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Sociological and Anthropological Training in Ethiopia

Introduction

Formal training in sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia has a relatively long history, having commenced under the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) established in 1951.² In this relatively long period of time, training in sociology and social anthropology has passed through many stages. Courses in the two related disciplines have been offered in various forms being packaged in one undergraduate programme. The organisational structure within which undergraduate level training in sociology and social anthropology is placed has mutated and assumed a number of forms that were accompanied by successive revisions of curriculum. For these reasons, the paper offers a brief overview of the evolution and development of sociological and anthropological training in Ethiopia over the last 55 years before moving on to discuss current programmes and activities.

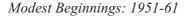
The Evolution and Development of Sociological and Anthropological Training

The teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia began and developed within the auspices of the Addis Ababa University (AAU) system going through five distinct phases of (i) 'Modest beginnings: 1951-61', (ii) 'Formative years: 1962-73', (iii) 'Interregnum: 1974-77', (iv) 'Struggle for survival and revival: 1978-89', and (v) 'Expansion and development: 1990 to present'. In passing through these phases it has on occasion changed its structure, its curricula, and even its appellation - from Department of Sociology and Anthropology, to Department of Applied Sociology, then to Department of Sociology and Social Administration, and finally to the current Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Although the route was at times rough and reversals were not unknown, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology has steadily progressed from being offered as a sub-component of a freshman introductory course in the 1950s to its present standing in which it is handled by a joint sociology and social anthropology undergraduate programme, a minor programme in sociology, and two separate MA programmes – one in social anthropology and the other in sociology (the latter due to start in September/October 2006).









The University College of Addis Ababa consisted of two faculties: science and arts. Students of the Faculty of Arts were given a kind of generalist education covering the subjects of history, geography, economics, philosophy, and sociology; and only in their final years were students permitted to specialise in disciplines of their choice. Students at UCAA received an average of two hours of sociology per week during their freshman year.

An interesting development as regards the evolution of training in sociology and social anthropology during the UCAA days was the foundation of the Ethnographic Society. The Society encouraged its member students to collect ethnographic materials on various subjects when they travelled back to their place of origin during their summer break, and published their findings in its bulletin—the *Ethnographic Bulletin*. The articles appearing in the *Bulletin* were of such a high standard that they have stood the test of time to the extent that the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Social Anthropologists (ESSSWA) has found it worth reprinting all of its numbers (Pankhurst, 2002).

Formative Years: 1962-733

The year 1962, the time of the founding of the Haile Selassie I University that replaced the UCAA, represented a watershed in the development of the teaching of sociology and social anthropology, as it probably did for many other disciplines. The true birth of sociology as an independent discipline within the Ethiopian tertiary education system can be traced to this period at the beginning of which it acquired institutional recognition in the form a separate department. The newly reorganised Faculty of Arts of the new University was made to consist of five separate departments, one of which was the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

The establishment of the Department, over and above giving impetus to the teaching of the disciplines on the basis of a coherent syllabus, provided the opportunity and the forum for thinking through the direction that the teaching of the two interrelated disciplines ought to take in Ethiopia. The available information indicates that the decision of the founding fathers of the Department – Georges Savard and William Schack, in particular – was motivated by their belief that social anthropology is the sociology of African societies, as well as practical considerations of available manpower and resources. The reasoning that social anthropology would focus more on the study of the traditional, whereas sociology would take care of the study of the developing modern sector such as the urban-industrial nexus, and that they would share the middle ground to the study of which they would each bring their peculiar approaches and methods, appears to be justified. It has allowed for interdisciplinary synergy without diluting the disciplinary boundaries of sociology and social anthropology, as testified by later developments.





In its twelve years of existence, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology offered only a minor programme in sociology for students majoring in other social science disciplines, in addition to teaching faculty-wide common course, namely, 'Introduction to Sociology' and a few other service courses. However, the hopes of starting a full-fledged degree programme were kept alive, and by 1972, a curriculum for such a programme was readied although its approval and ultimate launching were overtaken by the revolutionary events of 1973-74 and the consequent closure of the University for some three years.

Interregnum: 1974-77

The University was closed in 1974 and remained so for all practical purposes until the academic year 1976/77, all students and the Ethiopian staff having been shipped off, mostly to the rural areas, on the 'Development Through Cooperation Campaign' that officially lasted until the summer of 1976. Although the University was formally reopened in 1976/77, the normal conduct of its activities did not resume until the academic year 1977/78.

In spite of the suspension of teaching at the University, some tangible achievements were made during this interim period. Expatriate members of the Department were set to work on the development of teaching materials and the finalisation of the curriculum for a fully-fledged sociology and anthropology major undergraduate programme.

After going through the appropriate University approval mechanisms, this curriculum briefly went into effect upon the resumption of teaching in 1976/77. It was however abandoned after it was used in the training of only a single batch (with the fortuitous number of thirteen!), and replaced by the curriculum of the Applied Sociology programme that is discussed in the section that follows.

Struggle for Survival, and Revival: 1978-89

With the consolidation of the revolution in the late-1970s, Marxism-Leninism became the official ideology of Ethiopian society. Under these circumstances, it was only a matter of time before the only University in the land, the single most important centre of higher learning, was brought in line with the new ideological orientation. Consequently, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology became a target for an overhaul because of its presumed redundancy in the light of Marxist dialectical and historical materialism that were to be taught by the Department of Philosophy. The School of Social Work was found equally dispensable since it was perceived to be an instrument of bourgeois reformism by those in power.

Thus, in 1978 following the University-wide organisational restructuring, the College of Social Sciences was set up replacing the old Faculty of Arts, the Business School, and the School of Social Work. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the School of Social Work were presented with a *fait accompli* merger into a single unit called Department of Applied Sociology.







The staffs of the two units grudgingly accepted the decision and began to work together in the new unit in order to save the integrity of their respective disciplines – albeit under difficult circumstances.

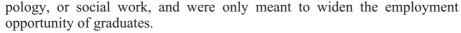
Most probably, the important achievement of this period lies in the fact that the teaching of sociology and social anthropology was kept afloat. Considering the political and ideological climate of the 1970s and 1980s the mere continuation of the teaching of the two related disciplines was a success in itself. We can now look back to the period and appreciate both the seriousness of the danger that was looming as well as the appropriateness of the decision by the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the School of Social Work to accept and make the best of the uneasy merger. By being flexible and allowing the merger of the two units to materialise they avoided a crisis that could as well have led to the vanishing of sociology/social anthropology as disciplines from Ethiopian educational scene.

