human history of all time. At the end of the Civil War in 1976, the population was estimated at 7.7 million.

By the time the Vietnamese army had defeated the revolutionary army in 1979, the population had declined to less than 5 million, with hundreds of thousands of people left disabled, mentally and physically (Brinkley, 2011).

During the last decade, several European countries, including the Czech Republic, have been conducting projects in Cambodia with the aim of improving access to education for learners with disabilities. This paper seeks to identify areas in the Cambodian educational sector which could be potentially targeted by international development programmes.

Before going into details on the specifics of the Cambodian educational system and its links to children with disabilities, it is necessary to define the difference between special and inclusive education. As an umbrella term, special education broadly identifies the academic, physical, cognitive and social-emotional instruction offered to children who are faced with one or more disabilities. On the other hand, inclusive education is where students with special needs are taught in mainstream classrooms alongside their general education peers.

This paper examines the data from a pilot study dealing with the broader context of disability issues in Cambodia. The authors of the paper were engaged in the training of trainers in Cambodia and work professionally in Inclusive Education.

Figure 1: Sample representation according to Participants and Regions

REGION	Heads	Untrained Tutors	Trained Tutors	TOTAL
Kampong Chnang	2	1	1	4
Kampot	1		2	3
Takeo	1	1	1	3
Kampong Thom	1	1	1	3
Kampong Cham	1	1	1	3
Pursat	1		2	3
Battambang	1	1	1	3
Kampong Speu		2	1	3
TOTAL	**8**	**7**	**10**	**25**

Methodology

The following assessment is based primarily on fieldwork in Cambodia conducted in 2012 and 2013, in addition to desk research. Literature reviews, on-site visits, first-hand observation and in-depth interviews together with questionnaires were conducted with key informants and organisations working in the inclusive education (IE) sector. Respondents agreed to participate in the survey in writing. The questionnaires were divided into three parts: 1) an institutional questionnaire for Heads of PTTCs

(Provincial Teachers Training Centres); 2) questionnaires for untrained tutors, and 3) questionnaires for trained tutors. Institutional questionnaires and questionnaires for untrained tutors consisted of 14 questions. Questionnaires for trained tutors were composed of 21 questions. An attempt was made to ensure the accuracy of the data reported, however it is important to note that this was exceptionally difficult because of the lack of official statistics or any other reports related to disability, as a result of the political situation in Cambodia.

The analysis focused on a range of courses of special and inclusive education (IE) offered by PTTCs across the whole country. Data were collected from 8 out of 18 PTTCs[1] and 25 administrative personnel and professionals were included, of whom 8 were Heads of PTTC, 7 were untrained tutors, and 10 were trained tutors[2] (see the figure 1 below). This sample represents 45% of all PTTCs. At the time the data were collected in late 2012 and early 2013, only two PTTCs offered regular courses on special education and IE (Battambang and Takeo PTTCs). In both cases PTTCs were working with NGOs with a strong IE/disability component (Handicap International and Krousar Thmey in the case of Battambang province and Catholic Relief Services and Caritas Czech Republic in the case of Takeo province).

A sample of trained and untrained tutors were selected in order to establish whether or not previous training had had any influence on the development of IE courses at their respective PTTCs, and what may be necessary in subsequent tutor training to influence the further development of IE courses at these institutions. Heads of PTTCs were sampled to find out what influence they have on the development of inclusive education courses at their institutions and institutional needs in terms of such development in the future. A questionnaire for the three target groups of respondents was developed in English. Stratified sampling involved dividing the respondents into three groups, with members of each group sharing particular characteristics. The questionnaire was developed using closed and open questions and rating scales, and translated from English to the Khmer language. A working group was set up to assist with the data collection, using the questionnaires in a face-to-face interview approach. The data was then transferred from the Khmer questionnaires into the English version by the working group coordinator from DAC. The English versions were then analysed by the research team. All the quotations stated in the text are taken directly from the study itself, quoting respondents from the PTTCs and schools involved.

Disability context in South East Asia and Cambodia in particular

South East Asia is a region with the second highest prevalence of moderate disabilities and it is third highest in the world for severe disabilities (WHO, 2013). In SE Asia access to education is one of the most underdeveloped sectors, preventing people with disabilities from exercising their full rights. Most of the countries have already opened their education systems to people with disabilities, with 68% being educated in Thailand,

but the lack of nation-wide strategic frameworks and underfinanced educational systems are still the main issues in all SE Asian countries (WHO, 2013).

Statistics on disability in Cambodia are rarely available. Official numbers of disabled communities are notoriously unreliable or frustratingly incomplete and should be treated with caution and utilized for general conclusions and trends only (Zook, 2010). According to the latest census in Cambodia, 1.44% of the total population is disabled, about 200,000 people (National Institute of Statistics, 2009). However, most of the international organizations estimate the real proportion to be about 4%, i.e. more than 500,000 (VanLeit, 2007). Young people under 20 years old make up half the population of people with disabilities (VanLeit, 2007). As a post conflict country, Cambodia is regarded as an unfortunate global leader in terms of the prevalence of psychosocial impairments such as post-traumatic stress disorder. Modern studies estimate the current number of people suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) resulting from the genocide period, to be 11% of the total population, with a high risk of transmission to younger generations who did not experience the Khmer Rouge period – around 8% of those under 35 suffer from PTSD (Sonis, Gibson, 2009). This tendency results in a high proportion of domestic violence, mostly committed against women. Around 60% of women in Cambodia know a man who has acted violently toward his wife, and around 23% of females have suffered violence at the hands of their husbands (Ministry of Women's Affairs in Cambodia, 2009).

In general religious stereotypes often play an important role in a society's perception of disability. In Cambodia, as a predominantly Buddhist society, disability is usually seen as a result of bad karma resulting from the sins of the past. Such attitudes open the gates to human rights violations against people with disabilities, as well as to their neglect and isolation. As a result of extensive social exclusion, many people (children) with disabilities have experienced discrimination and even physical, sexual or psychological harassment. It is increasingly worrying that such high rates of sexual abuse of disabled women and girls are still the current reality. Deaf and mute girls and women are at particular risk, with estimates of up to 40% experiencing sexual abuse (Carter, 2009). Intellectual or specific disabilities (visual impairment, low vision, deafness, dumbness etc.) are more negatively perceived as there is almost no awareness among the general public, the local community or even family members. Such „abnormal" behaviour is taken as pure madness (AusAID/UN, 2013). The cycle of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination (Stubbs, 2008) means that good policies are often crippled by poor and inadequate implementation (IIEP-UNESCO, 2011). Currently there are strong biases against the education of children with disabilities (Sau Man Mak, 2009). Recent studies have shown that more than 10% of all children have a disability, with the majority being cognitive and speech impairments (Huebner, 2012). Close to 90% of children and young people with disabilities have little or no access to any form of education (Handicap International, 2009). Limited accessibility leads to low literacy among people with disabilities and in their communities, especially in rural areas where around 80% of the Cambodian population live (FAO, 2011).

It is estimated there are around 50 000 deaf people in Cambodia with another 500 000 with hearing impairment, but only 1 800 people have been taught sign language. No government program exists to support these people and currently only two non-governmental organizations offer some support (Maryknoll, 2014).[3] Perhaps the most poorly served community in Cambodia, with regard to the available institutions, facilities and resources to address disability, is the community of people with intellectual and cognitive disabilities. This has much to do with the distinct lack of resources in Cambodia and the much smaller presence on the ground of non-governmental organisations working in the field of intellectual as opposed to physical disabilities (Zook, 2010).

Rights of People with Disabilities

The Cambodian Constitution recognizes fundamental human rights for all people and its Article 74 states that *"the State shall assist the disabled and the families of combatants who sacrificed their lives for the nation"* (Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia, 1993), which illustrates the stronger emphasis on physically disabled people as a result of the civil war. In 1996, the Disability Action Council (DAC) was established and in 1999 it was recognized as a semi-autonomous body by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC). In recent years the RGC supported the rights of children with disabilities and disabled people in general by adopting key policy documents on education, such as *Policy on Education for Children with Disabilities* (2008), *Law on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (2009), and with the ratification of the *United Nations Convention on Rights for People with Disabilities* (UNCRPD) in 2012. After the adoption of the 2009 Disability Law, the DAC became an RGC entity with its role as the national coordinator and advisory mechanism for disability.

The professional experience of the authors suggests that despite evolving legislative support, the situation in the education sector shows a critical shortage of professionals in the field of inclusive and special education (PED/MoEYS, 2011).[4] Most of the activities in the field of IE are now concentrated at the level of primary education and implemented by either international or Cambodian non-governmental organizations (PED/MoEYS, 2013).[5]

Access to Education for Learners with Disabilities

Access to education is difficult and hundreds of thousands of children with disabilities either do not attend school or have very limited opportunities for education. One reason for low literacy levels among disabled children is the lack of teachers prepared to work with students with special needs, despite recent efforts by the non-governmental sector (Lindsey, 2014). Even though greater attention is being paid to the needs and rights of vulnerable groups, namely people with disabilities, this does not necessarily mean real change on the ground. Government institutions are more likely to act in response to substantial and long-term criticism from the international community, rather than on their

own initiative and program priorities. The completion rate of around 83% and the repetition rate in primary school at grade 1 of 22% illustrate the difficulties of achieving education for all (UNESCO, 2011). However, school accessibility has significantly increased in all Cambodian provinces recently, hand in hand with economic development and the de-isolation of the country after a period of war (UN, 2012). This is not necessarily translated into benefits for all groups of people (VSO, 2013). Rapid economic development has meant an increased gap between the rich elite and the masses living in poverty (WB, 2008). This trend has negatively affected the most disadvantaged groups, including children with disabilities. According to the data, children with disabilities, along with women and children in general and ethnic minorities, were one of the most were one of the groups most overlooked by non-government as well as government programmes (Fujimoto, 2013), despite the rhetoric of such organizations, which favoured the disadvantaged groups .

Education in Cambodia is largely influenced by pre-colonial history. Traditionally only the aristocracy and men who were part of society benefited from education in pre-colonial Cambodia, which was heavily paternalistic within the Buddhist structure of monk-led temple schools (Kalyanpur, 2011). During the French era in Cambodia, schools largely provided for the future colonial civil service (Ayres, 2004). As a result, by the mid-20th century, the educational system was vastly underdeveloped, with no reach into rural areas and serving only privileged groups who were seen as having power (Tully, 2002). Larger educational reform started when Norodom Sihanouk was crowned king. Under his supervision, school attendance became compulsory, and in the early 50s the number of students nearly doubled (Tully, 2002). However, even though necessary changes were made, access to specific educational programmes crucial to Cambodia's development (vocational, technical studies) was largely overlooked by Khmer students as leading to prospective work opportunities (still closely linked to foreign or elite groups) (Ayres, 2004). With the well-known Khmer Rouge practice of destroying all the educated sectors of society and dismantling the previously established education system, Cambodia entered the post-civil war period in the 90s with prevailing bias and deeply embedded values of elitism and paternalism. This meant that vast sections of the population were excluded from education and society in general, in particular the most vulnerable: girls/women, ethnic groups, children/people with disabilities, and the poorest, among others.

The very recent political will to encourage the inclusion of children with disabilities into the education system on a legal basis, is mainly due to pressure from the international community (Kalyanpur, 2011), and it has not been entirely put into practice by government efforts on the ground. This is supported by statements from ministry officials interviewed in recent studies, indicating that the Ministry of Education would prefer to focus on those groups of students who require only minimal government intervention, before turning its attention to those groups that needed greater investment of resources (Kalyanpur, 2011).

Access to education in general is an undeniable right and key to successful sustainable development (UNESCO, 2014). It is the primary vehicle through which societies reproduce themselves and a society is a reflection of the education each generation receives (Robinson, 2012). Through educated societies, people and nations are exercising their basic freedoms, making their respective governments accountable and striving for changes for the better. Cambodia, as a post-conflict country, still bears the burden of the past. One of the visible scars of the past is the number of physically and mentally disabled people (Thomas, 2005). If there can be sustainable development, shared equally among different groups of people affected by the poor state of affairs, then there must also be inclusion for disabled people. When a person with a disability has access to health care, education, vocational training, employment or self-employment, and development initiatives on an equal basis with others, and is included in community activities, they can enjoy their rights and a better quality of life (UNICEF Cambodia, 2014). Disability in Cambodia is still an underestimated issue, with other issues receiving far more attention, such as gender, ethnicity and HIV/AIDS (Thomas, 2005). Cambodia's progress towards sustainable development, and the newly discussed Sustainable Development Goals, will be hampered unless efforts are taken to remove the barriers to the full participation of disabled people.

Pilot Study on Teachers' Access to Inclusive Education Training

This section seeks to identify those stakeholders who play a key role in special and inclusive education in Cambodia. As Vanleit (2007) points out, it is mainly civil society's organizations who actually work with children with disabilities in Cambodia. For a long time, central government was not involved, for the most part, in activities aimed at people with disabilities, but gave priority to access to education in general. However, the recently opened UN joint disability program (December 2013) coordinated by UNDP, UNICEF and WHO, and funded by the Australian government, also receives greater attention from the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC). The programme will reimburse almost 13 million USD over a period of 5 years. However, inclusive education was not among the main identified priorities (AusAID/UN, 2013).

As a result, only a small number of development partners and institutions focus on IE in Cambodia. Nearly two thirds of the annual budget for general education in all three levels is funded by international donors (PED/MoEYS, 2013). The Primary Education Department (PED), which is also responsible for IE programs, budgeted 65 000 USD for the Special Education Office in the fiscal year 2013 (PED/MoEYS, 2013). Without the support of the international community, the whole education sector in Cambodia would collapse. However, such international support has to be targeted and planned, based on solid knowledge of the local situation and needs.

