

Patrick Marren • Dr. Pramila Sanjaya • Chrispin M. Mwawana

Development talks



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Authors: Patrick Marren, Pramila Sanjaya, Chrispin Mwachongo Mwawana

Editors: Ivana Raslavská, Zuzana Kurnasová, Kinga Dąbrowska

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Pontis Foundation
Zelinárska 2
821 08 Bratislava

tel.: (421 2) 5710 8111
fax: (421 2) 5710 8125
pontis@pontisfoundation.sk
pontis@nadaciapontis.sk

Information about lecturers

Patrick Marren

Works as deputy Director and Lecturer in Kimmage Development Studies Centre, Dublin, Ireland

Areas of interest and specialization: Climate change & Complex Systems, Governance and Aid Effectiveness, Rural Livelihoods Analyses, Micro-finance, Debt and Trade

Dr. Pramila Sanjaya

Works as Hon' Advisor and lecturer at SIDART (Society for Integrated Developmental Activities Research & Training) Jaipur, INDIA as well as consultant for Unicef and CARE - India New Delhi.

Areas of interest and specialization: Gender issues, Women empowerment, Health care, rural development

Chrispin M. Mwawana

Works as Deputy Principal and teacher in Moi High School-Kasigau, Kenya

Areas of interest and specialization: formal education in Kenya, Mathematics and Geography

China and Development Alternatives

Patrick Marren

Kimmage Development Studies Centre, Dublin, Ireland

Overview

The first part of this lecture will start by looking at impressions/images of China. The question I will pose is - When you think about the word “China” - China today- what comes into your head? I’ll give you a few minutes to buzz on this question and we’ll look at the feedback in terms of how positive or negative it is.

Historically many Europeans have had a latent fear of China. I suppose it has a historical legacy, owing to the fact, that up to 250 to 300 years ago, one of the two biggest economies in the world was China, and China is now again one of- actually the second biggest economy in the world. China is reasserting itself in the league of nations, a position it historically held.

Secondly, we will drift back in time to the 15th Century and look at this person - showing picture of Admiral Zheng He. How many people here know anything about Admiral Zheng He? Anybody ever come across him? No? How about Christopher Columbus? Yes? How come you know about Christopher Columbus, but not Zheng He?

Thirdly, I will present a comparative perspective on development, in terms of the experiences of China and India. I think it is a usual comparison at some levels - both of these countries are Asian, similar in terms of population size, both achieved independence just after the second world war end - one in 1947 and the other one in 1949; but the fact that they implemented very different political and economic systems makes them useful counterpoints.

Fourthly, we will look at China in the context of Africa, and contemporary development strategies of African countries. There is a wonderful book that I highly recommend and that informs this section of the lecture significantly, by Deborah Brautigam called *The Dragon’s Gift*. Brautigam is an American academic and the focus of the book is the role that China is playing within Africa

as an aid donor. And again this is an area where there has been a lot of criticism of the sort of activity China is involved in. What is China up to? Is it propping up governments that abuse human rights? Etc. But the question is: "Is it fair criticism, or is it very much based on anecdotal evidence, which is not the same as data?" Finally, if we have time - we will look at China in a bigger context, the role of China within this new group called G20. The latter is taking over many of the roles and functions of the G8. What will be the implications of the G20, why is China in it, why is the United States quite happy to be a party to the G20 and how will it deal with China within it? Ok? So let's start.

Here are three questions I want you to think about. Share your thoughts with your colleagues and I'll take feedback.

1 What comes to mind when you think of China?

- One child policy - The introduction of policy in order to reduce population growth, very controversial;
- Hardworking;
- Masses of people and low wages - So, you have got kind of interesting mix there. You have very productive people and they work for low wages. Does anybody know what the average hourly wage for Chinese worker is? Estimated at US\$1.8 dollar/hour. For average Bangladeshi it is about 26 cents/hour. So while China has a low wage, relative to other Asian countries, it's only the 7th lowest. But it is true, it has got massively large work force, about 750 million in the work force which is incredible when you think in those numbers;
- Communism;
- Culture - movies, history
- Chinese market;
- Pollution (Particularly associated with the economic growth that they have had. Water and air pollution: For the Beijing Olympics they closed down a significant number of factories around the city because the air quality was so poor. They have very significant problems with water pollution of the main rivers that run through China. There was a book on this issue written back in 2004 called: *The River runs black* -

Environmental challenge to China's future, about kind of the pollution impact that economic growth had in China, a major issue.);

- Child labour;
- Discipline; (Organised and disciplined society – a positive feature)
- Human Rights Abuse (The new Nobel Prize Winner, Liu Xiaobo comes from China, where he was involved in the Charter 08 Group. Charter 08 is a Bill of Rights that Chinese students and intellectuals launched in December of that year and encompass many of the issues contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a very interesting list of what changes they are looking for in China, a vision of what China should be – a liberal China. Given that China now has achieved all this wealth and this reorganization - what political and social changes China should be making? It is basically a list outlining how the CCP, the Chinese Communist Party, can hand power back to the people themselves. And given where I am speaking, there is also a nice connection with Czechoslovakia, as Charter 08 is based around Charter 77 – its inspiration!

2 Do you see China as playing a positive or negative role in world affairs?

- Would you say the role it plays is positive or negative? Someone said: “Quite negative.” Looking at the feedback, we have positives like discipline, hardworking people, but then many negatives – pollution, child labour, human rights. And again, these are not surprise, they reflect the sort of viewpoints that lot of people in Europe hold when they think about China.
- What about the role China plays currently? Do you see it as positive or negative role? Do you think it's engaged positively or negatively in global affairs? It can be a competitor in terms of trade – it is a competitor. But on the flip side – culture. You can see that increasingly in movies: the philosophy, history. So in terms of a positive, it has a very rich culture of language, music, plays, literature. Some of which is now spread more widely globally. China as a new driver of the global economy providing markets. Another positive. But again, the negatives about the regime – the violation of human rights, the lack of democracy. And again you have a mix of views on this question.

- So overall, show of hands, in terms of the global economy - a positive role? Two. So, overwhelmingly negative then! And no real surprise, views shared by Europeans and Americans, Latin Americans and Africans. Yes, China is a major player, it is a big economy, a big market, and it has a lovely rich history. But China is potentially negative; it is too cheap, too big, moves too fast and is too powerful. It can undercut markets and wipe out traditional industries.

3 Finally, do you think China will become more like the West as it gets richer?

- One student - "No, they will not". Why? "2000 years of history, so why would they change now?" An interesting opinion and one that is held by some sino experts, for instance, Martin Jacques, author of "*When China Rules the World*". Jacques says that "people who believe that China is going to change, that China is suddenly going to turn around and bring in democracy, respect for human rights - well, they are disillusional. China is not going do that. China is a civilization state, not a nation state." And that rich history and culture is what makes it believe that its systems and culture are superior to all others.
- Does anyone here believe China will change? Remember while we have the CCP, we aslo have a group like Charter 08. What do they embody? The CCP might embody the thinking of the party that are currently in charge, but do they embody what the ordinary Chinese people think? What the people in the rural and in the urban areas ultimately aspire to? If Charter 08 is a reflection of the people's aspirations, that it is not enough for them to have flat screen TVs and fancy cars, they want more. They want rights, they want the ability to choose their own representatives, to be able to shape laws, just like you and I. Equally, those watching China can be broken up into one group that says: "Well, as it gets richer the people's wants will move towards demands for democracy and respect for human rights." On the other hand, others are much more pessimistic, and they believe China is going to fail anyway, it is going to implode. They say there are too many strains within the Chinese system, which is a very frightening thought, when you think that such an implo-

sion concerns 1.3 billion people! Does China have any history of such disjuncture? Well, unfortunately yes, they do, just look at the last 100 years. It shows a whole series of examples of China where it stops in its tracks and reconsiders where it is going and then it erupts in internal conflict, and you get a whole mess and then it stabilizes and it starts to move on again. So again its ability to reorganise itself with stability is a very important question.

China and Development Alternatives

Ming Dynasty Fleet

Little bit of history; everybody is very familiar with Vasco de Gama, Christopher Columbus. This man here was also a great explorer in the 15th century - Admiral Zheng He. He was a Muslim navy general, who left China for a series of expeditions of the Indian Ocean and some say beyond, perhaps, as far as the Atlantic. And he did so in style, with a huge fleet comprising of about 60 so called treasure ships, and another 100 plus smaller support ships, crewed by between 28,000 to 30,000 troops and sailors. As you can see there was a series of expeditions; each starting from the Ming Empire. All of this was taking place 90 years before Columbus left Portugal! Yet most Europeans know very little, if anything, about Admiral Zheng because he is Chinese. One interesting and topical piece used by the Chinese government of late is that the fourth expedition hit Malindi in Kenya. And to prove that they have funded excavations there which produced a set of coins and porcelain from that era, so they now have hard evidence that Zheng actually hit that area. Up until now, these trips were regarded as mythical, but now they actually have evidence that the Chinese were down there. Why did the Chinese Emperor fund these trips? Discovery, yes, but also trade. They had gold porcelain and silk, and they went down looking for herbs which could be used for medicinal purposes, for ivory, myrrh and for the emperor they brought back a giraffe!

The Chinese often contrast these very large expeditions - 190 ships, 28,000 troops, which could easily have been colonising forces, with those much smaller expeditions of the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Chinese like to say, there was no bloodshed, there was no colonisation and there was no plundering. Instead, there was trade, peace, friendship and openness. These were the

themes that Zheng was actually promoting at that particular time. And that is a theme that is currently pushed, I suppose, by the Chinese government - that China is here, it is a player, but it is not to be feared.

China's Success

China is the most populous country in the world, though its growth rate has slowed down significantly. In fact, in about 15 years they will still have an ageing population.

It was declared last year the biggest exporter in the world. It is bigger now than Germany and in using PPP it is the second biggest economy in the world. These achievements are based on ferociously fast economic growth. GDP per head has been growing about 10 % per year for the last two decades. A rate that doubles in size every 7 years! Unbelievable! Historically US GDP per head has grown 2 % per year. A 2 % growth rate means you double GDP/per capita every 35 years. 10 %, you are doubling it every 7 years. The pace of change is just incredible. And with this growth China had been able to take out 300 million people above their poverty line. With great wealth, I suppose, comes power and that is the concern that everybody has.