The merger of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology with the School of Social Work in the newly created Department of Applied Sociology had the additional unintended benefit of bringing together the very few sociologists and social anthropologist that were split between the two units into a teaching team of a minimum working size. After the mass departure of almost all expatriate and many national staff in the wake of the revolution, AAU found itself in a deep crisis on account of a shortage of teachers. While some departments partially overcame their staff shortages by launching their respective graduate programmes, such a possibility was not available for the Department of Applied Sociology that was struggling to keep going its BA programme that was itself too new. Thus in the mid-1980s the Department had no more than seven full-time instructors at any one time, of which only two to three had PhD-level training.

The curriculum of the Department of Applied Sociology had four major shortcomings that became clear shortly after it went into effect (Seyoum G. Selassie and Yeraswork Admassie, 1989). Firstly, it was heavily loaded with redundant courses such as 'Marxist Sociology' and 'Marxian Anthropology' that were simply imposed upon the Department and whose contents were already covered by four freshman course ('Political Economy of Capitalism', 'Political Economy of Socialism', Dialectical Materialism', and 'Historical Materialism'). Secondly, some of its courses lacked coherence since topics that deserved to be offered in one course were compartmentalised into different courses. Thirdly, it lacked balance in that some social institutions and fields of sociology were given undue prominence, being made the subject matter of whole courses (such as 'Sociology of the Family' and 'Sociology of Law') while others (for instance, religion, education, and polity) were totally ignored. Finally, it included courses (such as 'Principles of Accounting I' and 'Principles of Accounting II') that were in no way related to sociology, social anthro-







In 1984, thanks to the relative relaxation of the political atmosphere, the staff of the Department revised the Applied Sociology curriculum and got it approved together with a commensurate name change for the Department – the Department of Sociology and Social Administration. The introduction of the new curriculum was a significant step forward in the relentless attempt to maintain the integrity of the Department as an academic institution that kept a delicate balance between science and application, social theory and social research, as well as between giving students for whom the BA degree is terminal practically relevant education and providing a good grounding in science of society for promising students that are likely to continue with graduate education (Seyoum G. Selassie and Yeraswork Admassie, 1989).

The Sociology and Social Administration curriculum that addressed the limitations of its predecessor was sound enough that it continued to secure as the basis of the teaching of sociology, social anthropology, without any major changes until 2002. Yet, it was abundantly clear that it was not doing justice regarding the teaching of social work, for which it was still officially responsible. It was obvious that the three social work courses that made up part of the SoSA curriculum were too few to constitute any meaningful training in social work, except in name. Furthermore, the situation was getting even worse as the Department's competence to give training in social work was being progressively eroded together with its failure to replace its retiring social work educators. Thus, the situation was unsatisfactory to all concerned parties within and outside the Department, and it was only a matter of time before the social work question had to be dealt with the kind of radical solution it called for.

Expansion and Development: 1990 to Present

With the launching of a graduate programme in Social Anthropology in 1990, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia entered into an era of sustained development. A number of factors contributed to this epoch-making development, chief among which was the cooperative agreement with and the technical and financial support obtained from Norway's Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI). Yet, a push for the establishment of a graduate programme in social anthropology that came from government circles starting around 1987 has played a contributory role by making the University authorities amenable to the idea. This was in its turn motivated by the government's growing realisation of the need to systematically appraise social factors and take them into consideration in development intervention planning – a lesson that arrived on the back of the military-socialist regime's bitter disappointment with its *dirigiste* approach to development in the areas of state-farms, cooperatives, resettlement, and the like.







The launching of the MA programme in Social Anthropology and the cooperative agreement with CMI that has lasted over fifteen years and continues at present in the form of a research cooperation programme that has benefited not just teaching and research in social anthropology. It has directly and indirectly contributed towards the strengthening of the teaching of sociology in the joint undergraduate programme as well as to the preparations for the launching of the MA programme in sociology that has been successfully completed at the time of the writing of this paper. To this end, starting as early as 1997, the CMI rendered financial support towards the postgraduate training of six staff members in Western universities in sociology alone. So also, it has supported the department to acquire books and journals without which the launching of an MA programme in sociology would be impossible.

The establishment of the MA programme in Social Anthropology in 1990 signalled a definitive turn in the academic orientation of the Department. As pointed out earlier, ever since the merger of the old Department of Sociology and Anthropology with the School of Social work in 1978, and up until the 1990s, the Department strove to make the best out of the difficult task of accommodating three disciplines within one undergraduate programme. In the 1970s and the 1980s, most of the instructors in the Department, particularly the senior ones, were sociologists and social anthropologists who had started their academic career in the old School of Social work. Then, together with the wide opportunity for the training of young academic staff in social anthropology that materialised following the launching of the MA programme, and with more and more of these MA holders immediately setting out to pursue their PhD-level training in social anthropology overseas, the centre of gravity started to shift in favour of social anthropology.

The Department was well aware of the skewed nature of the new development and the need to take timely measures to rectify it; and starting in 1997 it acted to that effect by devoting the remaining overseas scholarships at its disposal to the training of its young staff in sociology and social work. However, while the majority of those who went abroad to pursue training in the former returned home with MAs and PhDs to resume their teaching duty in the Department, those who were sent to Western countries for training in social work or social work-related sociology invariably chose not to return – obviously, African social workers were in demand in Western countries with sizeable African immigrant populations and the terms of employment of AAU were no match to the greener pastures of the West.

To make matters worse for the social work component, two of the most senior staff of the Department with social work background were retiring after decades of dedicated service, and one other was forced to leave the University altogether for political reasons. Furthermore, it was becoming almost impossible to even secure part-time instructors qualified to teach social work.