Context and aims of the research pilot

This paper presents the results of the study focusing on the preparation of teacher institutions across the country for special and inclusive education. The research objectives were further tapered: firstly, to investigate the current situation concerning the preparation of educational personal to educate learners with disabilities; secondly, to identify gaps in existing training in relation to current demands on teachers; and thirdly to recognise areas for potential international development aid in the field explored. In order to achieve these results, the emphasis was on1) investigating the current involvement of Provincial Teachers Training Centres (PTTCs) in IE, 2) exploring the perceptions on IE held by senior managers and tutors at PTTCs and 3) identifying gaps in existing training in relation to current demands on teachers in schools.

The pilot study was entitled *Situation Analysis of Inclusive Education Training Courses in Cambodia.*[6] In cooperation with two NGOs working in the field of education and supporting children with disabilities in Cambodia, Caritas Czech Republic and Catholic Relief Services, the analysis was developed in order to improve their IE programs in the southeast province of Takeo where respective NGOs are developing and running complex programmes to support more than 400 children with disabilities in 18 primary schools.

Sample

Cambodian PTTCs are government run/funded higher education institutions established to provide education for future teachers and school administrators around the whole country. The pedagogical courses for prospective school staff are offered only in these institutions, unlike the western concept of higher university education programs, where Special Education study programs are included in Pedagogical Faculties and usually with limited numbers in order to maintain the quality of the programmes and the specialization of prospective teachers. In contrast in Cambodia higher education institutions are established to provide the education system with the required numbers of teachers, regardless of quality. IE is part of a general two year training course at PTTCs, according to the law. However, in reality it is impossible for PTTC personnel to cover all the mandatory courses stated in the national curricula, given the current situation with the PTTCs' limited financial capacity (UNESCO, 2011). Special and inclusive education are among those courses currently only being provided by two PTTCs in Takeo and Battambang provinces.

Key findings

Our findings suggest that the limited development of IE courses at PTTCs may be a result of the fact that the training courses were only 4-5 days long. Thus the tutors had very limited knowledge themselves. As indicated earlier, there is a lack of commitment from the central authorities to undertake the necessary institutional changes to put IE at the forefront of education strategies in Cambodia. The educational sector is highly influenced

by international donors who often push authorities to adopt national strategies covering the whole country, without considering the necessary administrative and financial burdens associated with such strategies (Kalyanpur, 2011). Even though nationwide policies and strategies are adopted, there is no structure for implementation. Thus training course length is more a result of compromise between the government and development partners (NGOs, international donors) rather than an effective tool for the inclusion of children with disabilities and building the capacity of tutors at PTTCs.

The lack of focus in terms of the range of disabilities was also identified as a gap in the courses. Tutors pointed out the need for training on teaching methodologies to accommodate a wide range of disabilities, including severe physical disabilities, visual impairment and intellectual disabilities. In particular, training courses should be more developed in depth in order to adequately address the needs of children with disabilities. The following topics for the courses and suggestions were also identified through the survey:

- Issues on Child Rights & Child Friendly Schools.

- Information on all categories of disabilities including severe disabilities, visual impairment, deafness and intellectual impairment.

- Strategies for how to support all learners.

- Training on necessary assistive devices such as Braille and hearing aids for visual and hearing impaired learners, including the demonstration of actual devices.

- Curriculum for special and inclusive education and lesson planning.

- How to manage the additional workload under the current conditions with already insufficient lack of resources, materials etc.

Respondents also stressed the need to include effective facilitation of training courses and clear explanations to expedite understanding. Evaluation should follow such a course. In this sense, the course should exceed 4 (5) days as is its current length, and include all the above mentioned. In the study the respondents were asked to present their understanding of inclusion. Some of the tutors see IE as a process of educating disabled learners with non-disabled peers:

"Inclusive education is the inclusion of all children to study together,

including children with disabilities." (School Director, 2013)[7]

"Inclusive education is the main point to mainstream in the curriculum

which helps the children who dropped out to have a chance to participate

in society like other children."

"Inclusive education is the way to access children with disabilities in school

with children with non-disabilities."

Others saw IE as an opportunity to learn about the challenges children with disabilities face:

> *"Inclusive education is a good opportunity to understand the challenges*
>
> *faced by children with disabilities."*

Only one tutor expressed a rather reluctant opinion on the inclusion of children with disabilities, focusing only on some particular impairment:

> *"Inclusive education is only for children with mild disabilities."*

Figure 2: Barriers to Inclusive Education

	Barrier	*Score (out of 10)
1	Teachers' competencies	8.4
2	Child labour	8
3	Teachers' workloads	7
4	Financial barriers	6.8
5	Environmental barriers	6
6	Planning and evaluation	5.6
7	Teacher education	5.3
8	Political leadership	4.7
9	Attitudinal barrier	2.7

*Score calculated as an overall percentage of individual scores

Most of the interviewees, however, saw the importance of the inclusion of children with disabilities in society and the possibility of children with disabilities being educated in mainstream schools (5 tutors).

We were also looking at which of the core values related to IE were being achieved by the courses currently provided. The tutor training courses, as well as the current courses on IE for teachers, were considered effective in enabling trainees to achieve the core values related to the promotion of IE, these mostly related to working with others and to personal professional development. Values in relation to supporting all learners and valuing learner diversity were achieved but to a lesser extent.

When asked whether participants felt that the courses responded adequately to the general demands made on teachers in schools, views were divided. The majority (13) agreed that they did, 7 disagreed and 5 didn't know.

Key demands on teachers that were identified by participants included lack of physical accessibility for students, such as ramps, modified toilets and wheelchair access; the lack of availability or shortage of aids and assistive devices such as glasses, hearing aids, visual aids, Braille, etc.; the lack of quality teaching and learning materials and guidance on how to teach children with disabilities; the lack of teacher knowledge, skills and training;

the lack of parental involvement; the lack of funding to enable access for children with disabilities; the lack of good health and nutrition.

Moreover, respondents were asked to assess the severity of barriers to IE listed in the questionnaire. Figure 2 represents the combined views of heads, trained and untrained tutors. The most severe barriers to IE were identified as teachers' lack of competence in the education of learners with disabilities, child labour and teachers´ workloads.

Other barriers mentioned in the survey included the lack of capacity amongst teachers and teachers' low salaries:

> *"The teachers are unable to teach the children with disabilities*
>
> *because their capacity is limited."*
>
> *"The teachers' salaries are very low. They are not motivated. It forces them to work part-time in such jobs as taxi drivers".*

In the study, we asked the participants to formulate key recommendations for the development of IE courses in Cambodia, and their responses were as follows.

1. Participants felt that tutors at PTTCs, RTTCs[8] and all teachers need to be better trained.

"The capacity of teachers who teach children with disabilities is limited, teachers need further training." (PTTC, 2013)[9]

2. The respondents reported that the content of the training courses already offered to tutors at PTTCs needs to be developed further to include: issues on Child Rights & Child Friendly Schools'; information on all categories of disabilities including severe disabilities, visual and hearing impairment, and intellectual disability; strategies to support learners; training in the necessary assistive devices such as Braille and hearing aids for visual and hearing impaired learners; demonstrations of actual devices; the curriculum for special and IE and lesson planning; how to manage additional work under current conditions with an already insufficient amount of resources, materials, etc. The methodology for the training should include effective facilitation and clear explanations to expedite understanding; the training should be evaluated; materials used in the training should be simple and easy to understand; the length of the course should be longer than just a few days and should include the content already highlighted above.

Study limitations

There were some limitations to the study which occurred during the data collection and the analysis. Firstly, it was necessary to get official permission from the national Ministry of Education (Teachers Training Department) and regional government representatives. Even where this was obtained it was not always satisfactory for PTTCs to work with.

Thus it would have been useful to conduct follow up in-depth interviews to clarify answers and get information from all the PTTCs in Cambodia for a clear and heterogeneous picture of IE courses, the obstacles and the opportunities for future scholars.

Conclusion

Comparing Cambodia as regards IE with other countries in the region, we found similarities in accessing equal education for children with disabilities in Thailand and Vietnam. Both countries struggle to transfer policies into practice. In Thailand, as with Cambodia, the opening up of education for all is slowed by an underlying cultural attitude of blame towards people with disabilities (Vorapanya, 2008). Traditional Buddhist society treats disability as bad karma coming from the sins of the past and as such, a person with disability is perceived as having lower status. Recently, teachers colleges in Thailand have introduced the role of compassion with the recommendation to stress the necessity of gently coaching school staff to overcome their disability bias (Vorapanya, 2008). One of the good examples of a successful approach to IE programs coming from Vietnam is the use of resources within the community. To support the inclusion of children with disabilities, some more specialized NGOs are using community peer education consisting of support from students who are performing well and live close to disabled children. They are more open to the disabled children and work in their own environment. This has been shown to improve disabled children's success in learning and breaks down psychological barriers to their full participation in the community (Sellers and Eversmann, 2007).

Access to education for learners with disabilities has significant limitations in Cambodia. Despite some efforts made by the RGC and international non-governmental organisations, large numbers of disabled children are either still not being educated or face barriers to their full access to education. Access to education for all is still not regarded as an issue of human rights. Instead, disability is seen more as an individual and family tragedy. Barriers to IE such as lack of teachers´ competences to educate learners with disabilities, child labour and teachers´ workloads were identified in the study, and recommendations provided. Overall, for the future development of professional care and work with people with disabilities in Cambodia, it seems necessary to establish university programs which focus on IE and to rethink the existing model with PTTCs as the only pedagogical institutions in the country. Thus, international development programmes should be targeted at supporting study programmes in higher education on special and IE; those programmes which would respect Cambodian culture and history. The pilot study has shown that much more attention needs to be paid to high quality inclusive education practices in training the trainers at PTTCs, so that they can further educate prospective teachers and promote diversity in the classroom.

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Notes

[1] Cambodia consists administratively of 24 provinces with 18 PTTCs altogether. Some provinces are merged under one PTTC.

[2] Untrained tutors are those who did not receive any prior training in special and inclusive education. Trained tutors are those who had undergone some training in special and inclusive education.

[3] Personal meeting of authors with Maryknoll organization, February 2014, Phnom Penh.

[4] PED/MoEYS – Primary Education Department of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in Cambodia.

[5] Personal meeting of authors with PED representatives from Ministry of Education, September 2013, Phnom Penh.

[6] Situation analysis with other publications can be found at following website: http://svet.charita.cz/en/where-we-help/asia/cambodia/studies-about-inclusive-education-in-cambodia/.

[7] School Director, Cambodia. Situational Analysis of Inclusive Education Training Courses in Cambodia. Caritas Czech Republic. 2013.

[8] RTTCs – Regional Teachers Training Centres – for upper grade teachers' training.

[9] Ibid.

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The Future of Development Assistance –
Do We Need a New „Marshall Plan"?

Pavel Nováček // Pavel.Novacek@upol.cz,
Department of Development Studies, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

Abstract

We have studied the present situation and the history of development assistance, but until now we have neglected one fundamental approach – looking into the future. While it is necessary to study the history of development assistance to learn from past mistakes, it is not enough. The past can be studied, but it can never be changed. In contrast, there are many alternative (potential) futures that can be influenced by our choices.

By the year 2015 the Millennium Development Goals should have been achieved, yet it is clear today that they will not be. How should we proceed after the year 2015? An example from the past could become an inspiration for the future – the Marshall Plan. The idea of a new, global Marshall Plan was revived in the 1990s by Albert Gore.

The new (global) Marshall Plan, if implemented, has the potential to become the catalyst for far-reaching positive changes. The requirement is that it is not just the sum of its many component activities and projects, but a complex, coordinated, and future-oriented plan. It must be a plan with definable, measurable, and achievable goals.

The New Marshall Plan should consist of two phases. The first, short-term phase should assist a country (or region) to emerge from a crisis and stabilize the situation. The second, longer-term phase should help the country become a medium developed country.

For development assistance to be effective, however, we need public support, both in developed and developing countries. We need to win not only their minds, but even more importantly, their hearts.

Key words: Marshall Plan, Sustainable development, Foresight, post-MDGs

Introduction

Development assistance/aid[1] aims to eradicate, or at least alleviate, poverty in the world, mainly in so-called Third World countries. Historically, poor people have always existed in every society. In terms of sustainable development[2], however, the highly unequal distribution of wealth among developed and developing countries is particularly unacceptable as well as the extremely unequal distribution of wealth among people in developing countries. The global threshold of absolute (extreme) poverty is calculated by the World Bank as an income of US $ 1.25 per capita per day. The world economic product (the world economic performance) is now around US $ 70 000 billion; an average of US $ 10 000 for each person living on the Earth.

Why are we not able to combat extreme poverty effectively? Why are some nations rich and others poor? There is no easy solution at hand; development studies professionals have been searching in vain for an answer to these questions for over half a century. On a practical level, development assistance and development cooperation have been fighting poverty for that length of time; the results are inconsistent.

Czech journalist Daniel Deyl says that the answer to the question of why some countries develop fast while others remain backward is, to an economist, the same as the „theory of everything" is to a physicist, or the secret of transforming iron into gold is to an alchemist: it is almost within sight but at the very last minute it always slips through the unfortunate scholar´s fingers.

We have intensively studied the present situation and the history of development assistance, but until now we have neglected one fundamental approach – looking into the future. As early as 1978 the report to the Club of Rome, „No Limits to Learning" (Botkin, Elmandjra, Malitza, 1978) called for „anticipatory learning", i.e. learning from possible future situations and not only from the past.

While it is necessary to study the history of development assistance to learn from past mistakes, it is not enough. The past can be studied, and various interpretations can be made, but it can never be changed. In contrast, the future is not predetermined (cannot be known), but it can be influenced by our choices. There are thousands of history departments at universities and other academic institutions, but there are not many of such groups focused on exploring alternative futures and future opportunities, as well as threats.