Historical Progress - Comparison with India

Now, let us turn to the respective growth development performances of China and India. This section draws from a very good article by Saith from 2008, 'China and India: the Institutional Roots of Differential Performance', in the journal *Development and Change*. In it, he outlines the initial state of both new countries and their respective performances until today. Both of them became new states at the same period: China was independent in 1949, India in 1947. They were both former colonial powers; Chinese had a very bad experience under the Japanese; the Indians had a different experience but not all positive under the British. The Japanese did not infiltrate Chinese society as the British did. The British had a deliberate policy of training locals as their civil servants and their bureaucrats. So in India you had a significant body of people, a small middle class of educated Indian bureaucrats who, some say, were more British than the British themselves.

In terms of political models, the Chinese were very much into a revolution-

ary socialist model, while a parliamentary democracy was established in India. Prime Minister Nehru, who was first major leader in India, said in 1954, “we differ in our political and economic structures, yet the problems we face are the same. The future will show which country and which structure of government yields greater results.” This quote illustrates that even at that time there was a degree of competition between the two major Asian powers.

They were similar in structure, both rural based economies, mainly characterized by mass poverty based around low productive agriculture, mainly feudal in structure where you had large landowners, with the masses working as sharecroppers. Acute embedded patriarchy is a very particular hallmark of both countries. Female infanticide was practiced widely in both cases, with families seeing male children as most valuable. Foot binding was a particular practice that took place in China and child marriages were common in both. Both societies exhibited high degrees of inequalities in terms of wealth and income, power and a limited industrial base also suffering from low productivity.

There were some key differences as well; the Chinese are culturally homogenous. We talked earlier about the 2000 year old state that is China. The Han population in China comprise a minimum of 90% of the population. Though this still leaves up to 140 million of people that are non-Han, but in the context of 1.3 billion, they are relatively marginal. China has one dominant language. All of these features, according to Saith, led to an acceptance and legitimacy of State, a commonality of socio-cultural orientation and shared interests. **In contrast with India where you have got different languages, different cultures and religions**, a caste and class structure within it. In a survey carried out by Singh in 2000, he documented around 4,500 distinctive communities, 13 languages spoken by at least 10 million people another 29 spoken by at least 1 million people. Contrast that sort of difference with the homogeneity that existed in China in that particular time.

Another difference lies with the power basis of the new governments. The Communist Party in China rise to power was based very much on the support by the peasants and workers. In India, on the other hand, you had a handover by the British authorities to the middle and upper classes who were in an allegiance with the British under the colonial period and the Indian Congress Party, which took the control, and continued to look to those middle and upper classes as their power base.

In terms of their GDP per capita; in China it was about US\$65 versus US\$62 in India. Labour deployment: 77 % in China and 72 % in India worked in agriculture and around 16% in China and 17% in India in industry.

So after 60 years - 1950's to today, who won? These figures come from UNDP Human Development 2010 Report, which was published on the 4th of November. In the terms of Human Development Index, which is a ranking that comes out every year and is based on life expectancy, literacy, GDP/per capita, China stands at 89th and India at 119th place

In terms of life expectancy; the Chinese live an average about 73.5 years versus only 64.4 years in India. Average schooling is about 7.5 years in China and only 4.4 years in India. When it comes to GNI per capita, the Chinese figure is twice that of the Indian figure. Literacy rates; about 93 % literacy for population over 15 in China is functionally literate in contrast that with only 63 % literacy in India. Second and third level enrolment rates; again you can see the disparities: with rates of 74 % comparing to 57 %, and then 22 % versus 13 % in China and India.

Hunger was a historical feature of both countries, which both experienced persistent malnutrition and occasional famine. In this regard, both have not experienced recent famines, and both have dramatically improved agricultural performance. But Chinese agricultural yields are now significantly higher than Indian agricultural yields; 4155 kilograms/ha for wheat as against 2688 kilograms/ha in India. A part of that is due to the land reorganisation and agricultural restructuring that took place over the 60 years in China, in contrast with the lack of restructuring in India. About 46 % of Indian children, according to a recent Economist article are malnourished today, an incredible figure for a country that has a nuclear and a space industry.

Chinese Success

Saith sets out many factors behind the rapid progress in China versus the slow progress in India. His institutional framework - he uses the term institutions to refer to business practices, the legal structure, social structures, political arrangements etc. He sees new state of India as having inherited a very rigid set of institutions that did not change over time. In China, on the other hand, state is focused on changing the institutions and rules and changing them regularly.

When things do not work out, they go back and change them. And this is one of the arguments often put forward to say that China will continue growth and implode because the State has always adopted and reformed. The modern Indian state, on the other hand, still operates with the ghost of the caste system.

Reform process in contrast – Land

India still has a major land reform issue that they have not tackled in the last sixty years. They have major issues with corruption. China has had similar issues, and continues to face others, but it has shown a desire and an ability to tackle some of these issues, with more success than India, for example land reform.

The new Indian state never took any real steps to fundamentally redistribute land. The actual supporters of the Congress Party in India, the middle classes, were the beneficiaries of the first land reform process, but it stopped after that. It was not in the interest of this group to look for further reform. As a result, real land reform in India never took place. Whereas, China, on the other hand, offers a viciously extreme example; a land reform with terrible human cost. When the Chinese state started the land reform process, Mao said that it could cost 15 million lives. That 15 million rich landlords and rich peasants would die in order to redistribute the land effectively. In the end, he said only 800,000 people died in the process, though others put an upper limit at 1.3 million. These were people that were physically killed within the villages and by the community members they lived with. Villagers actually took part in the killing of landlords. It is very shocking, even the Soviets did not do that. It is a shocking example of the lengths the Chinese Communist Party would go to, and an example of how they valued human life. Another example from “great leap”, between the years 1958-1962, where they tried to progress rural based industrialisation and agricultural collectivization at the same time. The resulting famine cost an estimated 25 million lives. As a result though, the State very quickly replaced these large collective farms by a three-tier commune system and they did it within a year, very quickly. That is just indicative of the pace with which they can react when they need to react.

Again, I will use agriculture, when we look back at the 1978 Household Production System. Agricultural production was stagnant, and the State realised the

sector had to be revitalized. Different types of production reform processes were tried. By then, Deng Xiaoping had become the leader of CCP, having outmanoeuvred Mao's chosen successor, Hua Guofeng. Deng was much more pragmatic than Mao. He had over billion people whose wealth he wanted to increase and felt that one way to do that was to privatize effectively, to create a quasi market based economy - a Chinese solution to a Chinese problem. In terms of agriculture, they put the production decisions back into the hands of householders and allowed them to sell any surplus they had after they met their commitments to the commune. By 1982, 70% of households were practising it. And China continues to amaze, what it did with agriculture, it has done with industry, with exports, and what it hopes to do with research and development. China, through its capacity to innovate in response to barriers to development, is a major political and economic force, and one that is engaged with nearly every country on the planet.

China Aid

As China became wealthier, it also became much more active in provision of development assistance. There is a lot of concern amongst traditional donors, both bilateral donors like the EU, the US, the UK, and the international financial institutions (the World Bank, the IMF, the African Development Bank) that the role the China is playing in Africa is not as constructive as they think it could be and in some contexts, they actually believe it is quite destructive and quite retrogressive. China is said to be a major donor, but a very secretive one, and it is not a member of Development Assistance Committee (DAC). The aid China provides is not clearly defined as the aid provided by DAC. DAC set some very clear rules about what aid is and what it is not, what could be included and what could not be and about separation between commercial and development assistance. China is not like that, it does not operate that way. It has its own mix which is based on its own history both as a recipient and as a giver of aid.

China was quite active in providing aid right from the off in 1950s. China was a supporter of countries that did not want to fall within the remit of the West, or the remit of the USSR, so it was in the middle offering "neutral" advice. China aid developed in 3 phases. Since 1950s, China had a policy of non-interference in host governments' internal politics, which made it very attractive to many new governments, especially in Africa. Favoured by Mao,

China realized many large scale aid projects, such as Tazara Railways (built by working force consisting of 50,000 Africans and 25,000 Chinese between the years 1970-1975 with the total cost of US\$ 500 million, length of 1870 km), large scale dams, road building etc. It was estimated that by the early 70's, all these projects were costing China approximately 5% of its GDP!!! Imagine, way in excess of the UN 7% target of the DAC! This led to a reassessment by the Chinese of how much they were providing and what they were doing.

The second phase of China aid, up until the 1990's, was based on the rehabilitation of old projects and joint Chinese Local management of aid projects, Chinese expertise to help bolster local capacity. The third phase, 1990's on, includes an element of privatization of old projects and joint commercial ventures, such as the Tanzania Textile Mills, which now has Chinese capital as well as management. It still provides major infrastructural projects as well, but now sees aid as a way of allowing its own industry reorganise - new markets, new production facilities, as well as benefiting the host country. It has always seen aid as based on mutual gain to both sides, donor and recipient, by providing employment, exports and market opportunities.

1. Today, Chinese Aid can be divided into:
2. Infrastructure
3. Scholarships
4. Medical Assistance
5. Concessional Financing

In addition, the Export Import Bank provides significant trade credits on a non concessional rate. Most aid is provided on a request basis, through the local embassy. Unlike DAC donors, it also provides funding on a barter basis - infrastructure for oil, for example, Angola has a major Chinese infrastructural project (building roads, railway rehabilitation, housing) in exchange for US\$1.2bn worth of oil. Another such project is the Ghanaian Bui Dam on Black Volta (worth US\$ 600 million) which was built by Sinohydro and paid by cocoa exports.

One main operating principle of China, in contrast to the west, is that China sees Africa as a "market" not a "basket case". African governments view China as an equal, who gives respect and agreements of mutual benefit. The African perception of Chinese aid is not seen, as described by the Uganda president

Museveni, as the donor/beggar relationship that characterised dealing between African states and DAC donors. China's main vision is based on an idea "To end poverty, build a road." China aid is consistent and conditionality free. Chinese imports are a threat, but Chinese investment aid has rehabilitated and strengthened industries in host countries. China is a powerful force in Africa and there for the long haul. It is strategic and planned. Ultimately, African Governments will have the say as to whether these interactions benefit their citizens.

