From Ancient Trade Routes to Cooperation in Higher Education Indo-Ethiopian Relations and India's Role in Ethiopia's University Boom

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ABSTRACT The paper recounts the long history of Indo-Ethiopian relations, not only concerning economy and trade, but also with reference to culture and education. Hereby, it especially focuses on the cooperation of the two countries in the field of education. Indians not only played a prominent role in establishing a secondary school system in Ethiopia under the rule of Haile Selassie, but as the text illustrates also the current university boom would not be possible without the migration of countless Indian university lecturers to Ethiopia.

INTRODUCTION

African-Asian interactions are since at least one decade not only an important hotspot of the global media, but have also been studied scientifically by the international academia (Carmody 2011; Cheru and Obi 2010; Hawley 2008; Mawdsley and McCann 2011; Morrissey and Zgovu 2011). Hereby, the clear regional focus of interest is China whose engagement in Africa is often depicted to be minimized to own economic interests, especially the securing of resources for its own rising economy (Morrissey and Zgovu 2011). Scientific research has so far neglected three questions, which will be central in the research program of the interdisciplinary project Africa's Asian Options (AFRASO) at the Goethe University Frankfurt: 1) Which Asian partners apart from China do African countries have? 2) What is the social and cultural dimension of African-Asian cooperation? and 3) What is the African perspective of this cooperation?

The research project within this interdisciplinary network that is discussed in the following will be called "South-south cooperation in higher education: Migration of Indian university lecturers to Ethiopia". The study assumes that Ethiopia as an emerging market and fast growing higher education sector is in need of many highly skilled professionals from outside. It studies the role of Indian lecturers in Ethiopia's current university boom and explores the networks that bring Indian lecturers to Ethiopia and the networks that they form in their new country of residence on the micro level on the basis of qualitative methods.

Research will be carried out between February 2013 and March 2015 at three different locations – Ethiopia, India and the web. The following paper is a literature review concentrating above all on Ethiopian-Indian historic and economic relations and Ethiopia's university boom, topics which are of high importance to understand and interpret future research data.

Ethiopian-Indian Relations

Historical Relations

Ethiopian-Indian relations, especially regarding economic exchange, can be reconstructed back until the Ethiopian Aksumite Empire (100-940 AD).[1] These trade relations had different reasons: not only were the countries – although geographically remote from one another – largely complimentary in their economies and demands (Pankhurst 1998: 117), but the coast of the Horn of Africa was also located at the important trade route between India and Egypt and the Roman Empire (Pankhurst 1961: 13; Phillipson 2012: 200). Thirdly, the periodic changes of the Indian monsoon facilitated the trade connections (Chatterji 1968: 14; Pankhurst 1961: 13f). Pankhurst's research on early Ethiopian-Indian trade relations shows that they existed constantly from the Aksumite Empire until the nineteenth century.[2] While Ethiopia exported gold, ivory and slaves, India produced iron, steel, cotton,

silk, pepper and other spices (Chatterji 1968: 22; Pankhurst 1998: 117). Trade relations concentrated on the western coast of India (Pankhurst 1974: 453). Indian traders remained the majority of foreign business men in Ethiopia throughout the best part of the 19th century and even the Indian currency was used in many parts of the country as official medium of exchange (Pankhurst 1974: 463ff).

Pankhurst proposes that the early contacts of the two countries found expression in certain elements of shared culture: the cultivation of cotton and sugar, the presence of zebu cattle in both countries, the existence of African lions in one of the main regions of early trade, namely Gujarat, the erection of fairly similar megalithic stones (in Gurageland and the Naga hills), the use of nearly identical weaving looms, similar dress (the Ethiopian *shamma* and Indian *sari*) as well as highly spiced food (Indian *curry* and Ethiopian *berbere*) (Pankhurst 1998: 118). Moreover, Littmann shows some linguistic traces that the trade relations left not only in Ge'ez, an ancient Ethiopian language, but also in other Ethiopian languages such as Somali and Oromo. The borrowings from Sanskrit which he shows (for example, merchant, musk, sapphire and sugar) are all terms that are connected to the trade that took place between the two countries (Littmann 1926). Chatterji further describes the vowel signs in the Ge'ez alphabet that were introduced by the Ethiopian king Ezana as direct borrowings from Brahmi, which Ezana might have learnt from Indian merchants (Chatterji 1968: 56).