These developments culminated in the inevitable: the complete institutional separation of the teaching of sociology and social anthropology from that of social work. Thus in 2002, the Department revised the curriculum of its undergraduate programme to concentrate on the teaching of sociology and social anthropology: effectively, a double-major undergraduate programme in sociology and social anthropology. It also underlined the importance of the shift by accompanying it with a name change of the Department to properly reflect its new contents: the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (SOSA). Also, when in 2001 the Department was approached by the Jane Adams College from the USA with an offer of support to strengthen its social work component, it instead put forward a counter proposal in favour of reestablishing a separate and independent Graduate School of Social Work, which was realised in 2003 with the active involvement of the Department of SOSA. Thus, after sailing together through difficult times the teaching of sociology and anthropology and that of social work have parted their ways. Interestingly enough, however, cooperation continues, as the time has arrived for the Department of SOSA to pay back its debt to social work by continuing to provide the new Graduate School with instructors until such time as it is strong enough to stand on its own.

Current Programmes and Activities of the Department

Currently, the Department of SOSA runs both undergraduate and graduate programmes, offers a minor programme for other departments, gives services courses for different institutions largely within AAU, and participates in interdisciplinary teaching of postgraduate courses. As shown in Table 1, the Department's own programmes include an undergraduate degree in sociology and social anthropology offered to regular and evening students, a minor programme in sociology, and a postgraduate degree programme in social anthropology. As stated earlier, the Department has completed preparation to launch a graduate programme in sociology in September/October 2006.

Table 1: Number of Students by Programme, Academic Year 2005/06

			Number of Students		
Programmes		Male	Female	Total	
1	Undergraduate in sociology & social anthropology, regular	220	128	348	
2	Undergraduate in sociology & social anthropology, evening	225	291	516	
3	Minor (undergraduate) in sociology programme, regular	36	117	153	





4	Minor (undergraduate) in sociology programme, evening	345	108	453
5	Postgraduate in social anthropology, regular	94	10	104
6	Postgraduate in sociology, (to be admitted in Sept, 2006)	?	?	(10)*
Totals		920	654	1,574

^{*} Proposed size of intake, not included in the total.

Undergraduate Programmes: BA in Sociology and Social Anthropology, and Minor in Sociology

The Bachelor of Arts Programme in Sociology and Social Anthropology is based on a curriculum that was revised and approved in 2002 – the story is discussed under Section 1.5. The programme is a kind of a 'double-major' undergraduate programme that 'is inspired by the desire and commitment of the faculty to enable sociology and anthropology to play their rightful role in development processes and enable them to make significant contribution to nation building efforts'. It is guided by the general objective of providing 'a broad range of high quality courses that expose students to sociological and anthropological perspectives, leading to an understanding of our own as well as other societies and cultures' (Curriculum of the Bachelor of Arts Programme in Sociology and Social Anthropology, 2003: 2).

The core of the programme is made up of two courses on sociological theory, two method courses, eight courses on special fields of sociology, nine common sociology and anthropology courses, seven courses on anthropological theory and special fields of anthropology, four social policy and practice courses, five related courses offered by other departments, and finally, a senior essay.

The minor programme in sociology is a recent development that came into the picture in 2003 together with the rising popularity of sociology and anthropology that was in turn a reflection of the new demand for graduates of the Department. It is constituted of nine courses that include introductory courses on sociology and anthropology respectively, as well as courses on social institutions, sociological theories, research methods, rural and urban sociology, and gender, culture and society. It is presently offered to the regular and evening students of the Departments of Geography, History, and Philosophy, and many other Departments have also been filing requests for a minor in sociology largely with the view to make their graduates competitive on the job market. However, unlike other departments, the Department of SOSA does not seek minor programmes for its students because there is currently enough employment opportunity for its graduates, and the existing programme is like a 'double major' in sociology and social anthropology with no room to accommodate a third discipline.





The Department also offers undergraduate service courses to different programmes within AAU (such as the Faculty of Law and the Department of Community Health in the Medical Faculty) and the Ethiopian Police College. Some of the courses offered in these programmes include introduction to sociology, research methods, criminology and correctional administration, and medical anthropology. The Department also participates in teaching and supervising students of interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes. In this regard, some staff of SOSA offer courses for, and advise students of, several AAU institutions, such as the Regional and Local Development Studies (RLDS), the Demographic Training and Research Centre (DTRC), the Centre for Research and Training of Women in Development (CERTWID), the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), and the School of Social Work, the Department of Biology in the Science Faculty. Some of the postgraduate courses offered in these institutions include research methods, social development, and gender and development.

On a positive note, we should mention the progress that has been made towards closing the gender-gap in student enrolment. From the gender disaggregated data in Table 1, we can see that, currently, female students account for 49 and 37 percent of the total student population in the undergraduate Major and Minor Programmes respectively. The present situation shines in comparison with the horrendous gender imbalance of a few years back when female students made up less than ten percent of the student population. Obviously, the positive change is mainly due to the recent expansion in primary and secondary school coverage in general and the enrolment of girls in particular throughout the country. However, the attractiveness of sociology/anthropology to female candidates – both as disciplines and for the type of employment opportunity they create – must be playing a contributory role.

BA Senior Essay Research

The senior essays that students write during their final year in partial fulfilment for the requirement of a BA degree remains an important aspect of the undergraduate programme. Such has always been the case since the Department started a degree programme in the late 1970s. The senior essay continues to provide students with the opportunity to bring together and put to test in real life situations their newly acquired knowledge in social theory, special fields of sociology/anthropology, and research methods.

Until quite recently, the University administration which was in favour of centralised management did not allow departments to maintain their own libraries; and as the central libraries themselves were not capable of managing the masses of senior essays and theses produced every year, they stored only those that earned top grades, leaving the rest unattended. Unfortunately, for this and other reasons such as the high turnover rate of academic staff during the





same period, the Department's records on senior essays produced in the course of the last thirty years since the Department began running a BA degree programme are incomplete.

In spite of the incompleteness of the records, there is sufficient information to throw light on the kind of topics that were most commonly picked by students for their senior essays. A list of senior essay titles complied by a staff of the Department (Bulletin of the Founding Workshop Bulletin of ESSSWA, 1996) and updated for the purpose of this paper by the authors, indicates the existence of a number of interesting patterns in students' choice of research topic.

Table 2, which is based on the above mentioned list, reveals a number of interesting aspects of the topics on which students write their senior essays. Firstly, choice of senior essay topic is heavily skewed towards urban issues. The table that follows shows that four times as many senior essays were written on urban areas as on rural ones (70 percent: 17 percent). Moreover, three-quarters of the senior essays on urban areas concern Addis Ababa, the only big city in the country. Obviously, this is mainly due to the limited resources and time that are available to undergraduate students whose research is only rarely sponsored and supported by anybody else other than themselves and their families. However, the 'urban bias' of the students who are by and large from bigger or smaller towns themselves and therefore for whom urban issues have greater appeal, cannot to be discounted as a relevant factor in topic selection.