China and G20

Finally, let's look at the most important global geopolitical relationship, that of US and China. They are very closely intertwined through their economic and political relationships, as competitors and dependents. Throughout the 1990's and 2000's, the US was well-known as a bad saver and a big consumer. On the other hand, China was, and is, a big saver and a bad consumer. As a result of this unbalanced relationship, China now holds US\$2.5 trillion in reserves. This is both a strength, but also a weakness, as it is a source of tension with the US. China needs to focus on internal growth and shift away from an export based model. In order to accommodate these issues, and get China to play a more inclusive role in world affairs, the G20 has been developed.

It replaces the former G8 and it currently represents 2/3 of the global population, 80 % of trade, 85 % of worlds' GDP, and is a centre of global governance.

The G20 means for China, the recognition of its global power status, but cloaked in appearance of a broader rebalancing of Old and New powers. G20 also takes spot light away from China solely, allowing it to slowly grow into its role, one that it seems still uncomfortable with. Deng often referred to the process of change as best thought of as if crossing a river - move slowly, feel the ground that you cannot see with your feet, and this to some extent is how China is reasserting itself geopolitically.

One important question with respect to this new global institution, the G20, is if it will sit above the BWI's? Possibly yes, because the G20 is somewhat more globally representative, more authoritative and legitimate than previous G-groups. G20 includes old and new states, comprises most of established and emerging and established powers and produces most of the worlds output. The

G20 is a response to US and others concerns of the new multipolarity without multilateralism - the old global institutions are ineffective, not representative of the new power realities and not capable to dealing with new millennium challenges. That is why the G20 offers a way of meeting those challenges. To sum up, Sino-US relations remain the most important in terms of global impact, but focused on economic interests rather than geostrategic rivalry.

Millennium Development Goals

Patrick Marren

Kimmage Development Studies Centre, Dublin, Ireland

In the following lecture I propose to provide a brief history into formation of the Millennium Development Goals, quick review of the goals and related criticisms around them, their achievements and failures, and finally, and this is a very important question, post MDG 2015, “What will replace them?” We’ve just had the Millennium Summit in September 2010, which was a review process for how far we come since the MDG’s we launched in 2000, and now many Governments and Donors are already thinking about what we are going to do after we reach the original MDG deadline in 2015.

Before all of that though, quick show of hands, how many people in here have not heard of the MDGs? Good sign, everybody has! Successful campaign!! Now, let’s give some context on where the MDGs come from. You know, in the great lottery of life, the very place you are born in – Germany, Somalia, China, Slovakia, is so important as regards the opportunities on offer to you – education, security, freedoms etc, the living standards that you will face, and often how long you will live.

UNDP Human Development Report 2010

The UNDP produces the Human Development Report every year. The latest report came out on the 4th of November and I have the following statistics from it. Let us compare a country that is No. 1 on Human Development Index Norway with Niger, which is right down at the bottom. Life expectancy in Niger is only 52 years versus 81 years in Norway. Literacy rates in 2010, when the world society is driven by high technologies, Niger has less than 1 out of three of its citizens functionally literate! An alarming statistic, compared to nearly total literacy in Norway, with their statistic at 99 %. Look at average mean years of schooling. 1.4 years in Niger versus 12.6 in Norway. GNI per capita, only

US\$ 675 in Niger versus US\$ 58,810 in Norway. All of these patterns are interconnected; low levels of literacy, low levels of productivity, low levels of income, low levels of taxation, low provision of public health and education services, and so on.

Comparative Health Statistics

If we look at government health expenditure per capita, the figures are for 2007, you see a spending of US\$ 4,763 in Norway (a good place to get sick!) versus US\$ 35 in Niger. This is a purchasing power parity figure, only US\$35 dollars! Now, tell me, how much health care can you buy for US\$ 35 anywhere, even Niger? Very little. And this is later reflected then when you look at issues such as for instance of maternal mortality; 7 in Norway versus 1800 (out of 100,000) in Niger. An absolutely frightening figure - pregnancy is actually a death sentence for many women in low income countries like Niger. And then again, the under age of 5 mortality rate (out of 1,000) is 4 in Norway versus 176 in Niger, often explaining why so many fertility rates are so high. How about the number of doctors? Well, it is 39 in Norway for 10,000 and less than 1 in Niger!

Millennium Development Goals

We live in a very unequal world. According to a presentation by Branko Milanovic of the World Bank in April, we live in a world where the richest 1% have about the same income as 4.2 billion people. Pretty frightening statistics.

The MDGs are very much based on the issues of global inequality - both the absolute and relative levels of deprivation that exist and attempts to redress them. It has been called the World's biggest promise - this Millennium Development Project reducing global poverty, putting kids in school, saving lives and doing these things at a very fast pace. It is very ambitious, very comprehensive in scope, and multi-dimensional, so its supporters would say reflecting the complexity of the issues and with a focus on measurability.

Traditionally, when we talk about the development, it was very much connected with the increasing economic growth - the wealthier a country, the more developed. Countries were ranked according to how fast their economies grew, how high their levels of productivity and associated levels of income were. That is not to say, everybody bought into this very economic concept of development, and this debate continues today. We find that in 2010, many governments

as well as many in academia and civil society have begun to reassess this GDP based concept of development and they point out that development is not just about income; development is about, to use the Oxford's Amartya Sen's phrase, capabilities – giving people choices and opportunities. It is about freedoms – from poverty, to engage in political decision making at many levels, about sustainability, much more complex than how much an economy produces each year. The policy implications of this debate are that actions to redress global imbalances as of now very much focused on the poor, improving their capabilities and their opportunities, particularly looking at issues that around food security, basic incomes, health care and access to primary education.

The MDGs are based on these changes:

1. The wider concept of Human Development;
2. Focussed on poor. Capability enhancing – Food security, health and education.
3. Informed by Results Based Management (Objective measurement of progress in meeting stated goals);
4. Policy Implication (SMART Goals, Targets and Indicators. Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Time-limited.);

In terms of importance as a shaper of development agenda's, the UN was really taken out of the process through the 1980s and 1990s. Due to the economic crises that many countries suffered by the late 70's, and the role assigned by the international community to the IMF and the World Bank in their resolution, these latter institutions dominated the development policy agenda. By the late 1970s, many countries in the South had debt problems and had lost their ability to grow. According to a World Bank assessment (in the late 1970's) of why that had happened, it was due to bad governance. "A good project in a bad economy becomes a bad project"; and a bad economy is bad because of the "governance" and so bad government, equals no development. So how do you solve this issue? The thinking of the IMF and World Bank, and many in the academic world, as well as politicians in UK, and US etc was that what you need to do is to "shrink the state" and this is the era of the Neoliberalism – market economics and structural adjustment programs.

Structural adjustment turned out to be less successful than they hoped it to

be, many countries following their embrace of the policies experienced reversals in many social sectors – with falling literacy, rising mortality rates, and declining productive capacity. Following this realisation, the UN once again came back into the development policy arena in the 1990's with a series of headline UN summits; in 1990 on Children, in 1992 on the Environment (The Earth Summit), Human Rights Summit in 1993, Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, and the Social Development summit in 1995. Each of those summits ended with the setting of goals and targets to be achieved by participant countries.

The mid 1990's was also a period of “aid fatigue”, when Donor governments were reassessing if the billions of dollars they were sending annually to the likes of Kenya, Bhutan, Ecuador were very ineffective, as they saw little or no progress being made in reducing poverty and hunger or access to education and etc. In order to combat this malaise, the pro aid camp felt they needed to reenergize the whole process, recognising the need to get political support to provide more money, to provide more resources and to look for change in a development context. The Development Assistance Committee is the OECD body that looks at and tries to coordinate aid policy – priorities, modalities, and aid effectiveness. DAC represents the biggest bilateral donors. By the late 1990's, DAC felt that if a series of very simple targets could be developed, people could understand, maybe that would set the scene for a reenergization of the aid process. DAC took their proposed targets from the UN summits – which had been attended by all world leaders, so they had a nice set of targets they could use to push forward their agenda.

The actual targets contained in the DAC the 21st century report, were a 50 % reduction in extreme poverty, universal primary education, removal of gender disparity in primary and secondary education, reduction of infant and the under age of 5 mortality rates by 2/3s, access to reproductive health services to all and environmental sustainability. They had their deadline: all to be achieved by 2015.

The DAC proposed it and the OECD was quite supportive, but note, it was a very much a donor driven project, it had come from the top. The developing countries themselves were not represented in DAC, did not really buy into it in that particular time, did not effectively participate in the process. It was seen as something imposed upon them. NGOs were quite interested in it, the civil soci-

ety organizations too, because the proposed goals recognized the move away from focusing just on economics, growth and trade to looking at social issues around education, healthcare, gender and environment. They were quite pleased with that. But, they were unhappy, because issues as trade justice, water and death were excluded which they thought as fundamental. What they did find was a supporter in Claire Shortt, who was the then UK Minister for Foreign Aid. Shortt was very instrumental in pushing for global support of these targets by promoting them amongst developing countries, developed countries and civil society organizations. And she was quite successful in it. Note also that at that time there were actually four women ministers of aid.

So the OECD had this plan but we also have Kofi Annan, the UN General Secretary. Annan needed something to kick-start the legitimacy of the UN for the new millennium. He commissioned his own report which was called “*We the Peoples*”, which also proposed a series of targets very similar to those of the UN Summits. But because it was the UN, they removed or weakened very much the focus on gender and reproductive healthcare, a move to appeal to the wider UN audience, particularly the Vatican and the Muslim constituencies who wanted access to condoms and things like that be reduced significantly. Annan also added a focus on HIV and Africa.

In the end, we ended up with the Millennium Declaration, eight goals, 21 targets and 60 indicators. The goals are following:

1. Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger (Target: - 50% by 2015)
2. Achieve Universal Primary Education (Target: 100% by 2015)
3. Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women
4. Reduce Child Mortality (Target: 2/3's by 2015)
5. Improve Maternal Health (Target: 3/4's by 2015)
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability (Forest, Energy, CO2, Improved water, Sanitation and Tenure)
8. Develop a Global Partnership for Development (Trade, Debt, ODA)

The Millennium Project

In order to get further attraction for goals, Kofi Annan called upon Jeffrey Sachs, a Harvard economist, to head up an independent MDG advisory body. Sachs undertook an assessment to see exactly how much would be required to meet these goals and how much additional aid spend should donors be making to meet these goals. In the resulting report “*Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*”, he estimated to meet targets around US\$ 110 per person per year should be spent, an aggregate amount of about US\$ 160 billion or an average aid target of .5 % of GNI (versus the UN goal set in the 70’s of .7 %). So what are the challenges of these MDG’s? And what are their weaknesses?

