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NEWS

OSSREA Hosts a Workshop on "Scenarios of the Greater Horn of Africa"

OSSREA, in collaboration with Greater Horn Horizon and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), hosted a Workshop on "Scenarios of the Greater Horn of Africa", from 21 - 22 October 2010 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Professor Habtamu, the Resident Vice President of OSSREA, welcomed all participants on behalf of Professor Paschal Mihyo, the Executive Director of OSSREA, and gave a brief background of OSSREA. Professor Habtamu indicated in his speech that issues of conflict resolution, peace and security are within the strategic priorities of OSSREA, and thus OSSREA looks forward to working with FES and The Greater Horn of Africa in these areas.

Mr. Arne Schildberg, the Director from FES Addis, on his part, welcomed all participants and talked about the activities FES is engaged in such as : Federalism, and Policies in Ethiopia, and about its works with the African Union, networking, and encouraging dialogue with parliamentarians. From the regional perspective it was explained that FES did work on issues of social protection, political parties, and security policy issues.

The next speaker, Mr Pierre Sane' of "Imagine Africa International" (Paris), explained about the background and establishment of GHHF and its role as a regional platform for policy dialogue. Mr Sane stated that GHHF was established in 2007 in Djibouti as an independent regional platform with a country agreement and its own statutes. He also explained that previously accomplished works that have relevance to the present workshop included works on:

- how to use research results to inform and facilitate peace dialogues;
- anticipation and scenario building as what should be done in order to encourage the positive trends in peace and security;
- promoting the culture of dialogue regarding peace and security issues in the region; and
- networking between think-tanks that can contribute to dialogue in the region and then ultimately help policymakers make more informed decisions that will contribute to the wellbeing of society.

Ms. Anja Dargatz, from FES Sudan, then introduced the objectives of the workshop that would ultimately lead to a security policy dialogue at a regional level. She stressed that the trend had so far been to invite foreign experts to deliberate on such issues but now the focus was more on a national approach. According to her, studies had been done on various scenarios in

the Greater Horn and the participants then were either to build on that or develop new ways of moving forward.

Professor Abdel Ghaffar, Director of Greater Horn Horizon, was the next speaker. He gave a brief introduction to the three scenarios: i) disintegrated Horn, ii) creation of warlords, and iii) integrated horn of Africa, and explained that the first two were pessimistic while the third one was a more positive view of what Africa would look like in 2015. Professor Tessema Taa on his part gave a brief presentation on the three scenarios that were developed in Nairobi in 2006, which were entitled: Diving Deep, the Horn in Crises, Warlords Paradise, and The Federated Horn Sailing Fast.

After some discussion on what had been done since scenarios were identified in 2006, what mechanisms could be employed to use research results to influence policy, and how governments in the region viewed the initiative, participants in two groups deliberated on working out a detailed review of the three scenarios in terms of issues and actors, until 2050.

Around 18 experts drawn from Ethiopia (mainly from OSSREA), FES Ethiopia and FES Sudan,

Kenya, Uganda, and Djibouti took part in the workshop.

The workshop was officially closed by Dr. Birook Lemma, Chief Academic Officer for Research, Addis Ababa University, who spoke on behalf of the Addis Ababa University President, Professor Andreas Eshete. In his closing speech, Dr Lemma emphasised that such peace and security scenario building initiatives should be appreciated as they would tremendously inform the leaders in the region.

OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter Organizes Training in Proposal Development and Effective Scientific Writing

A five-day training in *Proposal Development and Effective Scientific Writing* was conducted from 8th -12th November 2010, at the Cresta Oasis Hotel in Harare, Zimbabwe.

According to OSSREA Zimbabwe Chapter Liaison Officer, Dr. S.D Chingarande, the major objective of the training was to build the teaching and research capacity of higher education and research institutions in Zimbabwe by training people who could then guide a larger pool of people within universities and other institutions interested in project proposal development and effective scientific writing.

The 23 participants were drawn from the University of Zimbabwe, the Women's University in Africa, Chinhoyi University of Technology, National University of Science and Technology, the Zimbabwe Open University, the Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University, and the Harare Institute of Technology. They were selected on the basis of the strengths of their applications.

It was learnt that the proposal development part focused on the Log Frame Approach whilst the scientific writing focused on developing policy briefs and writing for publications. The training was financially supported by the OSSREA Headquarters based on the rationale that most academics undertake research but do not have the motivation to have their works published mainly because there are no human and financial resources to assist those that require assistance in terms of publishing.

Participants who evaluated the programme said that it was a very good help to researchers and instructors in general, and indispensable to the young academia in particular.

Participants and facilitators of the training workshop

The training workshop was officially closed by Dr Abiye Daniel, Director of the OSSREA Publications and Dissemination Directorate. Dr Daniel appreciated the work done by the Chapter and the support his department had received from members of the Zimbabwe Chapter in terms of contributing and reviewing articles for publications. The workshop ended with a certification ceremony presided over by Dr Daniel.

Inception Workshop on Conflict, Displacement and Transformation

OSSREA took part in a Cluster Inception Workshop organized by the Nordic Africa Institute Cluster of Conflict, Displacement and Transformation at the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI). The workshop took place at the Uppsala Hotel in Uppsala, Sweden, from 28-29 October 2010.

The workshop brought together more than 30 scholars, policymakers and stakeholders drawn from Africa and Europe. OSSREA was represented by Dr Getu Melese, a Programme Specialist at OSSREA. The objective of the workshop was to critically examine and debate on various perspectives and identify the emerging priorities in the current focus of the Cluster, and lay a strong basis for its research agenda for the next three years. The current focus of the Cluster was on the following five areas:

1. Land Rights and Citizenship;
2.   Gender, Conflict, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and SSR;
3.   Democratic Governance and Accountability;
4. Conflicts and State-Building in the Horn of Africa; and
5. African Island States in Peace and Conflict: Rising Tides in the Indian Ocean.

In the two-day long workshop a total of more than 12 short think-pieces were presented. The discussions that followed focused on the above mentioned research cluster areas by reviewing current trends and debates, identifying gaps, tensions and complementarities, and contributed to fresh ideas towards defining the research agenda and options for policy-relevant engagement and activities.

The think piece presented by Dr Getu Melese of OSSREA was on the second theme: Gender, Conflict, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Social Science Research. His article assessed the role of informal institutions in post-conflict governance and state reconstruction in Africa by highlighting three informal institutions from three countries coming out of conflict or still being affected by conflict. The three countries institutions and their spheres of influence are:

- Burundi -   *Bashingantahe* – used for land related dispute resolution;
- Rwanda – *Gacaca* courts revitalized and used during the post-genocide period; and
- Somalia – *Xeer* an institution whose role has been undermined by the transitional government.

At the end of the workshop, the Nordic Africa Institute expressed its interest to strengthen its relationship with African regional research institutes, such as OSSREA. It has also underscored the fact that, apart from initiating joint research projects, it also wanted to exchange experience with similar institutions in the area of documentation and dissemination research outputs to researchers in   Africa.

The ACP Migration Observatory Launched

The ACP Observatory on South – South Migration, a project funded by the Swiss Government and the EU, was launched between 25th and 28th October 2010 in Brussels, Belgium.

The ACP Observatory on South – South Migration is a Consortium that was established in 2010. The main objectives and activities of the Observatory are:

♦ To audit existing data and research on South - South migration, identify existing gaps and needs and carry out new research to generate supplementary data, information and statistics;
♦ To develop common methodological and conceptual frameworks aimed at the harmonization of methodologies for collecting, analysing and processing data on migration in the six regions involved;

♦ To undertake pilot research projects to test out the accepted methodologies and assess the impact of migration on development policies and vice versa;
♦ To strengthen the capacity of existing research networks and establish new research initiatives at national, regional and inter-regional levels;
♦ Establish websites and databases on migration in the ACP countries and make them accessible to the public;
♦ To undertake research on key areas of migration as agreed by the partners and build capacity for managing migration trends and developing policies that will make the management of migration beneficial to all involved including migrants themselves; and
♦ To establish open, scientific and transparent methods for reporting on key migration developments and policies and convene conferences on migration at national, regional and international levels.

The Consortium is led chiefly by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), which is hosted by the Secretariat of the ACP, and consists of members composed of 12 universities and three research institutions, OSSREA included, from Africa, Europe and South Pacific and West Indies Islands. Twelve countries (i.e. Angola, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago) are represented in the Observatory on Migration.

Members of the Consortium have been selected on the basis of their experience and competencies in managing research and capacity development activities. Each of the twelve member countries has selected several areas of concentration for purposes of research and capacity development. The Secretariat of the consortium within the procurement regulations of the EU, the Swiss Government (the main funding agencies) and IOM (the lead partner) will call for proposals from these countries on research and capacity development and tenders for consortium members for the support of country research and capacity development activities. Those from the consortium whose tenders will be accepted will give support to country members in their research and capacity development activities. The tendering will be competitive.

Expected outputs of the launched project include:

- Links and collaboration between researchers, research centres and policy bodies dealing with migration issues;
- Documentation and databases of existing and new information and statistics at national, regional and ACP levels;
- Trained researchers and migration policy developers and managers;
- ACP reports on migration and migration policies;

- Publications on research findings and policy related studies; and
- Established migration observatories in ACP Observatory member countries.

A number of topical and cross-cutting issues dealing with migration are targeted to be addressed by the [consortium/project]. Currently the major thematic areas agreed upon for research and capacity building include:

i.   Collection and analysis of data on policy;
ii.   Migration and human development;
iii. Labour migration;
iv.   Forced migration;
v.   Internal migration;
vi.   Migration and health; and
vii. Migration, the environment and climate change.

While the first two days were spent on presentations by consortium members, OSSREA's presentation was on migration and health. On the 28th October, the heads of the organizations forming the consortium met as an Academic Advisory Board for the project and the consortium. The Academic Advisory Board discussed the draft report of the launch activities and the action plan for the observatory research and capacity development activities. While the next meeting of the Academic

Advisory Board will take place in March 2011 in one of the member countries outside Europe, the call for proposals and tenders is expected to be made in the first quarter of 2011.

The formation of the ACP Observatory on Migration is viewed as a remarkable success. This is mainly because it will provide opportunity for research on migration issues, harmonization of research methodologies and capacity development initiatives, and will strengthen research networking in the ACP regions. OSSREA has migration as a critical theme in its strategic plan, and if given the opportunity, it will be able to widen its network of researchers and policy bodies dealing with migration issues and deepen the knowledge on the various issues addressed by the project.

A Workshop on Strengthening Capacity for Policy Implementation in Ethiopia

The Third Validation Workshop on *Strengthening Capacity for Policy Implementation: an Assessment of the Design and Implementation of Business Process Reengineering in Ethiopia* was held on 15th October 2010, at the Hilton Hotel in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The workshop was opened by Professor Paschal Mihyo, the Executive Director of OSSREA, who stated that the project, though small, was funded by IDRC and that it marked the beginning of creating a linkage between researchers and research users. It was also indicated that it was the start of working with government, that is, the Civil Service College and the Ministry of Capacity Building and a regional organisation like OSSREA. The Executive Director also thanked the organisations that were willing to be investigated during the research and mentioned that the way forward would be to extend the research to other parts of Africa once the research has been disseminated and the funding obtained.

On behalf of the Civil Service College Mr Tamirat Motta, the Vice President for Development and Administration, expressed his gratitude that the BPR had been streamlined into research. According to him, BPR had always been seen as

a negative change instrument and so it would be useful to look into research output rather than assumptions upon which people could base their outlook. He further stated that implementation was the most difficult process and the outcome of that research would be useful to examine the sustainability of BPR. He also thanked all the people involved in the research.

The researchers, Mr. Atakilit Hagos and Dr Tesfaye Debella, then took the participants through the introduction, methodology, and overview of the BPR in the Ethiopian Public Service, together with major findings, conclusions as well as recommendations of the study.

The findings of the study were examined from the following perspectives:

- Leadership commitment in managing the change;
- Sources of change resistance in the organisations;
- Design capacities;
- Challenges encountered during the process design;
- Mechanisms used to address the challenges;
- Effect on organisational structure;
- Empowerment PO's and employees;
- Accountability;
- HR deployment;
- Human resources capacity: quantity and quality;
- Motivation and turnover;
- Systems capacity;

- Equipment and facility capacity;
- Performance management;
- Capacity of Process Owners; and
- Challenges encountered during design implementation and opinions

Accordingly, the following outcomes of the BPR projects as well as the existing capacity gaps were recorded:

a) Process Efficiency

- Changes in process efficiency where the cycle time of credit has decreased;
- Average cycle time of credit for working capital and credit renewal has decreased; and
- Average cycle time in the CATS process has improved significantly.

b) Mission Effectiveness

- CBE achieved better results;
- Foreign exchange inflow increased;
- Loan collection grew; and
- Total deposits also grew.

c) Customers'/Clients' View of the Change

- They believe that the cycle time has reduced significantly;
- The banks are more responsive to complaints; and
- Service provision has improved.

Regarding the Ethiopian Revenue, it was established that waiting time and service time had improved but there were still some limitations, and that activities that could have been done together were done separately.

However both MoLSA and Ethiopian Revenue were found to have improved in:

- Waiting time;
- Convenience of service;
- Transparency in providing information;
- Fairness and equity; and
- Magnitude of corruption aspects.

OSSREA Welcomes a New Programme Specialist

Dr Melese Getu has joined OSSREA as a Programme Specialist as of 1st August 2010. Melese Getu obtained his BA degree in Sociology and Social Administration and his MA degree in Social Anthropology from Addis Ababa University. He has received his PhD degree in Social Anthropology from the University of Manchester, UK.

Dr Getu had worked for Addis Ababa University in various capacities, including teaching, academic administration, and curricula development and programme coordination for nearly two decades. He taught sociology, social anthropology and social work courses in the undergraduate programme and in the graduate programmes of Social Anthropology and Social Work, focusing on project management, social policy and ethics, gender and development and qualitative research methods. He also served as associate dean and dean of the College of Social Sciences and the School of Social Work of Ad-

dis Ababa University respectively. He has also had several years of experience and engagement in multidisciplinary research projects where he has worked as a principal investigator together with other researchers with diverse educational background.

His area of research interest includes natural resources management issues, pastoralism and development, gender and development, project management, social policy, public health issues, and social protection issues. Melese Getu has published many articles and book chapters in various journals, and is also a member of several professional associations.

Training in Research Methodology for PhD Candidates

The last decade witnessed the mushrooming of higher learning institutions with a focus on postgraduate level training programmes across Eastern and Southern African countries. This has given rise to, among other things, an increase in the need for training postgraduate students in research methodology.

Some of the trainees during the workshop

In line with its Strategic Plan of 2011-2015 and ensuring research and capacity building remain aligned to its vision and mission, OSSREA organized a Research Methodology Training Workshop (RMT) for 28 (10 female and 18 male) PhD students drawn from ten Eastern and Southern African countries. The RMT was held at Akaki Campus, on the premises of Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, between 1-26 November 2010. The trainees were recruited by the OSSREA national chapters based on a set of criteria, including being registered as a PhD stu-

dent at an African university and having developed a PhD research proposal. The workshop was facilitated by three experienced professors affiliated with universities in the USA while the SPSS tutorial classes were handled by a lecturer in statistics at Addis Ababa University. The training was conducted divided into three parts, each of which consisted of a wide range of topics. The major themes the 25-days workshop included were the following: i) Introduction to Research Methodology & Research Design (5 days); ii) Qualitative Research and Analysis Methods (5 days); iii) Quantitative Methods and Analysis and Analyzing Data Using SPSS (10 days), and SPSS Tutorial Classes (12 hours).

OSSREA believes that the training helped these young African researchers to be not only independent and capable researchers but also to be, as all of them teach at higher learning institutions, better educators of the future generation of African researchers in the social sciences and humanities. In addition to its intended objectives, the training had other positive impacts as well. In that it has provided the trainees with the opportunity not only to share their experiences in substantive research methodology content areas and learn from each other, but also to

get to know each other better, familiarize themselves with current developments and learn more and better about development challenges of their respective countries. It goes without saying that the socioeconomic challenges facing African societies today call for a concerted effort of not only leaders and policymakers but also of researchers. The degree of interest and enthusiasm exhibited by the trainees was quite impressive. This was evidenced by the sheer number of group discussions they organized and held in the evenings; by the fact that they initiated and developed a group research proposal on a comparative assessment of the problem of unemployment in their respective countries as per the OSSREA call for proposals and submitted to OSSREA, and finally their creation of a Yahoo virtual group called 'The OSSREA Akaki Pioneer Group' to facilitate further communications and networking among trainees in the future.

Participants of the workshop and OSSREA staff members posing for a group photograph

OSSREA Hands over BPR Book to Civil Service College

The Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) handed over 20 copies of the book entitled *"The Design and Implementation of Business Process Reengineering in the Ethiopian Public Sector: An Assessment of Four Organisations"* to the Ethiopian Civil Service College Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

resentative of the Civil Service College Dr, Samson Kassahun, the Vice President of the College. Professor Mihyo explained that several hurdles had been overcome before this collaborative research between the Civil Service College and OSSREA were signed in July of 2010. The Executive Director also stated that this evidence-based BPR book could probably be the first of its kind in Africa and would be of great significance for other researchers, academics and policymakers involved in this new trend of public sector reform.

BPR book handing over ceremony

The books were handed over in a ceremony held at the Ethiopian Civil Service College on 3 February 2011 by Professor Paschal Mihyo, the Executive Director of OSSREA, to the rep-

NEW PUBLICATIONS

OSSREA has published, co-published and dis-seminated including its biannual journal, eight books on different issues in the last three months. Summaries of the publications, are pre-sented as follows.

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Design and Implementation of Business Process Reengineering in the Ethiopian Public Sector
An Assessment of Four Organizations

Tesfaye Debela and Atkilt Hagos

In 1996, the Ethiopian government introduced the Civil Service Reform Programme (CSRP) to disentangle the intricacies of the old bureaucratic system, and to build a fair, responsible, efficient, ethical and transparent civil service that accelerates and sustains the economic development of the country.
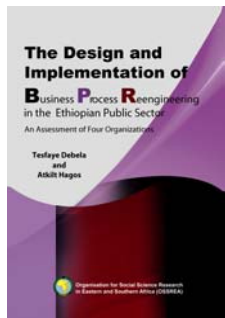
However, lack of competent personnel, prevalence of attitudinal problems and absence of a strong institutional framework constrained the success of the reform. To reinvigorate the CSRP, the Ethiopian government has been implementing BPR in public organizations since 2004. In this regard, there are claims and counter-claims on the effectiveness of BPR implementation in improving the performance of public organizations.

Motivated by such claims, this research has assessed the design, challenges, implementation and outcome of BPR in four public organizations using questionnaires, interviews, observations and review of secondary sources.

About 970 leaders, employees, former reengineering team members and customers responded to the questionnaires and interviews. Quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were employed.

The findings of the research show that encouraging results have been achieved in terms of efficiency, mission-effectiveness, transparency and minimizing corruption in the case-study organizations. However, the findings also confirm that there are variations among the organizations in meeting their respective BPR objectives. Particularly, CBE and ERCA have been more successful in meeting their BPR objectives than DBE and MoLSA.

Findings pertinent to ERCA and CBE show that BPR implementation has increased control in those processes where financial risks are high. Factors that have contributed to the relative success in CBE and ERCA include leadership commitment in managing the change, better design capacity, and cautious empowerment of process owners and employees. In addition, the level of change resistance has revealed that BPR study and implementation had exacerbated the organizational politics between different interest groups. In addition, all the case-study organizations face the challenges in human, technological and material capacities. Besides these challenges, the government needs

to exert greater effort to change the attitude of public servants and the political leaders; adopt a holistic and integrated approach in using re-form tools; and, consider mission differences when applying a change management tool.

Livelihood and Urban Poverty Reduction in Ethiopia: Perspectives from Small and Big Towns

Tegegne Gebre-Egziabher

In Ethiopia urban poverty, in comparison to rural poverty and national level poverty, has increased over time. This has necessitated urban poverty reduction as an important area of intervention in urban development and planning. Urban poverty reduction policies and strategies, however, have to be based on needs, capabilities and activities of the urban poor for effective achievements. Policies also need to address the differential situations the poor face in different cities and towns.
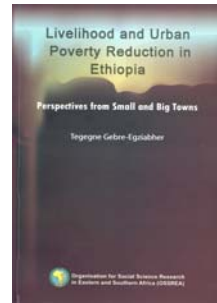
The objective of this study was to understand the livelihood situations of the poor in big and small towns, and identify the gaps and linkages between the livelihood requirements of the poor and policies at municipal level. The study was conducted in nine cities and towns of the country, including the capital city. Four of the towns were small towns and five were big or intermediate towns. One poor community was selected from each town as the study area, and a total of five hundred households were randomly se-

lected from all poor communities. A household questionnaire detailing the livelihood of the poor was administered to each participant. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted in each community to supplement household level data on different aspects of livelihood. Information was also collected from key informants at municipality and *kebele* levels regarding policy mix, their achievements and effectiveness. In this study a livelihood framework was used to understand the strategies, assets and activities of the poor.

The study findings indicate that in general the poor are asset-less, although there are some differences and similarities regarding asset possession across towns. Those in the small towns are better endowed with livestock resource and house asset but less endowed with quality of labour force. Asset status common to households in the different groups of towns are labour force availability and neighbourhood associations. Lack of financial assets for all households in different towns was also found to be a common characteristic.

In terms of livelihood, casual/piece work was the dominant form of productive activity for most of the households. This is followed by self business in big towns and by wage employment in the capital city. For those engaged in self business, houses are the main business places indicating the importance of home-based activities. In all towns, businesses are run by owners indicating their lack of capacity to hire workers. Income from the business was low with business showing no signs of prosperity. Gender and education differences were noted along the productive activities though the variations across towns in this regard were minimal. In other words, sources of livelihood across towns were similar. The study finds that social and reproductive activities are carried out side by side with productive activities. These activities are important as they provide support for productive activities and livelihood. Shocks and events are experienced by households. Food shortage, ill health, low income and house eviction were the major shocks faced by households.