According to Roy Amara (1981) the future is not predictable. But the future is also not predetermined, people have freedom of choice. As the future is not predetermined and we have freedom of choice, it can be influenced by our choices (even if only slightly sometimes). As the future can be influenced by the choices we make, it makes sense to study and see the future in all its diversity, and to try to affect it in a desirable way. This also applies to development assistance/cooperation. We need to know the history and the present, but above all, the possible futures.

Nobel Prize Winner in Economics, Amartya Sen, who has devoted himself to the relations between poverty and development, is of the view that poverty is not a lack of income, but the inability to live fully because of the lack of economic means. To put it differently, one cannot develop one´s creative potential[3] (Sen, 1999).

Lessons From History

First we will have a look at how, in the second half of the 20th century, people explained the fact that some nations were rich and others poor, and why development assistance had not lifted developing countries out of the poverty trap. There are three guidelines that seek explanation:

Dependency theory (theory of core and periphery)

The roots of dependency theory go back to the early 20th century, when John A. Hobson defined imperialism as the colonial expansion of Western capitalist states, which in this way, seek new markets and expand the outlets for their products[4].

The most influential advocate of dependency theory was the Argentine economist, Raúl Prebisch (1950, 1959), who considered the world economy as a hierarchical system where the „centre" creates a dependent „periphery". Ivo Budil (in: Waisová et al., 2005), pondering the popularity of dependency theory, offers a psychological explanation. If people find out that things are not going well, they may ask why this is so in two ways. Firstly: „What are we doing wrong?" Secondly: „Who is to blame?" Looking for an external enemy, thus trying to answer the second question, seems to be psychologically more bearable.

The influence of geographical and environmental factors

Jared Diamond (1997, 2005) and Jeffrey Sachs (2005, 2008) point to geographical location (for example, access to the sea) and the state of the environment[5] as key factors for development and prosperity. With the exception of countries exporting oil and natural gas, there are only two states in the tropics that can be considered as developed and rich – Hong Kong[6] and Singapore.

On the other hand, it is clear that geographical factors cannot explain everything. A textbook example is the huge difference in the development and wealth of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Both states lie on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean Sea. While the Dominican Republic is a developing but stable country, Haiti has for decades been unable to escape from political instability and economic backwardness, with a degraded environment which is like nowhere else in the world (98 % of the land is deforested for example). However, Haiti, now the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, was, as a French colony in the late 18th century, by far the wealthiest Caribbean island (albeit in a slave society in which this wealth was distributed in an extremely unfair and disproportionate manner).

Cultural determinism

The Culturological approach asserts that „human resources" are a decisive factor for prosperity. The roots of this „cultural determinism" can be found in the classic work of the sociologist Max Weber (1950) from the beginning of the 20th Century, entitled „The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism". Weber compared families of Protestant and Catholic denominations in Baden (Germany). He found that Protestants had, on average, higher incomes than Catholics. This led him to the well-known thesis on the interdependence of the Calvinist belief in predestination and a people focused on the future, asceticism, hard work and entrepreneurship, which are the essential preconditions for economic prosperity.

In 1985, Lawrence E. Harrison published a groundbreaking book entitled „Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind – The Latin American Case". The culture is notably understood as a set of local values and norms shared by a particular community, which affects the degree of its prosperity. Harrison formulated four major factors that enable a society to achieve economic efficiency and prosperity. They are; the measure of social trust, the severity of the ethical system, the performance of the authorities (today we would probably use the term „good governance") and a focus on continuous work, innovation, savings, and profit.

The Current Situation

One way to help developing countries finance their development is through development assistance, or more precisely, development cooperation[7]. The term development assistance first appeared after the Second World War, and after former colonies gained independence it became clear that the world was divided, not only into the capitalist „West" and socialist „East", but also into the developed „North" and the poor and developing „South".At the end of the 20th century, Western countries (traditional donors) were suffering from donor fatigue. For several decades they had been supplying developing (often highly corrupted) countries of the South with extensive financial and material aid, without any adequate results. Around that time, Central and Eastern European countries freed themselves from totalitarian communist regimes and emerged as new donors of development assistance. The citizens of these countries, however, needed and still need to be convinced that development assistance/cooperation is necessary and that it makes sense to allocate at least 0.1 % GDP per year to these activities.

1. The main reasons developed countries should provide development assistance is defined in some sort of „Ten Commandments" by Michal Kaplan, director of the Czech Development Agency (in Nováček, 2011):

2. Religious and ethical reasons (it is morally right to help those who find themselves in need).

3. Prevention of armed conflicts and terrorism.

4. Prevention of illegal migration and organized crime.

5. Environmental protection and globally significant ecosystems protection.

6. Stabilization of the world economy, the emergence and development of new markets.

7. Application of the products and technologies of the assistance provider on the territory and markets of the beneficiary country.

8. Promotion of employment, particularly among young people (if they are abroad, then also their better professional and language skills as well as experience with a different culture).

9. Improved diplomatic relations with recipient countries.

10. Greater prestige and influence on the international political scene.

11. Promotion of our values and culture (of course not in an aggressive and arrogant way, but rather by example).

12. Nowadays, all economically developed countries, including ex-Soviet ones, provide foreign assistance. That is why we need to think hard about the future of development assistance/aid.

Future Challenges

Let us return once again to our fundamental question – why are the poor poor and the rich rich? The answer might lie somewhere other than in the known theories of development. Or rather, every development theory has some truth in itself, but what we need is to attempt to create some inventive synthesis. Here is a proposal for three main building blocks for such a synthesis:

Future-oriented thinking

Future-oriented thinking is perhaps the main key to prosperity and success. Max Weber pointed to the Protestant ethic and its influence on the development of capitalism in Europe and North America. The ability to postpone current consumption, together with savings, investment and hard work, and with the vision of God´s salvation after this life are typical examples of future-oriented thinking which determines our current behaviour and actions. The opposite is the attitude of a person or a whole community who live only for the day without caring about the future. It would therefore be desirable to formulate a Future Oriented Thinking Index (FOTI), which would complement such indexes as Gross Domestic Product, the Human Development Index, and others.

Public space and its maintenance

Public space and its maintenance is a good indicator of a society´s material and moral maturity. There are communities and entire countries where people take care of their common areas, especially through various civic initiatives, associations, and organizations. In such a space you can feel comfortable and safe. On the other hand, there are communities and countries where, inside their private space, people live in comfortable and decent conditions, but a few metres from their home a „no man´s land" begins that resembles a junkyard, with medieval hygienic conditions, and it is neither safe nor comfortable.

Education

Education itself cannot guarantee prosperity, but it develops the creative potential of an individual to work, if motivated and willing, towards their own as well as their community´s prosperity. The two above mentioned factors are conditioned by education.

An illiterate person will not normally think in the long term, but will more likely live from day to day. An educated person will more likely have at heart, not only his own good and that of his immediate family, but also the good of the community (although this is not always the case[8]).

Do We Need a New „Marshall Plan"?

By the year 2015 the Millennium Development Goals should have been achieved, and it is clear today that they will not be. Certainly, all eight major goals will not be achieved, (the situation is particularly pitiful in Sub-Saharan Africa). Therefore we are already seeking to answer the questions: „How should we proceed after the year 2015? What should replace the Millennium Development Goals?[9] What vision can be credible and feasible?"

There is example from the past which could become an inspiration for the future – the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan, or the „European Recovery Program" was announced by the U.S. Secretary of State, George Marshall on June 5th, 1947. He was, along with the U.S. President Harry S. Truman, the creator and initiator of the plan. The European Recovery Program was approved by the United States Congress on April 3rd, 1948. Under this plan, between 1948 and 1952 the United States provided aid amounting to US $ 13.3 billion, equivalent to more than US $ 100 billion today[10]. This plan included, not excluded, the main enemy of the war, Germany. The cooperation laid the foundation for the future progressive unification of the countries of Europe and also a close Atlantic partnership[11].

The idea of the Global Marshall Plan was revived in the 1990s by the American senator and later, Vice-President, Albert Gore (1992). For Al Gore the Global Marshall Plan was a gradual realization of strategic goals, focused mainly on environmental issues. The integrating goal of the plan should be the establishment of the social and political conditions that would most contribute to the emergence of a sustainable society. The idea of a new „Marshall Plan" in various regional and sectoral variations was supported by many celebrities, such as the South African President and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Frederik Willem de Klerk (he proposed a „Marshall Plan for Africa"), the German President Horst Köhler, the Austrian President Heinz Fischer, and the President of the Club of Rome, Prince El-Hassan bin Talaal of Jordan.

There are also „variations" on the Global Marshall Plan, such as the „Global Green Deal" by Mark Hertsgaard (1998). Hertsgaard was inspired by President Franklin D. Roosevelt´s New Deal from the 1930s, which was designed to propel the American economy out of a prolonged economic crisis. In May 2003, a group of academics, politicians, media representatives and people dealing with international development assembled for discussion. They agreed to establish the „Global Marshall Plan Initiative[12]. The initiative is particularly valuable thanks to the relatively sophisticated suggestions concerning how to finance the Global Marshall Plan without burdening the budgets of individual countries (see below).

Financing the new Marshall Plan according to the Global Marshall Plan Initiative

The Zedillo Report[13] published by the UN in 2001, calculated that the amount of financial provision needed to reach the Millennium Development Goals was US $ 50 billion per year. In addition to these funds, another US $ 100 billion per year would be needed to implement the Global Marshall Plan.

International development aid is currently slightly over US $ 100 billion, representing approximately 0.3 % of the GDP of the donor countries. With the implementation of the Global Marshall Plan, the figure would rise to 0.5 – 0.6 % of GDP. It would still be below 0.7 % of GDP, the target adopted by the international community in the 1970s.

The model for the Global Marshall Plan is the assistance which, after the Second World War, was provided to Europe by the United States through the Marshall Plan. It was financed by the United States over a period of four years, with an investment of 1.3 % of its GDP. A similar amount, 1 % GDP of the member states, is the budget of the European Union.

The experience shows that it is rather unlikely that the funds needed to implement the Global Marshall Plan could be obtained from the budgets of the member states. Therefore, the Global Marshall Plan Initiative came up with an unconventional and innovative way of raising funds which is partly based on the input of the former British Fininance Minister and later Prime Minister, Gordon Brown and the financier, George Soros.

Special Drawing Rights of the International Monetary Fund

The financier, George Soros, proposed the use of the Special Drawing Rights of the IMF to finance the development. Special Drawing Rights are loans that are available to a specific country in times of need of an amount proportional to its contribution to the IMF. One advantage is that a developing country pays into the fund in its own, often weak currency, but gets access to loans in a strong currency. George Soros suggested that in future the authorization to draw from the fund be approved annually. This would mean that the surplus amount of US $ 10 billion would be used in poor countries to implement development projects. Moreover, rich countries should allow the use of their share, around US $ 18 billion, to finance the development. The Global Marshall Plan Initiative proposes an allocation to the poor countries of the South of US $ 30 – 40 billion every year via the Special Drawing Rights.

Financial transaction tax

The proposal is based on various modifications to the Tobin tax[14], a tax on global financial operations, and the revenues would be used to finance the global development goals. The proposal is based on a very low tax rate which would only be used to solve problems at the global level. The implementation of at least a minimal charge on all global financial transactions of 0.01 % should be considered. If it worked, the tax could be increased

to a final value of 0.02 %. The minimal variation (0.01 %) of the Tobin tax would raise, according to the estimates of the „Global Marshall Plan Initiative", around US $ 30 – 40 billion annually for the implementation of the Global Marshall Plan.

Terra tax on world trade

Another financial instrument could be the implementation of a world tax on trade. The tax on trade would be in accord with the principles of „Fair Trade". Economic sectors and businesses have significantly globalized. Multinational (global) corporations are able to avoid taxation at the national level as well as standards (environmental and social) that apply in developed countries.

In this way, they gain an immense comparative advantage over other businesses that are subject to national taxation and other standards. It has led to the situation where the turnover of the 15 largest multinational corporations is higher than the overal economic performance of the 60 poorest countries. States then have to compensate for the loss of tax revenue by raising taxes on citizens and on small and medium-sized businesses that are tightly bound to a given country.

Therefore the third factor to take into account when financing the Global Marshall Plan is the introduction of a „terra tax" on world trade, amounting to 0.35 – 0.5 %. The taxation should be the same for all areas of international trade. Given the current level of world trade , the tax would provide an income of around US $ 30 – 40 billion each year. (Radermacher, J., 2004; www.globalmarshallplan.org)

The Global Marshall Plan, if implemented, has the potential to become the catalyst for far-reaching positive changes. The requirement is that it is not just the sum of its many component activities and projects (as happens to various „development partherships", including MDG´s), but a complex, coordinated, and future-oriented plan. Furthermore, it must be a plan with definable, measurable, and achievable goals.

In 1999, as a member of the Millennium Project Planning Committee, I proposed that a study „Global Partnership for Development" be undertaken to further elaborate the idea of a new Marshall Plan[15]. The study consisted of a two-round questionnaire followed by interviews with politicians, representatives of non-governmental organizations, academics, and other personalities. The aim of the study was to explore the possibilities for effective policies and assess their possible implementation.

The two-rounds of questionnaires and interviews with experts were carried out with 80 people from 20 countries. Progress towards the sustainable development of all regions is one of the leading global issues. In the same way the Marshall Plan helped in the middle of the 20th century to restore a war-stricken Europe, a similar plan, conducted at the global level, might help the developing countries move more quickly toward sustainable development.

The countries that were rebuilt after the Second World War had an entrepreneurial and industrial tradition, and therefore the financial and technical assistance significantly helped these countries over a very short time. Much of the developing world does not have this tradition today. Therefore, the efforts will have to be much greater and more complex than the original Marshall Plan.