But not only economic relations with India left their footprint in Ethiopia. As ambassadors of cultural exchange between the two countries, Indian artists and masons were present and very productive in 16th and 17th century Ethiopia. While under King Susneyos Indians constructed a bridge across the Blue Nile, King Fasilides had Indian artists built his castle in Gondar (Pankhurst 1998: 122f). Moreover, Indian architects introduced lime and mortar constructions to Ethiopia (Mathews 2010: 183). Some authors further draw parallels between the architecture of Ethiopian rock churches around Lalibela and Indian rock temples like the ones in Ajanta and Ellora (Chatterji 1968: 28; Littmann 1926: 407). In the 19th century Indian artisans were also constructing modern urban architecture with an Indian touch like stone and balcony houses in Addis Ababa and Harar (Pankhurst 1991).

In India, on the other hand, the long-standing trade relations with Ethiopia left behind a considerable number of slaves of whom individuals at some time even achieved large political influence. The offsprings of these slaves are today known as Siddi or Hapshi. The latter is a corruption of the word Habesh or Abyssinian[3] (Chatterji 1968: 60ff; Hawley 2008; Pankhurst 1961: 120, 309).

In the 20th century bilateral relations between the two countries took a new form as India was not an independent country anymore, but a British colony. In the 1930s the Indian community in Ethiopia had raised to around 3,000 people (Mathews 2010: 184). Haile Selassie supported and kept close ties to the Indian business community, especially to Mohamedally Shaikh Sharafally Hararwala, who according to rumors might have been his biological father (Pankhurst et al. 2007: 987). During these days apart from business people Indians arrived to Ethiopia as soldiers of the British Army. On behalf of England they assisted Ethiopia to fight fascist Italy in 1935 and around 5.000 of them lost their lives (Chatterji 1968: 59; Mathews 2010: 185). However, Italy won and occupied Ethiopia for five years, during which time India gave political and moral support to Ethiopia (Mathews 2010: 184). After Haile Selassie returned to rule his country in 1957, India, already as an independent nation, supported Ethiopia in its newly established education sector. Haile Selassie, pursuing his goal of modernizing Ethiopia, hired many Indian teachers to work in Ethiopian high schools on a contractual basis (Chatterji 1968: 68).[4] Also the private secretary and advisor of Haile Selassie, who assisted him in developing the educational system, was Indian (Smidt 2007: 1051). However, with Haile Selassie's overthrow 1974 Indians, business people as well as teachers, left the country as the subsequent socialist regime followed a policy of "Ethiopianisation". Especially the Indian business people who were in the country lost much of their property due to nationalization and their businesses broke down. Even though political relations between India and Ethiopia continued to be good during that period with cooperation existing especially in the defense sector and Haile Mariam visiting India (Mathews 2010: 185-186), only very few Indians, who had settled in Ethiopia already for more than three generations, stayed behind (High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2000).

Consequently, the Indian community in Ethiopia was reduced to a minimum until the current government took power in 1991 and Indian migrants had new incentives and were welcomed again to settle in Ethiopia.

Current Relations

India's Africa policy has been historically idealistic, especially in supporting the independence struggles of African countries (Biallas and Knauer 2006: 8; Mangat 1969: 176). To back these struggles and African nationalism Asian printing presses have even supported newspapers in African languages (Mangat 1969: 176). Today India's idealistic involvement in Africa still continues. It is evident for example when looking at the scientific and technical cooperation. The close cooperation in the higher education and capacity building sectors will be explained below. As a 'poor' country itself, India does not see its role as giving substantial grants-in-aid, but instead concentrates its support in Ethiopia – as well as in other African countries - on technical training and assistance. Much of India's aid is delivered through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), which was set up in 1964 to examine ways of improving cooperation with Africa (Carmody 2011: 104; Pathak 2012: 168-169).

