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GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA) convened a panel discussion in August 2001 on the theme of Governance in Ethiopia. The theme was selected by the Executive Committee of the EEA because of its critical importance and quintessential determinant of an orderly social, economic and political development in the country.

Ethiopia's history has rightly been identified as a history of conflict which is held responsible for its poverty and backwardness. The reason behind this proliferation of conflict and instability is the competition for power, which is gained and lost in and through warfare.

Two factors that are responsible for these unpleasant experiences are the means of attaining power and the conduct of the affairs of the state. The Ethiopian people never had the opportunity to select or elect their leaders. All came by the sword and died by the sword. Few are leaders who reigned and died in peace. For every usurper there always arose a counter claimant.

The second reason is the quality of governance. Rule of law has not been a strong tradition as the rule of the strong man. Such capricious system of governance was the ground for the mushrooming of conflict and instability.

Conflict and instability in turn engendered backwardness and poverty. Leaders were unable to initiate and sustain a development strategy. Resources, both material and human were mobilised not for economic development but to conduct warfare.

It is time that it extricate itself from such cycles of conflict and create an environment conducive for social and economic development. It is to this end that the theme was selected and the panel organised.

The panellists are all people with vast experience and hold position of responsibilities. We hope readers, but more importantly the Ethiopian people, would benefit from their teachings.

In this issue of *Economic Focus* we have also included articles that reflect on various development issues of unemployment, coffee and monetary policy.

We wish you a happy read. ■

WELCOMING SPEECH AND PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY DR. BEFEKADU DEGEFE, PRESIDENT OF THE ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, AT THE EEA'S 9TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Members of the Ethiopian Economic Association.

Invited Guests

Let me take this opportunity to welcome you all to the 9th General Assembly and the 10th Anniversary of the Ethiopian Economic Association. As you would see from the programme for the day we have lined up for you a series of activities in which all of you would hopefully participate actively.

At the top of these series of activities is the panel discussion on Governance and Economic Development.

We have assembled here for you an impressive array of guests to kick start the discussion. The panel discussion would be preceded by the keynote address of his Excellency Minister Woredewold Wolde, the person in charge of the administration of justice in the country. Although governance transcends and extends beyond the realm of government, one cannot talk about it in depth without understanding the role and responsibility of the state in this most critical determinant of the nature, pace and dynamics of economic and social develop-

ment in the country. You will all agree with me that there is no better person than the Minister of Justice himself to give us the official pronouncement on the subject.

We have also been fortunate in having an impressive and most authoritative group of people to lead the panel discussion on governance and economic development.

Heading this list is Ato Neway Gebre Ab, the chief economic advisor to the Prime Minister and the premier economist of the nation. You may not agree with him but you cannot fail to be impressed by his mastery of economics and his capacity to express himself with no less than the "Queen's English". I also want to acknowledge his very close association with interest and support for our association. I want to thank him for his support in the past and very ardently hope that he would continue to do so in the future as well.

The second person on my list is Ato Kifle Wodajo, currently the Director of the Horn of Africa Peace Centre. Although he has an impressive list of accomplishments to his credit, he is

currently engaged in assisting and supporting actively efforts at bringing enduring peace and stability to this troubled part of the region through a system of governance that is in the choice of the people rather than the other way round as is unfortunately the case in the countries of the Horn of Africa.

The concept of governance came into the fore and assumed centre stage in the debate on development paradigm with the publication of a study by the World Bank and entitled "Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth" in 1979, a work with which I was very closely involved. We are lucky today to have the benefit of listening to the views of this premiere development institution through the acting resident representative, Mr. Duvuri Subbarao.

Finally, I am glad to acknowledge the fourth member of our panel Ato Berhane Mewa, the president of the Ethiopian and Addis Ababa Chambers of Commerce. Ato Berhane is not only a successful industrialist but also the most articulate and ardent advocate of the private sector. I am sure you will all agree with me that the private sector is and needs to be the

engine of development in the country, I am also sure that we all agree with Berhané's position that, for the private sector to assume this role, it has to be provided with the most conducive environment, of which governance is the most critical factor.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.

The selection of "Governance and Economic Development in Ethiopia" is not a freak but considered belief of your association that it is the most fundamental and critical input in efforts invested in the development of the country.

Three fundamental challenges facing Ethiopia as it enters the 21st century are poverty, environmental degeneration and governance.

At the beginning of the millennium, Ethiopia finds itself among the poorest of the poor, the most technologically backward, and among the most indebted. Its Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.309 ranks it 171st out of 174 countries. As you all know, the HDI is derived from three measures that are deemed relevant to assess the quality of life and the degree of development in a country. These are life expectancy at birth; combined index of adult literacy and educational enrolment and per capita GDP. The three countries that we are better off in these measures are Burkina Faso, Niger and Sierra Leone. We compare very poorly against the least developed countries, the club of the poorest of the poor countries, and of which we are a part. The HDI for these countries is 0.435 or nearly 30 per cent higher than ours.

Comparing ourselves to others may not be as important as assessing the quality of life within the country itself. Looking inwards, one finds that poverty is widespread and deep. Based on an income and expenditure survey conducted in 1995/96 by the

government, 46 per cent of the Ethiopian people survive below the poverty line of Birr 1440 or Birr 3.95 per day. In the rural area where 85 per cent of the population live, 47 per cent are poor, while the corresponding figure in the urban areas accommodating 15 per cent of the population is 33 per cent. These are not the only figures that you would see in the various literatures you read on the measure of poverty in the country. You may have seen figures estimating the poor in the country as high as 80 per cent. Indeed if the internationally accepted poverty line of one dollar per person per day is taken as the poverty line, the proportion of poor would be as much as the 80 per cent of the population.

Other attributes of poverty are very unflattering for a country that thrives on flattering itself. Life expectancy at birth is 43 years compared to 52 years in the least developed countries. 110 of 1000 children born alive do not celebrate their first birthday and another 173 do not survive their 5th year. 42 per cent of the Ethiopian people are not expected to survive to age 40 and 66 per cent to age 60. 64 per cent of the adult population are illiterate, 85 per cent do not have access to safe water, 45 per cent lack access to health services, and 81 per cent to sanitation. 48 per cent of children under five are stunted. The implication of stunting is depressive. Simply put, it means that this many children would suffer from poor mental developments.

Neither are we prepared for the 21st century, which is dubbed the knowledge era. Only 35 per cent of the primary and 25 per cent of the secondary school age children are enrolled in schools.

In a way the low enrolment figure should be seen as a blessing. Our schools are manufacturers of unemployable school leavers. First and foremost is the issue of the relevance of the curriculum of the system of education in the

country. 90 percent of the successful move from one class to the next until they reach 12th grade. Given capacity limitations of the tertiary level, hundreds of thousands of those who complete 12th grade fail to advance to the next stage.

What happens to this mass of school leavers? Since they are nothing but literates with no marketable skill they join the evergrowing rank of the unemployed. Even those who join the tertiary level and graduate successfully are, more often than not, poorly equipped to meet the demands of the real world owing to the poor and ever declining quality of education.

The tragedy of education in Ethiopia goes beyond the resources expending on them. It unfortunately sucks the most capable from their environment, and more important the rural milieu, into the urban centres where they are not usefully employed and are unemployable.

You will all agree with me that the educational system must undergo a revolutionary change to enable the country make use of the output in which it has invested a good amount of its scarce resources.

But more importantly it has to produce capable people who have the capacity to absorb and adopt the evergrowing global knowledge and help the country increase and improve its competitiveness in this competitive world. Simply put, education affords us the only means of survival as an independent and self-reliant nation. We very much hope that the government will rise to the challenge.

I would like to impress this on you as well as the policy makers, given the fact that the alternative is and should be unthinkable.

Reducing poverty is a challenge, albeit a demanding one. We need to invest an increasing amount of

resources to meet the international development objective of reducing poverty by half over the next two decades.

Recent estimates made by scholars spells out the challenge of meeting the International development objective. To reduce poverty by half over a 20 years period, the country has to raise and sustain its annual growth rate of GDP to between 8 and 9 per cent, depending on the rate of population growth. If the rate of population growth is 2.4 per cent per annum, the required growth rate of GDP to reduce poverty by half over the 20 year period would be the lower bound of 8 per cent.

While such a high growth rate is necessary it must also have the quality of reducing poverty, since not all growth is of a type that would impact poverty negatively. For example, the estimated 6.3 per cent GDP growth for last year was driven more by government expenditure and more specifically by expenditure on defence. While we agree that expenditure was necessary and appropriate to defend the nation, it should at the same time be noted that it was not of a type that reduces poverty.

To achieve and sustain the required poverty reducing growth rate of above 8% per annum during the target period, it is estimated that investment as a fraction of GDP must increase to 44% from the current 20 per cent or so. You will all agree with me that the financial requirement is very much above the capacity of the nation to satisfy this requirement.

If, therefore, Ethiopia is to meet the global challenge of reducing poverty by half over the target two decades, our development partners should share the cost of doing so. What should be noted at this juncture is that the country needs more resources than could be obtained by completely writing off the external debt in its entirety.

Intractable as this challenge may seem, it is not the only one that the country desperately faces. We must also face the equally difficult task of regenerating our environment. We cannot reduce poverty without environmental regeneration and we cannot regenerate the environment without reducing poverty.

The point of departure in the environment regeneration/poverty reduction nexus is the fact that Ethiopians derive their livelihood from the exploitation of natural resources. Current estimates show that no less than 85 per cent of the Ethiopian people depend on agriculture. Agriculture remains the mainstay of the economy today as it did then, accounting for about 50 per cent of the annual GDP. Although the share of agriculture in GDP has declined over the years, the tragedy is that this shortfall was not taken over by industrial development, which remains stunted at 15 per cent. The service sector is the main beneficiary, expanding to 35 per cent and increasing at a fast pace. Under these circumstances, we seem to be heading towards being a service economy rather than an industrial economy. My teachers used to use this same number in my elementary and secondary class four decades ago. Indeed, one of the major tragedies of the past 50 years is the absence of structural transformation. We produce and export the same primary commodities today and import and consume the same commodities that we did then. We must acknowledge the fact that the last 4 decades were the lost decades for Ethiopia. We must reclaim and recreate the opportunity we lost of transforming our economy from agrarian to industrial during the period.

The exorbitant dependence of the population on the exploitation of natural resources, and more so agricultural resources have taxed the fertility of the land, exposing it to desertification. Currently, no less than 70 per cent of the total

landmass and nearly 50 per cent of the arable land are classified as arid, semi-arid or dry sub-humid, characterised by hot temperatures and low and uneven distribution of rainfall that is often insufficient to support productive agriculture. Furthermore, studies have established that the rate of evapotranspiration in these areas is higher than the annual rate of rainfall. Unless urgent measures are taken to reverse environmental deterioration, these parts of the country and eventually the whole country is bound to turn into a desert. The rate of forest and other renewable natural resource depletion is alarmingly high.

Mr. Chairman,

Successive governments in Ethiopia may not have created poverty but they certainly have been active agents for its growth and perpetuation either by commission and/or omission. What we must concentrate upon is wealth creation that can be used to reduce poverty and locate the country on the trajectory of self-sustained growth. While the responsibility to escape poverty wholly rests on each and every individual, this has not happened because successive governments have deprived the people of the opportunity to provide themselves with basic necessities and stifled indigenous entrepreneurship. They have failed to provide economic leadership through judicious intervention in the economy and mobilising the population and available resources to meet the challenges of development. They have failed to protect the person and property of the individual. Instead small interest groups have been allowed to capture the structures of government and governance to foster their personal and group interests and plunder the state as well as the people. In such societies there may be order but there is no law.

The institution of governance capable of empowering the peo-

ple is the third challenge facing the country. We are very grateful to Minister Woredewold for accepting our invitation to enlighten us with his words of wisdom and provide us with a window of opportunity into this currently vexing issue. The proper administration of justice and through it rendering the society peaceful and stable is the bedrock on which a strong and dynamic social, economic, cultural and political integuments of the society would be created and nurtured. Without an equitable and just administration of justice no meaningful utilisation of existing productive capacity would be made, nor would investors undertake investment considering the high risk.

Reflections on the current state of the administration of justice by an objective and dispassionate observer must lead him or her to the inescapable conclusion of its absence. For whatever reason known only to the government, the judicial system has been incapacitated to adjudicate both criminal and civil cases. It is often said that the police and judicial machinery operate most effectively and efficiently in cases and activities that are deemed against the interest of those in power.

Clearly these are not the hallmarks of a state that is committed to the holistic advancement of its people. If we are to engage in lawful and legal activities to extricate ourselves from poverty and locate the economy on a dynamic and self-sustained high growth trajectory, the fundamental requirement is to instil the rule of law and not the rule of man.

Each and every individual would have to assume the responsibility of pulling out of poverty and become rich. But to do so, he must have a conducive environment of which the rule of law is paramount and the administration of justice is efficient to all and not on selective basis.

Our society has had more than its fair share of conflict and instability. Often the cause of such conflict and instability emanates from the fact the leaders at all stages of administrative infrastructure are not accountable to the people but to their bosses. Leaders are not interested in the development of their country but to remain in power. They seem to operate on the perception that it is easy to rule poor people rather than rich people.

Despite a number of irregularities the Ethiopian people have remained peaceful and obedient to the nation and respectful of each other's interest. But there is a limit to every thing and unless the rule of law is given its due role, we may not and should not think of reducing poverty and developing the country.

It has often been said that Ethiopians are unique. The predominance of peace and stability in the absence of legal machinery to enforce it must be among the characteristics that endow it with uniqueness.

This state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. This government has the opportunity to reverse the situation and undo the errors of the past.

We must have a developmental state that creates and nurtures entrepreneurs. But above all we must have good governance. Often when we talk of the need for investment, when we bemoan the low productivity in our commodity producing sectors, when we debate the appropriateness of specific strategies such the ADLI, when we lament the technologically backward nature of the society, there is a tacit assumption that the environment is conducive and that we fail to make the best use of them. This may be more an expression of desire than a the reflection of reality.

The situation is such that the current governance leaves more room for desire. We have the best

and most liberal laws but they remain unimplemented. There is no accountability on the part of authorities. There is no avenue for appeal for any abuse. Institutions of law and order protect neither the person nor the property of the populous. If there is order in this country, it was not because of the law as much as the tolerant culture of the people.

Mr. Chairman

Let me take this opportunity to appeal to our leaders that the best insurance for them to stay in power comes from the love the people have for them and the protection and support they afford them. This would be possible if and only if they work to advance their interest and assist them in achieving their ambitions.

To this end, the first and most critical quality of leadership is in ensuring the safety and security of the person, protection of personal property and they advancement of human rights.

But these cannot be achieved without the institution of order born of law and not persons.

We cannot think of economic and social development without Conducive environment neither can we think of conducive environment without good governance. ■

ANNOUNCEMENT

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OPENING STATEMENT OF H.E. ATO WEREDEWOLD WOLDIE, MINISTER OF JUSTICE OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA, AT THE FORUM ON "GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT"

Distinguished Guests, Dear Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since the post-war period, the thoughts regarding development has evolved traversing decades with alternate emphasis on the role of conventional capital, human capital and governance otherwise known in its broadest sense as social capital.

The programme of international development assistance known as the aid system designed by the North to the South with the view to accelerate change and development—by channelling finance input and sending experts has also witnessed a shift. Local ownership and adequate capacity to guide the process of development was recognised as a prerequisite to achieve the objective of international aid. Sustainability of change for future generations was a further input added to ensure continuity in the development process. A recent political dimension introduced in this regard under the umbrella of 'good governance' designed to enhance development includes democratic representation, the rule of law, respect for human rights and social justice as key elements.

Recognising the role of social institutions as development actors and creating favourable environment for their participation is becoming the order of the day.

In the Ethiopian context, the launching of open economy policy and, the prevalence of free market thoughts following the collapse of the Derg regime have called for a shift in the legal paradigm.

Accordingly, the government of

the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has undertaken a series of law reform programs which include inter alia:

- the promulgation of the Constitution of FDRE,
- the revision of the existing Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code,
- the revision of the Commercial Code,
- the enactment of the Investment Law,
- drafting of a legislation governing the registration and operation of on-Governmental Organisations,
- enactment of Ethics and anti corruption legislation,
- Civil Service Reform, and the Justice Sector Reform.

The fundamental thrust and objective of these reform programmes is to address the issues of :

- Effective and Speedy implementation of laws,
- An efficient and impartial judicial system,
- Transparent, accountable and efficient system of government.

In this regard, I am happy to inform this august gathering that the above-mentioned reform programmes are either at their advanced stage or at implementation stage.

The foregoing reforms have been initiated with the view to incorporate into our governance regime the very tenets which underpin the free market economic system. Such tenets as democracy, the rule of law and independent judiciary have long been propounded by scholars and enlightened politicians and the speed of their implementation has gathered mo-

mentum with globalisation.

Globalisation of the world economy no doubt poses both challenges and opportunities especially to the least developed countries. The process of integration of our economy first to the African and then to the World economy requires responsive legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks. Our co-operation agreements with partner organisations and governments in the sphere of economic development also envisage the putting in place of a conducive legal infrastructure.