If the funds were available, the most desirable long-term goal would be to eradicate extreme poverty and the most dangerous diseases, and to integrate ecological and economic development. The most important and feasible projects for such a partnership are primarily: ecologically oriented agriculture that would reduce water and energy consumption, international cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges, access to information technologies (especially the Internet), and immunization programs.

The key preconditions for the successful implementation of the new Marshall Plan include:

- Projects that are long enough and intensive enough to contribute to a substantial change (ranked highest according to the criteria of importance and likelihood of implementation).

- Respect for human rights and international laws in the recipient countries (rated most important but with the lowest likelihood of implementation).

It is important to show the success of similar projects and initiatives to help persuade politicians to implement a new, global Marshall Plan. For example:

- The original Marshall Plan showed for the first time that a broad-scale international development project could be successful; this project was so different from the numerous „partnerships", which are often announced today but prove to be ineffective.

- The initiatives of the World Health Organization (successful eradication of smallpox) and Rotary Club International at a nongovernmental level (polio vaccination).

- Earth Day launched a global movement. Earth Day epitomizes the transformation of a vague concept into local, specific activities around the world.

There are goals that can be understood as essential and acceptable across cultural barriers. These goals are: the elimination of violence against women, the promotion of primary education and the development of crafts, the eradication of some diseases (leprosy, child polio, etc.) and the elimination of other contagious diseases, as well as access to safe water.

Other important development objectives include the construction of infrastructure (transport, telecommunications), effective public administration, and the creation of a middle class, which represents a stabilizing element of society. Effective and environmentally friendly technologies and the enhancement of research and development capacities should also be mentioned among crucial development goals.

The objective of the new Marshall Plan should be to help the recipient country achieve the level necessary to attract private investors and ensure its ability to conduct proper negotiations with foreign investors. Therefore, the priority is to invest in the development of human resources. In other words, it is about sharing information and knowledge in education, public administration, and the development of the civil sector.

The New Marshall Plan should consist of two phases. The first, short-term phase should assist the country (or region) to emerge from a crisis and stabilize the situation. The first phase should last for a limited period of time, about four years, which is the same amount of time the original Marshall Plan lasted.

The second, longer-term phase should help the country become a medium developed country with an annual GDP per capita around US $ 10,000, where the business environment and entrepreneurial activities are sufficiently developed, and where investments, especially of private capital, can flow into the country. The ultimate objective of the new Marshall Plan should be to reach the threshold of sustainable development that is approximately US $ 20,000 per capita per year. The entire second phase requires, not only economic changes possibly accompanied by political changes, but also social and cultural changes. Social and cultural changes are long-term tasks that might take an estimated two generations, i.e. about 40 years, to be accomplished.

The coordinating body of the new Marshall Plan (whoever it may be) should closely cooperate with states, non-governmental organizations, private companies, and the academic sphere. It would correspond to a trans-institutional organization, as defined by Jerome C. Glenn, Director of the Millennium Project (see below). These participants could formulate project proposals that would be in accordance with the structure of the Global Marshall Plan. Subsequently, they could obtain resources for their implementation from the coordinating organization, or they could, in cooperation with the coordinating body, seek partners for financing and implementing the projects.

Transinstitutional Organization

According to J. Glenn we need to create a new type of institution, a „transinstitution". It should have following characteristics:

- It is funded by at least four of the following categories, but none of them finances more than half its budget: government, the business sector, the non-government sector, the UN or other international organizations, foundations, universities, and individuals.

- It has a board of trustees, the members of which represent all the above types of institution, but no institution has an absolute majority of members.

- It employs or hires employees and consultants from all the above types of institutions but no institution has an absolute majority of employees or consultants.

- It provides products or services or other outputs purchased or used by all the above mentioned types of institutions.

The transinstitutional organization could be a special type of non-profit organization. It would cooperate with governments, corporations, universities, NGOs, the UN and other international organizations as well as individuals. When dealing with a government, political conduct is required, when dealing with a for-profit corporation, it is necessary to respect its interests and points of view, when dealing with an academic establishment, the theoretical knowledge must be on a par. When dealing with an NGO, it is important to focus on the ethical issues of the problem, and when dealing with the UN, the global and international aspects of the subject matter must be considered. On a regular basis people or organizations do not pursue these courses of conduct. Their thinking and behaviour tend to be more analytical and specialized, with a focus on a certain section of reality. (Glenn, J., Gordon, T., 2007)

The structure of the coordinating body can be based on the plan for a reformed UN structure as presented by Josef Vavroušek (Vavroušek, J., in Prins, G., editor, 1993).

The proposed structure of the new (global) Marshall Plan coordinating body

Primary structure	Secondary structure GMP system for Africa	Secondary structure GMP system for Europe… (and other regions)	General mission GMP global system
GMP security system	African security	European security… (and other regions)	Global security
GMP social system	African social and cultural development and health care	European social and cultural development and health care… (and other regions)	Global social and cultural development and health care
GMP economic system	African economic development	European economic development… (and other regions)	Global economic development
GMP environmental system	African protection of Nature and renewal of the environment	European protection of Nature and renewal of the environment… (and other regions)	Global protection of Nature and renewal of the environment
General mission (GMP global system)	Sustainable development in Africa	Sustainable development in Europe… (and other regions)	Sustainable planetary development

At the beginning, the new Marshall Plan would coordinate only a limited number of pilot projects, with limited resources. The aim of these first few years would be to learn how to use the funds effectively to produce coordinated and efficient action. The „big money" would come later, perhaps from the global tax or Tobin tax, or from other financial resources, as proposed by the „Global Marshall Plan Initiative".

First of all, it is necessary to gain gain confidence in the New Marshall Plan's abilities to prove that it is able to achieve positive, definable and measurable outcomes.

Conclusion

We can study the past and present of development assistance/cooperation. We can try to describe the future of development assistance and affect it accordingly. This requires, above all, rational thinking and the employment of our intellectual capacities. For development assistance/cooperation to be effective, however, we need public support, both in developed and developing countries. We need to win not only people's minds, but even more importantly, their hearts.

In 1999 when I was lecturing in „Development/Environment Issues" at the College of the Atlantic in Maine (USA), an Irish student, Mary Raikes, expressed it brilliantly in her essay:

On October 14, 1987 Baby Jessica McClure at 18 months old, fell into a 22 ft. well. A poll taken by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press measuring the coverage of Princess Diana´s death reported that in the last decade, only Jessica´s rescue compared to the world media coverage of Diana´s death. At the time of Jessica´s accident, donations to help her totalled nearly $247,000. After the rescue, gifts such as giant toys, furniture, clothing, and an accumulation of $ 1 million, to be given to her at the age of 25, were given. … At the time of Jessica´s rescue, 40 000 children under the age of 5 died every day and 500 million people went to bed hungry every night. Why is it that with so many different opportunities to help world hunger, we focus our attention on a single individual? I believe the answer lies deep in our roots, even back to our primate ancestors. Humans can relate to issues close to home. We prefer to deal with issues concerning our own family, town, and country most. Humans generally don't care about issues until they affect them directly.

This is probably the greatest challenge for the future of development assistance: winning people´s hearts and inspiring them to feel an affinity for people and communities that are far away both culturally and geographically.

2,000 years ago Seneca said: „I am not born for one corner; the whole world is my native land." Rationally, we are well aware of this in our present era of globalization. Nonetheless, we often behave as if we were not part of a global community, because in our hearts we do not feel that way.

This brings us to an important aspect of and precondition for development assistance in relation to global education as well as development education; „learning without borders". But this would be a whole new topic and essay.

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Notes

[1] Development assistance/aid, or development cooperation, is an outside intervention in developing countries, designed to introduce a positive social change, most frequently to reduce poverty. Its concept is rooted in the context of the post-World War II period. The former term of „development aid" has been replaced over the past twenty years by the term „development cooperation", reflecting the shared responsibility of the donor and the recipient for the efficient and meaningful application of the aid. (Dušková, L., et. al., 2011)

[2] Sustainable development, or a sustainable lifestyle, aims to achieve the ideals of humanism and harmonious relationships between human beings and nature. It is a way of life that searches for a balance between the freedom and rights of each individual and his or her responsibility to other people and nature as a whole, including responsibility to future generations. (Vavroušek, 1993)

[3] Amartya Sen emphasizes human capabilities and their development. In his view, human development can be understood as the process of enlarging people´s choices. These potential choices may be unlimited and change over time.

[4] The theory was formulated by John A. Hobson (1965) in his book „Imperialism", first published in 1902.

[5] Among environmental factors the most important are: deforestation and habitat destruction, soil problems (erosion, salinity and decline of soil fertility), difficulty in managing water resources, excessive hunting, overfishing, the effects of imported species on native species, and human population growth with its increasing impact on the environment. Currently we should add also climate change caused by humans, the accumulation of toxic substances in the environment, energy shortages and the full utilization of the photosynthetic capacity of the Earth. (Diamond, 2005)

[6] It is a city-state, a former colony of Great Britain, which has been part of China since 1999.

[7] Domestic resources are the primary source of financing development policies (mainly through taxation and duties). Among significant external resources are, in addition to programs and projects of development cooperation, revenues from exports, foreign direct investment, and, more recently, remittances (money sent by immigrants or people working abroad to their loved one´s at home).

[8] You would be tempted to say that European countries are rich and mature, because all three factors are at a higher level than in Africa and the Middle East. So why is it that in these countries individuals and states so outrageously and irresponsibly run into debt? Why is the voter turnout so low (typically about 50 %) in the established democracies, and why can you clearly sense in society an apathy and indifference to public affairs? Why is education insidiously turning into „infotainment" – the desire to have fun and not bother too much, even at the expense of quality? Maybe natural, cultural, economic or institutional factors, future-oriented thinking, public space and education are not some sort of Gordian knot, but they are, in the words of Viktor Frankl (2006), the will to meaning: „A society of prosperity or a nation of prosperity is basically able to meet all the needs of man, while the consumer society only creates individual needs. Unfortunately one need remains unsatisfied – the will to meaning – the need to find a meaning in one´s life, or better still in every life situation – and to devote oneself to it, to fulfil it!"

[9] Millennium Development Goals will almost certainly be replaced by „Sustainable Development Goals" in 2015 which will probably be even more ambitious than MDGs.

[10] http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall

[11] http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/m41.html

[12] The project was initiated by the Club of Rome, The Ecosocial Forum Europe, the Global Contract Foundation, and the Club of Budapest.

[13] Ernesto Zedillo, former President of Mexico, chaired a group of experts („High-Level Panel on Financing for Development") who presented documents in preparation for the Conference on Financing for Development, held in Monterrey, Mexico, in 2002.

[14] In 1972 economist James Tobin suggested the imposition of a tax on foreign-exchange transactions, so that governments could regain the opportunity to effectively influence macroeconomic and national monetary policies. The Tobin tax would make spot conversions less profitable because transferring large amounts into a country and then quickly withdrawing them again would be more expensive. The tax should be higher for short-term operations and lower for long-term operations linked to foreign trade and direct investment. A 0.25 %, or 0.15 % is being discussed. With a 0.25 % tax, the estimated annual yield would reach US $ 300 billion.

[15] The outcomes of the study are presented in the following publications: Nováček (2001a), Nováček (2001b), Nováček, Mederly (2002), Nováček (2003), and Nováček, Mederly, Armand (2008).

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Early Marriage and Girls' Access to Education in Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia: Bahir Dar Special Zone Case Study

Eliška Gerthnerová // Ela.Gerthner@gmail.com
The European Affairs Section, Office of the Government of the Czech Republic

Hannah Haaij // HaaijHannah@gmail.com
Independent Researcher

Abstract

Early marriage is defined as marriage before the eighteenth birthday, and one-third of the girls in the global South are subject to it. The literature stresses that this harmful traditional practice negatively impacts the physical and mental development of girls, their number of surviving children, their vulnerability to domestic violence and the likelihood of them acquiring HIV (UNESCO, 2012; UNGEI 2007). A global focus on child marriages, exemplified by international events such as the 2014 Girl Summit in London, has created the momentum for addressing this harmful traditional practice more progressively. Despite the fact that marriage to a person under the age of eighteen is prohibited by Federal Law, early marriage is still prevalent in Ethiopia. This is driven by centuries-old traditions which view marriage as a tool for securing societal status and dowries, and for preventing the shame of pre-marital pregnancies. Moreover, gender norms value girls primarily for reproductive activities (Harper et al, 2014).

Research in Ethiopia has highlighted that girls dropping out of school (one effect of early marriage) causes a loss of economic opportunity that, in a girl's lifetime, equals 3% of one year's GDP (Gable, 2014). This study aims to explore how early marriage affects access to education for young and adolescent girls in the Amhara regional state in Ethiopia, using the Bahir Dar Special Zone as the case study. The study is based on literature review as well as quantitative and qualitative data on maternal and reproductive health service utilization in the Amhara regional state. The findings show that the mean age of marriage in Amhara is significantly associated with lower educational status. This again negatively correlates with a woman's age at first pregnancy and her total number of children. Early marriage is predominant in rural areas, whereas urban rates reflect the national average. This research concludes that the practice of marrying-off girls in Amhara denies them access to education, which fuels the vicious cycle of illiteracy, poverty and gender inequality, and also spills over to the next generation as illiterate mothers transmit the same patterns to their children and consequently to entire communities.