MDGs Challenges and Criticism

- Donor driven: There was very little participation by the “host”/recipient countries, little by way of consultation among developing countries, the very countries that are supposed to put these goals in place, yet they did not actual participate in the formation process!
- Ownership: There is no real ownership. A key lesson of development practice has been that if you want to get a project that is sustainable, you have to get the local ownership, you have to get commitment. But who has real ownership of the MDG’s, the countries that didn’t even design them, yet must put them in place?
- One Size fits all, not localized: MDGs are these global goals which are going to be applied in different countries; one war torn, one resource rich, one with fragmented ethnicities, another with relatively developed infrastructure, different histories of industrialization, degrees of state legitimacy (Nepal, Bhutan, Argentina, Kenya, Brazil) etc. All are distinctly different, yet we are applying one global set of goals. As these global targets became national targets, and their achievement on that basis is a major issue. William Easterly, former World Bank economist, points out that many African countries were much more further behind on issues like education, healthcare, gender, mortality rates, so for them to reach these targets was much more difficult than for countries as Argentina or Brazil for instance. The absolute change that they had to make was much more

significant than the wealthier middle income countries. So, this set up makes countries in Africa look like failures.

- Measurement: Another major issue, do baselines exist against which progress is measured? Many countries do not have the data, or the statistical infrastructure to collect the data that these measurable goals need.
- The Timeframe - criticised on many levels as too short and ambitious, and in terms of specification (enrolment and education outcomes). 1990 is the start time, and 2015 is the endpoint. Very short when we are talking about issues like the Universal Primary Education, it took the US around 100 years to get all the kids that should have been in school, in school. Is asking a country like Malawi to do the same with the 1/10th of its resources over a time-frame of 25 years too much? Not only this, but another flaw is the specification of the goals - what they cover. Is development just about investment in primary education? If it is just about primary education, is it just about enrolment? That's about getting numbers in classes, but not about the quality of the education received? And that is before we look at the exclusion of issues like human rights, governance and all those others we regard as essential for developed countries.
- Minimalist and Technical Fix: This criticism is related to the last statement, the MDGs do not address the fundamental issues of power and inequality that lie at the heart of poverty (global and local governance issues).
- So what has been achieved to date? Well before going there, let 's have a look at aid flows.

In 2009, total ODA (Overseas Development Assistance) was around US\$ 120 billion, provided by the DAC countries. The US was the biggest provider of aid, at around US\$ 29 billion. Given the size of its aid programme, unless the US is behind the goals, the goals are not going to be achieved. If the US changes its policy, for instance on reproductive services or medical support, that would have major implications in the achievement of goals.

The UN target is 0.7% of country's GNI to be provided as ODA, a target that was set back at the 1970's. The actual average country effort in 2009 was about 0.48% GNI which is quite good. It is a significant improvement on the mid-1990s. Some countries have been very good in reaching their UN commitments, particu-

larly the Scandinavian countries, legacy of Viking guilt perhaps! They reached the UN target a long time ago; Netherlands, Denmark, Luxemburg and Norway. Then you have countries that are hoping to reach the UN target, for example, Ireland, Belgium and Finland. Interestingly, the biggest provider of aid, the US, actually gives only 0.2 % of GNI. Another interesting observation is that surveys in the US about perceptions of US aid expenditure show that many US citizens grossly over-estimate how much their government spends on aid. In fact is that when you ask people: “How much money do you think the government gives in America?” A lot of people would say 20-25 % of the budget! In the case of Slovak republic, we can see a very dramatic growth in aid from US\$ 28.2 million in 2004 to almost US\$ 92 million by 2008. Then there are countries that are not part of the DAC that also have substantial aid programs; for instance Saudi Arabia with US\$ 5.5billion is a big player among the Arab countries. Korea is a major player (just under a billion). Turkey is a major player as well (US\$ 780.4). Then you have countries that don’t report to DAC such as India and China. They are significant players now. China is probably providing about US\$ 2.5 billion per year and is very active in Asia. The African continent is the focus of a very developed Chinese aid program.

Successes of the MDGs

In my opinion, they have been hugely successful in terms of getting financial backing, lobbying and advocacy. There was a series of financing conferences, Monterrey in 2005 for instance, which have been effectively put together in order to promote financing to support the MDGs. The MDGs have been very effective in the UK, Ireland and in the US, in getting civil society engagement. People can relate to the MDGs. They are about hunger, poverty, gender, environment; these are very simple goals and the beauty of them is their simplicity, the fact that they are understandable. The time-frame, which some people see as a problem because of being so short, is also good for the general public and at the end of the day it is the general public that must support aid programs. You have to pitch the different audience all the time, but it is very important to get public support.

In terms of success, at the summit in September 2010, the UNDP released a report about progress that has been achieved and it says that some of the goals will be achieved with variation in different regions. Will some countries reach

goals? Yes, China will reach a lot of the goals, India will not, and the performance and the progress of China is very important in meeting the goals globally, given its population size. But at the national level, we have got a very mixed bag, with some interesting examples of achievement and progress, and some interesting examples of retardation. The overall picture is mixed, with successes in some regions, some countries and some goals, but it varies.

In terms of donor funding, particularly with DAC, there is much greater evidence that they now focus on social spending as a result of the MDGs. The Chinese, not DAC signatories as donors though, have continued focusing on aid for infrastructural development, which DAC used to do before - which has caused some conflict between DAC in itself. One area of great failure and disappointment are goals, MDG 4 - Child mortality, and MDG 5 - Maternal Mortality. It is interesting: Why have they not got the sort of attention that they were expected to get, such important issues, but not deemed politically important? Contrast the failings in these goals, with the successes achieved in MDG - 2, primary education for instance. In terms of investment in agriculture, and agricultural research, the MDG focus of Goal 1 has been important, in revitalizing these areas; you cannot address hunger and poverty in countries that have large rural populations without addressing agricultural concerns.

Some recipient countries have now reached the level of getting into the goals, buying into the plan and allocating the required resources. We can see partial evidence of ownership and localization. For example, the Tanzania Vision in 2025 is based around the achievement of the MDGs - being the national development plan in Tanzania. Cambodia, Tajikistan, Armenia; each of those have actually taken goals and added goals and benchmarks - this process of localization of the MDGs is a very positive development. India has used the whole concept of indicators and outcomes based on MDG type planning in its 11th National Plan. So we can say it is having a huge impact on countries.

DFID MDGs Progress Report

Some countries are making a huge progress, but not achieving the goals. If you look at countries which have made a dramatic progress, countries like Niger who reduced the infant mortality rate from over 300 to 176 over a 15 year time frame. Yet, they still will not reach the goal. But in absolute terms, they have made

a huge achievement. Thailand, on the other hand, has reduced the under age of 5 mortality rate from 77 to 34. It will reach the goal, but the absolute change is not as great. But if we look at Niger performance in relative terms, it would not be on the list and Thailand would be number one. Yet in absolute terms their achievement has been stunning. Equally, Benin, Mali, Ethiopia, Gambia, Malawi, Vietnam, Uganda, Nepal, Cambodia, India, Bangladesh, Honduras, Mauritania, Ghana, China, Burkina Faso, Rwanda, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Togo - all of them achieved some absolute progress on the MDGs. Ecuador, China, Thailand, Brazil, Egypt, Vietnam, Honduras, Belize, Nicaragua, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka, Cuba, Mexico, El Salvador, Benin, Chile, Malawi, Gambia, Guatemala - all of these are fast on the way to achieving the MDGs.

In terms of poverty reduction; 2/3's of Low Income countries and 3/4's of Sub-Saharan African countries have seen a move towards a poverty reduction achievement. Some countries have seen very dramatic improvements, others very small. Sub-Saharan performance has been a little bit disappointing, with slow annual progress, around 2-3 % reduction. Because of the rate of the population growth, they actually have more hungry people then in 1990. Contrast this with great success as China, for instance, where they will probably have less than 5% of their population below the poverty line by 2015. India, probably dropped its percentage line of poverty from about 50 % down to 20 %; again a huge success in a massive country with over a billion people.

Progress in the MDGs can be seen in countries as: Ethiopia, a 2/3's fall in its poverty level, Ghana has seen its hunger levels dropped by 75 %, India halved child deaths from 117 to 72 and is promoting gender equality in education.

In terms of regression in fulfilment of the MDGs: poverty levels in Niger have risen from 49 % to 70 %; it is a very fragile state; if you have that sort of internal conflict, it is very difficult to address the MDGs, as you lack stability or resources. DRC is another classic example; not only have hunger levels doubled but you also have 2.5 million people killed in the conflict. The proportion of malnourished in the Sub-Saharan Africa has only fallen from 31% down to 28 %. But look at the African successes of Ethiopia, turning out to be a winner in an absolute context. Ghana is another great success story. But then again, we have equally countries that are very disappointing.

One of the star performers in overall terms is Vietnam, without doubt, a star-performer. What they have achieved over the period from 1990, is absolutely amazing. This of course begs the question; do you need to have democratic government in place to bring great changes in development? Vietnam has achieved huge progress in eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, achieved with average growth rates of 7.4 % per year (between the years 1990 to 2008), but also pro-poor policies, with poverty levels dropping from 63 % to 21 % between 1993 and 2006. This ranks Vietnam third among all low-income countries and first in East Asia in terms of absolute poverty reduction. The proportion of underweight children fell by two percentage points annually between 1994 and 2006, from 45 % to 20 %, placing Vietnam second among all low-income countries and first in East Asia. Economic success presents the challenges of rising inequality (urban versus rural; poor versus middle income; ethnic minorities versus majority population); and pressures on the natural environment. The under age of 5 mortality have dropped from 56 to 15 (per 1,000 people). Vietnam has a very good pro-poor agenda. They are putting their money into the low-income communities, ethnic communities, marginal communities in terms of providing physical infrastructure, access to healthcare, education, employment opportunities and social safety nets.

MDG 4, under 5 mortality level, has seen great success with over 95 % of MDG countries measuring reductions. Some of the big players doing very well in terms of an absolute reduction are Niger, Angola, Malawi, Laos, DPR, Bangladesh, Nepal, Timor, Ethiopia, Maldives, Guinea, Thailand, Vietnam, etc.