The foregoing analysis suggests that the livelihood requirements or interventions to improve household livelihoods include assets building strategies, income-generating activities, vulnerability and coping mechanisms.

In terms of policy, all cities and towns, in light of the national urban development

policy, implemented micro and small scale enterprise development, integrated housing programme and provision of the land. These policies and programmes, however, have their own implementation problems. The policies have shown some linkages with the livelihood requirements. In particular, the promotion of small and micro enterprises and the integrated housing programme have the potential of addressing livelihood requirements pertaining to employment and housing needs. On the other hand, a number of pointers indicate that there are gaps between the livelihood requirement and existing policies. These gaps pertain to lack of policies that address the assets of the poor, the vulnerabilities of the poor and the differential status of households in different towns.

As a result, the study notes that policies pertaining to enhancing households' asset, local economic development, home-based activities, causal activities, housing affordability, urban safety nets and overcoming city level institutional capacity should be key areas for policy intervention that address the livelihood of the poor and reduce urban poverty.

Recollections of Return, Resettlement, and Reintegration from Gash Barka in Eritrea

Abbebe Kifleyesus

At the beginning of the 1990s the end of the Eritrea/Ethiopia war resulted in the repatriation of some 70,000 Eritreans from the Sudan. It soon became clear that the movement of such a huge influx of refugees had its own momentum. This momentum engendered closer academic research as a political issue. Along with the initial optimism about the will to have a nation there were also high hopes amongst many academics and policy makers that individual Eritrean refugee cycles might come to an end for many. These hopes for an enhanced environment for repatriation of Eritrean refugees appear to be better founded because between 1990 and 1998 more than 350,000 refugees had repatriated to their country of origin where policies to assist repatriation has been linked to attempts to support economic reconstruction, although not always successfully. One of the effects of increased and accelerated rates of repatriation from the

Sudan lends legitimacy to the discourse that repatriation is the optimum and most durable and feasible solution to the refugee crisis from Eritrea. Yet there was the need to understand the priorities of the refugees in exile, for some of whom repatriation may not have been a desired outcome and for whom 'home' has come to mean something quite different from the meaning often ascribed by policy makers. Even where return has occurred, there was a need to pay much closer attention to relations after return, and to recognise that even if repatriation is the end of one cycle, it is also usually the start of a new cycle which can challenge and expose some returnees to vulnerability.

Repatriation as an analytical concept is in Eritrea situated in particular events and experiences. It refers to particular historical, social and personal contexts. More specifically, the concept of repatriation allows Eritreans to analyse these larger processes in terms of their own systems of meaning and experience and to discern the particular social, economic, psycho-social and environmental consequence of these larger forces in returnee and stayee everyday lives in Eritrean societies. The study thus defines repatriation in Eritrea not just as a physical act of return but also as a process that, over time, is imagined and actualised. Some Eritrean refugees can thus only imagine repatriation; others first imagine and later are able to repatriate. Nevertheless a provisional repatriation may also illuminate the reasons why permanent repatriation is impossible or undesirable. Often the acts of repatriation engender other consequences that affect subsequent reintegration.

It is impossible to understand the current repatriation discourse in Eritrea in isolation from the changing Eritrean and Sudanese political relations because this relation is interpreted by both states in an increasingly strict manner and more importantly because refugee status is too often seen by policy makers as something exploited by individual forced migrants in order to circumvent normal immigration rules which in the minds of many refugees provides much greater security and social welfare benefits under UNHCR guidelines. Repatriation has thus become a preferred solution for Eritrea because it begun to pull away from the level of protection of Eritrean refugees guaranteed by the 1951 Geneva Convention, and more particularly from the Organisation of African Unity, now the Africa Union, Convention on Refugees. Since the number of Eritrean refugees in the Sudan was substantial and since they were seen as negatively

impacting upon Sudanese resources and as exacerbating the already existing social and political tensions, there has always been a political push for repatriation of Eritrean refugees from the Sudan. Notwithstanding Eritrean government priorities politicised and affected the whole repatriation process. This is clearly visible in the refusal of the government to accept UNHCR efforts to repatriate refugees from the Sudan. Both had divergent views about repatriation.

The UNHCR had a short-term focus on physical return while the Eritrean government concentrated on a long-term plan related to reintegration and development. The UNHCR actively promoted the repatriation option in the short term rather than advancing voluntary repatriation when conditions became conducive. This disregarded the rights of the Eritrean state to manage return migration. The UNHCR found itself in an increasingly difficult position when Sudan placed political pressure on Eritrean refugees. Thus repatriation was not many a time voluntary but was rather encouraged before social, economic, psycho-social and ecological conditions in Eritrea were conducive for return. For Eritrea the guarantee of voluntary repatriation, the definition of human security, the promotion of lasting social, economic and psycho-social conditions of return

and reintegration are not priorities of the UNHCR. The challenge to policy makers is to therefore include returnees' own perceptions and expectations of repatriation because returnees may develop priorities for return that are essentially unrelated to their motives for flight. The notion that repatriation is perceived as the best solution for refugees pays less attention to the experience of returnees during resettlement and the UNHCR does not have a concern for the consequences of return. Overall Eritrea has always resisted the long-term monitoring of returnees by international systems under the guise of programmes such as 'post-conflict reconstruction' and 'rebuilding of war-torn societies' coming, for example, from UNDP or the World Bank. Indeed the need to develop a protocol for the role and mandate of international organisations is increasingly becoming a pressing agenda.

In this study, I address repatriation and reintegration and how they affect both the stayee communities to which refugees repatriate as well as the returnees themselves. Of particular importance to this study is what connects or reconnects Eritrean refugees to their communities of origin in Gash Barka as they contemplated a possible or actual repatriation. Also significant are the social, economic, psychosocial and ecological conditions necessary for Eritrean refugees to decide to repatriate voluntarily or coercively or still to accept an assisted repatriation and when and on what basis they then decide to repatriate. The study also considers what happens during resettlement and reintegration not only to returnees but also to stayee societies in Gash Barka and examines whether the notion that culture is rooted in particular geographic places implies that uprooted Eritrean refugees somehow have lost their culture.

It is for this reason that long-term repatriation in this study receives the most attention. These include organised and individual or spontaneous as well as forced and voluntary return. They all involve permanent resettlement in Eritrea where the creation and negotiation of new relationships and the establishment of ties with stayee societies in Gash Barka leads towards reintegration. These connections are however very complex. Issues of land title, property rights, political orientations, religious beliefs and cultural practices are, for example, only a few of many areas in which Eritrean repatriates and the stayee societies have reflected conflict or experienced transformation. Repatriation to Eritrea thus takes place over space and time and develops its own histories and trajectories where repatriates reconnect with family, ancestors, friends, and their communities and confront past memories. Many Eritrean returnees began with an idealised image of repatriation in which such memories were modified by new experiences that often required managing one's own expectations. Both the returnees and the resettlement sites in Gash Barka changed during the time apart and the repatriation itself forced further transformation during reintegration.

These changing constructions and realities of repatriation and reintegration provide the backdrop for this study, which presents new empirical findings from Eritrea. It asks and answers how the discourses of repatriation and reintegration have evolved, examines whether these discourses are accurate or appropriate and points towards alternative perspectives of repatriation and reintegration. In this study, the vocabulary of return is visited in terms of reconstruction and innovation. In

this respect, returnee experiences teach lessons about cultural change and the changing meanings of identity and sense of belonging and thereby contribute to post-conflict state formation and consolidation. The study therefore by intent and not by accident reflects the changing realities of repatriation and reintegration using Eritrea as a case in point. It touches upon issues related to political negotiations of repatriation, social, economic, and psycho-social reintegration and its associated environmental effects, and the intersections between identity and sense of belonging among returnees and their interrelationship with stayee communities. For this purpose it is divided into four distinct but interrelated parts that are described in the first chapter under the heading 'structure of the study' and identifies a range of research gaps in the study of returnee repatriation and reintegration. While it is beyond the scope of this preface to provide a systematic overview of all of these gaps in this short space, it is worth drawing attention to a number of recurring themes that are stated at the end of this study.

The Effects of Transaction Costs on Community Forest Management in Uganda

Joseph Wasswa-Matovu

Uganda has 4.9 million hectares of forest resources, which cover 24 per cent of the land area. Most of these forests resources have been controlled under customary tenure without clear management schemes. However, in recent years Collaborative Forest Management (CFM) has come to see local communities cooperating with government or its agencies in the management of gazetted forest reserves. Organized in Communal Land Associations (CLA), community members enter into a Memoranda of Understanding/Agreement with the National Forestry Authority (NFA) to manage part or whole of a gazetted forest reserve.
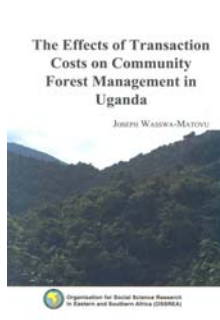
In Budongo Sub-county in Masindi District (Western Uganda), a Community Based Organization (CBO), the Budongo Community Development Organization (BUCODO) working with the NFA has piloted CLAs as institutions through which communities can

manage their forest resources. However, presently little empirical evidence exists that points to the effects transaction costs in Community Forestry (CF) play in retarding the success of such initiatives. Equally, the shifting of central government control over natural resource management to communities, while a priori is argued to lead to improvements in the condition of forest resources; the distribution of transaction costs across various sub-groups of resource users is generally not incorporated into an economic analysis of participatory forest management, leading to failure of communal efforts.

For households in Budongo Sub-county, where BUCODO did pilot CLAs, this study sought to:

1. Examine the level of transaction costs households faced in community forestry, and to gauge their effects on community forestry initiatives; and

2. Determine the distribution of community forestry transaction costs across households with diverse socio-economic characteristics and gauge their effects on community forestry initiatives.

Key research questions in this regard were:

1) What level of transaction costs do households face in Community Forestry and what effect do they have on community forestry initiatives? And

2) How significant are transaction costs as a proportion of total resource benefits and appropriation costs among households with different socio-economic attributes? What does this imply for community forestry initiatives?

Methodology

Primary data on household level variables and the use and management of community forests was collected among household heads and/or other competent household members in three parishes in Budongo Sub-County. A stratified random sample of households was drawn from a census list of village households. This sampling method sought to categorise households into three ranks, i.e. poor, middle wealth and rich, based on land size holding. Poor households were taken to own 1 or less acres, middle-wealth households to own between 1 and 5 acres, and rich households to own 5 or more acres. A total of 258 households were sampled.

Although land size holding formed the basis for sampling, households were also assessed on their other socio-economic characteristics

(household value holdings of farm implements, livestock, and household use and consumer-oriented assets) in order to tease out relations between these characteristics and other variables of interest in the study (e.g. participation in community forestry, levels of transaction costs incurred in community forestry, etc.).

Questions on transaction costs focused on time household members spent participating in various community forestry activities (attending village forestry meetings, monitoring others' forest resource use and management practices, and attending conflict resolution meetings). Data was also collected on the amount of time household members spent in collecting, processing and transporting a unit of forest products from Community Forests (CFs) to house, rural hourly wages in agriculture, the costs and economic life of farm implements, etc.

Based on these data, estimates of resource appropriation costs, transaction costs and value of benefits households derived from community forests were computed. Using costs and benefits thus computed, net benefits from community forestry were calculated for households with different socio-economic characteristics and an evaluation made on their effects on community forestry initiatives in the study areas.

Open-ended discussions with groups of forest users, NFA and BUCODO officials provided additional information (i.e. forest users' patterns of resource extraction and management, village level decision-making processes for community forestry, the nature of transaction costs faced in community forestry and institutional and legal constraints). This was used to triangulate some of the information provided by respondents, with bivariate analysis methods used to establish relationships between variables using SPSS.

Research Findings

Survey Population

Households averaged 5.9 persons, with the majority of respondents claiming to have been born in the localities where they resided, or being long-standing migrants in them. Almost all respondents were heads of households with a mean age of 39 (males) and 36 (females), with close to half belonging to ethnic groups that were not indigenous to the study areas. The majority of respondents also had basic (primary) and secondary education.

Household Asset Ownership

Close to half of households had at their disposal land holdings above 1 acre, with those with less, accessing land through land rental and lease markets, or as squatters. Customary tenure was the dominant land tenure system. On average, household wealth held in livestock, farm implements and other household use/consumer-oriented assets amounted to Uganda shillings 86,528 (US$ 53.41), 48,529 (US $30) and 238,350 (US $147) respectively.

Households' Farm and Non-farm activities

All households diversified their productive activities by engaging in both farm (crop cultivation and livestock rearing) and non farm (trading/shop keeping, craftwork, brick-making, the dispensing of herbal medicines, brewing, sales of agricultural and non-agricultural labour within and outside the community) activities. The more economically disadvantaged households more likely to diversify their productive activities.

Household Use of Community Forests

Firewood and water were the key forest products households procured from community forests, although medicinal/herbal plants, edible plants and livestock feeds were the other important forest products. Households' needs for timber were hardly met from community forests, with the harvesting of this product facing severe quantity and maturity restrictions, or outright bans.

Economic Importance of Community Forests to Households

Households visited community forests more often to extract water and firewood resources. Land-constrained households were more likely to visit community forests to procure food and firewood products and to encroach on the forests by engaging in charcoal burning and crop cultivation. On the other hand, households rich in farm implements benefited more from community forests as they could more effectively extract threshold levels of forestry resources, face less resource extraction times, and visit the forest more frequently.

Money Values of Community Forest Products to Households

Households on average extracted Ugandan shilling 672 (US$ 0.42) and 2133 (US$ 1.32) worth of water and firewood a week. These values did not greatly differ among households with different socio-economic characteristics. Especially for firewood, these low

valves suggested that households faced few economic incentives (of a monetary kind) to not use their community forest resources sustainably.

Resource Appropriation Costs

On average households expended approximately Ugandan shillings 506 (US$ 0.31) in cost of tools weekly to extract forest resources. Overall, poor (rich) households faced lower (higher) tools appropriation costs as they held few (more) productive assets or tools. Also, a strong relation existed between a household's wealth position and resource appropriation costs, which suggested that while the harvesting of key forest resources (i.e. water and firewood) may have required the use of simple tools, resource collecting, processing and transportation was time-intensive for some economically marginal households.

Rule Design and Households' Members' Participation in Community Forestry

Respondents in their majorities considered oversight functions in forests as the responsibility of the NFA, even as they understood community forestry rules to emanate from cooperative and participatory community governance institutions, such as Local Council (LCs), CLA and the NFA. The majority of respondents were also satisfied with the way rules were designed, with complaints revolving around the domina-

tion of deliberations by local leaders/elites and forestry officials, and discriminative practices against women and disabled persons.

The majority of respondents claimed that they and/or members of their households actively participated in community forestry activities. For those reporting non-participation, corruption and illegal practices in forests (sanctioned by forestry officials and politicians) such as timber felling, charcoal burning, crop cultivation and the earmarking of degraded forests for CFM- all dampened their enthusiasm for community forestry. Also, disproportionately more high income households participated in the different community forestry activities, while disproportionately more poor households were likely to commit less time to community forestry activities.

Transaction and Resource Appropriation Costs and Household Wealth Ranks

For those households that had members who actually participated in community forestry activities, almost 90 per cent faced weekly transaction costs in community forestry, not exceeding Ugandan shillings 2200 (US$ 1.36). Richer households

faced higher transaction costs in community forestry compared to middle wealth and poor households as richer households had members who spent more time in community forestry. On the other hand, poor households faced higher appropriation costs because of their lower asset bases (especially productive tools), whose use values were quickly amortized over time.

Value of Benefits Households Accrue from Community Forests

Rich households benefited more from the extraction of the key resources (water and firewood) from community forests compared to their middle income and poor counterparts. The possession of threshold levels of tools and the greater frequency with which richer households extracted community forest products explained why richer households benefited more from community forests.

Transaction Costs as a share of Appropriation Costs and Total Benefits

Transaction costs as a share of total resource appropriation costs were higher for rich and middle income households than for poor households by a factor of 3;implying that when transaction costs in community forestry were evaluated as a

share of the costs of forests resources extraction, wealthier households share a heavier burden of these costs than their poorer counterparts. On the other hand, transaction costs as a share of total value of benefits revealed no discernable patterns across different households. This implied that when transaction costs in community forestry are factored into the benefits households derived from their community forests, all households obtained the same benefits–given the costs incurred in community forestry.

Household Net Benefits from Community Forestry

Overall, all households suffered 0 or negative net benefits from community forestry initiatives in the study areas. The implication is that when transaction costs of community forestry are evaluated in terms of their benefits to households, an incentive existed for households to engage in greater resource appropriations than in those activities that ensured sustainable resource use (i.e. those activities that underpin CFM).

Conclusion and Recommendation

When transaction costs in community forestry are evaluated as the difference of their share in the benefits and costs of resource appropriation

from community forests, households in the study areas face few incentives to engage in community forestry. This conclusion emanates from the fact that:

1) The low state of social capital in the study areas hinders participation in community forestry; undermines the authority of traditional leaders to mobilize for collective action, and invariably raises transaction costs;

2) Poverty and a lack of opportunities to diversify income sources, which creates incentives for households to engage in unsustainable community forest use and management practices such as crop cultivation and charcoal burning;

3) The lack of incentives for community forestry that flow from the high forest resource appropriation costs because some households lack threshold levels of assets (tools) to effectively harvest, process and transport community forest resources to house;

4) Disincentives households face to participate in community forestry on account of corrupt and illegal practices by forestry officials and politicians, discriminatory practices against marginal groups and the domination of community forestry initiatives by local leaders and community elites;

5) The failure of CLAs to be fully democratic and accountable;

6) The low level of monetary values households derive from community forest products; and

7) Institutional and policy bottlenecks around community forestry initiatives.

Efforts to reorient community forestry initiatives towards a truly benefit-oriented and equitable model of people's participation in forest management are proposed here to require:

1) Paying more attention to operationalizing guidelines for forest benefit sharing, transfer of property rights, registration of CLAs and declaration of Community Forests;

2) The capacity of state agencies to be built up by increasing manpower and other resources to the agencies and the operationalization of other more inclusive forums for all community members to discuss issues around CFM as a counter to some of the inequities of power and voice inherent in CFM initiatives conceived under the rubric of CLAs;

3) Advocacy spearheaded by CBOs such as BUCODO) to sensitize skeptical forest resource managers, like the NFA, about the need to transfer property rights and control of forest resources to communities by demonstrating to them that communities are capable of managing these resources;

4) Sufficient and user-friendly information to be packaged and disseminated to forest dependent communities on CFM Agreements specifying community members' commitments to avoid their being manipulated by CLA leaders;

5) BUCODO to streamline gender and equity issues in CFM Agreements, CLAs and community forestry activities;

6) The greater development of grassroots networks of civil societies/NGOs/CBOs that work to build the assets (both social and physical) of economically marginal households and individuals; and

7) Advocacy work to be stepped up at policy level to influence government on good governance issues in the forest sec-

tor, the role of both the political and civil leadership, accountability of responsible institutions, and collaborative forest management.

In conclusion, measures that seek to garner the participation of communities in CFM, but underplay the importance of well functioning institutions (i.e. rules and regulations underpinning CFM, local and traditional governance structures and their roles in building community social capital, democratic and accountable CLAs, etc.) are bound to fail. The success of CFM initiatives in the study areas therefore calls for measures to strengthen all manner of institutions that promote community cooperation and participation for community forestry, and in particular measures to improve household income and asset bases to lower transaction costs in community forestry.

Language Ideologies and Challenges of Multilingual Education in Ethiopia The Case of Harari Region

Moges Yigezu

During the last decade and a half, the use of local languages for official purposes, particularly in primary education, has become a pronounced characteristic of Ethiopian education system. The fact that as many as 22 languages have been introduced into the school system since mid 1990s represents a major ideological shift from the previous policies the country had adopted over the course of several centuries. The Ethiopian educational language policy is radical in its scope and unique in Sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere, and it invites a close examination of its ideological foundation and, even more so, its implementation model.
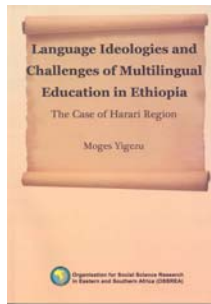
In Ethiopia the language question is one of paramount importance, since the Constitution of 1995 confers rights up to secession to population groups on the basis of their ethno-linguisitc character. Ethiopia's geo-political units are thus primarily defined by language and ethnicity.

In this context, the ancient city of Harar presents a particularly interesting case for study and represents a unique geo-political entity within Ethiopia. The huge linguistic and related socio-political and ethnic diversities of Harar produce a microcosm of the Ethiopian State itself and thus provide a fertile ground for asking questions about multilingualism, federalism and ethnicity that have relevance beyond Harari Region itself.

The primary objective of this study was to make a critical appraisal of the implementation of vernacular education in the Harari region and examine the challenges of providing primary education in several Ethiopian and international languages, i.e. English, Amharic, Oromo, Arabic and Harari. The study made a comparative assessment of the use of languages as media of instruction for primary education, and concluded with an appraisal of the relative strengths and weaknesses in the use of each language, from both pedagogical and social perspectives.

The study has two major focal areas: policy formulation and policy implementation. The first part looked at the current educational language policy against the background of the socio-cultural history of the country and outlined the ideological foundations of this policy and its political and socio-economic implications. The second part examined the implementation model adopted and dealt with issues, such as the level of development of the languages involved in the school system, the school environment, the appropriateness of orthography, the teaching methods and materials used.

