



# OSSREA BULLETIN

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## IN THIS ISSUE

### • NEWS

- OSSREA Participates in The African Policy Institute Second Annual Meeting Laico Okoume Palace Hotel December4-5, 2008 Libreville, Gabon
- Mid-Term Audit
- Executive Committee Meeting
- Training Research Methodology and Gender Mainstreaming

### • FEATURE ARTICLES

- Confession in Two Anglo- Indian Novels  
*Tesfaye G/Mariam* (p. 8)
- Continual, Consistent and Predictable? An Anatomy of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy 1990-2008  
*Percyslage Chigora and Edson Ziso* (p.24 )
- Good Governance and Educational Reforms  
*Michael Daniel Ambatchew and Martin Prew* (p. 41)
- The Historical Development of Taxation in the World and Ethiopia: A Few Points  
*Tadesse Makonnen* (p.56 )

### • PUBLICATIONS (P.59 )

• Call for Articles  
(p. 67 )

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## **News**

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### **OSSREA Participates in The African Policy Institute Second Annual Meeting, Laico Okoume Palace Hotel, December 4-5, 2008 Libreville, Gabon**

OSSREA took part for the first time at the African Capacity Building Foundation represented by the Director of Publications and Dissemination. This second annual meeting was in Libreville, Gabon, Dec. 4-5, 2008 and the theme of the conference was the *Present Global Financial Crises, Causes, Effects, Responses and Implications for the Stability and Reform for the Global Financial Crises*.

There were a number of presentations, by prominent scholars, and government representatives, including Professor Thorvaldur Gylfason from Iceland who shared his experience of the financial collapse and the measures taken by his government. Dr Obadiah Mailafia, former Deputy Governor, Central Bank of Nigeria also spoke on his experiences including the ADB. The third speaker was Ambassador

Vijay S Makhan, Former Special Envoy of the African Union Commission to Mauritania, Panel of Eminent Persons for the Audit of the African Union, gave a very passionate presentations on African integration.

What made this meeting very unique was that, because of the problems in Zimbabwe, the Executive Committee could not make it up to the last minute leading to the cancellation of many events, including the election of the President and Vice Presidents. Outside this, the working groups and invited guests presented according to the programme.

The meeting ended with the understanding to hold the next meeting in Mauritius sometime next December.

OSSREA has been engaged in a number of activities during the period September to December 2008, some of which were the following:

#### *A Mid-Term Audit*

OSSREA carried out a mid-term audit because the previous Finance Manager was leaving. The audit was done by Getachew Kassaye & Company, a private auditing firm based in A.A. All accounts were accounted for the period between January to July 2008.

#### *Executive Committee Meeting*

The OSSREA Executive Committee held a Meeting on October 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> 2008 at the OSSREA Secretariat in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The EC deliberated on a number of issues and passed decisions. Some of the issues in the agenda of the meeting were: The former Executive Secretary, The Organisational Structure of OSSREA, Cost reduction Measures, Publications & Quality Assurance, Defaulting Grantees, The Audit Report, and Policy Papers.

Issues regarding measures to be taken towards strengthening the Finance Department, budget adjustment, and staffing levels were also raised and extensively discussed.

#### *Training In Research Methodology and Gender Mainstreaming*

The Social Science Research Methodology training OSSREA organizes (annually) took place from January 19<sup>th</sup> -30<sup>th</sup> 2009 at Ethiopia Hotel, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. A total of 25 participants drawn from various of countries in the region took part in the 10-day training. The Gender Mainstreaming training programme which coincided with the training in Social Science Research Report methodology was conducted from the 26<sup>th</sup> -30<sup>th</sup> January 2009 at OSSREA Headquarters. Seventeen participants drawn from various country attended the training.