The goal 5; there is a big issue around a lack of baseline data, not only for the goal 5 but for all the goals the quality statistics are all questionable. One thing that is needed definitely post the 2015 is to get those statistics right and actually measure progress. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 40 out of 55 countries have not done the household surveys since 2005. So we are talking about a very limited source of data to produce national statistics. But in terms of the Goal, maternal health progress has, as I have said earlier, been very disappointing. It seems to be neither a donor nor a national government priority, though some improvement can be seen in countries in terms of attendance of births by skilled birth personnel.

The coverage issue: in terms of accessing birth attendance by skilled personnel; the level in Ethiopia is very low (only 6 %), Chad 14 %, Afghanistan 14 %,

Bangladesh 18 %, Nepal 19 %. Then you compound that with the urban/rural divide between the wealthy and the poor, so if you are like in the top 20 % of the population, you are guaranteed that you will have a skilled person there. The antenatal care in general is improving from 74 % to 84 %; Cambodia is a very good example of that (they increased their coverage from 34 % to 69% from 1990 to 2010). The general issue that Ban Ki Moon talked about is the failure of the donor community and the host governments to address the goal 5. This is an issue that must really be taken seriously as we go into the future.

In terms of the goal 6; HIV, TB and other diseases; the proportion of people accessing the Antiretroviral therapy has increased significantly. It is significant progress in absolute terms. With similar successes with vaccination campaigns against child killer diseases like measles, and the rolling out of bednet programmes to combat malarial transmission. Some countries have done very well, particularly the middle-income countries, the other countries have done less well.

MDG Initiatives

How can we learn from MDG achievements, and turn the goals into interesting programmes? Goal 1, for instance, Ethiopia has developed the Food for Work Programme, which looks after environmental improvement, and employs 7 million people every year. It is a social protection programme. This is a recognition that the income of some people is so very low and so variable that they need to have some sort of base income as a social safety net and this is now supported by a lot of donors. Malawi has been quite successful in addressing the food issues that it had; increasing food production and reducing hunger rates through the large scale provision of a Government Farm Input Subsidy Programme, which is benefitting about 1.6 million people.

Sierra Leone, a country with an estimated maternal mortality rate of 2100 has launched a series of health programmes addressing this issue, for instance, the Health Care to Pregnant and Lactating Mothers and Children. An example of this would be the investment that they put into a hospital in Kenema, which has seen a dramatic increase in women accessing the health care and reduction in mortality rates there. Another interesting case is from Zambia; you may build a school for girls but if you do not put in separate latrines for them, they cannot go, they will not be able to participate, the parents would not allow their

girls to go to those schools. So they had a major Rehabilitation Latrine Programme (Latrine Rehabilitation Girls Schools) in operation, which is addressing goal 3 agenda – getting female access to schools and education.

Post 2015 – Where to?

The question is: Where are we going? What are we going to do? 2015 is rapidly coming down the tracks. What are the options that are available to us?

1. **More of the same:** Let's keep what we have, we know what we are doing, we are getting better in what are we doing or getting some sort of support for it, ownership. So, let's just push the time-frame. 2015 is too close. Let's recognize the progress and move to 2025. J. Sachs, an adviser to Ban Ki Moon said to keep what we have and just move forward.
2. **Something a little bit more radical:** Take the goals (because the old MDGs are too conservative, too global, they are not located specifically) and announce new targets, locally defined, with or without a timeline.
3. **Combine the MDGs with something new:** How about keeping the MDGs? Combine them with something new. We pursue an "inner core" of the existing MDGs, but add new and locally defined targets as an "outer core".

Manning 2010 IDS

Richard Manning, a British academic, writing in an IDS journal in Jan 2010 devoted to the MDGs, says we should keep the goals and the global targets as well, but also localize the national targets. We should be aware of past performance. We do not penalize countries by setting a benchmark never actually achieved and which just frustrates countries, but we should also set benchmarks that push countries a little bit.

In terms of the additional goals; include social protection – why not set a target to see the provision of social protection for the poorest 20% of the population, a basic food for work programme or a basic income subsidy. Or goals on equity issues, progressive taxation, human rights. The goal 8 needs to be revised completely, so let's just reopen it and put it in proper hard targets around issues as trade, trade proposals, ODA and financing for development. Most importantly, he says, there is the need for better data, for better monitoring and evaluation.

Post 2015 – What would you lobby for?

Finally, what do you think, what would you lobby for? Would you lobby for more of the same? Do you want something more radical? Would you combine the MDGs with something new? Or would you just scrap them?

Women Empowerment through Local Self Governance Gram Swaraj

Dr. Pramila Sanjaya

**SIDART (Society for Integrated Developmental Activities
Research & Training) Jaipur, India**

Women empowerment through the local self governance. We will begin with the structure of the local self governance and what is the whole concept of Gram Swaraj.

Overall aim

The overall aim is the village development through people's participation in Panchayati Raj with special focus on women empowerment through participation in Panchayati Raj System.

One of the inspirations for us is Kautilya, also known as Chanakya (350-283 BC), an economist and advisor to Chandragupta (the first Mauryan king), who has given us one of the world's oldest treaties on the economic administration of the state. While describing the economy, Kautilya says: "Power comes from the countryside, which is the source of all activities."

Another great inspiration is Mahatma Gandhi's Mantra

When you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test:

- Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man/women whom you may have seen, and ask yourself,
- Is the step you contemplate going to be of any use to them?
- Will he gain anything by it?
- Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny?
- In other words, will it lead to 'Swaraj' for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?
- Then you will find your doubt and your 'self' melting away.

The answer that you get and you will be satisfied with it, that is the idea of the governance.

Mahatma Gandhi also said that whenever you do anything you must have the poorest man in your sight. When I was working with the government, I worked for almost 15 years with the government as a senior administrative officer, and the whole day it was like pushing the files. One day as I was sitting in my chair I realized that even if I clear all the files on my table, in the furthest village in the desert in Rajasthan – does the women get benefit? How does she really get the benefit? I do not see it. But at the end of this class, after two hours, I can see it from your faces that at least the concept of panchayat is what you know. You understand and you are aware of the whole issue of the village volunteers. Why educated and not educated people from Jaipur go to the villages? Why villages should exist in India? Who was Mahatma Gandhi? What was his concept of Gram Swaraj? I get feedback right here, but if you keep pushing files you generally do not get the outcomes (however good intentions you might have).

The Philosophy of Grass root Governance in India – Mahatma Gandhi’s thoughts

I come from India, one of the biggest developing countries in the world and there I work in the development sector. Before coming into an NGO and working for the NGO on a full-time basis, I was a senior civil servant in the government in India and I used to work mostly on policy level and much less on the programme implementing at the grass root level, i.e. monitoring, supervising and explaining to people why things are not happening. Every day there were lots of files on my table. We just pushed the files and that is the way how it works in the government.

So, one day I realized this and at the end of the day I cleared all the files and I did all the policy work. But, does it really help the women and children sitting far away in a desert village? The answer to me was NO. I realized that these files do not really help them and decided to work at the grass roots level for some time.

The greatest motivator in my life has been the thoughts of – Mahatma Gandhi. Mohandas Karma Chand Gandhi is considered father of Indian independence movement. Gandhi spent 20 years in South Africa where he was working against discrimination. It was there that he created his concept of *satya-*

graha, a non-violent way of protesting against injustices. While in India, Ghandi's obvious virtue, simplistic lifestyle, and minimal dress endeared him to the people. He spent his remaining years working diligently to both - remove British rule from India and to improve the lives of India's poorest classes. He gave us a concept and a philosophy of *Gram Swaraj*. Gram is a village and Swaraj is self-rule, so the villagers should rule for themselves.

So, what is the philosophy of Gram Swaraj about? Rule of the people in India through local self-governance (*panchayats*). There are at least five villages in the panchayat. So the name comes from panch (means five) and ayat (meaning villages).

Constituting India into a Gandhian Republic

On January 26, 1950, we, the people of India resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic. In 1975, by the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, the resolve was expanded to read sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic Republic.

Now, out of all these constitutional changes; when and how did India become or get into the ruling of panchayat? It was the 73rd and 74th amendment, by which the panchayat rule (the rule of villages) came into practice. It was not very early; it was in the 90's. Whatever is in the 73rd and 74th amendment of constitution in India, it is what we work for, what we are trying to put into practice at the village level.

Village development is done through people's participation with special focus on women empowerment through their participation in Panchayati Raj System. Similarly, we have an elected representative, who is the head of panchayat and he is called a *sarpanch*. Along with sarpanch, the Ward members are elected. We as citizens have to look at how responsible they work, whether they are doing what we want them to do, whether they are working for a benefit, or we regret after four/five years and then we vote for somebody else. The choice is ours.

At my organization, we are working to empower women. It is a big challenge. Not so many women and girls come to university. They usually get married at the age of 16 and 15 and they manage the household. Sometimes their parents send them to study until the grade 5 or 6. So, there is all the more reason to empower them and that is what we are working in villages, in panchay-

ats, to focus on participation of women in the decision-making process for the development of their own villages.

Besides Mahatma Gandhi, there was one more legendary figure in the Indian history and he is Kautilya, very popularly known as Chanakya (350-283 BC). Kautilya (an economist and advisor to the first Mauryan king, Chandragupta, who has given us one of the world's oldest treaties on the economic administration of the state) also said: "Power comes from the countryside, which is the source of all activities." The value of the villages, the importance of the villages; India is what it is because of the villages.

Can you imagine how much percentage of population lives in villages in India? How many in cities and how many in villages? 70 % to 75 % of the Indians live in villages. However, the cities and the developing culture of high skyscrapers are also coming up there gradually. Still, the power comes from the countryside.

The Extract of the Letters Written by Gandhi on Khadi and Village Industry

This is something that Mahatma Gandhi wrote later (after India's independence): "India has 750,000 villages scattered over the vast area 1900 miles long 1500 broad. The people are rooted to the soil and the vast majority are living a hand to mouth life. Agriculture does not need revolutionary changes. The Indian peasant requires a supplementary industry. The most natural is the introduction of the spinning-wheel not the handloom. The latter cannot be in every home, whereas the farmer can, and it used to be so even a century ago. It was driven out not by economic pressure but by force deliberately used as can be proven from authentic records. The restoration therefore of the spinning-wheel solves the economic problem of India at a stroke."