However, in the last decade Ethiopian-Indian relations have also been enhanced because of economic reasons. Even though India's economy is only one sixth of the one of its neighbor China, India needs many resources, especially oil, to uphold its economic growth and to ensure its power supply (Carmody 2011: 95; Biallas and Knauer 2006: 8). Indian stakeholders so far seem to play no role in the current construction of oil drilling sites in Ethiopia, but many Indian investors have already accepted the invitation of the Ethiopian government for long-term land lease to invest in agriculture.[5] In 2002 India launched the "Focus on Africa" program with Ethiopia being one of the seven countries that it concentrates on. The program involves support of exporters, organizes trade fairs and invites Ethiopian trade delegations (Mathews 2010: 188). By the end of 2008 Indian business people had already responded by investing more than 4 billion US$ in Ethiopia's small and media agribusiness sectors. Until 2010 the Indian Embassy in Ethiopia had 141 companies listed that were involved in these investments, the biggest of them Karaturi Global Ltd. the world's largest grower of roses,[6] who had alone leased 3.4 million hectares from the Ethiopian government (Cheru and Obi 2010: 125-126). 2012 already 596 Indian companies had managed to secure investment licenses in Ethiopia with a total capital of US $ 4.7 billion and by that way India has become the largest investor in Ethiopia (Pathak 2012: 163). Since 2000 also the Indian exports as well as the imports to India have increased immensely, the total trade value in US $ between the two countries growing more than four times within only ten years (Pathak 2012: 164).

The Africa-India Forum Summit, which took place in 2011 in Addis Ababa, was a good possibility to discuss the new economic investments and general bilateral cooperation between Ethiopia and India. During the summit meeting, India promised amongst other things to help Ethiopia's economy and capacity building with loans and it already kept this promise by providing loans for a rural electrification project and the expansion of the sugar industry (Pathak 2012: 164).

The newly intensified economic relations are reflected in the size of the Indian community in Ethiopia. While in the year 2000 only around 700 Indians lived in Ethiopia (High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2000), the number official current number according to the homepage of the Indian Embassy in Ethiopia was already around 2,000 Indian nationals in 2012. However, the author estimates the number to be at last 4,000 as only the Indian lecturers together with their dependents make already 2.000. Still existing since the strong Indian community under Haile Selassie are an Indian International School, several informal associations (Tamil, Telugu....) that celebrate local Indian festivals and a Hindu Mahajan which organizes the celebration of main Indian festivals like Diwali and Navaratri and carries out cremations.[7] Since Ethiopia encourages and opens up for investments and many Indian business people already started coming in, additionally an Indian Business Forum has been established.

But not only Indians are present in Ethiopia today, also Ethiopians increasingly find their way to India. India is the most favored destination for higher studies for Ethiopian students. This is primarily due to the excellent opportunities for higher education that India offers at costs

which are a fraction of what is charged in the US and Europe (University Grants Commission India 2012). Apart from self-financing students, an increasing number of Ethiopian students attain scholarships for higher education in India. In April 2008, the Indian government doubled the number of scholarships offered to Ethiopian students to 40 (Groum 2012). At the Africa-India Forum Summit India promised to increase the number of scholarships for undergraduate und postgraduate studies even more. Additionally, the Ethiopian Government offers some 350 scholarships to their nationals for university studies in India. For these reasons more than 3.000 students pursued their studies in India in 2010 (Ray 2010: 236).

While in Ethiopia the center of the Indian community is unmistakably the capital Addis Ababa, where the Indian embassy, the offices of most companies, the largest university and the Indian school are located, a main hub for Ethiopians or Ethiopian-Indian relations in India seems to be Hyderabad, which is the most popular town for Ethiopian graduate students (University Grants Commission India 2012). Hyderabad further accommodates the two main agencies that recruit Indian lecturers to Ethiopia (see below) and the Cure Hospital, which offers tele-services to Ethiopian hospitals (see below). Additionally, Hyderabad has a large community of Siddi, Indians of African and especially Ethiopian origin (see above and Ababu 2004).

The Role of Indian Lecturers in the Expansion of Ethiopia's Higher Education Sector

A Short History of the Development of the Ethiopian University Sector

Ethiopia has a 1700-year old tradition of elite education that was perpetuated by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Secular higher education was established only in 1950 under the rule of Haile Selassie when Ethiopia's first university was founded in Addis Ababa. In the following years also few specialized colleges were started (Saint 2004: 84; Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 160f). In 1970, still under Haile Selassie, tertiary enrolments numbered 4.500, which lead to an enrolment ratio of 0.2 percent, at that time one of the lowest in the world. But the university sector should soon face an even more challenging period.

Under the socialist regime that overthrew Haile Selassie in 1974 the intellectual life of the still new and not fully developed university sector withered, the education system became isolated from the western world and one of the consequences of that impasse was increasing academic brain drain (Saint 2004: 84). The situation did not change until after an anewed change of government.