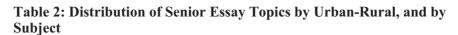
Table 2 also shows that the urban sector offers more varied topics for research making it more attractive to students who are beginners in social research. We should also add that this tilt in the direction of urban issues could very well be an indication of the emerging importance of urban centres in Ethiopian society and the growing relevance of urban studies within academia in general and sociology/social anthropology in particular.

A second pattern that leaps out of the table is the attraction that evaluative research commands among students. This could be due to the straightforward nature of evaluative research and because it is easy to have a clear direction and focus thanks to the project documents and the physical and social boundaries of the project for the study. The evaluation of projects and programmes, particularly those of interventions operated by NGOs, could also be sought for more pragmatic reasons such as acquiring knowledge of the NGO environment and establishing contact in the process with the ultimate aim of securing employment with that particular or similar organisation after graduation.

Third, not surprisingly, the study of HIV/AIDS, gender, and urban pathology of various sorts are popular among undergraduate students because of their currency in both academic and development circles, as well as for having a higher probability of being supported by the few sponsoring organisations in existence.







CLIDIFOT	URBAN	RURAL	GENE-	TOTAL
SUBJECT	AREAS	AREAS	RAL	
Project or Programme Evaluation	153	46	52	251
Health and HIV/ AIDS	122	6	15	143
Family and Marriage	76	43	21	140
Street Children, Prostitution, Begging, Alcohol, Drugs, and Crime	118	1	6	125
Associations	65	35	16	116
Education	80	3	15	98
Gender	53	23	13	89
Culture and Religion	23	31	16	70
Disability and Aging	47	2	9	58
Migration, Displacement, Resettlement, Refugees	35	19	4	58
Work and the Informal Sector	50	3	4	57
Children	40	0	6	46
Urbanisation	42	2	0	44
Housing, Slums, and Burial Grounds	42	0	0	42
Agriculture, Pastoralism, and Rural Development	2	16	2	20
Environment	15	1	1	17
Transport	8	1	0	9
Development	5	0	1	6
Other	36	8	11	55
Total Number	1,012	240	192	1,444
Percent of Total	70%	1%	13%	100%

Rural topics, on the other hand, are usually picked mostly by students coming from small towns and who make use of their inter-semester or summer vacations in their natal area to collect data on subjects related to the surrounding rural areas.

It ought to be noted, however, that in spite of their being subject to the same standard requirements in terms of size and substance, senior essays vary in their quality. Furthermore, there are worrying signals that their general standard is gradually declining, of late. There is probably very little that the Department







can do about this, as this is only an aspect and an expression of the prevailing trend towards poor quality tertiary education, which is itself a consequence of the declining quality of primary and secondary-level education as well as the huge and sudden increase in student intake and class-size. Nonetheless, it would be tragic if the Department is forced by circumstances that are beyond its control to abandon the senior essay as a requirement for a BA degree, considering the contribution it has made over the years and is likely to continue to make towards the production of a huge amount of sociological and ethnographic reference material, over and above providing a valuable training opportunity for prospective graduates working towards their first degree in sociology and social anthropology.

Masters Programme in Social Anthropology

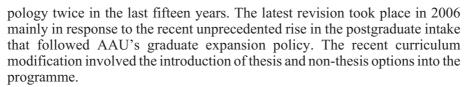
The MA programme in social anthropology at Addis Ababa University was established in 1990 following the 1988 cooperative agreement between the College of Social Sciences (on behalf of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) of Norway. Based on this agreement, the CMI provided generous technical and material assistance, including finance, books, computers, vehicles, and various equipments. Moreover, the Institute supported the human resource development of the Department of SOSA, in which staff members and some successful graduates of the MA programme in social anthropology were sent to Europe and the USA for doctoral studies. The 1988 agreement was renewed a couple of times and phased out in 2001/2002. As discussed later under the research and publication section of this paper, a new research collaboration agreement was signed between the Department of SOSA and the CMI in 2003 and this represents another chapter in the long-standing relationships between the two institutions.

The postgraduate programme in social anthropology aimed at establishing social anthropology as an academic discipline in Ethiopia by training professional socio-cultural anthropologists who are knowledgeable in theories and methods of anthropology, and who can undertake field studies, analyse quantitative and qualitative data, and write sound ethnographic reports. Such skills are crucial for understanding the diverse social, cultural, and economic systems in Ethiopia. The Department realises that to survive in today's world and to contribute to their country, students need appropriate skills, perspectives, and tools for practising anthropology. Therefore, special attention has been paid to the development of professional competence that would enable graduates take active part in the formulation, planning, and implementation of development projects and programmes.

With the objective of providing a wide range of high quality education that would meet the needs of students, employers, and the country at large, the Department has revised the curriculum of the MA programme in social anthro-







The courses offered in the programme emphasise developing competence in theoretical, methodological, and ethnographic analysis of social life. In all course offerings, special efforts are being made to relate presentations and discussions to African and Ethiopian realities. The first semester courses focus on lectures and extensive reading assignments, while emphasis is placed on seminars and student presentations on selected topics during the second semester. In the course of their training years, students are evaluated on the basis of their performance in examinations, term papers, projects, various presentations, and class participation.

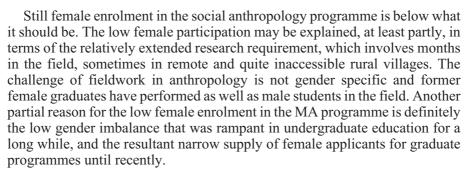
The Department of SOSA has made phenomenal accomplishments in terms of producing competent and professional social/cultural anthropologists in Ethiopia. Independent external assessors have reviewed the programme in 1996 and 2001, and both reviews were positive about the achievements of the programme.