It is also evident that corruption and anti democratic practices are stumbling blocks to development. That is why the Government has embarked upon the fight against corruption, the enhancement of good governance and the deepening of democracy.

The role of the academic community in general and professional associations like the Ethiopian Economic Association in particular in assisting policy makers endeavour in the development of our country is pivotal.

Such an inter-institutional forum, in my opinion, provides excellent opportunity for the participants to share knowledge and experiences for enhancing the development of our country and for the improvement of the quality of life of our people.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the importance of this forum in view of the timeliness of the agenda and its contribution to the ongoing reformation programmes and sincerely wish you all the best. Thank you. ■

GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Neway Gebre-Ab

Minister and Chief Economic Advisor to the Prime Minister

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen.

I wish to thank the EEA for affording me this opportunity to be a member of a panel on such an important topic. My presentation is divided into three sections: 1. Locate governance within institutional economics. 2. Identify problems of governance in Ethiopia from an economic perspective. 3. Indicate prospect for the future.

1. LOCATING GOVERNANCE

In common parlance institutions and organisations are used as synonyms. Institutional economics makes a distinction. Institutions are rules which shape the behaviour of organisations and individuals. They can be formal or informal. For instance; laws, regulations, contracts and procedures are formal institutions. Values and norms are informal institutions. Organisations, on the other hand, are groupings of individuals who, together, pursue common goals.

The essence of an institution is to ensure stability and predictability of relationships among individuals and organisations. In the economic sphere it means stability and predictability of markets, and behaviours of economic entities. It is when we think of how behavioural regularities come about that we encounter governance. Behavioural regularities come about through enforcement mechanisms and compliance.

For instance, markets, when they function normally, are self-regulatory. Contracts, say, between a lender and a borrower would, in the first instant, be adhered to through self-policing (an internal mechanism); but should that fail it would be enforced by courts (an external mechanism). Regulations, may be implemented by a government agency, as per rules and procedures, which is an internal mechanism. If not, the internal mechanism would be considered a failure. The ensuing issue would then be the existence of, say, a feedback mechanism or, alternately, an external mechanism. Does the agency provide access for complaints from the public, and by getting such feedbacks does it have a mechanism for correcting errors (analogous to markets). If not, is there another agency which can respond to public complaints. This would then be an external mechanism. To take another example, consider tax payments. If an economic agent pays tax properly there is compliance, or self-policing not to engage in cheating and adhere to the law. This is an internal mechanism. When there is tax evasion, there is lack of compliance, and recourse has to be taken to an external mechanism. But what, if the government agency on whom the external mechanism rests, is itself unable to take recourse against tax evasion. In this case neither internal nor external mechanisms are efficacious.

In the framework of institutional economics, governance is about

efficacy and modality of enforcement and compliance. It is not about the rules themselves, be they formal or informal. I can only see one exception to this, and that is when what is meant to be enforced goes contrary to a rule of a higher order. In this instance there is an inherent lack of conformity between governance and rules, which requires some change in the latter. This is to say that a given problem of governance needs a resolution elsewhere in the structure of institutions.

To come to the topic of "Governance and Economic Development", one part of the topic, that of governance, relates to two questions; i.e. are rules effectively enforced, and how are they enforced. The other part relates to the impact of enforcement of rules or the lack of enforcement on economic development.

2. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE

I will proceed in this section in 3 steps. Step one is categorisation of where the effects of governance on the economic plane may be felt. Step two is identification of the problem areas of governance in Ethiopia; and step three is to assess the relevance of governance to the country's development.

The problems of governance may be felt through: (1) transaction costs, (2) non-commercial risks (3) market distortions, (4) efficiency of enterprises, (5) distortion of incentive structures and

(6) tax revenues. Implicit costs arising from time spent by businessmen to obtain decisions from a government agency or to get a closure on a court case, and associated with this the payment of bribes is an often cited negative effect of lack of governance or enforcement of rules. Arbitrary decisions and lack of recourse for economic agents to rectify these creates non-commercial risks. The presence of transaction costs and non-commercial risks leads to market distortions. Businessmen would prefer to invest in fields of activities which have lowest implicit costs and risks. In extreme instances, investment would flow to businesses which can be carried out by circumventing laws and regulations. The ability to weaken enforcement of rules through bribery distorts the incentive structures of government policies. Applied to taxations, it undercuts government revenue which weakens macroeconomic stability or reduces developmental expenditures by the government. Efficiency at the firm level gets negatively affected, as profits can be increased by taking advantages of loopholes in the enforcement of rules rather than productivity improvement.

The problems I have alluded to so far are found in the domain of the state, and also in the interface between the state and the private sector. Let me now indicate how governance within the domain of the private sector affects economic development as well. In societies afflicted by lack of trust, there are transaction costs and commercial risks in doing business between firms and economic agents. This, in turn affects negatively efficiency. It also weakens the emergence of large-scale enterprises based on partnerships and share holdings. Lack of proper enforcement of rules within enterprises is another problem of governance, which reduces productivity. Furthermore, where self-policing is weak, cutting corners and doing shady deals become norms of

business rather than building credibility.

We can now readily identify the problems of governance in Ethiopia. In the domain of the state, both the internal and external mechanisms for the enforcement of rules are weak. If we start with administration of justice, corruption is apparently widespread. As the saying goes *ከሳሽ ከመሆን ተከሳሽ ሆን*: Implementation of rules and delivery of services by the civil service is defective. In both the judiciary and the civil service, internal mechanisms of enforcement of rules are weak either because the procedures are inadequate. Even when they are adequate, they are not adhered to. For instance, a court case can be lengthened out by a simple expediency of postponement of court hearings. Inspection, if there is any, would seem to be toothless. Regulations tend to be enforced intermittently, selectively, and partially by government agencies. The regulations are there, but the procedures by which they get implemented by a given agency are not respected systematically. An agency which delivers a service to the public would do so not routinely but, as a favour, as it were. Poor performance is moreover perpetuated by the lack of feedback mechanisms. As to external mechanisms which would ensure that the judiciary and the civil service enforce rules properly; these are not well developed in Ethiopia. The media, especially the TV and radio, do occasionally play an effective role through investigative reporting.

In the domain of the private sector or more generally the civil society, enforcement of rules through informal structures is poor. Court cases appear to be too many, evidencing the paucity of informal bodies for arbitration to settle disputes outside courts. The prospects for partnerships and share companies seem dim, and even the differentiation be-

tween ownership and management is found to be problematic. The preferred solution to problems such as these associated with the poverty of social capital, seems to be one of restricting business networks to keith and kin. Enterprises with modern administrative and management systems are very few, in part due to the inability to create groupings formed by relationships based on regulations and procedures in pursuit of mutual interests. Recruitment in enterprises tend to follow kinship and friendship rather than competence. Loyalty is given preference over competence, because of the failure to establish modern organizations with mechanisms for enforcement of rules and procedures, and also because of the porous relationships that exist between principals and agents, or simply between employers and employees.

Having indicated the problem areas of governance, I wish to state briefly the magnitude of the problem. Is the problem so big as to hinder the economic growth of the country significantly? I am afraid the answer is yes. Put the other way round, GDP growth rate can significantly be increased by tackling the problems of governance, i.e. by enhancing the enforcement of rules through formal and informal structures. This leads me to the last section of my talk.

3. FUTURE PROSPECTS

There is a sense of uneasiness about the problematic of economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Traditional explanations revolving around savings, human resource development, and technology are not robust when it comes to SSA. Perhaps the addition of institutional factors could improve our understanding of underdevelopment in SSA considerably. Viewed in this light, what is the future prospect of governance in Ethiopia? What indications do

we see on the ground that would improve governance in the future? Would enforcement and compliance be improved in the years ahead?

In the domain of the state, I see important initiatives that would improve governance. There is in the pipeline civil service and justice reform, and the establishment of Ombudsman and the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission. Together these initiatives can go a long way towards reducing the problems of governance that the country faces. Both the civil service and justice reform will bring greater transparency and accountability to government agencies and the judiciary, thus enhancing the in-

ternal mechanisms for the enforcement of rules. The Ombudsman will create a feedback mechanism which will hopefully, keep, the civil service on its toes. The recently established Ethics and Anti-corruption commission can provide an external mechanism.

These initiatives in the state domain will, no doubt, generate positive changes of governance in the domain of the private sector and the civil society as well. If, for instance, tax evasion is rendered more difficult and more severely punishable, it may cease to be worthwhile for the majority of businessmen to engage in tax fraud. Delinquency in delivery of services by the bureaucracy is

likely to decrease when the output of an individual civil servant is made more measurable and career ladder gets based on competence. What I am saying is that under effective enforcement of rules, behaviours change; and in time norms and values would change to conform to and buttress the behavioural change.

In the domain of the private sector and civil society, I am not aware of new trends that would alter governance. I hope my observation is the result of ignorance. But if it is true, then improvements here will be dependent on what happens in the state domain, at least in the first instance. ■

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ANNEX 1

Calculating the turning point in the growth of the agricultural labour force

If LF represents the total number of worker (labour force),

ALF represents the agricultural labor force.

NLF represents the non-agricultural labour force;

and if b, a and n are respectively their rates of growth, its can be shown that if b and n remain constant, the number t of years needed to reach the turning point (in other words, the moment when the agricultural labor force begins to decrease) is :

$$t = \frac{\log(b/n) - \log(NLF/LF)}{\log(1+n) - \log(1+b)}$$

At the end of that period, the size of the agricultural work force will be:

$$ALF_t = LF_t - NLF_t = LF_0 (1+b)^t - NLF_0 (1+n)^t$$

Source: FAO(1986:104) ■

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Duvuri Subbarao

World Bank

Some of the important questions that this seminar needs to address are the following: What is governance and what constitutes good governance? Why is good governance important for growth and development? Why has the World Bank been focusing on good governance as a crucial instrument for sustained poverty reduction?

WHAT IS GOVERNANCE?

As the framework paper already explains, governance is the process and institutions by which the authority of the government is exercised. Among its important elements are: (i) the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; (ii) the capacity of governments to manage public resources efficiently, and to formulate, implement and enforce sound policies and regulations; and (iii) the quality and efficiency of service delivery and the mechanisms available to citizens for grievance redressal. I must admit though that this listing is by no means exhaustive and it could conceivably be expanded.

WHAT CONSTITUTES GOOD GOVERNANCE?

In reflecting on what constitutes

good governance, it is interesting to retrospect on how the orthodoxy of development theory has changed over time. In the 50s and 60s of the last century, when many countries of Asia and Africa were emerging out of colonialism, the path to development, it was widely believed, lay in capital formation. Arguably, this was a notion reinforced by the success of the Marshall Plan in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Soon, however, it was realised that aid for capital formation was not having any appreciable impact on the nature and extent of poverty. This led to the abandonment of the trickle down theory and an emphasis on fulfilling basic human needs. A decade or so of this experimentation did not make a dent on poverty either—yet another introspection and once more a change in direction. The lesson drawn was that while fulfilling basic human needs is important, and even critical, the way to doing that in a sustainable manner would be to concentrate on human resource development. When focus on HRD also did not yield any encouraging results, the missing link, it was believed, was institutions, both formal and informal. Anti-poverty interventions, it was contended, cannot have a lasting impact in the absence of

institutions that would generate and nurture growth impulses. An offshoot of this latest understanding is the belief that the key ingredient to successful poverty reduction is good governance.

WHY IS THE WORLD BANK FOCUSING ON GOOD GOVERNANCE?

The origins for the emphasis by the World Bank on good governance as a crucial ingredient for poverty reduction lie in an improved understanding of poverty. Some of you who went to graduate schools twenty to twenty-five years ago would recall that poverty used to be defined simply as inability to get 2200 calories of food intake per day. Experience over the last several decades has taught us that poverty is much more complex than mere food intake and that it is much more than a mere economic condition. Poverty is multi-dimensional and is an outcome of interacting economic, social, cultural and political forces. In particular, it is an outcome of the accountability and responsiveness of state institutions. So, for poverty reduction, capital investment is necessary, but not sufficient. Sound policies are necessary, but not sufficient. These need to be complemented, most essen-

tially, by careful policy planning and programming, competent policy implementation, and accountable and responsive state institutions. And this is where good governance comes in. The state will deliver more effectively to all its citizens, and to poor people in particular, if:

- Public administrations implement policies efficiently and are accountable and responsive to users, corruption and harassment are curbed, and the power of the state is used to redistribute resources for actions benefiting poor people.
- Legal systems promote legal equity and are accessible to poor people.
- Central and local governments create decentralised mechanisms for broad participation in the delivery of public services and minimise the scope for capture by local elites.
- Governments generate political support for public action against poverty by creating a climate favourable to pro-poor actions and coalitions, facilitating the growth of poor people's associations and increasing the political capacity of poor people.
- Political regimes honour the rule of law, allow the expression of political voice, and encourage the participation of poor people in political processes.

GOOD GOVERNANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE MANAGEMENT

As the above listing shows, good governance has several facets and I will not lay any claim to discussing all of them exhaustively. Neither do I have the competence nor is there time. But to emphasise the importance of good governance in the context of poverty reduction, I want to cite some exam-

ples from the area of public expenditure management, a subject over which I have some familiarity.

Given that public resources are limited, how should governments allocate them so that their anti-poverty impact is maximised? The efficiency dimension of public expenditure has two facets. The first is technical efficiency in the use of resources, which calls for shifting the emphasis from inputs to outputs and outcomes. In public expenditure on primary education, for example, good governance demands that the emphasis shift from how much money has been spent, which is merely an input, to what that expenditure has done to enrolment rates or teacher-pupil ratios. Again these are just output measures. In the medium term, it is important to graduate from outputs to outcomes such as, for example, improvement in literacy and productivity levels.

The second facet of public expenditure management, in the context of good governance, is allocative efficiency. Some examples would be persuasive. Within the education sector, what should be the balance, in the matter of resource allocation, among primary, secondary and tertiary education segments? What share should go to primary education which benefits the poor most? How does the government provide access to poor people to higher education, without at the same time, giving away a hidden subsidy to the non-poor? Or to take another example, what should be the optimal balance between capital and recurrent expenditures? Governments traditionally have a pronounced bias in favour of new projects over maintaining existing assets although it is quite clear

that maintenance of existing assets yields a much higher return for every birr spent. There are many reasons for this 'edifice complex' including our traditional association of development with new projects, be they school buildings or power plants.

Another dimension of misgovernance in resource allocation is the failure to provide for complementary inputs. For example, we set up new health centres but do not provide for doctors and medicines or set up new schools but do not post teachers. That the capital investment is wasted unless there are matching complementary inputs is so abundantly self-evident. Yet it is so common.

Carrying the argument further, let us say we build a health centre, post a doctor and provide for drugs. Are the requirements of good governance met? In other words, have we ensured that the poor get adequate health coverage? There is evidence from all over the developing world of doctors who take salaries but do not attend the clinics. Doctors and health staff who steal from the hospitals for their private benefit. Doctors who are rude and inconsiderate to poor people. Indeed, there is documented evidence that in poor societies, it is the non-poor who appropriate the benefits of free or subsidised public health care, while the poor are forced to resort to private health facilities. This distorted state of affairs is often accompanied by a pernicious system of rewards and penalties. There is no incentive for good performance and the delinquent manage to get away without any accountability. So the requirements of good governance are not met unless the state is able to ensure that the money spent results in positive benefit at the

level of service delivery.

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DECENTRALISATION

Let me shift gears now to decentralisation which is considered another important dimension of good governance. Decentralising state power and resources seems a logical continuation of the many recent efforts to bring government closer to the people. The rising demand for decentralisation has come as part of the broader process of liberalisation, privatisation, and other market reforms in many countries. These reforms are distinct from one another, but their underlying rationale is similar to that for decentralisation: that power over the production and delivery of goods and services should be rendered to the lowest unit capable of capturing the associated costs and benefits.

Like the broad range of other participatory mechanisms, decentralisation offers the chance to match public services more closely with local demands and preferences and to build more responsive and accountable government from below. In many countries this will involve scaling back the power of the central government, but reformers must be discriminating. Depending on the institutional environment, decentralisation can improve state capability by freeing it to focus on its core functions; it can also, however, undermine that capability, including raising the possibility of increased disparity across regions, loss of macroeconomic stability, and institutional capture by local factions, especially in highly unequal societies. So in the context of decentralisation, good governance demands

that the institutions of decentralisation are developed in such a way that the benefits are captured while the pitfalls are avoided.

PRSP

The PRSP is very much in our minds and in our collective conscience. The genesis of PRSP emanates from the concern—and even dismay—among IFIs that the enormous amount of money and effort put into development and poverty eradication over the last 50 years has not yielded commensurate results. Sure there have been some successes, but they are at best isolated instances in both space and time. Largely, the challenge of poverty has not only persisted, but intensified.

Concern that there is a stalemate in the fight against poverty has, in recent years, prompted an intense re-examination of development and debt strategies. This introspection yielded some very strong messages.

