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IN THIS ISSUE

KENYA'S INVESTMENT CLIMATE: MACRO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS, POLICIES AND PRACTICES

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This paper traces investment policies and incentives that existed in Kenya in 2003 when the National Rainbow Coalition Government (NARC) came into power, effectively bring to an end the forty 40 years rule of the Kenya National Union (KANU). It discusses the extent to which these policies helped in promoting private investment, and spurred economic development in Kenya at a time when foreign aid funding was frozen by the world Bank and the International Monetary Fund and the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was imposed.

Investment theories are examined, their application to policy formulation and critical analysis conducted on how these have affected the macro-economic policies discussed. The paper outlines trade and investment components of the Kenyan Government's Development Plan 2003-2007 as outlined in the "Economic Recovery for Renewed Growth and Employment Creation" Policy statement.

KENYA'S POLITICO-ECONOMIC HISTORY

Kenya gained independence from Great Britain in 1963. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was its first President, and he ruled the country until his death in 1978. Daniel Arap Moi, who remained in office for twenty four, succeeded him. During the first two decades of its independence, Kenya, once the most prosperous and politically stable country in East Africa, experienced economic decline - a fall in living standards and a deterioration of the quality of its social, political, economic and legal institutions.

The current Head of State is His Excellency President Mwai Kibaki. He leads a Coalition Government made up of fourteen (14) political parties through the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC).

The political stability that Kenya has enjoyed ever since independence, the peace that prevails, and steady economic growth make the investment climate in Kenya attractive for a sustained high level of investment in the Eastern and Central African Region. Kenya is also strategically located in East Africa; with access to the Indian Ocean Kenya's infrastructure serves land-locked countries Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, The Democratic Republic of Congo and The Central African Republic.

The Country has taken concrete reform measures including:

1 Abolition of import and export licensing
2 Rationalization/reduction of import tariffs
3 Removal of all export duties
4 Deregulation of interest rates
5 Removal of restrictions on borrowing by foreign owned companies
6 Removal of price and exchange controls
7 Reduction of duty on all capital goods to 5%[1]

International Markets

Exports from Kenya enjoy preferential access to world markets under a number of special market access and duty reduction programs. These include regional markets: the East African market (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Central Africa (COMESA) and the African Caribbean and Pacific/European Union (ACP/EU). In addition, Kenyan exports to European Union Countries are entitled to duty reduction and are free from quota restriction under, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Kenyan export products also qualify for duty free access to the United States of America (USA). Under a Generalized System of Preference (GSP) Kenya's manufactured products are entitled to preferential duty treatment in the Japanese, Canadian and other markets whose countries offer duty free access to developing countries.

Kenya is a member of World Trade Organization and adheres to the principles of the Multilateral Trade System; trade without discrimination, promotion of fair competition, encouraging development and economic reform and putting in place predictable and transparent trade rules.

Trade Relations

Kenya's exports to the COMESA region accounts for 42% of total exports, the Middle East 5%, the European Union 30%, Far East and Australia 12%, North America 3%, with all other destinations accounting for 8%.

The major source of Kenya's imports is Asia accounting for 49% followed by Europe 34%, while imports from Africa and other countries account for 9% of total imports.

In a nutshell, Kenya's strategic location, political stability, conducive trading environment and developed and efficient infrastructure make her an ideal destination for foreign investors.

Economic Environment

Kenya embarked on structural and macroeconomic reforms in all sectors of the economy in the early 1990s as a means of revitalizing and revamping its economic growth. But the economy performed poorly during the period 1990-2001, growing at an average of 2% in 1990-1996 but only 1% over the period 1997-2001. The country suffered from declining levels of private investment, net long-term outflows, low savings and excessive government domestic borrowing.

The country also witnessed a decline in export/GDP ratio from 32% in the 1990-95 period to 27% in 1996-2000 period and 26% in 2001. The slow and declining economic growth translated into increasing levels of poverty and unchecked rural-urban migration resulting to serious economic hardship. The population in absolute poverty was estimated to be 45% in 1992, 52% in 1997 and about 56% in 2001.

During 1990-2001 Kenya's real GDP grew at an annul average of 2.2%. This was well below the average GDP growth rate of neighboring countries like Uganda (6.8%) and Tanzania (3.1%). It was also lower than sub-Saharan Africa regional average (2.6%), and the average low-income countries in general (3.4%).

This weak economic performance coupled with population growth rate averaging 2.7% during the 1990s, led to a contraction in per capital income by an average of 0.5% per year.

The challenge to the NARC government is to reverse the declining trends in economic growth and reduce poverty levels, as outlined in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP, the 9th National Development Plan 2002-2008 and the Economic Recovery Program 2003). The key objectives of Government Policy, spelt out in these policy documents, are: to implement, revamp and accelerate economic growth, redistribute growth outcomes to majority of Kenyans and to generate sufficient resources to support such growth momentum both in the medium and the long term.

Investment Trend Perspectives

Investment in Kenya can be traced in three distinct growth phases over the period 1970-2000: 1970-1973, 1975-1978 and 1990-1998. The periods are defined by the shift in Government policy and global economic influence.

1970-1973

Growth in investment over the period of 1970-73 was basically driven by post-independence efforts of the Government to invest in institutions that promoted long term development, created to help Africans take change of the country's economic and political life in place of colonial settlers. The institutions included the Development Finance Company of Kenya (DFCK), the Industrial and Commercial Corporation (ICDC), the Industrial Development Bank (IDB) and the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC). These institutions provided capital to promote local investment by indigenous Kenyans but growth was disrupted by the 1973 oil crises as a result of Middle East war.

1975-1978

The coffee boom of 1975/1976 was caused by political turmoil in Uganda as a result of a military coup by the army led by Idi Amin Dada. The windfall from Ugandan coffee smuggled to Kenya and exported as a commodity from Kenya brought about short-term economic growth, mainly due to domestic investment which continued up to 1976 and 1980s. But real investment recorded an overall decline from US $3 billion in 1979 to a low US $215 million in 1993, demonstrating the effect of the so called coffee boom in Kenya's growth history. Major shocks which precipitated this sharp decline included:

1 The collapse of the East African Community in 1977.

2 The oil crisis of 1979 precipitated by a second Middle East War.

3 The negative image on the country associated with the attempted coup of 1982 and the declaration of the country as a *de facto* one party state after this ugly incident.

4 The financial sector crisis beginning in 1985/86 that led to collapse of indigenous banks.

5 The foreign aid embargo in 1991 and the negative image on the economy associated with such a stance from the Breton Woods Institutions.

6 Tribal clashes in 1992, instigated by the introduction of multi-party political system in Kenya.

7 The collapse of monetary discipline during 1991/1992 which countered the gains of flow of the new investments expected from introduction of multiparty politics in 1991.

8 Reported financial scandals confirming incidents of corruption. The overall impact during this phase recorded a 200% drop in real investment.

1994-1998

The period between 1994 and 1998 recorded a marginal rise in investment from $US215million to $300 millions. Landmark economic reforms were put in place contributed to this increase (Shah & Roadway, 2000). These included:

1 Deregulation of interest rates.

2 The abolition of foreign exchange control regime and liberalization of the payment system.

3 Reform in the banking sector through the overhaul of the banking Act.

4 Launching of the privatization program.

5 Re-introduction of the East African Co-operation.

CONCEPT AND THEORY

Investment incentives are legislative provisions that give preferential treatments to certain economic activities such as tax holidays and credit for investment assets such as accelerated depreciation provision for specified assets, different arrangements for certain forms of organizations (e.g. lower tax rates for small businesses), or special financing arrangements such as debt versus equity). Investment incentives also include legal provision in tax laws that attempt to change the time distribution of use of assets; e.g. tax holidays, accelerated capital, consumption allowances, time–variant statutory tax rates, and depletion allowances for resource industries. The main reason for providing investment incentives is to encourage capital accumulation in specific activities while at the same time encouraging capital formation without specific intent.

Broadly defined, investment is any activity undertaken to change and hopefully to improve economic well being of a country. It is important to note that the driving force in investment decision is the search for returns; it is the expected returns that will influence the decision to invest, whether by local or foreign investors. It is also important to remember that investors have options for investment destinations. This implies that the choice to invest in a particular country depends on relative returns in that country, the home country as well as that of other countries.

INVESTMENT THEORY

Since the Great Depression in the 1930s, scholars and economists have developed investment theories to assist planners and politicians in economic development. According to Anatol Murad, the 20th century witnessed the evolution of numerous economic theories: Keynes Theory of investment was popular in the 1930s and mid 1940s; Accelerator Theory in the 1950s and 1960s; Classical Theory in 1970s and Tobin Q Theory in the 1980s (Yergin & Stanilaw 1999). These theories, along with the Foreign Direct Investment Theory are still in use in many countries and are being promoted by the World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (Pond 1997). Some of these theories are discussed below.

Keynes Theory (1936): According to Keynes, investment is determined by the marginal efficiency of capital. The rate of interest influences the marginal efficiency because it reflects the opportunity cost of invested funds. Keynes argued that private investments are driven by "animal spirits" because it is extremely difficult for private investors to make any rational assessment of returns to their investments[2].

Accelerator Theory (1950s and 1960s): According to this theory, investment is simply a linear function of changes in output. This approach makes it easy to compute the level of investment on the basis of the incremental capital-output ratio. But accelerator theory suffers from many defects because it fails to incorporate the role of the expectations, profitability and the cost of capital. Although the acceleration principal has been widely used to explain investment behavior, overall it has been found to be unsatisfactory (Shah & Roadway op cit).

The New Classical Approach (1970s): This theory assumes that the optimal level of capital stock is a function of output level and the user cost of capital. The user cost of capital is influenced by the depreciation rate, price of capital goods and the interest rate. The current and desired levels of capital stock differ because of delays in making deliveries as well as lags in making investment decisions. The approach has been found inadequate in explaining investment practices because it assumes outputs are exogenous; assumes perfect competition and static expectations.

The Q Theory of Investment: This theory is associated with James Tobin. The argument is that investment is undertaken on the basis of relationship between the value of the firm after installing an additional unit of capital and the replacement cost of the additional unit of capital installed. If installing an additional unit of capital increases the market value of the firm relative to replacement cost then the firm will increase its existing capital stock, and vice versa. Because it is very difficult to measure the marginal Q, most studies compute the average Q, which is simply the market value of the firm's existing capital stock, divided by its replacement cost. The use of Tobin Q has been criticized because it assumes increasing installation costs (this may not be true for lumpy investments) and that firms are able to sell all they want. If anything, dis-investments are very costly; it is less costly for firms to increase investment than to disinvest (Shah and Roadway op cit).

Current Theories: These are based on modern principles of management and lay emphasis on the links between risk, uncertainty and irreversibility of some investments. The argument is that risk factors negatively affect irreversible investments because firms fear to invest only to lose virtually all their investment due to high cost of dis-investment. There is also growing literature on how financial constraints such as interest rate ceiling or credit rationing influence investment. Because of information asymmetries, internal finance and external finance cannot be taken as substitutes as leaders in markets cannot accurately ascertain the quality of investments for which firms seek to borrow. Consequently, this raises the cost of external finance relative to that of internal finance[3].

Theory of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): This theory holds that the decision to invest is a function of the expected returns. Thus, FDI is likely to take place if a foreign country offers opportunities which are more profitable relative to the home countries. The potential for high returns must be emphasized as a major driving force; foreign investors are not motivated by charity but by expected returns. The returns are in turn

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influenced by host factors including political stability, macroeconomic stability and the cost of doing business. The cost of doing business is influenced by infrastructure (roads, energy, etc), licensing procedures, taxes, and the quality and cost of labor. Assuming everything else remains equal, investors will favor those countries where costs are relatively lower[4].

Another factor that influences the FDI is the world trading system as expressed in World Trade Organization rules. FDI in some countries was encouraged by protectionists polices that were in place. The current movement toward free trade suggests that foreign investors need not shift their investments from home countries as they can sell freely from their home basses. However, there is evidence that free international trade is not necessarily a barrier to FDI because some countries with liberal trade policies continue to attract substantial FDI[5].

Under Kenyan law, FDI implies an incorporated or unincorporated enterprise in which a direct investor who is a resident of another country owns 10% or more of the ordinary shares[6]. Enterprises covered under this definition are:

1 Subsidiaries (non-residential investors) owning more than 50%.
2 Associate companies, where an investor owns 50% or less.
3 Branches (wholly or jointly owned unincorporated enterprises).

A direct investor may either directly or indirectly owns all the three categories.

Short-term determinants of FDI include changes in host countries exchange rates, changes in asset prices, growth prospects, and economic environment in FDI source countries. In the long-run, determinants of FDI include: natural endowments policy environment, supply of human and physical capital, infrastructure, and access to intermediate or final goods markets. It is however, important to note that unlike portfolio flows which are subject to financial shocks and therefore very volatile, FDI flows are less volatile since they involve large, fixed, non-liquid investments which make dis-investment extremely difficult.

According to the World Bank (1999) the countries which received the largest share of FDI flows are characterized by: open policy regimes; large markets; and high income. Advancement in communication and transportation technologies are also associated with increased FDI flows as they facilitate across-border investments.

The decision to invest in other countries is of course a function of many factors. These factors include:
the expected streams of earnings; the risk factor-political risk, economic risk; macroeconomic stability. Other important links between sovereign and FDI include: corruption versus investments; economic freedom versus investment; and political uncertainty versus investment.

KENYA AS A SITE FOR INVESTEMENT

The regulatory framework for investment includes the existence of a good competition policy, adequate taxation registration, a qualified labor market, modern technology, good infrastructure, and institutions that work for the good of all. An efficient regulatory framework is one where regulations do not encourage adverse selection and moral hazard, and are implemented without harassment or corruption. Smooth entry and exit processes are keys to fostering competition and for creating the enabling environment for firms to innovate and improve their productivity or exit the market[7].

Competition Policy

The entry of new businesses in Kenya has been streamlined; the startup of an enterprise is not seriously constrained by legal requirements. The Investment Promotion Centre provides a one-stop shop for local and foreign investors that choose to use its services. The Centre issues a Certificate of Authority, under the Investment Promotion Act, within 30 days of application. As for trading licenses, the local authorities are required to issue a single business permit automatically, allowing enterprises to start operating without waiting for all permits (except where public health and environmental issues are involved)[8.]

Taxes and Incentives

Kenya's tax regime is comparable to other countries in the region, but the extent and effectiveness of investment and export incentives need to be reviewed and possibly rationalized. For instance, under the monopolies and Price Control Act (MPC), agencies making it difficult to detect collusive pricing by manufactures are deemed void but are not illegal. This ambiguity has caused confusion in the enforcement and prosecution of cases of bad business practice under the Act. Finally, fines are very low; the maximum for undertaking restrictive business practices is US$1,250 (Institute of Economic Affairs 2002).

The Labor Market

Kenya has fairly well developed system of industrial relations and Labor laws are currently being revised to make them consistent with the conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization. Firms experiencing competitive pressures and economic difficulties can lay off workers fairly easily if they pay due compensation. The main problem appears to be the industrial court; employers claim that the court is biased in favor of employees, and that its decisions are not open to appeal by employers. In recent years, wage increases approved by the court have tended to exceed productivity rises by a significant margin. Kenya still maintains wage

control; minimum wages are under the control of the government.

Monetary Policy

Monetary policy, including changes in output and a country's exchange rate policy affect the investment flow and the relationship between FDI and private investment sector, financial structures and the level of income distribution[9]. Tight monetary and credit polices raise interest rates and therefore the user cost of capital. This leads to decrease in investment. This result has been challenged with the observation that credit allocation helps firms have access to funds at lower levels and these leads to more investment[10].

Fiscal Deficits: High fiscal deficits tend to crowd out private investments through high interest rates so, according to Mario Obwana, reducing public deficits promotes more private investment. It depends on the sectors affected by the reduction in Government spending because some government expenditures crowd-in private investments; where governments reduced expenditures on crucial areas such as infrastructures, private investments declined (Obwana 2001).

Changes in Output: Serren and Solimano, in their survey found out that changes in output are found to be the most important factor affecting private investment. This is puzzling because the fall of output is usually temporary and not supposed to affect investment. Even with falling output, firms are not expected to disinvest due to temporary output shocks as doing so is very costly. Possible explanations for the fall in investments have been given as the myopic expectations of private investors as well as short-term planning horizon[11].

Exchange Rate Policy: The net impact of a real depreciation is ambiguous because investment for tradable goods increases while it falls for domestic good falls (Poirson 1998).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Private Investment: It has been shown that an increase in FDI leads to corresponding increase in private (domestic) investment. Domestic investment increases as a result of a rise in FDI and promotes technology transfer, the positive effects of which improve the overall productivity of the country. There is also a linkage between sovereign risk and investment as demonstrated by Serven and Solimano (1992). International capital does not necessarily equalize countries' marginal rates of return on investment if creditors perceive the risk of sovereign default to be very high[12] Poirson (1998) provides empirical evidence that shows that private investment is a function of an economic society. By undertaking panel estimates for 53 developing countries during 1984-95 period, her study found that private investment is by and large determined by 'the risk of appropriation, the degree of civil liberty, and the degree of independence of the bureaucracy'. Poirson

provides a simple model in the following functional form:

$$PIY_{it} = a_1 YGPC_{i,t-1} + a_2 SEC_{it} + a_3 CV_{it} + a_4 ESV_{it} + a_t + a_i + s_{it}$$

[PIY is the rate of private investment, I is the given country, t is the year of observation, YGPC is the growth of per capita income, ESV is the set of economic security variables and CV is all other factors that influence private investment such as policy reforms, terms of trade; and the terms a_t and a_i refer to time-specific and country-specific effects on private investment, while s_{it} is the stochastic term].

Private Investment and Financial Structure

Financial structure affects private investment although this depends pretty much on the sensitivity of the investment to liquidity; if fluctuations in a firm's cash flow and liquidity move hand-in-hand with fluctuations in economic activity and the business cycle, then macroeconomic instability may only affect the investment of those firms that are largely internally financed.

Private Investment and Income Distribution

If income is not evenly distributed it will affect private investments because of low profits, low levels of aggregate demand and through social and political stability.

Investment Policies, Practices and Incentives

The quantity and quality of investment that takes place in a country, as well as its effectiveness in generating growth, is influenced by the overall policy and institutional environment, both present and expected. This environment, often referred to as the investment climate, includes several interrelated dimensions as listed below.

1 Political and macroeconomic stability as well as open investment and trade regimes are critical. Kenya has done relatively well in these areas.

2 Effective and transparent regulatory environment. Easy entry and exit of firms, adequate competition polices, and functioning factors markets-is required.

3 Corruption free business environment and more generally, good governance is important.

4 The quality and quantity of physical infrastructure, such as power, transport, telecommunication, water, and financial services are important elements of the investment climate. Kenya is well endowed in these areas, although good will to implement government policies has been lacking.

Investment policy formulation in Kenya is the responsibility of several government Ministries that are

coordinated at the cabinet level by a Cabinet Economic Sub-Committee, and the Central Bank of Kenya. Further suggestions and recommendations are made by the Inter-Ministerial and Consultative Committee (ICC) which includes the private sector. The Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Customs and Excise Department and the Central Bank of Kenya implement investment policies. In addition there are a number of Departments and Agencies which play a major role in the implementation of investment policy, especially the Investment Promotion Center (IPC) whose role is to coordinate investment activities in the country.

To stimulate investment the government offers lucrative package incentives, which may be broadly, classified into three categories according to the targeted investors.

1   General Incentives

This category of investment incentives targets all investors in general, whether producing for the domestic or export market.

2   Investment Deduction and Allowance under the Income Tax Act

This incentive package is offered to investors in the manufacturing and the hotel sectors. Investment allowance is one instrument which the government has applied since the 1980s to encourage investment in these two sectors. The practice was to offer differential allowance in-terms of geographical location covering small rural towns and limited urban centers until 1994/95, when the allowances were unified at 60% across all the region/locations. The aim is to encourage investment in smaller towns for employment creation and reduce rural-urban migration.

3   Losses Carried Forward

The government allows enterprises, which suffer losses in any one tax year to carry forward the losses so that they are offset in the future taxable profits (EPZA Act 1990).

4   Remission from Customs Duties

Investment in capital goods, plant and machinery is encouraged through levying of low duty (5%) on these goods. Large scale private investment projects whose expenditure on productive physical assets are in excess of $US5 million within a two year period, and that will generate economic benefits for the country, can recover the value of import duties paid on imported capital goods for the project against income liability (Export Processing Authority Act 1990).

5   Manufacturing Under Bond (MUB) Scheme

The manufacturing Under Bond Scheme (MUB) was introduced in 1986 as an export drive policy measure. The scheme was aimed at promoting industrial production for the export market. The scheme is an in-bond program and provides for investment incentives such exemption from duty and VAT on imported plant, machinery and equipment, raw materials and other imported inputs; and 100% investment allowance on plant, machinery, equipment and building. The scheme is provided for under the Customs and Excise Act

Export Processing Zones (EPZs) Scheme

The export progressing Zones (EPZs) program was established in 1990 with the enactment of the Export Processing Zones Act. The goal of the scheme, just as in the case of MUBs was to promote industrialization through export led growth (Investment Code Bill 2002), both developer/operators of zones and enterprises enjoy a host of incentives, which are established in the EPZA Act. These incentives include:-

6   Fiscal Incentives

This covers attractive packages which incorporate a 10 years corporate tax holiday and 25% tax; thereafter 10 years withholding tax holiday on remittance of dividend; Duty and VAT exception on raw materials, machinery and other inputs; Stamp duty exemption; and 100% investment deduction on capital expenditure within 20years.

7   Procedural Incentives

These are meant to ease the approval process and unnecessary government bureaucracy and include rapid project approval leading to one business license; no minimum investment level and unrestricted investment by the foreigners; access to offshore borrowing; operation of foreign currency accounts; autonomous control of investment proceeds; exemption from industrial registration Act, Factories Act, Statistics Act, Trade Licensing Act, Imports, Exports and essential Supplies Act; work permits for senior expatriates staff and on-site customs documentation and inspection.

Investment Code

In order to harmonize investment regulations, the government has drafted an investment code, which defines and lays out the mechanism for promoting investment in the country. It is expected that when the Investment Code is made into law, it will include the East African Community, viz: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

The proposed investment code calls for the establishment of the National Investment Promotion Authority, which will be the focal point for assisting and facilitating investment and monitoring local and foreign investment in Kenya.

Businesses enterprises which will enjoy benefits or promotion provided under the code are:

1. Enterprises wholly owned by a foreign investor or if a joint venture, the minimum investment capital is not less than Kenya shillings equivalent to US$300,000.

2. If locally owned, the minimum investment capital is not less than US$ 50,000 or such amounts as the minister may designate from time to time.

3. To any business enterprise which holds a license granted under the petroleum exploration and production ACT or any other law which provides license to operate in the specific area of investment as though the holder has for the purpose of those provisions been granted a certificate of General Authority and protection[13].

INVESTEMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Kenya is endowed with abundant natural resources. These include forestry, wildlife resources, water resources, fisheries resources, mineral resources and renewable energy resources. These resources can be exploited to offer numerous investment opportunities ranging from agriculture, manufacturing, tourism and building and construction. The preceding paragraphs contain a sectoral discussion of the available opportunities in each sector.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and offers investment opportunities in food crop production, horticulture, agro processing, fisheries, leather and leather products among others.

Agriculture comprising of crops, livestock, forestry, and fishing is a leading sector in Kenya's economy contributing about 27% of GDP. The share of agricultural products in the total exports is substantial and accounts for about 55% of the total value. Besides, many industries depend on agriculture for raw materials (Economic Survey June 2003).

Policy priority in the sector is geared towards enhancing the role of the sector as the foundation for rapid economic growth: ensuring food security, creating employment and generating income and foreign exchange earnings.

Overall, the agricultural sector has been liberalized to increase the participation of the private sector in production, distribution, marketing, investment and provision of infrastructure facilities and services.

Manufacturing

Manufacturing is a highly developed sector in the economy and has vast opportunities for investment especially in adding value to agricultural output and providing forward and backward linkages. Opportunities exist in manufacture of textiles and apparels, automotive components, electronic assembly, plastics, paper, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, metals and engineering sub sectors.

The manufacturing sector accounts for about 13% of its real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and contributes about 25% to earnings from merchandise export. Agro-processing industries constitute the largest sub sector in terms of output value.

Mining and Quarrying Products

The Mining Sector accounts for about 0.2% of Kenyan GDP and contribute about 10% to Kenya's economic earnings from merchandise export. Mining activities center on soda ash, fluorspar and limestone. Gold and gemstones, e.g. ruby and garnet, are also mined in limited quantities. Subject to rights granted by a relevant authority, all un-extracted minerals are vested in the Government in accordance with section 4 of the Mining Act. Mineral oils are not covered under the Act and the Commissioner of Mines and Geology issues prospecting licenses. Royalties are negotiated between the Government and each mining company. Thus, there is no standard rate for fixing royalties. Minerals dealers obtain the Mineral Dealers License under the Mining Act. Cap. 310.