The social anthropology programme is set to respond to the manpower needs of the Department and other academic units and institutions of higher learning in Ethiopia. Between July 1993 and December 2005, a total of 127 students had completed their postgraduate studies. In the early 1990s, the then Department of Sociology and Social Administration had only two Ethiopian anthropologists with doctoral degrees, while in the mid-1990s there were none – the aforementioned two having left the Department. By 2005, however, the number of Ethiopian anthropologists with PhD degrees reached seven, five of whom were former graduates of the MA programme in social anthropology. Moreover, many junior teaching staff members of the various universities in the country have been trained in social anthropology. Some of the former graduates are currently working on their doctoral and/or postdoctoral degrees in major European and American universities. Regarding job opportunities, the graduates of the social anthropology programme are well received by government institutions, NGOs, international agencies, and the private sector. The demand for the programme's graduates is on the rise.

When compared with other MA programmes in the College of Social Sciences, the social anthropology programme has performed relatively better in terms of both total output and gender participation (Gebre, 2006). A total of eleven female students (about nine percent) have graduated between 1993 and 2005, and there are ten female students currently enrolled in the programme; whereas there were only six females among the 196 graduates of the MA programmes in Geography, History and International Relations put together.







The research/thesis requirement is not mandatory any longer. The recently introduced non-thesis option allows students to graduate without undertaking fieldwork and/or writing theses. Hence, potential applicants, including females, who may have been discouraged by the thesis research requirement, may now reconsider joining the MA programme. Also, it is very likely that the number of female applicants will start to grow as the increasing enrolment of women in undergraduate programmes makes itself felt in the form of larger number of applicants for graduate programme in a short while. However, it needs to be noted that the Department ought to make conscious effort to increase the enrolment of female students in the MA programme.

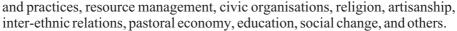
MA Thesis Research

Between July 1993 and December 2005, a total of 127 MA theses have been produced on different thematic areas. The thematic assessment of thesis research reveals that a wide range of issues have been explored. It also became apparent that certain topics attracted the attention of many students for quite understandable reasons. Agriculture (which contributes 45 percent to GNP and employs 85 percent of the Ethiopian population) and related livelihood strategies have been studied by 28 (23.5 percent) of the graduates. This is followed by studies on voluntary and forced population movements (for example, planned resettlement programmes, economic migrations, and refugees), which make up 22 (18.5 percent) of the MA theses submitted so far. Given the historical and current massive population movements within Ethiopia and across its international borders, it is hardly surprising for students to be attracted to such high profile and contemporary issues of national and global interest

Fourteen (11.7 percent) of the MA theses were written on gender issues (most of them focussing on the status and role of women in different societies), while another fourteen works explored health, HIV/AIDS and other social problems. Local governance, disputes and conflict resolution mechanisms have been studied by 10 (8.4 percent) of postgraduate students. The remaining studies focussed on a number of other topics, including indigenous knowledge







In the tradition of anthropological research, it is quite normal to explore the same research theme and/or different dimensions of the same theme by different researchers. However, most anthropologists prefer opening fresh research frontiers to uncover unexplored topics, marginally addressed issues, and unresolved problems. This would enable researchers to discover new findings of high academic and policy relevance and avoid unnecessary research duplication.

Geographically, 25 percent of the MA thesis researches were conducted in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR); as were 24 percent in Oromia region, 19 percent in Amhara, 16 percent in Addis Ababa, and 15 percent in the remaining regions of Tigray, Afar, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Gambella. Thus, about 85 percent of the studies were undertaken in four of the regions heading the list. Why has social anthropology thesis research, to date, focussed on these areas? Firstly, the first three regions' spatial vastness (55 percent of the 1.13 million sq. km area of Ethiopia), their sheer size (80 percent of the country's population, 74.2 million in 2005), and the complexity of life and social differentiation in Addis Ababa seem to provide wide research options. In this regard, SNNPR provides a unique opportunity because it hosts more than 50 percent of the 80 plus ethnic groups found in Ethiopia.

Secondly, given the limited time and funds available to undertake fieldwork, distance and logistic factors tend to dictate the selection of research sites. Compared to the other regions in the country, the four regions are relatively close to Addis Ababa and therefore to the University compared to the rest of the regions such as Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella, Afar and Tigray. Third, there is a general tendency on the part of most postgraduate students to study areas and cultures that they are familiar with; and as most of the candidates for the MA degree are from these four regions, it is not surprising that these regions top the list.

Studying ones' own group (or what some writers refer to as 'anthropology at home') has some clear advantages. Knowledge of the language and the culture of the people to be studied would contribute to smooth communication and easy entry. This means that the research could be undertaken rather efficiently with limited resources (time and money) that would otherwise be difficult in an unfamiliar environment. The other advantage is that the researcher could use the opportunity to contribute to his/her home.

On the other hand, the notion of 'anthropology at home' is rarely embraced by those who feel that the insider can hardly be critical of his/her own culture. The concern is that the researcher, consciously or unconsciously, may take certain cultural values and practices for granted and thus remain less critical. While respecting student choices of research topics and research sites, we







would like to underline that anthropology is also about understanding other cultures and regions. As a matter of fact, it is more about appreciating cultural similarities, differences, and interrelations.

The concentration of MA research in central and highland Ethiopia may eventually create a huge gap in terms of knowledge about societies and practices in regions located far away from Addis Ababa. The ever-dwindling budget allocation for postgraduate research is likely to exacerbate the existing bias in research interest against distant sites. It deserves to be acknowledged and appreciated that the Benishangul-Gumuz Region recently encouraged and sponsored a female student to undertake her MA research in the region on a topic of her own choice. Government institutions, NGOs, and others could take similar initiatives to encourage graduate level research in small and remote regions of Ethiopia. The other option is to establish a system where some national sponsors (for instance, government agencies, foundations, citizens, etc.) would provide adequate research grants to graduate students on a competitive basis.

MA thesis research is also facilitated by the Departmental Seminar – commonly referred to as the 'Wednesday Seminar' – which is an integral part of the postgraduate programme. However, it has now become a department-wide forum at which staff members, postgraduate students, and invited guests present professional papers, research proposals, and research progress reports.

Masters Programme in Sociology

Having made the necessary preparations in terms of putting together a sound curriculum, qualified instructors, and teaching material, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology is about to take yet another major step by launching its Masters Programme in Sociology in the September/October 2006 term. The MA Programme in Sociology focuses on the urban-industrial-development nexus without being oblivious to the rural-agrarian worlds. As Ethiopia is largely a rural and agrarian country, the study of rural society and rural development remains an important field of sociological training and research. However, since the country is going through accelerating processes of urbanisation with its urban population expected to grow three-fold in the coming 25 years, the social changes associated with this are bound to pose major challenges for academics, policy makers, and development practitioners. Hence, the current lacunae in terms of in-depth and accurate research-based information on the process of urbanisation, industrialisation and development as well as the acute shortage of high-level trained manpower for sociological inquiry call for the upgrading of the sociological training that is offered at AAU to a postgraduate level.