- First, there is no one size which fits all strategy for poverty reduction. Every country, and indeed every economic zone in every country, needs a unique strategy reflecting the specific causes and dimensions of poverty in that place.
- Second, there cannot be sustainable headway in poverty reduction unless there is country ownership of the strategy.
- Third, no poverty reduction strategy, no matter how clever or perceptive, can be successfully implemented unless there is broad participation of the civil society in both the formulation and implementation of the strategy.
- Fourth, for poverty reduction, economic growth is necessary,

but not sufficient. What we need is poverty reducing growth.

– Finally, aid, advice and help by the development community are most effective if they are all guided by a common strategy by the development community.

And as we have all internalised by now, participation and consultation are at the heart of the PRSP process. Why is participation so important in the context of good governance? The answer is self-evident. Participation gives an opportunity, and a voice to the poor people to build a stake in the process of governance and encourages them to demand accountability. Simultaneously, it gives the government an opportunity to reassess its priorities and evaluate, and where necessary, redesign its delivery mechanisms.

Increasing opportunities for voice and participation can improve state capability in an important way. When citizens can express their opinions, formally or informally, and press their demands publicly within the framework of the law, states acquire some of the credibility they need to govern well. Broad-based discussion of policy goals can also reduce the risk that a powerful minority will monopolise the direction of government. States that achieve credibility are then allowed more flexibility in policy implementation and have an easier time engaging citizens in the pursuit of collective goals.

I want to end with the hope that the PRSP initiative will serve as an instrument for encouraging and sustaining good governance. ■

MONETARY POLICY REFORM AND INFLATION TARGETING ISSUES: A NOTE⁺

Abu Girma Moges

1. INTRODUCTION

The main objectives of monetary policy in most countries consist of achieving price stability, promoting employment of resources, maintaining sustainable external balance, and promoting fast and sustainable economic growth. Of these objectives, however, achieving and maintaining low and stable inflation rate has increasingly become the main priority of monetary policy. Price stability has apparently become the core parameter in reference of which the success and credibility of monetary policy and macroeconomic stability of a country is gauged.

There are several reasons behind price stability to assume such a prominent priority in monetary policy. First, the devastating impact of rapid and unpredictable inflation rate is well established both in developed and developing countries. Such inflationary scenarios would lead to severe distortion in the allocation of economic resources and generate serious macroeconomic instabilities. Second, a powerful theoretical argument has emerged which contends that monetary policy measures have limited potency to affect the long-term real targets such as output and employment. The theory has found its way of influence in policy making suggesting that real targets should be

pursued through other policy measures. Third, relative to unemployment and related social concerns, the inflation rate affects most of economic agents in the economy and might lead to unacceptable redistribution of income.

The recent focus of monetary authorities around the world on achieving price stability is therefore warranted from both theoretical and policy perspectives. The traditional approach to achieve low and stable inflation rate has been through controlling intermediate targets, such as money supply and exchange rate, so as to influence inflation rate and economic growth. The success of such approaches depend, however, on the premise that the intermediate targets could be controlled accurately and the transmission mechanism from intermediate targets to the ultimate targets of price stability and growth are clearly and reliably established. Unfortunately, both premises are disputable both on theoretical and empirical grounds. It is disputable which money supply indicator to target and whether such a target could be precisely controlled on the one hand and whether such intermediate targets can predictably influence the inflation dynamics.

In recent years, monetary authorities in different countries have adopted inflation targeting as a

framework of monetary policy in which inflation rate is directly targeted and authorities commit themselves to pursuing policies that are consistent to achieve the target. This framework puts a nominal and yet reasonably flexible anchor for monetary policy that increases transparency to the process and hence improves accountability.

Is inflation targeting a prudent framework of monetary policy in developing countries? Should inflation be a monetary policy priority in these economies? It is apparent that economic policy in developing countries needs to address challenges that are peculiar to developing countries such as the prevalence of poverty, unemployment of human and natural resources, and unsustainable external payments position. Moreover, pursuing prudent monetary policy in developing countries is constrained by the institutional and capacity constraints of the monetary authorities to develop and predict the dynamics of the economy, the state of development of the financial sector, the behavior of economic agents, and the development stage of the economy. These are some of the factors that influence the environment in which monetary policy is designed and implemented.

The main objective of this article is to share with readers a per-

⁺ This article is an extract from the author's research project on "Monetary Policy Reforms and Economic Growth in Developing Countries". Correspondence could be addressed to the author by e-mail: abu_girma@yahoo.com

spective on the targeting issues in monetary policy and assess its possible implications for the innovation and reform of monetary policy in Ethiopia. A brief review of the main theoretical and practical issues behind monetary policy stance in developing countries and inflation targeting will be made in section two. This is followed by a critical assessment of the monetary policy features of Ethiopia in section three. The final section draws concluding remarks.

2. MONETARY POLICY ISSUES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: THEORY

The role and impacts of money and monetary policy in influencing real economic variables has always been an appealing and intriguing issue in economic theory and policy discussions. The theoretical linkage between the monetary policy stance and inflation dynamics in developing countries is not well established. However, there are dominant views emerging in relation to the role of money and monetary policy stances in economic systems. For an economy that operates at its full employment level, money is largely neutral and hence has impact only on price levels in the long run. And yet, it has transitory impacts on real targets such as output and employment in the short to medium terms.

This assumption of full employment in the context of developing countries is rather problematic. Unemployment of resources is a major problem in most of these economies. Even taking into account their stock of human and physical resources as well as their state of technology, most of these economies operate well below their potential output level for a variety of reasons. In this context, measures to move the economy towards full-employment or potential output level are as important objectives of public policy as increasing capacity of such economies. This in

turn requires supply side policy measures besides aggregate demand management. A point of policy interest is whether monetary policy measures have potency during the transitional dynamics towards potential output level.

The central bank is usually but not always given either legal or functional independence to pursue policies of price stability. This provision does not necessarily prevent the central bank to coordinate its policy-making with other ministries of the government. It is quite possible that the monetary authorities and other government ministries might share the same assessment of the state and performance of the economy and pursue the same set of policies. However, this might not be always the case and conflict of policy priority emerges. It is in such circumstances that the independence becomes necessary to limit the *fiscal and political dominance* in monetary policy making.

Can monetary policy bring about price stability in the context of developing countries? Or is inflationary pressure in developing countries caused by expansionist monetary policy stance? The response to such concerns is dependent on understanding the underlying factors of inflation dynamics in such economies. We address two perspectives in the inflation dynamics of developing countries in the subsequent discussion, namely the fiscal issue and the political economic issues.

2.1. Is Inflation a Monetary Phenomenon? Why and Why Not?

The theoretical and policy issues of inflation dynamics are topical issues of economic discussions. Understanding the theoretical issues and controversies about the causes of inflation is necessary to put the issue in perspective. What are the driving forces behind the dynamics of inflation?

For quite some time now, inflation has been considered to be a monetary phenomenon. In an economy that operates at its full employment level, money is neutral in the long run and only affects the average price level. This is perhaps one of the few firmly established propositions in macroeconomics. In countries where inflation and unemployment of resources coexist the issue gets multidimensional. In economies where inflation rate is unsustainably high, the culprit is unsustainable money supply expansion.

If money is neutral in the long term with respect to real targets, why do monetary authorities pursue stance of monetary expansion? A closer scrutiny of the economies that have experienced hyperinflation episodes reveals that expansionary monetary policy is influenced by the political economy of government fiscal deficits. The fiscal policy stance, such as government budget deficits and their financing mechanism, are important determinants of inflation dynamics. When deficits are unsustainable and where there are limited options of financing through non-inflationary manners, fiscal deficit translates mostly into money creation and building inflationary pressure. This is particularly the case when monetary authorities have no or little policy independence to pursue policies that would maintain their commitment to achieve price stability. Accommodative monetary policy stance and fiscal dominance in monetary policy-making breach the main principles and mechanisms by which price stability could be maintained.

From this perspective, it is plausible to argue that inflation dynamics in developing countries is in fact a *fiscal phenomenon*. In inflation prone countries, the main reason behind unsustainable change in the money supply is forced by the necessity of financing government budget deficit rather than expansion of credit to the private sector. It is quite pos-

sible in such economies to observe that the money supply is increasing and yet access to credit to the private sector is quite limited. The economy might be starved of resources for financing investment activities and creating employment opportunities whereas inflation is gathering momentum. This is a phenomenon that compounds both unemployment and inflationary pressure in the economy.

The extent to which inflation is a fiscal phenomenon of course depends on a number of conditions. These include the *autonomy and independence of the national bank* from the possible influence of the government whenever conflict of policy priority arises, the *fiscal policy stance* of the government and the manner in which the government finances its budget deficits, the *institutional and policy implementation capacity* of the monetary authorities, the development of the domestic financial system to enable the government to finance its debts through non-inflationary options, the base of taxation in the fiscal network, and responsiveness of the private sector to fiscal policy measures.

The causes of rapid and unpredictable inflation and the appropriate policies to address the problem have been common bone of contention among economists and policy makers. It is however increasingly evident that credible anti-inflationary measure could not be pursued without prudent fiscal policy stance and effective policy making independence at the disposal of monetary authorities.

2.2. The Political Economy of Inflation

An influential argument about the dynamics of inflation in developing countries has recently emerged which contends that inflation is the effect of political economy forces. It is political economic factors that shape the

behavior of governments towards fiscal discipline and the tendency to collect inefficient taxes such as seigniorage and inflation taxes. The argument is that for fiscal deficit to translate into money creation and inflationary pressure, it requires a political environment that allows breaching the discipline of policy accountability. It is quite possible for democratic political regimes with accommodative monetary policy to confront the problem of inflationary pressure. And yet the rate of inflation in such systems is such that corrective measures would be taken to rectify the problem. In authoritarian system, however, the lack of public accountability, usually, if not always, leads to inflationary pressure that persists over time.

When a system is based on representative political process and accountability, political variables influence how monetary policies could translate into inflationary pressure. This would make inflation dynamics in developing countries both a fiscal and political economy phenomena. One of the prevention mechanisms by which national economies provide policy independence to monetary authorities is by providing central banks exercise legal and functional independence in designing and implementing monetary policy. This is crucial whether the prevailing political system is democratic or authoritarian in nature.

3. INFLATION TARGETING: WHY?

In recent years, an increasing number of countries have focused their monetary policies towards achieving low and stable inflation rate. Stabilization has become the main indicator of the health of an economy and the gauge of the success of economic policy. In developing countries, where the problem of inflation rate is more acute, reform policies would normally include measures that would address concerns of inflation. Given this overriding objec-

tive, the traditional approach of monetary policy was controlling intermediate targets such as money supply, reserves or exchange rate so as to achieve the ultimate target of price level stability. This approach, however, has increasingly become weak in achieving such objective. This is mainly due to the problem of effectively controlling the intermediate targets and the weak linkage between the intermediate targets and inflation rate.

Since the early 1990s, monetary authorities have pursued a framework of conducting monetary policies that directly targets inflation rate. This framework is commonly referred to as inflation targeting. Inflation targeting is a framework in which monetary authorities commit themselves to achieve a specified level of inflation rate over a given period of time. This policy stance would enable monetary authorities to focus their policy instruments for achieving low and sustainable inflation rate, transparency and accountability to the system and hence credibility to monetary policy making. The policy stance would give a nominal anchor to monetary policy and signal to the public information on prices and the commitment of monetary authorities. This is an important factor that economic agents would take into account in their decision-making process and hence influence the manner in which domestic economic activities would be conducted.

Should monetary policy in developing countries be focused on inflation targeting? Is this a feasible objective? Developing countries exhibit features that distinguish them from developed countries. The low level of economic development, the underdevelopment of the financial sector, a narrow fiscal base and more reliance on inflation taxes and seigniorage, and policy priorities are factors that shape the design and implementation of monetary policy in developing countries.

Inflation targeting as a framework of monetary policy stance in developing countries that have already achieved a measure of macroeconomic stability could be based on the following rationale:

1. Money is neutral in the long term and would affect price levels alone. The real sector employment and output remain largely unaffected and hence monetary policy would have little impact on such objectives;
2. Intermediate monetary targets, such as money supply and exchange rate, are not fully controllable by monetary authorities; and
3. The linkages between the intermediate targets and the inflation rate are such that there is unknown time lag of effects.

The combined effect of such features in the monetary sector reveals that the best way to pursue objectives of economic growth and employment is through non-monetary policies accompanied by supply side policy measures.

4. INFLATION IN ETHIOPIA: FEATURES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Ethiopia has undertaken a number of economic policy reform measures under the auspices of structural adjustment programme. The process has been in place for nearly a decade and it is time to take a stock and evaluate the major developments and the constraints that remain to be addressed.

Ethiopia has historically been a low inflation country and it has managed to avoid rapid and unpredictable inflation rate episodes that are typical features of other developing countries. This has been partly achieved by deliberate intervention of the government to control prices of consumer goods and services and putting restrictions on the free play of the market forces of demand and supply to determine the market price of commodities. Despite the problems associated with such prac-

tices of the government in controlling price and the inefficiencies associated with them, the rate of inflation measured by the Addis Ababa Retail Price Index has remained within comfortable boundaries. Moreover, the GDP deflator, which is a broader measure of the rate of inflation, also reflects the same general trend.

During the period 1990-2000, the average rate of inflation in Ethiopia was 5.2851 per cent per annum. The 1980s exhibited somewhat erratic but on average low rate of inflation of about 4.0274 per cent per annum. The performance for the period 1995 to 2000 was an average of 1.7603 per cent per annum. If we consider a longer historical period, the average rate of inflation stands at 7.6428 per cent per annum for the period 1970 to 2000. The misalignment of the price index from the historical trend towards the end of the 1980s reflected largely the breach of fiscal discipline and the resort of the government towards money creation to finance the ever-expanding military budget. This behavior of fiscal policy stance translated itself to higher inflationary pressure and stagnation of economic activities. However, the fixed exchange rate which pegged the Birr to the US dollar at Birr 2.07 per US\$ from February 1973 to 1992 and the strict control of prices in most consumer goods in the consumption basket of the AARPI was meant at least nominal stability of the price index or an erosion of information that one can get from the official AARPI.

There were a number of policy measures in the 1990s such as price liberalization, the devaluation of the currency and foreign exchange auction determination of exchange rate, changes in the interest rate for bank deposits and lending, relaxation of credit rationing, measures to reduce domestic financing of budget deficit and reduction in government budget deficit. These factors reduced the inflationary pressure in the econ-

omy and the inflation rate was brought to low levels. For some years, the retail price index apparently registered negative growth rate and elements of deflation. Despite all the problems and reservations one would have on the reliability and consistency of the price information in the country, the indicators clearly exhibit the success that policy makers have achieved in addressing the objective of price stability.

From the policy position statements of the government and monetary authorities, it is clear that controlling inflation is one of the priorities of the government (see the Policy Framework Paper series). The resolve is so much so that the government seems to entertain problems of unemployment and poverty in an effort to achieve price stability. The price stability might not be the effect of monetary policy stances alone and yet it could be reasoned that the policy stance helped in bringing about price stability in the country. Should the monetary authorities pursue such policy stance when the economy is confronted with equally pressing problems of unemployment and poverty? What alternative policy options are available for the monetary authorities and the government to pursue?

A closer examination of the monetary policy targets of Ethiopia reveals that the targets are money supply, particularly broad money (M2), reserves and the exchange rate to control the ultimate target of inflation rate. It is apparent that the government puts strong priority on achieving low inflation rate. However, there is no explicit policy of inflation rate targeting instead intermediate targets are targeted. Moreover, the policy independence of the National Bank of Ethiopia is quite limited. It is disquieting to note that the discretionary authority vested in the hands of policy makers is such that one simply wonders what policy measures to expect if inflation pressure builds up momentum in the future. It is

therefore important and timely to build the policy making institutional capacity and independence of the central bank so that the public gets systematic and credible information about core variables such as inflation rate.

4.1. Rationale for Reforms and Alternative Policy Options

The policy reform measures in recent years have put in place the environment in which price stability could be achieved. The reform measures have imposed self-restraint on the government to keep sustainable budget deficit so that inflationary pressures that emanate from unsustainable fiscal deficit could be checked.

The objective of achieving low and stable inflation could be addressed when the monetary authorities pursue policies that are consistent with low inflation rate and avoid policies that put inflationary pressure. Inflationary pressure arises when monetary policies become accommodative and fiscal dominance prevails whenever there is conflict of policy priority. To ensure the commitment of the system towards price stability, it is necessary to ensure the policy independence of central banks and monetary authorities in pursuing policies whose main objective is price stability. In any circumstance, commitment is put to test whenever there is conflict of policy priority. Commitment could not be credible unless the public is ensured about what course of policy action monetary authorities would pursue under such situations.

These features require developing institutional capability in the central banking system so that monetary authorities would pursue credible and consistent policies based on their assessment of the current and medium-term performance of the economy.

For the purpose of inflation targeting, it seems necessary for the monetary authorities to develop

indicators of price index that is relevant for the purpose of monetary policy targeting. This would modify the existing price index to focus on those items in the consumption basket for the purpose of price index computation. This exercise would enable the monetary authorities undertake effective measures that can directly affect inflation dynamics.