The research was a field study in which qualitative and quantitative primary data were gathered, classified, analyzed and interpreted using various techniques. Because of the multiple objectives outlined above, the study followed a mixed research method such that a qualitative research paradigm was be used for some parts of the research and a quantitative research paradigm for other parts. The two research paradigms are considered to be complementary in the sense that one set of results is complemented by another set of results and generalizations are made on findings that emerge from both methods together. The qualitative approach is used to carry out inquiry into the perceptions and aspirations of the community at the individual as well as the collective level. Types of qualitative research methods that have been employed to gather data include: historical survey, ethnographic research and phe-

nomenological research.

The following conclusions have been drawn on the implementation of the policy of vernacular education in Harari.

It is clearly a multilingual education model, involving the use of three languages. Harari and Oromo are local mother tongues (L1) and Amharic is the indigenous language of wider communication (LWC) (L2). English and Arabic are foreign languages (L3). This model is in line with UNESCO's recommendation of having three languages (L1, L2 and L3) in multilingual primary education; a recommendation that follows from the position that teaching in the mother tongue is most effective in the academic achievement and cognitive development of the child. The model implemented in Harari has, therefore, a strong component of mother tongue education.

The model lacks a proper and consolidated policy towards the LWC, i.e. Amharic. The use of Amharic as a medium of instruction and the time allocation for the teaching of Amharic as a subject shows the highest disparity from school to school. Amharic, besides its political and psychological dominance, has a well developed literature which provides access to a much wider store of knowledge that can be provided by an indigenous language. Pupils who do not go be-

yond the first cycle will be cut off from the LWC and the accruing benefits that the knowledge of the language may provide. The drop-out rate for the region in the lower grades was between 18–23 per cent in the years 2000–2004. Since these children will have left school before mastering the LWC, which is the lingua franca of the region as well as the entire country, it will be very difficult for them to operate in other linguistic environments they are unfamiliar with. The need for the promotion of literacy in the LWC has not been adequately recognized by the political system of the region. This raises the question whether the policy is inherently unequal, denying equitable access to and achievement in basic education, and whether it respects the linguistic rights of the child. As rightly pointed out by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), as much as a child has the right to learn in his/her mother tongue, he/she has the right to learn the official language of the country as a matter of linguistic right.

In terms of time allocation of each language within the classroom, a wide range of patterns has been observed between schools, even those using the same medium of instruction. The emphasis on one language or the other seems to depend on the interest of a particular school. This lack of

consistency in language allocation in classrooms and the consequent disparity of competence in the major languages across pupils is another shortcoming of the implementation model.

The implementation model favours international languages over the official working language of the region and the country, Amharic. One of the shortcomings of the implementation model is, therefore, inadequate teaching of Amharic. Given the lack of uniformity in the teaching of the LWC the policy has no mechanism to ensure that disparities in mastering Amharic will be minimized, let alone eliminated.

In the area of language development and standardization of the vernaculars in use in the school system, there are persistent issues about which respondents have expressed their opinions. Lack of advance preparation on the part of the schools before the implementation of the policy, and inadequate involvement of the community in decision-making as well as in the implementation of the policy were concerns expressed by respondents. These facts have also been observed on the ground and are confirmed by interviews conducted with various stakeholders, such as teachers, school directors, policy-makers, and parents. Among the problems related to the implementation model and cited by the respondents, inconsistencies in the use of the orthography due to lack of standardization, variations in the pronunciation of some words, and lack of proper terminology for certain subjects are the major impediments.

In summary, then, the Harari Region, as compared to other Regional States, at least in its educational language policy, has an accommodative pluralist approach towards basic education by virtue of recognizing as many as five languages. The policy pursues an "official multilingualism" approach which provides an equitable amount of resources and attention to various groups. Hence, parents have the option to choose the school of their preference and exercise language rights on behalf of their children regardless of whether they are minors. This freedom of choice and opportunity has led to the wide range of implementation models. It cannot be expected that any single uniform implementation model could lead to satisfactory results in such a diverse multiethnic polity. A microcosm of Ethiopia cannot possibly operate with one uniform implementation model.

A Bibliography of Ethiopian-Eritrean Studies in Society and History - 1995-2010

Jon Abbink

This new 795-pages bibliographic compilation contains all the essential references in social science and history on Ethiopia and Eritrea 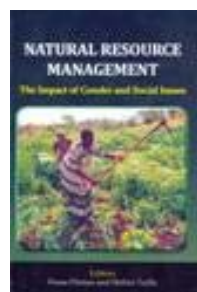that appeared in the last fifteen years. The titles are alphabetically ordered in numerous thematic subheadings and the book carries an extensive index. The introduction indicates the nature and scope of the work, presents a number of important web sites on the region, and summarizes some new developments and in the field of Ethio-Eritrean bibliography. Easy to consult and providing a wealth of titles, the book is intended as a prime research tool for (under) graduate students, scholars, professionals and the wider interested readership on Ethiopia and Ertirea.
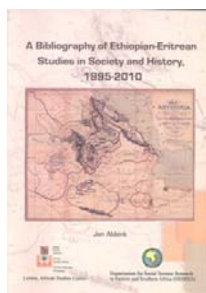
Analysis of Gender and Social Issues in Natural Resource Management

Edited by
Fiona Flintan and Shibru Tedla

This book is one of the outcomes of a series of research projects carried out through the sponsorship of OSSREA, with a grant provided by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada. The overall objectives of the research endeavours were: (i) to build capacity amongst natural resource management (NRM) researchers, with an emphasis on land and water management, for the integration and practice of social/gender analysis and participatory research; (ii) to develop appropriate approaches to and tools for social/gender analysis and participatory research; (iii) to build capacity within OSSREA and partner organisations and institutions for mainstreaming gender in NRM research activities; (iv) to support and increase interactive networking and information exchange amongst NRM researchers in the sub-region with a focus on gender/social analysis and participatory research; and (v) to document the processes and good practices used by NRM researchers in integrating social/gender analysis, and to record research results. The goal of this book is to fulfil, in part, the achievement of these objectives.

Most development issues cannot be addressed from a single professional perspective or without the participation of the beneficiaries. Cognizant of this, there is wide agreement among researchers and development research managers about the value and importance of interdisciplinary and participatory approaches to the initiation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of research for development projects and programmes. However, looking at the existing scenarios of research for development, one finds that such research undertakings often tend to be sectoral and "researchers-driven", with little participation by users of the research results.

Development problems are multifaceted and so are their solutions, which usually necessitate engaging with technological, institutional and policy issues—thus requiring multidisciplinary expertise and experiences for proper understanding and appropriate adjustments. This is especially true for developmental issues related to natural resources management that involves dealing with the interaction of humans and nature, i.e. of natural and socio-political systems.

The participation of beneficiaries and supporters of the research process is likely to ensure that the relevant research issues are identified, and that the efforts will be carried out in a more efficient and effective manner, since participation facilitates greater uptake of results.

Regarding gender, the broad agreement among researchers and development practitioners is that neglect to pay attention to gender-related issues in designing research projects limits the value and applicability of the results.

Many research projects fail, however, to incorporate explicit attention to gender and to use multidisciplinary and participatory approaches. This is limiting the contribution of research to development and, as a result, to its own profile, which in turn limits the support research itself receives from governments and other donors. That is why this project focused attention on elements that add value to research for development—to develop capacity for and interest in research for development within the region.

The research described in this volume has attempted to overcome the gender-based biases found in NRM research and to meet the challenges of including gender and social issues. The purpose of the research programme was to add a gender-sensitive research dimension to already existing research programmes and activities focusing on natural resources and their management. Most of these programmes had already commenced, but had left gaps in the area of social analysis, particularly relating to gender. The

contributions found in this volume sought to fill these gaps and provide information on gender-differentiated roles, responsibilities, access, control, contributions, etc., and on the different relations that men and women have with the environment and natural resources, including the different needs of men and women. This knowledge was seen as vital for better-informed decisions and recommendations concerning natural resource management in the future. Further, several of the chapters indicate how the different gender groups can be integrated into sustainable management of natural resources, based on their roles, relations and needs (see, for example, Mawaya and Kalindekafe in this book).

Developing the gender component for the research proved challenging, particularly in moving from merely looking at gender-related differences to investigating and understanding why such differences existed. Often, it was difficult to include women in the research—because of cultural constraints that prevented contact, or because the women were too busy, or perhaps because they did not have sufficient interest to attend necessary meetings or fill out questionnaires. Indeed, a limitation of most studies found in this volume too is that the women who were respondents were all household heads (i.e. divorced or widowed), and not enough effort was made to include young single women and/or married women.

An effort was made to examine and analyse systematically the qualitative information as well as the quantitative. These analytical categories were used to describe and explain social phenomena. Each item in the data was checked or compared with the rest of the data to establish consistency. The data were indexed, and, wherever necessary, rearranged according to the appropriate part of the thematic framework to which they related. The data were also organised in the form of themes sought, with a view to providing explanations for the findings. Computer software SPSS VERSION 10.0 was used to analyse the qualitative data."

Several of the chapters focus on wetland and water resources. The chapter by Naigaga, Kyangwa and Mugidde describes their gender analysis of the utilisation of a wetland area of Uganda, dealing particularly with those activities that could degrade the environment and lead to risk of human exposure to chemical and/or biological contaminants. The chapter by Mawaya and Kalindekafe also focuses on a wetland area of three riverine systems in Malawi, where no gender analysis had been carried out before. They sought to examine and establish ways in which gender could be mainstreamed into NRM in terms of access, control and management for sustainable livelihoods of different gender groups. A third study focusing on wetland resources is that by Rutaisire et al., who investigated the utilisation of

aquaculture in the Lake Victoria basin in Uganda, and aimed to generate information and propose methods for the integration of gender issues in wetland Clariid fish produc-tion and the acquisition of technology for their breeding in the Lake Victoria basin.

Girma, Belisa and Gudeta carried out a gender analysis of the social, economic and cultural factors that determine access to and control over resources in selected districts in Ethiopia. They investigated decision-making power re-garding production, processing, marketing and utilisation in potato farming, aiming to under-stand the reasons for the non-adoption, or only partial adoption, of new potato production technologies in terms of gender and social in-teraction. Also Macharia, Kimani, Kimenye and Ramisch focused on agricultural produc-tion, specifically 'the uptake of soil fertility management technologies', based on farmers' social and gender differences, and the effect of such differences on the profitability of tech-nologies for small-scale farmers in the central Kenyan Highlands.

It is hoped that NRM researchers will find this book useful and that they will continue investigating the issues presented in this book.

FEATURE ARTICLES

Evaluation of the Impact of Agricultural Recovery Programmes on Communal Farming Productivity in Mudavanhu Ward 12 of Masvingo District, Zimbabwe

Mutekwa Timothy*, Marambanyika Thomas, Matsa Mark and Mapuranga Johannes

Abstract

Increased climatic variability and socio-economic decline due to instability on the political landscape prompted acute food supply shortages in communal Zimbabwe particularly at the turn of the 21ˢᵗ century. Agricultural recovery programmes, (ARPs) though not new in the country, were implemented by central government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with increased vigour in a bid to capacitate smallholder farmers against food insecurity. The paper focuses on whether implemented agricultural recovery programmes by NGOs have improved agricultural yields in communal areas of Mudavanhu ward in Masvingo district of Zimbabwe. Rapid rural appraisal was used for data acquisition. The method allowed the researchers and local communities to share information in relation to the effectiveness of CARE International's capacity building strategies. The major components of implemented agricultural recovery programmes were conservation farming techniques, crop packs (seeds and other inputs like fertilizers) and skills development. The results show that the majority of farmers experienced an improvement in productivity of some selected crops due to increased crop hectarage, inputs application intensity and conservation farming skills. The programme's success was also attributed to its gender inclusive nature. Problems such as late provision of inputs, farmers' abscondment of training workshops and labour shortage derailed programme implementation. Given the programme's rate of success, there is

need to consider implementation of similar projects in impoverished areas.

Keywords: Agricultural recovery programme, farming productivity, communal lands, NGOs

INTRODUCTION

The food supply situation in Zimbabwe has been deteriorating since year 2000. This can be attributed to a number of factors, including climate change and its associated unpredictable weather patterns, high HIV/AIDS pandemic prevalence, socio-economic decline, and deepening humanitarian crisis. In 2002, the country experienced its largest deficit in food productivity since 1980 as there was a seventy per cent shortfall in farm output due to early and abrupt end of rains in February (Mudimu 2008). The result was that seventy per cent of the rural population was at risk of famine-induced starvation. A joint crop and food supply assessment (CSFAM) survey conducted by Food and Agricultural Organisation and World Food Programme in June 2007 estimated that national cereal production for larger and small grains was 44 per cent less than 2006 estimates (Red Cross Report 2008). In order to revamp and boost the capacities of smallholder farmers in face of climatic shocks and socio-economic meltdown, the government of Zimbabwe spearheaded various agricultural recovery pro-

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grammes since the early 1990s to improve communal agricultural production. These varied from intensified extension services, provision of crop packs and tillage facilities (Munro 2003). The programmes were meant to help drought affected smallholder farmers recover from repeated severe droughts and the biting socio-economic challenges that the country was going through. The schemes were mainly earmarked for the resource poor smallholder communal farmers in the in recipient areas, (Foti, Muringai, and Maunganidze 2007; Munro 2003).

However, ARPs under government auspices since the inception of fast track land reform have been embroiled in controversy as distribution of inputs was largely based on political affiliation rather than the farmers' needs or ability to farm. In an endeavour to expand access to ARP schemes among smallholder farmers, NGOs are augmenting government efforts to enhance communal food security. Whilst ARPs are known to improve land under crop production, their effectiveness to improve agricultural yields is still shrouded under uncertainty as there is no clear evidence of their positive gains (ibid.). In order to bridge the

identified knowledge gap to strengthen food policies formulation, the paper examined the approach implemented under CARE International's ARPs, their capacity building strategies, and impact of ARPs on agricultural yields for selected crops in Mudavanhu communal lands of Masvingo district.

METHODS AND DATA
Study Area

Mudavanhu ward is found in Masvingo communal area. It is located about 37 kilometres south of Masvingo town (Fig.1). It has an approximate population of 9980 people and an average density of 43 people per square kilometre (CSO 2002). About 512 households are under CARE International agriculture recovery programme.

The ward is located in Zimbabwe's semi-arid agro-ecological region IV that receives an average annual rainfall ranging from 450mm to 600mm. Rainfall distribution is uneven as the bulk is recorded between February and March. Severe dry spells are normally experienced in December and January. The seasonal droughts and mid-rainy season dry spells in the region have become more frequent and intense in recent years as a result of the current global climate change phenomenon that is slowly setting
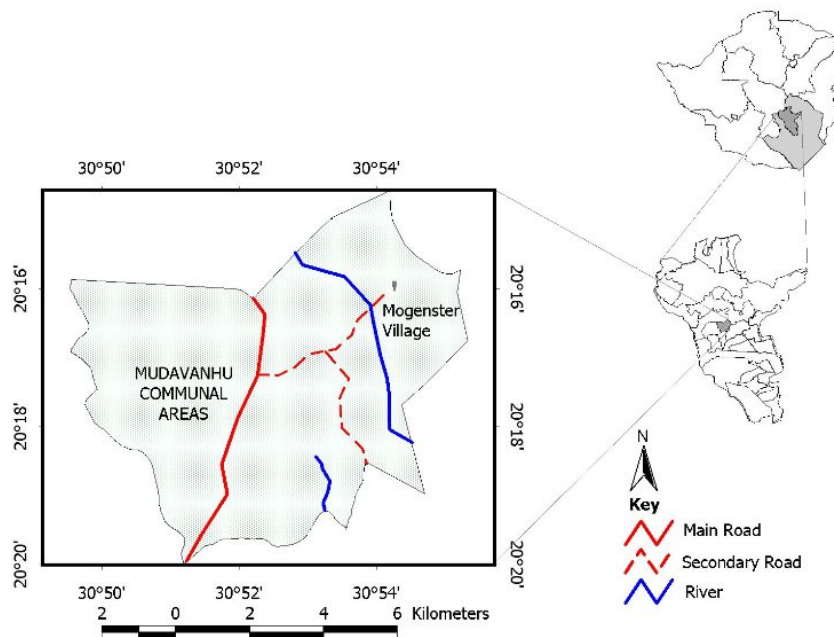
Fig. 1. The Study Site

in. The average annual temperature for the district is about 20 degrees Celsius. Average winter air temperatures can be as low as 10 degrees Celsius whereas summer temperatures can be at times higher than 30 degrees Celsius. The altitude of the district ranges from 450m to 1240m above sea level. Moderately shallow deep grey overlaying clay and patches of moderately reddish brown granular clay soil dominate the area.

Methods of Data Collection

Rapid rural appraisal was used as the cornerstone for information acquisition as it allowed for triangulation, learning from the communities' experiences as well as gathering more detailed information relating to the specific research questions. Semi-structured interviews, direct observations and questionnaires were instruments chosen for an in-depth understanding and analysis of impact of ARPs on farming productivity. Five hundred and twelve (512) households were beneficiaries to the programme. Sixty household heads out of 512 households that benefited from the programme were purposively targeted for questionnaires' administration. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with CARE programme extension workers and both political and traditional leadership. Direct observations were done to add to and clarify information obtained through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires.

The selected instruments solicited for information to answer the following research questions; was there any public consultation in selection of ARP approaches, i.e. crop packs and conservation farming? what skills building approaches are in place to augment smallholders' performance? who are the beneficiaries of the

schemes and what criteria are used in their selection; how is the timing of inputs distribution (farmers always cry foul due to late distribution)? adequacy and relevance of inputs, and target crops? impact of scheme on crop outputs, and constraints encountered in implementation since the commencement of the programme over the last four seasons.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Men constitute fifty-eight per cent of beneficiaries' population. Traditionally men are recognised as heads of families; hence they register and collect farm implements on behalf of their families. Women had a significant proportion of forty-two per cent as they could access inputs on behalf of their absentee husbands, or were widowed, and/or empowered single mothers. Ninety-six per cent of the farm holders' age was above twenty-six, and among this section sixty-five per cent was above forty-six years. The reason for age variations was that young people had migrated to urban centres and neighbouring countries in search of employment, especially before the formation of the inclusive government in mid-February 2009.

The average household size for the area was six people, comprised of parents, children and rela-

tives. Observations confirmed that old people were staying with grandchildren left by HIV/AIDS victims. Children provided the much needed labour during land preparation, planting, weeding and harvesting. Eighty-six per cent of the population reached at least Ordinary Level. Farm ownership was through inheritance and fragmentation of existing plots. Seventy-seven per cent of the farmers joined ARP at initial implementation stage. Only twenty-three per cent joined in successive years due to ignorance, wait and see attitude as a result of scepticism concerning the benefits and success of the programme, and/or started staying in the ward following programme implementation. Only twelve per cent of the twenty-three late joiners were residing in the area at ARPs' inception.

Activities and Plans under the ARPs

In Mudavanhu Communal Area, other than distributing crop packs, composed of seeds and fertilizers, CARE International added another dimension of conservation farming practice in order to achieve sustainable agriculture. Conservation farming was the major component of CARE International's ARP. Conservation farming in this case included methods such as construction of tied ridges and infiltration pits as rainwater harvesting technologies, crop rota-

tion, zero tillage and planting of vertiver nurseries.

Conservation farming allowed farmers to commence land preparation shortly after harvesting. This enabled them to do early farming at the onset of the rainy season. Consequently, labour was equitably spread over the year. Conservation farming was done in a manner that the farmers would achieve the five major components of this practice which include, proper land preparation, following of regionally-specific planting standards, controlling weeds, mulching and rotating crops. Conservation farming was augmented by skills training workshops and provision of seed and fertilizer inputs. Consultation with local people was done in selection of plans implemented under this ARP and this enhanced its acceptability and adoption.

Conservation Farming

The research revealed that ninety-four per cent of the people under the agriculture recovery programme practise conservation farming. Crop rotation was the most embraced technique under conservation farming due to its less labour intensive nature. Water harvesting technologies, such as tied ridges and infiltration pits, were also adopted. This enabled the

farmers to efficiently and effectively use water, which was a bit scarce since the area is located in agro-ecological region IV where rainfall figures are relatively low. Zero tillage was not favoured by most farmers except a few without adequate draught power, because it was regarded as laborious. Farmers acknowledged that conservation farming was a very effective tool in increasing agricultural productivity with less sophisticated methods that are not capital intensive (see Fig 2). Evidence throughout field observations show that farmers were leaving crop residue as manure for the next farming season. The remaining six per cent of households, mainly headed by aged farmers above sixty-five, resorted to traditional methods of farming which included use of seeds from previous harvest.

Crop Packs

Farm holders get seed and fertilizer inputs from CARE International as part of [its] capacity building efforts. Beneficiaries of ARP in Mudavanhu were chosen through a grading system based on the wealth status of households. Poor and vulnerable households were identified as those without livestocks, widows, orphans and/or those without any known source of income. Local and traditional leadership also assisted enumerators with the screen-

ing and drawing up of the final list of intended beneficiaries. Poor households, constituting thirty-nine per cent of the total population were given full benefits of the programme, that is, the total package of crop packs consisting of seeds and fertilizers. The remaining population of sixty-one per cent chose between fertilizer and seed, of which thirty-three per cent opted for fertilizer and twenty-eighty per cent received seeds. More farmers wanted fertilizer because it was more expensive and scarce on the local market than seed. Moreover, some farmers co seed from previous harvests as substi seed to be purchased as these seeds normally do well with fertilizers while for fertilizer there was no substitute. Fertilizers were also needed to replenish nutrients in their agricultural soils of poor quality.