Services

Financial, transport and communications and tourism services contribute about 60% of Kenya's total GDP. Tourism is the most important industry of the services sub sector and ranks second to agriculture in terms of foreign exchange earnings and employment generation. However, in recent past, the sector's performance has experienced a decline due to bad weather, security problems, competition from new emerging tourist markets in the Africa region, insufficient tourism promotion and marketing efforts, inadequate diversification of tourism products and market sediments, lack of institutional and regulatory support, deterioration of the country's tourism infrastructure, environmental deterioration and poor control over tourism development (Tourism Strategy Paper 2001).

The Kenya Tourist Board (KTB) is mandated to co-ordinate tourism promotion activities, establish public relations services to address issues of concern in the tourism industry, initiate education and awareness programmes on tourism and develop and maintain professional personnel in this industry.

CONCLUSIONS

Before undertaking any investments in a country, investors have to be concerned about the expected returns, which are in turn determined by many factors. The most important are political stability, economic stability and infrastructure. In some African countries, returns are so high that this overshadows the inherent political risk, hence they experience a rise in FDI. Angola, Sudan and Nigeria are case in point where FDI

has been on a rising trend despite political instability (World Bank Report 2000).

With regard to economic stability, investors are concerned about the fiscal conditions (availability of foreign lending, domestic interest rates, and inflation) and macro-economic stability (monetary policy, exchange rate policy, fiscal policy, debt overhang). Other determinants of private investments are economic security variables as outlined above. Addressing all these factors is a must for any country that aspires to promote private investments.

Reforms undertaken in Kenya in 1990s have revealed weaknesses in inter-sectoral linkages and a lack of external competitiveness of the manufacturing sector. The rationalization of the tariff structure and of incentive schemes aimed at promoting exports of local products after transformation did not prevent the collapse of several firms especially in the textile and clothing industry; between 1991 and 2000 some 450 factories closed down due to upsurge of imported products and trade liberalization which employed high tariff protection.

There is a need to further increase the value-added content of the Kenya's exports of primary products in line with its current industrialization strategy which ends in the year 2020. There is also a need for additional effort to increase an efficient services sector to support its new outward-oriented growth strategy (Industrial Census March 2003).

Under the WTO Agreement on Trade in Services (GATs), Kenya has made commitments in telecommunication, financial services, tourism and travel services. Today, Kenya is a net exporter of services especially tourism services, but has the potential to export others, such as financial and transportation services. Also, due to location in the region, Kenya has potential to expand maritime services to landlocked neighbors.

The deregulation-cum-competition policy that Kenya has adopted over the last ten years has contributed to the development of enterprises at two levels namely:

1   Productive gains through improved efficiency

2   Lateral expansion due to the enabling environment created for establishment of enterprises.

These two benefits derive from such liberalization policies as relaxation of protected investment, approval procedures, price decontrols, and freeing of labor market regulations. The open competitive trading system has resulted in the availability of better quality inputs which should allow enterprises to improve and diversify their areas of activity, and therefore create new opportunities for investment.

The Government has liberated restrictions, provided for non-discrimination between foreign and domestic private investors, allowed profit repatriation, protected organization and provided incentives for foreign investors. Important reforms have taken place in the Capital Market Authority Act by of repealing the Exchange Control Act, which previously restricted capital flow, and the strengthening of the Foreign Investment Protection Act.

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NOTES

[1] See Regulation No.135 of 1993

[2] The General theory was published in 1936 and Keynes ideas were quickly assimilated into American economic policymaking process 1938-1948

[3] See Laffer and Miller; both domestic and external investment react to these factors equally

[4] See Laffer and Miller, particularly the cost of human labour and corruption.

[5] Trade and investment multilateral rules are not under negotiation in the Doha Round.

[6] As defined in the Balance of Payment document adopted in the 2nd edition of the Overseas Economic Development Corporation.

[7] Also important for the functioning of the regulatory framework is the adequacy of the commercial regulation.

[8] This is provided for under the Kenyan Local Government Act.

[9] Examines empirical studies of investment in developing countries to understand the interaction between macroeconomic policies, structural adjustment and private investment.

[10] Serven and Salimano (1991) recommend drastic reforms, some of which have become part of the World Bank SAP.

[11] Serven and Solimano examine empirical studies on investment in developing countries.

[12] See World Bank Report 2010: the link between private investment and income distribution.

[13] The Laws of Kenya requires investors to be issued with a single licence to establish their enterprise for a period of one year.

DISTANCE EDUCATION: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

Dr Gabriel Udendeh*

In 2006, the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Professor Chukuma Soludo along with other technocrats at the Bank canvassed the need for actualizing the prediction of Goldman Sachs that Nigeria would be among the top twenty economies by the year 2025. Soludo moderated the prediction to a vision, which was initially intended for the financial sector but was subsequently adopted by the ruling elites with a target date of 2020.

In the strategy sessions that followed it was argued that education was central to achieving the vision. It was also agreed that educational curriculum should be refocused to ensure that it was:

- ICT driven
- Borderless
- Knowledge based
- Supported by best practice
- An integrated system
- Risk inherent
- Competitive
- Innovative
- Specialized, and
- Holistic and dynamic.

Besides curriculum upgrading and creation of special schemes for strategic education, there is a strong need to improve the literacy level in the country as part of a deliberate attempt to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Further, at that time, less than 30% of the over 1.3 million candidates who applied for university admission each year were successful, despite Nigeria having 117 universities (see NUC.org.ng). Something needs to be done for the "unsuccessful" 70% who are left stranded with no viable alternative to get a tertiary education if Nigeria was to continue to compete in the world economy. This contrasts sharply with the position in other countries; for example, the BRICS countries today have some of the highest number of university graduates in their domains due to liberal education policies. Russia had more university graduates than any other country in Europe and a literacy rate of 99% as at 2005 (Wikipedia 2006).

In Nigeria, the last couple of years had witnessed commendable efforts in the development of higher education by both the government and the private sector. This has resulted in the emergence of a significant number of private universities in particular. But despite this impressive growth in the number of higher institutions, the quest for higher education continues to elude Nigerians on the account of limited opportunities. This has led to an expression of strong interest in distance education.

This alternative is especially relevant for those who need to continue in paid employment but are keen to pursue further education. Being gainfully employed and having experience and a level of maturity this group are able to make the most of their education opportunity. Another group is the businessmen who desire to sharpen their skills, while others need higher certification for job mobility. Empirical evidence also shows that distance education can be used to mend the apparent disconnection between academics and the real environment given that its students are people acting in real jobs. Such people seek convergence between higher education and practical outcomes and/or system improvement.

This paper examines a wide array of distance education delivery methods. It also looks at the general critiques that argue that distance education lacks effectiveness due to the absence of mentorship and cognitive pedagogy. The author predicates this work on his personal experiences, observations, discussion with stakeholders and interaction with students for over two decades. It is hope that policy makers and educational psychologists might be encouraged to use the information provided as a tool for policy formulation.

WHAT IS DISTANCE EDUCATION?

Distance education has been defined variously by academics. A good number of these definitions attempt to unravel the imperative that gave rise to the emergence of distance education in the first place, while others seek to treat it as a concept. For instance, Moore defines distance learning as 'all arrangements for providing instructions through print or electronic communications media to persons engaged in planned learning in a place or time different from those of the instructors' (Moore, 1990:xv). Other definitions site distance learning in the context of teaching and learning, in which learners and instructors are separated by time and place and use a variety of technical media to support the teaching and learning process (Keegan, 1996, Eastmond, 1998, Locatis and Weisburg, 1997). Tertiary distance learning is generally provided by Open University institutions/enterprises under generic guidelines provided by the Commonwealth of Learning (COL).

The COL is an intergovernmental agency of the Commonwealth of Nations with Headquarters in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. The association was founded in 1987 at a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) and formally established in 1988 (Wikipedia, 2007). The objectives of COL are:

- To promote and develop the use of open learning and distance education knowledge.

- To develop resources and technologies throughout the Commonwealth's member countries, especially the developing members.

- To improve universal access to education and training opportunities in line with the Commonwealth's ethos of peace, democracy, equality and good governance.

- To advance the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, and

- To promote "education for all".

COL is funded from Commonwealth Governments on a voluntary basis. The major financiers to the institution are Canada, India, New Zealand, Nigeria, South Africa and the United Kingdom, all of which have representatives on the Board of Governors (http://www.col.org). The COL works closely with governments in providing technical assistance to public institutions for affordable education to a larger number of people. COL is also an unofficial umbrella of distance education which possibly explains why various open universities seek to embrace its ideals.
Distance learning systems essentially exists to create a "second chance" opportunity for candidates whose careers are stalled due to limited education. Qualified candidates who are unable to be accommodated in the conventional setting in higher institutions of learning are increasingly finding solace in the second chance arrangement (e.g. see Jegede (2005).

In the same vein, Mohamed (2005), notes that Arab countries are adopting a radically new vision to prevent them from lagging behind other economically advanced nations. Part of the vision is to rely on modern information and communication technology to advance distance learning education. In his view, the focus of the Beirut Declaration of 1998 is to enable Arab nations to deploy their IT facilities to distance learning. Unlike the Arab world, Nigeria and by extension, the entire West Africa is still grappling with an under-developed IT capacity and need to address this with all urgency.

The origin of modern distance learning can be traced to the 1840s when Isaac Pitman taught shorthand in Great Britain. The development of postal services in the 19th century afforded commercial correspondence colleges the opportunity to provide distance education to students across nations. The University of London is believed to have been the first university to offer distance learning degrees through its external programs established in 1858 (University of London External Program. The All India University is possibly the largest distance learning institution in the world with an excess of 5 million students.

CRITICISMS OF DISTANCE LEARNING

Despite the growing need for distance learning, there are those that claim that it is not adequate in concept and shallow in depth. Such criticisms emanate mostly from the school of social constructivism which argues that distance education is inferior because of its lack of cognitive apprenticeship under the guidance of a mentor. This school has support from scholars like Piaget and Vygotsky (1997) who opine that distance learning is a deficient system because of the absence of experiences, personal inter-actions (not being community-based) and devoid of mentorship. According to Gibson (1979); Lave (1988) and Lave and Wenger (1991), students expect to acquire knowledge through participation in authentic tasks situated in an environment permeated with "distributed" knowledge. Similarly, Brown and Duguid (2000) regard distance education as a poor substitute for class room instruction as they feel it lacks spatial and social proximity. In a community setting, a mentor or teacher directs students by use of techniques such as modeling, scaffolding, coaching and fading.

The school of social constructivism recognizes two basic elements in communal learning as situated cognition and cognitive apprenticeship. While the formal takes the view that mental construction is the result of authentic tasks, social interactions and collaboration, the latter harps on cognitive apprenticeship perceived as a way of inducting a neophyte into a work culture through a sequence of experiences that aggregate to competence.

IN DEFENCE OF DISTANCE LEARNING

Administrators of distance learning enterprises refute the above criticisms on the ground that DLE managers constantly evolve learner support kits that guarantee quality standard. They argue that the task orientation of taught education, the community-based setting and mentor relationship are un-alien to DLE system with the dedication of academic counselors. They further insist that the occasional meetings to summarize print materials and virtual contact can as well generate same level of mentorship in addition to quality, which is the essence of education.

Mohamed (2005) agrees that ensuring the quality of distance education is a necessity for the success of such a mode of education. The global trend is to protect the customer who is the student in this case. And this would seem to make the collaborative involvement of educational consultants imperative.

EVALUTION

Distance learning institutions, like most bricks & mortar universities, have serious issues with regard to the integrity of its examinations. Learning effectiveness is measured by some form of evaluation, including testing, assignments, joint projects, public presentations and examinations, which are examined below:

Tests

A test is a periodic assessment in writing required to evaluate the candidate's level of assimilation of the material being taught. In distance studies, these may involve the submission of set tests attached to each

lesson in the study pack or recommended text books within a specified time. While the test remains the most effective means of evaluating candidates, it has the tendency to be contracted out and therefore, rendering its purpose defeated. Education consultants must find a way round this scam, which is capable of eroding the confidence in distance education. On the part of students, it is desirable to counsel that perfection cannot be achieved without trial and each trial goes with element of improvement. Failure to partake in academic tests renders one's study efforts somewhat useless.

Assignments

This is a more personal form of evaluation and it involves the candidate carrying out independent research and writing a report for assessment. The research might require a candidate to browse the internet for a report on something or to read a book and summarize it. A management student may, for instance, be requested to do a report on the classical school of management in a prescribed form highlighting the major contributors and criticize each for any perceived defect. This form of assignment is personal and difficult to delegate. However, it must be agreed that assignments are better used when teachers and students have the opportunity of personal contact to defend their work.

Joint Projects

Joint projects are assignments that involve two or more students. The objective is to get them to work as a team and to reap the benefit of synergy. Experience has shown that when two or more good heads work together, the peer pressure and team spirit make them explore a wider scope than each one of them would have done individually. The major advantage of a joint assignment is that the temptation to contract out is less. Even though a few serious members may dominate contribution, there is peer pressure to learn.

Public Presentations

This form of evaluation is more common with advanced level studies. A desired area of study could be assigned to a candidate for presentation. There cannot be any greater challenge than leaving someone to his fate in the face of a crowd. Candidate can be expected to rehearse, cram and practise their presentation prior to the event and this is advantageous for learning.

Examinations

Examinations are the most commonly used method of evaluation. They are usually set at the end of a course module. They are used to evaluate the student's competence to proceed to the next level of study. For distance education, there are basically two forms of examinations, the open-book examination and the closed door examination.

The open examination requires the candidate to read a broad range of text books or study materials, summarize them into solutions to the questions given within a time constraint. Materials used must be acknowledged while the work itself must be type written in a prescribed format. Because such examinations involve case studies and the instruction is to answer all questions, it affords the candidate the benefit to read a variety of materials. Even where the typing is done by some one else, the vetting process could still make for assimilation/learning.

Closed door examination, popular with the traditional institutions, may also be used. Here, there may be no need to answer all the questions set within a fixed period in respect of the examination. The build up to the examination creates an opportunity for knowledge assimilation. To this extent, one could conclude that whether an open or a closed form of examination is used, same level of assimilation would be achieved to warrant an objective assessment.

IMPROVING THE EVALUATION PROCESS

Most often, on-line students have had difficulty in controlling unethical practices during examinations due to the absence of teacher's proximity. Students are left with their conscience, which in our system is quite utopian.

Sometimes, open study institutions conduct open examinations. These examinations do not remove the temptation of getting a third party to provide assistance. However, examinations under this arrangement are set in a manner that provides for a wide range of reading coverage such that a third party who does not have pecuniary interest would not have the patience to provide assistance. At the same time, the time limit for submission, the need to attempt all questions and the requirements to reference any material consulted attempts to broaden ones scope and aid knowledge assimilation. Such examinations usually start with case studies to test the student's aptitude and comprehension. The emphasis here is to ensure that candidates have a fair idea of the subject and not necessarily that he passes the subject. It need be mentioned that in distance learning fair knowledge of the subject is the focus and not mere success at examinations.

How other Institutions have enhanced Examination Integrity

The COL has been busy promoting public discourse on the issue of establishing a quality culture in distance education. It has issued a number of policy papers in 1994, 1997 and 2006 drawing experiences of reputable institutions that have evolved quality measures overtime, with particular attention on examination integrity.

The University of Maryland, University College and the Open University in the UK and the University of

South Africa have all addressed the integrity issues associated with examination by desiring students to take examinations under an invigilator (University of Maryland, 2006). Assignments have become more elaborate and thorough designed to test students' knowledge through research efforts. More information technology (I.T.) driven universities allocate time limit to tests thereby, eliminating attractions of online help. In the Nigerian environment where IT pace is still pedestrian, education consultants are entrusted with the honour to enforce supervision.

The element of cognitive apprenticeship of the social constructivism school bears close resemblance to Nigeria's distance learning programs of professional bodies like the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN), Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN), Association of National Accountants of Nigeria (ANAN) and Chartered Institute of Stockbrokers (CIS), among others. These institutions design their programs specifically to achieve competence, sharpen skills and enhance competition. To that extent, deliberate attempts are made for interaction, scenario simulation and testing to elicit the needed experiences.

IMPACT ASSESSEMENT

It is difficult to measure the efficacy of any form of education as performance is not always amenable to statistical manipulations. In public institutions in Nigeria, for instance, individual effort is often absorbed into group performance. The situation for Nigerian civil servants is particularly pathetic in that civil servants are evaluated on the basis of "government" schools, which they attended irrespective of whether their performance is up to standard. Very often, one hears the out-burst that '…after all, I am an alumnus of one Federal University or the other' even when their performances fall short of the expectation. Elsewhere, especially, in societies where education is seen as a means to an end, not an end in itself and where government is not the major employer of labour, the ability to perform is economically more sensible than paper qualifications. It is expected that such issues will fizzle out with the passage of time when economic decisions will be determined by value addition capabilities of an employee to the entity.

In Britain, for instance, there are many professional bodies whose certificates, obtained through distance learning, are proudly listed by the British government as British qualifications. Interestingly enough, employers in the UK tend to equate this type of graduates with effective performance. This development serves as a testimony on how effective graduates of distance learning process can be. The British were able to achieve it because of the large presence of the private sector in the economy and today it has remained the world business centre. If the Nigerian Government hopes to engineer its economic growth to among the top twenty economies barely nine

years from 2011, we must begin to look at the British model of education to meet our manpower requirements.

There is no gain saying that the likes of the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN), the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN) and Chartered Institute of Stock Brokers of Nigeria (CIS), among others, have collectively provided competent manpower in the financial system through distance education. This can be attributed to the large presence of the private sector in this sub-sector whose measurement metrics clearly identify the effectiveness of these professionals. It must be noted that the emergence of several other professional bodies in other spheres of the economy is a pointer to the huge success recorded by these qualifications as well as the stability it has provided as a solid pillar in the bridge between academics and professionalism. Public comments, including those of the Guardian Newspaper editorials of August 23 and 24, 2011 on the declining quality of education seem to suggest that the problem of skilled manpower persists in several sectors. In the writer's opinion the policy makers in the Education sector should take steps to converge academics with professionalism to bring relevance to bear on paper qualification, close knowledge gaps through collaboration and attract foreign interest in the Nigerian professional qualifications.

Recently, a couple of banks in the face of glaring skill gap in the industry directed its members to undergo competency training to acquire the Associateship of the Chartered Institute of Bankers (ACIB). Members of staff of those banks are now facing the dual challenges of work pressure and success in ACIB examinations – a Herculean task. Inevitably, some forms of correspondence study will become necessary to complement occasional weekend seminars.

Recent experience indicates that the desire of some financial institutions to engage their staff in professional education is understandable in the light of the shifting world attention from simple orthodox operations to sophisticated products involving huge amount of money with complex network and techniques. As the magnitude of operations grows, any service lapse may result in significant negative impact on the bank's resources. This calls for a need to identify inherent risks and develop means of hedging them. The most common variants of risks, include, credit risk, operational risk, strategic risk, reputation risk and foreign exchange risk.

Apart from credit default risk, operational risk portends the next dreaded risk threatening the survival of a banking entity. Operational risk has to do with the overall operations of a banking institution. Consequently, where rooms are created for ill-qualified staff, the bank could suffer losses arising from criminal negligence or breach of contractual relationships. It is pertinent to mention here that more professional institutions will very soon begin to agitate for a more

competent manpower, thus, putting more pressure on distance studies mechanism.

EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANTS/MENTORS

Education consultants are experienced professionals in various fields of education who are willing and committed to assisting others to learn. The interest and support of education consultants provide immeasurable assistance towards the achievement of students' objectives. This assistance could reach students through various ways, including telephone calls, personal contacts, and comments on assignments; face-to-face group meetings or seminars which have great influence on students' motivation, learning and success.

Education consultants receive copies of program study guides, answer guides and, in some cases, programs with textbooks. Students submit a couple of assignments to their education consultants periodically who mark and return them with comments. The experience of St. Clements University, a private open university under the supervision of Professor David Iornem in Nigeria stands out for mention here. Under its programs, academic counselors are assigned to students from existing Nigerian universities or relevant professionals for guidance and counseling. This makes learning easier and compelling. The under-listed actions are promoted as roles of consultants:

- Establish a positive relationship with assigned students by exchanging background information.

- Establish learning objectives along with the student.

- Counsel student on the need to acquire study materials

- Coach, support and direct students as they proceed through the study units.

- Provide on-going written specific feedback to students for each assignment.
- Counsel students to resist pitfall of realizing study errors too late in life.

- Encourage students to use dissertation as business plan or basis for scholarly award.

- Advise student on how to handle examination.

- Submit marks for each study unit to the co-coordinating centre.

- Consult with the co-coordinating centre as appropriate.

- Communicate the student progress or otherwise to the coordinator.

- Assist students to build more mutual partnership in life, among other things.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANTS

Along with many other governments, the Nigerian Government has insisted on making it difficult for people to deliver higher education services. This would appear to constitute an opportunity for education consultancy services. The Government has been lukewarm in its attitude to liberalizing education and this has been reflected in its agencies' penchant for creating hurdles to impede the free flow of functional education across the society as a whole. For instance, the ill-advised collapse of satellite campuses in 2001 led to the closure of doors by public schools in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja to candidates preparing for distance study and professional programs. Any request by training institutions for access to these schools as study centres was declined. Similarly, candidates who resort to extra-territorial correspondence studies at great cost still have to contend with government's inappropriate policy of "recognition", when indeed; over 65% of the world quest for higher education is today achieved through distance learning. The pressure on foreign exchange in Nigeria today is part of the desire to fund external qualifications from more educationally liberal nations.

In the USA and particularly the State of Florida, the National Centre for Education Statistics (NCES) reported that between 2000 – 2001, 89% of public institutions of higher learning offered degree courses in distance learning, translating to a significant jump in the use of cyber classrooms (NCES 2003). Although the Nigerian IT sector is still in its infancy, given the present constraint, there is a greater need for education consultants' involvement. Below are some of the prospects worth pondering on:

- The need to integrate distance learning and professional institutions in order to achieve synergic effect and functionality.

- Consultants in education should endeavour to liaise with various industries in order to identify their skill needs for possible incorporation in the curricula of distance education. If this is achieved, the graduates of DLE will become more effective and useful.

- Improvement in contact sessions. The imperative of inter-active sessions in learning cannot be over-emphasized. Indeed, one of the vociferous criticisms of distance education is the absence of personal contact. This can be improved upon by allowing education consultants to organize avenues of such contacts. The present attitude of the National Universities Commission (NUC) of harassing consultants who make such contact possible should be reviewed. The NUC is advised to evolve sustainable measures through which

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quality assurance of such contacts will be guaranteed. The argument that consultants in distance education are rent seekers who tend to debase quality can no longer be sustained as it lacks scientific proof.

- Consultants can engage in writing of well-researched and comprehensive study packs and hand-outs that will be subjected to periodic review. This is recommended most especially for students at the diploma and undergraduate levels who are unlikely to develop appropriate skills to plan and follow through their studies with minimum supervision.

- Periodic seminars are a sure way of aggregating students with a view to achieving "distributed" knowledge that (Brown and Duguid, 2000) felt; abound in spatial and social proximity learning.

- Well organized consultants in distance education could attract international funds for research, which, in turn, will be available as grants to DLE students. The Commonwealth of learning has aptly demonstrated tremendous interest in such researches elsewhere.

- A well-organized DLE consultant will build a data bank that the nation will tend to rely upon for policy formulation and implementation.

- Consultants can establish cyber classrooms where regular lectures could be obtained. Cyber classrooms have the potentials for de-constructing the traditional teaching and research approaches while re-conceptualizing their effectiveness.

- Consultants will also assist in arranging occasional learning centres. Learning centres refer to a variety of arrangement where individuals continuously share resources and seek to apply what they have learnt to their individual circumstances (Puzziferro-Schnitzer, 2005). Such contacts will create opportunities for questions/advice about teaching, pedagogy and the use of learning management system. Learning communities have now become universal in education.

CERTIFICATION VERSUS EFFECTIVENESS

They say the test of a soup is in the eating. The general outcry from employers, especially those of the financial sector, against the graduates of certain institutions seems to suggest that the problem of low quality graduates is systemic. On the contrary, empirical assessment of users of notable finance-related professional institutions in Nigeria, including the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria both of which engage in distance studies seem to indicate that their approach is result oriented.

A market survey conducted by the Guardian Newspapers during the first quarter of 2006 seems to suggest that employers prefer holders of professional accounting certificate of ACA issued by the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria and in the case of banking industry, the ACIB qualification of the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria, to MBA qualifications. The reason is obvious; the Associations have meticulously championed quality content of their curricula and the integrity of those handling its delivery. Their experiences have combined to show that distance study in itself is not the issue but the extent to which the essence of the study is inculcated in the learner.