The problem at hand could be put in contrasting views: targeting inflation at the expense of employment creation and growth. Does a developing country afford to trade off growth and poverty reduction for price stability? These are policy debates that are based on:

- Tradeoff between inflation and unemployment;
- Growth and employment should be policy priorities in developing countries and should not be compromised in favor of price stability. Moreover, these objectives could be promoted through monetary policy measures;
- Money supply in developing countries, which are away from full employment levels, would increase employment without inflationary pressure; and
- Inflation targeting would create undue constraint in policy initiative and could be counter productive in developing countries.

These are some of the features that are subject to controversy. Any policy alternative should therefore address these concerns and forward plausible course of monetary policy stances.

For all practical reasons, the long-term neutrality of money with respect to real targets such as employment and growth is convincingly established. The long-term impact of expansionary monetary policy is putting inflationary pressure that in turn might lead to serious misallocation of and redistribution of resources across economic agents and sectors. The

social and political cost of such moves is quite clear by now and evident across countries. It is quite compelling that growth and employment must be given due priority in poor countries. And yet, the best way to promote such objectives in such economies is by pursuing policies that promote productive investment and provide incentive for economic agents to engage in productive endeavors.

It is evident that the adoption of unsustainable monetary policies would be inflationary even if the transmission mechanisms could not be accurately established. The relation between money supply and aggregate price index is influenced by a number of factors and the time lag involved has not been subject to accurate prediction. This might have weakened the predictability of the effect of money supply on price developments and yet it has not changed the basic law of aggregate price behavior.

However, the aforementioned argument does not prevent the economy to maintain inflation target that allows a reasonable expansion of the money supply. Moderate and more importantly predictable inflation is not as harmful as unpredictable and erratic inflation rate. Inflation is clearly harmful when it is unpredictable and high leading economic agents lose confidence on monetary policy-making and price information. In the context of developing countries, it is quite possible to target inflation rate that is consistent with important economic and social factors in such economies. Inflation targeting therefore does not necessarily mean achieving zero inflation rate.

In the context of Ethiopia, the public would be served better if monetary authorities explicitly commit themselves and their policies to achieve inflation target that is consistent with domestic situations. One of the choice problems is what range of inflation to target. The target essen-

tially should be chosen so that it is reasonably achievable without major distortion and has a degree of flexibility in terms of range of marginal deviation from the target. In this respect, one possible approach would be to choose the target that follows the long-term average growth rate of inflation in the country. On the basis of the average annual growth rate of AARPI, the target rate of inflation could be set to 7.5 per cent. It is possible to handle outliers in the data that are related to major shocks such as drought and famine, major international war, and change in government which could be considered abnormal years. Accordingly, I replaced the computed long-term average inflation rate for such years and recomputed the average rate of inflation rate. This yields a revised growth rate of AARPI of 5.757 and a median of 6.250 per cent. On the basis of these computations, it is possible to consider an average rate of inflation target of around 6 per cent with a range of 1.5 per cent on both sides of the target range.

Alternative computations for possible inflation targeting range of price movements were conducted by changing the alternative assumptions and the situations in which the economy operates in a given fiscal year. The changes in these underlying features alter the targeting range and the range that would permit price movements without breaching the commitment of monetary authorities. It is therefore possible that monetary authorities to target inflation at 6 per cent per annum with a range that extends from 4.5 to 7.5 within a given normal year. This could serve as a nominal anchor of conducting monetary policy in Ethiopia. Such an explicit commitment of the monetary authorities would be of considerable public service and information to which economic agents relate their decision-making and adjustment of nominal variables. This quantitative expression of policy guidance serves as one of

the broad possibilities and does not necessarily be taken as the only reference point. More discussion about the choice of the target rate of inflation and its range could provide positive contribution and refinement of the subject matter. All the same, essentially the first order of business is putting the issue of inflation targeting as a mechanism of conducting monetary policy in the country.

This approach addresses both the concerns of unpredictable price movements and monetary policy stances on the one hand and yet allows the government to pursue policies that promote growth and employment without breaching fiscal and monetary discipline on the other hand. These objectives could effectively be exploited as medium term targets until the economy exhausts the possibilities with full employment of economic resources.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Inflation targeting has come to serve as an important framework of conducting monetary policy. It provides a nominal anchor for targeting and credibility on the commitment of monetary authorities to achieve price stability as a priority policy objective. This framework also improves the transparency and accountability of the exercise of monetary policy in the system. The most effective way by which monetary policy could promote sustainable economic growth is by establishing low and stable inflation rate.

Inflation targeting does not necessarily suggest targeting for a zero inflation rate. It is indeed prudent to emphasize the focus of targeting in the context of developing countries towards predictable and stable price movement. The optimum level of inflation rate in developing countries that is consistent to economic growth and employment situation differs and is somewhat higher from the

rate in developed countries.

The choice and discussion about the quantitative reference for inflation target could be conducted for further refinement. Here, we provided one such reference point for inflation targeting purpose. This would provide a nominal anchor for inflation rate targeting and signals to the public important information about monetary policy stances. The practice essentially put in place a mechanism of transparency instead of the tradition of secrecy in conducting monetary policy. Transparency in turn improves accountability leading in the process to improvement in the confidence of the public on monetary policy making.

Finally, it is important to note that the transition from current policy-making practice to a more transparent and accountable stance of monetary policy requires putting in place strong institutional and monetary policy making capacity. The recent inflation performance of Ethiopia has been quite impressive and yet whether this could be sustained in the future hinges on a number of factors of which the commitment of policy makers towards low and sustainable inflation rate. It is only under this condition that the public would develop confidence in the monetary policy-making and hence forms its expectation about long-term inflation. It is therefore time to start the process earnestly and build the reputation of the monetary policy making mechanism in the country. ■

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ORGANIC COFFEE: POTENTIALLY INTERESTING/POSSIBLY CONFLICTING

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1. INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the structural profile of a coffee farm in Ethiopia resembled forest. With coffee as understorey shrub, a mixed shade cover of towering hard wood species, and a ground floor covered with cereals, spices and root crops forms forest agro-ecosystem. Often also the coffee plants themselves are wild. Over 95 % of the nation's coffee production comes from small coffee farms. Coffee farmers often produce more than coffee, it is common among the small farms for the household to extract useful products like firewood, construction material, staple food, spices in addition to the coffee harvested each year. The source of these items is the multi-storey cover associated with the traditional coffee cultures. As smallholder producers living precarious livelihood year to year, such "non-coffee" products provide the family with items that can be used directly or traded locally for other cash or other needed products. The diversification helps shield small farmers from risks arising from the vagaries of nature, market fluctuations or social structures. Indeed, for decades, traditional coffee cultivation has been evolved as one of the most sustainable cash crop farming practice and more than 800,000 smallholder families depend on coffee cultivation for their livelihood. For all Smallholders, coffee production is a traditional way of life that one inherits from one's parents and very often it is simply a way of life and not a business enterprise.

2. COFFEE A KEY INGREDIENT TO ETHIOPIAN ECONOMY

Coffee is more than of passing importance in Ethiopia, both economically and culturally. Pride is one factor, Ethiopia regard itself as the fatherland of coffee. But money figures even more prominently. Economically coffee accounts for about 60% of the nation's foreign exchange earning. Several million rural Ethiopians survive on coffee as self-standing cash crop. While in towns and cities it created

employment opportunities for truckers, sorters and handlers. The total annual coffee production ranges from 200,000 to 250,000 tones per annum. To day Ethiopia is Africa's third largest producer of coffee after Cote de Ivoir and Uganda, yet Ethiopia exports 50 to 55 % of the produced. That number is 97% and 95% for Cote de Ivoir and Uganda respectively. But Ethiopia is the largest consumer in Africa both in percent and quantity consumed. During the period 1991-2000 Ethiopia's coffee export has increased on average by about 5000 tons per annum or by 11%, while foreign exchange earning increased by 13%. This growth is attributed to the establishment of quite a number of additional Wet-coffee processing plants that produced high quality washed coffees. That is, exportable quantity of washed coffee, which was non-to-small in quantity in early 1980s steadily, grew in the last two decades. From 1990 to 2000 alone the amount of washed coffee grew by about 37%.

Coffee Exported and Values Obtained

Coffee Year	Exported (Ton)	Value (Million USD)
1991	53457	121.98
1992	36077	90.10
1993	69362	130.00
1994	73004	153.80
1995	78421	300.60
1996	101823	279.50
1997	117979	356.60
1998	121366	410.80
1999	103423	275.20
2000	120303	256.72

(Source, CTA, 2000)

Currently Ethiopia ranks 10th in world coffee production and 12th in coffee supplies to world market. Despite the decisive role coffee plays in the development of the Ethiopian economy, as well as com-

pared to other producing nations, the Current Status of Ethiopian Coffee is not at encouraging positions. Its situation becomes clear by expressing coffee area as a percentage of the total suitable area, which refers to the agricultural land devoted to coffee. In the country as a whole less than 2% of the suitable area is currently covered by coffee. Average landholding is one of the smallest in the world, at less than one hectare and average yield is also the lowest, 574 kilogram per hectare (half of those in Kenya). There are no larger coffee estates in Ethiopia like ones found in other parts of Africa and the few (20,000 ha.) that exist in the west of the country are under state control. Conversely world coffee production is steadily increasing, while consumption is static in importing nations and price of coffee has been volatile. Coffee prices saw the sharpest decline in the last five years. Hitting a low of fifty cents per pound in 2001. The continuing slump in the price of coffee is spreading misery across producing countries. In a country like Ethiopia where primary source of income is from coffee export such decline of price will have a tremendous impact on the economy. It affects, the farmers, local traders, exporters, and balance of trade and ultimately undermines national security.

An alternative to this situation, which will provide for a fair and consistent price to farmers and ensure steady flow of hard currency for the country, is badly needed. Diversifying coffee marketing will be the obvious answer. If Ethiopia could not only market origin specific green coffee, but also roast and make variety of blends and distribute them worldwide, it could reduce the pains of coffee price slumps. Yet this is not an easy task, individual exporters cannot produce exact blends that are preferred by consumers in importing nations. Additionally, Ethiopia does not have capitals to establish large roasting companies nor cannot compete with multinational companies like Illy Caffe or Nestle. However, a window of opportunity exists to diversify within the green coffee marketing by providing certified organic coffee. Organic coffees are now flavoured to suit the consumers varied tastes and it is one of the fastest growing segments of the speciality coffee market.

Organic coffee is opening a new and fresh market especially in USA. Since Ethiopia has sustained a traditional, "Non-Agrochemical" Coffee Production Systems for generations, there are ample opportunities to take the lead to react to the prevailing organic coffee market force and consumers tastes. In general, organic coffee is probably a valuable niche market option, which can command reasonable premiums for coffee farmers

3. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF COFFEE MODERNISATION

The modernisation process of coffee involves

switching from the traditional coffee farm with a mixed plant community in multi-storey to virtual moderate to sparse shade that may include mono-coffee-culture. Beginning in the late 1970s, successful push to "renovate" "technify" or "modernise" the coffee sector in much of the coffee growing areas of Ethiopia emerged.

The driving force beside this move came from the widespread of the fungal disease known as Coffee Berry Disease (CBD). The devastating potential of the fungus was known from historical records in Kenya and Zaire (Congo), where the fungus decreased coffee production by 50%, in the half of the 19th century. This fungus was severely observed in 1970s in the regions of Sidamo, Kaffa, Illubabor, Harar and Wellega. As part of the general efforts to control the spread of the fungus and the shift to technified agriculture, the coffee modernisation of Ethiopia resembles in many ways the changes that began in basic grain production throughout much of the developing world in 1950's.

The resistance varieties of coffee, the use of agrochemicals and the restructuring of the production units itself all have their parallel in the green revolution associated with corn, wheat and rice. For coffee the transformation means increasing the density of coffee plants from 1800-2500 to 2500 -3300 plants per hectare. These resistance varieties are planted at regular spacing and typically pilled with petroleum based fertilisers and herbicides. With the Coffee Improvement Project coordination and Financed by European Union farmers implemented or participated in programs to technify their coffees. In the period 1978 to 1990 alone, through farmers subsidised programs, on average about 8,000 hectare of coffee land used to be sprayed against CBD per annum, while over 120 tones of chemical fertilisers were consumed per annum.

In a period of two decades, over 200,000,000 new and resistance coffee varieties were planted. Since 1992, following the discontinuity of government subsidy for chemical fertilisers and pesticides, spraying and fertilisation had been limited. This is attributed to high cost or unaffordable price of chemicals. But most of the coffee farmers are well aware of the values of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Some farmers even fertilise and/or spray their plots some times below research recommendations. Implying that coffee farmers are open-minded and ready for adopting modernisation.

4. A SPECTRUM OF ORGANIC COFFEE PRODUCTION

Organic coffee is produced as a multi-storey where the natural forest trees are kept as part of the upper stories and remarkable close nutrient cycle sustains the natural fertility of the land. Most nutrients are stored in biomass and then transferred from one to

the other through litter fall and root decomposition. That is the mineralisation of the organic matters liberates plant nutrients that are required to the coffee bushes. The organic matter also contributes to soil aggregation and improves soil properties and reduces susceptibility to erosion. Generally, organic coffee is coffee, which can produce exceptional quality, in the way it is grown. Currently it is estimated that over 80% of Ethiopian coffee is produced where natural conditions lend growers to organic. Thus, it would be also advantageous to understand why 80 % of Ethiopian coffee is organic. Coffee in Ethiopia is organic, because of the combined resultant effects of multiple factors such as:

- The traditional practices of multi-storey coffee cropping system have sustained the natural fertility of the soil and minimised the needs of chemical fertilisers.
- Sufficient coffee diversity at farm level has kept pest and disease attacks below the trash hold, making pesticide unnecessary.
- Coffee holding sizes are small, averaging less than a hectare and family labour is abundant to manage weeding and slashing. These make herbicides unfelt needs.
- The poverty of coffee farmers and high farm input prices are a burden to farmers to apply chemical fertiliser and pesticides.
- Farmers' subsistence mentality and farmers do not envisage maximising profit and are reluctant to use high input levels in order to produce higher quantity of coffee and maximise profits.

Based on the above facts, the variability of organic coffee production consists five factors and symbolically the Equation of Organic Coffee can be expressed as a function.

$$OC = f(Mt, Cd, Hs, Pv, Sm,)$$

Where:

- OC= Organic Coffee
- Mt= Multistorey Cropping system
- Cd= Coffee diversity
- Hs= Small Land holding Size
- Pv= Farmers Poverty
- Sm= Subsistence mentality

This equation allows stating that the levels and contributions of one factor are similar but not identical. Therefore organic coffee production is an interaction between these factors and so it cannot be promoted by multiplying the factors. But changing a single of the factors could halt organic production.

5. THE CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

In an effort to provide more coffee and make more money, many farmers have modernised their

traditional coffee farms. Yet over the past five years, changes associated with coffee price decline have redefined coffee production. Only recently has it become to light that the ways coffee is produced may raise controversial thoughts, "Traditional" Versus "Modernisation". That is, on one hand maintaining the traditional production system that has proven to be sustainable over a long period of time and entering, "Niche markets", off the main stream of coffee trading. This is sustaining traditional coffee cultures at the expenses of low yield per unit area (574 kg/ha.). On the other hand modernisation of the coffee sector and increasing the current coffee yields per unit area, which is less than by 320% from research findings and by 120 % from farmers managed demonstration plots (IAR, 1996). Implying that, the future of the marginalised subsistence coffee farmers, with very low yield per unit area, would not even survive benefiting higher premium from organic systems.

Thus a yield of more than one ton green coffee per hectare is required to make coffee production sustainable and profitable. This argument may insist that the major effort should rather be directed towards high input production systems that would enhance production per unit area, twice or more than the current production level. That is a change of the coffee farmers' attitude from subsistence mentality to business mentality and maximising profits. When we take these two debatable and argumentative thoughts into considerations, due to variations in its productivity, economics and social environments, organic coffee promotion may address conflicting goal with the concepts of the coffee modernisation. That is, the conflict between sustaining the long traditions of coffee or keeping with the pace of coffee modernisation. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of study and research that would help to assess links between Traditional and Modernisation of the coffee sector. However with the current farmers' subsistence coffee production mentality, farmers' feel secure on the traditional coffee production. But money figures more, if chemical fertilisers and pesticides are affordable and farmers are well rewarded in coffee markets they would go for modernisation. Conversely if farmers themselves are left alone to bear the risks of coffee price volatility and are not rewarded in market prices they would become reluctant to give the required management practices and by de facto it would be organic production at the expense of deteriorating coffee production systems. Farmers would therefore appreciate organic coffee production and give due attention for the appropriate management practices, if net cash income from organic coffee sell is attractive, compared to higher yields but lower prices of technified coffees.

6. CONCLUSION

Coffee will continue to be the main source of foreign currency income. Improved and diversified market-

ing systems could reduce the pains of future threats.