Today's government with the ruling party EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) took over control in 1991. Until 2000, it had managed to expand the higher education sector to two universities and seventeen colleges. The number of students had risen to 31,000, which meant a raise of the gross enrolment ratio to 0.8 percent,[8] still one of the lowest in the world. The average tertiary level enrolment of Africa at that time was four percent (Saint 2004: 89-90).

The large expansion and reform of Ethiopia's university sector which had been planned and recorded in policy papers was visibly implemented around the turn of the millennium (Ashcroft 2004: 24; Ashcroft and Rayner 2011: 54). Until 2004 the number of universities had been raised from two to nine, mainly by merging colleges and upgrading them to university status (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 162), and in the same year additional 12 universities had been established (Saint 2004: 89). Together with the mushrooming of universities, also the annual tertiary enrolment growth rate exploded to 28 percent, possibly the highest in the world (Saint 2004: 85). Until today the university sector has already expanded to 31 public universities.[9] For a complete list see the website of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (http://www.moe.gov.et).

Even though much of the financial needs to develop the university sector came from the World Bank and other bilateral and multilateral donors,[10] the Ethiopian government has increased the proportion of the government budget for education expenditure tremendously, largely at the expense of the military budget (Saint 2004: 88). Until 2003 the government had offered not only free tertiary education, but also free accommodation and food to students. 2003 a student cost-sharing was introduced (Saint 2004: 85), which will cover parts of the expenses in future.[11]

The costly re-align of Ethiopia's higher education system is in direct support of the national

strategy for economic growth and poverty reduction, as still more than 80 percent of the Ethiopian population is engaged in subsistence farming. The current extension of the university system aims at building a larger middle-class. It is also necessary to produce the professionals Ethiopia needs to attain international competitiveness and to help the populace to lead more productive lives: teachers to raise levels of literacy, agricultural and civil engineers, and health professionals to fight the threats to the health of the population (Ashcroft and Rayner 2011: 55). By that way Ethiopia aims to become a middle-income country within the next 20 to 30 years (Yizengaw 2004: 3).

To adjust the curriculum of Ethiopia's higher education to the countries' problems and needs and to control the quality of higher education during these times of rapid development, a special agency, the Higher Education Relevance and Quality Agency (HERQA), has been established by the Ministry of Education in 2003. However, its work and especially the accreditation process still have to be revised (Yimam 2006: 104).

Problematizing the Current Expansion of the University Sector in Ethiopia

Due to the abovementioned explosion of the annual tertiary enrolment growth, the number of students in each of Ethiopia's universities has doubled and is expected to double again. Still tertiary admission becomes more competitive, because the number of qualified students from secondary schools also increases (Saint 2004: 93). However, low performance of university students because of a poor quality of the preparatory level and a centralized allocation of students is often criticized (Shibeshi 2009: xiv, xxi).

The explosive increase in universities and students has led to several shortfalls, which currently threaten the quality of the university sector.[12] Several of the new universities are located in towns which have barely any infrastructure in terms of transport, ICT linkages, and security of water and electricity supply and are therefore not fulfilling the criteria of the Ministry of Education to attain university status (Shibeshi 2009: xxi). Some newly established university towns additionally face civil security problems and a barely functioning secondary school system (Ashcroft and Rayner 2011: 64).

A further problem is the proportion of disciplines: while the UNESCO recommendation is 60:40 (sciences/technology: arts/humanities), in Ethiopia the division was the opposite 31:67 (sciences/technology: arts/humanities) (Saint 2004: 104). A reversion of this proportion has already been started by, for example, allocating fewer students to social sciences departments and expanding science and especially technology departments. This additional change does, however, currently add to the below mentioned shortfalls of Ethiopian higher education institutions.

Apart from the set-up and proportion of disciplines, new universities mainly suffer a shortage of academic staff. The insufficient number of lecturers can be partly explained by the very fast expansion of the higher education system and the change of proportions of disciplines. but also by academic brain drain. Of the total number of Ethiopian expatriates in 2000/2001 of 113,838, more than 31 percent were highly skilled (Adepoju 2008: 30; Getahun 2002).