An immediate economic impact of disregard for distance education is the capital flight in form of fees paid to foreign institutions, whose countries are amenable to distance studies. The occasional threat by the Federal Government not to accord recognition to qualifications obtained through distance studies appear misplaced in that certificate recognition by the government is not the objective of the study. Several candidates have undergone degree courses with the University of London External Degrees when government policy would not permit them to attend law school, but this does not prevent such graduates from practicing as solicitors or professional academics.

Commenting further on certificate recognition, one might argue that the best form of recognition is the authority of the issuing institution to grant such certificates followed by an appreciation of the recipient who holds out himself to always give effect to such certification. Indeed, the process leading to a certification is mere ritual but the actual utilization of competency or skills epitomized by the certification is the key issue. Accordingly, a medical doctor who trained from Harvard University or University of Cambridge or where-ever could still be regarded as a quack if he does not bring studious practice to justify his training. Equally, a first class graduate in accountancy with an ACA could still be unrecognized if he does not balance a simple cash book, which an articled clerk does with ease.

Psychologically, the essence of education is to acquire knowledge but fundamentally, this purpose has been extended to encompass the following:

- To enterprise the civil society. The philosophy behind this purpose is that an educated person should understand the ethos of ethical principles, moral values, political culture and their economic imperatives. This will no doubt create constructive engagement in the society.

- Progress in life – The capabilities developed through schooling can foster not only the individuals but also the society or even humanity's future development and prosperity.

- Individual capacity- This suggests that education can give a firm foundation for the attainment of personal life desires.

Awe (1998) gave five objectives of university education as follows:

- The need to raise the next generation that will engage the development of intellectual pursuits.

- To encourage the advancement of learning in diverse discipline.

- To develop high level manpower to meet the needs of the economy.

- To encourage individual students to develop their full potentials.

- To study the cultural heritage of the nation in order to maintain and transform its values.

It is noticeable that the issue of government recognition seems alien in Awe's university education objectives. It therefore seems preposterous to endeavour to limit ones choice of education process merely on the account of government policy of recognition.

CONCLUSION

Public comments in Nigeria indicate that Nigeria's educational system is in disarray. The extent of decline needs collaborative efforts for revival. The advent of private university institutions in 2001 inspired some hope; however, there is a greater need to integrate academic qualification with professional education to achieve functionality and economic relevance. The role of distance education as well as those of educational consultants is critical in achieving this. The UK and the USA have successfully utilized distance education under private initiatives to upgrade their overall manpower as well as attract considerable foreign exchange earnings. This line of thought must be canvassed in Nigeria as we move towards year 2020. Educational policies should not only aim at generating western-styled paper qualifications but also, designed to reflect the dynamics within our immediate environment.

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HONOUR KILLINGS

Dr Kemal Yildirim*

A recent "honour killing" of the woman Fadime in Turkey (Mojab and Amir Hassanpour, 2002a) raises classical old questions from early feudal history. Is "honour killing: part of the agrarian class culture found amongst the people who live in the South Eastern Province of Turkey? Does it pertain only to the Kurdish majority? Or shall we call it an Islamic (Sunni) religious phenomenon?

Certainly there are many political and theoretical underpinnings to these questions, but I would argue that violence against women should not be reduced to a question of culture only but include other conditions like living standards Other factors include high unemployment and the lack of democracy. A lack of education may contribute to tragic issue also. Further, I conclude that "honour killing" is definitely not part and parcel of the culture of Kurds, but due to other factors that have affected the Kurds in the region. One of the most important is feudal rule which has created a sort of self based individual cultural phenomenon through the influence of ruling powers and societies in which it is practiced. However, reducing this crime to culture, may lead to racist interpretations when for Kurds it is a basic feature reinforced by political oppression.

Kurdish culture (*çand û toreya kurdî*) is a group of distinctive cultural traits practiced by Kurdish people. Like other Western and non-Western cultures, Kurdish culture is not a homogeneous or monolithic. It derives from the various ancient peoples who shaped modern Kurds and their society, with two primary influences: the indigenous (Hurrian) and the ancient Iranic (Medes). Kurdish gender culture, like its Western counterparts, consists of at least two conflicting components. One component is patriarchy and misogynism, readily found in folklore, language, literature, jokes and manners; in a word, in the "lived experience" of individuals. In its violent form, this culture is inscribed in the blood of Fadime and countless women who have lost their lives in obscurity.

Denying or ignoring the existence of a culture of struggle for gender equality in Kurdish communities or other non-Western societies is a political position. It is patriarchal politics in the sense that it denies the universality of oppression of women and the struggle against it. It is racist in so far as it denies the ability of non-Western, non-White women to understand the conditions of their subordination, and ignores their determination to resist it.

It would be more accurate, then, to state that the killing of Fadime is in line with the norms of Kurdish patriarchal culture. This culture is similar to, if not the same as, the Western, Christian, patriarchal culture which has allowed men and women to blow up abortion clinics and assassinate doctors who conduct abortion in the United States and Canada. One may argue that the culture of "honour killing" is traditional, tribal, feudal or rural, but what is the significance of this traditionalism if we consider that in the United States men kill ten (10) women every day? While these murders are not necessarily motivated by "honour," the motivation is hardly more humane: the decision of a woman to end a relationship prompts the male partner to kill her. Seventy-four percent (74%) of these killings occur 'after the woman has left the relationship, filed for divorce or sought a restraining order against her partner' (Seager 1997:26). In Sweden , according to 1989 data, 39 women are battered daily and one is killed every ten (10) days by a man known to her (Elman and Eduards 1991: 411).

The culture of patriarchal violence is, thus, universal. Dividing cultures into violent and violence-free is itself a patriarchal myth. It turns into an ethnocentric or racist myth when this divide is drawn along the lines of the West and the East. Moreover, while the existence of patriarchy as a culture cannot be denied, a cultural reductionist approach alone does not take us a long way in the struggle against male violence.

GENDER AND THE EXERCISE OF POWER

The exercise of power is interpreted as the impact office-holders feel they have in carrying out their functions. In general the findings indicate that women need more advantageous background conditions than men in order to enter the power elite. Once there, however, there are fewer differences between women and men in respect of their perceptions of the impact they have in carrying out their functions. In some cases it seems that men need to be in a better situation than women in order to feel that they exert power. In fact, this seems to apply across two centuries of feminist intellectual and political struggles in the West that have imposed on the nation-states a regime of legal equality between the genders. However, legal equality has failed to eliminate violence against women. Patriarchy in both Kurdish and Western societies is reproduced on an hourly and daily basis. It is reproduced by the family, the educational system, the state, the media, religion, music, arts, language, folklore and all other social and cultural institutions. Thus, male violence against women cannot be reduced to a cultural trait, a cultural norm, or a dormant cultural value that accidentally pops up with the wrath of a violent man. Neither can it be reduced to the psychology of the individual killer or group killers, although this dimension may play a role.

"Honour killing" is a tragedy in which fathers and brothers kill their most beloved, their daughters and sisters. Sometimes mothers and sisters participate in the crime or consent to it. Killing occurs in a family system where members are closely tied to each other in bonds of affection, compassion and love. Here, affection and brutality coexist in conflict and unity. What does this contradiction tell us about "honour

killing" as a form of the exercise of male power? How can this contradiction be resolved?

Given the universality and ubiquity of male violence – ranging from killing, to battering and rape – it would be more appropriate to look at "honour killing" and other forms of violence as means for the exercise of gender power, in this case male power. The exercise of gender power is intertwined with the exercise of class and political powers. A Kurdish mullah in the mid-19th century had a good grasp of "honour killing" as the exercise of gender power. In an essay titled Kurdish Manners and Customs in 1859, Mela Mehmud Bayezidi argued that tribal and rural Kurdish women were as free as the women of Europe; they could freely associate with men. But he noted that women could never engage in pre-marital or extra-marital relationships with a stranger. If they did they would be killed without hesitation and with impunity. No one would question the killer(s). It was a shame on the family that could be cleansed only through murder; it was also a shame on the community, the village, the tribe, the neighbors and the neighborhood. The community participated in the killing by expecting it to happen, by endorsing it, and by casting out the family in case it failed to kill the woman. Mela Mehmud noted that the purpose of the killing was to instill fear in women so they would guard their modesty and chastity (see Mojab, forthcoming). Unfamiliar with feminist or any other theory, Mela Mahmud's understanding of the exercise of gender power was more advanced than contemporary "feminist" reductions of "honour killing" to "practice". The learned mullah felt free to discuss "honour killing", as Kurdish "custom and manner," in all its brutality.

If "honour killing" is a form of the exercise of gender power, what can be done to eliminate it under the existing regimes of gendered political power? What are the dynamics of the production and reproduction of "honour killing" in our time?

REPRODUCTION OF "HONOUR KILLING"

For Derya, a waiflike girl of 17, the order to kill herself came from an uncle and was delivered in a text message to her cellphone. "You have blackened our name," it read. "Kill yourself and clean our shame or we will kill you first."

Derya said her crime was to fall for a boy she had met at school last spring. She knew the risks: her aunt had been killed by her grandfather for seeing a boy. But after being cloistered and veiled for most of her life, she said, she felt free for the first time and wanted to express her independence.

When news of the love affair spread to her family, she said, her mother warned her that her father would kill her. But she refused to listen. Then came the threatening text messages, sent by her brothers and uncles, sometimes fifteen time a day. Derya said they were the equivalent of a death sentence.

Consumed by shame and fearing for her life, she said, she decided to carry out her family's wishes. First, she said, she jumped into the Tigris River, but she survived. Next she tried hanging herself, but an uncle cut her down. Then she slashed her wrists with a kitchen knife. "My family attacked my personality, and I felt I had committed the biggest sin in the world," she said recently from a women's shelter where she had traded in her veil for a T-shirt and jeans. She declined to give her last name for fear that her family was still hunting her. "I felt I had no right to dishonor my family, that I have no right to be alive. So I decided to respect my family's desire and to die."

Every few weeks in Batman (pronounced bot-MON) and the surrounding area in southeast Anatolia, which is poor, rural and deeply influenced by conservative Islam, a young woman tries to take her life. Others have been stoned to death, strangled, shot or buried alive. Their offenses ranged from stealing a glance at a boy to wearing a short skirt, wanting to go to the movies, being raped by a stranger or relative or having consensual sex.

Hoping to join the European Union Turkey has tightened the punishment for attacks on women and girls who have had such experiences. But the violence has continued. Parents are trying to spare their sons from the harsh punishment associated with killing their sisters by pressing the daughters to take their own lives instead.

"Families of disgraced girls are choosing between sacrificing a son to a life in prison by designating him to kill his sister or forcing their daughters to kill themselves," said Yilmaz Akinci, who works for a rural development group. "Rather than losing two children, most opt for the latter option."

Women's groups here say the evidence suggests that a growing number of girls considered to be dishonored are being locked in a room for days with rat poison, a pistol or a rope, and told by their families that the only thing resting between their disgrace and redemption is death.

Batman is a grim and dusty city of 250,000 people where religion is clashing with Turkey's official secularism. The city was featured in the latest novel by the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk, "Snow," which chronicled a journalist's investigation of a suicide epidemic among teenage girls.

In the past six years, there have been 165 suicides or suicide attempts in Batman, 102 of them by women. As many as 36 women have killed themselves since the start of this year (2011) according to the United Nations, which estimates that 5,000 women are killed each year around the world by relatives who accuses them of bringing dishonor on their families. The majority of the killings are in the Middle East.

Last month, the United Nations dispatched a special envoy to Turkey to investigate suicides. The envoy, Yakin Erturk, concluded that while some suicides were authentic, others appeared to be "honor killings disguised as a suicide or an accident."

"The calls keep coming," said Mehtap Ceylan, a member of Batman's suicide prevention squad. She said she had very recently received a call about a 16-year-old girl who had committed suicide, her family said, because they would not let her wear jeans. But when Ms. Ceylan visited the house, neighbors told her the girl had been a happy person and had been wearing jeans for years. "The story just doesn't add up," Ms. Ceylan said. "The girl's family says their daughter was eating breakfast, walked into the next room and put a gun to her head. They were acting as if nothing had happened."

Psychologists here say social upheavals in a region rocked by terrorism have played a role in the suicides. Many of the victims come from families in rural villages who have been displaced from the mountains to the cities because of warfare between Turkey and a Kurdish guerrilla group that want to create an independent state for Kurds in South-Eastern Turkey.

Young women like Derya, who have previously led protected lives under the rigid moral strictures of their families and Islam, suddenly find themselves in the modern Turkey of Internet dating and MTV, the shift can create dangerous tensions, sometimes lethal ones, between their families and the secular values of the republic that the young women seek to embrace.
The price can be heavy. When a woman is suspected of engaging in sexual relations out of wedlock, her male relatives convene a family council to decide her sentence. Once news of the family's shame has spread to the community, the family typically rules that it is only through death that its honour can be restored.

Until recently, a family member of a dishonored girl, usually a brother younger than 18, would carry out the death sentence and receive a short prison sentence because of his youth. Sentences also were reduced under the defense that a relative had been provoked to commit murder.

The European Union has warned Turkey that it is closely monitoring its progress on women's rights and that failure to progress could impede its drive to enter the union. And in the past two years, Turkey has revamped its penal code and imposed life sentences for "honour killings", regardless of the killer's age. This has prompted some families to take other steps, such as forcing their daughters to commit suicide or killing them and disguising the deaths as suicides.

In an effort to bring "honour killings" out from underground, Ka-Mer, a local women's group, has created a hot line for women who fear their lives are at risk. Ka-Mer finds shelter for the women and helps them to apply to the courts for restraining orders against relatives who have threatened them.

Ayten Tekay, a caseworker for Ka-Mer in Diyarbakir, the regional center, said that of the 104 women who had called the group this year, more than half had been uneducated and illiterate. She said that in some cases the families had not wanted to kill their relatives but that the social pressure and incessant gossip had driven them to it. "We have to bring these killings out from the shadows and teach women about their rights," she said. "The laws have been changed, but the culture here will not change overnight."

Derya, fiercely articulate and newly invigorated after counseling, said she was determined to get on with her life. "This region is religious and it is impossible to be yourself if you are a woman," she said. "You can either escape by leaving your family and moving to a town, or you can kill yourself."

Derya said the underlying problem was inequality between the sexes, even though the prophet Muhammad argued in favor of empowering women.

> "In my village and in my father's tribe, boys are in the sky while girls are treated as if they are under the earth," she said. "As long as families do not trust their daughters, bad things will continue to happen."

Since the penal code was reformed last summer a man can no longer claim he was provoked as his defence. That used to lead to light sentences. But last Friday a court in Istanbul sent a man to prison for life for murdering his sister in her hospital bed. He shot her for giving birth to a child outside marriage.

And there is evidence the authorities here are committed to taking the reforms further. A commission has just been established in parliament to research the whole issue for the first time. Its 12 members are expected to report back in December.

Turkey is poised to introduce mandatory life sentences for those who carry out "honour killings", in an effort to combat a crime which has marred its quest to join the EU. Wide-ranging changes to the penal code will end the current practice of allowing murderers to plead family honour as an extenuating circumstance to justify killings.

> "Turkey clearly realises this is an issue that can be used to good effect by those who are sceptical of Turkish membership of the EU", said James Ker-Lindsay who runs a regional think-tank. "This is the latest sign that Turkey is increasing efforts to improve its human rights record".

MPs are expected to vote on the long-awaited legal code, which also introduces articles on gender discrimination, after the summer recess in September. The reform, part of a programme enacted by Ankara's

modernising Islamist government, comes amid widespread revulsion at the alarming growth of "honour crimes" in the Muslim country.

In South Eastern Turkey, girls as young as 12 have been stabbed, stoned or bludgeoned to death for conversing with strangers or "dishonouring" relatives by being raped. Experts believe that, with many of the murders passed off as suicides, up to 300 take place every year. Most of the killings occur in the Kurdish-populated areas where females fall victim to customs dating back generations. Brothers or cousins of a victim are called upon by a family council to conduct the murder, often in broad daylight. Human rights activists say perpetrators are punished leniently after invoking "extenuating circumstances".

In terms of understanding, it leaves us only at the surface. A recent survey by a University in Turkey has shown that almost 40% of the people interviewed support for the practice of "honour killing". The survey was conducted in the conservative South-Eastern city of Diyarbakir. It questioned 430 people, most of them men. The results come only days after a court in Istanbul gave a life sentence for the murder of a girl by her brothers for giving birth to a child out of wedlock.. When asked the appropriate punishment for a woman who has committed adultery, 37% replied she should be killed. Twenty-five percent said that she deserved divorce, and 21% that her nose or ears should be cut off. The survey group was small but the results are a reminder that "honour killing" still has significant support in parts of Turkey.

In a report on violence against women in Turkey, Amnesty International highlighted the case of a man who had a 24-year prison term for stabbing his partner to death reduced to two and a half years after producing photographs of the woman with another man.

The ruling Justice and Development party, which hopes to secure a start date for membership talks with Brussels this December, has been passing reforms to open up and democratise the country at breakneck speed since assuming power 15 months ago. The prime minister, Tayyip Erdogan, said last week the EU should not be allowed any excuse to hold up membership talks with Turkey

The killing of Derya or Fadime is not an isolated case or an abnormality. To see the murder as an anomaly is a convenient excuse for non-action. It only relieves us of the responsibility of acting. We realize that it is not easy to dislodge, let alone eliminate, "honour killing" and other forms of violence in the short run or in the absence of a radical transformation of the male-centered social and economic order. I emphasize, however, that: (1) all of us are involved in one way or another in allowing this regime of male brutality to reproduce; and (2) much can be done in order to put an end to "honour killing". We will first look at the factors that contribute to the reproduction of the crime.

PAN KURDISM

Kurdish Nationalism as a Political Prospect

The Turks seem to not be aware of how anti-Iranian the Kuristan Worker's Party (Partiya Karkeren Kuristan or PKK) movement is. Essentially a Stalinist and Communist movement at its inception, the PKK relies on Stalinist historical manuals, which convey a strong anti-Persian message. A satellite branch of the PKK known as "Pezhak" has been active in Iran recently, working hard to promote bloodshed and ethnic violence between Persians and Kurds. The PKK has worked very hard to culturally distance the Kurds from their historical associations with Persia – the Nowruz is now called by PKK ideologues as the "Kurdish New Year". Iranians as a whole have a natural cultural and historical affinity to the Kurds, who are their ethnic cousins but the PKK has promoted anti-Persian attitudes for decades. These attitudes are also prevalent among organizations such as the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (Yeketi Nistimani Kurdistan or PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Iraq as well as the Komala and KDP wing within Iran. In short, Iranians are as suspicious of the PKK (and similar organizations) as are the Turks. Although the gentlemen of the PKK, PUK, KDP, etc, may disagree, the Kurds too are simply another element of the Bernard Lewis plan for the Near East[1].

Turkish Islamic fundamentalist groups are Sunni and as such have been generously funded by the Bin-Laden style Madrasah systems of Saudi Arabia. The Madrasahs are vehemently anti-Persian. Whatever the truth of alleged Iranian complicity, there are no genuine calls for cooperation between Iran and Turkey – as indicated by the recent high profile Turkish visits to Iran. The problem however is that no action is being taken to stop Grey Wolf activists[2] from destabilizing their neighbours. As noted before, Turkish hands may be tied. More nefariously, the "genie of racialism is out of the bottle"; racialists often go against the policies of their governments.

This being said, Turkey is still a democracy, and the people have made themselves heard. Public pressure forced the Turkish government to reject American requests for assistance in the Iraq invasion. However, time is running out. Vast sums of money have already been spent for over two decades by geopolitical lobbies to create a heartrending and tragic conflict.

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[1]The Bernard Lewis Plan, is a code-name for a top-secret British strategy for the Middle East. Lewis' Plan endorsed the Muslim Brotherhood movement behind Khomeini, in order to promote for the Balkanization and fragmentation of the entire Muslim Near East along ethnic and religious lines.

[2]A youth movement of Turkish origin called the Idealists or Grey Wolf Movement (*Ülkücü Hareket*). It is a nationalist movement supporting the idea of Turan, the Great Turkish Empire.

Are the Turks being set-up? In the humble opinion of this writer, the answer is yes. Simply put, a role has been neatly scripted for Turkey – that of a geopolitical partner to western geopolitical/ petroleum interests. The Turkish role is to facilitate the projection of military and economic might into the Caucasus, Iran, the Near East and the Persian Gulf. This "script" has been aptly summarized by people like Zalmay Khalilzad[3], Ian Lesser[4] and Stephen Larabee[5].

It is my sincere hope that pan-Turanian ideologies may allow certain questions to be raised as to their ambitions, especially in Iranian Azerbaijan and the Caucasus. Chauvenism in any shape or form (e.g. Nordicism/Nazism, Persian Chauvinism, Pan-Arabism, pan-Kurdism, pan-Turkism, etc.) remains a menace to humanity and world peace.

THE IMPACT OF KUDISH DEMOCRACY ON KURDISH WOMEN

Kurdish nationalists have promoted the myth of the uniqueness of Kurdish women. Like some Western observers of Kurdish society, they claim that Kurdish women enjoy more freedom compared with their Arab, Persian and Turkish sisters. Whatever the status of women in Kurdish society, Kurdish nationalism, like other nationalist movements, has been patriarchal, although it also has paid lip service to the idea of gender equality. For Kurdish nationalists, nation building requires the unity of genders, classes, regions, dialects, and alphabets. Nationalists consistently relegate the emancipation of women to
the future, i.e., after the emancipation of the nation.
And when Kurdish nationalism achieved state power in Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War, its record in matters of gender equality was bleak.

The Kurdish people have lived since the late 1870s in what Mark Levene (1998) has characterized as a "zone of genocide". In this zone (Eastern Anatolia comprising Kurdistan), the Ottoman state conducted genocide of the Armenian people in 1915 and, together with its successor, the Republic of Turkey,
subjected the Assyrian and Kurdish peoples to numerous campaigns of genocide and ethnic cleansing. The Ba'th regime of Iraq ensured that this zone would continue to operate in spite of its division between Iraq and Turkey in 1918. No less than ten thousand Kurdish villages were destroyed in Iraqi Kurdistan between 1975 and 1991, and in Turkey between 1984 and 2000.

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[3]President of Khalilzad Associates. Former US Ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq and the United Nations under George W Bush.

[4]Senior Transalantic Fellow for the US German Marshall Fund

[5]Distuguished Chair in European Security at the Rand Corporation.

The zone of genocide continues to be an active zone of war. Wars have destroyed the social, economic and cultural fabric of Kurdish society. They have unleashed waves of male violence against women. This explains, at least in part, why there are more incidents of "honour killing" among the Kurds of Iraq and Turkey compared with the Kurds of Iran, whose experience of war has been less devastating.

In the aftermath of the US-led Gulf War of 1991, when the Iraqi army attacked Kurdistan, millions of Iraqi Kurds escaped into the mountains. The US, UK and France created a no-fly zone, a "safe haven", for returning refugees. Two major parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which had been fighting the Iraqi government for decades, created the Regional Government of Kurdistan in 1992. This was a de facto Kurdish state, with its own parliament and administrative structure. However, the two parties engaged in an internal war in 1994, which continued intermittently until 1996. Failing to resolve their conflict, in 1999 the two parties formed their own separate administrations. In dealing with the increasing incidence of "honour killing" both parties upheld Iraqi personal status laws, which do not criminalize "honour killing" and are lenient on the punishment of killers.

Faced with opposition from women, the parties, especially KDP, tried to justify "honour killing" as a Kurdish and Islamic tradition. Faced with continuous resistance, in 2000 the PUK issued two resolutions aimed at revoking Iraqi law, and criminalizing "honour killing". The resolutions, which have the status of law in the absence of a legislative organ, have remained on paper in so far as the government has neither the will nor the power to enforce them. The KDP administration, faced with negative publicity in Europe, adopted a similar measure, after Pela, a Kurdish girl from Sweden was killed by her father and uncles in the KDP region of Iraqi Kurdistan, and a local court acquitted the murderers.

Overall, the KDP and PUK have persistently ignored the demand for gender equality and for the criminalization of "honour killing" both bowing to the demands of a handful of mullahs and their Iranian overlords. Kurdish clerics (mullahs and sheikhs), who never pushed for theocratic governance before the introduction of an Islamic regime in Iran, now demand the Islamization of gender relations, and the subordination of Kurdish women according to their own breed of Islam. Financed and organized by Iran and the Taliban (before their fall), some Kurdish Islamist groups have aimed at establishing a theocracy. Kurdish leaders who were secular before 1979, now entertain Islamists and espouse Islamic ideas. The two Kurdish governments have opened more mosques than women's shelters. In fact, they have not initiated the opening of any women's shelters. Even worse, the PUK government launched an armed attack on a women's shelter operated by an opposition political

party, the Independent Women's Organization in Sulemani.