Speciality coffee marketing, which is a collective name for Organic, Gourmet, and Flavoured coffees are opening a new and fresh market alternatives, especially in the USA. The United State market has been the main driver for speciality coffee worldwide over the last few years. In 1997 the US coffee market was worth US\$9.6 billion of which US\$2.6 Billion (27%) were sales of speciality coffee. This latter figure represents an increase of 14 % over the previous years and 216 % over the 1990 market value. Another indicator of progress here is that whereas there were less than 500 Speciality Coffee-houses in the USA in 1991 by 2000 there were nearly 10,000 cafes and 2,500 speciality stores selling coffee and the number is still rising at an explosive rate, making speciality coffee mainstream and increasing profit margins. Of course organic Ethiopian coffee would be the most natural form of speciality coffee available in the world and could be marketed with higher premiums. But sustaining traditional coffee cultures is uncertain when one takes into account the low yields per unit area and the dynamics of rural changes (population growth, land shortage, unemployment, poverty, etc.). These, coupled with the low coffee contributions to world market supply, less than 3%, and the unbeatable computations with other producers such as, Brazil, Vietnam or Colombia, may obliged us for a rapid coffee modernisation processes.

Conversely, to ensure farmers' confidence on organic productions, they have to receive increased prices in local market for what they produce. Thus, the impetus for organic coffee production must preferably come from the "demand side", because Ethiopian coffee is already expensive. As witness, the average unit prices of the world coffees of 1993-1998 indicated that Ethiopian coffees hit 19 US cents per pound over Colombia mild and 35 US cents per pound over other mild arabica (ICO, 1999). The willingness of a consumer to pay any additional amount for organic Ethiopian coffees must be therefore questioned. There have been also problems in organic coffee marketing. Organic coffee will too often fail to secure the premiums necessary unless its cup quality is high. Certification is expensive and time consuming, and the market variable. Maximum care must therefore be given to ensure that all the require factors are in place and fully coasted in order to sustain organic coffee production and marketing.

Organic coffee is often exported at a negotiated price, which is considered a 'quality premium'. Most of these premiums never reach the coffee farmers, but rather stay in the hands of the exporter. This creates a disincentive for farmers to increase their quality, as they do not receive their benefits of increased incentives in producing better coffee. Having said that, "We do not produce coffee to consume ourselves, but for consumers worldwide" and we have to diversify our markets in order to satisfy the most discriminating con-

sumers who lookout for new experiences. However the market diversification criteria should not be one dimensional, but rather should reflect the complexity of coffee management systems. Additionally the market diversification criteria should be evolutionary that is subjected to refinements in the face of improved scientific understanding or technology innovations. Of course paying farmers a fair price with incentives for organic practices may be the best way to encourage sustainable organic coffee farming. Unfortunately, the agricultural policy frameworks, Agricultural Development Lead Industrialisation (ADLI) have done little to provide incentives for sustainable coffee production and marketing. A specific "Coffee Master Plan" that encourages both production systems and market diversification is therefore needed. A coffee master plan to promote sustainable development, however, will require a commitment to expanded research, studies, meticulous planning and information exchange. This commitment is needed to improve our understanding of the complex agro-ecology and economic of coffee, and thus to give needed directions to choices made in policy, market or incentives. The research or the studies also should be geared towards providing practical information to coffee farmers on how they can implement environmentally and technologically sound production systems and achieve success in domestic and international markets. The future fait of the Ethiopian Coffee industry, therefore, lies on how in-depth we understand our coffee industry and address technical, social and economic constraints through research, special studies and information exchange networks.

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THE TURNING POINT IN THE GROWTH OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE IN ETHIOPIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL EMPLOYMENT

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is well known that Ethiopia's agriculture accounts for the bulk of the total labour force. Moreover, the agricultural labour force is increasing at an alarming rate of about 2.9 percent per annum. The following questions emerge from these facts:

- (i) When will the absolute size of the agricultural labour force begin to decline?
- (ii) What will the absolute size of agricultural labour force be at the time of the decline?
- (iii) What are the policy implications of the turning points in the size of the agricultural labour force?

This brief paper attempts to address these questions. It attempts to look at the future of the rural areas.

2. THE TURNING POINT OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE AND ITS DETERMINANTS

According to the standard definition, agricultural transformation is a process by which a predominantly agrarian economy evolves into a diversified, industrial economy (See Tomich et al., 1995). This implies a substantial decline in the share of agriculture in the total labour force. A historical experiences of today's developed countries indicate massive shift of labour from agriculture, where the amount of capital per worker and average productivity were relatively low, to industry and service, where they were relatively high. This structural transformation of labour can be explained in terms of two factors. These are : a) higher income elasticity of demand for industrial products and low elasticity for food and b) growth in agricultural output with a constant or even declining labour force. This has resulted from substantial increases in total factor productivity in agriculture.

Structural transformation accompanying rising per capita income can be considered along two dimensions, changing output shares and reallocation of the labor force. In both dimensions structural trans-

formation is characterized by relative decline in the agricultural sector. But absolute levels of agricultural output and employment will rise throughout much of the prolonged process of structural transformation (Tomich et al., 1995).

But in sub-Saharan Africa, the transfer of labour from agriculture has proceeded very slowly over the last decades (Dejene 1995). This can be partly explained by (a) an extremely fast rate of growth of total labour force (sub-sharan Africa is the only region in the world where the rate of growth of population had increased over much of the last century); (b) slow progress in agricultural technology; (c) the initial share of the non-agricultural labour force in the total labour force which is very small.

Then, when will the number of agricultural labour force in a developing country start to decline? This question can be addressed using a hypothetical country X. The following assumptions are in order.

- (i) there is no massive urban unemployment;
- (ii) the current trends in the spread of the pandemic disease (HIV/AIDS) can be reversed;
- (iii) country X has 70% of its labour force in agriculture ; and
- (iv) the non-agricultural labour force grows at 3 or 4% a year.

Based on these assumptions, it is possible to estimate, for different rates of growth of the total labour force, the time required for the size of the agricultural labour force to start to decline in absolute numbers (See Annex 1 for the equation to be used for estimating the figure).

For example, if it is assumed that the annual growth of the total labour force is 2.5 percent, the agricultural labour force would continue to grow in absolute size (though declining) slowly as a share of the total for about 50 years. If the total labour force were to grow by 3% a year instead, the time required for the agricultural labour force to start to decline would nearly double to ninety-five years (see Figure 1).

In short, the time it takes to transfer the bulk of the labour force from agriculture to higher productivity sector depends upon three magnitudes (or determinants):

- (i) the initial weight (L_n/L_t), meaning the ratio of the non-agricultural labour force (L_n) in the total labour force (L_t);
- (ii) the rate of growth of total labour force ($L't$) (which is, roughly equivalent to population growth rate and.
- (iii) the rate of growth of non-farm employment ($L'n$)

Thus, the rate of structural transformation of agriculture (RST) can be expressed as follows.

$$RST = \frac{L_n}{L_t} (L'n - L't)$$

Where, the expression in the bracket, i.e. ($L'n - L't$), indicates the rate at which the rate of the non-agricultural labour force increases.

This equation shows that:

- The higher the proportion of the agricultural labour force at the start of the projection (the initial period), the longer the time needed to reach the turning point and
- The lower the growth rate of the total labour force and the higher the growth rate of the non-agricultural labour force, the shorter the time needed to reach the turning point.

3. ESTIMATING THE TURNING POINT FOR ETHIOPIA

In Ethiopia, the agricultural labour force is bound to continue growing in absolute number over at least much of this century because of high rate of growth of population, the extremely small size of the initial weight (i.e. share of the non-agricultural labour force in the total) and because of the extremely large size of the agricultural labour force. No doubt, there has been growing urban and rural unemployment in Ethiopia over the last decade (Namrud 1997; Dejene 2000).

CSA's projection confirms that the rural population would continue increasing over quite a long period to come. According to CSA (1998), the total population would increase to 129 million in the year 2030 and the rural population would increase to 99 million by then, the number of rural people per km² of arable land would more than double from 451 persons in 1995 to 952 person per Km² (i.e. roughly equivalent to the current population density of Wonago woreda in Gedeo Zone, currently, the highest density in the country). By 2030 rural areas still account for the bulk of the total population (77%). This implies that the current average per capita holding (i.e. 1 ha. per farm household) would drop to

about a half of its present (size see table). This would entail massive rural and urban unemployment of unheard proportions unless timely policy measures are put in place.

Table 1. Ethiopia Rural Population by 2030 and Land Availability

Variables	1995	2030	2059
Total population ('000)	54649	129159	235
Rural population ('000)	47062	99313	132000
Rural pop as % of total population	86	77	56
Arable land (Km ²)	104300	104300	104300
Rural people per km ² of arable land (persons)	451	952	1265
Rough estimate of av. holding size (ha)	1	0.05	0.37

Notes :-

1. In this scenario arable (Crop) land is assumed to remain constant in terms of size and quality irrigation and technology will remain constant. Possible soil degradation is ignored. Also, no attempt is made to deduct the negligible arable land lost to Eritrea upon secession in 1992.

Source : Computed from CSA (1998) and from National Atlas of Ethiopia and (Gezu 2001).

According to a very optimistic and estimate (Gezu 2001) Ethiopia agriculture will attain the turning point after 59 years. At this time the total agricultural labour force will reach 132 million. This estimate is based on the assumption of 4.6% growth in non-agricultural employment. The year 2000 is taken as a base year.

This estimate is conservative as compared to estimates made for Kenya (World Bank 1984). For Kenya (assuming a continuation of recent trend which is the worst case, the labour force growing by 3.5% year and non-agricultural employment growing at 4%, the agricultural labour force would be increasing in absolute size 100 years from the initial year.

4. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL EMPLOYMENT

The notion of the turning point is based, among other things, on the assumption of labour transfer from agriculture to industry and services, which are located in urban areas. However, it is well known that urban centres are unable to absorb the rural surplus labor. They are already overwhelmed by massive urban unemployment (Numrad 1997, Dejene 2000). In Addis Ababa, for example, about one third of the labor force is unemployed.

A way out is to promote employment opportunities in rural areas through increased land productivity (yields) in agriculture, expanded non-farm employment, and increased specialization in rural areas. This strategy of development is known in the litera-

ture as "an agriculture-and-employment-based strategy of growth" (Mellor 1990).

The 'industry first' argument of the 1950s is no more attractive to most development economists. It was with reference to this concern that Mellor (1990) noted: 'it is surprising that the principal, broad conceptualisation in development economics have not articulated a central place to agriculture.' Today economists have recognized the primary role that agricultural productivity growth plays in the process of economic development. This point was well recognized by some economists even in the 1950s. For example, Lewis (1953) noted that 'if agriculture is stagnant, industry cannot grow'. He also underlined that "a vigorous agricultural program is needed not because food is scarce, but because this is the road to economic progress'. Similarly, Tomich and other (1993:37) underlined that:

High productivity agriculture entrains industrialization directly; it also fosters it indirectly because the specialized services, differentiated market networks, and financial institutions that serve farming simultaneously lead to increased efficiency in various manufacturing activities.

One implication of this line of argument is that, in densely populated developing economies, the notion of labour transfer should give way to one of creating adequate employment opportunities in rural areas. This line of argument is in harmony with the agriculture-and-employment-based strategy of growth (Mellor 90). In this strategy, the rural non-farm economy plays a key role in generating the required employment opportunities. This sector gives rise to improvements in household income in three ways: part-time activities carried on in the homestead, full-or part-time occupation in a separate enterprise (usually in a large village or small town), and wage earned in rural-based enterprises (Tomich et.al. 1995:201). The Chinese case abundantly demonstrates the possibility of absorbing massive surplus labour in non-farm activities in the context of growing population pressure over land.

The industry versus agriculture argument is simple a sterile exercise. These sectors are not alternative to each other. Rather, they mutually reinforce each other. The complementarity of the two sectors can be reinforced by boosting demand linkages in rural areas (Tomich et.al. 1995; Dejene (1997).

Thus, the literature suggests is that the term "structural transformation" should be redefined on the bases of the experiences of developing countries. Thus, I could be tempted to refine the term as a process by which a predominantly agrarian economy evolves into a diversified and high productivity urban and rural-based industrial economy.

To implement this strategy, Ethiopia needs to con-

sider the following measures:

- (i) Appreciate the possibility that the agricultural labor force is bound to grow in absolute size for much of this century, to say the least.
- (ii) Adopt effective population policy that would reduce the fertility rate and substantially improve the quality of rural life.
- (iii) Substantially raise land productivity through the use of land augmenting technologies (including science-based and farmer-based technologies).
- (iv) Promote small-scale and micro irrigation schemes and water harvesting schemes, wherever physical conditions are conducive to such efforts.
- (v) Put in place policy packages including credit, fiscal investment technology policies) that would boost non-farm employment in rural areas.
- (vi) Undertake institutional reforms (including land policy reform and popular participation) and infrastructure development.

The experience of China demonstrates that a developing country is potential capable of boosting per capita cash incomes of farmers by creating massive employment opportunities in rural areas. In this light, it is worth noting achievements registered by China over a period of 50 years.

- (i) China has registered one of the worlds fastest rate economic growth over a long period.
- (ii) Through appropriate population policies, China has been able to bring down population growth to nearly 1%.
- (iii) With an average holding size of about 0.6 ha., China has been able not only to produce food for more than one billions persons , but is able to produce substantial surplus for export.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the secret behind China's phenomenal success. Suffice it to mention the following developments alone:

- building new institutions upon old ones over a period of 50 years,
- a very conducive land tenure system: a land lease (30 years) and state ownership of land,
- rural industrialization drives in which export - oriented industries are linked to village level factories, and
- well developed health and education system.

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ከጌታቸው ሚናስ

1. መግቢያ

ያንድ አገር ኢኮኖሚ ሥራ የመፍጠር ችሎታው አዝጋሚ በሚሆንበት ጊዜ የሕዝቡን የኑሮ ደረጃ የማሳደግ ዓላማው ግቡን ሳይመታ ይቀራል። ይህን ተከትሎ ሥራ አጥነት ይንሰራፋል፤ ድህነትም ይስፋፋል። በተጨማሪም የሕዝብ ብዛትና ፈጣን ዕድገት ወደ ሥራ ዓለም የሚመጣውን ሠራተኛ ኃይል ቁጥሩን በማሳደግ አዝጋሚውን ኢኮኖሚ ይጫነዋል፤ ዕድገቱንም ያቀጭጩዋል። እዚህ ላይ ጥያቄው ኢኮኖሚው ለምን ያዘግማል? የሕዝብ ዕድገቱስ ለምን ይፈጠራል? የሚለው ይሆናል። ጥያቄውን ለመመለስ ዝርዝር የኢኮኖሚ ሁኔታዎችን ማጤን ያስፈልጋል። ለዚህም በመጀመሪያ ለመንደርደሪያ ያህል የሥራ አጥነትን ትርጉም፣ ዓይነትና መጠን መዳሰስ ቀጥሎም የሥራ አጥነትን መንስኤና ውጤቱን ከኢኮኖሚው ልማት አቅጣጫ ማጤንና የመፍትሄ ሀሳብ ማቅረብ ይሆናል። ይህ አጭር ጽሑፍም የሚያተኩረው በዚህ ፍሬ ሀሳብ ላይ ነው።

2. የሥራ አጥነት ትርጉም፣ ዓይነትና መጠን፤

የሥራ አጥነትን ትርጉም ለመገንዘብ በቅድሚያ የሥራ ሥምሪትን ትርጉም ማየቱ ጠቀሜታ አለው። የሥራ ሥምሪት ማለት አንድ ሰው በምርት ሂደት ተሳትፎ በማድረግ ላበረከተው አስተዋጽኦ ተመጣጣኝ የሆነ የገንዘብ ክፍያ የሚያገኝበት ነው። በአንጻሩም ሥራ አጥነት ማለት ሥራ ለመሥራት ችሎታና ፍላጎት ያለው ሰው በምርት ተግባር ለመሳተፍ ያልቻለበት ሁኔታ ነው። በእነዚህ መካከል የሚገኘው ድሃ ሠራተኛ የሚባለው ሲሆን ለምርት ከሚያበረከተው አስተዋጽኦ በታች እጅግ እነስተኛ የሆነ ክፍያ የሚያገኝና ከሥራ አጠላም ብዛም ያልተሻለ ሆኖ የሚገኝ ነው። ከነዚህም

ሌላ በሥውር ሥራ አጥነትና በግልጽ ሥራ አጥነት ውስጥ የሚገኙ አሉ።

መሪጃን መሠረት አድርጎ የሥራ አጥነትን መጠን በጾታ፣ በሥፍራና በሙያ ዓይነት ተንትኖ ማቅረብ ይቻላል። ይህንንም ለማከናወን በቅድሚያ የሕዝቡን ብዛትና ሥርዓት፣ ከዚህም ወስጥ ለመሥራት የሚችለውን ሕዝብ መጠን፣ እንዲሁም በሥራ ላይ የተሠማራውንና በሥራ አጥነት የሚገኘውን ሕዝብ ቁጥር ለይቶ ማወቅ ያስፈልጋል። ሁኔታውን የበለጠ ግልጽ ለማድረግ ያህል በሚከተለው አገዛዊ መግለጫ ማሳየት ይቻላል።