Target Crops under ARPs

Notwithstanding the fact that crops grown varied from household to household, all families grew maize, followed by sixty per cent who grow sweet potatoes. In Zimbabwe, let alone in this rural community, maize is the staple food crop whilst sweet potatoes act as substitute for bread. Other crops grown include millet, sorghum, groundnuts and round-nuts. These were chosen because of their high tolerance and adaptability

to semi-arid conditions prevailing in the area. Groundnuts were grown for sale and for peanut butter, millet and sorghum for "sadza" as well as for beer brewing.
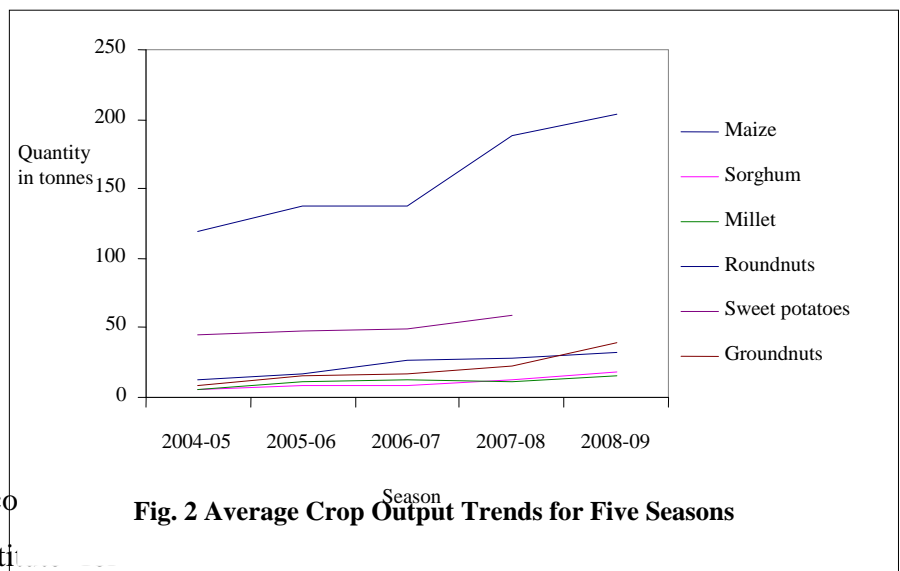
Fig. 2 Average Crop Output Trends for Five Seasons

Impact of Scheme on Crop Productivity

Farmers indicated that there was an improvement in farm output since implementation of the programme. Yields for various crops under the scheme increased significantly (see Fig 2). Maize output almost doubled from approximately 120 tonnes in 2004 - 2005 season to 203 tonnes in the 2008-2009 season for the whole ward. These output figures translate into an enhancement of household maize grain yield from 2, 3 tonnes to 3, 9 tonnes over the four- year period. Evidence from research showed that tonnage for maize could have more than doubled if all farmers had joined the

programme at its inception. Sweet potatoes were ranked second in terms of output as illustrated below in Fig 2. No value for sweet potatoes output for season 2008 – 2009 was indicated on the Figure as research was carried out before commencement of the harvesting period in June. Sorghum output increased from five tonnes to eighteen tonnes whilst millet rose from six tonnes to fifteen tonnes per season for the whole ward.

Crops such as round nuts, millet and sorghum had overall low output because they were only grown by twenty-two per cent of the farmers. Small pieces of land were put under production of small grains and leguminous crops. Slight positive improvement in overall yields was recorded even under drought conditions as in agricultural season of 2006-2007. No farmer has had a negative growth in productivity since the implementation of the programme. Good agricultural performance was attributed to provision of farm inputs like seeds and fertiliser and incorporation of conservation farming practices. Provision of crop packs enabled eighty-nine per cent of the farmers to increase land under cultivation. This was achieved through opening up of new fields or reviving farming on abandoned plots. Usually scarcity of seed before the programme led to less land

under cultivation and subsequently low yields than expected.

The programme's success is also attributed to its gender inclusiveness as women were integrated as household heads. Women involved include disadvantaged widows, divorced, single mothers or heads of families with absentee husbands. Lack of gender blindness in the scheme allowed for full participation of women as team leaders and sharing of information among community members without discrimination. Emancipation of women meant that they participated in the scheme with same opportunities as of their male counterparts. Capacitation of women is a noble phenomenon in light of increased feminization of agriculture in developing countries.

Challenges Encountered in the Implementation of the ARP

Farmers indicated that due to the labour intensive nature of conservation farming, labour and draught power shortage were the major stumbling blocks deterring them from increasing land under production. Late provision of inputs has been inhibiting effective implementation of the agricultural recovery programme. This has been attributed to delayed release of funds to purchase inputs for farmers and capacity build-

ing activities by donors. Even if funds were released earlier, sometimes shortage of inputs on the market affects progress. Late distribution of inputs affect farmers' productivity in the sense that, due to the changing climate conditions prevailing in the country, if they plant late after the first rains it becomes difficult for their crops to get required amounts of water as the raining season is changing drastically. Some of the beneficiaries sale inputs received from project sponsors, thereby derailing the project from timely achieving its objectives and targets. Farmers also have a tendency of absconding training workshops aimed at improving their technical skills in proper project implementation. They are mainly concerned about getting farming inputs, hence only turn up for registration and collection.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Notwithstanding some challenges encountered in the scheme, ARP in Mudavanhu ward has significantly improved yields for selected crops. Gradual increase in farm output was attributed to provision of crop packs, skills training workshops and good farming practices accompanying conservation farming. The programme was gender sensitive as it included all vulnerable households irrespective of sex status of household head. Emancipation of women enabled them to participate freely in information dissemination without discrimination from their male counter-

parts. There is need to intensify the cooperation and support for agricultural extension workers, compile operation guidelines for rehabilitations and farming strategies in local language and intensive monitoring of inputs so as to minimise counter-selling. Lastly, there is need also to introduce similar schemes to other impoverished parts of the country given its rate of success.

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Extensive Reading: A Viable Option for Africa

Michael Daniel Ambatchew*

1. INTRODUCTION

In an international conference convened in Tehran in 1965, delegates from 89 countries deemed that functional literacy should be a goal for all countries to achieve as a way for preparing their citizens for their social, civic and economic duties. It is a disgrace to Africa in particular and the world at large, that on 8th September 2000, (ironically, International Literacy Day) 189 countries adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration which, amongst other goals, intends to achieve universal primary education and increase literacy rates. In over four decades, not much progress has been made. A publication by CRDA (2001,10) notes:

> Literacy remains a major battle and a major challenge for school systems worldwide. Evaluations conducted in the past few years in both developing and industrialized countries show that this is a particularly weak area in school achievement, and a key factor behind extensive grade repetition and school dropout.

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Krashen (1993,84) in his comparative study strongly recommends extensive reading for students because, "they can continue to improve in their second language, without classes, without study and even without people to converse with."

This article is based on the premise that extensive reading might be one way that Africa can begin to emerge from its poverty and illiteracy trap. It has been argued that models of reading are themselves influenced by the historical context in which they have been developed (McCormic 1988, 55-65). Therefore, African scholars may have to develop new reading models and approaches that correspond to the socio-economic and cultural realities of the continent. Thus, this article reviews the conceptual framework for extensive reading, samples of previous research and issues in setting up reading schemes for children. It intends to set the general stage from which individual states or regions can continue to refine both knowledge and practice to their unique contexts.

2. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR EXTENSIVE READING

The why and wherefore of extensive reading has a history of its own, separate from the general notion of reading, or other types of reading. Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (2001,1) define extensive reading as the kind of reading that is done for information or pleasure and is necessarily done in large quantities. They stress that the immediate focus of the reader should be on the content rather than on language or language skills. Day and Bamford (2000,2) also give a list of characteristics of extensive reading which include the fact that reading is done as its own reward, dictionaries are only rarely used and the person involves in such kind of reading for a variety of personal, social or academic reasons. They state that the readers should have the freedom to stop reading whenever the materials no longer interest them and that their reading is usually fast.

Nation (1997,1) explains that encouraging such a type of reading among students could be very advantageous in that it allows for different learners with different reading proficiency levels, interests and schedules to select materials of their own taste and read in their own time at their own pace. Consequently, educationists and teachers have been interested in using extensive reading as a supplementary or complementary activity to teaching English and reading for a long time. The provision of deliberately graded readers to facilitate language and reading acquisition has also been used for many decades. Bell (2001,1) traces interest in graded readers as far back as the 1950s with the writings of Michael West. He states that a sustained interest in developing reading speed through extensive reading got momentum in the 1960s with the studies of Fry and the De Leeuws. Obviously, this article shows that the interest continues in the present millennium.

It is clear that reading takes place in a social context and is best promoted by interaction. Therefore many researchers and teachers have used extensive reading and designed reading schemes to assist their students to improve their reading and language. Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (2001,1) give us a glimpse of the variety of the names of such schemes which include Book Flood, Uninterrupted Sustained Silent Reading (USSR), Drop Everything and Read (DEAR) and Silent Uninterrupted Reading for Fun (SURF). Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (ibid.) list the advantages of such schemes as:

♦ Increased knowledge of the world;
♦ Enhanced language acquisition in such areas as grammar, vocabulary, and text structure;
♦ Improved reading and writing skills;
♦ Greater enjoyment of reading; and
♦ Higher possibility of developing a reading habit.

As well, numerous educators have written on how they have used extensive reading successfully in their classrooms.

Nation (1997,1) wanted to make sure that such schemes not only improved reading fluency, but other language skills too. He says that the relationship between language proficiency and extensive reading is complex in that success in formal study could make reading more feasible. At the same time, success in reading could motivate students to do further study and more reading. Moreover, students who speak and listen to English outside the classroom also do more extensive reading. He reviews some studies and says that it is clear that students gain in their vocabulary knowledge and have a greater than normal success rate in their academic examinations. Nation (1997,7) concludes his argument by stressing:

The research on extensive reading shows that there is a wide range of learning benefits from such activity. Experimental studies have shown that not only is there improvement in reading, but that there are improvements in a range of language uses and areas or language knowledge. Although studies have focussed on language improvement, it is clear that there are affective benefits as well. Success in reading and its associated skills, most notably writing, makes learners come to enjoy language learning and to value their study of English.

Other scholars, like Heal (1998,1-3), give practical examples of how they have overcome the difficulty of teaching large unmanageable reading classes with unmotivated students. Heal explains how, for her students who would not show up to class and did not do their homework, she used extensive reading along with peer-pressure and competition to motivate them. She divided her class into groups and then gave them weekly quizzes. Eventually, there was a noticeable improvement in both the classroom atmosphere and the students' reading scores.

Similarly, Day and Bamford (2000,1-7) discuss the pleasures and benefits of extensive reading schemes. They posit that, provided that interesting reading materials can be obtained, reluctant readers can be transformed into proficient ones. They say that the bene-

fits are not only in reading skills, but in writing, listening, vocabulary and other areas as well; that the students are weaned away from word-by-word reading through repeatedly meeting the same patterns of letters, words and word combinations, thereby developing automaticity and increasing their reading skills. They also add that extensive reading provides the students in foreign language contexts with opportunities for increased exposure to English and many students also develop positive attitudes to the language.

Day and Bamford (ibid.,5-6) also discuss how teachers can use extensive reading. They suggest three options. The first is to integrate extensive reading into the curriculum as it helps students to read and pass their exams. Here they recommend having a separate extensive reading course. If this is not possible, they suggest the option of adding on the extensive reading portion to an existing language course as a non-credit activity, or through assigning a certain portion of the semester's grades to extensive reading. If both of these are not possible, then they advise that the extensive reading scheme be added on as an extracurricular activity outside the regular curriculum.

3. A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON EXTENSIVE READING

There is an abundant reading research internationally. In fact, Urquhart and Weir (1998,19), who scrutinised the number of articles with the word "reading" in their titles published between 1966 and 1996 and found in ERIC, discovered that the least number published per year was 600 and the most well above 3000. Alderson (2000,1) also in his book admits from the outset:

> The sheer volume of research on the topic belies any individual's ability to process, much less synthesise, everything that is written. Similarly, the number of different theories of reading is simply overwhelming: what it is, how it is acquired and taught, how reading in a second language differs from reading in a first, how reading relates to other cognitive and perceptual abilities, how it interfaces with memory. All these aspects of reading are important, but will probably never be brought together into a coherent and comprehensive account of what it is we do when we read.

A review of international research on reading and reading schemes tends to reveal the unanimous agreement that the provision of books to children results in their improving their reading efficiency. For example, Parker and Parker (1984,184) strongly advocate the use of 'book-based' approaches to the teaching of reading and further back up their claims by refering to well-established studies by researchers like

Elley and Mangubhai, Spink, and Carrell. Krashen (1993,84) also declares that extensive reading schemes are invaluable to the teaching of reading. He summarises studies comparing the achievements of studies who received traditional reading comprehension classes with those who also read extensively on their own and states that 93% of the 41 comparisons showed that extensive reading benefited the students immensely. This obviously makes sense from a language acquisition point of view, because, as Williams (1984, 204) states, there is so much evidence of learners learning a language along the same route that some researchers maintain that teaching cannot alter this order. Williams (ibid. 203) points out that, "what appears to be unquestioned in the literature is the crucial role of language input – input of language through listening and reading – for the learner to act on in order to activate and develop his/her own learning mechanisms…".

However, due to the massiveness and impossibility of reviewing all the research on extensive reading, a brief assessment of works of only two leading experts in the field of reading- Urquhart and Alderson- will be made here. Urquhart and Weir (1993, 219-221) begin their review of research on extensive read-

ing by stating the surprising fact that there are almost no negative comments on the subject. The only disadvantages they come up with are practical administrative ones like the cost and time of establishing and running such programmes efficiently, as well as the need for some curriculum time required for private reading. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile keeping in mind that practical administrative constraints can disrupt a whole reading scheme, as properly administering a scheme is the most relevant part of implementation, and Africa as a whole has to improve its administrative structures.

They assert that researchers like Rodrigo (1995), Day et al. (1991), Pitts et al. (1989) and Krashen (1993) have all found that extensive reading contributes directly to both reading comprehension and vocabulary development. Some researchers like Hafiz and Tudor (1989,5) are said to attribute this development to the tension-free environment in which extensive reading takes place leading to the relaxed intake of large quantities of comprehensible input.

Urquhart and Weir (1998, 220) extend their review beyond English speaking countries and explain that the positive effects of extensive

reading programmes have been reported upon in countries like Japan and Fiji by Robb and Susser (1989) and Elley and Mangubhai (1983) respectively.

Interestingly, they point out that extensive reading has been positively examined and recommended by numerous researchers, including Davies (1995), Elley (1991), Hamp-Lyons (1985), Krashen (1993), Nation (1997) and others. Despite this amount of overwhelming evidence, little sustained reading occurred in classrooms throughout Britian and as little as 15% of classroom time was devoted to reading. Discussions, questions and other factors associated with the testing of reading took up more time than the actual teaching of reading. Apparently, this is worse in the USA, where Alevermann and Moore (1991,974) report that reading strategies do not play a large part in the reading classroom.

The only mention of the possibility of extensive reading being anything but a resounding success is made by Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (2001,1), when they mention that poorer countries that lack adequate reading materials, have low teacher salaries and inadequate preparation of teachers have been found to have implementation difficulties. Perhaps this is of utmost impor-

tance to Africa, as many of the countries come under the 'Least Developed Countries' criteria. Therefore, reading schemes, which have worked in other regions of the world, cannot be replicated without looking at the specificity of the African context. A lack of reading materials, low teacher training and motivation, undernourished students and lack of a reading culture are part and parcel of the African educational setting.

In an attempt to be selective and get a flavour of how some studies on extensive reading were carried out, it would be important to review the three studies in more depth. The first study is on the relationship between extensive reading and its contribution to the students' reading speed and reading comprehension made by Timothy Bell (2001) on Yemeni students. The second was a study by Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (2001) and examines if extensive reading can be of any assistance to weaker students in giving them remedial reading classes. The third study, which was mentioned earlier, is by Robb and Susser (1989) that scrutinises whether extensive reading might actually contribute more to a tradition[al] skills building course in improving students' English in a foreign language setting. All three studies have been selected on the basis that they cover dif-

ferent aspects of extensive reading and could contribute more to the understanding of the role extensive reading could have in Africa.

3.1 Extensive Reading: Speed and Comprehension

Bell (2001,1) sets out from the given premise that extensive reading contributes greatly to the reading speed of students and that advanced students could increase their reading speed up to 57% over a couple of years. However, he wanted to research the slightly neglected area of whether these remarkable gains in reading speed were at the expense of reading comprehension. On the other hand, he speculated that perhaps the poor understanding of slow readers due to the fact that their memory is insufficient to retain the information in large chunks to enable process of the meaning could be overcome by this faster reading. In other words, faster reading improves comprehension.

The research design he used was a quantitative one in which he had a control group and a test group. "The control group (n = 12) received an entirely different reading programme which was intensive in character, being based on the reading of short passages and the completion of tasks designed to 'milk' the texts for grammar, lexis, and rhetorical patterns" (Bell 2001,

2). The exercises included the types of traditional reading exercises like dictation, vocabulary, comprehension questions, cloze, gap-filling, multiple choice and true/false questions. The test group, on the other hand, consisted of 14 students. They "received an extensive reading programme consisting of class readers, a class library of books for students to borrow, and regular visits to the library providing access to a much larger collection of graded readers (up to 2000 titles)" (ibid.).

Records of time spent on reading were closely monitored. Then both groups had to sit for a series of reading speed tests and reading comprehension tests, which, though not sophisticated, served their purpose. For example, in the reading speed tests, students had to mark where they had reached when the teacher banged on the desk. The statistical tool used to analyse these results was the 't' test for correlated samples.

The results proved both his hypotheses that the learner in the extensive group would achieve significantly faster reading speeds and significantly higher scores on the tests of reading comprehension. So he concludes by stating that there are significant gains in using an extensive reading programme to improve students' reading rather than using traditional

reading lessons (ibid.,7). He stresses this especially as the test group had scored less in their reading tests before the extensive programme and so the programme had actually reversed the scores.

The biggest limitations to this study, which Bell (ibid.,8) admits to himself, is the small number of students used in the experiment and the questionable reliability and validity of his reading comprehension and reading speed tests. Nevertheless, this study is useful in that it was not set in an English-speaking country and therefore reduces the chances of incidental learning outside the classroom.

3.2 A Study of Extensive Reading with Remedial Reading Students

This study was set in the Philippines. The school in the study had around 2800 students and an average of 52 students per class. Their classes last for 40 minutes and the school operates on a shift system. Ninety per cent of the students are assumed to come from low-income families, an environment where reading materials are scarce (Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya 2001,2).

Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya (ibid.) started out on their research because they felt:

> While much good work in ER takes place, sustained, well-run programmes are more often the exception than the rule. Effective ER programmes seem especially scarce for lower achieving students, as many educationists express the view that such students lack the desire and skills to read extensively. Thus further research is needed to develop and test situation-appropriate ER with lower achieving students.

They used a Pre-test – Post-test control group quantitative design, along with two instruments, which were the Informal Reading Inventory and the Gray Standardised Oral Reading Test. The latter indicates the grade level, which the student is reading at. The students in the experiment group went through an extensive reading programme, which lasted for six months and involved 45% of silent reading time. The control group simply followed the regular English syllabus in their remedial English lessons.

The researchers used the t-test to compare all the scores and set a familywise alpha level of .05. They had a degree of freedom of 20 and set the critical value at 2.676 to compensate for the fact that more than two values were being analysed. The results revealed significant differences in the reading proficiency between the groups after the treatment. So they proved their first hypothesis that there was no significant difference in the pre-test reading

proficiency scores and disproved their second hypothesis that the same would hold true after the six-month extensive reading programme. They round off their study by stating:

> In conclusion, students who are not currently skilled, enthusiastic readers face unnecessary and serious obstacles to realizing their potential contributions to themselves, their families and to society in general. In this information age, they will be shut off from the power gained through obtaining and providing information and from the splendour and inspiration of good fiction. Thus, educationists need to create and implement programmes to help students who fall behind in reading. The accumulated wisdom embodied in the current study and the many which came before it strongly suggests that ER can play an important role in helping students gain in their level of reading skill, confidence and enjoyment. ER can help people discover the joy and power that reading brings. (Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya 2001,7).

3.3 Extensive Reading vs Skills Building in an EFL Context

Robb and Susser (1989) conducted their research in Japan on Japanese college freshman students. They state that while there is general agreement that reading is the most important skill in EFL situations, very little data-based research exists on extensive reading as an L2 pedagogic procedure (ibid.,1).

They wanted to see if extensive reading alone could bring about an improvement in students'

reading abilities and if language skills are better learned when specifically taught. So they set out with 125 Japanese students who had no significant differences in reading. The experiment group had to do extensive reading during the year. They started reading at a fairly low level and were allowed to read at their own pace. They were engaged in silent reading and were allowed to proceed to a higher level after demonstrating that they had achieved acceptable reading comprehension at the existing level. They were not taught any skills overtly and were required to read a minimum of 500 pages at home during the year. The teachers monitored their work by making them write short summaries of the stories they read.

The control group had to work through a reading skills textbook with 12 chapters and 2 reading sections in each chapter. Students read the passages individually and did the exercises in the book. For homework, they had to do an additional section of the test and were monitored by a two-item quiz at the beginning of each period .The researchers used the Multiple Skills Series Midway Placement Tests before and after the treatment. They concluded that the students in the extensive reading programme could read faster, understand important facts and guess the meaning of new words

from context better than the control group. Moreover, they were as good as the control group in getting the main idea and making inferences. Interestingly, the test group also showed a marked improvement in their writing skills than the control group. Therefore, they strongly recommend extensive reading as students enjoy it more and also learn more from such an approach.

Robb and Susser (1989,6) acknowledge that some of the weaknesses of the study could be contamination from other English courses and differences in study time between the groups and they decided to conduct a repetition of the experiment in the next academic year.