Kurdish nationalism, in or out of power, has generally entertained patriarchy and legitimatized its violence; it has little respect for the Kurdish tradition of struggle for gender equality. After ten years of self-rule in the no-fly zone of Iraqi Kurdistan, the women's press, consisting of only a few publications, is dwarfed by the bulky nationalist periodicals produced in the two major cities of Sulemani and Hewlêr (Irbil). Not a single work of feminist theory has been translated into Kurdish. The texts of the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women" (CEDAW, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1979) and the UN resolution "Working Toward the Elimination of Crimes Against Women Committed in the Name of Honour" have not yet appeared in Kurdish, nor have they been adopted by the two Kurdish administrations. The priority of Kurdish intellectuals, males and females, is not gender equality.

THE NATION STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS A HIERARCHY

The states that rule over the Kurds either do not criminalize "honor killing" (Iran, Iraq and Syria), or are lenient on punishing killers (Turkey). Iran, it should be noted, provides for the execution of lesbians and gays, and the stoning to death of adulterers. These states deny citizens the right to life in so far as they practice capital punishment as a normal, unproblematic, indispensable means of governance. Turkey, which aspires to become a full member of the European Union, has refused to abolish capital punishment for all crimes. Extra-juridical killings continue and Turkey wants to reserve the right to kill citizens on charges of secessionism. Turkey wants to become an EU member, while reserving what Leo Kuper (1981: 161-85) calls the sovereign state's 'right to genocide'.

The coming to power of the theocratic Islamic regime in Iran has unleashed waves of state-sponsored male terrorism against women. Many Muslim states, from Algeria and Morocco in the West to Pakistan in the East, have Islamized gender relations by introducing more conservative interpretations of Shari-ah Law into their legal system. A century of struggle for the separation of state and religion has come under attack. The idea of separation of the powers of state and religion was branded by Iranian theocracy as a Western conspiracy against Islam. Women were the first targets of theocratic terrorism in Iran and, later, Afghanistan. Many Kurdish nationalist leaders, like the states in the region, embraced Islam. If conservative theocrats have promoted stoning to death and honor killing as Islamic institutions, some Kurdish leaders have endorsed male violence as a national tradition.

KURDISH SOCIETIES IN THE WEST

There are now sizeable Kurdish communities in Europe and North America, especially in Germany, Britain, France and Sweden. While these states have declared the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) a terrorist or criminal organization, some have not criminalized male terrorism against women. The policy of respect for cultural differences is often 'paved with good intentions'. However, we have learned from two centuries of democratic development that group "identity" and culture should not be the basis for the exercise of state power. How can one have any respect for any culture that endorses violence against women? In fact, such respect subverts its goal; it ends up in racism rather than anti-racism.

Is it a matter of accident that there are always enough financial resources for the army and for war, but there is little investment in promoting feminist knowledge, the culture and politics of gender equality, the provision of shelters and other resources for terrorized women, Kurdish and non-Kurdish? Is it an accident that governments began the new century with $798 billion (annual spending for 2000) on military spending? Why is this machinery of man-made violence so well funded? Devoting the costs of a single Chieftain tank or a single Mirage aircraft to women's shelters, support for battered women and promotion of feminist knowledge could produce tangible results.

Public policy in Europe and in North America has responded to some extent to academic debates on culture, identity, and difference. I am referring to academic research and theorization on the merits of diversity, difference and cultural relativism. While Western governments have taken some steps forward (e.g., considering gender violence as a criterion for refugee status) it is not difficult to see the steps backward.

THE ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUAL RECORD

Our knowledge about violence against women, especially in the West, has improved visibly in the last two decades. The monthly academic journal Violence Against Women has made an important contribution to the understanding of the problem. In dealing with "honour killing", but recent Western social theories, including theories of cultural relativism, politics of identity, post-structuralism, postmodernism and other post-positions, have played a rather negative role.

Since the late 1980s, this brand of thinking, now dominant in academe and fashionable in media and popular culture, treats difference as the main constituent of the social world. Human beings, in this construction of the world, are all different, with their diverse and particular "identities." Their politics and everyday lives are shaped by identities which separate them from all other human beings. In this world of particularized individuals, cultures, peoples, or nations,

there are few, if any, common bonds. Gender oppression is too particular to be the target of struggle of women and men even within a single country. The concept difference replaces the concept of domination. The world, in this view, is not divided into powerless and powerful blocs. Every individual, every woman, wields power. Power is not hierarchically organized; there may be a "center" and a "margin" of power but there are no relationships of domination and subordination.

This brand of theorization emphasizes respect for cultural difference. Although its advocates oppose violence, they prefer to remain silent about it, especially when it is perpetrated by "others" whom they cannot judge due to cultural differences. There is, thus, an attempt to isolate "honour killing" from the patriarchal culture of the society that generates it. This is done by, among other things, reducing "honour killing" to a "practice." Labeling the crime as a "practice" relieves the academic specialist from the burden of criticizing the culture, its religion and its values. You do not have to critique or indict Islam or Kurdish patriarchal culture. It is the problem of the individual who commits the crime.

"Practice theory" claims that individual behavior (e.g., Rahmi's decision to kill Fadime) does not derive from rules, norms, culture, rule-bound traditions, systems or structures. Even when the existence of structures is not denied, they are not seen as constraining the mind or behavior of the individual (Barnard 2000: 142-43). While practice theory has not made a major breakthrough in the debate on structure and agency, its application to the case of "honour killing" undermines feminist struggles against this crime.

Racist and neo-colonialist biases have plagued studies of the Middle East. Some feminist academics who teach Middle Eastern gender relations try to avoid the neocolonialist or Orientalist trap of treating Middle Eastern women as backward, ignorant, illiterate, over-oppressed, and passive. However, in trying to distance themselves from "neocolonialist representations of Middle Eastern women," they tend to keep silent about the atrocities committed against women by "their own" men, "their own" religion, and "their own" culture. As an example, in a workshop covering topics like Teaching About "Honour Killings" and Other Sensitive Topics in Middle East Studies (female genital mutilation/circumcision, veiling, etc); and Women and Shari'ah held at the University of California at Santa Barbara in March 2000, a number of academic feminists discussed their dilemma: how to speak about such "sensitive topics" without falling into the neocolonialist trap? Nadine Naber, who reviewed the workshop explained how some scholars coped with Sensitive Topics in Middle East Studies. The strategy of one participant, spoke of how her response to questions about [female] circumcision:

'...had changed over time. First, her policy was silence. She would say, "I don't have anything to

say about this issue," or "I would rather talk about other issues, like poverty, neocolonialism, and so on... and their impact on women, rather than becoming part of the problem." But she said she realized that while she was choosing silence, others, who might not be well informed on the issue of circumcision, were taking over the discourse. She realized then that she had to respond. She added that often she encourages students not to write about circumcision until they know more about it, or until they talk to at least to one woman who has been circumcised. But she expressed concern that this strategy might involve silencing her students'. (Naber 2000: 20).

In her review of two documentaries about "honour killing", Crimes of Honour and Our Honour and His Glory, Mary Elaine Hegland wrote:

'The topic of "honor killing, like clitoridectomy, spousal abuse, infanticide, elder neglect, rape, war, capital punishment, and pre-marital sex among other practices condoned by some groups but condemned by others, presents dilemmas to anthropologists, feminist scholars and others. Should anthropologists be apologists or advocates for their research group or social analysts? Should one's role be researcher or activist?' (Hegland 2000:15).

One approach to the dilemma was to talk about the "sensitive topics," but to contextualize them by informing the students that these problems are not a Middle Eastern phenomenon; they are also found in the West, now and in the past. This pedagogical "strategy," according to some, will distance the instructor from neocolonialist representations or "discourses." This pedagogical strategy is not adequate, however, since it does not allow a serious departure from neocolonialism. It is indeed crucial to relate Middle Eastern male violence to its Western counter parts. This is necessary but not adequate. The participants in the workshop decided to talk about "sensitive topics" as a "strategy" to handle a dilemma. The goal is to protect the instructor from a perceived threat or a real (ideological and political) fear. What is needed instead is to overcome the cultural relativist fear of the universality of patriarchal violence. Taking this step, however, demands an appreciation of the dialectics of universals and particulars (Mojab 1998). It requires the abandoning of the epistemological and theoretical dictates of agnosticism and cultural relativism.

In the (neo) colonialist world view, the women of the Middle East constitute an anomaly, an exception, or abnormality: unlike Western women, they are devoted to Islamic patriarchy. They are women without history; they do not make their own history by struggling for equality or liberation. Academic feminists of the cultural relativist persuasion, too, fail to appreciate a century of women's struggle against patriarchy. And when they talk about this struggle, they have more concerns. Women's struggle against patriarchy, too, is a "sensitive topic." It is sensitive not because Middle

Eastern women have a century of women's press; a century of advocacy of women's rights; a century of writing; a century of poetry; and a century of organizing. Talking about this history is "sensitive" because cultural relativists, like Islamic fundamentalists, believe that it is inspired by Western women's struggles. Appreciating this history is difficult for these academic feminists because, in their opposition to neocolonialist "discourses," they often side with nationalists, Islamists and nativists. They privilege the nativist position, which rejects feminism as a "derivative discourse". They treat it as a "Western discourse" that is not compatible with Islam and the native culture. They do not want to contaminate Middle Eastern women's movements with the struggles of the women of the West, with modernity, with Enlightenment. Some secular academic "feminists" have indeed contributed to the creation of a "Muslim woman identity".

It is understandable, then, that the cultural relativist position prefers silence about "sensitive topics," and when it has to talk about "honour killing", it reduces the institutionalized crime to a "practice" that has little to do with culture, Islam or the exercise of male power. This position does not start from the reality of male brutality against women. It appreciates the violent gender politics of a tiny minority of the population, the self-appointed clergy. It imposes the politics of this tiny group on the politics of the entire nation; it authenticates this violent gender politics but delegitimizes a century of secular feminist movements in the Middle East. As a result it fails to condemn, without any reservation or condition, "honour killing" or stoning to death. The starting point is, rather, one's own interest – the fear of being labeled "racist," "Orientalist," or "neocolonialist."

CONCLUSION

I have tried to look at some of the systemic elements that allow for the production and reproduction of male violence, especially "honour killing" among the Kurds. We have argued that "honour killing" cannot be reduced to the psychological problems of individual killers. Honor-based violence is a social, patriarchal institution, which reproduces the supremacy of the male gender. In our times, a host of factors, ranging from religion to public policy to media to academic theories, play a role in the perpetuation of "honour killing".
Modernity has failed to stop the killing of women. I believe, however, that education, and conscious, organized intervention will in the long run restrain the perpetration of "honor killing". I emphasize feminist intervention and organization. However, feminist consciousness, feminist knowledge, and feminist culture themselves are under attack. In part, because feminist knowledge has effectively challenged all previous knowledge systems as androcentric undertakings, it has been subjected to vilifications in the Western media and popular culture and even within its own realm in academia (Hammer 2002). If non-

Western nativists, Islamists and nationalists reject feminism as a "derivative discourse," conservatives in the West also refuse to include feminism in their "canon" of Western civilization and culture. This is where the Western colonialist, new and old, and the non-Western nationalist, nativist, Islamist, and cultural relativist inadvertently join forces. It also explains why the Holy See, Saudi Arabia and Iran joined forces in the Beijing Conference of 1995. Indeed, anti-feminism is probably stronger in the West than in the East. There is a hunger for feminist consciousness in non-Western societies. This is the case in spite of the fact that a host of theories ranging from post-modernism to identity politics to cultural relativism encourages the women of the world to go under the banner of their tribes, ethnic groups, nations, religions, and communities.

Kurdish women are a potentially powerful force in International women's movements. They constitute the hub of all contradictions in this globalizing world. Subjected to the brutal violence of the nation-states of the Middle East and their genocides and ethnic cleansing projects, suffering from the violence of "their own" national patriarchy, and dispersed throughout the world, Kurdish women are in a unique position to distance themselves from male-centered ethnic, nationalist, and religious politics, and to join forces with feminist movements which do not compromise with patriarchy.

Women and feminist movements are international in character; they are present all over the world and resist a world-wide regime of patriarchal oppression. However, they are not organized as an international movement. Kurdish women and Kurdish women's studies are at the margins of this international movement (Mojab 2001; Mojab and Hassanpour, forthcoming). There is considerable solidarity, although it is not readily available due to the organizational fragmentation of the movement.

The institution of the state in the countries that rule over the Kurds in the Middle East is neither civil nor civilized. One cannot expect an end to "honour killing" in a state which has no respect for the citizens' right to life, and freely exercises the "right to genocide." The struggle against "honour killing" is inseparable from the struggle for democratic rule. It is also a struggle for separation of state and religion; a struggle to deny the two Kurdish governments the right to impose a theocratic regime on the people in Kurdistan. It is a struggle to push the two Kurdish governments to adopt and implement the resolution "Working Towards the Elimination of Crimes Against Women Committed in the Name of Honour" (revised in 2002) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, without any reservations. CEDAW is an important document that Kurdish feminists can use to promote a democratic gender culture. Are these demands rooted in European Enlightenment? Our answer is, without hesitation, in the affirmative. Are these demands Western in origin? Definitely yes! Peoples in the East have struggled for

these demands for no less than a century. They are, thus, universal demands. We emphasize again that in the West, too, there was extensive opposition to these demands. Today, too, the extreme right and Christian fundamentalists, like Islamic fundamentalists, continue to oppose feminism and the separation of state and religion. The lines are, thus, not drawn on ethnic grounds but rather on political principles.

Western feminism has been critiqued for its ethnocentrism and racism. However, contrary to the claims of nationalists, there is a rich tradition of anti-racism in the West, especially in its feminist movements. Indeed, nowhere in the non-Western world can one find a tradition of anti-racism that is as rich as that of the West. Kurdish women in the West are in an ideal position to draw on and contribute to these traditions of anti-racism and internationalism.

In Kurdistan, women are subjected to the harshest forms of national and gender oppression. In its brutality, national oppression overshadows gender violence. However, Kurdish women have already made their own history by resisting their national patriarchy.

On the anniversary of Fadime's loss, I regret to report the loss of more lives in both Kurdistan and Europe. The Kurdish media, especially the growing women's press, have begun to report, analyze, and protest the continuing wave of suicide, mostly through self-immolation, and killing. A number of new women's organizations have emerged during the last year in various parts of Kurdistan. They are mostly self-help groups with an agenda of resisting poverty, illiteracy and violence.

Bottom of Form 1**REFERENCES**

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TO STANDARDISE ENGLISH IS TO RE-BUILD BABEL

Dr Bruce Duncan*

Dr Ravinder Kumar (Kumar 2011) has rattled a cage. His idea to standardise the English language[1] (to benefit foreign language speakers) undoubtedly appeals to some, especially in the context of globalisation. But, is it possible to produce an Esperanto-type structure of English?

In attempting to throw down the gauntlet to challenge Kumar's thinking, this article will remind leaders about the evolution of English, accentuate its unique cultural fabric as a Mother Tongue and question the feasibility of Kumar's argument, implying that his concept is also akin to a "declaration of war", because the desecration of this English cultural heritage is "heresy". His idea violates the cultural DNA of people who value their English-centric history.

Furthermore, it is possible that such an intrusion into a sacred language-enshrined heritage could be understood as an obscene concept of colonisation. Where does history support the denigration of a national language in favour of a substitute? Can we not learn the lessons of the past in this regard?

Why must the English language roll over and be violated by those who wish to engage in the reciprocal privilege of communicating in "our" language? Is it not the responsibility of "the other" to learn English rather than allow a priceless heritage to become the object of a prostituted invasion that will spawn a bastardised offspring to be wrongly called "English"?

In this regard, Arthur Davis makes a strong point and a parallel acceptance of languages remains relevant. "The very idea of determining a single standard and structure of English should be resisted. Fortunately, history and cultural practice are on our side, as I think (excuse the Chomsky orthodoxy here) that any linguistic system that follows the basic principles of combination of all languages will have a capacity to mutate to suit the requirements of its speakers that is far stronger, more flexible and dynamic than any attempt to regulate it can ever be"[2].

This essay is limited in the sense that space prohibits full discussion of the discipline of linguistics thus truncating the history of the development of the English language, although the academic research paradigm involved makes forays into its linguistic framework.

For the record, the writer is not an anglophile – he is half English and half Scot and could be labelled as a mature English nationalist who mourns the loss of so much of English culture that has been sacrificed to the latest political demi-god called multi-culture. Foreign cultures continue to demand ascendancy and dominance in a country that has opened its welcoming doors – and rather than living check by jowl with English roots some have supplanted aeons of heritage by forcing the obliteration of much that is part of tradition. Consider the uproar about Christmas pageantry that has been abrogated by "loony" Councils so as not to offend some Muslims. Why some followers of Islam are singled out remains a mystery. After all, the pagan orientated Christmas celebrations (that have nothing at all to do with the Christ) had always proceeded well despite the presence of other religions, agnostics and atheists.

Some immigrants disrespect all that is sacred to Britain and its people. This rudeness and unequal treatment of indigenous traditions is hurtful and potentially explosive within the cauldron of cross-cultural diversity. To now entertain the possibility that yet another cultural treasure – the English language – is to be offered to the god of globalisation is sacrilege of the highest degree.

To pillage and ravage that which is the precious and invaluable right of possession for every English person is unforgiveable. Proponents of the rapacious concept of standardisation show scant respect for that which is core to being English – the English language.

A MOTHER TONGUE: A SYNOPTIC JOURNEY

English the mother tongue is "the first language that you learn when you are a baby, rather than a language learned at school or as an adult"[3].

The language called English gestated in foreign lands for many years prior to its foundations being homed on the island now comprising Wales, Scotland and England. Its linguistically structured language is a multi-cultural tapestry of letters and words now woven into a democratically standardised and growing corpus[4].

English is one of the Indo-European family of languages "including Latin and the modern Romance languages (French); the Germanic languages (English, German, Swedish); the Indo-Iranian languages (Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit); the Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, Czech.); the Baltic languages of Latvian and Lithuanian; the Celtic languages (Welsh, Irish, Gaelic) and Greek"[5].

The vestiges of early and current foreign infusion are evident today. For example, each of the words (cognates) for *father*, is *vater* in German, *pater* in Latin, and *pitr* in Sanskrit"[6] and they share the same root. In parallel, the formative input of the Germanic (a common language some 3000 years ago in the Elbe river region) and Latin languages played major roles in the development of English.
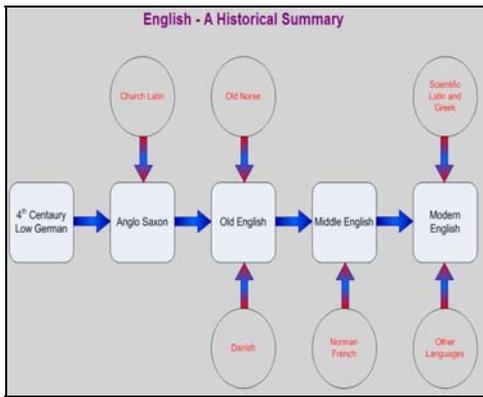
Figure 1: The Growth of the English Language[7]

The old Germanic group of languages had, by the second century BC, piggybacked with migrants to south-eastern Europe and formed what now remains as the Gothic language. The Heinz 57 varieties of Scandinavian-linked Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic (but not Finnish, which is related to Hungarian and Estonian and is not an Indo-European language) languages followed a Darwinian cycle from the North Germanic language, resulting in the European gallery of languages that include German, Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, and English. Traditions grew, developed and reflected the strains of limited global language affiliation and ancestry.

Building on the evolution from the earlier and limited usage of the earlier Germanic writing system, *runes*, Christian Missionaries introduced the Roman alphabet to England in the 7th century. The Roman alphabet, designed for a different phonological system rarely suited written English and the first monks, when writing in English, added new characters to handle the extra sounds.

OLD ENGLISH (5th to 12th centuries). [8]

The Lord's Prayer

Thu ure Fæder þe eart on heofunum, Sy þin nama gehalgod. Cume þin rice, Sy þinne wille on eorðan swaswa on heofonum. Syle us todaeg urne daeghwamlican hlaf. Ond forgyf us ure gyltas, swaswa we fogyfaþ þampe with us agyltaþ. Ond ne lae thu na us on constnunge, ac alys us of yfele. Soðlice

PHONETIC READING

Thu our Father, thee art on heavenum, say thine nama ge-holyod. Come thine rich, say thine will on earth swas-wa on heavenum. Sell us today ourne day-ge-wham-lick hloaf. And forgive us our guiltas swas-wa we forgiv-ath themp with us a-guilt-ath. And no lay thu nah us on costnun-ya, ahsh all-lays us from evil. Soothlike.
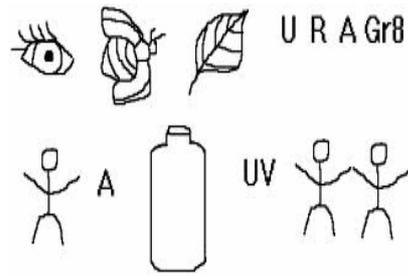
Figure 2: "I believe you are a great man …"[9]

CROSSING THE RUBICON: MIDDLE ENGLISH

The 1066, the Battle of Hastings was a watershed in the evolution of the English language. The Vikings[10] (colonising warriors from Norway, Sweden and Denmark) under King Harald, were defeated at Stamford Bridge by William the Bastard (Duke of Normandy), who was subsequently crowned at Westminster Abbey. This opened the door to the Anglo-Norman language that was used by the ruling classes for the next three centuries.

The French influence meant that traders had to learn the new language and the beginning of Middle English influenced the speaking of English to modern times.

For example, "beef", commonly eaten by the aristocracy, derives from the Anglo-Norman, but the Anglo-Saxon commoners, who tended the cattle, retained the Germanic "cow". Many legal terms, "indict", "jury", and verdict have Anglo-Norman roots because the Normans ran the courts.

Latin had been a minor influence on English, but during this period some 30000 words entered the English language, that is, about one third of the total vocabulary.

The division between words commonly used by the aristocracy had Romantic roots with a simplified grammar structure over and against the vocabulary used by the Anglo-Saxon commoners that had Germanic (Old English) origins with its phonetic spelling, partial dependence on syntax and a comparatively complicated grammar structure.

The subsequent impact of Anglo-Norman semantics was more marked in the North, Midlands and East Anglia because of the predominance of Danes and Norwegians settlers. Although the two languages were mutually understandable, a modern-day comparison would be a Geordie (from the Tyneside region of North England) talking to a Cockney (working class English – from the East End of London) with neither making any concession to the other.

By 1100, English was classed as a 'new' version of the Old English and comprised five major dialects,

Northern, West Midland, East Midland, South Western and Kentish.

Whereas Old English had been an inflected language, it now had lost most of its inflections with an almost complete standardisation of plural words taking 's' and the infusion of Norman-French and Low-German vocabulary.

However, the English language is still basically Germanic and most base words emanate from Old English roots.

In the late 1400s, printing, publishing, schooling and organisations outside the authoritative stranglehold of the Roman Catholic church, began to develop the English language –the genesis of the revolution of the English language had begun.

William Caxton (ca. 1415~1422 – ca. March 1492) was the first Englishman to introduce the printing press to England. His entrepreneurship gave birth to printed books and he joined his London-based Dutch, German and French in the same trade.

The English language continues to gobble up foreign words and assimilates the latest vocabulary introduced by science, technology and common usage.
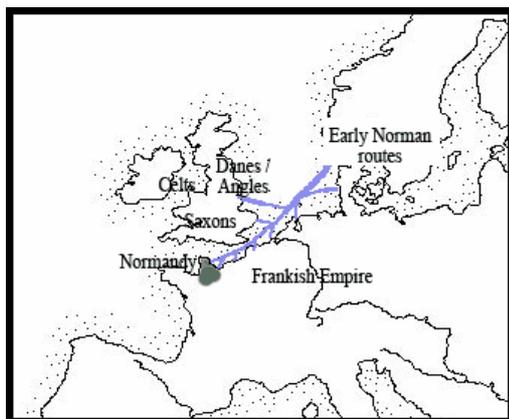
Figure 3. The Normans (French) who came from early Scandinavian roots.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary states that there are words from 87 languages, great, small and often dead. It has been estimated that the total number of words in Modern English has now peaked 1 million[11] with many having more than one meaning – adding to the vexation of learners[12]. Apparently, the nearest language in word count is French with some 150,000 words.

Eventually, English orthography began to develop writing into a consistent pattern. Dialect influences became apparent (the Wessex sounds). Norms for spelling and the sounds of the language changed rapidly and with the Norman Conquest changing governmental structure their influence impacted on the English social structure. Significantly, because many scribes were French, Anglo-Saxon, writing in English

began to consolidate and the infusion of sounds wrapped in French and "foreign" packaging added to the emerging base structure of English.

The Wessex English (SW England) dialect gave way to London English pronunciation with older spelling norms becoming "Londonised" and Chancery English emanating from The Court of Chancery in London was in evidence. Oxford and Cambridge influences affected written norms and became the centres for developing orthographic norms.

After the Reformation and Renaissance, a predominantly Protestant England launched the Book of Common Prayer and this, along with the King James Version of the Bible in 1611, helped spread, along with Christianity, a formalised structure of English.