Key words: early marriage, education, Ethiopia, Amhara, gender inequality

Introduction

Almost one third of all girls in the global South are married before their eighteenth birthday, often against their will and to considerably older men. One in nine girls is married before the age of fifteen (Brown, 2012). This phenomenon is most prevalent in South Asia (one in two girls) and Sub-Saharan Africa (40% of girls) (GNB, 2015). Although this harmful traditional practice has declined in some countries over the last few years, evidence suggests there has been little real progress (Harper et al, 2014; Dopart and Wodon, 2013). Moreover, a country's data often fails to depict significant variations within that particular country. This is also the case with Ethiopia, a nation with one of the highest rates of early marriages in the world (Harper et al, 2014). However, in the capital of Addis Ababa less than 15% of female children were married, compared to 74% in the Amhara regional state in the same year (Brown, 2012). With 14.7 years being the median age of marriage, the Amhara region has the country's lowest average age for females to be married. Moreover, Amhara has one of Ethiopia's highest rates of illiteracy as over 60% of girls and women older than fifteen have never been to school (Hervish and Feldman-Jacobs, 2011; Erulkar and Muthengi, 2009).

Geographical and Demographical Context

The data for this article was collected in the Amhara regional state with a narrow focus on the Bahir Dar Special Zone, which is the region's capital city. Amhara covers almost 162 thousand sq. km of very diverse topography. More than 50% of the region is made up of mid highlands and fringe areas between 1,500 and 2,500 metres above sea level. The region is administratively divided into 11 zones, including the Bahir Dar Special Zone where the quantitative data collection took place.

The population of the Amhara region is over 19 million inhabitants with an annual growth of 1.8% which accounted for over 25% of the total population of the country in 2014 (AgroBig, 2014). The vast majority of the population resides in rural areas (87.4%) sustaining their livelihoods through small-scale agriculture (90%). Population distribution is unbalanced considering the population density. For instance, the Wag Hemra zone population density is 51.1 inhabitants per sq. km, in contrast to 673.0 inhabitants per sq. km in Bahir Dar. The age structure of the region more or less reflects the national figures: a hefty 42.6% of the population is younger than fourteen years, whereas people living longer than sixty-five years represent roughly 4%. Life expectancy at birth was less than 54 years in 2010 (ANRS BoFED, 2010). About 90% of the population is of Amharic ethnicity and almost 80% of its inhabitants are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (ANRS HAPCO, 2010).

Bahir Dar Special Zone (BDSZ)

Bahir Dar is situated approximately 600 km northwest of Addis Ababa. It is located on the southern bank of Lake Tana. Bahir Dar is one of a few Ethiopian secondary cities

and regional urban centres growing at an unprecedented rate, mainly due to immigration (Amera, 2010). The Bahir Dar Special Zone (BDSZ) has a special status in the Amhara administration, and consists of seventeen urban and rural kebeles (lowest administration unit). The total population of the zone was 220,344 in 2007, of which 180,094 in urban kebeles (CSA, 2008). However, regional sources indicate that in urban kebeles alone there were 252,786 people in 2011. This may reflect rapid population growth or urbanization (Health Zonal Office Bahir Dar, fieldwork 2011). CSA (2008) states that there were 40,250 inhabitants residing in rural kebeles of BDSZ in 2007.

Due to its rapidly growing population, Bahir Dar has had to face challenges such as uncontrolled and unplanned growth, lack of infrastructure, traffic congestion, housing shortages and environmental degradation (Amera, 2010). Consequently, social problems related to urban poverty are on the rise in Bahir Dar: prostitution, begging, drug and alcohol abuse and children (often orphans) living on the streets (ANRS BoFED, 2010). A small scale study has been conducted on prostitution and street children in Amhara's towns, including Bahir Dar, and the prevalence of both phenomena was indicated as being on the increase. Indeed, urban poverty in Ethiopia is likely to be a persistent component often associated with long-term unemployment, exclusion and being trapped in insecure livelihoods (Kedir and McKay, 2005). ANRS BoFED states that social problems in the area are expected to increase.

Gender Inequality

Gender inequality and poverty are deeply rooted in the patriarchal Amharic society where women are structurally disempowered. Women do not have equal opportunities and are subject to harmful traditional practices that expose them to reproductive ill-health such as female genital mutilation and child marriage. As such, access to various social and economic services is poor for women in Amhara (ANRS BoFED, 2010). In addition, women carry the heavy burden of household chores, on which they spend five times more time than men (Gable, 2014). For instance, due to the population's limited access to safe drinking water (less than 64% of the Amharic population) women have to walk long distances to fetch water, which further reduces their economic contribution and is an important factor in parents' decisions concerning investment in girls' educations. The Mini Demographic Household Survey (CSA, 2014) shows that 40% of Amhara women aged 15 to 49 were able to read and write. Subsequently, women's participation in political, social and economic activities is very limited in Amhara. Lastly, the harmful traditional practice of female genital mutilation affects 47.2% of children under fourteen in Ethiopia (CSA, 2012). According to MOWA et al (2010) 67% of Amhara women of a reproductive age were circumcised in 2005.

Methodology

The objective of this paper is to explore the impact of early marriage on girls' access to education in the Amhara regional state, taking Bahir Dar Special Zone as the case study.

The authors' major hypothesis is that early marriage represents a significant barrier to girls' educational attainment, although not the only one. The combination of supply and demand factors which hamper access to education and learning has been well described, however its narrative would exceed the scope of this article, therefore the major focus is primarily on early marriage. The data for this article consists of both primary quantitative and qualitative data collected at different periods on-site between 2011 and 2014 and complemented with the relevant literature which has been analysed for its content through a desk review. There is no basis for statistical generalization since the authors could not utilize representative random sampling.

Sampling and Site Selection

The entire selection of the data collection areas (urban and rural kebeles) was carried out in close cooperation with the host organization FHI 360 and its regional office seated in Bahir Dar. Time and logistic constraints were taken into account, hence purposive sampling was utilized. Despite their persistent efforts to collect information on population figures and maps of the different kebeles of BDSZ, the authors were not able to assemble the data, even with the support of the Zonal Health Office in Bahir Dar. Consequently sampling became a highly intuitive task. The final decision on the choice of urban and rural kebeles was based on the existing health care infrastructure and its spatial distribution and exclusion of pre-test sites.

Data Collection Methods & Techniques

In depth-interviews were carried out with key informants between 2011 and 2014. All of them were professionally experienced and familiar with the reproductive health agenda embedded in the whole Ethiopian health sector (INGO, the UN or local NGO workers, health providers), often referring to financing and resource allocation. Informed consent, including the consent to use recording devices, was obtained from all key informants. Interviews usually took place in Addis Ababa or BDSZ during working hours in the offices/working places of the key informants. Additionally, apart from the official interviews, there were also numerous informal opportunistic discussions which helped the researchers to gain a complete understanding of the research-related phenomena.

A household survey was carried out (2011) using a structured questionnaire targeted at women of reproductive age (15-49) who had at least one child at the time of data collection. Besides early marriage, the tool was designed to explore; a) household profile & economic status; b) knowledge & practice of family planning, antenatal care, child delivery and awareness of overall knowledge of services available.

The questionnaire was pre-tested on a similar population in kebele 11 on the edge of Bahir Dar city to test clarity, validity, reliability and the translation accuracy of the questions. For the actual study, respondents were selected through random cluster sampling. The selected kebeles were considered as clusters.

After field observations, each of the kebeles' streets were divided equally amongst data conductors. Each conductor from the research team had the task to try every eighth house in urban kebeles (13 & 17), every third house in Meshenti and every fourth house in Tis Abay. If the household inhabitant did not meet the criteria or refused to participate, then the assistant tried the house next door.

Ethical considerations

The household survey received formal approval from the Ethical Committee of the Amhara Regional Health Bureau, which means it met all the requirements set by the regional authorities. All participants and informants contributed to the study voluntarily, providing free and informed consent while being assured of anonymity and confidentiality. No one else, apart from the authors, had access to the data during the data collection period. No names of participants were recorded. Considering the key informants; their names appeared only in the Interim Report produced for the host organization.

What is Early Marriage

Early marriage is defined as marriage before the eighteenth birthday and it greatly influences girls' literacy, attained educational levels and overall welfare. While early marriage affects both girls and boys, it has a disproportionate impact on girls (Mutyaba, 2011). The age-old tradition adversely influences the physical and mental development of girls; it increases the number of children they will have, their vulnerability to domestic violence and the risk of acquiring HIV (UNESCO, 2012; UNGEI, 2007). Girls who get married before they reach eighteen are usually not mentally, physically and emotionally prepared for their roles as wives and mothers (Mutyaba, 2011). Arranged early marriage is particularly prevalent among the highland pastoralist and farming communities of the Amhara region, where daughters are often married-off without their consent. Erulkar and Muthengi (2009) state that only 15% of brides in Amhara consented to their marriages. Furthermore, 51% of the brides under 17 in this region had not wanted to consummate the marriage. Of the brides under 15 years, 32% were forced to experience their first sexual intercourse with their husbands (Erulkar, 2013).

Hence, it is important to consider the root causes of this old practice. Especially in rural areas of Amhara, early marriage has been viewed as a major form of social security as poverty is a key factor in marriage discussions. In addition, traditional gender norms that value girls primarily for their reproductive capacities are critical to understanding this phenomenon (Harper et al, 2014).

Human Rights Violation

Ethiopia has ratified international human rights declarations that acknowledge girls' fundamental human rights to life, health, education, freedom from degradation and discrimination, from inhumane and cruel treatment, and protection from harmful traditional practices. Mutyaba (2011) analyses early marriage in the context of international human

rights laws and names the following treaties: a) African Charter on their Rights and Welfare of the Child/Charter on the Rights of the Child 1999, b) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women/CEDAW 1981, c) African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights/ACHPR 1986, d) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights/ICCPR 1976, e) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights/ICESCR 1976, f) Convention of the Rights of the Child/CRC 1990 and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Women in Africa 2005. According to the UNFPA (2006), governments which ratify these conventions are committed to minimum global standards to prevent violations of human rights.

Allowing children and adolescents to be married before their eighteenth birthday is also a violation of Ethiopian law, namely the Family Code from 2000 (Federal Negarit Gazetta, 2000) which states that "marriage is only legal between consenting adults who have reached a minimum age of eighteen years". Revised Penal Code from 2004 also stipulates sanctions for the performance of sexual intercourse with children and adolescents below eighteen years of age (Mekonnen and Aspen, 2009; Mutyaba, 2009).

Types of Marriage

There are several types of early marriage practised in Ethiopia. Alemu (2007) describes three major types, although other authors (i.e. Tilson and Larsen, 2000) write about six types. Promissory marriage consists of a verbal promise given by parents either at childbirth or during infancy. In child marriage children under the age of ten are wedded and adolescent marriage involves girls aged between ten and eighteen (Alemu, 2007). In most cases, the child bride is taken to her in-laws immediately after the wedding. In some cases, the parents agree that the bride can stay with her parents until she reaches a certain level of maturity and she can then live with her husband.

Variations are also found based on families´ religious backgrounds (Tilson and Larsen, 2000) as religion is predominant in the daily lives of most Ethiopians. For instance, in the case of Ethiopian Muslim communities, it is often deeply shameful for girls to remain unmarried after their first menstruation (Harper et al, 2014). The Orthodox Church in general is not significantly involved in the area of marriage, which is the opposite in Muslim communities where religious authorities are involved to a greater extent. Regardless of religious or ceremonial differences, in rural areas of Amhara, tradition dictates that a girl should be married as soon as she reaches puberty. This is to ensure she is a virgin at the time of the marriage (Tilson and Larsen, 2000).

Causes and Consequences of Early Marriage

Causes and consequences of early marriage in Amhara are interrelated through a vicious cycle of poverty and gender inequality deeply embedded in traditions. The literature (i.e. Mutyaba, 2011, Alemu, 2007; Tilson and Larsen, 2000) describes reasons for early marriage such as the preservation of the bride's virginity, maintaining the family's good

name and social status, concerns about girls becoming pregnant out of wedlock and ensuring girls have no pre-marital relationships. It is a measure of the parents' success: their daughters need to make a good marriage and link their family to another respectable family. In addition, receiving macha, which is an incentive paid to the bride's family by the groom's family upon the marriage agreement, is a considerable motivation, especially for poor families. Mutyaba (2009) highlights the customary attitude that a girl reaches marriage-ready status at the start of puberty, and this is something difficult to challenge. Alemu (2007) argues that 80% of respondents (including parents) in his study could give no other reason for marrying-off their mid-teens daughters apart from it being a tradition they have to adhere to.

Turning to the consequences, the most immediate effects are on the health status of the young bride. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of newly-married girls experience their sexual initiation directly upon marriage, often resulting in pregnancy at a young age. The most typical and serious consequence of early pregnancy in Amhara is obstetric fistula, which is a bladder or bowel perforation caused by prolonged labour typical for the immature bodies of young mothers. It causes constant leakage of urine and/or faeces. If untreated, fistula irreversibly damages a girl's physical health. Moreover, girls who suffer badly from fistula may be abandoned by their husbands and become social outcasts from their communities (Emirie, 2005). A more critical health consequence of early pregnancy and prolonged child labour is maternal mortality, the rate of which in Amhara has significantly decreased in the last two decades, although it is still very high with 350 deaths per 100,000 live births (Interview, 2014). The infant mortality rate is also very high: 76 deaths per 1,000 live births (CSA and ICF Macro, 2011) which even exceeds the national average.

Limited research is available on the psychosocial impacts of early marriage. Emirie (2005) highlights that young brides often suffer from psychosocial problems arising from early intercourse and pregnancy. Consequently, there are reduced opportunities to develop their major psychological and social skills, exhibited in their limited autonomy and decision making abilities. Early marriage often leads to early divorce. Amhara has the highest divorce rate in the country (Erulkar and Muthengi-Karei, 2012; Tilson and Larsen, 2000). Among Erulkar and Muthengi-Karei's sample in the Amhara Awi Zone (2012), 53% of women who had been married were divorced or separated. One of the most typical divorce determinants in Amhara is childlessness, which is ironic considering the fact that many of those brides' bodies and minds are not ready to bear children. In addition, marriage with a considerably older husband leads woman into early widowhood which results in low social status and the impossibility of property inheritance (Bird, 2010).