**The OSSREA Executive Committee with OSSREA Staff Members**

## **OSSREA Welcomes A New ICT Administrator**

### **Mr. Alemu Tesfaye**

Mr. Alemu Tesfaye has joined OSSREA as an ICT Administrator as of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December



2008. Mr. Alemu has a B.Sc. in Physics from Addis Ababa University and a Post Graduate Diploma in Computer Science from HiLcoE School of Computer Science.

He is also currently in his 3<sup>rd</sup> term of a four term MBA-IT distance programme from Manipal University in India.

Mr. Alemu had worked as a computer applications instructor and also as Head of the Management and Secretarial Science Department at Hope Enterprises, as well as serving as Network and System Administrator at Zequalla Rolling Mill. Mr. Alemu later became a Chief Development Officer at

OmniTech PLC.

Mr. Alemu has also gained experience while working as a programme team leader and project manager in the development of web-based software solutions for a number of organizations, such as Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, University of Gondar, Bahir Dar University, Ethiopian Civil Aviation, United Nations Staff Savings and Credit Association and Ethiopian Information Communication Technology Development Agency.

The staff welcomes Mr. Alemu Tesfaye to our OSSREA team and wishes him all the best.

## **OSSREA Welcomes A New Finance and Administrative Manager**

Mr. Hassen Abeaw has been appointed as Finance and Administration Manager as of January 01



2009. Mr Hassen has a BA degree in Accounting from Addis Ababa University and is also a fellow of ACCA from the United Kingdom as

well as a member of the local accountancy body EPAAA. Mr Hassen has worked in various capacities some of which are the following:

- I) Internal Auditor, Cost Section Head, General Accounts Head and Finance Manager –in different Government owned profit making organizations (1983 to 1993)
- II) Product Cost Accountant/Inventory Controller, Supply Analyst, Credit Controller, Industrial and Whole Sale Fuels Territory Marketing Manager – for Exxon Mobil

Corporation (1994 – 2005)

- III) Finance and Administrative Manager – For SAFE an International NGO working on Agricultural Extension Education (2006- 2008)

The staff welcomes Mr. Hassen Abeaw to our OSSREA team and wishes him all the best.

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## **FEATURE ARTICLES**

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### **Confession in Two Anglo- Indian Novels**

*Tesfaye G/Mariam*

#### **Introduction**

This paper attempts to assess the universal theme of 'confession' as it appears in two Anglo-Indian novels, namely A.K. Naryan's *The Guide* and B. Bhattacharya's *He Who Rides a Tiger*.

However, before delving into the detail of analysis, a definition and an indication of the significance of the concept of confession and how it developed into confessional literature needs a brief appreciation.

#### **A. Confession and its Significance**

Confession is one of the universal human mental practices having to do with men's overall values, general world outlook, beliefs and faith. Confession is sought by men for a variety of reasons. People have a variety of fears or worries in their day to day lives. Among their fears

one aspect is that of obedience to who ever they think might have created them or monitored their fate and caused their being. People fear about the unknown universe and the forces responsible for its movements. They are scared not to offend the unknown lest destruction may be waged.

People generally feel that they err, and fall into sins by trespassing set conventions. As a result, they worry about the inevitability of some dire consequences to follow whatever is considered as sin or evil. As long as the culprit kept such secrets to themselves they suffer, in which case they lose mental peace. Therefore the need for the social institution of confession arises.

Confession is also known as an ambiguous term deluding a clear cut definition. However, consensus seems present among Jewish and Christian theology for confession to mean, acknowledgement of a crime or a sin. It could be an assertion of a belief in a religious faith or simply self-revelation whereby an individual or a group may reveal his/her or their intimate being or one's secret life.

Generally speaking, confession may be religious or secular. In its religious form one may

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trace the emergence and adherence to confession as far back as the beginning of man's social life and the emergence of faith. People had to appease their divine creator or savior through confession. Primitive people used confession as a form of cleansing ritual. A ritual whereby all the sins committed within a specific period are believed to have been washed away.