First of all he talks about the number of the villages in India, about their problems and how they could be resolved. He said that when the British came to India, before that, there was weaving stand in almost every house (at least in couple of houses in a village that was enough for the whole village to weave the clothes and make it available). But what they did was a big industry. They used to take all the cotton from India and the best merchandised cloth used to come from England back to India to be stored at a very high price. So, Gandhi says here that if you

want to get rid of the poverty, of the economic pressure; again re-invent and work on the spinning-wheel. At the same time, you should also have weaving done in the villages. One of the latest trends, these days, in the fashion area in India, people like to wear cotton and people like to appreciate those who wear it rather than synthetic or other clothes. So, this is what Gandhi said on Khadi (a cloth which is made by hand) and this will encourage village industries and people will be more self-reliant rather than dependent on industries.

Villages in India

Gandhi's idea to develop the Indian society was based on his human understanding of the society and hence based on the village system. He had a very deep understanding of the social structures and social system in India. Talking about the importance of village, he wrote in 1936 (before independence) in one of his books called *Harijan* (Hari means God, Jan means people, *People of God*): "I would say if the village perishes, India will perish too. It will be no more India. Its mission in the world will get lost". India is there because of the villages we have. Unlike European Union where you have various different countries (small countries), India is a big country still united. There is a lot of diversity in the country, but still there is a unity in that diversity.

Background information

75 % of India lives in villages. It is now gradually reducing to the latest index of 69 %. There is more and more urbanization. But, the only difference between the village (the group of villages) and the urban area (the city) is that here you have municipalities and there you have panchayats. In the state of Rajasthan we have districts, as the district Jaipur where I come from is also the state capital. So, you have the country, then you have the state, then you have the district. District is made up of development blocks, so, Jaipur is a district and it consists of 14 development blocks. Each development block consists of an intermediary each of consists of 4 to 5 villages and this group of villages is called *panchayat*. So, the country like India, state maybe like Rajasthan, district like Jaipur, Jaipur has development blocks.

The development block in which I work is called Sanganehr. It has 24 clusters (12 are made of men, 12 are made of women). So, a woman gets a chance

to get elected (this law was especially done for a development of country like India) in all 110 villages where we work and each one of them is a panchayat. Now you can understand what panchayat is; a couple of villages put together.

Demographics

- Women constitute 48.3 % of population (as per the 2001 census).
- The demographic imbalances have worsened in certain regions.
- Overall sex ratio decreased to 933.
- Child sex ratio (0-6) years fell from 945 to 927.
- Dip in child ratio in economically prosperous States like Punjab (793), Delhi (865), Haryana (820), and Gujarat (878).

Status of Women in Rural Area

Women need empowerment. Theoretically they are equal to men but in practice as they are discriminated in many ways; they enjoy lesser opportunities for their personal growth, they have lesser say in household decisions, they are ill treated most often than man, they have lesser rights over properties and money, they have right to decide age of marriage and choose their grooms, and do not enjoy reproductive rights, they have lesser opportunities for higher education, girl child are killed in womb or are left to die after birth, etc. Are there enough reasons to work for women empowerment? Are these enough or not?

In one of the seminars with the village women, we brought a man who works for the government, a senior officer, and he was talking to the women about programs by which they can benefit. One such program is Women self-help program. That is that 10 women will constitute a group and they set up a saving system and then when 10 women have saved 10 Euros, for example, and someone needs to borrow, after six months they do inter-loaning. The loan is given by the group to one of the women and she uses it as her general income. So, if this is scene then the whole group is getting a bigger loan by the government. The senior officer told them that more and more women should come together to form to small self-help group.

Advantages of Village Development through Gram Swaraj

A) National

- Less migration of people from villages to cities.
- Less congestion in cities due to population overload. Lots of people are coming from village to cities, so there will be less congestion, there will be less slums. Currently, there is no place in the cities. People live in a very underprivileged situation in the cities.
- Less expenditure on civic security system, less problems like Naxalism, terrorism; assurance of peace and harmony, a better society is built.
- Less economic disparity, less incidences of suicides due to poverty, less loss of land, forests and environment due to growing urbanization. If you have to build high-raised buildings and houses for the people in the urban areas you will cover the land of villages.
- Higher economic growth (less hidden unemployment, appropriate exploitation of natural resources and manpower).
- All these problems will be addressed if the concept of Gram Swaraj will be adopted.

B) International

- Bigger market for international products (70% of India lives in villages which is still an under-exploited market).
- Advantages of international researches and inventions reached a wider population size benefitting both the user and the producer.
- Students, researchers in socio-political area are benefitted.
- Development of tourism industry.
- Cultural exchange.
- Import of Indian handicraft items, spices and herbs at a reduced cost.

There is no middleman, there is no marketing strategy. Middleman's profits get reduced, because the industrialization kills the cotton industries and the low-scale industries in the houses of the rural people. So, it has advantages both at national and international level.

Present Structure of Panchayati Raj System

The three tier system

- Gram Panchayats at village level.
- Panchayat Samiti at block level (Intermediary level) only in the states having a population of over 2 million.
- Zila Parishad at District level.

SIDART is basically working at Gram Panchayat Level (in villages). We coordinate with the Panchayat Samiti and Zila parishad as well as the state level according to the need

What is Gram Panchayat:

Also called local self government of the villages or rural local bodies, is a conglomerate of a few villages (territorial constituencies). Meetings of Gram Panchayat are held twice a month on the 5th and 20th of every month. Discussions and decisions by only the elected members (i.e. Sarpanch, Panch and Ward members) take place in the Panchayat meetings.

I have attended hundreds of such meetings in order to see if they really work in terms of benefit for the community, if they take up their real issues, whether they are talking in terms of reconstruction of roads, whether the girls are being put into the school (in order to improve the female literacy levels). All these things are discussed and decided in Gram Panchayats meetings.

What is Gram Sabha:

Gram Sabha means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Panchayat at the village level (Constituency of Panchayat). Gram Sabha holds its meetings on a fixed date, and they are well advertised and propagated in the villages. The decisions of Gram Sabha are implemented through the Panchayat - construction of new roads, opening of a new school in the village and so on. Whatever is the priority requirement in the village is all decided in the Gram Sabha.

Constitution of Gram Panchayat

„Panchayat“ means an institution of self-government constituted under article 243B, for the rural areas; As per 73rd amendment: All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area and, for this purpose, each Panchayat area shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the Panchayat area.

Reservation of seats in Panchayats

- For Scheduled castes and tribes in proportion of their population in the Panchayat area 1/3rd of such seats are reserved for women candidates of SC and ST candidates.
- 1/3rd of total seats for women candidates including the SC/ST women candidates.

Working of Panchayats

- Functions of Gram Panchayats are enshrined in the Chapter VII section 75 of the Constitution of India, subject to such conditions as may be specified by the Government from time to time, are mainly related to land and revenue, agriculture, animal husbandary, handicrafts, social welfare, water and sanitation, social welfare, civil work, cooperatives, etc.
- Recently the powers of five departments have been transferred to the panchayats.

Focus on Women Empowerment

- Why women; example of Kerala a Matriarchal Society and the only state in the country having highest women to man sex ratio, 1058/1000; tops in the country in almost all the indicators of quality of life including health, lesser crime rate and less unrest among people.
- Earlier rulers were also women; they have the capacity to rule.
- Indian perspective all the deities reside in the house where women are respected.

Investing on Women Empowerment

- Investing on a woman in the family leads to overall development of the family.
- Are unemployed household women unproductive? No. Women are quite productive as they save money by performing several labor intensive household activities.
- Still they lack control over movable or immovable household property and exercise lesser say in household decisions.

SIDART in Villages:

Three Years of Empowering Women

Now we will sum-up the whole strategy we were discussing until now. We look on how the strategy was and how we have begun. We did not begin in the middle of nowhere. We initially did a re-assessment and the survey to find out the status of women, so I can talk to you confidently today on what are the issues to work with the women.

Survey was done in 2007 on status of women and level of their information. We do not go to every house, but we do every tenth house so we will have a random assessment of the situation in the village. It gives us the result of almost all villages. Survey results show that women are discriminated; they are less informed about their rights, government schemes and programs. They want equal opportunities and are ready to take up challenges. Women are ready and willing to take up the challenge, but they are not given the opportunities.

So, we decided (based on the survey) we will conduct a special program and the strategy was to help them to be aware, do some awareness programs and schemes for them. Experience of awareness program in Bilwa and Shri Ram Ki Nangal; teaching women need awareness to improve their status, awareness about political, civic and economic system of the country. Women are willing to know more and work in that area, but they are not being provided with that. After, we designed a three day Seminars (Orientation on status of Women on day one, day two; what can we do to improve the situation, day three- how do we do the practical sessions) in women headed Panchayats and one day orientation in other Panchayats (2008). In 2009, we spread the three day seminar

in all the Panchayats of the block Sanganer. In 2010 we launched the village volunteer program with more focused work for more women empowerment. In 2011 we will focus on the model panchayats.

Contents of the Village Volunteer Programme

The government of India has decided to do a big programme, so that not even a 1 % remains unemployed. This programme is *National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (Act)*, which is known as NREGS/NREGA.

It is important to work in the community to gain the women's confidence. Once we gain their confidence gradually then the men realize that the women who participate in these seminars do not hold an anti-family or anti-social position. Whatever they get is important for them. But in the process we also empower women to stand up for their decision-making and to stand up for their rights.

A) Village Volunteer's Seminar

Village Volunteers are women from the villages dedicated for village development. Each of them leads a group of 10 women to stand by them. Capacities of village volunteers were developed around following - Community participation, Leadership styles, communication skills, government schemes, implementation of programs, accountancy, monitoring of programs.

B) The Strengthening Seminar (Knowledge is Power)

We have done seminars on the right for information in a practical way. Whatever knowledge they gain (about the panchayats) - we are trying to do that in the process of Strengthening Seminar. Whatever you have learned is reinforced and strengthened in the process.

- Impart knowledge about government's developmental and social welfare schemes.
- Educate them about their rights and duties.
- Reinforce and practically take up the issues in their villages in women groups.
- They also learn public speaking and leadership skills.