Strictly, a girl does not have the chance to oppose her parents' will to marry her off. If she does, the community casts her out and she often has to escape to a city where she is vulnerable to various forms of discrimination; often exploitation for labour or sex (Interview, 2014). Some practitioners (Harper et al 2014, Interviews 2011-2014) are also

alarmed about Amharic girls' migration to the Middle East to work as domestic servants, which is a form of 'third way' option (besides escaping to cities). All sources indicated that parental pressure was a significant factor in girls' migration. While the majority of migrants to the Middle East are older adolescents and young adults, younger girls are beginning to migrate in larger numbers. Despite national laws banning labour migration for persons under eighteen, Harper et al (2014) highlight that up to 11% of migrants in 2013 were adolescents travelling with false IDs. The same source states that in the first eight months of 2013, 100,000 women left Ethiopia to work in the Middle East, so thousands of girls have been and are at risk.

Figure 1: Educational profile of ever-married Amharic women in BDSZ
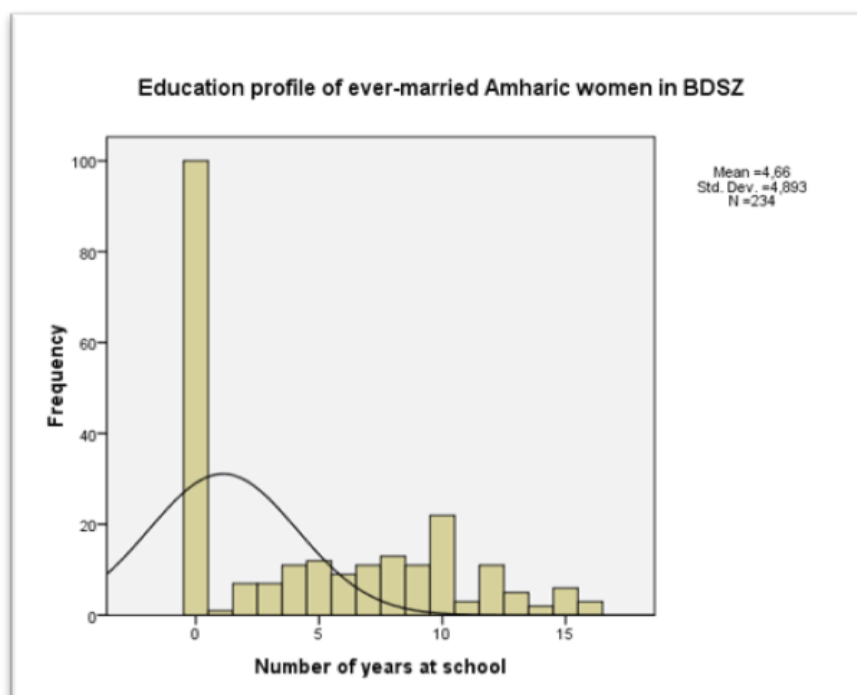
Educational Impacts of Early Marriage

The official primary school entry age in Ethiopia is seven and pupils attend for eight years. Secondary school is divided into two 2-year cycles (lower secondary and upper secondary). In the case of primary school enrolment, gender parity seems achievable (Interviews, 2011-2014). However, this is not the case for completion rates. According to the latest Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS, 2014) 54% of girls aged 7-14 years are not attending school (CSA and ICF Macro, 2011). School attendance is highest for girls at the age of thirteen and then it drops significantly (FHI 360, 2014). Apart from dropout rates, the major educational issues related to early marriage are low academic performance due to irregular attendance and frequent absenteeism, lack of time for school-related duties, lack of concentration on education and high repetition due to academic difficulties. Final and terminal drop-out is a logical consequence. In her study, Emirie (2005)

compared the academic performances of married and unmarried female pupils in West Gojjam in Amhara and concluded that the married girls' academic performance was significantly lower than that of the unmarried girls.

Relatively recently, studies on the lost economic opportunities caused by such phenomena as school dropouts have been conducted in order to grasp the social issues in monetary terms. Chabaan and Cunningham (in Gable, 2013) calculated the effect of female school dropouts in Ethiopia: If enrolled girls had completed primary school, their additional output over their lifetimes would be equal to 3% of the GDP. Moreover, if female dropouts completed secondary school, they would contribute the equivalent of 10% of the country's GDP for one year over their lifetimes.

Educational attainment strongly affects reproductive behaviour which influences fertility, infant and child mortality and morbidity (CSA, 2014). Better educated women are more likely to use family planning methods, raise healthier children and make better decisions for themselves and their children.

Results

Marriage was found to be nearly universal – 97.5% of the Amharic women sampled (n=234) had been or were married. The overall median age of first marriage in the Bahir Dar Special Zone was found to be sixteen. In its urban kebeles it even reached the legal threshold of eighteen years, whereas for rural women the age line was considerably lower with a median age of fifteen. Moreover, the youngest bride in the rural sample was three years old. The urban minimum age was nine (fieldwork, 2011 - 2014).

Figure 2: Literacy profile of ever-married Amharic women in BDSZ
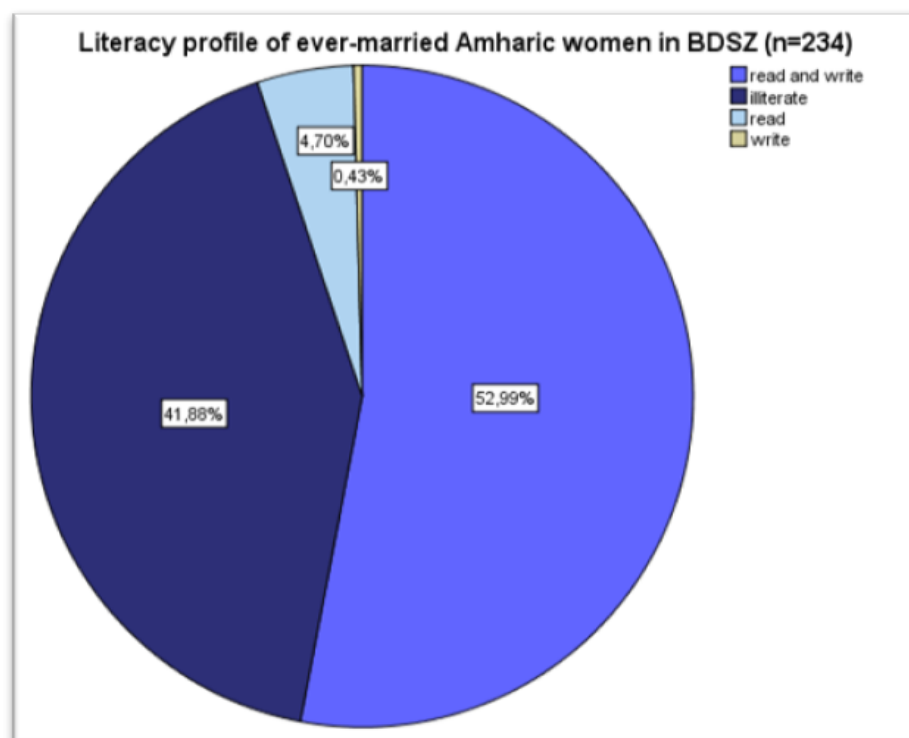
Figures 1 and 2 depict the educational and literacy profiles of the population sample (n=234) of Amharic women who were or had been married and living in the area of the Bahir Dar Special Zone. The mean duration of their schooling was 4.7 years, which clearly indicates incomplete primary education. More than half of the women sampled could read and write (almost 53%) but almost 42% of the women sampled were illiterate. This figure corresponds with the figure of 43% representing the respondents in our sample who had never gone to school – neither a literacy programme nor a formal school.

There was a notable difference between urban and rural women in terms of the type of marriage. Whereas it was relatively common for the urban sample to select their beloved one as a future husband (42.2%), for those living in rural kebeles of the BDSZ it was their parents who made the decision instead: 81.2% of sampled rural women had their marriages arranged. There was also a minor percentage of rural respondents (0.9%) who were married by abduction.

There was a slightly positive correlation between women´s education attained and their age at the time of their first marriage (see Table 1 below). The more years of schooling in the Bahir Dar Special Zone a woman acquired, the later she got married (r= .410, n=233, p < .05). For a Pearson Correlation of (r=.410), the coefficient of determination was calculated as 16.81% shared variance between educational attainment and age at first marriage.

Table 1: Relationship between education attained and age at first marriage of Amharic women in BDSZ		Years of education	Age at 1st m arriage
Years of education	Pearson Correlation	1	,410[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	234	233
Age at 1st marriage	Pearson Correlation	,410[**]	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	233	233
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

A Chi-square test for independence indicated a significant association between age at first marriage and educational attainment, (1,n=234)= .238, p < 0.05, phi = .412 (Table 2 below).

Table 2: Age range at first marriage of Amharic women in BDSZ by education attained

			Education attained (years)				Total
			0	**1 - 4**	**5 – 9**	**10+**	
Age range at first marriage (years)	**1-10**	Frequency	13	0	2	0	15
		% within education attained	13.0%	.0%	3.6%	.0%	6,4%
	11-13	Frequency	20	3	6	2	31
		% within education attained	20.0%	11.5%	10.7%	3.8%	13,2%
	14-16	Frequency	37	11	19	11	78
		% within education attained	37.0%	42.3%	33.9%	21.2%	33,3%
	17-18	Frequency	19	7	18	20	64
		% within education attained	19.0%	26.9%	32.1%	38.5%	27,4%
	19+	Frequency	11	5	11	19	46
		% within education attained	11.0%	19.2%	19.6%	36.5%	19,7%
Total		Frequency	100	26	56	52	234
		% within education attained	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Interestingly, a Chi-square test for independence indicated no significant association between age at first marriage and income status of the sampled women, (1,n=234)= .130, p = 0.412, phi = .13 (Table 3 below). On the other hand, a Chi-square test for independence indicated a significant relationship between women's age at the time of their first marriage and the number of children they have given birth to, (1,n=234)= .312, p < 0.05 , phi = .441 (see Table 4).

Table 3: Age at first marriage of Amharic women in BDSZ by own income status

			Has own income		Total
	Age		**Yes**	**No**	
Age at first marriage (years)	**1-10**	Total	9	6	15
		%	7.4%	5.4%	6,4%
	11-13	Total	19	12	31
		%	15.6%	10.7%	13,2%
	14-16	Total	34	44	78
		%	27.9%	39.3%	33,3%
	17-18	Total	35	29	64
		%	28.7%	25.9%	27,4%
	19+	Total	25	21	46
		%	20.5%	18.8%	19,7%
Total		Total	122	112	234
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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			Number of children			Total
			≤1	2 - 3	4+	
Age at first marriage (Years)	1-10	Frequency	2	6	7	15
		%	2.6%	5.5%	14.6%	6,4%
	11-13	Frequency	3	19	9	31
		%	3.9%	17.4%	18.8%	13,2%
	14-16	Frequency	18	35	25	78
		%	23.4%	32.1%	52.1%	33,3%
	17-18	Frequency	27	30	7	64
		%	35.1%	27.5%	14.6%	27,4%
	19+	Frequency	27	19	0	46
		%	35.1%	17.4%	.0%	19,7%
Total		Frequency	77	109	48	234
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4: **Age range of Amharic women's first marriage by distribution of children**

Discussion

The median age of first marriage in the Bahir Dar Special Zone (16.1 years) was found to be considerably lower than the overall median age of marriage for rural girls when aggregated for the whole country - 17.3 years (Erulkar and Muthengi-Karei, 2012) and also lower than the national median of 17 years as measured by the latest Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (Gable, 2014).

In contrast, the overall educational level attained by respondents in our sample appeared to be higher than the one collected for the Amhara region by the latest EDHS in 2011 (CSA and ICF Macro, 2011). The EDHS shows that 62% of Amharic women have never gone to school, against 42.7% in our sample. The illiteracy level in the EDHS was also considerably higher: 75% against 41.8% in our sample. Nonetheless, one could not fully compare this data as the methodology of its collection was different from ours. DHS refers to a fully literate woman if she attended secondary or higher school and can read a whole sentence or part of a sentence. The authors of this article did not examine the real level of respondents' literacy. Respondents could choose from 4 options: a) can only read, b) can only write, c) can do neither, d) can both read and write. The last option was operationalized as full literacy. The overall direction of the results is still in line with Brown's (2012) finding that girls in Amhara often start schooling long after the official enrolment age and dropout as soon as they reach the median age of marriage, before primary school completion.

As was extensively stated by our key informants (Interviews 2011-2014), a woman's role in Amharic society is solely to become a housewife and mother, meaning that the benefits associated with educating women are still perceived as low. Investing in girls' education is seen as an extra cost rather than an investment. Parents do not see their daughters' education as a future pay off, although studies show the opposite is true (Gable, 2014). She argues that private returns to education are particularly important for females in developing countries, and there is an estimated 11% of private return for Ethiopian girls' education. Another parental concern is the girls' safety when walking long distances to school, as this may put them at risk of sexual harassment and rape. Paradoxically, keeping them home is considered a protective measure. Some informants expressed their thoughts that parents naturally feared that girls in particular and those around lower secondary level, would meet up with boys on the way to school or in college dormitories, and start to explore their own sexuality, which goes against traditional values (Interviews, 2014). These barriers are also related to those discussed in most of the literature, such as the avoidance of virginity loss and/or pre-marital pregnancy (Mutyaba, 2011; Alemu, 2007; Tilson and Larsen, 2000; Emirie, 2005, etc.).