All three of the sample studies reviewed came up with findings that reiterated the benefits of extensive reading programmes on the reading skills of students who use English as a second or foreign language. Interestingly, however, not much research was found that was actually done in Africa. Kenya and Zimbabwe have some innovative reading schemes, which include mobile libraries on carts drawn by donkeys. However, very little evaluative research is available.

4. CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND EXTENSIVE READING

4.1 The Rationale behind Using Children's Literature

Most researchers agree that reading provides a unique opportunity to assist the psycho-social development of children. In pre-literate days or in societies with oral cultures, it was story-telling that had the role of assisting in the child's development. Fordham, Holland and Millican (1995,94) say, "Most oral cultures record history and communicate events through story-telling, and teach moral and cultural values through riddles and proverbs." However, with the increase of print and the availability of books, reading took over the role of oral literature and added some new aspects of its own.

Davis (1992,3) sees reading as giving readers the opportunity to reshape their own lives and says: "Reading, writing, growing-up, trying to re-understand the past you have come out of in search of the future you are going into - these seem part of the project for such people who want to try to make and re-make lives of their own".

Whereas, Spink (1989,37) sees reading as being fundamental in shaping children's lives in the first place. He argues, "...reading can assist with self-identity in terms of our sexual identity, our ethnic and cultural and geographical identity, and our religious and moral selves. Many of these matters are areas of conflict: conflict with parents, friends, school, or our inner selves".

Although researchers may emphasise different aspects, they all tend to agree that reading books enhances the child's psychological development. Some say that the reading process involves conscious attention and automatic activation and that extensive reading could significantly affect the automatic activation (Urquhart and Weir 1998,38). How to go about the teaching of reading, however, is another matter entirely. Some researchers oppose the practice of teaching reading in schools through the use of phonics and reading comprehension questions because they feel such approaches bleed the texts dry and take away the enjoyment of reading for the students. Others see these as necessary steps in enabling students to read, in contrast are those who regard them as irrelevant obstacles to acquiring reading. People like Frank Smith (1985) have been arguing against a 'programmatic ap-

proach' to teaching reading for several decades. Smith, in particular, strongly argues that the only end to such exercises are their own instructional ones and their continued use lies in thoughtless tradition. As an alternative solution he states that all children should join what he calls 'the literacy club'. This is basically reading as a means of obtaining meaning and interacting with others who encourage and enjoy reading themselves. Although all scholars would probably not agree with the extremist view of eradicating formal reading lessons, most would agree that creating a non-threatening environment is advisable. Such an environment would be risk-free owing to the absence of tests, examinations and questions to answer. Students would read at their own rates on topics of their own choice simply for the pleasure of reading. One of the ways of creating such an environment is to have supplementary readers in school libraries. Therefore, the need to include supplementary reading materials has been advocated for a long time. Some countries like the UK boast a stock of over 1,621 readers at present and this vast resource of language for learners has been used with increasing interest and theoretical awareness over the years. The basic need for such a resource is that individual students have individual and at times unique styles of learning. Ob-

viously, in classes of over 80 students in some African schools, a single teacher cannot accommodate all the individual traits of the students. Consequently, having a library with graded readers allows the students to study individually at their own preferred rate and in their own style. Maxwell and Meiser (1997,45) give us a general rule of thumb to calculate the span of reading levels in an average class. They advise that we divide the grade number in half. So if we were working with grade 6 dividing it in half would result in 3. Then the resulting figure, in this example 3, is added on to the grade level to get the upper level. So 3 plus 6 would give us 9. Then the resulting figure, in this example 3, is subtracted from the grade number to get the lower level, which would be 3 in this example.

No single course book could accommodate for such a huge range of reading levels and would as a result slow down the good readers and prove too difficult for the weaker readers. The availability of supplementary readers would thus allow for students to read at their own rates and provide the perfect student centre task. Maxwell and Meiser (1997,230-231) list the following five points as the basic reasons for using children and young adult literature;

1) Students learn to make critical judgements about what they read;
2) Students learn to support and explain their critical judgements;
3) Students will gain an understanding of themselves and others;
4) Students learn about a wider life; and
5) Students' enjoyment of reading will increase;

Reflecting on this, we can deduce that as students read more and more books they will prefer some over others and gradually learn to make critical judgements. As these judgements will vary from those of their friends they will discuss their differences of opinion. In order to convince their friends, they will have to support and explain why they liked or disliked a certain character, event or story. This in turn will develop their thinking skills. Hopefully, while discussing the characters in the stories, they will be able to identify with some and get better insights into what people are like. This will assist them in getting better understanding of themselves and others. The more they read about characters from other places, the more they will learn about a wider life. Two great advantages are that the students will be learning all this vicariously and will not have to actually experience the hard blows of life. Moreover, in Africa where the economic status is low and people cannot afford to travel, the

books can provide them with glimpses of the wider world with almost no cost at all. Finally, and most important, a virtuous circle of reading will begin to emerge where the students' successful reading will increase their enjoyment of reading and will in turn lead them to read more.

Admittedly, at elementary level the basic aim would be to enable students to develop good reading habits and discover that reading is a pleasurable lifelong activity. Consequently, rather than being bothered by literary analysis theories, such as historical criticism, social criticism and new criticism, students are usually allowed to carry out 'subjective analysis', which basically involves talking about their likes or dislikes of a certain story or poem. Therefore, the children will not see reading as a burdensome task, but rather as a recreational one.

4.2 Optimum Reading Age

Most researchers tend to agree that once an optimum point for reading is past it is very difficult to readjust things. Chambers (1972, 26) points out that "Studies of deprived children suggest that those who do not receive the necessary stimulus in early childhood may never be able to compensate." This is particularly worrying in the African context where much of the population is said to live below the poverty line of a dollar a day.

Chambers points out that from the day a child is born, the environment he grows up in contributes to his perception and attitude to reading. There is no sharp schism between a child's infancy or early childhood and the time he enters school and starts learning formally to read. If the child is raised in an acquisitionally-rich environment, in which his parents and siblings are reading and there are colourful storybooks, he is definitely at an advantage to a less privileged child. Such a context contributes to the child's emergent literacy. But even children from less privileged backgrounds can be assisted in their early school days.

Clay (1972, 165) stresses this point by saying:

> Perceptual and cognitive functioning change markedly between five and seven years. It is my belief that, at this important time, we begin the production of our reading failures by allowing some children to build inefficient systems of functioning, which keep them crippled in this process throughout their school careers. As older readers they are difficult to help because they are habituated in their inefficiency. In the terms of the computer age, they have been poorly programmed.

Acknowledging the difficulties, Neville and Pugh (1982,88) give us a glimmer of hope when they state:

> Unless, a breakthrough occurs, how can the slow starter (and often slow pupil) ever catch up? He has not the time to do so in school and, unless he has very understanding and concerned parents, it is doubtful whether the home will be able to help much. The school must, then, provide enough easy material in school or class libraries for leisure reading so that, if interest is aroused, it is not at once stifled by stories that are too difficult.

What is the implications of these statements to African countries, whose children have passed through many famines and civil wars and who, in the best of time, live in a society that has more oracy than literacy?

Since education aims at bring about change and has to deal with the realities of the classrooms, many schools feel it to be their responsibility to provide a conducive environment in which good readers can improve even more and weaker readers can catch up with their peers. However, if irreparable damage has taken place in early childhood, it is doubtful if there can be much progress at a later age. Nevertheless, reading schemes have been implemented in an attempt to help readers. Clay (1972,165) points out:

> If the problem reader is young, any "lost" behaviour which he no longer tries to apply to his reading will not be buried too far below the surface and with encouragement (that is positive reinforcement) it can be recovered. The longer the narrow, specialised responding has been practised the harder it will be to build new learning into the old system. This is a good reason why reading failure should be detected early.

However, one should keep in mind that a lot of this research has been conducted in the West, where the major problem is that a child has not received adequate support from the family regarding reading. In the context of Africa, however, the child might be suffering from a deluge of problems. To begin with, his/her mother may not have had good antenatal and postnatal care. Next, the child might have suffered physically during delivery. Once into this world, he might have suffered from malnutrition, which could cause learning difficulties. Most likely, his parents are illiterate, leaving him without role models not to mention an acquisitionally-poor learning environment. Consequently, although we might talk about the "Optimum Reading Age" for children in general, we ought to keep in mind that though it is desirable to introduce children to reading at the ages of 5-7 at the latest, this might not be feasible in continents such as Africa.

4.3 Reading Schemes

What it takes to have an effective reading scheme has often been discussed by teachers, practitioners and researchers. Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) propose a framework for reading development. They base their discussion on Brian Cambourne and reiterate seven key conditions for successful reading

development. Thorpe (1988, 9-12) also gives a complete description of a successful reading scheme, except she gives six major components for a successful scheme: provision, access, staffing, promotion, parental participation, and reading with friends. Nevertheless, there is a close relationship between these six components and the seven conditions discussed by Parker and Parker (ibid.).

4.3.1　Provision

Thorpe (1988, 9-12) mentions the actual provision of supplementary readers as the first and the most obvious necessity for any reading scheme. Neville and Pugh (1982,98) point out that a large number of books at various levels of difficulty are necessary for a good scheme. The selection of the titles of the readers has to be as varied as possible especially since reading is such a private cognitive process and each student has his/her own peculiar preferences and dislikes, so a greater of variety of books could meet the disparate tastes of readers. Harrison (1980,112) points out that the first years when a child is beginning to gain independence in reading is crucial because the task of matching a reader to a text is at its most delicate. This is evident in that the first taste of anything tends to leave a lasting impression in one's mind. Therefore, if the child finds

his/her first book too difficult or not to his/her liking then he/she may be put off from reading. On the other hand, if the child enjoys his/her first experience of reading, then he/she may become an addict for life. This is more so in Africa, where there is a scarcity of reading materials that reflect local cultures.

Similarly, Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) refer to their first condition as "Immersion". Here they are describing the existence of the language in the environment of the learner in the shape of books, newspapers and other materials, allowing him/her to have opportunities to read. Here again, a certain socio-economic pre-condition in which a publishing industry is well-established and infrastructure for the distribution of books is assumed to exist. As discussed in Chapter Two a lot of these preconditions do not exist in Ethiopia.

4.3.2　Access

Thorpe (1988, 9-12) calls her second major component "Access" and states that the mere existence of books is not very meaningful, unless the students are able to borrow them and read them whenever they like. Even if books are available in abundance in a school library, unless the students are able to use them, then they might as well not exist.

Neville and Pugh (1982,98) warn that unless the reading material is freely accessible then a child might be deterred from reading by the slightest difficulty in actually getting a book. This warning cannot be over-emphasised especially in developing countries where books are so hard to purchase that most books tend to be kept under lock and key, thus not keeping them only out of the way of the possible thief, but also out of the hands of the eager reader.

Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) set a condition they call "Responsibility". As the word suggests, this is the condition whereby the learner is independent to select his/her own reading material. It is the process of ascertaining the learner's right to choose the material, place and time to read. If encouraged, this condition helps the learner to develop a feeling of independence and a penchant to reading out of his own choice. In Africa as a whole, the lack of a wide variety of reading materials, their inhibitive prices and the lack of libraries all work against the learners developing this characteristic.

4.3.3 Staffing

Thorpe (1988, 9-12) uses the term "Staffing" to refer to both teachers and librarians. Unless active promotion of the materials takes place not much can be achieved. According to Greenwood (1988,9) the failure of many class libraries can be attributed to the expectation of the teachers that students can develop reading and interpretative skills and a pleasure from reading within a vacuum, without encouragement or guidance.

Both teachers and librarians should play an active role in helping the students to choose the right books. If a student consistently selects inappropriate readers this could put him off the reading process all together. Davies (1995,6) states that social, affective and cultural factors play a major role in influencing readers' selection of texts. He says their interaction with texts and their concepts of themselves as readers or non-readers is crucial to their reading successfully. These concepts can be determined according to comments made by the people around them, so teachers have to be sensitive when they correct students.

Greaney (1996,31) also points out that "teachers should be introduced to sound pedagogical approaches for teaching reading through long and short-term in-service programmes," as teachers in developing countries may lack the fundamental teaching skills. Moreover, teachers should give students time in the classroom for silent reading and serve as reading models themselves. Teachers should

also assist in the selection of readers for the students.

Nevertheless, it is not so easy to select readers. Hill (1997,62) estimates that only 1% of international readers currently in print are set in Africa. Bradman (1986,70) points out that a child might listen to tales of ghosts, and ghouls and monsters without batting an eyelid - only to have nightmares caused by a story about a child who gets harmlessly lost in the forest. The imagination of a child and an adult differ and it is at times difficult for an adult to gauge the tastes of a child. The brighter side is that there are aspects of the readers that adults can reasonably assess. As Southgate and Roberts (1970,73) explain, a teacher choosing supplementary story books needs to bear in mind not only the vocabulary but also the subject matter and interest levels of the basic books which they are supposed to supplement. Therefore, objective factors like vocabulary and subject matter are much easier to judge.

Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) have a condition they call "Demonstration". This is the existence of a reader in the environment of the learner, who can set an example by actually reading. This role model could be the child's parents, teachers or peers. The learner

has to understand that reading is a worthwhile activity to imitate. The role model basically demonstrates that reading is a real activity to do in the real world. In rural Africa especially, the existence of such role models are few and far apart. Teachers tend to be the role models for the students as most of the rest of the society are not literate. However, the lack of reading materials renders it very difficult for even those literate teachers to set good examples for the students. Good teachers and librarians are necessary for any reading scheme to be effective.

The condition of "Expectation" set by Parker and Parker (ibid.) is closely related to "Demonstration" and it is the conscious or unconscious communication to the child of what can be achieved through reading. If the role models portray that reading is an activity that can positively contribute to life, than the child is likely to pick up their attitude or expectation towards reading. On the other hand, if the child is told to sit in a corner and read quietly, while the adults are watching television or talking, then he/she will pick up the expectation that reading is an arduous task not related to entertainment. As explained above, teachers and the society at large are not portraying a positive image of reading in general. To add to

this dismal scheme, the economic crises tend to be negatively affecting the society's expectations to reading and learning in general. Over the last half-century the general positive expectations towards education have been changing into negative ones due to the fact that the educated youth are not being perceived to be advancing economically.

In Ethiopia, for instance, old sayings and songs ,such as "Better an educated person kills you than an uneducated one" and "Young bride, be proud you are marrying a teacher" have disappeared from the scene. Instead they are being replaced by new sayings such as "Owning a grocery is better than having a hundred degrees" and "If the worst comes to the worst, you can always marry a teacher!". More discouraging are sayings that actually dissuade students from reading and studying. For instance the saying, "Better to have good eyes for a day than study for a hundred," actually encourages the students to cheat on the day of the examination instead of studying for the whole semester.

4.3.4. *Promotion*

Thorpe (1988, 9-12) uses the term "Promotion" which overlaps with some of the ideas of "demonstration" and "Expectation". Although good teachers and librarians are necessary for any reading scheme to be effective, the children have to go into the reading-rooms or libraries before the parents and librarians can begin influencing them. To get the children into the reading-rooms and libraries, parents have to be aware of the existence of the reading schemes and encourage their children to go there and students should be motivated to go there too. Therefore, parents should be informed through various means of the existence of the scheme and students should find the places to have an attractive atmosphere. To achieve both these ends the schools should make a sustained effort to promote the reading scheme.

This component presupposes that parents are literate and would encourage their children to go to the library as much as possible. This is not so in most of Africa. Moreover, in rural areas, children are usually needed for domestic chores like fetching water or looking after the sheep.

Thorpe (ibid.) stresses that a supportive home environment can have a decisive role on whether a child adopts the habit of reading and becomes an effective reader. One especially successful scheme had family reading groups in which whole families actually went to the reading room and spent evenings choosing, discussing and sharing books. Parental role

models of how reading should be integrated into one's life are very important. A parent who makes a child sit in a corner with a book and sits on a couch and watches a video is sending clear messages of which is the more pleasurable activity. Whether such a programme would work in a developing country where leisure time is scarce and children are involved in income generating tasks in the evenings is doubtful.

Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) discuss the need for "Approximation", which is the process that allows the learner to gradually acquire greater proficiency in negotiating meaning with the text. The setting of numerous comprehension questions after the student reads a book or a text, does not allow for gradually approximation. In the normal process of reading, the student usually skips unfamiliar words and even whole passages may be vague. It is only through experience or maturation that the students' reading strategies become refined. This is obviously enhanced if the home environment encourages the children to do as much reading as possible.

This is very important in Africa, where many children begin school after the optimum reading age is past and must make great advances in their reading skills especially since the textbooks are demanding. Students whose parents are teachers have a distinct advantage over others.

Unfortunately, most homes do not provide a supportive environment. On the contrary, many students have illiterate parents, who might even be uncomfortable if their children read too much in the house.

Another related condition discussed by Parker and Parker (ibid.) is "Employment". This refers to the continuous reading of books and texts rather than sporadic one-off attempts performed during the class period. A good reader does a lot of reading off his own free will. The recent "Harry Potter Mania", which is sweeping Europe is a good example of children actually feeling addicted to reading. Unfortunately, such a culture of reading takes many years to develop and is not so apparent in many African countries who still have an oral culture, where the word-of-mouth of the elders is given more respect and importance.

Thorpe (1988, 9-12) explains that peer pressure tends to be an influencing factor throughout a person's life. It tends to be especially strong during childhood and adolescence. Appearing "cool" according to peer standards tends to be a driving force, so if reading is considered to be an "in thing", it will be much more easier for students to enjoy reading. However, if reading is seen as a "girl thing"

then it will be difficult for any boy to do much reading in public, without being teased by friends. Therefore, schools should try to ensure that reading is regarded positively by the students at a school.

Parker and Parker (1984, 181-182) also set their last condition as that of "Feedback". This does not refer to error correction, but rather a meaningful way in which the child interacts over the materials he/she has read. It could be an adult asking him/her for an opinion or it could be the discussing of characters or events with peers. Such feedback is necessary for the child's reading skills not to develop in a vacuum and lead to the reading process being an act of isolation. Granted, that reading can at times be an act of escapism. However, this is more of the advanced reader rather than for one just discovering the reading process and developing his/her skills. Perhaps this is the sole factor working in favour of the African child. As Africans tend to be an oral society, the child who can tell a new story from what he has read to his classmates, can receive a lot of feedback in the form of questions and comments.

4.3.5   *Others*

Although the above points are quite an extensive list, each scheme is unique in itself and may have special factors that should be included to make it successful. Consequently, teachers ought to undertake research into their unique environments and constantly monitor the schemes to ensure that they are having the desired impacts.

5. CONCLUSION

To sum up, it is fairly obvious to everybody that a few hours spent on reading instruction is not going to provide students with adequate reading skills. Consequently, schemes in which students are actively and meaningfully involved in reading by their own free choice have to be developed. Setting up reading schemes, book clubs and the like have been done quite successfully in many developed countries. However, it is unlikely whether transplanting such schemes to African soils and expecting them to bear the same fruit is realistic. Such schemes in Africa must be closely monitored to ensure that they are doing what they are supposed to be doing; making African students members of 'the literacy club'.

Due care must be given to several aspects of the reading scheme. Especially in rural areas students might actually be living in conditions that are oblivious to the act of reading and need further support and encouragement to adopt it as a part of their life. In urban areas too, modern electronic media appear to be taking over the leisure time of students. In Europe videos and films might be competing with books for children's attention, but in Africa reading books has not been a major hobby. Therefore, the setting up of successful reading schemes are bound to demand innovative approaches for a unique setting.

To conclude, as has often been stated:

> Education, and literacy education in particular, are highly sensitive to contextual and cultural issues. Effective programmes take into account learners' and teachers' previous knowledge, learners' and teachers' needs, motivations and expectations, and the specific conditions of the local culture and the local environment. There is no single route to literacy or a single method that is best for all and can be applied in any circumstance (CRDA 2001,3).

Consequently, this article has attempted to review the conceptual framework, previous research and issues in setting up reading schemes with the hope that African scholars can use this as a springboard to launch effec-

tive reading schemes suitable to their specific situations.

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High Staff Turnover in the Zimbabwe Republic Police- A Case Study

*Frank Gwavuya**

Abstract

It has been observed that there is generally high staff turnover in the police force. The study investigated how best to minimize the unprecedented high-staff turnover in the police. Ten police stations in the city of Harare were investigated. A total of 1050 police officers of different ranks were involved in the study. The research discovered that generally police personnel were demotivated mainly by poor salaries, and lack of opportunities for advancement and training. Poor conflict management was also cited as a cause of high staff turnover in the Police. Recommendations included that managers should provide an enabling environment that will consequently motivate personnel.

Keywords: Police, high-staff turnover; morale, demotivation, good leadership, conflict

1. INTRODUCTION

The Zimbabwe Republic Police was born out of its predecessor the British South Africa Police in 1980. The BSAP practiced traditional policing method which was inherited by the Zimbabwe Republic Police. The British South Africa Police (BSAP) did not experience phenomenal high-staff turnover like the Zimbabwe Republic Police. During the BSAP times, police officers were contented

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with their employment.

The study sought to make useful contributions which will assist police managers to come up with holistic policies to retain their staff. It also envisaged to establish measures that can be employed to reduce high staff turnover, and to make recommendations to policymakers in the police force to put in place appropriate strategies that will minimize the staff problems. This paper concludes by providing a summary of the findings.

1.1 Problem Statement

It has been observed that there is high staff turnover in the Zimbabwe Republic Police. It appears that it is now difficult for the police force to make any meaningful plans regarding its human resources because they come and go, some of them simply stop reporting for duty without even giving the mandatory notice as required by the Zimbabwe Police Act (11,10).

It has also become abundantly clear that morale is at its lowest ebb among police officers. Police officers feel that they are being exploited as the majority of them earn very little money to sustain their families. In fact most police officers in Zimbabwe live below the poverty datum line which is pegged at Us $500-00 as at May 2010 (Consumer Council of Zimbabwe

2010). The majority of police officers, particularly junior members, do not have decent accommodation and worse still, they cannot afford three) decent meals a day.