AD 450–1100   Old English (Anglo-Saxon) – The language of the epic poem Beowulf.
AD 1100–1500   Middle English – The language of Chaucer, father of English literature.
AD 1500–1800   Early Modern English – The language of English playwright Shakespeare.
AD 1800–present Modern English – The language as spoken today. nose', 'mouth', 'brain', 'liver', 'lungs', 'arse' and 'bollocks' 'arms', 'legs', 'hands', 'feet', 'head', 'eyes', 'ears',
Language change was gradual: for example, we have French 'spirit', but an English 'body'.

Figure 4: Summary of English Development[13]

Interestingly, the development of English dictionaries was undertaken by language entrepreneurs without government initiation and the words from the classical languages, colonies and resultant spelling changes and word formations were absorbed into formal vocabulary usage.

The 21st century presents us with two major centres of standardisation against which language usage can be measured e.g. British and American English. However, British colonisation has foisted the language born in the United Kingdom across the world and each ex-colonial country has added its own culturally flavoured pronunciation and spelling variants (cf. Davis referring to Chomsky).

It could be argued that English (the school form of English) is an eclectic stew of differently flavoured ingredients bringing a composite collage of cultures into focus and from this potpourri came the English language (derived from London English) – as, for example, standard Italian is that of Tuscany.

Having evolved from globally diverse sources, internalising on its island, and then carrying the suitcases of the colonising British Empire, the English language is now a major player in global

communication. In so doing, it was crafted also by the tones and articulation of foreign native peoples.

English, enshrined in its proud and dynamic history, is still the third most spoken language in the world and is possibly the world's most studied language. Do not disturb this priceless cultural treasure but feel welcome to share in its glory.

THE POWER OF THE COLONISING WORD

English is the coin that reflects the United Kingdom's English roots and to consider the possibility that a nation's heritage should adapt to suit those who wish to buy into its richness and then plagiarise its structure is akin to forcing the renowned academic and atheist, Professor Richard Dawkins, undergo a religious conversion.

Historically, all colonisers introduced their language to those they had conquered and thus attempted to replace indigenous cultural overtones through the media of language. Examples can be cited in the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910 – 1945), French expansionism, the Nazi Third Reich, Russian boundary hopping and the minority Apartheid government in South Africa, where the imposition of English and the Afrikaans language plus culture (through language) was forced on South Africans of all races.

Now, "Some 400 million people speak English as their first language, including 55 million in the UK (83% of the population) and more than 200 million in the United States of America. Culturally enshrined evangelism-partnering language colonisation was the norm when the sun never set on the British Empire. English speaking teachers are currently in high demand[i] - until the next world power dominates.

Whilst over 50 countries have designated English as their official language, and in so doing retained a cultural thread that ties it to its founding nation; the tonal communication, regional variations (socio-cultural influences) reflect the nuances of the local country. In a purist sense, English, outside the warp and woof of its core culture mutates into a dialect because of *in situ* influences.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

With regard to cultural cross-pollination, is the insightful comment made by Davis, "I am very conscious in teaching IELTS that it is not really a language test, but part of a process of indoctrination intended to shape students' language and thinking. This of course has practical benefits – a grasp of this type of English gives access to the whole world of [English] academic discourses–but it may also be intended that a failure to come to terms with this form of English can be used as an excuse to exclude some people; notably those who do not share the linguistic and cultural background of those already empowered by academic institutions. Academic discourses may also impose limits on the flexibility and creativity of those who are

constrained to communicate through these means. Indeed, in almost every area of activity in every language there are standards of discourse that are context specific. These facilitate social interaction as well as communication. They may be arcane and difficult to access, but they are
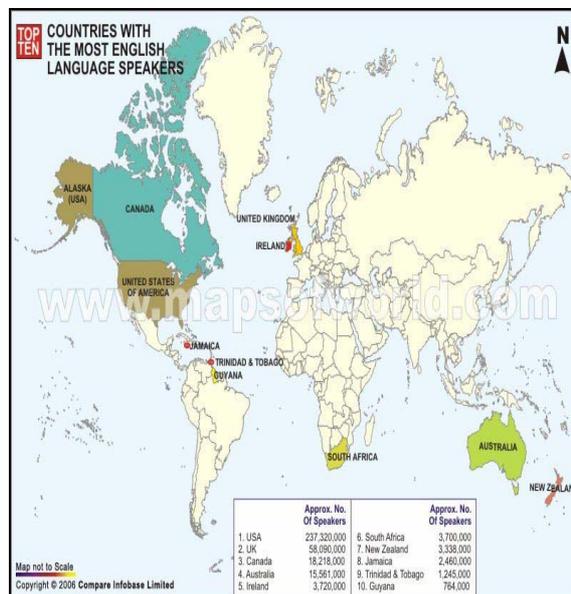
Figure 5. Top Ten English Speaking Countries[14]

important markers of social relationships as well as language use. There is no reason why the needs of language learners should be considered to be more important than the needs of any other group of language users."[15] Language embodies culture – what kind of cultural strains would Kumar's proposal contain?

Low-key colonisation continues and many English teaching workbooks contain indigenous stories and examples – yet another learning hurdle for foreigners. A language is tied to traditional issues and is certainly not a-political, a-religious or a-anything at all. Language is a tool enveloped in culture.

Within the historical home of the English language, England, there are language differences in pronunciation, accent, vocabulary and grammar.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE: SPEAKING

English native speakers across the world have noticeable differences in pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

Figure 6. Development of Pronunciation[16]

Historically, English tradition benchmarks English as being the manner in which the Monarch speaks thus, "The King's English". To show respect for the Monarch was important. Thus, when the German speaking George I was King of England, his version of English had some peculiar touches. For example, "Thames" became "Temz" and he pronounced the word "either" with the sound of "eye" for the first syllable. So, today, many people say eye-ther and nigh-ther instead of ee-ther and nee-ther. English language was standardised by a foreign king ensconced on an English throne.

The English language, in whichever national boundary, is subject to exposure to regional forms, cultural styles, grammar, and pronunciation. This is understandable and acceptable and the dialect spoken may be said to be an adaptation of English. The core structure, syntax, remains loyal to the "parent" but idiomatic expressions (culturally created) are replaced by locally entrenched and traditional substitutes – a situational adaptation determines expression. Vocabulary is not necessarily uniform as, for example, *gotten* is acceptable in the United States but not in England; *cartrunk* is the American word for the English, *carboot*.

Conversely, the French language is standardised by the Academie de la langue Française; the Spanish have the Real Academia Española; the Brazilians have the Portuguese Academia Brasileira de Letras and the Italians have Italian Accademia della Crusca. Whether or not any attention is paid to these august bodies is a matter for debate.
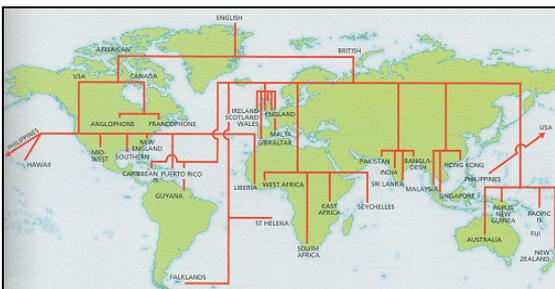

Figure 7. The Colonising Spread of English[17]

Furthermore, literary standards may differ from the colloquial standard of educated people e.g. the Eton accent, and the jargon of a trade that may be unintelligible to outsiders – as in Cockney or London English. Such linguistic variations in English include unique vocabulary inclusions.

THE TURNING TIDE

There is the strong possibility that Chinese (or Hindi or Spanish) might eventually become the dominant lingua franca of the global village. Professor David Crystal is cited in a BBC report as stating, "A thousand years ago, people would have said it would be absurd that Latin would not be spoken in 1,000 years' time. But we know that has happened. It can only take 100 years or so for the language balance of power to shift". Interestingly, there is a new kid muscling in on the language block. Apparently, "in just five years, the number of non-Chinese people learning Mandarin has soared to 30 million"[18]. Do we now rip out the guts of Mandarin to accommodate the rest of the world?

English has been the world's primary communication language ever since its colonising forays planted the language on foreign soil whilst simultaneously culling indigenous treasures, raiding natural resources and introducing variant versions of the Gospel to those deemed as "savages". However, its global predominance is under threat. Crystal, citing Graddol states, "Complex international, economic, technological and cultural changes could start to diminish the leading position of English as the language of the world market, and UK interests which enjoy advantage from the breadth of English usage would consequently face new pressures"[19].
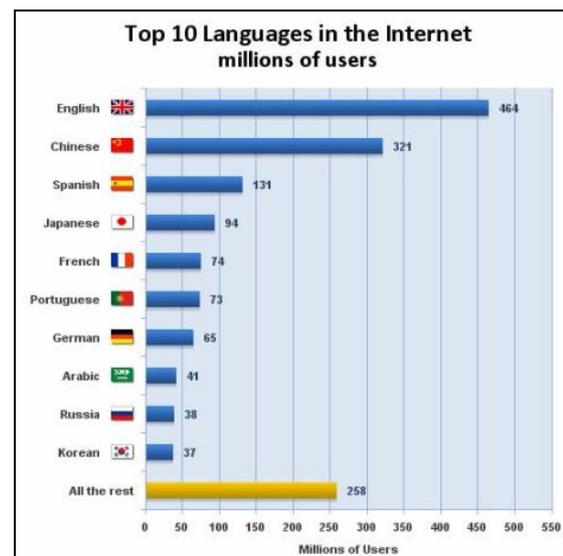
Figure 8. A Global Perspective

The current globally-centric place of English as the prima donna of communication is not secure – of what value then is the ideal posited by Kumar?

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"The number of students taking Advanced placement Test in Chinese, introduced in 2007, has grown so fast that it is likely to pass German this year as the third most-tested A.P. language, after Spanish and French."

New York Times, January 2010
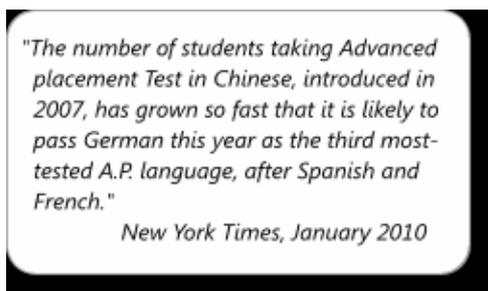
Figure 9. The Chinese Influence[20]

ALTERNATIVES AND CONUNDRUMS

Surely, the use of English as a common language, but not as a lingua franca, will offer people opportunities to communicate as responsible
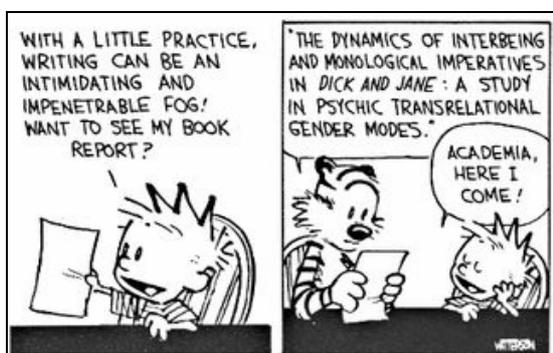
cosmopolitan citizens, sans the loss of cultural and ideological roots and obviating the heretical practice of transforming the English language into a neutral, disengaged or unaffiliated medium.

Creating a bastardised English language system would demand structural changes such as minimal "inflectional morphology, non-tonal phonology, and a non-logographic script"[21] to facilitate the possibility of general usage. This raises the issue of "intellectual copyright" – surely, the English have the right to the exclusive formal control of its unique language.

Each learner "has a unique set of circumstances and so will be presented with unique problems requiring unique solutions. On a broader scale, there are huge variations between learners depending on their language and cultural background, their aptitude for language learning, the extent, appropriateness and level of their formal training – if they have any – and most importantly, the desired outcomes of the learning, both formal and informal. Perhaps if there were a standard learner, [standardised] English might be good. However, as it stands, his idea is literally preposterous[22].

Davis argues that the power of language is important for the dissemination and recording of information. We need only to think of Obama's rhetoric to understand the skilful use of vocabulary, idioms and context along with meta-communication and paralanguage to appreciate the *dunamis* of written and spoken language.

How would this be replicated in a non-specific and a-cultural context? Davis argues convincingly that language is "one part of the hugely complex phenomenon of individual and group identity negotiated through language within a sociocultural context".

The language of finance, science and technology remain specific – there is no *linguae franca* to cover them. In almost all cases, when a common language is needed for these purposes, English is used. "I think you could make more of the fact that the English used in these contexts is not a 'lingua franca'. There is no generic international English for these purposes. There are specific specialised variants of English which are effective vehicles for communication in specific professional contexts. These forms develop and evolve according to the requirements of their users, but are underpinned by the basic rules of acceptable English usage. This is essential to allow complexity and flexibility. There are no short cuts here. You can't learn 'Business English' without learning business and English" [23].

Standardisation would require answers also to the following:

- What about the intuitive verses "learning the rules" regarding the unique split infinitive in English?

- What about the use of 'the', 'a' and 'an' when relating to Korean and other language speakers? The 'articles' are learned intuitively and by instruction – how would this relate to some hybrid "language"?

In brief, English spelling remains problematic for many foreigners (and some native speakers). The English Spelling Society (TESS), (http://www.spellingsociety.org/news/pvs/pv13bell.php)opens the door on the huge complexities ingrained in the English spelling arena. Kumar's proposal needs to address these complexities – and what a challenge that will be. See *Websites* references.

To introduce such a so-called standardised English language system would surely require United Nations or inter-Parliamentary approval and induction into the educations systems of the world. Can we imagine the scenario when the UN tries to gather consensus on the issue – not to mention the nationalistically divided parliaments?

The educational scenario is currently in enough of turmoil without having to introduce a new "language" into its heaving struggles to remain relevant.

Now, considering the information above, can we engage in a language metamorphoses to accommodate global standardisation? Have we ever tried collecting grass cuttings using a pair of tweezers? To attempt

standardisation would be courting disaster, destroy cultural uniqueness and erode national identities.

The English language continues to be carved in stone and also in the national DNA of every true English speaker. No! We will not accede to a practice that merges "us" and "them". At the moment, English is the majority language of tourism, trade, commerce and industry – handle with care.

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THE CASE STUDY METHOD IN THE TEACHING OF MANAGEMENT

Dr Daniel Valentine*

'The key to the learning is thoughtful reflection... Managers don't need more prescription. Prescription in general is the problem, not the solution, because situations vary widely. Managers need description, illustration of alternate ways to understand their world... managers have to share their reflections, to learn from one another's ideas and experiences. This kind of interaction happens outside the classroom of every management development program. If only it could happen so pervasively inside those classrooms as well.' (Gosling & Mintzberg, 2004).

'....even armed with the knowledge that teaching methods are under increased scrutiny, many professors continue to deliver the traditional lecture (perhaps with a few power point slides to supplement). As educators we must recognize the need to update our teaching method,s to reflect the growing emphasis on the student-focused classroom' (Hannay et al, 2010).

'I hear and I forget. I see and I remember. I do and I understand' (Confucius (551 - 479 BC).

INTRODUCTION

Management education is under multiple pressures.: pressure from business school leaders for profitability and reputation, pressure from students for clarity, consistency and personalisation, and pressure from employers for relevance. The choice of appropriate instructional strategies is a key aspect of course success and satisfying the demands of multiple stakeholders.

Instructional strategies are one of the three key elements of course design (see diagram). But attempts by college leaders to reform instruction in colleges is particularly hazardous as this creates
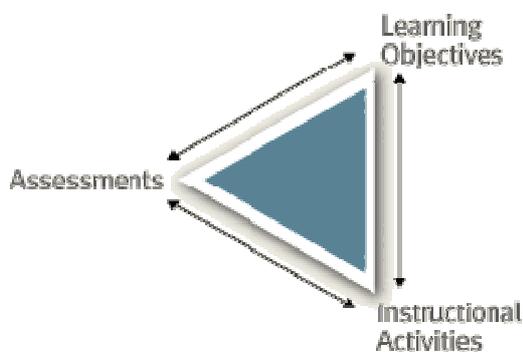
conflict with instructors who cherish "academic freedom". Programme directors thus generally leave choice of instructional activities to individual lecturers, but this approach is also fraught with difficulties, as the three points of the triangle need to be developed

together. Reform of objectives and assessment without reform of instructional activities will result in courses that fail to achieve their objectives.

This article is aimed at both college leaders and lecturers to encourage them to rethink their instructional strategies, in order to produce graduates of the calibre that today's business environment requires.

The basic methods of pedagogy can be summarised as follows:

1. The lecture
2. Discussions
3. Writing
4. Group work
5. Class tests and exercises
6. Case study
7. Guided reading
8. Student presentation and mutual criticism

Each of these eight methods has an important role in the business degree – but in this article I will focus on the case study, which is possibly the most integrative teaching method ever devised, as it is a combination of lecture, discussion, group work, guided reading and presentation.

WHAT IS A CASE STUDY?

Case studies are stories. They present realistic, complex, and contextually rich situations and often involve a dilemma, conflict, or problem that one or more of the characters in the case must negotiate.

A good case study, according to Professor Paul Lawrence is*:*

> '…the vehicle by which a chunk of reality is brought into the classroom to be worked over by the class and the instructor. A good case keeps the class discussion grounded upon some of the stubborn facts that must be faced in real life situations.' (quoted in Christensen, 1981)

Although they have been used most extensively in the teaching of medicine, law and business, case studies can be an effective teaching tool in any number of disciplines. As an instructional strategy, case studies have a number of virtues. They 'bridge the gap between theory and practice and between the academy and the workplace' (Barkley, Cross, and Major 2005, p.182). They also give students practice identifying the parameters of a problem, recognizing and articulating positions, evaluating courses of action, and arguing different points of view.

According to Gragg (1940): 'The outstanding virtue of the case system is that it is suited to inspiring activity, under realistic conditions, on the part of the students; it takes them out of the role of passive absorbers and

makes them partners in the joint processes of learning and of furthering learning. (p. 4).

Case studies vary in length and detail, and can be used in a number of ways, depending on the case itself and on the instructor's goals:

- They can be short (a few paragraphs) or long (e.g. 20+ pages).
- They can be used in lecture-based or discussion-based classes.
- They can be real, with all the detail drawn from actual people and circumstances, or simply realistic.
- They can provide all the relevant data students need to discuss and resolve the central issue, or only some of it, requiring students to identify, and possibly fill in (via outside research), the missing information.
- They can require students to examine multiple aspects of a problem, or just a circumscribed piece.
- They can require students to propose a solution for the case or simply to identify the parameters of the problem.

According to Davis (1993), an effective case study is one that:

- Tells a "real" and engaging story
- Raises a thought-provoking issue
- Has elements of conflict
- Promotes empathy with the central characters
- Lacks an obvious or clear-cut right answer
- Encourages students to think and take a position
- Portrays actors in moments of decision
- Provides plenty of data about character, location, context, actions
- Is relatively concise

Golich (2000) sees cases compelling students to

- Distinguish pertinent from peripheral information,
- Identify the problem(s) at hand and define its context and parameters,
- Identify a set of possible solutions,
- Formulate strategies and recommendations for action,
- Make decisions, and
- Confront obstacles to implementation.

The case study is a great method for combating the "dualistic approach" that many students have when they arrive at business school (Perry, 1968). This approach seeks the "one right answer", and is common in students from certain cultures, and also in students trained in the natural sciences. Knowledge, to their mind, is unambiguous and clear, and learning a simple matter of information-exchange. Students at this stage believe the teacher's job is to impart facts and their job is to remember and reproduce them. In the study of business, however, this approach cannot last long due to the highly contextual nature of management truth. The case study is the perfect tool to break dualistic attitudes when students realize that experts can disagree and facts can contradict one another. The highly subjective nature of business performance and strategy will cause some students pain, as they begin to leave their comfort zones, but the result will be that the student learns the value of evaluation and qualitative analysis; learning to ask multiple questions and deal with multiple answers.

For many students, the case study will be the first time they have been asked for their opinion in class. It offers a real chance to develop students' communication and interpersonal skills. The focus is discussion, which as Gosling & Mintzberg assert, is of real importance in the transmission of business understanding:

'Although there clearly remains a role for lecturing and for leading case discussions, professors should spend less time professing and instead encourage discussion to flow freely along insightful lines developed by the participants themselves… There is a certain quality of conversation that takes place in a well-managed classroom that is almost unique, where the fruits of experience, theory and reflection are brought together into new understanding and commitment' (Gosling & Mintzberg, 2004)

A SUGGESTED PROCESS FOR USING A CASE STUDY

1. **Choose carefully**: For the first case, pick a company that most of the students are aware of. The most popular cases I have used recently are Starbucks, Apple & Nokia. This will engage the students and get them talking. For subsequent cases, consider using organisations that the students may not know.

2. Give students **ample time to read and think** about the case. If the case is long, assign it as homework with a set of questions for students to consider (e.g. what is the nature of the problem the central character is facing? what are some possible courses of action? what are the potential obstacles?)

3. Introduce the case briefly and **provide some guidelines** for how to approach it. Break down the steps you want students to take in analyzing the case. If you would like students to disregard or focus on certain information, specify that as well.

4. **Create groups and monitor them** to make sure everyone is involved. Breaking the full class into smaller groups gives individual students more opportunities for participation and interaction. You may also want to designate roles within each group.

5. **Have groups present their solutions/ reasoning**: If groups know they are responsible for producing

something (a decision, rationale, analysis) to present to the class, they will approach the discussion with greater focus and seriousness. Encourage them to produce an electronic presentation. (This can form a template for an assignment later in the course) Write their conclusions on the board so that you can return to them in the discussion that follows.

6. **Ask questions** for clarification and to move discussion to another level. As the discussion unfolds, ask questions that call for students to examine their own assumptions, substantiate their claims, provide illustrations, etc.

7. **Synthesize issues raised**. Be sure to bring the various strands of the discussion back together at the end, so that students see what they have learned and take those lessons with them. The job of synthesizing need not necessarily fall to the instructor, however; one or more students can be given this task.

8. You may wish to conclude by **comparing the solutions generated in class with the actual outcome of the real-life dilemma**.

GENERAL GUIDANCE ON USING THE CASE STUDY METHOD:

- It is important that you, as the instructor, know all the issues involved in the case, prepare questions and prompts in advance, and anticipate where students might run into problems. Finally, consider who your students are and how you might productively draw on their backgrounds, experiences, personalities, etc., to enhance the discussion.

- You will need to decide whether you will allow students to gather extra information about the case study organisation, or whether they are restricted to the information provided. Both approaches have their merits. More advanced classes will generally want to compete by gathering extra information, but you need to ensure that the focus is principally on analysis and problem solving, rather then the endless and inconclusive research which students often engage in. Ensure the rules are purposeful and clear, and that students understand it is the quality of their thinking, rather then the volume of gathered data that is being tested.

- Case studies come in different lengths. A substantial case (10+ pages) may require several classes, so consider using short cases also. You may like to prepare 2-page cases on current dilemmas, which students can then supplement with their own research. For these research exercises, ensure you use companies which publish comprehensive publicly-available data.

- Ultimately, students can select and create their own cases. Take a vote in class on the most exciting company and give each group a week to present a five minute strategic analysis. This type of competitive presentation can produce good results.

- Be aware of the limitations of the case study method; see Reynolds (1978), Shugan (2006) and Argyris (1980) for useful summaries.

Case studies are valuable in sharpening teaching skills and testing the relevance of course content. I would welcome comments from readers who have experience of using case studies in their Colleges. If readers haven't yet tried the case study method, I encourage them to give it a go.

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CREATING COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE: FOOTPRINTS FOR GHANAIAN SME's

Dr Alexander Ayogyam*

Competitive advantage is the edge that a company has over its competitors in the market through the adoption of unique strategies and practices. Newly established small and medium enterprises (SMEs) often have limited resources so it is important that they utilize them to create an edge over their competitors. The research reported here looked at the strengths of new entrants into the market and their ability to develop competitive advantage.

SMEs were grouped into two categories: those managed by the company owner(s) and those managed by hired personnel. Questionnaires were distributed for data collection and a Likert Scale (Likert 1932) was used in analyzing the actions of respondents. The results showed that the ideology of companies whose owners were part of management was different from the ones managed by hired staff. In particular, members of the first group were shown to be risk averters while the other group was not.

A matrix was developed to explain how the company's strength could turn to an advantage if workers are given the needed motivation. This is a matrix which can be used to assess the degree of competitive advantage one could have, given the strength and the motivation required by workers.

The results showed that the search for information is a strength a company can utilize to create a differential in the market. It was also discovered that skills and knowledge are linked in such a manner that, the latter leads to the former but they are not always the same.

INTRODUCTION

Today's market is flooded with goods and services produced by different manufacturers which are all capable of satisfying the needs of the consumer who is the target of all producers. The presence of different producers in the same market with similar or substitute products create competition. According to Ma (1999), competitive advantage is the asymmetry or differential in any firm attribute or factor that allows one firm to better serve the customers than others and hence create better customer value and achieve superior performance. Such attributes could be superior location, domination of shelf - space in retail, well known brand name and other factors. It is worth mentioning that, some factors may help in creating the advantage but difficult to sustained. This paper is of the opinion that, those factors the company cannot sustain for continual differential advantage must be excluded entirely.