Looking at the numbers that show the shortfall in academic staff, one faces a seemingly unresolvable problem. In 2004 Saint estimated that by 2007, 3,608 new academic staff would be needed. At the same time only 30 PhD students had been registered at Addis Ababa University und in 2003 only 4 doctoral degrees had been awarded (Saint 2004: 107). Consequently, the percentage of lecturers possessing a PhD has declined from 28 percent in 1995/96 to 9 percent in 2002/03 (Saint 2004: 106). The large demand in lecturers and short supply of MA and PhD graduates, lead to new universities employing 70 percent of their faculty only qualified to a bachelor's degree (Ashcroft and Rayner 2011: 30). Even though Ethiopia also recently increased the number of own postgraduate programs, there is still a shortage of PhD holders in many universities. This questions the capability for research which should be actually carried out at every higher education institutions (Tettey 2010: 18). Not only the newly constructed, but also the established universities in Ethiopia suffer a shortage, because of the increasing enrolment rates. Addis Ababa University and Gondar College of Medical Sciences are two of the eldest higher education institutions of the country. While by 2002 Addis Ababa University had a serious lack of highly qualified staff[13], Gondar College of Medical Science was 40 percent understaffed on all levels (Getahun 2002: 54).

As an answer to the short supply of academics, the ministry increased its expatriate staff, mainly from India, Nigeria, Cuba and the UK (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 172). The number of expatriate staff doubled within only one year (2002-2003) from 150 to 397 (Saint 2004: 108). In the academic year 2004/2005 12.5 % of lecturers were already expatriates, Indians being the majority (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 191). Until 2011 the number of Indian instructors alone had increased to 500 (Basu 2011). Today the number is estimated to be around 1.200.[14]

Situation in India – Indian Academics as New 'Export Good'

A full overview on the literature concerning higher education in India and the supply and job opportunities of Indian university lecturers still has to be carried out. From a first survey of the situation the following elements may contribute to the appealing of the jobs offered at Ethiopian universities to Indian academics.

Even though the assumption that India has a surplus in highly skilled workers is debated, teachers and academics are the major 'human export' from India after scientists, engineers, doctors and IT specialists (Sharma 2011: 95). Parallel to this development, in many countries, not only in Africa, vacancies in teaching are increasing. Especially in the Arab world, Indian teachers are preferred as they have a high command of English and a great respect for the cultures of their destinations (Education in India 2004).

Another reason for the migration of Indian academics to Ethiopia might be that a majority of university students in India focus on social sciences and humanities, despite significant unemployment numbers in these fields (Altbach 1993: 1222; Das 2007: 59). In Ethiopia, too, social sciences and humanities have a longer tradition and are still stronger than natural sciences and technology. Most newly established universities start with a focus on these established disciplines, while the government gradually changes the emphasis as explained above to science and technology (Ashcroft and Philip 2011: 30; Shibeshi 2009: xi). Therefore, lecturers for social sciences and humanities are still needed in Ethiopia. Although the trend currently changes and lecturers for social sciences and humanities usually need higher qualifications than lecturers in technology.

Additionally, even highly skilled professionals like university lecturers, who emigrate to other countries, are often less employable (for example, their degrees are not accepted) and face discrimination at their host-country (Eich-Krohm 2013: 156). Indian academics, who migrate to Ethiopia, instead are welcomed, their Indian degrees are highly valued and respected and they are offered a higher salary compared to their local colleagues[15] plus additional benefits like free flight tickets, housing and a tax free salary. This enables them to have a higher living standard than local academics. As many departments at Ethiopian universities have been only recently established also the importance of ones' work and the general contribution in building up new academic structures might be more rewarding than a regular job at an already established institution.[16]

As of the demand for academics in Ethiopia and other African countries and the excess in India, some scouting agencies in India have specialized on the recruiting of academics during the last years.[17] Supplied with job offers by the individual universities, they search candidates and organize interviews with the institutions that are in need of Indian lecturers.

The vacancy announcements and country profiles they show on their websites give an interesting insight into the considerations of prospective applicants. Apart from a high and tax free salary and free air tickets between India and Ethiopia,[18] they advertise academic positions in Ethiopia by highlighting the saving potential, the safety and pleasant climate of the country.[19] Furthermore, they try to attract possible candidates with the high number of Indian colleagues at Ethiopian universities and the increasing size of Ethiopia's Indian community.