1.2 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following three objectives:

1. To critically examine the causes of high staff turnover in the Zimbabwe Republic Police;
2. To examine measures that can be taken by the Zimbabwe Republic Police(ZRP) to reduce high staff turnover; and
3. To make specific recommendations on how best to arrest the problem of high staff turnover in the police force.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study is of import because of the following reasons: a)the recommendations on how to deal with the problem of staff turnover will go a long way in assisting policymakers within the police force to formulate strategies that will reduce or even eliminate completely the problem; and b) the study attempts to establish how police personnel can be motivated to work towards the attainment of their organisation's objectives. The organization can attain its constitutional mandate, which is to ensure there is law and order in the country (Zimbabwe Constitution, Section 93), if its employees (police officers) are willing to work in response to fair remuneration and good working conditions.

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Methods of Reducing Staff Turnover

Wasmuth and Davis (1983, cited in Mullins1999), argue that high staff turnover should not be excused as an inherent characteristic of the industry. They maintain that the starting point to reducing turnover is recognizing high staff turnover as a problem which needs management action. Management in the Zimbabwe Republic Police is seen to be lacking in the field of human resources retention in line with issue of how best to overcome the problem of staff turnover (Zimbabwe Republic Police 2009). Robbins (2001) suggests that it would be particularly helpful for research to focus on the relationship between organizational commitment and job satisfaction and intention to leave. This approach is important as it gives the police manager an opportunity to really understand the existing relationships before taking steps to improve commitment by police members and officers or their job satisfaction.

McIntosh (2002-20), also points out employee motivation and work incentives as the keys to staff retention in the Police force. The author highlights that the workers are people who should be viewed as an important part of the police force/service but not just as a cog in a human machine that "goes through certain muscular motions everyday with time out for refueling and maintenance".

Therefore the author suggests the following as prescriptions for staff retention: seeking and using employees own ideas; maintaining efficient communication with employees; keeping personal interest in employees; and providing effective supervision.

In addition, Cascio (1998) noted with utmost concern the dilemma of induction crisis. Thus he suggests that apart from the communication of factual information about pay and benefits and company policies, the new employee also needs to know about norms and attitudes or the intangibles of the organization, one of which is staff retention.

2.2 Motivation

Motivation is defined as the force that causes an individual to behave in a specific way Benowitz (2001,175). Simply put, a highly moti-

vated person works hard at a job; an unmotivated person does not.

Motivation of police officers should be a pivotal concern for the Zimbabwe Republic Police because police officers are likely to perform their work well and are more likely to stay with an organization for a longer period than dissatisfied ones. By the same token, Owens (1981,106) says motivation is not a behaviour. This implies that we infer the motivation of individuals from their behaviour, which could be either verbal or non-verbal. According to Mullins (1999,406-407), "motivation is the degree to which an individual wants and chooses to engage in certain specified behaviours", and that extrinsic motivation is related to "tangible" rewards such as salary and fringe benefits, security, promotion, contract of service, the work environment and conditions of work.

On the other hand Mullins (ibid.) indicates that Intrinsic motivation is related to psychological rewards, such as the opportunity to use one's ability, a sense of challenge and achievement, receiving appreciation, positive recognition and being treated in a caring and considerate manner. The Police should create conditions which are ideal for an individual

police officer to use his/her initiative in the execution of their duties. This can be done through job rotation, job redesign, job enrichment and job enlargement.

2.3 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory

Maslow's (1954) theory takes motivation to be rooted in human needs. According to Maslow, individuals respond to needs by doing something about them. Thus, if motivation is taken to be the cause and effect process, then it is only an intervening variable. Maslow as quoted in Owens (1981,100) suggests that the driving force that causes people to join an organisation, stay in it and work towards its goals is actually a hierarchy of needs. It is considered that when the lowest other need in the hierarchy is satisfied the higher order needs come into being. The process is unending. In Zimbabwe, most police officers do not have decent accommodation; they live in squalid conditions. As a result most police officers opt to leave their jobs in search of better paying jobs or simply engaging in criminal activities. In Zimbabwe, police officers in general survive below the poverty datum line which, according to the Central Statistical Office Report (2010), was pegged at US $500-00; yet police officers

earn salaries that range from US $150-00 for the lowest grade to US 265-00 for the highest grade per month. This state of affairs makes it difficult for police officers to fend for themselves and their families. As a result, they often leave their jobs out of frustration as their physiological needs remain unfulfiled.

However, process theories explain how workers select behavioural actions to meet their needs and determine their choices Benowitz (2001,141). Equity theory is one main theory under the process theories. According to the equity theory, workers compare the reward potential to the effort they must expend. Employees who feel they are being treated inequitably may exhibit the following behaviours: put less effort into their jobs, ask for better treatment and or rewards, find ways to make their work seem better by comparison. For example, in the Zimbabwe most police officers engage in corrupt activities particularly those officers who are attached to traffic department as a way of augmenting their meager salaries which are on average ranges between US $150 to US 265 and transfer or quit their jobs. In the Zimbabwe Republic Police an average of 25 police officers quit their jobs every month (Zimbabwe Republic Police Human Resources Report 20090,18).

2.4 The Equity Theory

This theory as propounded by Adams (1965), cited in Cascio (1998), proposes that an employee compares his/her job's input-outcomes ratio with that of relevant others and then corrects any equity. If an employee perceives his/her ratio to be equal to those of relevant others, a state of equity exists. In the Zimbabwe Republic Police, police officers of the rank of sergeant and above are eligible to perform the most coveted United Nations Peace Keeping duties. These duties are highly remunerated, but can only be performed by those police officers who have a police driver's licence. However, very few police officers have the opportunity to acquire the most revered driver's licence. This in most cases leads to favouritism in the way police officers are nominated for driving courses. Those who are fortunate to be nominated usually are highly motivated to perform their duties and are usually very loyal to the organization. On the other hand, those who would not have been nominated yet they believe to be also eligible are demoralized and they realign their effort to work to suit their treatment or negative reward.

2.5 Leadership

According to Owens (1981) leadership is the ability to influence members of an organisation to work towards the attainment of its objectives. It is generally agreed that effective leaders have certain desirable qualities, charisma, persuasiveness and foresight. Cole (1996, 51) defines leadership as a dynamic process in a group whereby one individual influences the others to contribute voluntarily to the achievement of group tasks in a given situation. However, according to Robins (2001,03) leading includes motivating employees, directing others, selecting the most effective communication channels, and resolving conflicts.

However, for police personnel to perform to the best of their abilities, there is great need for proper leadership to be applied at all levels. Poor leadership in most cases results in many police officers deciding to leave the organisation altogether. It must be noted that poor leadership is counterproductive both to the organisation and to the employees themselves. Owens (1981,106) views leadership as something that occurs in some kind of group. He further views leadership as an interactive process between the leader and groups. Members of the group are interdependent thus they

share with others certain values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and goals.

Leadership and management are not the same. Leaders deal with the interpersonal aspects of a manager's job. The oldest approach to leadership, trait theories, focused on identifying leader traits, a physical or personality trait that differentiated leaders from followers. However, further research caused this approach to fall into disfavour. Situational theories propose that effectiveness of a particular style of leader behavior depends on the situation. Situational control refers to the amount of control the leader has over the immediate work environment. Situational control has three dimensions: leader-member relations, task-structure, and position power. According to situational leadership theory, effective leadership depends on the readiness level of followers. Readiness represents the extent to which a follower possesses the ability and willingness to complete a task. The appropriate leadership style is determined by cross-referencing follower readiness with leadership styles. There are four leadership styles: telling or directing, persuading or coaching, participating or supporting and delegating.

In the police force, most leaders apply telling or directing as a leadership style. The style often does not properly work as it generates dissatisfaction and subsequently causing high-staff turnover in the police force.

2.6 Transactional Leadership

Transactional leadership focuses on the interpersonal transactions between managers and employees. Leaders are seen as engaging in behaviours that maintain a quality interaction between themselves and followers. The two underlying characteristics of transactional leadership are that: (i) leaders use contingent rewards to motivate employees, and (ii) leaders exert corrective active only when subordinates fail to obtain performance goals. In contrast, charismatic leadership emphasizes symbolic leader behavior, visionary and inspirational messages, non-verbal communication, appeal to ideological values, intellectual stimulation of followers by the leader, display of confidence in self-sacrifice and for performance beyond the call of duty. In the police force, charismatic leadership can produce significant organizational change and results because it "transforms" police officers to pursue organizational goals in lieu of self-interests.

Thus for a leader to achieve the intended goals and objectives, he/she has to use a certain leadership style which he believes will enable a quick attainment of the goals and objectives. The leader may use the democratic leadership style, the autocratic leadership style or the laissez-faire leadership.

2.7 Democratic Leadership Style

A democratic leader is a leader who respects his/her followers' views. Thus he listens to their views and encourages the followers to implement them. Democratic leadership, according to Owens (1981,162), was developed from a research, which was carried out by Black and Mauton in America. A sample of twenty (20) boys were put in hobby clubs which were under adult teachers who deliberately engaged them in different leadership styles which were democratic leadership, laissez faire and autocratic leadership. At the end of the research it was found that the group which was subjected to democratic leadership was more productive and had the highest morale behavior than the groups which were subjected to autocratic styles and laissez-faire leadership styles. According to Kast and Rosenzwig (1985,85), many behavioural scientists emphasise the value of more democratic, less authoritarian, less hierarchically structured organizations than proposed in the traditional view.

They thus advocate for a democratic and participative approach. If the police force adopts a democratic leadership style, police officers are likely to perform their work well and there is likely to be job satisfaction. This is because they are given the chance to participate in decision-making and also to air their views freely. This is likely to build confidence, increase commitment, develop a sense of belonging, and are unlikely to leave jobs en masse if police officers experience a democratic leadership style.

2.8 Autocratic Leadership

An autocratic leader is one who decides and dictates. He/she makes himself/herself the source of all standards. Hay and Miskel (1978,71) say that in autocratic leadership, the leader is impersonal, task-oriented and sees himself as the sole and centre of authority. He controls group members by mainly using rewards and penalties laid out by the bureaucratic regulations.

According to Musaazi (1982,162), in autocratic leadership police managers assign tasks without consulting other police officers and

they carry out directives that often lead to dissatisfaction which, in turn, leads to the police officer (mainly junior officers) opting to leave his/her job. Benowitz (2001) found out that autocratic leadership styles were associated with aggression at workplace, absenteeism, and high number of grievances presented to the office leading to high staff turnover. On the contrary, good leaders create environments that intelligently source and build talent and encourage people to excel Williams (2005,75). That scenario will help retain police officers as they will view their leaders as people who are concerned with their well-being as professionals in their own right. Topping (2002,139) further suggested that leaders should endeavour to give feedback in the form of positive comments where it is due to encourage members of the staff to enjoy their work. Police leaders could also adopt that recommendation to retain their members and officers.

2.9 Staff Development

Staff development is a planned and structured learning experiences designed to make the full use of the abilities and potential of staff for the present and future needs of the police force. Staff development will not only enhance the quality of the work and of the product, but will prove to be attractive to staff for most

people welcome opportunities to improve themselves and their skills. According to Musaazi (1982,195) staff development provides an arena for promoting an interpersonal relationship by building the morale of police officers and by providing help to police officers and opportunities for sharing experience and ideas. Beach (1989,104) also alludes to the need for staff development when he says "there is need for continual retraining of experienced workers to perform new changed jobs".

2.10 Provision of Training

According to Needham and Dransfield (1995,348) training is the process of systematically guiding or teaching employees to do something by subjecting them to various exercises or experiences, so that they can improve job-related skills and knowledge.

In most cases officers who have good potential may decide to leave in frustration. Training is a key part of working life, and has a dual effect of increasing competence in the workplace and in increasing the motivation of employees.

2.11 Conflict

Conflict is inevitable in any organization –be it formal or informal. Police officers are mostly demotivated by some arrogant senior officers (managers). [In Zimbabwe Police Force] seeds of mistrust have been sown and allowed to grow to such an extent that workplaces have since become sources of stress, insecurity and xenophia.

As a result many police officers in Zimbabwe are opting out of employment. According to Jandt and Gillete (1985,03), conflicts, being as old as humanity itself, are unavoidable. Albert (1986,08) points out that people have engaged in conflicts ever since they have been able to live in social institutions such as the family or the communities. However, police managers must properly manage conflict to minimize staff turnover. Distrust may grow among police officers who need to co-ordinate their efforts. Some individuals are demotivated so much that they operate at minimum level and eventually leave the concerned organization. If no corrective action is taken within a reasonably short period of time, more employees may opt to resign.

Knowledge of conflict triangles and alternative dispute resolution techniques are essential to effective management. Conflict research has led to several general conclusions, and how personality trait affects how people handle conflict. The way in which disagreements are expressed is very important. Aggression breeds aggression. Group satisfaction, job satisfaction and internal work motivation decrease as conflict increases. ?Thus, police managers should set challenging and clear goals to diffuse conflict.

Certain situations produce more conflict than others. By knowing the antecedents of conflict, managers are better able to anticipate conflict and take steps to resolve it if it becomes dysfunctional. It is fundamentally important for police managers to learn and sharpen their negotiation skills in resolving conflict situations and in problem-solving.

2.12 Supervision

Hersey *et al.* (1996,108) found that general rather than close supervision tend to be associated with high productivity. Organisations are now realising that managing their most important assets is one of their most crucial tasks. So it is important for the police to work towards retaining their staff because it is very difficult to recruit and train personnel.

Supervision is a process of closely monitoring the work of subordinates so that tasks are done as instructed. Kreitner and Kinick (2001) view scientific supervision as autocratic, classic approach to management. In working with police officers, managers must never forget that the improvement of security process is a means, not an end. However, poor supervision often results in police officers deciding to leave their organizations in droves and this might be regardless of the fact that goals are achieved. One other approach to supervision, which enables police officers to develop a positive attitude towards their work is the developmental supervision. This approach recognizes police officers as individuals at various stages of growth and development.

3. METHODS

This study used stratified random sampling technique; rather than selecting the sample from the total population at large, the research drew appropriate numbers of the population. Babbie (1998) argues that stratified sampling ensures the proper representation of the stratification variables to enhance representation of other variables related to them. Taken as a whole then, a stratified sample is likely to be more representative on a number of variables than a simple random sample. The study sample consists of 100 inspectors, 200 assistant inspectors, 250 sergeants and 500 constables. Since the population is a homogeneous one, a large sample was therefore unnecessary. In this study, the questionnaire was the most appropriate instrument for data collection. According to Masuku (1999,54) the questionnaire is by far the most common tool for researchers to get information for most research studies. This follows the fact that it is cheaper than any other method of data collection.

The written questionnaires, together with instructions, were distributed personally. Where it was felt that there was need to solicit for more information from the respondents, structured and unstructured questionnaires were used to supplement the shortfalls of the questionnaire. Interview was also used as a method of data collection and both structured and interview techniques were used. The interview has the advantage of allowing the research to establish the difficulties respondents may have in understanding the questions posed and lessen the number of unanswered questions. However, the interview method has certain limitations the researcher should take note of when conducting his/her interviews. In this regard, Cohen and Manion (1985,245) have identified some limitations and factors, which

inevitably differ from one interviewer to another, and include: mutual trust, social distance, and the interview control.

3.1 Data Collection

In order to carry out the study, permission was sought from Officers-in-Charge of stations in Harare. The purpose of the study was explained and it was emphasized that the respondents' responses were not going to affect their future relations with their managers. One thousand and fifty (1050) questionnaires were distributed to police officers in the various rank, i.e. 100 Inspectors, 200 Assistant Inspectors, 250 Sergeants and 500 Constables.

3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted at Harare Central Police Station. Eight (8) constables, 2 sergeants, 1 assistant inspector and 1 inspector were asked to participate in the pilot study. As pointed out by Isaac and Michael (1989,42), a pilot study gives the study some feedback that may lead to improvements in the main study. Therefore, a pilot study was done to identify ambiguities and to test for validity, reliability, appropriateness, and usability. The selected police officers were asked to read through the questionnaire in order to pinpoint difficult terms and unclear questions. The results also indicated that the questionnaire was not too long but was comprehensive enough to cover the details required in the study.

3.3 Variables and Measures

From the 1050 questionnaires that were administered on the sample, only 777 were returned. If expressed in terms of success or failure, this indicates 74% success and 26% failure. The success can be attributed to the fact that most respondents were within easy reach by the researcher. The questionnaire had 16 questions to come up with solution to the research problem. Section A obtained background information of the respondents; Section B addressed the issue of intrinsic motivation of police officers; Section C focused on the extrinsic motivation; Section D covered on aspects of leadership; Section E dealt with staff development , and Section F sought data on conflict resolutions.

4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA
4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses data gathered in the study. As mentioned earlier, 1050 questionnaires were administered on the sample and only 777 were returned.

4.2 Section A: Background Information

The responses given are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Background information of respondents

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	*Age*		
	16-25 years	97	12.5
	26-35 years	583	75
	36-45 years	19	2.5
	46-55 years	78	10
Total		777	100
2	*Sex*		
	Male	680	87.5
	Female	97	12.5
Total		777	100
Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
1	*Age*		
	16-25 years	97	12.5
	26-35 years	583	75
	36-45 years	19	2.5
	46-55 years	78	10
Total		777	100
2	Sex		
	Male	680	87.5
	Female	97	12.5
Total		777	100
3	*Level of Education*		
	"O"-Level	435	56
	"A" Level	287	37
	Degreed	54	7
Total		777	100
4	*Rank*		
	Constable	398	51.25
	Sergeant	213	27.5
	Ast.Inspector	146	18.75
	Inspector	19	2.5
Total		777	100
5	*Service in the organization*		
	Under 15-Years	486	62.5
	1-5 Years	97	12.5
	11-15 Years	97	12.5
	16-20	49	6.25
	21-25	49	6.25
Total	Over 25 Years	777	100

1. Age

From Table 1, it can be seen that majority of the respondents are young, between 26 and 35 years of age. This age group represents majority of people who have families and have to work in order to look after their families . This age group is the most frustrated as they are still young and need to look after the needs of their families and meet other basic needs such as housing and the like. This group is likely to have more people leaving the police force for greener pastures. The age group of 56-65 years saw none responding and this may be attributed to the fact that the majority would have retired as the nature of police duties are often difficult for the said age group. The nature of duties includes performing beat patrols, overnight watch duties, mostly on foot and/or standing. This is difficult for an old person to successfully carry out without other complications such as illness.

2. Sex

The Table also shows that there were more males than females employed in the Police force, which may be attributed to inaccurate stereotypes which maintain that security related jobs are for men and not for women. This mistaken notion is very com-

mon in Zimbabwe because of cultural and religious beliefs. Nonetheless, the duties are often dangerous, exposing police officers to possible injuries and death through shootings by armed robbers.

3. Level of Education

Educationally, 435 respondents (or 56%) attained Ordinary Level and 287 (or 37%) only managed to reach as far as Advanced Level. Only 54 respondents (or 7%) held degrees. This explains the notion why the job is considered to be for those with basic education. In Zimbabwe police officers are considered to be uneducated to make rational decisions. This might also be the reason why few police officers are with degrees. At the same time, most degree holders would opt to search for jobs that they consider to be commensurate with the level of their education.

4. Rank

On rank distribution, majority (51.25%) of respondents were Constables;, 213 (27.5%) were Sergeants; 146 (18.75%) Assistant Inspectors, and 19 (2.5%) were. Inspectors, who are managers (Officers in charge stations). Majority of those who are most likely to be frustrated and leave their jobs are Sergeants and Constables who perform most of the dan-

gerous work in the police. Inspectors, A/Inspectors and other senior police officers are not likely to leave their jobs because most of their tasks are office-based and have access to such privileges as the use of police vehicles and most occupy decent Government accommodation.

5. Service in the Police Force

It was established that 486 respondents were below 5-years of service. This represents 62% of the total respondents. This is an indication that there was a high staff turnover in the Police force as only 12.5% had served for more than 10 years and only 6% had served between 16 to 25 years. It could be that since most police officers are young, most would have left for greener pastures, getting employed by private companies as security officers which are generally better paying jobs.

Section B. Intrinsic Motivation of Police Personnel

The report identified some intrinsic motivation factors as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Intrinsic motivation factors

Preferred conditions	Number	Percentage (%)
Unnecessary immense pressure	680	87.5
Under immense pressure	19	2.5
To a great extent	-	-
A complete no	78	10
Total	777	100

Information was sought on the respondents' preferred working conditions. The results showed that 680 (87.5%) preferred to work under a working environment which does not subject them to unnecessary immense pressure, which in most cases, is not commensurate with the effort applied. Nineteen (2.5%) believed that police personnel should be made to work under immense pressure, and 78 (10%) were totally against the idea of putting personnel under immense pressure in order to meet the organisation's goals. The majority of respondents preferred a relaxed working environment.

Intrinsic motivation is related to psychological reward such as the opportunity to use one's ability, a sense of achievement, receiving appreciation, positive recognition and being treated in a caring and considerate manner

(Mullins1999,407). Police authorities must endeavour to provide the necessary enabling environment such as allowing them to make decisions without necessarily having to consult all the time in fear of disciplinary actions for making decisions without authority (Zimbabwe Police Act,11:10).

Section C: Extrinsic Motivation of Police Personnel

Table 3(a). Focus on extrinsic motivation

Item	Variable	Number of respondents	Percentage (%)
6	*Issues to be addressed urgently*		
	Good Salaries	680	87.5
	Uniform	19	2.5
	Allowances	78	10
	Housing Allowances	Nil	0
Total		777	100

Table 3(b). Focus on extrinsic motivation

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
7	*How much do you earn?*		
		777	100
	Below US $500-00		
Total		777	100

Urgent Issues

As Table 3(a) shows, 680 respondents want the issue of salaries to be addressed as a matter of urgency. This represents 87.5% of the total respondents; and also 78 (10%) of the total respondents indicated that they would want the aspect of housing allowance to be addressed as urgently as possible. This may be because the cost of renting a single room has gone extremely high excluding rates and electricity bills.