The situation is more intense in Ghana where political stability has made business very conducive. The influx of foreign producers is giving the local producers fierce competition. In every competitive market, the ability to withstand the shocks from other producers draws one closer to success in that market. Again the ability of a firm to devise good, practical strategies to "weather the storm" and be able to win more market share shows the existence of an advantage as against other producers. Different firms have unique characteristics and resources that "stand tall" among their peers which they use to their advantage. Experience shows that a firm's unique resources, superior competence in addressing the changing global market are positive signs that advantage can be gained and owned (Barney, 1991; Prahalad and Hamel, 1990; Teece et al., 1997). The advantage when gained must be used to set new standards which are difficult for others to easily emulate. Schumpeter (1934, 1950) argued that the advantage earned must be used to innovate, destroy the old equilibrium and/or conventions to create something new. Any advantage that cannot be sustained in the long run or make the firm dynamic need not be invested in.

Senge (1990) and Nonaka (1991) agree that the global market is now flooded with information which when tapped can create a competitive advantage. They claim that organizations must endorse the creation of learning environment to help acquire knowledge from around the world to enhance competitive advantages.

SMEs IN GHANA

As people continue to maintain their standard of living and enhance their economic values, many workers in the public institutions in Ghana are establishing their own businesses. For instance, teachers in public schools and universities, bankers, security service workers and many others put up capital to start businesses to relieve the pressure on their salaries. All these categories of people are aware of the law in Ghana which debars them from going into more than one full time job. As a result of that, many owners of SMEs have employed people to take up the running of the day to day activities in the business. Since all businesses hope to do things in a unique manner so as to elevate their standing in the market, this project found it useful to investigate the impact the owner's absence would make. Many indigenous Ghanaians living abroad aspire to set up SMEs in the country while they are away, they may be described as absentee owners. Since they must also rely on the creation of competitive advantage in order to succeed, it behooves on them to develop competitive strategies as well.

The research looked at how hired managers can use the identifiable internal strengths of the firm and garnish it with some motivational strategies to win a greater percentage of the market in the absence of their business owners. There are countless instances where owners of businesses in Ghana had failed to compete favorably on the local and international markets simply

because they were not involved in the day to day running of the business. In a nutshell, readers would get the advantage of accessing first hand information on how to profitably do business in Ghanaian markets.

The paper was concerned with how internally existing resources or strength can be used to create competitive advantage over other counterparts in the market. This was done by using a model derived from the various observations made from Ghanaian local SMEs that has operated for not less than ten years. The paper further discussed ways of sustaining the factors that could lead to the creation of the differential in the market to outperform competitors.

Competitive advantage grows out of the value a firm is able to create for its buyers that exceeds the firm's cost of creating it. Value is what buyers are willing to pay, and superior value stems from offering lower prices than competitors for equivalent benefits or providing unique benefits that more than offset a higher price. With this Porter (1985) identified three strategies for competitive advantage namely, cost leadership, differentiation and focus strategies. Porter's view was that, a firm can have an advantage over its competitors if it is able to produce at the minimum cost which would eventually reflect in a price customers can comfortably accept. Again, an advantage can be obtained through the production of products with extra features and superior performance.

This paper did an analysis by the use of a matrix to find out how competitive advantage could be created through the use of internal strength coupled with the motivation to pep up workers. To create competitive advantage using variables that are internal to the company is the main thrust of the research. Finally the right motivation must be given
to workers to perform accordingly.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH

Though the right inputs to assist SMEs make a difference in the market may be closer to them, many of them think their ability to make the difference lies in some resources they have not attained yet. Most businesses are able to access land, labour and water at a cost of about 60% lower than it would have been for their competitors. Despite these advantages, owners of some businesses still see their efforts as not been competitive enough when compared to their peers elsewhere. As a result they tend to struggle for some resources which are very difficult to reach. This shows that, numerous SME managers are eluded of the fact that when the right motivation is given, the available limited resources can make them competitive. It is in this vain that this research finds it very useful to expose the numerous entrepreneurs to this inexpensive way of becoming competitive. It does not matter whether the owner of the business is part of management or not if employees are motivated well, success will show up. Again, the research seeks to spell out the benefits managers stand to gain if they focus on using internally

identified strengths to generate a differential in the market.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research adopted a comparative study of SMEs owned and run simultaneously and those owned but run by hired personalities. Basically, new companies would be selected for the study. The essence was to find out how each group value the use of internally identified strengths in the creation of competitive advantage as against externally unidentified strengths. For the purpose of this study six SMEs from Ashanti region in Ghana were selected. Three of the SMEs were selected from the first group and the remaining three from the second group as stated above.

The research team arranged interview sessions with the owners and some selected personnel of the SMEs as and when they visited. The main reason behind the choice of interviews as against the design of questionnaires was that, there was the need to probe more into certain responses provided by the selected respondents. During the analysis stage, a Likert Scaling method was adopted because the variables which were used for the comparison required the attitudes of the respondents towards their implementation. Again, the eagerness of the respondents to motivate others to work harder also bordered on attitude. According to Likert (1932) in his publication, the best method to measure attitude is known as Likert
scales (a type of verbal rating scale).

Since a decision to embark on a particular style of management is the sole prerogative of some key persons in the firm, the research adopted purposive sampling so that vital and relevant information could be obtained. It was realized that not every worker could explain why certain course of action were taken from time to time hence the need to be selective was arrived at. A sample size of sixty respondents were selected from each company, therefore each group was composed of one hundred and eighty respondents since a group had three companies. All the groups were made to respond to the same comments composed by the research team so that a fair comparison could be made between them.

The following variables were used for the analysis:

- Effective database system
- Fear of failure
- Loyalty of employees
- Motivation for workers
- Review of performances by industry players.

The research questions below were also answered in the course of this research.

- Are SMEs effective at debt recovery?
- How are workers encouraged to criticize decisions if they have better ideas?

- How committed are the employees of new SMEs?

ISSUES IN RETROSPECT AND GHANAIAN SCENARIOS

Companies can make themselves competitive by blocking their peers from getting access to some basic necessities, hence creating a monopoly over raw materials and others. A company that is able to do this surely holds an internal potential that competitors hardly have. According to Brandenberg and Nalebuff (1996) and Wind (1997), a firm can gain competitive advantage by denying competitors access to a valuable resource so as to monopolise the advantage. In Ghana, a company that aligns itself with a sitting Government can block the access of others. For example, in the construction industry in Ghana, many companies in the past have used their influence to prevent other companies from noticing that a contract is at the bidding stage so as to be the sole bidders. Though most companies in Ghana use their political affiliations to gain competitive advantage, this does not usually last for a longer period. It is not something that could be sustained because political power is difficult to maintain in the long term. As a result of this, most companies in Ghana had collapsed in the past for lack of sustenance. An example that comes to mind is *Cashpro Company Limited.* It folded up in the year 2000 when the source of their power lost the general election in 1999 December. If you run a company that derives its source of differential advantage from political power, it is time to re-examine and seek for better factors that are sustainable.

Though it is not out of place to support a political party, it must not be used to gain access to competitive advantage because it is very difficult to sustain. In Ghana, apart from this political factor, business owners use their ethic backgrounds affiliation with suppliers to deny their competitors access to opportunities. These are all factors that cannot be sustained because the link would break down when the supplier company decides to change management. There are several examples in Ghana that companies must begin to desist and rather rethink of more sustainable factors. The mathematical relation below can be used to illustrate this.

If Sustenance of Competitive Advantage is **SCA**, Existing Internal Strength of company is **EIS**, and advantage gained through Political Alliances is designated **AP**, then in the Ghanaian situation, a mathematical relation links the factors:

$$SCA = \frac{EIS}{AP}$$

This relation indicates that, the ability to sustain competitive advantage is a ratio of the existing internal strength of the company to the advantage gained through the acquisition of power (either political or otherwise). **AP** is a denominator because it is a factor of **EIS**.

The higher or lower the value of **SCA** depends on the decreased or increased intensity of **AP** if **EIS** remains constant for sometime. When **AP** is low, the company finds it difficult to anchor itself to any external assistance hence they really work hard to sustain their portion. That is, they make maximum use of their existing internal strength hence increasing **EIS**. On the contrary, when **AP** is high internal strength is not being utilized leading to a small value for **SCA**. The internal strength goes waste. This is a clear advice to the businessmen and women in Ghana and outside the country that (**AP**) must not be relied upon.

Brandenberg and others tried to focus on a monopolistic strategy of creating competitive advantage. Though they were right as a matter of strategy, other researchers including (Luce and Raiffa, 1957; Scherer, 1970) proposed a paradigm shift which suggested that when two or more parties are motivated to behave in a self-serving manner, they assume that their rivals or adversaries will act similarly. In view of that, the results from each party would seem inferior to that which could have been attained if the parties had been able to assume that their rivals would not act in a way detrimental to them. Argyris (1985) drew the attention to a characteristic structural problem which is common to most organizations, (a phenomenon he describes as 'defensive routines'). All environmental threats are dealt with by defensive reasoning and what he 'describes as defensive theories in use', thus inhibiting effective response to external stimuli. According to Argyris, defensive routines are the major barriers to organizational learning yet they are rarely acknowledged by top management teams and their advisers. More recent research, however, has begun to recognize the use of resource-based capabilities in gaining and maintaining competitive advantage (Chandler & Hanks, 1994; Long & Vickers-Koch, 1995; McGee & Finney, 1997). Reaching back to the traditional strategic management concept of distinctive competence (e.g., Selznik, 1957), the resource-based view argues that competitive advantage results from a firm's resources and its capabilities. Resources include capital equipment, worker and management skills, reputation, and brand names (Barney, 1991). Resources are not normally productive in and of themselves, however, and the firm's skill at effectively coordinating and using its resources constitutes the firm's capabilities. In other words, resources are the source of a firm's capabilities; and capabilities refer to a firm's ability to bring those resources together and deploy them advantageously (Day, 1994).

Knowledge and Skills possessed by employees cannot be said to be the same. Sometimes, knowledge leads to the acquisition of skills especially when one gets knowledge from an academic institution towards the attainment of skills on certain jobs. In Ghana and almost everywhere in the world a larger percentage of the population have skills which they derived from academic knowledge from Universities, Polytechnic, Technical Institutions, Vocational and Nursing School and others. Some few other personalities have skills

which they claim they were born with. A typical case is the founder and leader of Christo Asafo Mission Church in Ghana. He never acquired any academic knowledge from a polytechnic or university but has been able to develop a new Limousine, Electronic Block Molding machine, a television that does not need a press of a buttom to start (can be started by clapping hands). This is to mention about 30% of what he has made. These scenarios prompts us that, in our organizations, there are definitely people who belong to both categories and so an effort must be made to tap their expertise and use them to gain competitive advantage. Understanding what people can do and what makes them tick, make clear what you expect them to do, setting standards which are grounded on the requirement of the task and not personal, reward them or otherwise according to their contribution(Armstrong, 1994). The ascertion by Armstrong makes it clear that, some unearthed talents possessed by the workers in the firm can be used to obtain competitive advantage if efforts are made to discover them. My personal experience as a Chief Operations Manager in a Cocoa buying company in Ghana in 2007 shows clearly that, some owners of companies do not rely on the knowledge, skill and experience of their talented workers to seek competitive advantage. Most of those lucky entrepreneurs downplay the skills of these workers and eventually get drown in the competitive environment. Stewart (1997) did not miss words when he said that a firm that constantly learns accumulates and expands its knowledge base or intellectual capital enjoys competitive advantage. Owners of companies can really enjoy differential advantage if they are able to polish their internal knowledge base far ahead of other competitors.

When there is coincidence of objective of the owner and manager in business, there is high tendency of the firm maximizing its net worth. The exclusion of owners in decision making in the business is a path for managers to ensure pursuant of their own objectives instead of efforts to get on top of competition in the market. This also means that, there is a denial of an extra skill and knowledge towards a holistic decision making by the firm. According to (Alchian and Demsetz, 1972; Jensen and Meckling, 1979; Fama, 1980; MacDonald,1984) this phenomenon is known as 'the principal-agent problem' and it is crucial to knowledge and skill enhancement.

It is a fact that managers and investors can be very competitive if they seek the right information and at the appropriate time. If a manager should seek the right and relevant information ahead of his competitors, he can create a differential in his offering. The market is so volatile that information must be sought to ensure that customers get their monies worth. Pilditch (1994) alluded to the fact that, it is not uncommon for a manufacturer to be genuinely surprised and disappointed when something he has designed, and about which he is expert fails to sell. This indicates clearly that, managers must encourage workers to

continuously seek information from customers before embarking on production to ensure that, they best serve them than their competitors. Companies with the relevant personnel and up-to-date strategy to access information must motivate workers to explore further. This strategy of attaining competitive advantage does not go without challenges. It must be in the interest of managers to surmount the challenges of time and funds in order to widen the scope of information search. The problem with Ghanaian entrepreneurs is that, they give short periods for research and information search especially when they control some sizable portion of the market. Again, they do not devote enough funds for the search of information since they are of the view that their position in the market is good and so any commitment of resources is simply unnecessarily.

All business creations are to some degree, collectivities of networks and alliances. At the organizational level, people with diverse skills and intensions cooperate with each other to achieve a mutual, common purpose (Barnard C, 1938).Barnard's network philosophy seeks to emphasize the creation of information for the betterment of the organization. This is the ability of the company to access information through interaction of the internal structures of the firm.

According to Boone and Kurtz (1999), the most appropriate model that can be used to aid planning during exercises of such nature is the attractiveness / strength matrix. The matrix looks at the degree to which an internal strength coupled with market attractiveness can produce the desired result. This paper then adapts this matrix to discuss how the internal strength coupled with the degree of internal motivation to utilize that strength can produce competitive advantage. The matrix below discusses nine scenarios. The internal strength of the firm is designated INST on the horizontal axis and the motivation needed by workers to use the strength to create the differential by MTW on the vertical axis as shown in Figure 1.

INST

	High	Medium	Low
High	SLOT1	SLOT2	SLOT3
MTW Medium	SLOT4	SLOT5	SLOT6
Low	SLOT7	SLOT8	SLOT9

Figure 1: A matrix developed to consider interactions between the strength of the firm and motivation given to workers

INTREPRETING THE MATRIX

SLOT 1:   When a company has more powerful internal strengths which may include what has been mentioned earlier or even more, and there is higher motivation to utilize those strengths, there is higher degree of competitive advantage to be gained over existing competitors.

SLOT 2:   In this slot, if the motivation is high and the strengths are not as higher as in slot I, workers can still attain the same advantage over competitors. This might depend on how enthusiastic the workers will be willing to put in more effort. In such a case, management must adopt fantastic motivational strategies to push workers to put in more.

SLOT 3:   This is where the company does not have enough strength but is relying on the well motivated workers to create the needed competitive advantage. In this case, the manager and his group must concentrate on the little strength and develop them with the view of maintaining the current position. This is where the company might not possess any outstanding strength, therefore it is better for the company to direct its motivated staff to concentrate on the marginal strength area and hold on to it. Companies that use political power to obtain market differentials belong to this group.

SLOT 4:   Firms in this category though different has similar characteristics with those in slot 2. They have all the strengths needed to create a significant competitive advantage but workers are not motivated enough. Firms in this circumstance could have technocrats as part of their strengths. In such a case, a motivated staff would create a huge differential.

SLOT 5:   This is the case where the company has average strength and workers are partially motivated to utilize the average strengths. Manager in this category should be aiming at consolidating their existing positions in the market. The degree of competitive advantage would depend on the internal strength available in the company.

SLOT 6:   The business would have average motivation to utilize strengths which are virtually non existent. In such a business, the manager should think of diversifying or even harvesting the business.

SLOT 7:   There is low motivation on the part of workers to utilize the numerous strengths in the business. The competitive advantage that can be gain from such a situation can only be used to consolidate existing position. If possible, the company must convert some of the strength into motivational packages to enhance worker interest so that competitors can be brought under control..

SLOT 8:   Average strength coupled with low or no motivation on the part of workers to turn the little strength into advantages for the business. It is likely that competitive advantage would not be created.

SLOT 9:   This is the worst scenario for managers who have the task of creating competitive advantage. This is the case for most SMEs in Ghana and some countries in the sub-region. There is low motivation to work and there are no internal strengths.

RESULTS

The questions were basically prepared to test the readiness of the SME managers to motivate their workers to use internally identified strengths for larger market share. Out of the six SMEs, three SMEs each were selected from those owned and run simultaneously and the other three from those owned but run by hired people. For one particular SME from any of the groups, sixty officials were interviewed. The research eventually obtained the under listed results:

NB: In the tables: A stands for strongly agree, B stands for agree, C stands for disagree and D stands for strongly disagree

GROUP 1: SMEs MANAGED BY OWNERS

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	It requires highly sophisticated equipment to store data	nil	35	62	83	180
2	Data on customers can help companies to make realistic forecasting	81	93	nil	6	180
3	It can help reduce bad debt	36	nil	123	21	180
4	Distribution of goods and services can be perfect under the auspices of a database	113	67	nil	nil	180

Table 1a: Developing effective database system

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	Do you think failure can ruin your business	132	15	21	12	180
2	It is best to try the second time when failure occurs	nil	nil	9	171	180

Table 1b: Fear of Failure

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	Employee is loyal when he is well paid	151	29	nil	nil	180
2	Employee show commitment only when the owner is part of management.	74	88	3	15	180

Table 1c: Loyalty of Employees

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	One can be motivated to work extra when given a commensurate salary	133	43	4	nil	180
2	A worker is likely to be dynamic with schedules	5	nil	122	53	180
3	Workers must be part of decision making process	120	43	nil	17	180

Table 1d: Worker's Motivation

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	One can beat competition when industry's performance is reviewed	nil	nil	36	144	180
2	Benchmarking can bring new ideas	152	28	nil	nil	180

Table 1e: Continuous Review of Performance

GROUP 2: SMEs MANAGED BY HIRED PERSONNEL

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	It requires highly sophisticated equipment to store data	118	54	8	nil	180
2	Data on customers can help companies to make realistic forecasting	79	101	nil	nil	180
3	It can help reduce bad debt	136	34	nil	nil	180
4	Distribution of goods and services can be perfect under the auspices of a database	123	44	nil	13	180

Table 2a: developing effective database

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	Do you agree failure can ruin your business	nil	10	41	129	180
2	It is best to try the second time when failure occurs	154	26	nil	nil	180

Table 2b: Fear of Failure

S/N	COMMENTS RESPONDED TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	Employee is loyal when he is well paid	141	33	4	nil	180
2	Employees show commitment when the owner of the business is part of management	94	58	28	nil	180

Table 2c: Loyalty of Employees

S/N	COMMENTS TO RESPOND TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	One can be motivated to work extra when given a commensurate salary	143	33	4	nil	180
2	A worker is likely to be dynamic with work schedules	135	45	nil	nil	180
3	workers must be part of decision making process	nil	28	-	152	180

Table 2d: Worker's Motivation

S/N	COMMENTS TO RESPOND TO	A	B	C	D	TOTAL
1	One can beat competition when industry's performance is reviewed	167	13	nil	nil	180
2	Benchmarking can bring new ideas	161	19	nil	nil	180

Table 2e: Continuous Review of Performance

DISCUSSION

About 81% of the respondents from Group 1 indicated that one does not need to have a well sophisticated device before a database can be developed. In actual sense, they believed that companies can device their own means of keeping data on customers. It was conspicuous in the results that respondents agreed that creating a database could help move the wheel of success faster. The results also indicated that only 20% of the respondents were able to establish that there is a direct correlation between database formation and retrieval of debt from customers. The rest of the 80% thought otherwise because a continual interaction with the customer gives the customer an opportunity to totally acclimatize with the debt collectors hence making recovery difficult. Group2 respondents agreed that data formation is good but it requires sophisticated technology for its formation. Unlike the first group, majority of the respondents in Group 2 saw a link between database formation and debt retrieval. They expressed this view because with database the company could get a lot of information on customers.

Table 1b showed that Group 1 respondents did not want to take risks. As a result, any undertaking that contains any risk must be rejected entirely. Again, the general Group 1 members agreed that a failure in any activity can spell doom for the company. In a nutshell, they believed in getting every right on first attempt. On the contrary, Group 2 respondents were of the view that to get to the top, there are chances of failure occurring and so one must redo an activity if failure was recoded the first time.

Group 1 respondents came out with an idea that loyal employees would always accept to use scanty resources to create an advantage in the market in the absence of the relevant resource slated for the purpose. They believed that, to have a loyal employee, monetary factors must be committed into motivating him or her. Group 2 respondents agreed with that view (Tables 1c and 2c). In both cases, workers were expected to be motivated with money. The workers in the second case had the freedom to be malleable with their decision making unlike Group 1 where they had to take instruction before action.

Group 1 respondents did not see benchmarking as a means of strategizing in order to beat competitors Table 1e) though they agreed that ideas could emanate from benchmarking. This was quiet different in Group 2. In Group 1, owners thought that employees could identify better conditions of service elsewhere. In another development, benchmarking was allowed in Group 1 when the outcome would favour the owner of the business. In Group 2 the absence of the owners resulted in equitable remuneration for workers as it pertained in the market.

LESSONS LEARNED

It was noted that preparation must be done to generate and revive the eagerness to create competitive advantage with scanty resources. The activities during this preparation are interrelated in most cases. In some cases traces of one of them brings to mind the need to prepare proactively for the others. Managers are hereby urged to always find some answers to the following

questions before deciding what they can do for their organizations;

- What is the available strength in the business?
- Do people need training and learning skills in order to transform the strengths?
- What level of motivation do they need to psychologically prepare them for the task ahead?

The firm must evaluate in advance the benefits it would derive from the action to be taken. There is also the need to analyze individual and collective efforts or contributions required before matching each with the task ahead.

Group I participants had their owners as part of management and the research revealed that in all activities, they preferred to adopt cost saving alternative ways of doing things as compared with the second group. They adopted that strategy because, they were afraid of getting things done wrongly which could cause their company dearly. The owners were risk averse and so they did not want to venture into the unknowns. The owners and the entire workforce were less creative and non innovative. The reason according to the research was that they never compared their position with what was happening in the market and so did not see the need to upgrade their products. It also means that environmental scanning was never their concern hence they were not dynamic with their decisions. This shows that, there was no way they could march their internal strength with the dictates of the environment. Finally, Group 1 employees could not establish good relationship with customers and other important bodies. Again, Group 1 used most workers prior to decision making because it was a way of minimizing cost. This was so because, the expenses incurred on workers to undertake a specific task was far less than the case where experts are used. Managers had to report to owners for instruction before making a decision. For this reason, there was a tendency to delay in making strategic decisions

The research revealed that, Group 2 managers did not want to involve non managers in decision making because they were afraid of being exposed to their bosses and for that matter they excluded them. As a result, this group hardly get assess to vital information for their strategies. Since owners were not available, they sought information from the environment so that they could compare with their own business. Workers were more creative because they were given a free hand to operate. As a result of this opportunity, they could take risk if the returns were promising. The decision making process was shorter as compared to Group 1. Employees under Group 2 usually were not committed to certain norms in the absences of their owners. Where the internal strength was high but the motivation for the workers to perform was low, debt recovery was found to be slow. This was because debtors began to motivate the workers instead.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The research suggested the following recommendations:

- All internal strategies that cannot be sustained in a competitive environment must not be encouraged or practiced.

- The decision making process at all levels must be participative so as to get individual members committed and to avoid making mistakes which are costly. It will also give management more information. If managers are given the mandate of making decisions, systems must be set in place evaluate them at regular intervals.

- Where the owners are not represented in the management of the business, senior managers must be encouraged to own shares in the company so that they do not make self convenient decisions. This is necessary because it would prevent managers from taking more risky projects.

- Irrespective of the group, managers and workers must create relationships and networks. This is the surest way to obtain information from the competitor. Performances must be compared to the best in the market.

- Management must find the means to make employees happy especially where the internal strength is high. The cost of motivating is however lower than when the debtor takes that responsibility.

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CONFLICT DIFFUSION: TOWARDS POLITICAL LEGITIMACY AND SOCIAL WHOLENESS

Dr John S Potter*

Charles Taylor (1991) sees 'societal fragmentation' as a problem in modern societies. By his view, fragmentation arises when 'individuals… withdraw from active political participation; preferring to stay at home and enjoy the satisfactions of private life, as long as the government of the day produces the means to these satisfactions and distributes them widely' (Taylor, op cit, p.9). Fragmentation is a problem because it opens the door for what Tocqueville (1981) called 'soft despotism'. Not that tyranny of terror and oppression still common in some developing situations; rather a mild and paternalistic governance that maintains democratic forms like occasional elections, but in fact runs everything as an 'immense tutelary power' over which ordinary folk have little or no control. The only defense against such a power in Tocqueville's view is vigorous political action, but Taylor sees 'the atomism of self absorbed individuals' militating against such action. Most of us are left standing alone before a vast bureaucratic state, feeling powerless. This de-motivates us even further; 'the vicious cycle of soft despotism is joined' (Taylor op cit, p10.).