Personal observations during the researcher's last stay in Ethiopia and advertisements of Indian recruitment agencies[20] lead to the assumption that Ethiopian lecturer jobs are especially attractive for retired Indian academics. Apart from individual reasons retired academics might have to come to Ethiopia, this can be partly explained by the low retirement age of 60 years in India and the tax free salary that academics can earn additionally to their Indian pension.

The above explained movement of highly skilled migrants to the African continent instead of away from it is a new trend and indicates Ethiopia's economic development, which urgently

needs an influx of highly skilled professionals from outside.

Possible Solutions for Ethiopia's University Expansion and Prospects

However, Ethiopia's university sector is facing a dilemma and is under extreme pressure because of this rapid development. Right now it is in need of many creative solutions. The government has already established several institutions with exactly this assignment. A new oversight agency should monitor the quality and relevance of academic programs. Additionally, pedagogical resource centers were set up to encourage pedagogical innovation and assist less experienced lecturers (Saint 2004: 86). A further step has been to allow lecturers, who hold at least a Master's degree to extend their age of retirement twice for three years at a time (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 2009). Apart from internal solutions, some answers, especially to solve the question concerning the shortage in instructors, come from outside, namely tele-education and a decrease of the academic brain drain.

Concerning tele-education again India plays a major role in Ethiopia since a short while. India launched a Pan-African e-network through which it offers tele-education, tele-medicine services, consultation and video-conferencing for all fifty-three heads of state in the AU (Carmody 2011: 105). The Pan-African e-network was launched in 2007 and Ethiopia was one of three pilot countries.[21] Following the success of the test project the e-network has been introduced to fifty-three African states to improve higher education and healthcare (Cheru and Obi 2010: 129).[22] In addition, Indian exports of medicines have provided access to quality drugs at reasonable prices in Africa.

When it comes to the expansion of the higher education system in Ethiopia, brain drain is a major handicap of the country. Let alone medical doctors, it is estimated that in 2005 Ethiopia lost one-third of them to other countries while spending US $ 53 million annually on expatriate staff (Teferra and Altbach 2004). According to a study of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), one-third of Ethiopians who were sent abroad for further education have not returned to their country (Getahun 2002: 55). The reasons for brain drain in the case of Ethiopia

are quite obvious: the payment for national lecturers at Ethiopian universities is very low (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 198), academic freedom has been highly restricted throughout the last three regimes (Getahun 2002: 53; Balsvik 2007) and high positions at universities are mostly occupied by selected party affiliates (Getahun 2002: 54).

The problem of academic brain drain has long been known and with the current high demand in lecturers, the government follows several strategies to minimize the problem. First of all, as mentioned above, it started to provide many scholarships to other developing countries such as India, rather than as previously to the United States, Canada or Europe. By this way the government hopes that Ethiopian scholars will return home after completing their studies instead of staying behind in the host country (Ashcroft and Philip 2011: 44).[23]

The Ethiopian government further tries to overcome the problem of the chronic shortage of qualified academic staff by establishing a massive program of in-country provision of master's and PhD programs, supported by the more-established universities in the country and foreign universities (Ashcroft and Philip 2011: 30; Saint 2004: 86). By that way Ethiopians do not have to leave the country anymore to attain graduate degrees and there is no danger of them remaining in the country of training. Finally, as a third way out of a shortage of university lecturers the Ministry of Education made an appeal to Ethiopians living abroad to return to their home country to serve in higher education institutions. The call directly lists contact officers at all 22 Ethiopian universities who are responsible for the recruitment of educated Ethiopian from the diaspora.[24]

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) plays also a significant role in the remigration of Ethiopian academics. Unfortunately, until recently they were not very successful (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 177). However, the current unattractiveness of academic positions for local academics in Ethiopia which leads to brain drain should be taken seriously and solutions to make positions more attractive for Ethiopians should be found as soon as possible.

CONCLUSION

Connections between India and Ethiopia are longstanding and manifold. However, the Indi-

an presence in Ethiopia has always been minor compared to other African countries. Apart from current incentives for economic investment by Indians in Ethiopia, the major cooperation of the two countries lies in higher education and capacity building. India offers distance education at Ethiopian universities and some scholarships for Ethiopian students at Indian universities. The Ethiopian government additionally finances a large number of scholarships at Indian universities and invites Indian academics to teach at Ethiopian universities for a reasonable salary and additional benefits.