The Masters Programme in Sociology is guided by its stated objective of producing professional sociologists who are knowledgeable in sociological





theory and methods at a more advanced level so as to be able to independently carry out research on the process and problems of the socio-cultural dimensions of rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and development and hence inform the formulation and implementation of social development policies and programmes. Hence, the programme is designed as a two-year programme consisting of two alternative components: a course-work with-thesis and a course-work-only plan that students join on the basis of their cumulative GPA at the end of the First Year and their preference. Students who join the thesis option are expected to acquire – through the rigour of practice – research knowledge that includes designing a research project, developing the appropriate conceptual and methodological tools, undertaking data collection and analysis as well as interpreting and presenting them in a coherent manner. Moreover, their thesis-based research education is likely to prepare them for further training at the PhD-level. Those students that join the alternative course-work-only stream, on the other hand, are likely to contribute in the capacity of policy analysts, policy makers and practitioners.

The MA programme consists of compulsory courses that are offered over a two-year period. In the fist year, six courses, namely, Sociological Theories, Political Sociology, Social Research, Rural Sociology & Development, Industrial & Organisational Sociology, and Quantitative Data Analysis are offered. During the first semester of their second year of training all students are required to take two more courses: Urban Sociology and Social Policy and Planning. Then, while those that follow the thesis stream concentrate on their thesis research and write-up task for the remainder of the year, those in the non-thesis stream will be required to take two additional courses – Contemporary Social Issues and Sociology of Health – in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the MA degree in sociology.

Research by Department Staff

Faculty members are expected to carry out research, publish the results, and use those works for teaching as well as academic promotion. However, the University or the Department does not allocate funds for staff research. Therefore, staff members have to secure resources on their own, for instance, by engaging in commissioned research undertaken for the University, government organisations, and international agencies, often on a demand basis. In the last 15 years, the two cooperation agreements the Department signed with the CMI of Norway have been instrumental in terms of securing funds for departmental research and publication. In this regard, the 2003 research collaboration agreement particularly focus on promoting staff and student research on emerging social issues in Ethiopia, such as land tenure systems, economic and socio-cultural impacts of HIV/AIDS, and population movement and displacement. So far, a total of eight staff members and 17 postgraduate students have been granted research funds on a competitive basis.





In the absence of a regular university/departmental budget, the efforts made by individual staff and the Department to secure resources have enabled them to: (i) promote academic excellence through scientific research and publication, (ii) make sociological/anthropological work directly relevant to policy and development, and (iii) involve students and recent graduates of the Department in research thereby preparing them to become independent and professional researchers.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to list or describe sociological and anthropological studies undertaken by the staff in the Department. However, we would like to reflect on the thematic areas that have been explored through doctoral research and commissioned studies. Land degradation and conservation, agricultural extension, farming methods, migration and resettlement, culture and development, pastoral economy, state-peasant relations, inter-ethnic solidarity and conflict, household economy, HIV/AIDS, gender issues, rural livelihoods, civil society, reproductive health, and street children are some of the areas fairly extensive explored.

Departmental Publications

The various materials complied by the Department and/or published/co-published in the name of the Department may be divided into four categories: teaching materials, bulletin, dissertation series, and other editions.

Over the years, a large number of materials have been compiled and used in the teaching of most of the undergraduate courses. However, for various reasons, most of these were not published, not having gone through the University's established approval mechanism for teaching material, and hence have run out of circulation with the status of 'hand-outs'. On the other hand, four peer reviewed teaching materials have been prepared for four major courses (criminology, population studies, urban sociology, and ethnography of Ethiopia) offered in the Department. Georges Savard, one of the expatriate scholars involved in the teaching of sociology in Ethiopia in the early days, prepared the first teaching material (in three volumes), titled 'The People of Ethiopia' (1970). The Staff of the Department jointly compiled a widely used teaching text under the title 'Readings in Urban Sociology' (1975), and Marina Ottaway, another expatriate staff, followed it with 'Urbanization in Ethiopia', a collection of several essays with introductory remarks. Andargatchew Tesfaye (Professor Emeritus) has prepared two volumes of 'The Crime Problem and Its Correction' (1988 and 2004) - texts currently used for teaching the two courses: 'Sociology of Deviance' and 'Criminology and Correctional Administration'. The two volumes are also used by the Faculty of Law at Addis Ababa University as well as the Ethiopian Police College. Hirut Terefe has prepared teaching material for 'Population Studies', a course that used to be offered by the Department of SOSA and now being taught by the Demographic Training and Research Centre (DTRC).







The launching of the MA programme in social anthropology and the assistance obtained from the CMI opened wide publication opportunities in the Department of SOSA. The Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin (SEB) was the first departmental initiative designed to promote student and staff publications. The first issue (Vol. 1, no. 1) of SEB appeared in 1991, while the second (Vol. 1, no. 2) and the third (Vol. 1, no. 3) issues came out in 1992 and 1994 respectively. Some concerns and disagreements within the Department over whether articles published in the SEB needed to be of a higher quality led to its termination rather than to its improvement or replacement.

In 1994, the Department launched the publication of the best MA theses (those graded excellent by a panel of MA thesis examiners) in a series entitled Social Anthropology Dissertations. Six works selected from 16 MA theses submitted between 1993 and 1995 have been published in this series between 1994 and 2000. After a period of interruption, the publication of the Social Anthropology Dissertations Series has resumed in 2006 and attempts are being made to publish as many as ten theses in the same year to clear the backlog from

After the mid-1990s, the Department published and co-published six works, most of which have been edited or co-edited by Dr Alula Pankhurst, a former staff member of the Department. Three of the six editions are products of workshops or conferences co-organised by the Department of SOSA and the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists (ESSSWA).