በ1986 ዓ.ም የተካሄደው ሁለተኛው የቤቶችና የሕዝብ ቆጠራ እንዳመለከተው የሀገሪቱ ሕዝብ ቁጥር 53.4 ሚሊዮን የነበረ ሲሆን በዓመት በ 3 በመቶ በማደግ በ1992 ዓ.ም. ወደ 63.5 ሚሊዮን ከፍ ብሏል። ከጠቅላላው ሕዝብ ውስጥም ግማሽ ያህል ዕድሜው ከ19 ዓመት በታች እንደነበር ተመልክቷል። ይህም የሚያሳየው ሕዝቡ በወጣትነት ዕድሜ ውስጥ የሚገኝ በመሆኑ የወደፊቱን የሕዝብ ቁጥር እንደሚያሳድግና ወደ ሥራ ዓለም የሚመጣውንም የሥራ ፈላጊ ቁጥር ከፍ እንደሚያደርገው ነው። የሕዝብ ብዛትና ፈጣን ዕድገት ፍጆታን በመጨመር የቁጠባና የካፒታል ክምችትን እንዲቀንስ በማድረግ የኢኮኖሚውን የሥራ መፍጠር ችሎታ ያዳክመዋል። የሕዝብ ክምችት እየጨመረ ሲሄድም በተፈጥሮ ሀብትና በአየር ንብረት ላይ ተፅዕኖ በመፍጠር የሀገሪቱ ሀብት እንዲመናመን ያደርጋል።

በከፍተኛ መጠን ከሚያደገው ሕዝብ ውስጥ በሥራ ለመሠማራት ከሚችለው 85 በመቶው በገጠር ውስጥ ሲገኝ ቀሪው 15 በመቶ በከተማ ይኖራል። በሥራ ሊሠማራ ከሚችለው ሕዝብ ውስጥ አብዛኛው በግብርና ተግባር የተሰማራ ነው። የቀረው በጎጆና በእነስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪ፣ በንግድና በአገልግሎት የሥራ ዘርፍ የሚገኝ

የሚሆነው በግል ሥራና ደመወዝ ሳይከፈለው በቤተሰብነት በድርጅት ውስጥ የሚሠሩ ነው። ባለፉት አሥር ዓመታት ውስጥ የሥራ ስምሪት መጠን ከመንግሥት ይልቅ በግል ዘርፍ በይበልጥ ማደግ ይገመታል። ይሁን እንጂ የግል ዘርፍ የፈጠረው የሥራ ዕድል ለሥራ ፈላጊው በቂ ሆኖ አልተገኘም።

በመደበኛው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ የሚፈጠረው የሥራ ዕድል እየተነሰ ሲሄድ ሥራ ፈላጊዎች መደበኛ ባልሆነው (እንግሊዝኛ) የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ውስጥ ይሰማራሉ። መደበኛ የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ የሚባለው የመንግሥት የንግድ ፈቃድና ሕጋዊነት ያለው ድርጅት ሲሆን መደበኛ ያልሆነው ደግሞ የንግድ ፈቃድና ቋሚ እድራሻ የሌለው፣ በሕብው የሚንቀሳቀስ ድርጅት ነው። በ1986 ዓ.ም በጠቅላይ ስታትስቲክስ ባለሥልጣን በተካሄደው ጥናት በከተሞች ውስጥ 731 ሺህ ሰዎች መደበኛ ባልሆነ ሥራ ተሰማርተው እንደነበር ለማወቅ ትችላል። ከእነዚህ ውስጥ 85 በመቶ የሚሆነው በአገልግሎት፣ በንግድና በእጅ ሥራ ተሰማርቶ ሲገኝ፣ 65 በመቶ የሚሆኑት ደግሞ ሲቶች መሆናቸው ታውቋል።

በሁለተኛው የቤቶችና የሕዝብ ቆጠራ በተገኘው መረጃ መሠረት ከመጀመሪያው ቆጠራ ጀምሮ በአሥር ዓመት ውስጥ በሦስት እጥፍ በማደግ የከተማው ሥራ አጥነት 22 በመቶ ደርሷል። የገጠር ሥራ አጥነትም 1 በመቶ ያህል እንደሚደርስ ተገምቷል። ሥራ አጥነት ጎልቶ የታየው በሲቶች ላይ ነበር። ቆጠራው ከተካሄደ በኋላም የሕዝቡም ሆነ የሥራ አጠቃቀም ቁጥር እንደጨመረ ይታመናል። በተለይም የወጣቶችና የሲቶች ሥራ አጠቃቀም ቁጥር እየጨመረ መሄዱ ግልጽ ነው። የከተማ ወጣት ሥራ አጠቃቀም ቁጥር 41 በመቶ እንደደደረሰ መገመቱን በ1992 በወራተኛና ማህበራዊ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር የተደረገ አንድ ጥናት አመልክቷል።

ድሚው ለትምህርት የደረሰ ነገር ግን ለመማር ያልቻለው ወጣት ቁጥር እየጨመረ መጥቷል። ከትምህርት ይልቅ ወደ ሥራ የማምረት ዝንባሌው ደግሞ ከፍተኛ ነው። ይህ የትምህርት ሥምረት ዝንባሌ መቀነስ በገጠር በተለይ በሲቶች ላይ ጎልቶ ይታያል። በባህላዊ ተፅዕኖ ምክንያት ወጣት ሲቶች በትዳርና በቤት ሥራ ይጠመዳሉ። በዚህም ምክንያት ከትምህርት ገበታ ይፈናቀላሉ። እንዲሁም ካስከፈ ኑሮ ለመሳተፍ ወደ ከተማ ለሥራ ፍልጋ ለመፍለስ

ይገደዳሉ። ወንዶችም ቢሆኑ በከተማው ኑሮ በመማርነና በገጠሩም በቂ ሥራ ባለማግኘት ምክንያት ወደ ከተሞች ይፈልጋሉ። ከነዚህ ሌላ ከውትድርና የተሰናበቱ፣ በልዩ ልዩ ምክንያት ከጎረቤት አገር ተፈናቅለው የመጡ፣ በተፈጥሮ አዩር ንብረት መዛባት፣ ድርቅና ረሀብ ምክንያት ከመኖሪያ ተዩአቸው የተፈናቀሉና ሌሎችም ሰዎች በሥራ አጥነት ይገኛሉ።

ይህን የሥራ አጥነት ችግር የሚያብብሰው የሕዝቡ መብትና ከፍተኛ ዕድገቱ መሆኑ የታወቀ ነው። የሕዝብ ቁጥር የሚጨምረው የወሊድ መጠን ሲጨምርና በአንጻሩ የሞት መጠን ሲቀንስ መሆኑ ግልፅ ነው። በአገራችን በተለይ በገጠሩ የሚገኘው ንብረተሰብ ውስጥ አንዲት በመውለድ የዕድሜ ክልል የምትገኝ ሴት በአግባብ ስድስት ልጆች ትወልዳለች። በአንዳንድ አገራት ክልሎች የወሊድ መጠን ከፍተኛ መሆኑ ይታወቃል። የከተማው ወሊድ መጠን ግን ባንዲት ወላድ ከሁለት ልጆች በታች ነው። የከተማው ወሊድ መጠን እንደ የሚገኘው የወሊድ መቆጣጠሪያ ዘዴ ከገጠሩ ይልቅ በከተማ ተስፋፋቱ ስለሚገኝ ሊሆን ይችላል። ከዚህም ሌላ የከተማው ኑሮ ውድነት፣ የመኖሪያ ቤት እጥረት፣ ግልጽ ሥራ አጥነት፣ በጥገናነት መኖርና የመሳሰሉት አሰጣጥ ሁኔታዎች ትዳር ለመያዝና ልጅ ለመውለድ አመች አይደሉም።

የገጠሩ ወሊድ ከፍ ብሎ የተገኘበት የራሱ ምክንያት አለው። የገጠሩ ንብረተሰብ የጠረታ ሞትና ስለሌለውና ለእርሻ ሥራውም ረዳት የቤተሰብ ሠራተኛ ስለሚያስፈልገው የሚጠፋትንና ሥራ የሚሠሩለትን ልጆች ያለገደብ ለመውለድ ይገደዳል። እንዲሁም በገጠሩ በቂ የጤና አገልግሎት ስለሌለ ብዙ ልጆች ወልዶ የሞቱት ሞተው ጥቂት እንደሚተርፉለት በማሰብ የወሊድን መጠን ከፍ ያደርገዋል። እንዲሁም የገጠር መሬትን በሽግሽግ ለማግኘት ሲባል ለጋብቻ ያልደረሱ ልጆች በትዳር ይጠመዳሉ የቤተሰብ ኃላፊም ይሆናሉ። ልጅ በልጅነት በሚለው ፈላጊ የወሊድ መጠን ከፍ እያለ ይገደዳል። በገጠር የሚገኘው ያለፈውና ያሁኑ ትውልድ በወጣቱ ቤተሰብ ጉልበት የመጠቀሙ ብዙ ከመጨመሩ ትውልድ ብድር እንደመውሰድ ያህል የሚቆጠር ነው የሚል አስተሳሰብ ቢኖርም ሁኔታውን የሚገታው አይመስልም። ስለዚህ ወሊድም በከፍተኛ መጠን ይቀጥላል ማለት ነው።

በዚህ የጽሑፍ ክፍል የሥራ አጥነትን ትርጉም፣ ዐይነትና መጠኑን እንዲሁም በሕዝብ ብዛትና ዕድገት ዙሪያ ያሉትን ሁኔታዎች ባዎና ለማሳየት ተሞክሯል። በሚቀጥለው ክፍል ደግሞ የሥራ አጥነትን መንስኤና የሚያስከትለውን ችግር ለመዳሰስና ለውይይት ለማቅረብ ጥረት ተደርጓል።

3. የሥራ አጥነት መንስኤና የሚያስከትለው ችግር

ሥራ አጥነት በተለይም ግልጽ ሥራ አጥነት ጎልቶ የሚታየው በከተማ ውስጥ ሲሆን፣ ሰዎች ከገጠር ወደ ከተማ በሚያደርጉት ፍልሰት እየተባባሰ የሚሄድ ነው። በገጠር ውስጥም ስውር ሥራ አጥነት ተንሰራፍቶ ይገኛል። በገጠሩም በከተማውም የሲቶች ሥራ አጥነት በዝቶ ይገኛል። የከተማው ሥራ አጥነት በአብዛኛው የተማሩ ወጣቶችን እያጠቃ ይገኛል። ትምህርታቸውን የጨረሱ ወጣቶች እነስተኛ ሙያና እውቀት በሚጠይቁ የጥበቃና ጉልበት ሥራ ላይ ለመስማራት እየተገደዱ ናቸው። ይህም ለትምህርታቸው ብዙ ሀብት የፈሰሰባቸውን የነገውን አገር የመገንባት ኃላፊነት የሚጣልባቸውን ወጣቶችና እንዲሁም ወላጆቻቸውን ተስፋ የመቁረጥ ስሜት እንዲያደርግባቸው ያደርጋል።

የከተማ ውስጥ ሥራ አጥነት ራሱን የቻለ ችግር ሲሆን የድሃው ሠራተኛ ሁኔታም አሳሳቢ ነው። ድሃ ሠራተኞች የሚባሉት ሠርተው የሚያገኙት ገቢ እነስተኛ በመሆኑ በኑርአቸው ከድህነት ወለል በታች የሚገኙ ናቸው። እነዚህ ሠራተኞች ከከተማው ሕዝብ አብዛኛውን ቁጥር የያዙ ሲሆኑ በብዛት የተሰማሩትም መደበኛ ባልሆነው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ነው። በዚህ ዘርፍ የሚገኙት ድሃ ሠራተኞች በሕገወጥነት፣ በሌብነትና በሴትኛ አዳሪነት ከተሰማሩት ወገኖች ፈጽሞ የተለዩ ሥራ ወዳድ ሕዝቦች ናቸው።

ዘመናዊው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ በከፍተኛ የምርት ቴክኖሎጂ የሚጠቀም በመሆኑ አብዛኛውን የሰው ኃይል ለመቅጠር አይችልም። ምርቱም ለጠባቡ ያገር ውስጥ ገበያ የሚቀርብ በመሆኑ ለመሰፋፋትና የሥራ ዕድል ለመፍጠር ጠባዩም ሆነ ሁኔታው አይፈቅድለትም። የቴክኖሎጂው ስብጥር የሥራ ዕድል ለመፍጠር በሚያስችል የሥራ ስምሪት ፖሊሲ ካልተመራ በስተቀር

ለሥራ ፈላጊዎች አለኝታ ሊሆን አይችልም። የቤተሰብ ገቢ ሊያስተዳድራቸው የማይችል ሥራ አጠች ሕይወታቸውን ለማኖር ሲሉ መደበኛ ባልሆነ የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ውስጥ ገቢ በሚያስገኙ ልዩ ልዩ የሥራ መስኮች ለመሠማራት ይገደዳሉ። ምንም ዐይነት ካፒታል፣ የባንክ ብድርና የሥራ አመራር ዕውቀት ሳይኖራቸው በግላቸው የፈጠራ ችሎታ ላይ ብቻ በመተማመን መደበኛ ባልሆነ ሥራ ላይ ይሠማራሉ። ብልሃትን፣ ብልጠትንና ተስማምቶ የመኖርን ችሎታ አያጸበፍ ሠርተው ይኖራሉ። ገቢው እነስተኛ የሆነው የሕብረተሰብ ክፍልም በእነርሱ ምርትና እገልግሎት ተጠቃሚ ይሆናል። ይሁን እንጂ መደበኛ ባልሆነ ሥራ ላይ የሚገኙትን እነዚህን ዜጎች በሕጋዊ ሥራ ያልተሰማሩ ናቸው በሚል የፖሊሲ ኃይሎችና የድርጅት ዘበኞች በየደባባዩ ሲያሸብሯቸው ይታያሉ። እዚህ ላይ መጤን ያለበት መጽበኛ ያልሆነው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ በምርት፣ በገቢ፣ በዋጋ ማረጋገጥና በሥራ ስምሪት ረገድ ያለው አስተዋፅኦ ምን ያህል እንደሆነ ተረድቶ ሕጋዊ ድጋፍ መስጠቱ ይሆናል።

መደበኛ ያልሆነው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ያለው አስተዋፅኦ የሚናቅ አይደለም። በታዳጊ አገሮች ከምርት እስከ 60 በመቶ፣ ከሥራ ስምሪት እስከ 30 በመቶ አስተዋፅኦ እንዳለው ይገመታል። በዚህ ዘርፍ የተሰማራው ሕዝብ ቁጥር በከተሞች ውስጥ በፍጥነት እያደገ በመምጣቱ የፖሊሲ አውጪዎችን ዕይታ የሚሰብ ጉዳይ ሆኖ ይገኛል። ይህ የሥራ ዘርፍ በዕቅድና በሥርዐት የሚንቀሳቀስበት ፖሊሲና ደንብ እንዲወጣለት ሁኔታው ያስገድዳል። ይህ ፖሊሲ የቦታ፣ የቤት፣ የንግድ፣ የጤና፣ የባንክ ብድር፣ የተከኖሎጂ፣ የገጠር ኢንዱስትሪ፣ የሥራ ግንኙነት ሥርዐትና ሌሎችንም ጉዳዮች ያካተተ ይሆናል። ስለዚህ የፖሊሲው ዝግጅት ሌሎች ፖሊሲዎችን ማገናዘብ የሚጠይቅ ሊሆን ይችላል። የዚህ ዓይነቱ ፖሊሲ ዓላማው መደበኛ ያልሆኑ እንቅስቃሴዎችን ወደ መደበኛ እንቅስቃሴዎች ማሸጋገርና ሕጋዊ ማድረግ ነው። ይህ ሽግግር በሕብ-እ፣ በድብቅና በፍርሀት የሚሠሩ ሰዎችን በግልጽ በሕጋዊ መንገድና በሙሉ ልብ እንዲሠሩ ያደርጋቸዋል። የሥራ ዕድልም ይፈጥራል። የዜግነት ሕጋዊ መብትና ግዴታን ያረጋግጣል። መንግሥት ከቀረጥና ግብር የሚያገኘው ተጨማሪ ገቢም ይኖረዋል። የኢኮኖሚ እውታሮችን የመዘርጋት አቅሙም ከፍ ያላል። በዚህም ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል

ሊፈጠር ይችላል። ባንጻሩ በተጨማሪም የምናገኘው መደበኛ ያልሆነው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ በሕገመገብት የሚፈረጅ ከሆነ የሥራ ዕድል የመፍጠር ችሎታው ይዳከማል፤ ሥራ አጥነትም ይንሰራፋል። የመንግሥት ገቢም ይቀራል።

የሥራ አጥነት ችግር የተለያዩ የሕብረተሰብ ክፍሎችን በልዩ ልዩ መንገድ ይዳስሳቸዋል። የሥራ ፈላጊዎች ቤተሰቦች ሥራ አጣጥቦችን ያስጠጋሉ፤ ሥራ እስከሚገኝበት ጊዜ ድረስ ከገቢያቸው ይካፈላሉ። በባሕላዊና ማህበራዊ ምክንያቶች ሥራ አጣጥቦች በቤተሰቦቻቸው ጥገኝነት ሥር ለረጅም ጊዜ ይቆያሉ። ከፊሎቹም በመደበኛው የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ሥራ ሲያጡ መደበኛ ባልሆነው ዘርፍ መሠማራት ይጀምራሉ።