Fragmentation has been exacerbated in Australia since the early 1970s by the relaxation of immigration regulations. In Pre-World War II Australia, indigenous aborigine people were not permitted to vote and there was a White Australia policy in place that prevented people of Asian, Arab and African ethnicity becoming citizens of the Australian State. Since the change in the rules, significant numbers of people from a great variety of ethnic groupings have now settled in Australia. In the five year period 2001-2006, only 22.8% of immigrants were from traditional bases like the United Kingdom and New Zealand; Chinese made up 9.5% of immigrants, Indians 7.9%, with South Africans, Malaysians, Philippinos, Koreans, Indonesians, Sudanese, Sri Lankans and Vietamese making up the balance (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Non-Caucasian people have tended to form isolated ethnic social groups within the general populace, living to themselves rather than participate in wider political affairs. An exception to the rule is Muslim immigrants, some of whom have been politically aggressive in announcing that they have come to Australia to promote Islamic banking and Sharia law!

Taylor sees the problem with fragmentation (apart from a general loss of freedom) is that:

> 'People become increasingly less capable of forming a common purpose and carrying it out. Some people may feel linked to others via a common project but such groups tend to remain partial groupings rather than society as a whole. And the more people put their political energy into promoting the objectives of partial groupings, the less possible it is for them to mobilize democratic majorities around commonly understood programs and policies. A sense grows that the electorate as a whole is defenseless against the leviathan state. A well organized… partial grouping may…be able to make a dent but the idea that a majority of people might frame and carry through a common project comes to be seen as utopian and naïve', (Taylor op cit, p.112).

In other words, it is common in modern states for people to give up trying; political action seems a waste of time and effort.

RIGHTS

Taylor sees a fragmented society leading to politics 'taking on a different mould' (ibid, p.113). In particular, defending the rights of people deemed to be suffering discrimination becomes a principal focus, and this leads to shifts in the nature and site of political action. One result is that decision making tends to move from the parliament to the courts. Rather than the courts dispensing justice on the ground of legislation, the courts make decisions according to the constitution and legislators pass legislation that enshrines judicial decisions. A second result is the rise of single issue campaigns by advocacy groups that 'work fiercely for their favoured cause' (Taylor, op cit, p.115). The abortion debate as a case in point; in the United States of America the battle was essentially judicial but it was backed by 'lobbying, mobilizing mass opinion and selective intervention in election campaigns for or against targeted candidates' (ibid, p.115).

The rise of advocacy groups results in a lot of activity around isolated causes rather than the formation of democratic majorities around meaningful programs that can be carried to completion. In fact, in a fragmented society, the latter seems, and probably is, no longer possible. Politics becomes the domain of extremist groups that want to change the world. And it is a 'winner takes all' agenda; when one side wins the other side loses. The abortion issue is again a classical case. Whose rights are more important: the rights of mothers or the rights of the unborn child? Such issues are in reality dilemmas; there is no 'right answer', just open warfare to determine whose position will win the day. The effect of this in reinforcing social fragmentation is evident. In our time, the great bulk of the general citizenry finds it increasingly difficult to identify with a society which has no specific character and unified belief system. National identity has becoming nebulous.

The question remains: Is there any action we can take to restore societal wholeness and get a genuine democracy back on track? Taylor sees the decentralization of governance as one policy initiative that has potential to break down the power of a

centralized bureaucracy. But policies aimed at decentralizing governance, 'although compelling and popular in the abstract tends to carry the seeds of their own contradictions' (Weiler 1990). Christopher (2011) has provided a current concrete example.

POLITICIANS

So far we have focused the impact of fragmentation as a malaise experienced by an atomistic populace. Now we must ask how it affects the agency of our elected representatives.

Firstly, the sheer force of political activism has caused political parties to move away from their traditional agendas, in some cases substantially. The Labour Party in Australia is a case in point. Far from being an homogenous reference group[1] sharing common values, the 2011 Labour Party Parliamentary Caucus has a 'left wing' and a 'right wing' and everything in between. Partly this is due to the penetration of pressure groups into the party and partly it is due to the party's attempts to be seen as conformable with what it sees to be dominant public opinion. Policy is in a state of constant flux, the Party's allegiance moves with the public debate. The Party leadership has a full time job achieving a consensual position on just about everything, and this leaves traditional Labour supporters in confusion and disarray. They are unhappy with where their politicians are taking them but unwilling to vote for *the bourgeoisie*.

A second change over the past several decades has been that 'normal governmental matters' like international diplomacy and trade, law and order, public amenities and welfare services are no longer matters that feature strongly in the public debate. Rather, the matters focused in the public arena by politicians working together with the media are the controversial issues: abortion, euthanasia, same sex marriage and the environment. Politicians spend their time treading warily through a political mine field of pressure group interests which they are powerless to control; yet by 'playing the game' they inevitably contribute to the long life of such issues in the public debate.

A third change, which exacerbates the above problems in Australia, is that politicians are no longer people who have spent half a life time demonstrating their competence in the work place. Most Australian parliamentarians these days are career politicians, people who, on completion of a three year political science degree course have attached themselves to a sitting member as a press aid and within a short time gotten themselves nominated for a seat in the parliament. Very few politicians have had any business training let alone run a business successfully, yet they find this no hindrance to taking on the job of managing a national economy. Their argument is that the economy is run by the technocrats in the public service but we, the populace, are not encouraged by such an admission – who are these unelected bureaucrats who

are making crucial decisions that massively affect our lives?

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY

We recognize genius when complexity is reduced to a universal principal and a cacophony of argument is silenced by one precise statement. Newton's $F=ma$ and Einstein's $e=mc^2$ are cases in point. In his paper on redistributive governance in education, Hans Weiler (op cit) argues that the whole of **political science** may be understood in terms of **legitimacy** and **conflict diffusion**.

The relationship between the two factors can be understood this way: Re-election is a crucial issue for politicians; much of what they do is directed towards ensuring that they retain their seat in the parliament. And they understand that to be re-elected they must 'build **legitimacy**', i.e. convince the electorate that they are a person that can be trusted to make the right decisions for our general welfare. And the best way to do this, according to Weiler, 'is to demonstrate competence in **conflict diffusion**'.

For instance, if it is discovered that 17% of Year 7 school students are not competent in basic literacy and numeracy we can be sure that this fact will find its way into the daily press and electronic media. And we can be equally certain that the Minister of Education will be interviewed. The question is: how should an astute politician respond in such a situation? One response would be to become defensive. The Minister may say: "Look, we have hard working teachers and they are doing the best. You have to understand that some students have difficult situations at home that cause them to not do well at school; you cannot expect teachers to compensate for that". If this is the reply, the media can be guaranteed to pursue the story tenaciously, interviewing parents and officers from the Education Department, asking questions about the curriculum - whether there is a need for special courses for those not doing well, etc. The story will have a long run and the Minister of Education will spend much time addressing it. In particular the Minister will look like someone who has lost control.

Far better it is for the Minister to say, in the first place: "The Government takes this matter very seriously; I share your concerns. This morning I have asked Professor X (a well known and respected person in the community) and several other people (senior education specialists) to conduct an investigation into the matter. I have asked the committee to indicate what steps need to be taken to improve the situation". In the normal course of events the media will lose interest in the matter right there. The committee will meet for eighteen months; they will present their leather bound report to the Minister but by that time the media and the general populace will have long since forgotten the purpose of the investigation. In Weiler's view, a politician who practices this kind of **conflict diffusion** will survive and one who promotes social division by

being confrontational will not. Is there empirical evidence for this?

"WORK CHOICES"

John Howard, as leader of the Liberal National Party Coalition, was Prime Minister of Australia from 1996 to 2007. For most of that time he did not have a majority in the Upper House but he was successful in getting a whole range of legislation through the parliament, including a much debated GST, i.e. a Goods and Services Tax, not a General Sales Tax but a heavily disguised VAT[2].

In the 2004 election Howard's party won a majority in both houses and Howard decided that his popularity was sufficient for him to introduce a policy that would disadvantage his long time enemy the Trade Union Movement. "Work Choices" legislation empowered employees to contract with employers unilaterally, i.e. without Trade Union involvement or interference, and to put in place work place arrangements that substantially eroded hard won employment conditions that Unions held to be sacrosanct. The Act was clearly confrontational and the strong back lash that occurred was predictable. Howard not only lost the 2007 electorate but his own seat, a "blue ribbon" Liberal seat that he had held for over 30 years.

CURRENT ISSUES

The current Australian Labour Party Government that took power in 2007 has distinguished itself by demonstrating considerable incompetence. Taking its cue from Taylor (op cit), to keep the atomized electorate happy while it was attending to more important matters like reversing the work place relations law, it introduced a range of hand-out policies: lap top computers for all school children, free ceiling insulation for domestic houses, billions of dollars for school special building programs, etc. Unfortunately, its management of these programs did not match its political good will – the lap top program foundered, several people were electrocuted installing "pink bats" and a number of building contractors in league with State government officials were shown to have drastically overcharged for their services when constructing new school buildings. Prime Minister Kevin Rudd tried desperately to establish himself as a world leader in the Global Warming debate; he took one hundred and forty politicians, public servants and scientific advisers with him to the Copenhagen Conference in late 2009 but was unsuccessful in convincing the rest of the world as to the legitimacy of his case. The sum of these "failures" saw the Labour Party's popularity drop from 66% to a percentage in the low 30s. Rudd's parliamentary colleagues sacked him as leader and installed Julia Gillard as Prime Minster in his stead just before the end of the electoral term. Kevin Rudd's history suggests that the Australian electorate might not be so easily seduced by hand outs as Taylor's analysis might suggest (see above).

In fact, administrative incompetence and extravagant spending (the Government was borrowing $100 million every day) had alienated a sizeable number of traditional Labour voters from the Labour Party and the 2010 election saw the Party lose considerable ground. When the votes were counted the Liberal/National Coalition had one more seat than Labour in the House of Representatives but Julia Gillard's government survived with support from the first Green Party member to win a seat in the lower house and a small group of Independents. In the Upper House, the number of Green Party Senators had risen sharply due to Labour voters moving sideways to show their general dissatisfaction with what they saw to be Labour acting outside of traditional Labour values. The Greens now held the balance of power in the Senate and had a crucial vote in the Lower House. Julia Gillard's minority government hung by a thread but she survived, for the time being at least, by doing everything she could to maintain Green support.

Now the Green Party in Australia began as an aggressive environmental lobby group. Senator Bob Brown, a Tasmanian and the Green's parliamentary leader made a name for himself in the successful opposition to the Franklin River Dam. But along the way the Greens have picked up many fellow travelers who saw that an alliance with the Greens gave them an opportunity to push their favoured agendas. The Greens are now the main voice in Australia for social change: abortion on demand, euthanasia, same-sex marriages along with action to reduce the impact of Climate Change.

Before the 2010 election Julia Gillard gave solemn promise that a carbon tax would not be introduced by any government she led; after the election and the dust had settled, Julia Gillard announced that she would be introducing a carbon tax – obviously a condition of the Green support she now desperately needed. To soften the blow, the Labour Party machine worked hard to produce a policy whereby only "the big polluters", especially operators of coal burning power plants, would pay. A tax on fuel for private use would be exempt and householders would receive a hand-out to cover the increased cost of domestic power bills. The back lash was considerable, not only from the Coalition but from science "skeptics" and the great bulk of the population who, while they were unsure that carbon dioxide, a tasteless, ordourless and colourless gas had any effect on climate, they did understood that unilateral action by the Australian Government would drastically disadvantage Australian export businesses, cause job losses in coal mining districts and probably do little or nothing for the environment. The announcement that a tax on carbon emissions would be introduced saw the Government's support, and Julia Gillard's popularity as preferred prime Minister drop to under 30%. The polls were unanimous: if there was an election, Labour would lose by a land slide.

Labour, together with the Greens, has the numbers in the parliament to pass carbon tax legislation; they can seize the opportunity to push their agenda. But, if Weiler's hypothesis is correct, they should understand that by doing so they are creating conflict rather than diffusing it and greatly increasing the risk of an electoral backlash at the next elections. Weiler's position would further argue that Julia Gillard's only survival option would be to take a step backwards and make the following statement:

"The Government believes that action on Climate Change is essential for the on-going welfare of the planet but it is clear that many Australian's do not as yet share this view. We are going to delay the introduction of a carbon tax for the time being and encourage the widest possible debate on the issue at a scientific level and at the policy level. The change to a Green technology is possibly the biggest social change we have every faced and it is important that we all agree and move forward together"

Such a statement would legitimate her as committed to fairness and social wholeness. Her poll rating could be predicted to rise dramatically.

Regrettably, on the evidence, Julia Gillard and Labour cannot be expected to make such a statement. The Greens would certainly oppose it vigourously because they are bent on radical change which would see all coal burning power stations closed down and 'Tasmania become one huge National Park with predominantly retirees resident in its towns'[3].

CLIMATE CHANGE: RELEVANT POLITICAL ACTION

In 2008, the eminent sociologist and Labour peer, Anthony Giddens, proposed a number of 'National Responses' to the Challenge of Global Warming. These were published by the London based Policy Network[4] in a Policy Network Paper entitled "The Politics of Climate Change" (Giddens 2008). The stated objective of the paper was 'to think about the challenges of climate change in a specifically political context' (ibid, Preface).

A superficial reading of the document would convey the impression that the author supports the 'green' lobbyist's position but closer examination reveals that it is a masterly project that has the power to diffuse the conflict evident in the Climate debate. For instance, the title is clearly phrased to ensure that Green lobbyists, who argue that 'the science is settled', do not reject the project outright but feel secure enough to "get on board". But the back ground statements put forward a number of propositions for discussion that would encourage Climate deniers that Gidden's project might at last give them a forum in which they will be heard. These statements are of a brilliantly conflict diffusing kind and worth quoting in some detail. (Note the specifically conflict diffusing statements which I have highlighted in italics, and note Gidden's

comprehensive inclusion of matters that need to be addressed and resolved):

'Public discussion of climate change tends to be partial and disparate. Loosely connected debates hinge on: the evidence that climate change is occurring and on estimates of its potential impact; the prospects for agreement on an international economic framework… (like), for instance, carbon trading; futurology surrounding the potential for technological innovation that could solve the problem; and, scenario building that emphasises the necessity for dramatic lifestyle changes. But *the debate is limited in scope and too compartmentalized*. To truly come to terms with the increasingly urgent need for mitigation and adoption requires a broad policy perspective, because the impact of climate change (ideology) challenges every corner of the 21st Century state. This (paper) aims to offer an *integrated platform* from which to analyse and respond to the political challenges of climate change' (Giddens, op cit).

The Preface continues its persuasive work by moving subtly from being 'a project' to 'a study' which will address four main political challenges (italics also added for emphasis):

1. The Management of Risk

'The prevailing scientific consensus… is periodically questioned. How in these circumstances can democracies construct a prudent… policy agenda to manage the risks, whilst also *building consensus* around the agenda?'

2. A Return to Planning

Actually Giddens is calling for a re-opening of the discussion but he is again non-confrontational in appearing to accept the climate change position. His purpose here is to make a clear statement as to what the issues for political decision making and governance are, e.g.: 'What new forms of interventionism would be the most expedient; how can the climate change dimension be built into every aspect of public policy; how can market-orientated approaches be balanced with state-centric ones…, carbon pricing, the role of regulation, energy efficiency, transport and land use, the promotion of specific technological innovation by government and lifestyle and behavioural changes?'

3. Creating a Political and Public Consensus for Action

This statement is clear evidence of Gidden's conflict diffusion agenda.

4. The Implications of Social Justice

The question is put: 'The social and economic costs of climate change will be large. How can we ensure that the impact of policies… are received as equitable by

key groups in society and do not penalize the less fortunate?' (The reference to 'key groups in society' assures us that Giddens recognises *fragmentation* to be a problem in the modern state).

The body of Gidden's paper deals with the above matters in detail and is worth reading in full if we are seriously interested in adopting a conflict diffusion strategy. Suffice to say, that Giddens demonstrates how a complex and potentially divisive agenda can be managed at the policy level, how consensus may be found and a nation embrace drastic behavioural changes *in a state of political wholeness*. In Taylor's words: how 'a majority may carry a common project through to a conclusion'.

CAN THIS WORK?

In 2009 I showed the Giddens' paper to several key climate change deniers. They were not interested at that time; they were convinced that they could 'fight this thing' and win with good scientific argument. Two years later they are beginning to accept the inevitable – unless there is some miraculous intervention, Julia Gillard will get her carbon tax through the Australian parliament and Australia will enter a Dark Age when cheap power will not be available and food will becomes short - perhaps desperately short (Potter, 2010).

Julia Gillard will press on with her project because she has to satisfy the Green agenda to stay in power and because she is optimistic in believing that two years will be a long enough time for people to get used to the new economic order, in the same way as they became used to Howard's GST. She is a "self actualiser", hard tasks for her are the opportunity to show how good she is. She forgets or perhaps does not know that 'after self actualisation there is nothing more to live for' (Maslow 1954). And she may find that the Australian public is not as naïve as she might think them and have longer memories than she gives them credit for. According to Weiler, she is in desperate need of a legitimate conflict diffusion strategy. Giddens provides a brilliant "ready made" way forward. It will be a pity if the current Australian Government and the Opposition do not together agree to adopt his project. If they did so the confrontational Greens would be silenced and the Australian State would be helped to regain a unified character and identity.

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NOTES

[1] see Homans (1965)

[2] The introduction of the GST saw Australian's paying an extra 10% on all goods and services except fresh food. It was a considerable imposition but it had the effect of eliminating Australia's financial debt and provided the Federated States with considerable income to local upgrade services.

[3] A proposal put forward as a genuine option in an Australian Broadcasting Program "Q&A", Monday 25th July 2011. What the retirees would eat was not considered let alone explained.

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POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT: IS UGANDA ON THE RIGHT TRACK?

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ABSTRACT

This paper conceptualizes the meaning, implications and challenges posed by the phenomenon of poverty in Uganda. The data generated suggests that the Ugandan Government still faces a lot of obstacles that stand in the way of sustained development within the framework of the ratified Millennium Development Goals. Much as these goals have provided a useful framework for budgetary allocation of resources at both national and local government levels, the implementation process have been both challenging and irregular. Macro economic discipline has been inadequate.

The paper concludes with a recommendation that, in order to realize a marked change in addressing the root causes and effects of poverty, there should be strict adherence and respect to fiscal and monetary policies in place. At the heart of this is the quest for prudent and sensible public spending.

BACKGROUND

Like any concept, poverty alleviation has its own social history and genesis. Accordingly, it is appropriate to attempt to contextualize it before we discuss its applicability from the point of view of the socio-economic and political setting prevailing today in Africa, and Uganda in particular.

Intellectually and programmatically, the evolution of development policies within the international community and the identification of target groups provide a background against which to measure progress, and to evaluate current practice which sometimes can be at variance with professed objectives, or simply inadequate or even misconceived all together. In this regard, it is important to note that the development concept of poverty alleviation was a result of disillusionment with trickle down theories of the 1960s. The theories supposed that development at the national level would automatically improve the well being of all sections of the population in the country. Experience soon showed that even in those cases in the developing world where growth occurred, by and large, it did not benefit the poor. Only a few could benefit from the proceeds. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the situation was doubly worse. What became prominent is that not only have economies stagnated since the end of the 1960s including Uganda (Archie,

1995) but more ominously the number of people who live in absolute poverty has increased rapidly. The same state of affairs is also true of Latin America and most parts of Asia despite the so-called 'sustained and measurable growth'. This led in the 1970s to the recognition of the notion of 'poverty alleviation' as a development objective in itself. The new development paradigm acknowledged poverty alleviation to be not just as a mechanism to get the poor to cross to a given threshold of income or consumption, but a sustained process leading to increased productivity and an integration of the poor into the process of growth. For this, the poor must have access to resources, and the policy and institutional framework should be such that it enables them to participate and utilize such resources effectively (IFAD, 1992).

Novak (1996) argues that poverty concepts employed should transcend the limitation of micro level intervention programs which focus primarily on personal incomes and expenditure. Poverty should be seen in the context of access to all forms of resources and facilities provided by or within a nation; wider socio-economic factors ought to be taken into consideration as well.

It is apparent that the Gestalt-shift from the 'poverty alleviation' to 'poverty eradication' paradigm was the culmination of much discussion in high places within the international community. But it is not clear to what extent the academic community was involved in the process of poverty eradication discourse. Those people engaged in poverty research such as the CROP network, might be able to enlighten scholars more. In the meantime, we note that from the beginning of the millennium, poverty eradication has been a buzz-word within the international community. Although it is predictable that the Bretton Woods Institutions and the UN agencies will not, as in the case of 'poverty alleviation' bring about fundamental 'poverty eradication', there are no immediate theoretical and philosophical objections to the notion of 'poverty eradication' at this stage of human and technological development.

Universally, the modern state is held responsible for the well being and welfare of its citizens. Traditionally, this takes the form of social services. It is only under the welfare state that such social services can be extended to embrace employment creation in the guise of indicative planning and welfare benefits for the poor. Consequently, in spite of the effective intervention of the welfare state during the post-second World War economic boom in Western Europe, the belief that these were not rights but only charitable interventions which were dispensable under certain conditions persisted (Todaro, 2003).

It is conceivable that the crusade for poverty alleviation since the late 1970s was not only an assertion of the rights of the poor but also a rear-guard action against the economic policies of the West. As far as the sub-Saharan countries are concerned, there is no evidence

that any of them initiated national poverty alleviation programs since their inception over twenty years ago. A few responsive governments adopted what may be called egalitarian policies wherein they tried to combine growth with equity. Among these were Tanzania, Uganda, and Burkina Faso during Sakara's short lived regime. This model was not favored by the West because according to its neo-classical orthodoxy, it retarded the development of the market forces and hindered capital accumulation. In the case of Tanzania, it took IMF six years to bring Nyerere's government into line (Singh, 1986). It is interesting to note that the same policies which were severely condemned in the wake of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) are now implicit in the newly evolved concept of 'poverty eradication'. Indeed, since the end of the 'lost decades' in Africa, the IMF and the World Bank have been raising similar concerns. Both have been courting and using Museveni's Government of Uganda, which has shown a steady annual growth rate of 5-7% from the early 1990s, of which about 40 percent of the growth rate being accounted for by the rapid growth rate in the informal sector, as an example (Livingstone, 1992).

In Uganda poverty is a legacy of strife and human rights abuses, accompanied by bad governance. Many Ugandans feel betrayed by their own government and economic policies which are biased in favor of elites (UPPAR, 2000).

THE PROBLEM

It is evident that Uganda has high prospects for the future. Despite a difficult start Uganda has staged a remarkable economic recovery and is moving towards self development. Thanks to a trickle-down policy of structural adjustment, the economy has been liberalized, private sector developed, investment boomed, import business flourished and even casinos mushroomed. These are good reasons for structural adjustment advocates to be satisfied!

There is another Uganda which is still one of the poorest countries in the whole world (Human Development Report, 2007). The present is uncertain but the future is even less reassuring for the greater majority of the population. Economic growth has been substantial but basically it has been due to great support from foreign aid and donations. In any case, such a significant resource inflow has not tangibly reached the majority of people living in the rural areas. In short, the Ugandan paradox is the dichotomy between macro-level performance and micro-level realities. In spite of an impressive growth rate of 6.5 percent since 1987, there is widespread poverty, and the gap between the rich and the poor is still far apart (Bibangambah, 2001; Human Development Report, 2007). This scenario calls for a multidimensional approach and credible participatory intervention.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

1. To assess the genesis and manifestation of poverty in Uganda;

2. To identify the main problems and challenges associated with poverty alleviation in Uganda; and

3. To propose appropriate strategies that can address poverty concerns and ensure sustainable development in Uganda.

STUDY APPROACH

The study on poverty reduction and sustained development in Uganda is prompted by the need to address irregularities in policy and practices especially by highly placed government officials who should have known much better the importance of prudent public spending and discipline. The study is cross-sectional and longitudinal in orientation. It is descriptive and explanatory. The secondary sources of data used included: Government Reports especially from the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development as well as poverty related text books focusing on African, Asian and Latin American countries. Non-participant observation was also relied on. These sources formed the basis for analysis, interpretation, drawing of conclusions and making of recommendations.

RESULTS

The poor in Uganda consist of the following categories of people (Nsibambi, 1997; Burkey, 2003):

- The disadvantaged peasants including the landless, squatters and pastoralists with inadequate livestock;

- People who are too handicapped to work by reason of physical or mental disabilities or by reason of old age or tender age;

- One-parent families particularly those headed by females such as the divorced women, widows, and unmarried mothers;

- Children in need of care and protection including orphans, displaced children and street children;

- Disadvantaged urban dwellers especially the unemployed, informal sector workers and slum dwellers;

- People in remote areas who lack access to services and profitable markets, who live in insecure areas and are frequently affected by natural disasters like droughts and earthquakes.