Staff Development and Staff Situation

The Department is currently operating with a total of 19 active staff members: 15 full-time nationals and four full-time expatriates with doctoral degrees (two sociologists and two anthropologists). Of the 15 nationals, 12 have PhD degrees, two have MAs, and one has a BA degree. The PhD holders completed their doctoral studies in different countries: four in the UK, three in the Netherlands, three in India, two in Sweden, and one each in the USA, Germany, Japan, and Australia. Of the total of 19 staff members, ten are sociologists and nine anthropologists; and 13 of the 19 staff members are 'home-grown' – meaning staff members who obtained their first degree training in the Department itself and were recruited for teaching as Graduate Assistants and further training.

An examination of Table 3 reveals the fact that the staff situation of the Department has not always been close to what it is today. In the course of the last 44 years, some 84 instructors were involved in teaching sociology/anthropology at AAU. Sixty five (77 percent) of these have served the Department on a full-time basis, while 11 were instructors who were home-based at two research institutes with which the Department has close academic and institutional links, namely, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the Institute of Development Research. The remaining eight are instructors that have taught at





cross-fertilisation of ideas.

the Department on part-time basis. Procurement of staff on part-time basis was of course a measure taken in response to the acute staff shortage facing the Department throughout its existence. Yet, in spite of its clear downside in terms of the lesser time and commitment that can be provided by part-time instructors, the involvement of non-departmental academicians in teaching has

brought with it valuable links of cooperation and important venues for the

Table 3: Academic Staff by Sex, Nationality, and Employment Status, 1962-2006

			Employment Status			
			Full-Time	Home- Based	Part-Time	Total
N a t I	Expatriate	Sex: F M	5 25	1 -	_ 1	6 26
o n		Total	30	1	1	32
a l I	Local	Sex: F M	6 29	1 9	2 5	9 43
y		Total	35	10	7	52
Grand Total		65	11	8	84	

The gender balance in the staff of the Department has always been disappointing. Only 15 female academicians, constituting 18 percent of the total, have taught at the Department in its 44 years of existence. Six of the female staff were expatriates, whereas the majority, nine, were Ethiopians. Six of the nine Ethiopian women were employed on a full-time basis and four of these were 'home-grown', i.e., recruited from among the Department's graduates for teaching and further training as part of the Department's staff-development effort. Yet, sadly enough, there is currently only one female instructor in the Department, which is indicative of the fact that in addition to the visible and invisible gender discrimination in the educational system as a whole that has worked against making female candidates for tertiary-level teaching hard to come by, the Department is not competitive enough to retain even those few female instructors that it grooms at quite a high cost.

Out of the 84 staff members who served in the Department over the years, 32 (38 percent) were expatriates and the remaining 52 (62 percent) were Ethiopian nationals. The distribution of these numbers over the years, however, was more uneven. From 1951 up until 1972, all of the teaching of sociology/anthropology was handled by expatriate staff. It was with the arrival of the first Ethiopian

PhD holder in Anthropology from Britain in 1972, who was soon followed by three sociologists with MAs and a BA from overseas, that the picture began to change. Then, following the outbreak of the revolution and the closure of the University from 1973/74 up until 1975/76, almost all of the expatriate staff left the country and the 'Ethiopianisation' of the Department was completed – by force of circumstances rather than design. It needs to be noted also, although expatriates account for 38 percent of all the staff that have ever taught at the Department, their numerical dominance is not as much as what this percentage share suggests, because the duration of tenure of expatriate staff is generally much shorter than that of the local staff.

In line with the university-wide orientation, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology has successfully pursued the strategy of gaining self-reliance through sustained in-house staff recruitment and development. This is evidenced by the fact that many (if not all) of the 'home-grown' staff members returned home to serve the Department; they worked harmoniously in the pursuit of academic excellence; and they contributed to the realisation of the dream for self-reliance. Until recently, the practice of recruiting junior staff members from among the Department's own graduates and sending them to Europe and America for further education has been the main avenue for staff development.

In recent years, however, this long-established tradition has run into difficulty on account of the expanded academic commitment of the Department that is compounded by: the sudden increase in the intake of the MA programme in social anthropology, the rising demand by different departments for the minor programme in sociology, the multiplication of service courses offered by the Department, and the unprecedented rise in overall student enrolments. This situation, then, has necessitated the employment of foreign nationals and 'non-home-grown' local staff – a trend that has positive aspects as well as certain drawbacks. The difficulty is that the new staff members often come from institutions with different teaching-learning systems and practices and this difference in orientation tends to limit the opportunity to maintain continuity and a smooth working environment. The Department, however, has tried to iron out the mismatch through relentless collegial consultations. On the positive side, the new-comers have the potential to bring new and different insights and perspectives into the Department.

Extra-Departmental Activities

Contribution to Other Universities in Ethiopia

In the early 1990s, there were only three full-fledged universities in Ethiopia. By 2005, the number of universities in the country increased to eight, and an additional 14 universities are expected to start to operate sometime this year, 2006. Two of the new universities, Jimma and Gondar, have already embarked







on separate undergraduate degree training in sociology and anthropology. Debub University is making preparations to follow suit, but with an anthropology programme that is to have all four components of: biological/physical anthropology, social/cultural anthropology, anthropological linguistics, and archaeology. Many other universities and colleges, too, have begun offering service courses in sociology and anthropology.

The Department of SOSA is entrusted with the mission of providing trained sociologists and anthropologists to fill the ever-increasing demand for instructors in the exiting and emerging higher learning institutions in Ethiopia. A good number of the Department's graduates (with a BA degree) are already involved in teaching in various universities in Ethiopia as assistant lecturers; and many of them are expected to enrol for the postgraduate degree in sociology that is set to start this September. Moreover, the Department has been supporting some of the new universities (for example, Debub and Gondar Universities) through consultation on curriculum development and provision of teaching materials.

Contributions to Civil Society Organisations

The Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology has made significant contributions to the emergence of civil society organisations (CSOs) in Ethiopia, both as an institution and also through the individual efforts of its staff and graduates.

The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists (ESSSWA) was established in 1996 with tangible support from the Department. Among other things, the Department still provides it with office space. As pointed out earlier, the Department also continues to cooperate with ESSSWA in jointly organising workshops and publishing their outputs. The role of the staff of the Department was critical in the initiation and formation of the association. Many of them have also served and continue to serve on its executive committee. Thanks to their involvement and influence, ESSSWA is becoming a forum and a vehicle for keeping alive academic interest among the members of the sociology/anthropology/social work community in Ethiopia; and plans to work on upgrading their academic standard through a series of training programmes.