Concerning community awareness of early marriage, as pointed out by one informant, 'no one dares to organize an early marriage wedding ceremony publically these days' (Interview, 2014), which does not imply these ceremonies do not happen. On the contrary, they tend to be organized rather undercover – i.e. parents set up a ceremony in a neighbouring village where the family law enforcement is not as strong because police, schools and/or health centres do not follow up these issues. In addition, parents organize a ceremony without letting their daughter know that it is her wedding day and she also meets her husband for the first time (Erulkar and Muthengi-Karei, 2012). A large number of girls were also reported to have married during school holidays and never returned to the classroom (Interview, 2014).

Mekonnen and Aspen (2009) bring an interesting view to the debate, stating that the campaign against early marriage is a clash between the modern state and traditional peasantry. These authors see schools doing the work of the police instead of providing open arenas for learning and teaching. This argument relates to the opinion of another key informant who stated that it is impossible to imprison the entire community so the principle of collective responsibility is inapplicable (Interview, 2014). This attitude corresponds with another key informant's view which confirmed that law enforcement is weak because the federal government gives priority to social mobilization and awareness raising. In recent literature (i.e. Ogato, 2013; Bayeh, 2015) the lack of law enforcement in Ethiopia as related to early marriage is contributed to the government's lack of capacity in resource allocation and human resources deployment at large, and particular in institutes which address gender inequality. The lack of law enforcement is also attributable to the absence of women in higher and decision making positions.

Consequently, there have only been a few official cases against parents forcing their daughters into early marriage (Interview, 2014).

Contrary to the mainstream literature, some of the informants argued that poverty is not a strong driver for early marriage, reasoning that girls from better-off (rural) families in Amhara are still being married off. Moreover, dowry or bride price has a rather temporary effect on overall family wealth and therefore poverty cannot be the main explanation for early marriage. These informants stressed that early marriage is principally an outcome of strong cultural traditions which are strongly connected to gender inequality.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Early marriage is both a cause and a consequence of girls' insufficient educational attainment and illiteracy. The denial of access to education for Amhara's adolescent females fuels the vicious cycle of poverty, illiteracy, and gender inequality which carries over to the next generation as poor and illiterate mothers transmit the same patterns to their children and consequently to entire communities.

A combination of community awareness-raising, support for girls' smooth transition from primary to secondary education, economic strengthening initiatives and legal empowerment for girls and women need to be considered at all levels (Harper et al., 2014). There is no single strategy which is likely to end the practice of early marriage. There are a number of different approaches which are context-dependant in Ethiopian culture. Comprehensive responses to early marriage include the development of supportive laws and enhancing girls' access to education, together with the provision of economic support to girls' families in order to address the poverty-related issues which push girls into early marriage. The education of parents and community members and leaders should be carefully tailored to community beliefs.

It is important to point out that education alone is not the solution. It needs to go hand in hand with the promotion of decent youth employment opportunities so parents can see the benefits of higher education for their daughters. The authors of this article have identified a few promising (combinations of) intervention schemes which address the issue (Interviews, 2011-2014; Erulkar and Muthengi-Karei, 2012):

1) Community conversations led by experienced and trained facilitators, including male religious leaders

2) Educational support/scholarships in the form of school materials exchanged for parental assurances that they will keep their daughters at school

3) Conditional cash transfers to parents if they keep their daughter(s) unmarried for a period of 2 years or longer

4) Suggestion boxes installed in schools where pupils/students can anonymously report suspicions of early marriage to inform schools and local NGOs/rights groups so they can intervene

5) Girls' clubs established in schools to confidentially discuss fundamental reproductive health issues without shame and prejudice

The 2014 Girl Summit in London pledged to end harmful traditional practices (FGM and early marriage) by 2025 and it is everyone's concern to build strong, comprehensive national responses to early marriage. Besides the social and cultural aspects, there is also an economic perspective which needs to be taken into account. Gable (2013) concludes that for every 1% of girls who complete secondary education the annual national economic growth per capita increases by about 0.3%. The overall social inclusion of adolescent girls will result in significant economic growth.

In the context of the global formulation of a transformative post-2015 development agenda, global, national and local policy makers and practitioners should bear in mind that each year a marriage is delayed is a year that a girl can remain in school. Education will raise the age at which she will conceive her first child. According to CSA (2014) a woman with higher educational attainment is likely to have fewer children (the total fertility rate of women with no education is 5.0 against 2.2 for women with secondary education or higher). Moreover, an educated woman is able to execute her autonomy and hence she will be more likely to utilize reproductive health services, such as child delivery at a health facility or family planning. Finally, it is important to point out that all the interventions which address early marriage in Ethiopia (federal, regional, non-governmental, academic, etc.) should be evidence-based and carefully tailored to local settings. Those should be complemented by ex-ante and ex-post evaluation with dis-aggregated quantitative and qualitative data, otherwise communities will always find ways to continue the tradition, even though it has been violating individual freedoms and the rights of millions of Amharic girls and women over centuries.

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To Accept the Future

Oil, climate, denial and the future capacity of development assistance—Part II

Juraj Mesík // mesik@changenet.sk
Department of Development Studies, Faculty of Science, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic

Key words: oil, climate, future, development assistance

Since the first part of this essay was published in the DEF, the mighty, formally educated, yet future-naive Europe has received her wake-up call from the future. By the end of 2015, 800,000 asylum seekers are expected to have arrived in Germany (Guardian 2015 A). This is four times more than one year before. By August 2015, more than 125,000 migrants reached the Greek islands – a 750% increase over the whole of 2014 (Business 2015). Globally in three years, from 2011 to 2014, the number of people displaced by war grew from 42.5 million to 59.5 million (UNHCR 2015).

Is this the future I am talking about? Not really. Not yet...

Factors existing at the rise of civilisations also tend to be the reasons for their fall.

No civilization can flourish without the production of a food surplus as only a food surplus allows some people to leave the fields and start to specialize in a range of disciplines, which lead to great architecture, arts, science, technology, development of cities and other manifestations of civilization. Our predecessors once understood that agriculture is the fundament on which each civilization stands: after all, the word "culture" originates from the Latin "cultura" – cultivation, agriculture. Surrounded by gadgets and removed from farms and farm animals, we tend to miss this basic reality.

Factors in place at the cradle of our global,, industrial – of if you wish post-industrial – civilization, were oil and other fossil fuels. One billion people lived on the Earth at the dawn of the industrial era around the year 1800. It took 200,000 years for our species to reach this figure. For 190,000 years of that period the human population was below or around 5 million hunters and gatherers. Then it took around 10,000 years for the agrarian revolution to push the human population from 5 million to 1 billion, most of them farmers. What followed was a lightning strike: within the next 200 years coal, oil and natural gas provided enough energy for the increasing homo sapiens population to reach more than 7 billion people. Billions of oil "slaves", more precisely fossil fuel "slaves", hidden in billions of barrels of oil and tons of coal not only enabled explosive population growth, but also an unprecedented increase in the consumption of materials and energy. This also enabled billions of humans to live an urban life in cities and megacities, to fly over the oceans and make daily movements over long distances, all of which would have been beyond human imagination just a few generations earlier.

I know this is repetitive, yet it is not quite without meaning: all those billions of barrels of oil and billions of tons of coal, created over millions of years but burned over two

centuries, do not come without a price to be paid. Physical data suggest that the burning of fossil fuels which enabled our civilization to progress is also most likely to become its undertaker. The mechanism of how it is going to happen is being denied with the same, if not bigger stridency, as the peak oil, global warming and climate change.

Climate change

Let´s remind climate deniers, if they happen to be among the readers of this text, that according to the study „Expert Credibility in Climate Change" published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (volume 107, 2010), around 90% of climate scientists have no doubt about the anthropogenic warming of the Earth's climate, while the majority of the remaining 10% have doubts about the extent of human involvement, not about the reality of fast warming. The doubts about climate change are being spread principally by groups such as fossil fuels and fossil energy lobbyists who try, often very successfully, to prevent taxation on emissions, and by non-climate scientists who let themselves get drawn into the debate without really studying the issues.

For those with an understanding of basic physics the reality is rather clear: 120 years of global collection of data from the surface of all the continents and shorter data sets from the surface and the depths of the oceans prove beyond doubt that the average global temperature is rising fast. Capitalists, Communists, Europeans, Chinese, Indians, Americans, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews and more have all came to the same conclusion: the average global temperature over the past 100 years has increased by 0.8° degrees Celsius. How do we know this is significant?

The language of ice cores

All those who paid attention at elementary school will remember that at various times in the past there were ice ages; periods when much of Europe and North America were covered by a thick sheet of ice, and further south the landscape was covered by freezing tundra which provided food for the herds of mammoths, reindeer, woolly rhinoceros and other species adapted to the extreme cold. Some may recall being taught that the last ice age ended approximately 20,000 years ago. What we mostly did not learn – and it goes without saying – is that all civilizations, from Sumer and Egyptian through classical Greek, Chinese, Roman, Aztec and Inca up to our recent global high-tech civilization, emerged during an interglacial period named the Holocene, which has lasted roughly 12,500 years. It is this era of unusually stable climate that made possible the rise of agriculture and consequently the steady growth of food supply, populations, cities, human specialization and other attributes of civilization.

How do we know about past climates? Paleoclimatology possesses a whole spectrum of methods which enable the study of how the climate has changed during the history of the Earth, how temperatures have fluctuated and the chemical composition of the atmosphere. One of the most elegant of these methods is the analysis of ice cores

extracted from the ice sheets of Greenland, Antarctica and mountain glaciers still preserved in the high altitudes of the Alps, the Andes, the Himalayas and other mountains. Glaciologists can drill into the Greenland and Antarctic ice sheets, to depths where ice was formed one million years ago. Frozen in these cores is the long history of the Earth's climate and atmosphere.

Thus we know that during the previous interglacial periods, average global temperatures were similar to those of the Holocene and during the previous ice ages, global temperatures were, on average, 6 degrees colder. The interglacial era, when most of Europe is covered by fertile fields and lush forests, is separated from the ice age, when large parts of Europe were covered by a thick ice sheet, and the tundra by a meagre 6° Celsius in average global temperatures. Indeed in latitudes of Central Europe the difference is approximately twice as pronounced, that is around 10°C to 12°C. For many locations it means an annual average temperature around or below freezing point.

A seemingly modest 0.8°C increase in average global temperature over past 100 years needs to be compared with those 6 degrees which separate us from ice age conditions. 0.5°C of the 0.8°C are from the last 30 years. Paleoclimatology offers yet more crucial information: the transition from the last ice age to the Holocene; a 6°C rise in average global temperatures, took almost 10,000 years, during which the gigantic ice sheets covering northern Europe and all of Canada melted and the sea level increased by 120 metres.

Simple calculations tell us that the current rate of temperature increase is - so far - approximately 30 times higher than during the ice age – Holocene transition. "So far" is important: there are many physical reasons why further acceleration can be expected. What are they? For instance, the area covered by snow and ice has been reduced and along with the shorter duration of winters this shows that the period of coverage of the continents is shortened. The Earth's albedo is changing: less solar energy is reflected back into space and more is absorbed by the ice and snow free oceans and land. An unknown but apparently growing amount of methane is being released from permafrost melting in Siberia, Canada, Alaska and the Tibetan plateau. Huge quantities of methane are also being released from clathrate deposits in warming shallow shelf seas such as the East Siberia Sea. Methane is powerful greenhouse gas, 20 times stronger than carbon dioxide. As the climate warms up, drought and heatwaves make forests in the U.S., Canada, Siberia and Amazonia increasingly vulnerable to wildfires. During the 2005 and 2010 droughts, Amazonia was a net emitter of CO2 instead of serving as the Earth´s major carbon sink (Lewis 2010).

You can certainly sense what is the source of the problem. Factors existing at the rise of civilisations also tend to be the reasons for their fall.

Basic issues of life and death

The facts mentioned above should be well known to people from their time at school. Anyhow, let me sum up a few facts: Chemical analysis of ice cores as mentioned above, informs us that atmospheric CO_2 concentrations during the ice ages reached a minimum of 180 parts per million (ppm) and during the interglacial era they reached a maximum of 280 ppm. Methane concentrations moved from 300 parts per billion (ppb) to 700 ppb and back. Current atmospheric CO_2 concentration is 400 ppm. Methane concentration is around 1700 ppb. Volumes of greenhouse gasses added to the atmosphere over the past 200 years have already significantly exceeded their "physiological" fluctuations between the ice and interglacial ages.

Methane retention time in the atmosphere is measured in decades. Carbon dioxide´s time is measured in centuries. They set a timeframe during which temperatures will continue to rise. How high they will rise is an open question: more optimistic scientists and models suggest plus 2°C to plus 4°C within the period 2050 to 2100. Key politicians pretend that exactly + 2°C is a legitimate goal for our pathetic efforts to limit global warming. No one – or very few at best – asks whether those +2°C are actually compatible with the survival of our civilization. We should ask this question, because even as we speak the atmosphere is changing.

We know that the last time the Earth´s atmosphere had the same level of CO_2 as today – 400 ppm – sea levels were 5 to 40 metres higher and average global temperature were 3 to 4°C higher. (Monroe 2013). As we do not possess the means to extract methane and CO_2 from the atmosphere fast enough, and while we add more and more to the atmosphere in our holy quest for GDP growth and more consumption, our planet is firmly on a trajectory towards the melting of Greenland's and the Antarctic's ice sheets, and a sea level appropriate for 400 ppm of CO_2 and 1700 ppb of methane. Those 4 to 40 metre rises in sea levels mean that Bangladesh, the Netherlands, Florida, London, New York, Cairo, Lagos, Bombay, Karachi, Jakarta, Hong-Kong, Bangkok and dozens of megacities and thousands of smaller ones will be under water.