In addition to the above, Nsibambi (ibid) and Burkey (ibid) articulate that there is poverty in Uganda associated with gender relations as follows:

- Women performing less lucrative economic roles as compared with men;

- Women who have restricted access to commercially productive assets like land, as compared to men;

- Women lacking meaningful control over productive resources and even over the crops they produce; and

- Women inadequately represented in key decision making organs in the country.

One way of assessing poverty is to measure Uganda's progress towards achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In September 2000, 189 heads of States and Governments endorsed eight MDGs to be achieved by 2015. These goals represent the international community's collective commitment to see poverty reduced and social development advanced for the world's poorest people. The goals were ratified by both the rich and poor countries for compliance. Table 1 gives an up to date account of Uganda's progress towards achieving the MDG targets as reported in the United Nations Report on the Fund for Population Activities' (UNFPA, 2010) and the Ugandan Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development Report (MOFPED, 2010).

Table 1 shows that, with regard to the nineteen MDGs and targets, the Ugandan Government is on track or successful in seven (7) areas, has reversed trends in a further two (2) areas but is showing slow progress or is stagnant in eight (8) areas; and has no target in the final two (2) areas. Given the fact that the aim is to achieve the MDGs by 2015, it is clear that the Government's pace of achievement is unsatisfactory. In this project we asked why this was so.

Factors Holding Back Development in Uganda

One problem for development in Uganda has been rapidly rising population pressure. Since 2000, the average growth in Uganda's Gross Domestic Product has been 6.3% per annum. But Uganda has a population of 33 million and high population growth of 3.2% per annum, the highest in the region (UNFPA, 2010; MOFPED, 2010). On average, a woman in Uganda bears seven children. When projected countrywide, this is socially and economically unsustainable, meaning that any measure of economic growth will not have a sustainable tangible impact.

Another problem in Uganda has been undisciplined public expenditure and the Government needs to get its priorities right if it is to achieve sustained development in terms of poverty reduction and enhanced service delivery. According to the Constitution of Uganda

(1995), the Government should have 21 Cabinet Ministers but the present number is 28, not counting 48 additional Ministers of State. This overload of Ministers has been going on since 1996. Further, in 1986 when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Government came to power, the country had 39 districts. Today there are 112 districts, and more are yet to come in the next financial year (MOFPED, 2011). Going by the principle of economies of scale, this is unrealistic. The question to be asked is: Why should the country incur so many costs that do not serve vital national economic, social and political interests? (For more information on this topic see the Refugee Law Project Working Paper Number II, 2004). More districts means more Resident District Commissioners, more members of parliament (MPs), and a host of other officials whose upkeep can only drain further limited national resources that would be better spent on the provision of infrastructural improvements like roads, schools and hospitals.

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.	
Target 1A: Halve between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	On track
Target 1B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all including women and young people.	No target
Target 1C: Halve between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.	On track
Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education.	
Target 2A: Ensure that by 2015 children everywhere, boys and girls alike will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.	Slow
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women.	
Target 3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education not later than 2015.	On track
Goal 4: Reduce Child mortality.	
Target 4A: Reduce by two thirds between 1990 and 2015 the under five mortality rate	Slow
Goal 5: Improve maternal health.	
Target 5A: Reduce by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015 the maternal mortality ratio.	Slow
Target 5B: Achieve by 2015 universal access to reproductive health.	Slow
Goal 6: Control HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases.	

Target 6B: Achieve by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDs for all those who need it.	On track
Target 6C: Have halted by 2015 and began to reverse the incidence of malaria and other diseases.	Slow
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	
Target 7A: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources.	Slow
Target 7B: Reduce biodiversity loss by achieving by 2010 a significant reduction in the rate of loss.	Slow
Target 7C: Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation.	On track
Target 7D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.	No target
Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.	
Target 8A: Address the special needs of the least developed countries.	Reversal
Target 8B: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term.	Achieved
Target 8C: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries.	Stagnant
Target 8D: In cooperation with the private sector make available the benefits of new technologies especially information and communications.	On track

Table 1: Showing Uganda's Progress Towards Achieving Millennium Development Goals: Source UNFPA 2010.

The erratic nature of policy development and fiscal indiscipline has been noted by the Governor of the Bank of Uganda who recorded his view in *The Financial Times (UK)* and *The Monitor* (23rd June, 2011) that a directive of the Head of State to spend U$740 million on fighter jets was not planned for in the budget for the financial year 2010/2011. The forceful purchase of these jet aircrafts pushed the foreign exchange reserves at the Bank of Uganda down from six to four months of import cover. The *Financial Times* (June 2011) also mentioned that the Governor of the Bank of Uganda did not approve of Government's 600 billion Uganda Shillings supplementary budget at the beginning of the year 2011. By implication three

issues are clear: (1) Government of Uganda policy makers do not heed the advice of technocrats; (2) the flouting of financial regulations and procedures directly affects programmed service delivery; and (3) Central Government policy makers seldom get their priorities right. It is such actions that lead to stagnation in the quest for poverty reduction and achieving sustainable development in the country.

Continuing reliance on foreign aid and donations is another matter requiring attention by the Government of Uganda. Currently (2011/2012), 31% of the country's budget is to be financed through foreign donations and 69% through domestic revenue. This unhealthy 'established' trend in the history of Uganda hinders its development as an independent state.

In another paper (Christopher, 2011) I argued that University education should be better funded especially in the area of science and research. Studies show that the contribution of central Government to the five (5) public universities has been on average 0.3% in total of the GDP. This is too low when it is considered that investing in university scientific research tends to have a multiplier effect in terms of socio-economic, political, environmental and technological development (MOFPED, 2010).

DISCUSSION

Good macro-economic management focused on approved socio-economic goals is pivotal to poverty alleviation and sustained development. Looking again at Table 1, it is evident that poverty and effective social service delivery and sustainable development as per the projected MDGs is unlikely to be achieved in Uganda. In statistical terms, the Government has succeeded in meeting 50% of the MDGs in 10 years, leaving only 4 years to complete the job prior to evaluation in 2015. This short fall is indicative of poor prioritization and limited commitment by Government to both national and international aspirations.

The Ugandan Government should learn from China where the policy of the government has always been to pursue prudent fiscal policy, trimming credit growth by discouraging unnecessary home purchases to keep property prices in check. China has maintained a close watch on the economy since bringing in free market reforms in 1980. According to Professor Augustus Nuwagaba (see *New Vision* newspaper of 23rd August 2010), through sound macro-economic and fiscal policies and discipline since 1980, China has been able to reduce poverty from 44% to only 4%, one of the fastest poverty reduction rates ever achieved.

The argument by some policy makers in Uganda that a high population has the potential to spur sustainable development and hence reduce poverty is not accurate. The UN Human Development Report (2007/2008) claims that there is no correlation between a big population and a high level of socio-economic human development. Norway is second after Iceland (Iceland

has a population of about 300,000) in world ranking in terms of Human Development Index trends, and yet it has less than 5 million people. Norway is followed by Australia with 21 million people (see *New Vision* 10th November 2009). The eight (8) countries with the highest per capita income in the world all have population growth rate of less than 1.5% per annum.

CONCLUSIONS

Poverty is a multi-faceted problem which includes material and non material deprivation. For it to be fought successfully, Central and Local Government Authorities need to be frugal and disciplined in the management of resources. Much of what the Central Ugandan Government is doing in ensuring that MDGs are realized and poverty fought is commendable but there are serious bottlenecks that should be addressed especially in the area of prioritization of goals and objectives for implementation. It is imperative also that technocrats and policy makers work as a team to ensure that poverty is reduced and sustainable development realized.

Control on public expenditure should be accorded top priority. Prudent macro-economic stability demands that both fiscal and monetary policy discipline should be exercised by different actors. It is important, for instance, that Government policy makers guarantee the independence of the Bank of Uganda in the area of reserves management and public expenditure if the quest for poverty reduction and sustainable development is to be realized.

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DR JOSE RIZAL AND THE ORDEN DE CABALLEROS DE RIZAL

Dr George Reiff*

Dr. José Protasio Rizal

BRIEF HISTORY

Dr. José Protasio Rizal Mercado y Alonso Realonda (June 19, 1861 – December 30, 1896, Bagumbayan), was a Filipino reform oriented scholar and human rights activist. He was also an optometrist who studied in the Philippines, Spain, France and Germany and practiced in Hong Kong, Japan and the Philippines. Dr. Rizal is formally recognized as a National Hero of the Philippines, a fact commemorated annually on the 30th of December as this was the date that he was executed by the Spanish colonial power in 1896.

In Germany Dr Rizal came in contact with the philosophical school of humanism established once by Alexander von Humboldt. He attended meetings of intellectuals in Berlin, which we would nowadays describe as the foremost think tank of Germany at that time. Among them were scientific giants like Dr. Robert Virchow. Dr. Rizal was the founder of La Liga Filipina, a civic organization that subsequently gave birth to the Katipunan led by Andrés Bonifacio who finally started the Philippino Revolt against the Spanish.

Dr. Rizal's philosophy stipulated development through education; he aimed at institutional reforms by peaceful means rather than by revolution and civil warfare. However, Rizal's writings (e.g. *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*) made him the intellectual pace-maker of the Philippine Revolution causing dissent among peaceful reformists and strongly boosting the militancy of armed resistance against the Spaniards.

The year 2011 marks the 150th Year since Rizal's birth; there have been world wide as well as ongoing celebrations in the Philippines.

EARLY WRITINGS

Rizal finished his studies in Madrid, By this time his understanding of human nature had broadened and he had come to realize that his true ambition and vision laying in meeting the needs of his people. His first idea was to publish an anthology from various Philippine authors but he finally published only his own work and called it *Noli Me Tangere*. This work was criticized as being influenced by the German Protestants due to Rizal's close contact to the Berlin group, but he agued that he had written three quarters of it in Catholic countries like Spain and France. From the beginning Rizal was afraid that *Noli* (as the title is called in the Philippines) would never be published and remain unread. Eventually he was offered a gift of 300 Peso and 2000 copies were printed. Rizal sent a copy of this his first book to his close German friend Herr Blumentritt on the 21st March 1887. In a letter to Blumentritt, he wrote, 'The novel is the first impartial and bold account of the life of the tagalogs. The Filipinos will find in it the history of the last ten years'[1].

Criticism came first from a committee of the University of Santo Tomas that had been set by Archbishop Pedro Payo. It condemned the novel as heretical, impious, and scandalous in its religious aspect, and unpatriotic, subversive of public order and harmful to the Spanish government and its administration of these islands in its political aspect. However, the negative publicity was better than none in that it awakened the curiosity of the many people who managed to get copies of the book. Rizal's writings opened the eyes of his countrymen to sufferings, the truth of which had long remained unspoken if not totally unheard.

PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE

Jose Rizal had been a victim of Spanish brutality early in his life in Calamba, and this experience was the nucleus of a developing unfavorable opinion of Spanish imperialistic administration of his country and people. Pitiful social conditions existed in the Philippines as late as three centuries after its conquest in Spain, with agriculture, commerce, communications and education languishing. These social maladies led to an inferiority complex amongst the native population; timidity and false pride pervaded the local culture and contributed to the decay of social life. Rizal's life philosophy was to contain if not eliminate these social ills by any and every means.

Educational Philosophy

Rizal's concept of the importance of education is clearly enunciated in his work entitled *Instruction*. In which he advocated improvements in schools and methods of teaching. He maintained that the backwardness of his country during the Spanish rule was not due to the Filipinos' indifference, apathy or indolence as claimed by the rulers, but due to the

neglect of the Spanish authorities in the slands. For Rizal, the mission of education is to elevate the country to the highest seat of glory and to develop the people's mentality. Since education is the foundation of society and a prerequisite for social progress, Rizal claimed that only through education could the country be saved from domination. Rizal's philosophy of education centred on motivation with the aim that the great social forces that make education a success were bolstered, and that within the youth there was created an innate desire to cultivate intelligence and a better life.

Religious Philosophy

Rizal grew up nurtured by a closely-knit Catholic family, was educated in the foremost Catholic schools of the period on elementary, secondary and college levels. Logically he should have been a propagator of strictly Catholic traditions. But in later life he developed a life philosophy of a far different nature, one based more on reason and logic where the God was closer to being a force that engineered the world than the hyper-spiritual view that the church had at that time.

Why the change? It could have been the result of contemporary contact, companionship, observation, research and the possession of an independent spirit. Being a critical observer, a thinker and a zealous reformer, Rizal did not agree with the prevailing Christian propagation of the Faith by fire and sword. This is clear from his *Annotation of Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* "No one has a monopoly of the true God, nor is there a nation or religion that can claim, or at any rate prove, that it has been given the exclusive right to the Creator or sole knowledge of His Being"[2].

Rizal did not believe in the Catholic dogma that salvation was only for Catholics. Nor did he believe in such practices as the Catholic observation of fasting and the sale of religious items like the cross, medals, rosaries and the like in order to propagate the Faith and raise church funds. He also lambasted the superstitious beliefs propagated by the priests in the church and in the schools.

Political Philosophy

In Rizal's political view, a conquered country like the Philippines should not be taken advantage of but rather should be developed, civilized, educated and trained in the science of self-government. In his publications, he bitterly assailed and criticized the apparent backwardness of the Spanish ruler's method of governing the country which resulted in:

- The bondage and slavery of the conquered
- Forced labor and force military service by natives
- The abuse of power by means of exploitation
- The government ruling that any complaint against the authorities was criminal; and

- Making the people ignorant, destitute and fanatic, thus discouraging the formation of a national sentiment.

Rizal's guiding political philosophy proved to be the study and application of reforms, the extension of human rights, the training for self government and the arousing of a spirit of discontent over oppression, brutality, inhumanity, sensitiveness and self love.

Ethical Philosophy

The study of human behavior as to whether it is good or bad or whether it is right or wrong is that science upon which Rizal's ethical philosophy was based. The fact that the Philippines was under Spanish domination during Rizal's time led him to subordinate his philosophy to moral problems. This trend was needed at that time because the Spaniards and the Filipinos had different and sometimes conflicting morals. The moral status of the Philippines during this period was one with a lack of freedom, one with predominance of foreign masters, one with an imposition of foreign religious worship, devotion, homage and foreign habits. This led to moral confusion among the people, what with justice being stifled, limited or curtailed and the people not enjoying any individual rights.

To bolster his ethical philosophy, Rizal recognized not only the forces of good and evil, but also tendencies towards good and evil. As a result, he made use of the practical method of appealing to the better nature of the conquerors and of offering useful methods of solving the moral problems of the conquered. To support his ethical philosophy in life,
Rizal:
- Censured the friars for abusing the advantage of their position as spiritual leaders and the ignorance and fanaticism of the natives

- Counseled the Filipinos not to resent a defect attributed to them but to accept the same as reasonable and just
- Advised the masses that the object of marriage was the happiness and love of the couple and not financial gain

- Censured the priests who preached greed and a wrong morality; and

- Advised every one that love and respect for parents must be strictly observed.

Social Philosophy

That body of knowledge relating to society, including the wisdom which man's experience in society has taught him, is social philosophy. The facts dealt with are principles involved in nation building and not individual social problems. The subject matter of this social philosophy covers the problems of the whole race, with every problem having a distinct solution to

bolster the people's social knowledge. Rizal's social philosophy was comprehensive, including:

- Man in society
- Influential factors in human life
- Racial problems
- Social constant
- Social justice
- Social ideals
- Poverty and wealth
- Reforms
- Youth and greatness
- History and progress
- A future Philippines

The above dealt with man in his environment and attempted to explain such aspects of human behavior and capacity as (1) the will to live; (2) the desire to possess happiness; (3) the change of his mentality; (4) the role of virtuous women in the guidance of great men; (5) the need for elevating and inspiring mission; (6) the duties and dictates of man's conscience; (7) man's need of practicing gratitude; (8) the necessity of consulting reliable people; (9) his need for experience; (10) man's ability to deny; (11) the importance of deliberation; (12) the voluntary offer of man's abilities and possibilities; (13) the ability to think, aspire and strive to rise; (14) and the proper use of heart, brain and spirit - all of which combine to enhance the intricacies, beauty and values of human nature. All of the above served as Rizal's guide in his continuous effort to make over his beloved Philippines.

THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF RIZAL

The history of the Order of the Knights of Rizal goes back to December 30, 1911 when Police Colonel Antonio C. Torres organized a group of patriots from different walks of life for the purpose of commemorating the execution and martyrdom of Dr. Jose P. Rizal. This became an annual ceremony and tradition among this core group and grew stronger from year to year as those gentlemen lived like knights of the old times who were known for their chivalry and exemplary conduct. The group incorporated the *"Orden de Caballeros de Rizal."* on November 16, 1916, as a private non-stock corporation.

In 1951 the Supreme Council of the Order created a Committee on Legislation for the purpose of filing a bill in the Congress of the Philippines to be enacted into law with the purpose of registering the *Knights of Rizal* as an incorporated body under Philippine law.

The bill seeking to give the Order of the Knights of Rizal a legislative charter was docketed as Senate Bill No. 251, and was sponsored by Senators Enrique Magalona, Lorenzo Sumulong, Esteban Abada, Emiliano Tria Tirona, Camilo Osias, Geronima Pecson, Jose Avelino and Ramon Torres as sponsors. The explanatory note of the Bill read as follows:

"The purpose of the attached bill is to accord to the civic and patriotic organization known as "Orden' de Caballeros de Rizal" (Order of the Knights of Rizal) the same kind of official recognition and encouragement as that accorded to the Boy Scouts of the Philippines by Commonwealth Act No. 111, by granting to it a legislative Charter and investing it with the necessary powers to enable it more fully and more effectively to accomplish the laudable purposes for which it was organized"[3].

"This Bill if enacted into law will also serve as a historical monument to Rizal; it will constitute an official recognition by the Republic of the Philippines of the inestimable value to the nation of his teachings and examples and of the wisdom and necessity of inculcating them in the minds and hearts of our people so they may strive to follow and practice them. The authors and proponents of this Bill believe that if the purposes thereof are faithfully and effectively carried out, social discipline, civic virtues, and love of justice will be fostered, promoted, 'and enhanced in this country, and that the Knights of Rizal as a chartered entity is the most convenient instrumentality by which these desirable ends can be attained. Let Rizal's life and martyrdom influence and guide the destiny of the nation. Let this and future generations live the Rizal Way"[3].

The Bill was recommended for approval on May 15, 1951 signed into law by the President of the Philippines on June 14, 1951 and became Republic Act 646[4] which is still valid to date. The Order of the Knights of Rizal is therefore in its 100th year of existence and the 50th year in its present legal structure. The purposes or objectives of the Knights of Rizal are as follows:

General

- To study the teachings of Dr. Jose Rizal and to inculcate and propagate them in and among all classes of the Filipino people, and by words and deeds to exhort our citizenry to emulate and practice the example and teachings of our national hero.

- To promote among the associated knights the spirit of patriotism and Rizalian chivalry

- To develop a perfect union among the Filipinos in revering the memory of Dr. Jose Rizal; and

- To organize and hold programs commemorative of Rizal's and martyrdom.

Specific

- To study to spread the ideals, teachings and exemplary life of Dr. Rizal especially to the youth of the land;

- To organize chapters in all provinces and to undertake such programs of activities which will promote individual commitment to the ideals of Rizal and encourage personal involvement in the contemporary problems of the nation

- To train and develop the Filipino youth in character building citizenship training, democratic leadership, enlightened nationalism and dedicated service to country and people.

The Code of Ethics of the Knights of Rizal

Since its establishment in the present legal form, the Order of the Knights of Rizal has become a civic and patriotic organization recognized by law as an instrumentality by which the teachings of Philippino national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal may be propagated among the Filipino people, and others who may believe in his teachings to the end that they may emulate and follow his examples. Moreover, the order is also a cultural, non-sectarian, non-partisan and- non-racially oriented organization.

The Code of Ethics claims that 'a Rizalian':

- Loves his country and people
- Promotes international understanding among peoples and nations
- Venerates the memory of the nations' heroes by making their ideals his own
- Values honor as he values his life
- Strives to do justice to all his fellow men
- Finds meaning and purpose in life
- Upholds freedom at all costs
- Maintains a tolerant & understanding attitude towards his fellow men
- Believes in the value of education essential to the formation of the character of men
- Promotes social justice and general welfare
- Is industrious, self-reliant, persevering and conscious of the plight of the less fortunate

SOURCES

[1]http//en.wikipilipinas.org/index.php?title=Noli_me_Tangere).

[2] http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_Rizal

[3] www.oocities.org/capitolhill/senate/4982/history.html

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LETTERS

The Chinese Say

I read Dr Kumar's letter (Veritas Vol.2, No. 3) with interest and should like to catalogue some of the most frequent spoken English mistakes of first-year students at Chinese Colleges and Universities. I have heard these same errors articulated in seven provinces, during formal classroom speeches, dialogue and oral testing.

During my student years, an Indiana University Professor of German and English told me that languages are learned in sentences and phrases. The examples supplied in the text below (in no especial order) are misspoken sentences and phrases that are heard often in college and university classes in the Middle Kingdom.

MISTAKES AND CORRECTIONS

First year Chinese students call the sport of *ping pong* (at which they excel) *ping pong ball*? In English, the correct name is *ping pong*, not, *ping pong ball*.

The same students, when introducing themselves to the class, quite often say, "I am come from …." (such and such a hometown, or province) instead of "I am from Hunan," or, "I come from Hunan.".

College freshmen often "talk something with someone." Although this construction is possible, what they mean is "talk with someone."

When walking past an English-speaking foreigner they are "pleased to meet" him or her. "Pleased to meet you," is usually reserved for introductions, when people meet for the first time. When walking past someone, the more appropriate greeting is "Hello," "Good morning," "Hi!," "Good afternoon," or "Good evening."

They say "must to feed" themselves when they mean "They must feed themselves," or, if the past tense is intended, "They had to feed themselves."

When they hear that something went wrong, they sympathize with the frequently heard phrase "That is a very pity" when they should say "That is a pity," or, "That is truly a pity."

"I very like her," and, "I very miss her," are heard frequently, rather than "That is a pity," or, "That is truly a pity."
Chinese first-year English students use the word *many*, for *much*. And they often add the letter 's' to words already plural; the words *baggage, men*, *women*, for example. They need to learn that *many* is normally used to qualify nouns that can be counted, e.g. cats, houses, horses, lakes, buildings, while *much* is normally used to define nouns that can not be counted. For example, snow, air, water, etc.

"I like listening to the music," students say; or, "we play the badminton much more.", or "We can jogging." This is improper usage of the definite article. In good English we say "I like listening to music"; "We play badminton much more"; and "We can jog" or "We can go jogging."

Even Chinese English-language majors often call men "women", and women "men", through misuse of the pronouns *he, she, her, him*. This is because in Chinese *ta,* (first tone) does triple duty for the English *he, she,* and *it*..To my ear, the incorrect "That is a very pity,"(above) appeals as a charming errant construction but unintentional lingual confusion of sexes provides no such sonant delight!

Many students in Beijing, Wuhan, Zhangjiajie, Yongzhou, Shunde, and Canton mispronounce words like *clothes* and *hatched.* First and second-year college students pronounce the word, 'clothe–es'. Similarly, *hatched*, is often mispronounced, 'hatch–ed' in such phrases as "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched". Of course, these words are correctly pronounced as one syllable.

When Chinese students speak English, the verb and subject oft times do not agree in number. Phrases like "good study habits is essential.", "the boys in my school is very tall and strong" are often heard. A singular subject, in English, needs a singular verb. A plural subject takes a plural verb.

Chinese freshman and sophomore university scholars, tend to say *pronounciation*, rather than pronunciation. Mind you, I've heard foreign teachers say *pronounciation*, forgetting that *pronounce* is the verb and *pronunciation* the noun and there is no such word as *pronounciation*.

One final and quite common China student slip is to confuse the terms *borrow* and *loan.* They need to learn that when a person *gives out* money or some thing, he loans; when he borrows, he *receives* the money, or whatever else.

NOTE

Chinese students of English who repeat aloud to themselves, again and again, the <u>correct</u> versions of common expressions greatly increase their spoken English efficacy.

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors may contact the editors for advice on publication if they wish – email above. Otherwise the following guidelines are offered:

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- Research Reports
- Notes
- Letters to the Editor re published articles
- Book Reviews

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- Their current place of work – title, address
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Title: 14pt Times Roman Font

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References in text: In the text ALL quotations must have quotation marks and a reference, e.g.

James said 'all dogs are brown' (James, 2002)

Reference List: List in **author's surnames alphabetically**

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- For a book: P.Jones   (2001): Water Management, Raven Press, London.
- Journal reference: W.Smith (1998): 'Lemon Growing', *The Journal of Agriculture*, V.45-2, p.10.
- Reference to work listed directly preceding: *ibid,* p.20
- Newspapers: *The Star*, 3 September 1986
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