የሥራ ፈላጊው ቁጥር እየጨመረ ሲሄድ ጥገኝነትም እየከበደ ይሄዳል። ሥራ ፈላጊዎች ብቻ ሳይሆኑ በትምህርት ላይ የሚገኙ ወጣቶች፣ አረጋውያንና ሕፃናት በሚያስተዳድሯቸው ሠርቶ አዳሪዎች ላይ ጥገኝነታቸው ከዕለት ወደ ዕለት እየከበደ ይሄዳል። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ በዋጋ ንረትና በኑሮ ውድነት የሠራተኛው ገቢ ለኑሮ በሚያስፈልገው የፍጆታ ወጪ ይሟጠባል። ከወጪው ተርፎ የሚቆጥበው የለውም። ለኑሮ የሚያስፈልጉ መሠረታዊ ወጪዎችን መሸፈን ሲያዳግተው ሠራተኛው ልዩ ልዩ የኑሮ መደገሚያ ሥልጣኑን ይቀይሳል። በአራጣ ይበደራል፤ የደመወዝ ጭማሪ ይጠይቃል። ይህም ካልሆነለት ኑሮውን ለማሸነፍ ከብረ ጎሊና እስከ መሸጥ በሚያደርስ ተግባር ሊሰማራ ይችላል። በሙስና ለመዘፈቅም ይዳዳዋል። እዚህ ደረጃ የደረሰ ሠራተኛ የጥገኞቹን ሽክም ለማቃለል የሚጨነቀውን ያህል ለምርትና ምርታማነት ዕድገት ደንታ ሳይኖረው ይችላል።

ሥራ አጥነት ብሎም ጥገኝነት የከተሞች ችግር ብቻ ሳይሆን በገጠሩም የሚታይ ክስተት ነው። በአገራችን በገጠሩ ውስጥ አብዛኛው ሕዝብ ተሰማርቶ የሚገኝበት የግብርና ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ሲሆን የአርሶ አደሩ ምርታማነት አንድ የነፍስ ወከፍ ገቢው ቆርቁቦ የሚገኝበት የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ሆኖ ይገኛል። የማምረቻ መሣሪያው እጅግ ጳላ ቀር በመሆኑ አርሶ አደሩ ከፍጆታው አልፎ ለገበያ የሚቀርብ ምርት የማምረት ችሎታው ዝቅተኛ ነው። ዘመናዊ የግብርና ዘዴዎችን የማድነቅና የመጠቀም ችሎታ ያላቸው አርሶ አደሮች ቁጥር እንስተኛ ነው። አብዛኛው አርሶ

አደር አዳዲስ የግብርና ዘዴዎችን ለመጠቀም የመፍራትና ከነባሩ የግብርና ዘዴ ለመላቀቅ ያለመቻል ባሕርይ ያንጸባርቃል። በጥንታዊ አመራረት ዘይቤው የምርት አደገ፣ ከመሬት ዝግጅት እስከ መኸር ስብሰባ ያለው ሂደት አጭር በመሆኑ በተለይ ስብል ከተሰበሰበ በኋላ አርሶ አደሩ እምብዛም ሥራ ስለማይኖረው ለውራት ይደገፍል። ለመስኖ እርሻም የሚያስፈልገው መሠረተ ልማት ስላልተሰፋፋ አብዛኛው አርሶ አደር ዓመቱን ሙሉ በመሥራት ምርቱን ለማሳደግና ገቢውን ለማሻሻል አልቻለም። ያርሶ አደሩ እንስተኛ ገቢም በፍጆታ ሸቀጦች ዋጋ መኖር ምክንያት እየተደረሰ ስለሄደ ለቤተሰቡ የሚያስፈልገውን የፍጆታና መሠረታዊ ግልጋሎት ማቅረብ ተስኖታል። የቤተሰቡን አባላት መደገፍ የማይችልበት ደረጃ ላይም ደርሷል። በዚህና በመሳሰሉት ምክንያቶችም ከተዩው ለቆ ይፈልሳል።

የገጠሩን ኑሮ መቋቋም ያልቻለው አርሶ አደር ኑሮውን ለመለወጥና ለማሻሻል ወደ ትርብ ከተሞች ለመፍለስ ይገደዳል። ከገጠር እስከ ዘመናዊ ከተሞች ያሉት የፍልሰት ደረጃዎችና ሽግግሩም ቀላል ስለማይሆን እንደ ገጠር ተመስ ሥራ ፈላጊ በተጥታ ወደ ከተማ ለመድረስ መሰናክሎች ስለሚገጥሙት ባከባቢው በሚገኙ የገጠር እንስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪዎች ውስጥ በሥራ መሠማራትን ይመርጣል። በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ አብዛኛው ሕዝብ በገጠር ይኖራል ሲባል፣ ሁሉም በእርሻ ሥራ ተሰማርቷል ማለት አይደለም። በገጠር ውስጥ ልዩ ልዩ ከግብርና ውጭ ያሉ ሥራዎች ውስጥ የተሰማራም ሕዝብ አለ። ይህም በገጠሩ ውስጥ ለኢንዱስትሪና ለግብርና ትስስርና ዕድገት አመቺ ሁኔታ አለ ማለት ነው። ዋናው ቁም ነገር በገጠር ልማት ስትራቴጂያችን ይህን ትስስር በማዳበርና በማጠናከር የግብርናንና የገጠር ኢንዱስትሪን ምርታማነት በማራመድ ያርሶ አደሩን እንዲሁም የገጠሬውን ሠራተኛ ገቢ አሳድጎ ኑሮውን ማሻሻል ነው። የገጠሬው ገቢ ሲያድግ ለኢንዱስትሪ ውጤቶች ገበያ ይፈጥራል፣ እንስተኛና መለስተኛ የገጠር ኢንዱስትሪዎችም ይስፋፋሉ፤ የሥራ ዕድልም ለገጠሩ ሕዝብ ይፈጠራል። ይህ ሲነገርና ሲጻፍ ቀላል ቢመስልም በፖሊሲና በመርሐግብር መተርጎሙ ግን የሚከብድ ይመስላል።

ዘመናዊ የሆኑት አምራች ድርጅቶች ምርቶቻቸውን ለአገር ወስጥ ጠባብ ገበያ ካልሆነ

በቀር ወደ ውጭ አገር ልከው በተወዳዳሪነት በዓለም ገበያ መሳተፍ የሚችሉ አይመስሉም። ምርቶቻቸውን ለውጭ ገበያ በተወዳዳሪነት ለማቅረብ የሚያስችል ተስማሚ ቴክኖሎጂና ባለሙያ እምብዛም አይጠቀሙም ። ሁለተኛ የገጠሩ ኢኮኖሚ የጫጫ በመሆኑና አብዛኛው የገጠር ሕዝብም ለፍጆታ የሚያውለው በቀ ገቢ ስለሌለው የኢንዱስትሪ ሸቀጦችን የመግዛት እቅድ አነስተኛ ነው። በመሆኑም ለኢንዱስትሪ ሸቀጦች ሽያጭ የአገር ውስጥ ገበያ ጠባብ ሆኖ ይገኛል። ይህን ብሎ በዚህ ጠባብ ገበያ ውስጥ ከውጭ በርካሽ የሚገቡ ሸቀጦችን ያገር ውስጥ ምርትን ከውድድር ውጭ በማድረግ ገበያ እያሳጡት ነው። ስለዚህ ዛሬ በኢኮኖሚ የገፋ አገሮች ገና እንደሆኑ በማደግ ላይ በነበሩበት ወቅት እንደደረጉት ሁሉ ጨቅላ ኢንዱስትሪዎቻችንን ከገቢ ሸቀጦች ውድድር መከላከል ስለማስፈለጉ መወሰን ይኖርብናል።

የኢንዱስትሪው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ የሚጠቀምበት ቴክኖሎጂ የሥራ ዕድል የሚፈጥር ሆኖ አልተገኘም። አንድ ኢንቨስተር ዓላማው ትርፍ የሚያስገኝ ተከናዎኛና ጥቂት የሰው ጳይል በመጠቀም ምርትና አገልግሎትን ለገበያ ማቅረብን እንጂ የሥራ ዕድል የመፍጠር ግዴታ የለበትም። በሌላ በኩል ኢንቨስትመንት ከትርፍ ሌላ የሥራ ዕድል በመፍጠር ላይ እንዲያተኩር ለማድረግ የሚያስችል የሥራ ስምሪት ፖሊሲና ፕሮግራም የለም። ቢኖርም ተግባራዊነቱ የኢንቨስተሮችን ትብብር የሚጠይቅ ይሆናል። የቴክኖሎጂው ይዘት የሥራ ዕድል የተፈለገውን ያህል የማይፈጥር ከሆነ የሥራ አጠቃቀም አይቀንስም ማለት ነው። ቀደም ሲል እንደ ተጠቀሰው ሥራ አጥነት በሠራተኛው ክፍል ላይ የተገኘነት ጫና ስለሚያስከትልበት ከመሠረታዊ ዕቃዎችና አገልግሎቶች ውጭ የኢንዱስትሪ ውጤቶችን የመግዛት እቅድን ይጫነዋል። ይህም በሽያጭ ማነስና በገበያ ዕጠት ምክንያት ያምራች ድርጅቶችን የመስፋፋት ዕድል ይቀንሳል። የሥራ ዕድል የመፍጠር ችሎታም አይኖራቸውም። የሥራ ዕድል ካልተፈጠረ ደግሞ ገቢ አይኖርም፤ ሸቀጥ መግዛትም አይቻልም። እንዲህ እያለ አንዱ ባንዱ ላይ ተዕለኛ በማሳደር አዙሪት ቀለበት ውስጥ ይገባል። እዚህ ላይ ጥያቄው ይህ ያዙሪት ቀለበት እንዴት ይበጠሳል? የሚለው ነው።

የኢኮኖሚና ማህበራዊ ሁኔታዎች ከሥራ አጥነት ጋር ያላቸው ዝምድና ቀደም ሲል እንዳየነው

ፈርጀ ብዙ ነው። በአገራችን ከከፍተኛና መለስተኛ የትምህርት ተቋማት በየጊዜው እየተመረቁ ወደ ሥራ ዓለም የሚቀርቡት ምሩቃን በዘመናዊ ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ ውስጥ በተማሩት ትምህርት ሥራ ለማግኘት አልቻሉም። በመሆኑም የተማሩ ሥራ አጠኝ መበራከት ጀምረዋል።

ይህ ሁኔታ ያገራቱን የትምህርትና የሥልጠና ሥርዓት ተግባራዊነቱን ጥያቄ ውስጥ የሚያስገባ ነው። በእርግጥ ሥርዓተ ትምህርቱ በተለይ ከገጠሩ ሁኔታ ጋር ተጣጥሞ የተዘጋጀ ቢሆንም በተግባር ወጣቱን ገጠሬ በግብርና ሥራ እንዲጠመድ የማድረግ ጳይል ያለው አይመስልም። በሚኖርበት የገጠር አካባቢ በሚያስፈልገው ሙያ ሁሉ የገጠሩ ወጣት በበቂ መጠን ከህሎት እንዲያገኝ ለማድረግ ደግሞ ያገራቱ የጭጅት እቅድ የሚችለው ሆኖ አልተገኘም። ከዚህ በተጨማሪ የገጠሩ ያነሱተኛና የመለስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪ ዘርፍ በቂ ኢንቨስትመንት ሳይደረግበት የኢኮኖሚና ማህበራዊ መሠረተ ልማቶች በስፋት ሳይዘረጉለት ወጣቱን ገጠሬ በምን ተአምር ባካባቢው ለማቆየት እንደሚቻል ግልጽ አይደለም።

በአሁኑ ጊዜ የምናየው የሥራ አጥነት ችግር ባለፉት ሥርዓቶች የተወጠኑ ፖሊሲዎችና ፕሮግራሞች የረዥም ጊዜ ውጤት መሆኑ ይታወቃል። እነዚህ የኢኮኖሚ ፖሊሲዎች በምርት ሂደት ካፒታልን በብዛት መጠቀም የሚያስችሉ በመሆናቸው የሥራ ዕድል የመፍጠርን ሥልት ያካተቱ ሳይሆን፤ የሥራ መፍጠርን ሁኔታ በርገራዥ ውጤትነት የሚጠበቅ አድርገውታል። ባለፉት አሥርተ ዓመታት የብር የውጭ ምንዛሪ ዋጋ ከፍተኛ መሆንና እንዲሁም ለብድር የሚከፈል ወለድ አነስተኛ መሆን ኢንዱስትሪዎችና የመንግሥት እርሻዎች እንዲሁም የኮንስትራክሽን ተቋሞች መሣሪያዎችን በርካሽ ዋጋ ወደ አገር ውስጥ ማስገባት እንዲችሉ አድርጓቸዋል። ከቅርብ ዓመታትም ወዲህ የወጡ የኢንቨስትመንት ማበረታቻ ሕጎች የማምረቻ መሣሪያዎችና የሙሉ ለዋውጫ ዕቃዎችን ከቀረጥ ነፃ ማስገባትና የመሳሰሉትን ማበረታቻዎች ስለሚሰጡ የማምረቻ መሣሪያን ርካሽ ያደርጉታል። ውጤቱ ከሰው ጉልበት ይልቅ በነዚህ መሣሪያዎች ይበልጥ መጠቀም ነው። በዘመናዊ ማምረቻዎች ባግባቡ ለመጠቀም ያህል ጥቂት የሠለጠነ የሰው

ኋይል በከፍተኛ ደመወዝ መቅጠር አስፈላጊና የተለመደ ነው። ይህ ከፍተኛ የደመወዝ ክፍያ ደግሞ የገጠናን ወጣት በሚያሳስት መልኩ ወደ ከተማ እንዲሳብ ያደርገዋል።

በእርግጥ ከሰው ጉልበት ይልቅ በዘመናዊ የማምረቻ መሣሪያዎች መጠቀም ምርትንና ምርታማነትን ያሳድጋል ወጪንም ይቀንሳል። ይሁን እንጂ የሥራ ዕድል ለጥቂት ባለሙያዎች ካልሆነ በቀር ለሌሎች ሠራተኞች ብዙም አይፈጠርላቸውም። እንቪስተርም ቢሆን በሰው ኋይል ከመጠቀም በዘመናዊ ቴክኖሎጂ መጠቀምን ይመርጣል፤ ምክንያቱም በሰው ኋይል ቢጠቀም የሠራተኛው በማህበር የመደራጀት መብት፣ የህብረት ስምምነት የመደራደር፣ ሥራ የማቆምና የመሳሰሉት እርምጃዎች የሚያሰከትሉበት ወጪ ከግምቱ ውጭ ስለሚሆንበት ነው። በዚህ ረገድ ከሰው ጉልበት ወጪ ይልቅ የመሣሪያዎች ወጪ በግልጽ ይታወቃል።

ዘመናዊ ቴክኖሎጂ በሚጠቀሙ እንዳስትረዎች ውስጥ የሚገኙ ሥራ መሪዎችና ከፍተኛ ባለሙያዎች የሚያገኙት ከፍያ ከፍተኛ በመሆኑ በአገር ውስጥ ምርት ከመጠቀም ይልቅ ከውጭ አገር በውጭ ምንዛሪ ተገዝተው የመጡ ሸቀጦችን ለዕለት ፍጆታቸው ሲጠቀሙ ይታያሉ። ይህ ድርጊት የውጭ ምንዛሪን ከማባከን በተጨማሪ በአርአያነቱ የአገር ውስጥ ገበያን ይጫነዋል። በአገር ውስጥ የተመረቱ ምርቶች በገበያ ያላቸው ተፈላጊነት ሊቀንስ ይችላል። የገበያ ተፈላጊነት ሲቀንስ ደግሞ ምርት ይከማቻል፤ በዚህም ምክንያት የምርት እንቅስቃሴ ስለሚገታ ሠራተኛ አለሥራ ሊቀመጥ ወይም ከሥራ ሊቀንስ ይችላል።

ከዚህ ቀደም ይታሰብ እንደነበረው ሳይሆን፣ የአገር ውስጥ ካፒታል ክምችት በጥቂት ሰዎች እጅ ሲገባ ለቀጠባና ኢንቨስትመንት አስተዋጽዖ ማድረግ አጠራጣሪ ሆኗል። እንቪስተሩ ያገኘውን ትርፍ አሟጦ በውጭ ምንዛሪ ወደ ሌላ አገር ያስተላልፈዋል። ተራራ ገንዘብ ቢኖረውም እንኳ በውጭ አገር የሥራ ጉብኝትና ሽርሽር እንዲሁም ከውጭ አገር በመጡ ሸቀጣሽቀጦችና መዝናኛዎች ላይ ያውለዋል። ስለዚህ ኢንቪስተሩ በተለይም የውጭ ኢንቪስተር ከትርፍ ባሻገር ድርጅቱን የማስፋፋት ዝንባሌ አይኖረውም፤ ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድልም አይፈጠርም።