However, the sinking of coastal countries and cities is not what needs to concern the current generation the most. The melting of ice sheets has a long latency and it may take several generations until the process the point of no return. By that time our generation will only be a fading memory, but what will remain of the present generation are our failures. However, us and our children will be affected much sooner via the most basic pillars of our civilization: agriculture and food production.

Achilles heel of food supply

In fact to speak about this issue in the future tense is pointless: climate change is already affecting our food security and social stability. Extreme heat waves in Russia in 2010 destroyed one third of the Russian wheat harvest and set in motion dramatic increases

in global food prices which, in the ensuing 6 months, triggered a wave of Arab revolutions. Their fruits are still being harvested by the world and will be for many years to come. (Mesik 2011) As the Arab world as a whole already imports more than half of the food calories needed to sustain its explosively growing population, it will be the one region that will first feel the heat. It is highly probable that it will be followed into desperation and chaos by other countries of subtropical climate zones, such as the Sahel countries in Africa, some of which are already balancing on the edge of famine. Countries such as Pakistan, possibly armed with nuclear bombs, or overpopulated Bangladesh, or India, or Mexico writhing in the spasms of drug wars, or someone else, may follow the Arab world into chaos and desperation.

If the current world only faced the challenges of extreme debts and the risks of banks and nations becoming bankrupt with the consequent social disruption, it would be bad. However, the risks of a debt-financed life and the collapse of the financial system are only a mild version of peak oil consequences. And those are innocent games compared to possible climate change disruption.

We can all happily relax with a mirage of rose-tinted tomorrows, but our desires will have little effect on the crash of our civilization with the realities of peak oil and climate change. The question is not whether resource scarcity and climate change will hit us, but when and at what speed. Paraphrasing the Czech thinker and activist Ivan Rynda, we may be lucky and get a "gentle dose of crisis" – or we may receive an unkind dose. The other possibility means less time to adapt and an even higher risk of mal-adaptations in the form of searches for scapegoats and promises of miraculous cures, all of which will ultimately lead to cumulating frustrations and a violent climax. What we see in Syria and Iraq today is but a living laboratory of the possibilities which some parts of the rich world may sooner or later be confronted with.

Future of development assistance

There can hardly be any doubt that with unsustainable public and private debts, exhaustion of oil, water and other mineral resources and a rapidly changing climate, the need for development and humanitarian assistance will be steeply growing at the same time; a time when the capacity and will of the rich countries to provide it will be under growing stress and scrutiny. What will the clash of growing needs and falling resources bring to the scene of development aid thinking and practice?

Let us first look at the recent past. It was in 1970 – just two years before the first edition of the Club of Rome´s report Limits to Growth – when the United Nations adopted the target according to which rich countries should provide 0.7% of their GDP for development assistance. As of 2015 only six small countries – Denmark, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Arab Emirates - have reached that goal. Joining them in 2014 for the first time was the first large global economy – the UK (Guardian 2015). Of the G7 countries, according to the United Nation´s data, Canada provided net foreign

aid equal to 0.24%, of the GNI, France 0.36%, Germany 0.41%, Italy 0.16%, Japan 0.19%, the UK 0.71 and the United States 0.19%. These seven countries represent 46% of global GDP and more than 64% of global wealth. If they do not help, there is no one else out there to do the job.

To remind us of more recent pledges, when the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia were accepted to the OECD, they pledged to increase their foreign aid to 0.35% of GNI by 2015. In 2014 the Czech Republic gave 0.11%, while Poland and Slovakia each gave 0.08% of their GNI. Crisis ridden Greece gave 0.11%, and Spain, with all her colonial heritage and sins gave 0.14%.

This is the standard situation with the foreign assistance of rich countries to poor ones during times of economic growth, cheap oil and a steady climate. What are the chances that, in times of sluggish or negative economic growth, high debt, expensive oil and worsening climate, the rich countries will be more generous? Let us face it: none. The Greek story gives us a more realistic clue to what is likely to happen to aid budgets under financial stress: Greek foreign aid in 2002 and 2003 reached 0.21%: by 2013 it had halved to 0.1%. To make the point one more time: Spanish foreign aid in 2008 was 0.45% and in 2009 it reached 0.46% of the GNI: in 2014 it was down to 0.14%, less than one third of the amount just five years earlier.

It is not as if there would not be the need: according to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, more than 100 million people across the world are in need of "urgent life-saving humanitarian assistance", with nearly 60 million forcibly displaced as of the summer of 2015. (UN 2015) This situation did not emerge overnight. Let´s take Syria as a classic example of the rich world´s failure to respond to a gradually growing crisis.

Facing the migration wave of 2015, the media and politicians repeat as a mantra the statement "Nobody could have expected this". Nonsense: the whole thing was totally predictable, the only question was when the wave would start and how high it will go. A new drought has gripped Syria since September 2013 and the smallest amount of wheat since the year 2000 was planted. In April 2014 the media reported 4 million Syrians were in need of food assistance and the number was growing fast – but only 22% of the pledges of financial support for the World Food Program were covered. To provide the basic minimum for the then 4 million people, 40 million dollars per week was needed. By December 2014, the WFP was forced to suspend food aid for 1.6 million Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries due to a funding crisis. By then more than 3.2 million Syrians had left the country and 7.6 million more were displaced within Syria (BBC 2014). At the beginning of July 2015 the WFP was forced to half the value of a food coupon – to 13.5 dollars per month. By then the WFP´s Syrian operations were 81% underfunded. "Um Haitham, a Syrian refugee, says she pays approximately $40 per month to buy milk for her baby. A packet of bread costs $1. A kilo of tomatoes is just over $1 and a kilo of rice is about $3. "How are we supposed to feed our children, our babies, on this kind of

money? This is not even enough to survive on," said Um Haitham, with the youngest of her three children glued to her hip", reports Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera 2015).

Is anyone surprised that masses of people from Syria started to move to Europe in 2015? Or by the fact that they were accompanied by masses of people from Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan and many other countries, including the European Balkans? So instead of providing hundreds of millions to help millions in refugee camps via support for the WFP and other UN agencies, Europeans, Germans in particular, choose to provide billions for the few hundred thousand migrants who arrived in Europe.

Moreover, what can be observed on the roads of Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, Croatia, Austria and Germany itself in 2015 is a classic example of Darwinian "survival of the fittest": those poorest, most vulnerable and most deserving of help and compassion are only a small fraction among migrants. Women, children, the elderly, the handicapped and the poorest do not have the resources or the energy for migration to Europe. Could Germany do it better? Indeed it could – but it did not even try. Germany could have relatively easily organized air and sea bridges which would have safely and cheaply transported those eligible, the most vulnerable Syrians from Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan to Germany. Instead it catalyzed the departure of the most capable, the best educated, young and rich Syrians, a true brain and muscle drain from an impoverished and devastated country. If the war in Syria ends – let us be optimistic for a moment – Syria will need exactly such people. It may be an illusion to hope that many of those who left will ever return.

More people, more needs and fewer resources: Triage imperative

Poor countries increasingly destabilized by climate change, as well as water, oil and other resource depletion, combined with explosive population growth and consequent political and security deterioration, will need more and more foreign assistance. Much more than was never met by 0.7% GNI.

For political leaders – and voters – of the rich countries, foreign aid is a very marginal issue on their agenda. It was this way in the times of rapid economic growth which led to unheard of prosperity in the West. It will be even more so when the West itself starts to feel the same climate and resource pressures, which for poorer countries will soon become devastating. The brief story concerning the volume of Greek development aid illustrated the point better than any speculation.

In an environment of rapidly growing needs and almost equally quickly falling aid resources, the efficiency of development assistance will be even more important than over the previous decades. What the West has achieved in this field so far is not particularly impressve: whether it is the extent of corruption surrounding development aid – including the use of the huge EU´s cohesion, structural and development funds within new member states – or the share of development aid budgets actually leaving donor

countries, or, as most recently, the plentiful collateral damage surrounding migration to Germany and western Europe from Syria, Iraq and other poor countries. Instead of helping to keep food subsidies provided by the WFP to Syrian refugees in camps at the level of 40 Euros per month, the German budget pays an annual price of 12,000 to 13,000 Euros per one asylum seeker inside the country (Frankfurter 2015) – 25 times more per capita, with many unintended consequences and future issues to deal with both in Germany and in human capital depleted Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Excesses such as the one mentioned above – too much money for two few of the privileged – are not sustainable and will soon become totally unrealistic. In a world of much more limited resources and an age of climate change consequences, aid efficiency will probably gain new meaning. The development assistance field in general, not only emergency aid, may soon need to learn some key lessons from military/ catastrophe medicine, such as a triage approach. Seemingly brutal, but efficient in terms of saved lives, the triage approach divides the victims of a disaster into three groups: those, who can manage without help, those who will most likely die and those who have good chance to survive if they are given available attention and assistance. The first group receives aspirin or nothing. The second receives morphine. The third reaches doctors and surgical rooms.

Mirage of Sustainable Development Goals

When you look at the United Nation´s new "Sustainable development goals", it is quite clear that the world continues to live – or at least pretends to live – with the idea of continual and never ending growth in consumption and the availability of resources. The list of 17 magnificent goals does not leave anyone familiar with paleoclimatology or the state of oil, water, soils and mineral resources, or the levels of public, private and corporate indebtedness, in any doubt about the science-fiction nature of the SDGs. In fact they are much more fiction than science. The SDG´s 17 goals and 169 targets remind one more of a child´s Christmas wish list, than a reflection of reality and real possibilities. Politicians indeed like them: no profession is better these days at making promises of a glorious future of plenty and justice. The impossible achieved while you wait; miracles in ten minutes.

It is easy to make fun of good people´s good, but naïve intentions. After all it is probably better to make at least some efforts to debate the challenges of the future, than ignore them completely. However, the results of long and very, very costly debates, in terms of numbers of experts paid and frequent flyers miles earned, are surprisingly weak in addressing some of the fundamental issues of the present world. There is no mention of the need to stop human population growth as soon as possible: the closest the SDG´s come to mentioning it is in relation to empowering women and girls. This is not enough in African and Arab countries, where the population has increased by more than 40 or even 5 0 % s i n c e t h e y e a r 2 0 0 0 .

Here are just a few examples: Yemen – hovering on the brink of collapse – 50% increase in population from 2000 to 2014. Sahelian Mali – 53% increase. Neighbouring Niger - 63%. Africa´s population giant Nigeria - 44%. To these explosively growing populations the SDG´s promise "sustained and sustainable growth" and, of course, full employment. We are keeping a straight face while deceiving ourselves, knowing and ignoring the fact that the figures simply do not fit.

What we desperately need, if we are serious about development assistance, is to openly tell the leaders and populations of developing countries that we in the North will not able to assist them at the previous level, we will not be able to absorb the burgeoning populations of Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Central and South America. We need to tell them honestly that climate, food and resources pressure will be growing and are by now almost completely out of human control. Technologies may be able to help humankind to survive the pressures of tomorrow, but there is no guarantee we will develop all the necessary technologies in time and that will be able to scale them up to service billions of people. The fate of nuclear energy is a warning example: after 60 years of development, the nuclear industry provides less than 4% of the world´s primary energy and only about 11% of the world´s electricity (British Petroleum 2015).

And not least, we need to tell the people and the leaders of the global South, as well as ourselves, that the global North is heading towards a painful and possibly very messy divorce with its own ideas, beliefs and dreams about the future.

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Master programme International Development Studies
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Master's programme International Development Studies taught in English is first of its kind in the region of Central and Eastern Europe and is open to students from all parts of the world. It is a two-year, full-time programme designed not only for bachelor students with development studies background but also for students from related fields who are interested in international development. Annual fee is 3000 EUR. Number of scholarships are offered by university and by other institutions.

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- Methodological Background – elective courses focused on Quantitative and Qualitative Methods
- Regional Orientation – elective courses focused on Development Opportunities of Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Middle East and Central Asia
- Practical Focus – practically oriented elective courses, for example Project Management or Internship

Upon successful completion of the programme students will be equipped to work in the field of international development in public sector, private industry, as well as in governmental and non-governmental organizations at both national and international levels.

For more information about the programme and entry requirements for potential students, please visit www.development.upol.cz/ids.

Call for Papers for the fourth issue of the Development, Environment and Foresight

Development, Environment and Foresight (DEF Journal) opens its fourth **Call for Papers**. Researchers dealing with topics related to the scope of the journal are welcomed to submit abstracts to the editorial board.

In case you are interested in publishing in DEF Journal, please send your **abstract** (400-700 words) to Jiri Panek (**Jiri.Panek@upol.cz**). Deadline for abstract submissions is **30th April 2016**.

The Development, Environment and Foresight journal is publishing articles about the recent research achievements within the Environmental Studies, Development Studies and Foresight.

The goal of this journal is to track the development tendency of these fields of expertise and make contributions in the development of the subject.

The Environmental Studies is the interdisciplinary academic field which systematically studies human interaction with the environment. The main interests are solving complex problems, and includes particularly the factors that have an influence on human´s well-being and sustainable development.

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Foresight is the ability to predict what may happen or be needed in the future, while considering the future as something that we can create or shape. Foresight assumes that the future is not pre-determined but can evolve in different directions. Foresight includes thinking the future, debating the future and shaping the future, using participatory and multidisciplinary approaches.

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Papers will undergo double blind-review process by two reviewers and editor.

Normal paper length is around 5000-8000 words. Very short papers are unlikely to be complete and will be rejected. Excessively long papers will subject to careful scrutiny - and authors can expect to be asked to reduce the length. If necessary, you may choose to split a paper into two - but each paper must stand lone as a complete paper.

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This section is open to student papers which present cutting-edge research and trending topics.

Papers will undergo blind-review process by one reviewer and editor.

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Criteria for acceptance include clarity and coherence of the position espoused, technical soundness, and editor judgment as to the degree to which the letter/commentary contributes to greater insight and understanding of the topic.

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