Former and present members of the staff have made individual contributions to the emergence of other CSOs that have figured importantly on the rather desolate civil society scene of Ethiopia. Their dedicated service and expertise were critical in the formation and development of such renowned organisations as the Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia, and to a lesser extent in that of the Forum for Social Studies and the Ethiopian Human Rights Council.

Through its graduates, the Department has also indirectly contributed to the development of civil society and to the noble task of giving voice to the marginalised in Ethiopia. Some of its former students have succeeded in forming





CBOs and NGOs on their own. Others have joined existing organisations, and some of these have worked their way up to leadership positions. Together with this growing influence of the Department's graduates among CSOs, a synergic bond is emerging between the training activities of the Department, the professional association of ESSSWA, and the CSOs in which the association's members are active.

Concluding Remarks

Started with modest aims and means, and having sailed through difficult times marked by meagre material resources, shortage of trained staff, and institutional instability, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia now finds itself in better circumstances. The oldest and largest sociology/anthropology training institution, the Department of SOSA at AAU is being joined by many others, although it remains the only centre for postgraduate education. The Department of SOSA itself has moved forward with huge strides. It has increased the number of its programmes to four. Its supply of books, journals and equipment has improved. The number of its teaching staff has steadily increased. Department-sponsored research has kicked off, and departmental publication is picking up. It also appears that the Department has finally found an organisational arrangement that is well suited for managing the teaching of sociology and anthropology in a balanced and efficient manner.

However, these improvements have been accompanied by other developments that are major sources of concern. Firstly, the Department has become dependent on external support, posing a threat to the sustainability of its programmes and activities. The recent improvements in the supply of books, journals and equipment, as well as staff development, research, and departmental publication were all achieved with external support secured by the Department, while the contribution of the University has remained marginal.

Secondly, the sudden and massive increase in the student population – which is currently 15-fold as large as it was a decade ago and stands at a student-to-instructor ratio of 83:1 – is threatening to cancel out most of the recent gains. Furthermore, the equally recent proliferation of various interdisciplinary graduate programmes by newly created units with inadequate staff has brought additional workload to the staff of the Department as they have to participate in teaching and supervising students that are admitted into the interdisciplinary programmes. Thus, the Department is finding it difficult to assign senior essay supervisors to the ever increasing number of its own prospective BA graduates, which has led to the questioning of the very wisdom of retaining the senior essay. As pointed out earlier, the recent unprecedented increase in postgraduate intake has also necessitated the introduction of a non-thesis option into the department's graduate programmes. This is the kind of adjustment that the Department is grudgingly making in order to address the







sudden and imposed changes that stretch its capacity beyond what can be considered reasonable.

Thirdly, the Department is faced with the threat of declining academic standards. This problem is compounded by the large size of the student population and the general deterioration in the quality of the country's secondary education, as evidenced by the low language proficiency and poor preparation for tertiary education. Although the Department cannot do much about the last mentioned factor, it has nonetheless to continue to safeguard the standard of its training by striving for an optimal student-to-instructor ratio, either by reducing the intake of students particularly into the minor programme or by increasing the number of its teaching staff, or both.

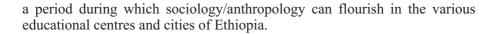
The Department is also facing the challenge of achieving academic excellence in the area of research and publication, particularly by its staff. However, given the heavy teaching and supervising load with which staff members are encumbered, the meagre University salaries that force them to spend the little time at their disposal on better compensated commissioned research, and the difficulties they face in securing funding for academic research as well as the bureaucratic hurdles they face in utilising even the little funding that is available, it is quite difficult to hope for high quality research and publication. In fact, there is a real possibility to slip backwards if a regular and sustainable source of research funding is not found before the external funding that is currently providing the only window of opportunity for pure academic research stops trickling.

Finally, we need to take account of new developments in sociological/anthropological training taking place outside the walls of AAU and the City of Addis Ababa. These developments are welcome, but they also present challenges. The Department of SOSA at AAU must recognise the new reality and learn to share its fading status of being the only institution that is entrusted with the teaching of sociology and anthropology in the country. This will involve finding a new role for itself by the side of the emerging sociology and/or anthropology training centres of the newer universities.

In this respect, one area of shared concern for the Department of SOSA at AAU and the emerging institutions in the other universities is the issue of which route to follow in terms of the institutional or organisational setup. In the case of the Department of SOSA a joint sociology/anthropology undergraduate programme with separate specialised MA programmes appears to work well. It has brought the Department the benefits of synergy and the efficient use of resources without jeopardising the integrity of the disciplines. On the other hand, the emerging institutions appear to be headed in the other direction, opting for separate undergraduate programmes in sociology and anthropology that are run by separate departments. The latter experiment is only beginning and it will take a while before it is known which approach is sounder. Which ever way things may go, the future is likely to be exciting scholarly, and will be







Notes

- 1. The authors are Assistant Professors of Sociology and Social Anthropology respectively. Yeraswork Admassie was Chairman of the Department of SOSA (1983-86 and 1997-2001) and Gebre Yntiso is currently serving as its Chairman.
- 2. Haile Selassie I University was renamed Addis Ababa University following the demise of the imperial regime.
- 3. The authors acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Dr Fekadu Gedamu the first Ethiopian with a doctoral degree in Anthropology to join the Department in 1972 who kindly granted them a long interview on the early development of the Department that was both informative and insightful.
- Whereas the number of graduates taking the minor in sociology and anthropology was very small during the imperial era, obtaining employment was not a major concern. The situation during the military-socialist regime was different. The number of graduates increased, but they were assigned to government institutions as a matter of right, although in many cases to organisations that had no need for sociologists whom they condemned to an idle existence or to do all sort of clerical duties. With the fall of the military-socialist regime sociology/social anthropology entered a 'golden age' in terms of graduates' employment opportunities. The relative proliferation of civil society organisations in general and NGOs in particular, as well as the growing awareness of the vital importance of taking social factors into account in development intervention among government circles has resulted in a general demand for the services of sociologists and social anthropologists with different levels of training. The reversal of fortunes being experienced by graduates of the department in this regard was so noticeable that it has moved up the Department from ranking as one of the least preferred departments in the social sciences and humanities to become the most popular one – as indicated by choice of students.

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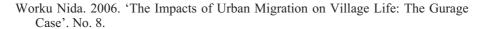




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