These factors play an important role in the success of the recent expansion of Ethiopia's higher education sector. With the help of India's cooperation Ethiopia urgently needs to increase its number in holders of postgraduate degrees to become self-sufficient with academic staff and ensure the academic credibility of its 31 universities.

NOTES

1. Please note that both countries, India and especially Ethiopia, had very different geographical borders at that time. The trade relations started long before Ethiopia became a land locked country.
2. Early archaeological evidence are Aksumite coins that have been found in south-west India and Indian Kushana money that has been found in northern Ethiopia (Mathews 2010: 177; Pankhurst 1998: 117; Phillipson 2012: 92). The first written evidence is the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (the text has been ascribed to different dates between the 1st and 3rd century AD).
3. The terms are, however, used today for offspring of former African slaves in general, of whom not all originated from Ethiopia.
4. According to Gupta (2011: 198) philanthropic endeavors are defining the people of Indian origin in Africa, especially in former British colonies, were they have been and still are more numerous. Indians were not only proposing to establish Africa's first university in Kenya, but also established many libraries in African countries.
5. The Ethiopian government planned to lease 5 million hectares of land to investors for cultivation by 2010. The government considers this step to be necessary to ensure food self-sufficiency, generate employment and elevate poverty (Cheru and Obi 2010:125-126). This government policy and its problematic sides are explained e.g. by Pathak (2012: 166).
6. Karaturi Global Ltd not only wants to grow roses in Ethiopia, but also planned to start growing maize, rice, vegetables and long-gestation crops like oilseeds, sugar cane and cotton (Cheru and Obi 2010: 126).
7. Information obtained through an interview with the president of the Hindu Mahajan, Mr. Naynesh Doshi, in February 2013.
8. For the same period primary education enrolls 64 per cent of the relevant age group and secondary education 12 per cent (Saint 2004: 88).
9. For a complete list see the website of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (http://www.moe.gov.et). Apart from governmental universities, many international Higher Education Institutions have been established in Ethiopia like the University of South Africa (UNISA) or the University for Peace (UPEACE) (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 167). However, the article will focus only on governmental Higher Education Institutions.
10. External resources to Ethiopia's education sector were US$154 million in 2001/02. Contributions are expected to grow slightly until they stabilize at about 35 per cent of the education sector's budget (Saint 2004:100). Ethiopia profited mainly from the World Bank's Development Innovation Fund and its' knowledge sharing initiatives (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 180).
11. The cost-sharing is implemented through deferred payment taxation.
12. However, Yizengaw states that even in times of limited enrollments the quality of Higher Education in Ethiopia had been already declining (Yizengaw 2004: 13).
13. 70 percent of faculty members lacked graduate training (Getahun 2002: 54).
14. This number was an estimation by the Indian Embassy to Ethiopia in February 2013.
15. The salaries of Indian professors are about five times the salary of their Ethiopian colleagues (Tesfaye and Ayalew 2008: 162).
16. Information attained through interviews with Indian academics in Addis Ababa in February 2013.
17. Recruitment agencies have been increasing in India since the 1970s. They seem to have been an ideal tool to recruit Indians of different occupational background for the international labor market (Massey et al 2005: 152f).

18 See http://www.timesjobs.com/candidate/JobDetail View.html?adId=kMt/IP6lP+ RzpSvf+uAgZw==&.

19. See http://www.global-placements.info/current_ vacancies.html.

20. See for example: http://www. educational jobsinindia.com/others/Global-Placements-Lecturer.html.

21. As part of the test phase Ethiopia's Black Lion and Nekempte hospitals were linked with the Care Hospital in Hyderabad (Cheru and Obi 2010: 129).

22 . It seems that with the introduction of tele-medicine services also exports of medicines from India have increased (Cheru and Obi 2010: 129).

23. The flight of Ethiopian intellectuals who left for further education in former times, was tried to detain by making them sign a contract stipulating that they will work for 12 to 15 years or pay 140,000 Ethiopian Birr or more in compensation (Getahun 2002: 54f).

24. For the complete call see http://info.moe.gov.et/ pdf/call4.pdf. According to numbers quoted in the call, it seems to date from 2011 or 2012. During my field research in February and March 2013, I was told that so far only Addis Ababa University had been successful to recruit few Ethiopians from the diaspora.

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