በሌላ በኩል ባለፉት ዓመታት መንግሥት ኢኮኖሚውን ለማሳደግና የተወዳዳሪነትን ችሎታ ለማጠናከር በሚል የኢኮኖሚ ተሃድሶ ፕሮግራም ዘርግቶ እንደነበር ይታወሳል። በዚህ የተሃድሶ ፕሮግራም ቢኮከራሲውን ለማቀጠፍ መንግሥታዊ የማምረቻና ያገልግሎት መስጫ ድርጅቶችን ለማስተካከልና ምርታማነታቸውን ለማሳደግ እርምጃዎች ወስዷል። ከነዚህ እርምጃዎች ውስጥ እንዲያላቸው የኢኮኖሚና የኢ-ስተዳደር ተቋሞች የነበረባቸውን የሰው ኋይል ጫና ማቃለል ነበር። ከዚህም በኋላ መንግሥታዊ ድርጅቶች ተስተካክለው ብቃት እንዲያገኙ ወይም በሽያጭ ወደ ግል ይዞታ እንዲሠሩ ተደርጓል። የዚህ ዐይነቱ ፕሮግራምና አፈጻጸሙ አዲስና እንግዳ በመሆኑ በብዙ የአገሪቱ ዜጎች ላይ ጉዳት ማድረሱ ይወሳል። ከሌሎቹ የጠረታ ዕድሜያቸው ሳይደርስ በጠረታ እንዲገለሉ፣ ወይም ከሥራ እንዲሰናበቱ፣ ያንዳንድ ድርጅት ሠራተኞች ደግሞ ተደራጅተው በመንግሥት ድጋፍ ሥራቸውን በራሳቸው ማኒጅመንት እንዲቀጥሉ ተደርገዋል። ይሁን እንጂ የዚህ ዐይነቱ እርምጃ ብዙ ሠራተኞችን ከሥራ አፈናቅሏል።

የመንግሥት ድርጅቶች በሽያጭ ወደ ግል ይዞታ በመዛወራቸው ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል ባይፈጠርም ነባር ሠራተኞችን ከመንግሥት ሠራተኛነት ወደ ግል ድርጅት ሠራተኛነት ቀይሯቸዋል። የግል ባለሀብቱ ከገዛው ድርጅት የሚጠብቀውን ምርታማነትና ትርፍ ማግኘቱን ካላረጋገጠ ሠራተኛውን ለመቀነስ የሚገታው ኋይል ያለ አይመስልም። አዲሱ አሠሪ ሠራተኛን የመቅጠርም ሆነ የማባረር ነፃነት አለው። በመሆኑም ያልተስማማውን ሠራተኛ ባባረረ ቁጥር የሥራ አጡን ቁጥር መጨመሩ ሳይሰማው ይችላል። ለዚህ ችግር በመፍትሄነት የሚጠቆመው ከድርጅቶች ሽያጭ በሚያገኘው ገቢ መንግሥት የመሠረተ ልማትና ቁልፍ የኢኮኖሚ ተቋማትን በማስፋፋት የሥራ ዕድል እንዲፈጠር ማድረግ ነው።

ከሥራ የተባረረ የቤተሰብ ኃላፊ የመኖር ተስፋው ምንድነው? በእርሱ ገቢ የሚተማመኑ ሥራ ያጡ ጥገኞቹ፣ ልጆቹና አረጋውያን ቤተሰቦቹ ምን ዐይነት ዕድል ይጠበቃቸዋል? ከመደበኛ ሥራ የተባረረ ሠራተኛ መደበኛ ባልሆነ በኢንፎርማሽን የኢኮኖሚ ዘርፍ ለመሠማራትስ አእምሮአዊና ሞራላዊ ዘግጅት ይኖረዋል?

ማጠቃለያና የመፍትሔ ሀሳብ

የሥራ አጥነት ችግር የሚመነጨው ከብዙ ውስብስብ መንስዔዎች ሲሆን እነዚህም በሰው ኃይል አቅርቦት እንግርና በኢኮኖሚው የሰው-ተኛው ፍላጎት እንጂ የሚታዩ ናቸው። በአቅርቦት በኩል የሕዝብ ብዛትና እድገት ከፍተኛ በመሆኑ ወደ ሥራ ዓለም የሚቀርበው የሰው ኃይል ቁጥር ጨምሮ ይገኛል። ከትምህርት ተቋማትም የሚወጣው የሠላጠነ ባለሙያ መጠንም በማሻቀብ ላይ ነው። ከገጠር ወደ ከተማ የሚፈለሰውም ሥራ ፈላጊ በከተማ ውስጥ በግልፅ ሥራ አጥነት የሚገኘውን ሕዝብ ቁጥር እጅግ ጨምሮታል። ባንጻፍ የኢኮኖሚው የሰው ኃይል ፍላጎት ሲታይ፣ የኢኮኖሚው ፀቅም ውስጥ በመሆኑ ቁጥሩ እያደገ ለመጣው ሥራ ፈላጊ ሁሉ የሥራ ዕድል ለመፍጠር የሚችል ሆኖ አልተገኘም ብሎ መደምደም ይቻላል።

የዘመናዊው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ በከፍተኛ ቴክኖሎጂ የሚጠቀም በመሆኑ አብዛኛውን ሥራ ፈላጊ ለመቅጠር አልቻለም። የቴክኖሎጂው አጠቃቀም ሠራተኛን በብዛት በሥራ ለማሰማራት በሚያስችል መልኩ እንዲመራ የሚያደርግ የሥራ ስምሪት ፖሊሲ ማውጣትና ተግባራዊ ማድረግ ያስፈልጋል። ለተግባራዊነቱም የሚመለከታቸው አካላት እንዲሰተኩሩና ሠራተኞች ሙሉ ተሳትፎ እንዲያደርጉ ያስፈልጋል።

መደበኛ ሥራ ፈልገው ያጡ ሠራተኞች መደበኛ ባልሆነ የኢኮኖሚው ዘርፍ ተሰማርተው ከተገኙ ከመንግሥት ልዩ ድጋፍ እንዲሰጣቸው በማድረግ ወደ መደበኛና ሕጋዊ ሠርቶ አዳሪነት እንዲቀየሩ ማድረግ ይገባል። ሠራተኞችን በሕጋዊ አግባብ ለማደራጀትና የዜግነት መብትና ግዴታቸውን ለማስከበር የሚያስችል የፖሊሲዎች ቅንጅት ወሳኝነት አለው። ይህ ቅንጅት የቦታ፣ የቤት፣ የንግድ፣ የጤና፣ የባንክ ብድር፣ የቴክኖሎጂ ሽግግር፣ የገጠር እንዲሁም የማስፋፋት፣ የማበረታቻ ዘዴዎችንና የመሳሰሉትን ፖሊሲዎችን ማጣጣም የሚጠይቅ ነው። ይህ መጠነ ሰፊ እርምጃ እስኪወሰድ ግን በሽግግሩ ወቅት መደበኛ ባልሆነ ሥራ የተሰማሩ ሰዎችን መመዝገብ፣ ማበረታታትና ሕጋዊ ድጋፍ መስጠት ያስፈልጋል። ለዚህም አግባብ ያለው መንግሥታዊ ተቋም ኃላፊነት እንዲወስድ ማድረግ አስፈላጊ ይሆናል።

ከገጠር ወደ ከተማ የሚፈለሰው ሥራ ፈላጊ በከተማ ውስጥ የሚታዩትን ግልፅ ሥራ አጥነት እያባባሰው ሂደት። በገጠሩ ውስጥ አብዛኛው ሕዝብ ተሰማርቶ የሚገኝበት የግብርናው ክፍለ ኢኮኖሚ የማምረቻ መሣሪያ ኋላቀር በመሆኑ ምርታማነቱ ያነሰ የገበሬውም የነፍስወኪና ገቢ ዝቅተኛ ሆኖ የተገኘበት ነው። ከዚህ ሌላ በተፈጥሮ አየር ንብረት መሣባትና በድርቅ ምክንያት ገበሬው ለራህብ የተጋለጠ ከመሆኑ ሌላ በግብርና ሥራ የመተዳደር ተስፋው እየተመናመነ ስለመጣ ወደ ከተማ ለመፍለስ ይገደዳል። ይህም የከተማውን ግልፅ ሥራ አጥነት አባብሶት ይገኛል። በዚህ ምክንያት የከተማ ወስጥ ድህነት ተንስራፍቶ ይታያል። ሳይወዱ ተገደው በልመና መመሥገራት፣ በጥላስቲክ ቤቶች መጠለል፣ በዘመት አዳሪነትና በስርቆት ተደግቦ መመሥገራትና የመሳሰሉት አስከሬ ሁኔታዎች ውስጥ ዜጎቻችንን ግግኝት እየተለመደ መጥቷል። ከገጠር ወደ ከተማ በመፍለስ ገጠሬው ሕዝብ ላስከፈ ኑሮ እንዳይጋለጥ ከመጀመሪያው ጀምሮ የገጠሩ አካባቢ ለኑሮ አመች እንዲሆን ማድረግ አስፈላጊ ነው።

ገጠሩን ማዕከል ባደረገው የመንግሥት የልማት ስትራቴጂ መሠረት በገጠር ውስጥ ከግብርና ሥራ ሌላ ወጣቱ የሚሰማራበትን ልዩ ልዩ የሥራ መስክ መፍጠርና ማስፋፋት ያስፈልጋል። የገጠር የጎጆ እንዲሁም የግሮ እንዲሁም ለሰውነት ለሰውነት እንዲቋቋሙ፣ እንዲጠናከሩና እንዲስፋፋ በማድረግ ላካባቢው ሥራ ፈላጊ የሥራ ዕድል መፍጠር ያስፈልጋል። ይህም የገጠር ልማቱ ባነስተኛ እንዲሁም ለሰውነት ለሰውነት በግብርና ትስስርና ተመጋጋቢነት ላይ የተመሠረተ ሊሆን ይገባል። በዚህ መልክ የገጠሩ የሥራ ስምሪት ሲስፋፋ የሕዝቡ ገቢ ያድጋል፣ የእንዲሁም የፍጆታ ሸተኞችን የመግዛት አቅሙ ይጠናከራል። ያገር ውስጥ ገበያ ሲስፋፋ ያምራች ድርጅቶች ብዛት ይጨምራል፣ የሥራ ዕድልም ይፈጠራል። ይሁን እንጂ የማምረቻ ቴክኖሎጂው የሥራ ዕድል የሚፈጥር እንዲሆን መንግሥት የቴክኖሎጂ ፖሊሲ ማውጣትና ተገቢውን ክትትል ማድረግ ይኖርበታል። አንጨስተኞችም እንዲተባበሩ ሥልጣት መቀየስ ያስፈልገዋል።

ከምርትና አገልግሎት የሚገኘውን ትርፋት-ርፍ ለድርጅቶች ማስፋፈያና ማጠናከሪያ ማዋል

ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል ይፈጥራል። ይህ ደግሞ ሥልጣን የሚጠይቅ ጉዳይ ሲሆን የኢንቨስተሮችን ትብብር የሚሻ ነው። ማንኛውም ኢንቨስትመንት ከትርፍ ባሻገር ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል እንዲፈጥር ለማድረግ የሚያስችል ፖሊሲ ማውጣት ካልበን የሥራ አጥነት ችግር እኳያ ትክክል ሊሆን ይችላል። የሥራ ዕድል ሲፈጠር አዲስ ዝቢን በማስገኘት የሸቀጥ ፍጆታን የሳድጋል፣ በዚህም አምራች ድርጅቶች ይሰፋሉ። ኢንቨስትመንቱም ውጤታማ ይሆናል ማለት ነው።

ለወጣቱ የሚሰጠው ትምህርት የግል ሥራውን ራሱ ፈጥሮ በምርት ተግባር እንዲሰማራ አላደረገውም። ሥርዐተ ትምህርቱ በተለይ ከገጠኑ ሁኔታ ጋር የተጣጣመ ቢሆንም ወጣቱን በግብርና ሥራ ላይ እንዲሰማራና በገጠር እንዲቆይ ፍላጎት አላሳደረበትም። በገጠር እንዲኖርም ሊያስገድደው አይችልም። የገጠኑን ወጣት በአካባቢው ለማቆየት በገጠኑ የኢኮኖሚና ማህበራዊ መሠረተ ልማቶች በስፋት እንዲዘረጉ፣ የገጠር አነስተኛና መለስተኛ ኢንዱስትሪ ውስጥ የግል ኢንቨስትመንት እንዲበረታታና እንዲሰፋሉ ያስፈልጋል። ይህም ሲሆን የሥራ ስምረትን በሚያስፋሉ ሥልጣን መታጀብ ይኖርበታል።

አንድ ኢንቨስተር የሰው ኃይል ከመጠቀም ይልቅ ዘመናዊ ቴክኖሎጂን የሚጠቀመው በሁኔታዎች እየተገደደ ነው። ቀደም ብሎ እንደተጠቀሰው የኢንቨስተሩ ግብ ትርፍ ማግኘት በመሆኑ ሠራተኛው በማንበር ተደራጅቶ ያልተጠበቀ ወጪ ስለሚያስከትልበት የተሻለ ምርጫው በማምረቻ መሣሪያ መጠቀም ነው። ይህን እንጂ ቴክኖሎጂውን መጠቀም ባልተመቻቸበት ሁኔታ ደግሞ ሥራው መካሄድ ያለበት በሰው ኃይል በመሆኑ የምርቱ ሂደት ብዙ ወጣ ውረድ ያለበት ነው።

ሠራተኛውም በበኩሉ በሚሠራበት ድርጅት ውስጥ በሚገኙ ክፍት የሥራ ቦታዎች ላይ ሥራ ያጡ ባለሙያዎች ከገበያ እንዳይቀጠሩ በነበረት ስምምነት ይከላከላል። ክፍት የሥራ ቦታዎች ከውስጥ ባሉ ሠራተኞች በዕድገት ሰበብ ከላይ እስከታች በተዋረድ ይሞላሉ። በዚህም አሠራር ክፍት የሥራ ቦታዎች ዝቅተኛ ሙያ ባላቸው የውስጥ ሠራተኞች በዕድገት ከተሞሉ በኋላ ያደጉት ሠራተኞች የለቀቋቸው ዝቅተኛ

የሥራ ቦታዎች ለአዲስ ሥራ ፈላጊዎች ይተዋሉ። የተማሩ ሥራ ፈላጊዎች ሌላ አማራጭ ከማጣት የተነሳ ከፍተኛ ዕውቀትና ሙያ በማይጠይቁ ሥራዎች ላይ ባነስተኛ ደመወዝ ለመቀጠር ይገደዳሉ። ይህ በማንበር የተደራጁ ሠራተኞች በድርጅታቸው በሚፈጠሩ ክፍት የሥራ መደቦች ሁሉ ሥራ ፈላጊ ባለሙያዎች እንዳይቀጠሩ የሚያደርጉት ገደብ የተማሩ ሥራ አጠቃላይ ቁጥር ያሳድጋል። የድርጅትን ምርታማነት ይቀንሳል። ህልውናውንም ይፈታተናል። ስለዚህ በገብርት ስምምነት ውስጥ ተገቢ ያልሆነ የዕድገት አሰጣጥ ሊታረም ይገባል።

ኢንቨስተሮች የሠራተኛው ምርታማነት በማደግ ምክንያት የድርጅታቸው ትርፍማነት ቢያደግ ከትርፍ የተወሰነውን ለድርጅታቸው ማስፋፊያ እንዲያውሉ ቢደረግ የሥራ ዕድል ይፈጠራል። ይህን እንጂ ኢንቨስተር በተለይ የውጭ ዜጋ ድርጅቱን ከማስፋፋት ይልቅ ትርፍን ወደ አገሩ ያሸሸዋል። ወይም በትንጠት ፍጆታ ሊያበክነው ይችላል። ሙዘቱም ነው። ስለዚህ አንድ ኢንቨስተር ከትርፍ ማጋበስ ባሻገር ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል እንዲፈጥር የማግባቢያ ሥልጣን መቀየስ ካልብን የሥራ አጥነት ችግር እኳያ ተገቢ ይሆናል።

መንግሥት በኢኮኖሚ ተሃድሶ ፕሮግራሙ የድርጅቶችን ተወዳዳሪነትን፣ ምርታማነትንና ትርፍማነትን ለማሳደግ ከወሰዳቸው እርምጃዎች አንዱ ድርጅቶች የነበረባቸውን የሠራተኛ ሽኩቻ ማራገፍ ነበር። ከዚያም አልፎ ድርጅቶቹን በሽያጭ ለግል ድርጅቶች እንዲተላለፉ አድርጓል። ይህ የባለቤትነት ይዘታ መተላለፍ ለኢኮኖሚው ተጨማሪ ኢንቨስትመንት የሚያመጣ ሳይሆን ያለውን ይዞ መቀጠል ብቻ ነበር ውጤቱ። የይዘታ ባለቤትነት ለውጡ የሠራተኛውን የሥራ ዋስትና ከሚያናጋ በቀር የፈጠረው ተጨማሪ የሥራ ዕድል ነበር ለማለት አያስደፍርም። እነዚህ በተሀድሶ ፕሮግራሙ አፈፃፀም ሂደት ያጋጠሙ ችግሮች ሊታረሙ ይገባል። ■

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