Table 3(b) clearly indicates that all the respondents earn a salary which was below US $500-00 which was the poverty datum line in Zimbabwe as at May 2010 according to the Central Statistical Office Monthly report of May 2010. Instead all the respondents were earning an average of between US$150 for the lowest paid to US$265 for the highest paid. This explains the reasons why majority of police officers were leaving their jobs in droves as almost every police officer in Zimbabwe was surviving below the poverty datum line. The study went on to expatiate on leadership, which is also an important aspect in motivating police officers. The organization should endeavour to come up with a salary structure that would allow police officers to meet their basic needs (Maslow 1954, as cited in Owens 1981,100).

Section D: Aspects of Leadership

Table 4(a). On leadership styles

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
8	*Leadership Style:*		
		738	95
	Autocratic	38	05
	Democratic		
Total		777	100

Table 4(a) shows that 738 (95%) respondents were saying that their leaders were autocratic, and only 38 (5%) believed that their leaders were democratic. This clearly shows that there is arbitrary abuse of power and authority in the police force in Zimbabwe, a scenario which needs to be corrected if the image of leaders in the police is to improve as well as to help motivate their subordinates. There is a general assertion in the police force that the use of autocratic leadership style is ideal if action is to be propelled among subordinates. This is probably why there is high-staff turnover in the police force in Zimbabwe.

ness and foresight (Gabriel 2003,251).

Table 4(b). What police officers prefer regarding decision making

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
9	*What they prefer:*		
	To participate in decision making	515	66.25
	To strictly follow instructions	68	8.75
	To exercise own initiative	194	25
Total		777	100

As can be inferred from Table 4(b) above, the majority 515 (66,25%) stated that they would like to participate in the decision-making process. The police unfortunately appeared to be excluding junior members of the force in the decision-making process; this results in increased job dissatisfaction and increased staff turnover. Sixty-eight(8.75%) indicated that they would follow every given instruction strictly; these are, however, only a minority. On the other hand, 194 (25%) respondents preferred to exercise their own initiative and not to be pushed like a wheel barrow; they believe that they are not gullible and will not be manipulated easily. These are the kind of people who easily get bored with a system that requires following instructions without question. As a result they may even decide to leave the job altogether (Police Act 11:10). On the contrary, effective leaders are said to have certain desirable qualities, charisma, persuasive-

Section E

Table 5. Staff Development

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
10	*Opportunity for further training:* Does your organisation offer that opportunity?		
	Yes	39	05
	No	738	95
Total		777	100

As the figures in Table 5 indicate, only 39 (5%) of the respondents confirmed that their organisation provided the opportunity for further training to enhance their skills and professionalism, while the other 738 (95%) indicated that no opportunity for further training was offered by their organisation. This scenario shows that only few employees of the police in Zimbabwe are offered the opportu-

nity for further training. This is an unfortunate scenario because without opportunity for further training it means that an individual will become redundant in the face of rapidly changing technological developments. This may cause dissatisfaction among police officers and consequently lead to high staff turnover. It is however important to note that staff development will motivate police officers because most people welcome opportunities to improve themselves and their skills (Musaazi 1982,195).

Section F

Table 6. Conflict Resolutions

Item	Variable	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
11	Is your leader good in resolving conflicts?		
	Yes	68	8.75
	No	709	91.25
Total		777	100

Table 6 shows that 8.75% of the respondents believe that their leader is capable of holding conflict properly. However, 91.25% of the respondents think that their leaders are not able to handle a conflict. It is important that police managers appreciate conflict triangles and the importance of alternative dispute resolution techniques for effective management (Albert 1986,08).

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

The study revealed that police officers require a friendly working environment and this is not the case at the moment. This means that the police force should seriously consider improving the working conditions as well as the salaries paid to police officers. The study also showed that the majority of police officers' complaint about the behaviour and attitude of their managers who sometimes treat them as if they were not human beings but machines. This is probably because the majority of managers lack supervisory and managerial training and hence they use their powers abusively and improperly.

It was also established that the police force does not pay enough attention to staff development; once a police officer is employed he/she is only taught basic skills like weapon handling, drill and saluting. No opportunity for further training is offered.

Finally it was revealed that the management do not possess enough skills to handle conflict situations. This explains why police officers are leaving the police force.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are hereby made:

- The police should endeavour to pay its employees (police officers) salaries that enable them to meet important physiological needs such as food, shelter and clothing or pay that at least are above the prevailing poverty datum line.
- Appropriate leadership styles should always be applied not to stick to one leadership style; a situational approach is better than always adopting an autocratic leadership style.
- The institution should also seriously consider staff development by sending more of their staff to technical colleges and universities to develop and sharpen their skills. Emphasis must be given on developing communication, management and leadership skills. This may help to retain their staff. It should also consider imparting skills in conflict resolution in their management staff so that they can be able to handle potential or actual conflict situations in a professional manner and in line with existing legislations like the Police Act.
- Barriers to communication should be removed to ensure the relaying of vital information between the police officers and their organisation controlling conflict in a timeous manner.
- Equity should be promoted by nominating those who would have served the organi-

zation for a considerable period of time, like 5 years and above for United Nations Peace Keeping duties as well as for driving courses.

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China's Cooperation with Ethiopia- With a Focus on Human Resources[1]

Kenneth King*

Abstract

This is a first account of the rationale, range and character of China's human resource cooperation with Ethiopia. Set against the history of China's engagement with Ethiopia and its view of development cooperation, it examines the many facets of China's support to education and training. These cover Chinese volunteers and technical experts, the establishment of a Confucius Institute, and an Ethio -China Polytechnic College, as well as large amounts of short-term professional and long-term scholarship training of Ethiopians in China. Equally, they cover something of the scale of China's enterprise-based training in Ethiopia. The article situates the account of education and training against the wider economic impact of Chinese investment in the country.

Introduction on the History and Scale of China's Cooperation with Ethiopia

A word on the history of Ethio-China relations before we start. Zhou Enlai visited Ethiopia for the first time from 31st[t] January to 1st February 1964, just after he had enunciated in Ghana and Mali his eight principles of foreign aid[2]. Formal diplomatic relations go back to 24th November 1970, preceding the state visit of Haile Selassie to China in October 1971 (MOFA, 2003)[3]. Within a couple of years the

Chinese were building their first road in China from Hamusie/Woreta on Lake Tana across to Weldiya in Wollo. When Richard and Rita Pankhurst, the Ethiopian scholars, were in that area in 1973, the locals called out to them 'China! China!' as Chinese workers had already become so commonplace. At the same time the Chinese were doing water projects in Tigrai. Thus, long before the more intensive engagement with China, from 2000, when Ethiopia was chair and co-chair for 6 years of the Forum for China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), there was a basis for solidarity. We don't yet know who was the first Ethiopian student to train in China or Chinese student to come to and study in Ethiopia. But an Ethiopian music and dance group first visited Beijing in 1960 (Chau 2007, 21). Clearly, China takes very seriously the long history of China-Africa cooperation in many particular countries; so it is not surprising that in the message of the then ambassador to Ethiopia in December 2006, there should be a reference to the 'renowned article by Mao Zedong on supporting the Ethiopian people in their struggle against the Italian fascists'[4].

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First a few numbers on the dramatic changes in the more recent period. According to the Federal Investment Agency (FIA) there were 828 Chinese investment projects in Ethiopia in 2009, a quarter of which are already operational. The combined investment is estimated at over US$1.2 billion dollars, and is expected to create employment for some 120,000 people[5]. According to the World Bank/PPIAF (2008), China had committed US$1.5 billion dollars to infrastructure projects alone between 2001 and 2007. There are no authoritative figures on the numbers of Chinese in Ethiopia, but Chinese sources suggest as many as 10,000 Chinese in and around Addis Ababa alone.

The figures on education and training are much less well-known. Short-term trainees going from Ethiopia to China between 2006 and 2008 reached as many as 620. In 2007/8 and 2008/9 there were almost 100 long-term trainees going to China, for periods of several years, including for master's degree training. On the other side of people to people exchange, within the sectors of agricultural instruction (ATVET) and technical and vocational instruction (TVET), there have been 290 ATVET contracts with the Chinese since 2000, and 120 TVET contracts since 2001. In other words over 400 contracts have brought Chi-

nese experts to Ethiopia's TVET colleges and to the 25 agricultural colleges. In addition, Ethiopia has probably received more Chinese volunteers than any other country in Africa. Since the Chinese volunteer project started in 2005, Ethiopia has received 67, and more were to come during 2009. In summary, in the last 6-7 years, Ethiopia has received some 477 technical and agricultural instructors and volunteers, and it has sent to China in just the last 2-3 years, till 2009, no less than 720 short and long-term trainees. This is quite a substantial people-to-people interchange.

China's education and training aid would also include institutional development. Most obviously in 2009 this would be the Ethio-China Polytechnic College (ECPC) in Addis Ababa which opened its doors to some 1500 trainees for each year, or 3000 for the generally 2-year courses. Other institutional development with training implications would be the hospital – as Ethiopia has been granted one of the 30 hospitals pledged for Africa back in the great November 2006 Beijing Summit. Ethiopia has also been allocated the 100 rural schools pledged by China at that same summit.

Beyond this institutional development, there is enterprise-based training. What is the training

component of the more than 500 firms which are now operating in the country in many different sectors, from construction, manufacturing, telecommunication and other service sectors? (*Ethiopian Bulletin* 2008, 34) One dramatic illustration of the scale of the training is offered by one of these: China's key telecommunication company (ZTE) in 2007 signed an agreement of more than US$4 million dollars to build laboratories and to train no less than a 1000 engineers (*Ethiopian Bulletin* 2008, 62). We shall return to enterprise-training shortly. But this is certain to grow as Ethiopia has been granted one of the special trade and economic cooperation zones that were also pledged to Africa at the Beijing Summit[6].

The Rationale and Scope of the Paper

The purpose of this paper is to get behind these numbers and to ask some questions about the character and rationale of China's increasing involvement with Ethiopia (as with other African countries) in the last 10 years. We shall do this by raising a number of questions about the shape and chemistry of this Ethio-China cooperation. Our interest in asking these questions derives from a year spent in China, in 2006-7, and a curiosity, as Africanists, about *China's Africa Policy* (2006). It was also driven by surprise at the generally negative view in the West of what China was doing in Africa. We can sum this up by saying that, allegedly China, by its strategic resource investments across Africa, was somehow undermining the good work done by the West over many years.

We shall look at a number of facets of China's interaction with Ethiopia, but particularly at the human resources' side, as there has been understandable attention given to the material resources' side of China's cooperation. But we shall also want to examine how Ethiopia fits into the wider framework of the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), apart from Addis Ababa being the site of the second FOCAC meeting in 2003. What is the role for Ethiopia, or for any other African country, as China seeks to deliver on the eight FOCAC targets set in the Beijing Summit of November 2006 and further elaborated at the time of the November 2009 Summit of FOCAC in Sharm el-Sheikh?[7] In particular, we shall need to assess how a single country such as Ethiopia plays a part in the overall education and training targets for Africa as a whole.

The specifically education and training commitments made in the Beijing Summit were to double long-term scholarships for African students from 2000 per year in 2006 to 4,000 a

year by 2009. They also involved a pledge to provide short-term training to 15,000 professionals from Africa between 2006 and 2009. Young Volunteers Serving Africa were to be initiated and would reach 300 in the same period. At the same Beijing Summit, China offered to provide 100 rural schools to Africa, and promised to increase the number of Confucius Institutes in the continent, though no specific target was set for this category of support. There were other human resource commitments, such as to send 100 senior agricultural experts to Africa, set up 10 special agricultural technology demonstration centres, build 30 hospitals in Africa and provide RMB 300 million of grant for providing artemisia centres and building 30 malaria prevention and treatment centres to fight malaria in Africa. We shall focus principally upon the first five of these above rather than on those which are specifically concerned with the provision of medical and agricultural cooperation. Nor shall we address in any detail in this article the major targets concerned with doubling aid to Africa, trade and investment credits, special economic zones, debt cancellation, and the reduction of tariffs on African exports to China[8].

The Beijing Summit FOCAC targets were re-enforced by the ministerial Conference in Egypt in November 2009. This increased the scholarship numbers by 1500 and the short-term training by 5000 for the next triennium, 2010-2012. Interestingly, the commitment on building 'China-Africa Friendship Schools' fell from 100 to just 50, and the young volunteer scheme was not mentioned at all. However, there was a great deal more emphasis on science and technology cooperation and on research collaboration between China and Africa, including the new or re-enforced twinning of twenty African universities with 20 universities in China (20+20 scheme).

We shall argue that if the FOCAC process becomes preoccupied with China's delivery on these 2009 pledges and with the new pledges for the next ministerial summit of FOCAC in Beijing in 2012, China may run the risk of being perceived as an aid donor rather than in its preferred role of being seen as a large developing country involved, to the best of its ability, in South-South cooperation with other developing countries. By contrast, at the country level, e.g. China-Ethiopia, it seems entirely possible that the whole range of bilateral cooperation activities is very much more significant than the narrower concern with the eight quantitative targets suggested in the FOCAC Beijing Summit and Sharm el-Shaikh conference.

As we proceed to review the scale of China's involvement with Ethiopia, we shall also explore the extent to which China is cooperating with other agencies, bilateral and multilateral, in the delivery of its assistance. Is China affected by the wider donor discourse about co-ordination and harmonization along the lines of the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness or the subsequent Accra Agenda for Action which is similarly concerned with measuring the progress of donors on the Paris targets? (OECD 2005)

Finally, as a whole series of debates about the value and danger of aid have broken out since the publication of *Dead Aid* by Moyo (2008), it may be useful to see how what China is doing with Ethiopia is judged to be different from traditional western aid. We start therefore with a few comments about the nature of China's development aid in Ethiopia, and then move to look in more detail at its involvement in people-to-people cooperation with Ethiopia, since human resources cooperation is the main lens in this paper.

As an organizing framework we shall adopt a series of eight propositions around which to debate the landscape of China's cooperation with Ethiopia.

China's Approach to Development Assistance in Ethiopia

China's cooperation with Ethiopia, like Japan's, is claimed to be in the response mode. In other words, what China is undertaking in Ethiopia is as much the result of Government requests as what China regards as its own development priorities for the country. So unlike many Western governments' focus on the millennium development goals (MDGs)[9], Ethiopia's 'Millennium Project' with China is the US$1.5 billion telecommunication project to create a fibreoptic transmission backbone across the country and roll out the expansion of the cellular network, with an estimated 8,500,000 new connections (World Bank/PPIAF 2008, 21). It is noteworthy that telecommunications, not road construction, is by far the largest investment project in Ethiopia. Arguably, both telecommunications and roads are the result of bilateral negotiations and agreements at the highest level. They do nevertheless also reflect China's own priority for infrastructural investment as a key element in development, whether in China or internationally.

As far as the social sectors are concerned, Ethiopia has one of China's largest education projects in Africa, in the shape of the Ethio-

China Polytechnic College (ECPC)[10]. This too is almost certainly in the response mode, as Ethiopia has been determined to expand its higher education base, and has been turning to a series of agencies (including China, Italy and Germany) to assist in its dramatic expansion[11]. There is another sense in which the ECPC is in the response mode; it is anticipated that it will play a key role in meeting the demand from industry for relevant skills, including a good deal from the new Chinese enterprises that have been starting up in Ethiopia. The response mode also applies to the modality used for the development of China's Confucius Institutes which have been offering teaching in Chinese language, culture, history and the arts across the world since 2004. As was mentioned above, there were no Beijing Summit targets set for this facility in Africa; rather the initiative usually has to come from the individual university or educational institution. Thus it was only in the second half of 2009 that discussions about a Confucius Institute in Ethiopia led to the launch of a new CI on the ECPC campus in early 2010, making a total of just 24 in Africa as compared to some 360 worldwide.

The Visibility of Development Aid

Some forms of development and economic co-operation are much more visible than others. China's road and dam construction in Ethiopia is much more visible than the telecommunication project, with its very major training component of 1000 engineers referred to above. But these roads and IT infrastructure projects are both much more visible than the programmes of several Western development agencies which are putting their moneys directly into the decentralized support to expenditures in five sectors through the two phases of Protection of Basic Services project. It would be possible for there to be a great deal of very visible 'aid' on the Chinese Embassy web site in Ethiopia, with the ECPC, the hospital, the rural schools, and a great deal of investment encouraged through low or no-interest loans such as the glass factory from the China-Africa Development Fund, set up in June 2007 after the Beijing Summit of November 2006. In fact very little of this is visible on this site, and not even the possibility of scholarships and training in China is advertised openly on the website[12]. It will be intriguing to see how conspicuously 'Chinese' will be the three rural schools allocated to Ethiopia after the Beijing Summit of 2006[13]. By contrast the DFID Ethiopia site headlines 'Working to Reduce Poverty

in Ethiopia', 'Making Aid Effective', 'Governance', and 'Making Progress on the Millennium Development Goals', but these don't translate easily into anything that is very visible and distinctively the result of British aid. Although the projected annual spend for 2010 by DFID in the education sector in Ethiopia is as much as £63 million Sterling, this will not be directly visible or attributable at all.

China's Invisible 'Soft Power'

China's invisible 'soft power' is arguably much less evident than that of several other nations in Ethiopia. Britain's one-time training of Ethiopia's elite in the General Wingate School in Addis Ababa in the 50s, 60s and early 70s, or India's training of the military elite in the Harar Academy in earlier years, or Germany's current involvement in university and engineering capacity development in the 2000s[14] are flagship soft power projects of a different order from China's involvement with the provision of agricultural and technical & vocational instructors, or the Ethio-China Polytechnic College (ECPC) mentioned above. Moreover, outside the ECPC, there are few, if any, Chinese lecturers or professors in higher education institutions in Ethiopia, and none involved in the Civil Service College. The UNDP scheme for providing university staff to

Ethiopia includes no Chinese, nor does the current World Bank project providing some 50 expert staff on Urban Management at the Civil Service College, despite the evidence of China's role in the dramatic transformation of its own cities, and its impact on the built environment of Addis Ababa. In many other African countries, there have been strong academic link schemes between universities in China and the African continent for years, but this has not yet been the case in Ethiopia (Lu Tingen and Luo Jianbo 2005)[15]. However, in the new 20+20 twinning scheme between Chinese and African universities, the ECPC is being partnered with Tianjin University of Technology and Education (TUTE), which is in effect still running and staffing the college, before it is handed over to the Ministry of Education.

It may well be in due course that the large-scale training of engineers in association with the ZTE telecom infrastructure programme, discussed earlier, will constitute the creation of a critical mass that will rival other training initiatives. But it is still too early to assess how rapidly this will become nation-wide.

China's Low-key Approach

China is not visible in the architecture of donor coordination, principally because it doesn't perceive itself as an aid donor, but rather as a strategic cooperation partner with Ethiopia.

China plays almost no part in the Ambassadors' Donor Group, recently renamed the Ethiopian Partners' Group (EPG), at the insistence of India. Nor does it currently attend the Development Assistance Group (DAG), donor Task Forces or any of the Technical Working Groups (TWGs) except sometimes the Transport Group. Principally, this is because China sees itself as involved in South-South cooperation. It is not at ease with much of the donor discourse, nor with determining and declaring how much 'aid' it is giving to Ethiopia[16]. Some of the new aid modalities, such as direct budget support, associated with several Western donors allow a considerable degree of intervention at the very heart of the government's financial management and planning. By contrast, China, along with several other agencies, is happier with the project approach. Nevertheless, there would currently be an interest by China in playing a greater role in the exchange of information about project and programme support in particular sectors in Ethiopia, including in the sphere of education and training.

China's Human Development Cooperation with Ethiopia

China believes that cooperation means people-to- people exchange; hence there is a great deal of attention to short and long-term training in China and the sending of technical experts and volunteers to Ethiopia.

Like Japan and South Korea, China values the sending of experts, volunteers, trainers and even researchers. This exchange also takes place in the domain of culture and other spheres, but in education and training, as already mentioned, there has been a significant movement of trainees to China, and of teachers and instructors to Ethiopia. Like Japan, China's experts are more likely to be found in a paddy-field or in the middle of a road or water scheme sites than sitting in offices as advisors to the minister. In this sense, they seem to illustrate one of the eight principles enunciated by Zhou Enlai about how Chinese experts should live in countries they were trying to assist[17].

The Chinese Young Volunteers Programme. China's Young Volunteers Serving Africa programme started out rather carefully with just 300 young people world-wide in its first three years, rather than many thousands. But it is a

comment on the strong China-Ethiopia bilateral relations that Ethiopia received the first 17 volunteers in 2005/6 even before the programme was formally confirmed at the Beijing Summit in November 2006. A further batch of 50 came after the Summit, and there was a third, but smaller group expected in 2009. It can be seen therefore that Ethiopia would have received almost a third of the total pilot volunteer programme by the time of the Cairo FOCAC Conference in November 2009. They are deployed in many different areas, such as teaching, IT, sports, health and agriculture. They only serve for a year in Ethiopia, but they all have to have had volunteer experience already in China before serving in Africa. They get about US$200 a month with no food or transport supplied.

In terms of the FOCAC target of 300 volunteers by the end of 2009, Ethiopia will be in a very good position to comment on their utilization and value, as will Cameroon and Kenya which have also had some of the first volunteers. But there are likely to be many other African countries which cannot comment as they have not received any.