C) NREGA Seminar

- Women get informed about various provisions of NREGA (National Rural Employment Guarantee Act).
- Practical exercises to understand the procedure to apply for job under NREGA are done in the seminar.
- Women get informed about their rights as workers in NREGA, the issues of wages and work site facilities available for them.

D) RTI Seminar

- Women get awareness about the Right to Information (RTI) Act which is for everyone no matter what education or what sex someone has.
- In a practical way they learn how to write applications and how to make use of the RTI act for betterment of their lives in the villages.

E) RDU (Resource Development and Utilization) Seminar

- Women get motivated to think about the resources in their village and how they can make most out of what is available to them.
- In these seminars village mapping is done by the women through PLA/PRA exercises, they gain more awareness about the available resources in their villages.
- Planning is done to utilize the resources judiciously and Gram Sabha and the Panchayat is apprised of that.

F) Exposure Visits

- Women come out of the veil, shed off their fear of visiting public institutions, including a police station.
- They become more self-confident when they contact functionaries in public institutions.
- They get information about different organisations and know how to use them for their betterment.

G) Weekly Village Meetings

- Seminars dedicated to see the outcomes of the work done together and to find out the problems.

Impact of SIDART's Women Empowerment Program

- Information about their rights as citizens of India and as women and about various governmental schemes and programs has led to an overall improvement in the personality of the women and they are now enjoying better status and respect in the community as well as in the family.
- They became instrumental in putting a check on corrupt practices in rural administration. This has shattered the myth that they are weaker and less efficient than men.

Role of SIDART in Panchayati Raj – results

- Panchayats or rural local bodies may also be called as “Government within the reach” of the people. Since, in Panchayati Raj System, the rulers are within the reach of the villagers, it is easier to keep an eye over the utilization of developmental funds even by the less literate and less resourceful people.
- Thus the women trained in RTI, NREGA and Social Audit were able to give questions to their representatives in Panchayats and hold them accountable for any type of corruption.
- Almost all the seminars took place in the presence of Sarpanchas. This facilitated an interface between rulers and villagers (women) which in itself is an empowerment process.
- The women were happy to see the Sarpanch answering their queries. Before he have given a nasty look over any oftheir queries).
- The Panchayats, the government within the reach, provided the women a platform where they were able to learn, understand and have a feel of the political system of the country.
- The women participated in Gram Sabha meetings and ensured that issues raised by them are recognized in Panchayat meetings and that later there is action taken on them. A matter of immense satisfaction and empowerment.
- Women were able to perform as the Panchayats are at village (Local) level. (“The Government within the reach”).
- This would never be possible in a centralized system of the government for the villagers of a feudal state like Rajasthan, populated largely by poorly literate and less resourceful people, having poor social and eco-

conomic indicators. If these women would be asked to operate at District Collectorate or State Assembly level, they would have visited there once or twice but follow up would not have been possible.

Health Care and Education Initiatives

Dr. Pramila Sanjaya

**SIDART (Society for Integrated Developmental Activities
Research & Training) Jaipur, India**

Truck drivers

This program was developed in collaboration with the Department of Medical Care and Health, the RSCAS (Rajasthan State AIDS Control Society) and with the tire making company (APOLLO Tyre Foundation). Our aim is to work towards improving health of the truck drivers.

Who is our target group? The helpers, the cleaners, the commercial sex workers, mechanics and similar allied population who are there in any transport business area. The whole idea is that the truck drivers remain healthy; they learn health-seeking behaviour. At least once in a month they come for a medical consultation. While they are driving they get tired and they can easily cause an accident and there are also other diseases which they may likely get because of their lifestyles.

SIDART and APOLLO Tyre Healthcare Centre work especially with the truck drivers, who are not very rich and the health system is not very affordable for them, on the treatment and the prevention of the STDs (Sexually Transmitted Diseases)... We provide free of charge consultations for them (for Rs 15/month), which is a very small amount. Those who cannot come to the clinic are offered a special set-up. We reach them by putting up camps where we check upon their health on site.

Elderly people

Gradually in India, the large families are breaking. There are more nuclear families (husband, wife and children maybe). The children go abroad. Mostly they move to Australia, the US and Europe for their work. They are technocrats, doctors and engineers (all are migrating), IT professionals are going away. So,

the elderly parents are left back home. It is a big problem emerging in India. In order to address them and also to meet the job needs of young girls and women we did training for them to work specifically as girls in geriatric care. Geriatric care is care of the old age people (all the elderly people). We organized training programmes for them and in these programmes we tell them not only to take care as a nurse. Sometimes, there is no electricity for the whole night and the elderly people sit in the dark, but they do not know how to fix the wires that the electricity can be restarted once again. So that was also told to the people who are doing geriatric care training with us. We also gave them driving lessons, so when these elderly people have been sitting home alone for a long time, they can take them for a ride. So, these are all kinds of things which were build-up in the geriatric care along with the normal routine training that was done for them. All these 30 women and girls are all gainfully employed. They are getting jobs in nursing homes and individual households. They took their training for 4 months in theory (on how to treat the patients with specific elements like Parkinson disease etc) and also they took practical training in the hospitals.

Creative education

Another important thing we do and how we enter to the community is using the local art forms, puppet shows, etc. The puppet show is narrating a song and a story to people to explain to them how they must address the issue of malnutrition (what is locally available: food, cereals, vegetables that they can have). In every root corner in the city centre, in the villages, together we do these street shows and street plays and people are able to benefit from the messages and the knowledge that we convey to them there. Also, when the street plays take place we give them more leaflets explaining the play, because these people are not always literate.

History and Trends of Formal Education in Kenya

Mwawana Chrispin Mwachongo

Deputy Principal- Moi High School, Kasigau- Kenya

Preamble

Kenyans, alongside other Africans, had their own indigenous education systems which differed from one community to another. Nevertheless, the sole objective in all communities was to transmit knowledge, skills and culture from one generation to another. Such an objective augers well with Sifuna's¹ definition of education, that education 'is the whole process by which one generation transmits its culture to the succeeding generation.

Such knowledge includes knowledge of medicinal plants, whereas skills could be like iron smith and pottery. "Culture" here should be taken in its contemporary meaning that is, the way of seeing and doing things.

The indigenous, education, emphasized communalism as one Mbiti² puts it that 'I am because we are, because we are, I am'.

Formal education in Kenya can be studied under three time frames, namely;

- Pre-colonial era
- Colonial era
- Post independence era

Pre-colonial Era

Kenyans first brush with the formal education dates back to the arrival of the pioneer missionaries to Kenya-Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann of the Church Missionary Society.

The first Missionary School was set up at Rabai in 1846 at the Kenya's coast. Other such Missionary Schools were set up in Nairobi, Central and Western parts of Kenya which include: Kaimosi - 1902, Friends School Kaimosi - 1903, Maseno School - 1906, Government Indian School now Jamhuri High School - 1906, or Prince of Wales School now Nairobi School - 1910 to men-

tion just but few. Some of these schools are today's biggest and most famous schools and colleges in Kenya.

As it is usually the case with human beings regarding change, many Africans resisted this formal education and had to be persuaded or coerced to let their children go to school.

Colonial Era

The process of colonisation of Kenya is quite long and intriguing, starting with its Coastal strip occupation and control by the Portuguese for 200 years up to 1698, the time which the Omani Arabs took control, all the way to 1887, when the British Association received Concessionary Right to the Kenyan Coast from the Sultan of Zanzibar. By 1907 Kenya was under the full control of the British.

The formal education in Kenya under the British was racially stratified into;

- The African Education.
- The Asian Education.
- The European Education.

The races never interacted along education lines, that is, each race accessed its designated education separately, the European education the best and African education the most poorly equipped. The African Education merely provided basic literacy, numeracy and vocational skills.

The Africans, therefore, could be employed as clerks in the colonial Public Service and other sectors, at best.

Post Independence Era

The colonisation of Kenya by the British was possible due to the superior weapons of the British and the fact that many communities were on their own in form of Chiefdoms and Kingdoms. For some time, the Kenyans and other Africans viewed the British as very superior and unbeatable.

However, the Second World War was really an eye opener for the Africans. The Kenyans who were recruited as soldiers in the war realised that even the whites could be penetrated and be killed by bullets contrary to their earlier belief.

After the war, the Kenyan Africans started agitating for, among other Rights, the right to quality education and equal opportunities in employment. Various rebellions were staged and ultimately the British threw the towel and Kenya became independent on 12th December 1963 with Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as the first Prime Minister. Thereafter Kenya became a Republic on 12th December 1964 with Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as the first president.

Reformation of Education in Kenya

As the British were relinquishing their positions in the Public Service, it was imperative that an effective education system be put in place to provide the required labour in the independent Kenya. The epic journey of the reformation of the Kenyan education has been marked by various Commissions, Committees and Working Parties, some of which I will dwell on.

The Kenya Education Commission

The Kenya Education commission was set up in 1964 under the chairmanship of professor S. H. Ominde. This Commission sought to reform the Education System [7-4-2-3] inherited from the colonial Government to make it more responsive to the needs of the independent Kenya.

Its brain child was the Ominde Report [1964] which was to be operationalised by the Session Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning.

Among other reformations, curriculum reforms were affected especially the subject contents of History and Geography to reflect National sovereignty, cohesion and heritage.

The National Committee in Educational Objectives and Policy (1976)

Upon the exit of the British from the offices, many Kenyan Africans were trained to take the 'white collar' jobs. At independence, the Kenyan population stood at around 8.4 million people but by 1975 it had swelled to about 12.4 million people. This of course translated to a higher demand in employment opportunities and the white collar jobs were no longer enough to

absorb all the eligible Kenyan youths. Accordingly, therefore, there was need for an education system that could equip Kenyans with visions, knowledge, skills, and attitudes that could enable them to seize opportunities beyond the office jobs.

The National Committee on Education Objectives and Policy chaired by professor Gachathi was mandated to redefine the Kenya's Educational Policies and Objectives giving considerations to the National Unity, Economic, Social and Cultural aspirations of the peoples of Kenya.

This Committee begot the Gachathi Report of 1976, through which the Government support for 'Harambee' Schools and the establishment of the National Centre for Early Childhood Education (NACECE) at the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) came into being.