Long-Term Scholarships for Ethiopians to China. These scholarships started relatively early on with some 10 scholarships a year from 1988 up to 2002; total students were 69 over that five-year period. By contrast, from 2006/7 till 2009/2010 the annual scholarship numbers were between 41-52. It may be assumed that it was the great FOCAC conference of 2006 that raised the annual numbers to 40+, although this had already started with the earlier FOCAC conference held in Addis Ababa in October 2003. In any event, the translation of the global FOCAC target of 4000 African students in China by 2009 into a whole series of bilateral understandings clearly takes some very careful planning and allocation of country targets. As mentioned earlier, the global scholarship target for Africa is now 5,500.

The breakdown and allocation of the Ethiopia 'quota' is an interesting mix of open and fixed targets. Ten of the places may be called 'project-related training', and they have been utilized over the past three years to train 10 Master's degree students in different fields of technical and vocational education to come back as instructors in the Ethio-China Polytechnic College. The same thing happened in 2009/10. These ECPC students will be selected by the Ethiopian Ministry of Education and they will all be allocated to the partner university of the College in China, Tianjin University of Technology and Education (TUTE). Another group of more than 10 scholarships will

be selected from Ethiopia's universities, also through the Ministry of Education, and the remainder will be selected via the Chinese Embassy in Addis Ababa. Within the University quota, the individual candidates can consult the China Scholarship Council handbook of eligible universities and can indicate their preferred 2-3 choices.

The more interesting issues are not the quantitative ones, but increasingly the Chinese authorities are examining some of the more qualitative questions. Given, for example, the sending of 40-50 new students a year to China from Ethiopia, and the length of master's and doctoral courses (a minimum of 3.5 years for a master's and a minimum of 5 for doctoral courses), there will a sizeable Ethiopian scholarship contingent in China, and a group of some 30-40 in the resource base of Tianjin alone. It will be of interest to follow how this strategy of concentration on particular resource bases is working out, and how it differs from parallel project-related approaches in the UK, USA, Japan, and the like.

Ethiopian Short-term Professional Training in China. China and Japan currently run two of the world's largest short-term training programmes. Japan is bringing almost 10,000 professionals annually to Japan for periods of about a month and a half. China is bringing a similar number for periods that are often of three-week duration. In this article we are of course concerned with the FOCAC target for African professionals of 15,000 (there is another 15,000 for Asia and Latin America), and more specifically with the Ethiopian component of this continental target. The target itself has been raised to 20,000 for the next triennium.

The Ministry of Commerce in China coordinates a huge array of 226 courses, spanning every conceivable sectoral concern[18]. These can be organized bilaterally when Ethiopia would take up all the 25 places on the course, or multilaterally when Ethiopia would provide one or two candidates for a multicountry course African course (e.g. Seminar on African female capacity building); there are others again which cover Africa and Asia (e.g. Afro-Asian seminar on vocational education), or all developing countries (e.g. Traditional Chinese medicine management for developing countries). For example, for the most recent Ethiopian bilateral courses in 2007, the country had provided all the candidates for seminars on textiles, urban management, and construction. In earlier years (2002-3), Ethiopia had taken all

the places on technical and vocational education on two separate occasions.

As to numbers, the figures for Ethiopian participants have risen from about 50-60 participants in 2000 to around 230-270 individuals in 2006/7 and around 250 in the year 2009/10. Even if one or two of the courses are bilateral in any year, it is a major logistical operation to allocate over 200 candidates to such a range of courses. In Ethiopia the Economic and Commercial Counsellor's Office of the Chinese Embassy pass all the relevant courses for a particular year to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MOFED). This in turn contacts the Ministry of Education, which duly passes the recommended candidates to MOFED, and then back to the Embassy.

The focus of the courses has primarily been on what can be learnt from Chinese experience, not just theoretically, but by visiting the relevant rice research, textile development, poverty reduction, or urban planning sites. We have discussed earlier the good reasons for this focus on the Chinese development experience, and also the likely impact in terms of capacity building versus the building of goodwill, and the cost considerations and value for money of courses that are just under 3 weeks long (King

2009a)[19].

For a country like Ethiopia, which is the recipient of a good deal of Chinese investment in infrastructure as well as in institutional support and development, the chance to have 250 senior professionals visit China in any one year, in addition to the 200 or so long- term scholarship holders who may be there at any one time, is a potentially serious exercise in targeted exposure to Chinese development. It would be valuable to know more about the impact of such short-term exposure beyond the good-will and the 'political relation of equality and mutual trust' which President Hu Jintao discussed in his preface to the FOCAC targets of 2006. But in many of the courses, the impact will likely marry the political, economic, and the cultural, as in so much of China's development cooperation.

The Role of China's Confucius Institutes (CIs) in Development Cooperation. We have mentioned earlier that the first Confucius Institute in Ethiopia was only inaugurated in early 2010. It has been engaged in offering Chinese language training to Ethiopian staff in the college, but also has provided a special course of Chinese for Ethiopian diplomats[20]. But it is important to emphasise the point about CI devel-

opment being in the response mode. It is certainly not the case that all the different elements of China's human resource engagement with Ethiopia (or with other countries) are closely coordinated. The fact that scholarships, short-term training, rural schools and Confucius Institutes, as well as hospitals, clinics and agricultural centres, are all mentioned in the FOCAC Beijing Declaration of 2006 should not be taken to mean that their implementation is centrally organized. Rather, a series of different ministries and organizations are responsible for these different elements, and there is a similar division of labour at the level of the Chinese Embassy. A further intriguing development is that *Han Ban*, the Confucius Institute Headquarters in Beijing, now offer their own long-term *Han Ban* scholarships which were expected to total at least 150 for Africa in 2010. However, the value of the FOCAC mechanism is perhaps precisely that it has encouraged a number of reports of the implementation process that have usefully covered the whole range of FOCAC goals over the period 2006-2009.[21] The same will be true for the next triennium.

Even though it might be thought that the promotion of the Chinese language could be a natural policy accompaniment of so much Chi-

nese economic and human investment in Ethiopia, it is not yet the case that the developments of Confucius Institutes are targeted at countries where there is a great deal of China-Africa cooperation. There are in fact some short-term training courses of the Ministry of Commerce aimed at Chinese language, and at business Chinese for officials from developing countries. But so far the CI development is demand-driven. Indeed, it is interesting to see that the sheer presence of Chinese investment in a variety of African countries has led to Africans actually coming to China, on their own resources, to secure Chinese as a vocational qualification to assist their work. The presence of fee-paying Ethiopians in universities in China following intensive Chinese language courses is a testimony to the way the role of Chinese language has been changing dramatically in Africa.[22]

Enterprise-based Training in Ethiopia also in the Response Mode. China sees that the training and development of technical expertise, whether in agriculture or in trades, needs to be demand-driven and not just supply-driven. Hence there is a strong interest in linking TVET provision with the needs of industry and enterprise.

Like the German Engineering Capacity Building Programme (ECBP) which connects TVET provision with private sector development, the Chinese staff who are involved with the Ethio-China Polytechnic College see much value in identifying and responding to the training needs of industry, including of the growing number of Chinese enterprises in Ethiopia. The College of Telecommunication and Information Technology (CTIT) is following a similar path through its training and/or up-grading of 1000 engineers through the Ethiopian Telecommunications Corporation (ETC)/ZTE (see above). It is evident, however, that there is considerable enterprise-based training in the various Chinese companies present in the industrial areas round the main cities of Ethiopia, as well as the form of training associated with the micro and small enterprises in the informal economy.

Infrastructure and Construction in the Creation of Ethiopian Skills. China's involvement in the transformation of infrastructure in Ethiopia is inseparable from the single most dramatic change in the urban environment that has ever happened to Addis Ababa, and from the largest, sustained building boom in the city's history.

The provision of skilled Ethiopian workers at this particular stage in the country's dynamic change, whether by German, Italian or Chinese formal training initiatives, runs little risk of being judged irrelevant. Given the country's failure over a period of some 25 years in the 70s and 80s to reproduce the skilled labour of earlier years, the massive changes in the economy and its urban infrastructure are being undertaken with as few as 2 per cent of the labour force being adequately trained in the construction area. China's involvement in these quite extraordinary events is hard to disentangle, and impossible to neatly describe in terms of aid and private sector development. But the availability of numbers of skilled Chinese labour,[23] supervisory personnel, and of course Chinese construction companies, has been a crucial factor that has itself changed its shape over the last ten years, and has been used creatively by Ethiopian entrepreneurs[24]. Urban historians need urgently to document what has been happening to Addis Ababa today; but arguably, there is some crucial synergy between China's own capacity to transform its own world,[25] and the chemistry of its partnership with Ethiopia's urban transformation[26].

Chinese Teachers and Instructors Support National TVET and ATVET Plans. We mentioned at the beginning of this account that within the sectors of agricultural instruction (ATVET) and technical and vocational instruction (TVET), there have been no less than 290 ATVET contracts for Chinese trainers in agricultural colleges since 2000, and 120 TVET contracts for instructors in TVET colleges since 2001. These are substantial numbers of technical assistance personnel, over a period of 8-9 years, to which must be added the Chinese young volunteers. Possibly the only country that comes close to China's presence on the ground in aid terms is Japan, with some 30-40 short term experts, some 10 long-term, and between 35-40 Japanese overseas volunteers present in a single year, 2009. This is an interesting testimony by these two Asian nations to the belief in the importance of people-to-people skills transfer and adaptation, at a time when many Western donors have moved away from reliance on technical experts, except in their own volunteer programmes[27].

Technical and Attitudinal Skills Transfer. The attitudes of the Chinese to work, whether in TVET colleges, roads, or firms, are widely admired by Ethiopians, for delivering on time

or before time. The widespread Chinese commitment to the primacy of effort and hard work, and the belief that anyone can 'make it' by hard work and effort run through the education and training systems in China, and can be contrasted with the belief in a number of Western countries that education is to do with identifying and promoting those who can make it from those who can't. Ethiopian appreciation of this can be illustrated by the appeal to the Chinese instructors by the Ethiopian Dean of a TVET college to transfer not just their technical knowledge, but also their culture of work, and their work ethic[28].

A thoughtful and yet realistic comment on the appreciation of China's contribution to Ethiopia's development was made in February 2009 by a senior policymaker:

> They are admired for their work ethic. Much can be learned from them. They are very dedicated. Many stories illustrate this…..Development is not simple. But economic development and growth are critical to our viability as a nation. Not a chance for us if there is not economic development. That is our security, but also our existential challenge. So the infrastructural contribution of the Chinese and their investment are critical to this. There is a different quality to their engagement with Ethiopia than other donors. One important fact should be remembered, however – the Chinese are not here primarily to help Ethiopia. They are not altruistic. No place for morality. It is a win-win situation they promote and project. A question of mutual equal-

ity. A transparent relationship. They are here to promote their assistance, but not with a lot of hypocrisy which you can get with the West (Senior Ethiopian policymaker, 12th February 2009).

Resource Bases in China for China-Africa Education Cooperation. A last element in this section on China's human development cooperation with Ethiopia must concern China's capacity to support the growing range of activity in support of education and training, as well as university cooperation in Africa. Historically, China had developed small centres of African studies, in some cases as early as those in Europe, including in the Institute of West Asian and African Studies (IWAAS) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). No fewer than 10 universities had such small centres, including Peking, Yunan and Shanghai Normal. The tradition was normally not to do fieldwork in Africa for doctoral studies, though there were some notable exceptions. In the early 2000s, the Ministry of Education set up small resources bases for education aid to Africa, covering many fields, such as TVET, distance education, higher education, and agricultural education. These provided the coordination of some of the short-term training courses in the field of education; but they also provided an opportunity for Chinese scholars to network and build connections with Africa in different

education sub-sectors.

It was only in September 2007 that a major Institute of African Studies (IAS) was finally established with the expectation that fieldwork by staff and students would be the norm. The IAS at Zhejiang Normal University describes itself as 'the first institute for comprehensive African studies in a Chinese higher education institution'. It recruited some 25 full-time academic staff, all with doctorates,[29] and its master's students were fully expected to be able to spend a substantial amount of time in Africa, as were the staff. The IAS established smaller sub-centres to focus on African political and international relations, African economic studies, African educational studies, and African historical and cultural studies.

We highlight it here because the Chinese universities are an integral part of the delivery of the China-Africa cooperation in education that we have been outlining in this section. The partnership with Chinese higher education institutions is critical to the implementation and expansion of the Confucius Institutes. Chinese university partners are also vital to the delivery of many of the short-term courses that have been bringing thousands of African professionals to China. It goes without saying that they are essential to the long-term scholarship sup-

port to Africa from the China Scholarship Council. And they are vital to a whole range of higher education links, even if Ethiopia has just started participating in one of these through the Confucius Institute and the 20+20 twinning scheme. As for education projects such as the Ethio-China Polytechnic College, and the sending of technical experts on TVET to Africa since 2000, Tianjin University of Technology and Education has been involved from the beginning.

The change that is being dramatically signaled by the development of the Institute of African Studies in Zhejiang Normal University is that direct Chinese research and consultancy in Africa will begin to become an essential part of that multi-sided collaboration. Over time, this could well mean that the short courses and other modalities are not just about exposure of Africans to Chinese experiences of development, but begin to incorporate more critical reflection by Chinese scholars on African development itself.

Concluding Remarks

Despite the widespread appreciation of China's engagement with Africa, and with Ethiopia in particular, there is also a red thread of critical analysis of China-in-Ethiopia which needs to

be carefully analysed by researchers.

Sautman and Hairong (2009), in their own multi-country analysis of attitudes to China's presence in Africa, have confirmed a generally positive reaction to China in Ethiopia as in eight other African countries, though they have pointed to some substantial contextual differences from country to country. There is, however, in some quarters a critical undertone about China's engagement with Ethiopia. Much of this is the stuff of rumour and allegation, but it might be wise for Chinese and Ethiopian researchers, or African social science organisations such as OSSREA, to review the substance of these possible inhibitors to China's increasing involvement with the country. See for instance the allegedly massive sale of Ethiopian farmlands to Chinese and Arabs in the *Ethiopian Review* (3 June 2009)[30], or the widespread conjecture that Chinese companies must use Chinese prison labour to be able to undercut the competition[31].

Lastly, there is an urgent need for detailed accounts by Chinese and Ethiopian researchers of the multiple ways in which China is currently engaged with Ethiopia.

We currently lack any detailed feedback from Ethiopians on China's large long- and short-term training programmes in China. There are

Ethiopian professionals, such as Mulatu Te-shome, who have spent 8-9 years doing Bachelor, master's and doctoral work in China, and who are back in Ethiopia in positions of authority[32]. But there are several hundred who have gained a degree and returned, not to mention some two thousand who have gone for shorter courses. We have no accounts, at least in English, from the first Chinese volunteers of what they have been doing in Ethiopia between 2005 and 2009. We know very little about the seven and eight year programmes that have brought Chinese instructors to Ethiopia's TVET and agricultural colleges[33]. And we still don't know about the changing shape of China's enterprise-based training across many different sectors. We don't know whether the three rural schools being built by China under the FOCAC accord will differ from the many schools being built, for instance by Japanese JICA, except that the former have both Chinese and Ethiopian flags, and a small plaque.

This lack of detail on what we may term 'development-in-practice' or 'aid-in-the-field' is not unusual even with mainstream development agencies. There is much more analysis of the Paris Declaration (2005) or the Accra Agenda for Action (2008)[34] than there is of the human factor in international cooperation,

whether by China, or by the other non-Western donors, such as India, South Korea, Cuba, Brazil and Thailand. It would be valuable therefore if, possibly through the Chinese Embassy in Ethiopia, or by the initiative of the returnees themselves, there could be encouragement to form associations of those alumni who have profited from short- and long-term training in China. It would also be valuable to hear from those in the Ethiopian business community who are currently learning Chinese, just as it would be important to know more about those Ethiopians who have taken up residence in Yiwu or in Guangzhou to facilitate direct trade between these centres on the Eastern seaboard of China and Ethiopia itself.

Conclusion

This is work in progress, undertaken mostly in the year 2009, in which China, in the FOCAC summit in Egypt, reported along with its many African partner countries on the progress of the pledges made in Beijing three years earlier. As expected, the education and health sides of these ambitious pledges turned out to have been fulfilled: 15,000 short-term trainees, 4,000 long-term trainees, 300 volunteers serving Africa, and 100 rural schools. Not to mention the Confucius Institutes, the 30 hospitals, the anti-malaria clinics and much else. But the

parade of successful figures lacked the human dimension. Hence it will complement the next summit in 2012 if there could be thoughtful accounts of what these thousands of trainees actually mean for the development of the many countries from which they come, and of how these 'aid numbers' interact with the extraordinary presence of China's private sector across Africa, and especially in Ethiopia, in its streets, construction sites, industrial estates and even in its farms.

Endnotes

1. This paper derives from three weeks spent in Addis Ababa, 31st January - 19th February 2009. Thirty-five interviews were held with a total of 50 people in development agencies, universities, ministries, schools and colleges. This was followed by a further 25 interviews in the two weeks between 6th – 19th April 2010. The research was supported by the Leverhulme Trust, and is part of a larger study of China as a re-emerging education donor in Africa. The Trust is not of course responsible for the views expressed here. I am grateful to Pravina King for participating in all the interviews. Earlier versions of these ideas were presented at a seminar hosted by OSSREA in Addis Ababa, 17 February 20009, and summarised in *OSSREA Bulletin* Vol. vi, No 2 of 2009 issue [www.ossrea.net], and in the University of Hong Kong, 4th June 2009.

2. See King 2009b for Zhou Enlai's eight principles.

3. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC maintained a very valuable inventory of visits at the highest level in the political, economic and social domains between China and every country with which it had diplomatic relations. This has not been updated unfortunately since 12th October 2003.

4. See Lin B. (2006).

5. 'Steadily Rising Chinese investment', *Reporter,* Saturday, 7 February 2009, p.7.

6. MOFCOM 2009; there is also a private Chinese industrial zone operating in Dukem, Oromia, just 37 km from Addis Ababa, see http://allafrica.com/stories/200707310769.html

7. For the eight FOCAC targets, see Hu Jintao (2006), and King 2009a and 2009b.

8. For a detailed review of the FOCAC process in five countries to 2009, see CCS, 2010.

9. It is interesting to compare DFID (UK)'s characterisation of Ethiopia as 'one of the poorest countries in the world', with '81% of its population living beneath the poverty line and about 10 million of them at risk of starvation' (accessible at www.dfid.gov.uk/Where-we-work/Africa-Eastern--Southern/Ethiopia/), with China's summary on its Ministry of Foreign Affairs site.

10. The total cost of the Ethio-China Polytechnic College was 100 million Yuan or some $15 million US dollars.

11. The most dramatic expansion is being carried out by GTZ International Services in the shape of 13 new universities.

12. By contrast, the FCO's Chevening Scholarships are one of the more obvious items on the DFID/FCO home pages, http://ukinethiopia.fco.gov.uk/en/working-with-ethiopia/development-assistance/dfid

13. One is situated in Dire Dawa, one in Makelle, and another one in Southern Ethiopia.

14. See the University Capacity Building Programme, and the Engineering Capacity Building Programme associated with GTZ international services and GTZ respectively. Interestingly, it was China that the Ethiopian government originally approached for these capacity building programmes.

15. Tianjin University of Technology and Education has played a key role since the early 2000s in supporting the development of TVET in Ethiopia.

16. For several papers by Kenneth King on China's approach to cooperation with Africa, visit the web site of the Comparative Education Research

Centre in the University of Hong Kong: http://www.hku.hk/cerc/KK-Article.htm

17. Zhou's principle about experts states: 'The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities' (see King 2009b for further details).

18. One of the longest is a one-year acrobatics training course in China.

19. Japan's short-term training of some 9,800 participants in Japan for courses averaging 1.5 months came to £128 million Sterling in 2006.

20. See further: http://www.ethiopian-news.com/confucius-institute-opens-training-for-ethiopian-diplomats.

21. See King 2009a and CCS (2010) for a more detailed account of the FOCAC Goals and the reporting on their implementation. See also Davies (2008) on the modalities of China's aid delivery.

22. In one Chinese university visited, half of the African students were actually paying their own fees.

23. It is no longer the case in Ethiopia that there are large numbers of Chinese labourers involved in the construction and infrastructure projects; the Government of Ethiopia has sought to insist on skills transfer rather than reliance on Chinese labour. See next note.

24. In one large residential scheme in the suburbs of Addis Ababa, an Ethiopian construction company has been bringing in batches of 100-65 skilled Chinese workers, on the condition that each of them, on average, trains some ten Ethiopian workers. In other words, another large enterprise-based training scheme, but very different from the 1000 workers trained by ZTE for CITC (see above).

25. See for instance, Kynge (2006).

26. Interestingly, Ethiopia chose to focus its illustration of the Shanghai Expo theme 'Better City - Better Life' on Harar; arguably, the drama of urban change in Addis is immeasurably greater (King, 2010).

27. There are no less than a 100 VSOs in Ethiopia, many of them in the education sector, and some 42 Peace Corps.

28. The same point about transferring their work ethic is made by Lu Ting-en and Luo Jianbo in their book, *China Africa Education Cooperation* (2005, 53-54).

29. Interestingly, one of the new staff has their field-based doctorate on Ethiopian history and politics.

30. See *Ethiopian Review* for the alleged transfer of farmlands to China, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, http://www.ethiopianreview.com/content/massive-sale-of-ethiopian-farms-lands-to-chinese-and-arabs/. Accessed from *The Economist* of 21 May 2009, http://www.economist.com:80/world/international/displaystory.cfm?story_id=13692889

31. See article on China's newest export – convicts in *Guardian* 29 July 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/jul/29/china-export-convict-labour

32. Dr. Mulatu Teshome was Ethiopian Ambassador to Turkey in 2010.

33. One of these agricultural trainers from China has stayed in Ethiopia as long as 9 years so far.

34. On the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action, see *Norrag News* 42.

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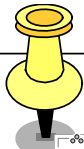
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