The Presidential Working Party on the Second University in Kenya

As time went by the quest for the University Education of the Kenyans grew overwhelmingly. As aforementioned herein, the colonial African Education was poorly equipped and could cater for nothing more than basic numbers, literacy and vocational skills. Many Kenyans, therefore, at the time furthered their education abroad.

They included among others:

- Jomo Kenyatta - Attended the Wood Brooke College and the London School of Economics.
- Charles Njonjo (the first Kenyan Attorney General) - attended the Grays Inn Law School.
- Peter Mbiyu Koinange - (a powerful Minister in the Kenya's first cabinet) attended Columbia University.
- Tom Mboya, who later facilitated many Kenyans to further their education abroad, attended the Ruskin College, Oxford.
- Mwai Kibaki - The incumbent President of Kenya attended the London School of Economics.
- Barack Obama the father of President Barack Obama attended the University of Hawaii.
- Dr. Julius Kiano, who attended the Stanford University, was the first

Kenyan to obtain a Doctoral Degree.

At independence, closer home, the Kenyans sought their University education at Makerere University in Uganda in East Africa, first established in 1922 as a technical school but started offering University of London's degrees in 1949.

University of Nairobi- Kenya, which started in 1956 as the Royal Technical College, was transformed into the second university college in East Africa on 25th June 1961 under the name - the Royal College of Nairobi affiliated to the University of London. It was until 1970 when it became the first National University of Kenya under the name University of Nairobi. Albeit the growing population of Kenya to about 14.7 million people by 1980 and subsequent overwhelming demand for university education, the University of Nairobi remained the sole university in Kenya up to 1983.

This scenario occasioned the Government of Kenya to set up a Working Party on the second university in Kenya.

The Presidential Working Party on the Second University in Kenya

This Working Party set up in 1981 under the chairmanship of Alexander Mackay produced the Mackay Report which led the establishment of:

- Moi University in 1984
- Commission for Higher Education (CHE), which gives accreditation to institutions of Higher Education.
- The 8-4-4 system of education.

The Presidential Working Party on Education and Manpower Training for the next Decade and Beyond (1988)

As schools increased in number across the country, the challenges in the provision of education regarding financing, quality and relevance became a reality. To address the challenges a Working Party, chaired by James Kamunge, was set up. It came at time when the Government Scheme for the Provision of

instructional materials through the National Textbook Scheme was in a chaotic state, threatening the provision of quality education. The Working Party came up with the Kamunge Report (1988).

The Report focused, therefore, on improving education financing, quality and relevance. The Session Paper No. 6 on Education and Training for the Next Decade and Beyond and the Policy of Cost Sharing between the Government, parents and communities were products of this Report.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya (2000)

At the close of the second millennium in Kenya, the cost of living had become unbearable, multi-party agitation had reached its fever heat and Information Communication and Technology had arrived with bang pushing to revolutionise every sector with an unprecedented force. In short, there was dissatisfaction amongst Kenyans concerning almost everything.

It was clear more than ever that an Education System that will facilitate national unity - Kenyans were divided, mutual social responsibility, accelerated industrial and technological development, life-long learning, and adaptation to changing circumstances was long overdue. Once again the Government, as had been the tradition, set up yet another Commission in the 2000 - The Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya whose subsequent Report was named the Koech Report, after its chairman - Davy Koech. The Report recommended a totally integrated quality education and training (TIQET). Its recommendations are yet to be implemented in full due to the cost implications thereof.

The Task Force on Student Discipline and Unrest in Secondary Schools (2001)

The Kenyan education has also had its share of students' indiscipline and unrest - a scenario that had become too common and very perturbing in the 1990's. Secondary schools and universities were on and off following spontaneous spate of students' unrest. The Government had no chance and as usual issued another inquiry by the name the Task Force on Student Discipline and Unrest in Secondary Schools. The task force was set up force to investigate the

causes of the wave of students' indiscipline and unrest. The Wangai Report came up with a battery of recommendations, amongst them being;

- a) That school administrators should cultivate a democratic and participative environment in schools and encourage regular BARAZA's where teachers and students are encouraged to express views, suggestions and grievances and where the school administration can get an opportunity to expound on policies.
- b) That Guidance and counselling be strengthened to nurture the students' moral values.
- c) That vacancies for the position of the school administrators be advertised by the Teachers service commission to attract competent persons; interviews should be held at appropriate venues. The posts of such offices should be commensurate to the school size.
- d) That holiday tuitions be banned forthwith to give students ample time to rest and steam off.
- e) That students be given a full week mid- term break to rest and visit their parents at home.

Recent Education Reforms in Kenya

All eyes in Kenya are set on the **Vision 2030** which is supposed to propel Kenya into the league of the developed nations.

Accordingly, the Education Sector is fast tracking all what it takes to move Kenya to the Vision 2030 through its vision, 'To Have a Globally Competitive Quality Education, Training and Research for Kenya's Sustainable Development'. Some of the means to reach the vision 2030 are:

- The Session Paper No. 1 of 2005 on a Policy Framework for Education, Training and Research.
- The Kenya Education Sector Support Programme [KESSP].
- The Strategic Plan [2006 - 2011] of the Ministry of Education, among others.

More so, Kenya is committed to the Millennium Development Goals and the Universal Primary Education, both of which have fuelled the Government to undertake the following bold reforms in the Education Sector.

Free Primary Education (FPE) (2003)

This is probably the most important Education reform in Kenya's history.

It was awaited for so long that its implementation was more of a crisis than opportunity; it brought forth unprecedented high enrolments without commensurate facilities and resources. Some schools like Olympic primary in Nairobi attracted over 1200 pupils above their existing enrolment!

Age factor did not deter those who were considered past primary school going age from enrolling in their unbeatable quest for education. Mzee Kimani Marunge at age 84 was probably the pupil of the millennium!

The FPE occasioned an increase in enrolment from 74.4 percent in 2002 to 83.7 percent in 2005, which was an increment of over half a million pupils in primary school.

Free Day Secondary Education

The increased enrolment in the primary school implied that there was to be a proportional increment in the secondary school when the time came for them to join the secondary schools. However, the poverty that locked the pupils out of the primary schools was still prevailing. The government therefore introduced a free Day Secondary School programme in 2008 to facilitate higher rates of transition into the secondary education.

This move saw the transition rate into secondary education increase from 60 percent in 2006 to over 75 percent in 2008.

Delinking of Admission to Universities From Catering and Accommodation

Until the mid of this decade, university admission was pegged at the bed capacity available in all the Kenyan universities. Therefore, though the minimum university entry grade on paper was C+ only those who scored B and above accessed university education- a transition rate of 3 percent into the university from the secondary school.

Today, Parallel and School-based Programmes have expanded access to the university education to about 15 percent transition rate. A lot ought to be done for the transition rate is still far below the International Standards, though.

Other Recent Reforms in the Kenyan Education

- a) Disbursement of funds directly to primary school under FPE programme. This improved efficiency in resources utilisation and enhanced transparency at school level.
- b) New teacher recruitment policy where the primary teachers are recruited at the district level and their counter parts in the secondary school recruited at school level. This has endeavoured to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in the supply of teachers to needy schools.
- c) Disbursement of bursary to needy students in secondary school through their respective constituencies for correct identification and targeting of beneficiaries.
- d) Curriculum reforms for instance:
 - Modularisations of syllabuses in Technical, Industrial, Vocational, and Entrepreneurship Training (TIVET) sub-sector.
 - Rationalisation of curriculum to reduce curriculum overload has been undertaken at both primary and secondary schools.
 - Cross-cutting emerging issues like HIV/AIDS, gender responsiveness, guidance and counselling, school safety, and environmental conservation are now integrated and infused in the curriculum.
 - Curriculum for learners with special needs is being adopted by the Kenyan Institute of Education (the Kenyan sign language is already being tested in the national examinations).
 - In Teacher Education, the syllabus has been reviewed to include emerging issues and allow for some degree of specialization.
- e) Reforms in school textbooks publishing have led to the liberation of the book trade. Now it is the publishers and not the authors who submit curriculum support materials to KIE for evaluation and approval for use in schools.
- f) The Sector Wide Approach to Planning (SWAP) is an attempt to focus resources on identified priorities and needs across the entire education and training sector.
- g) Kenya Education Sector Support Programme is a home grown strategy for enhancing resource allocation and utilisation.
- h) The School Feeding Programme in primary schools has attempted to enhance retention.

- i) Computerisation of form one selection and Teacher Training College intake has brought about fairness and transparency in the process.

Challenges and Mitigation

The government still has to work harder to address the challenges it is facing in its endeavour to meet the education and training requirements for the Vision 2030, which among others include:

- Improving quality of education at primary level; plans to phase out the P1 teachers gradually to replace them with Graduate teachers are under way.
- Raising levels of transition rates through expanding the post primary institutions.
- Expanding access and equity- which include doing away with some retrogressive cultural practices like early marriages amongst some communities.
- Providing relevant education through matching skills and market demand.

ICT and Education

The Ministry of Education Strategic Plan 2006 - 2011 takes cognisance of the fact that in the current globalised economy; a country requires an ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) literate workforce that will enhance its participation in the knowledge - based economy. The Strategic Plan further takes cognisance that any country that fails to integrate ICT in education risks serious marginalisation on the global scene.

The Ministry of Education in collaboration with the private sector, is mobilising resources to promote ICT access to schools. Already the digitalisation of curriculum under KESSP is ongoing at KIE and also with the support of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) is implementing connectivity in six schools to serve as a demonstration for future roll out to other schools.

A number of schools have been identified to be given computers in due course and the government is intensifying the rural electrification programme to fast track ICT integration in education.

Schools like Moi High School, Kasigau have received a big boost in the ICT equipment, courtesy of the Pontis Foundation and Slovak Aid.

However, there are challenges that the Education Sector must face head on, such as:

- Digital illiteracy amongst the teachers.
- Absolute absence of computers in the majority of the schools.
- Widespread inaccessibility to the main electricity in schools.
- Negative attitude towards ICT by teachers, resistance to technological changes.

Management and Administration of Education in Kenya

At Institutional level the management comprises:

- School Management Committees for primary schools and ECDE centres.
- Board of Governors for the secondary schools and colleges.
- University Councils for universities.

Conclusion

In a nutshell, the Education Sector in Kenya endeavours to create a knowledge-based society that upholds justice, democracy, accountability and encourages issue-based and results-oriented political engagements.