Gradually, religious creeds took over and organized the practice seriously so much that confession has been used and still is sought to stand as a chief redeemer, a way to spiritual freedom and clarity of one's conscience.

In the Christian faith the role of confession is vividly portrayed not only in day to day practices but also in the way it is treated in the Holy Bible. Almost every book in the Bible somehow raises the issue of confession. People sin and God redeems based on people's pleadings and repentance. But people have to accept and disclose their sins before their creator and beg for mercy.

Thus Ezra pleads to God "O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift my face to thee, my God, for our iniquities have risen higher than our heads, and our guilt has mounted up to heavens" (Book of Ezra 1973:418).

Ezra sets an example in the way people ought to submit to divine beings and indicates the way of humility. On the other hand, in the proverbs the role of confession is again vividly portrayed. "He who conceals his transgressions will never prosper. But he who confesses and forsakes them will obtain mercy" (Ibid P.583 ).

Thus the ground for confession's universality and its indispensable role in the spiritual life of people is concretely set. On the other hand, the Catholic religion has contributed a lot to the development of the institution of confession.

According to the Catholic faith, from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards the term confession designated a disclosure of sins to a duly authorized priest for the purpose of obtaining sacramental absolution (New Catholic Encyclopedia vol. 4, 131). The Catholic religion required its followers to make confession at least once

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a year. Accordingly, confession is considered indispensable in order to remove grievous sins and restore smooth divine relationships. By and large, confession is believed to overcome evil and sinful habits and temptations by the believer.

In the Orthodox Christian faith, the institution of confession is widely known. Every Christian is expected to have one 'spiritual father' to whom the individual discloses his intimate secrets, faults, sins and all transgressions of religious codes. Telling of one's sins to the 'spiritual father' is the one sure way of repentance and securing mercy from God. On the other hand, all Orthodox Christians observe the tradition of confession on Good Friday. The ceremony takes place on church grounds whereby the individual confesses and the priest prescribes a certain amount of prayers as a token of punishment. The number given depends on the severity of the sin confessed. By the same token, a Christian on his dying bed also makes a last confession to his 'spiritual father' so that he goes to the next world with a clean conscience.

Confessions could solely be personal, between people and their God or could be accomplished through a mediator: a lawfully

approved confessor (priest), etc. It could also take place either at a definite time and place according to conventions held in various churches or communities. Confession could also take place either in public or in private whereby an individual confesses in front of the congregation or in private. This is a situation referred to as auricular confession- an individual confesses his sins to a priest.

The idea of confession is not confined to religious faith only. It is also common practice in police crime investigations, in political maneuverings such as in communist confessions and could also be called upon in simple day to day human relationships. Nevertheless, confession appears in the sphere of religion more frequently.

Whatever the case, confession is believed to review relations that turned sour owing to sinful actions of people. More often than not confession is used as a means of purifying one's conscience in order to maintain mental equilibrium.

That confession contributes to people's mental health and this is confirmed by sev-

eral psychologists too. C.G. Jung while appreciating the significance of confession asserts that "confession sometimes has a truly redeeming effect. The tremendous feeling which usually follows a confession can be ascribed to the readmission of the lost sheep into the human community" (Jung 1961, 192). Jung's assertion is a good indication of the existence of parallelism between psychoanalysis and the social and religious institutions of confession.

By the same token, James Strachey in a similar connection to the above fact, states "every neurotic has something oppressing him, some secret. And by getting him to tell you about it relieve his oppression and do him good" (Strachey 1964, 189).

Hence, nothing may more clearly elaborate the indispensability of confession to the human mind than the above short quotations.

Whereas people resort to confession to get things off their chests and restore failing friendships on the one hand, religious institutions on the other hand have a greater influence on human thinking.

Nevertheless, since time immemorial, confession has remained an ambiguous term connoting several aspects of human thought. At one time it meant regret and disclosure of one's sins to some one of divine authority, and at another instance indicates the disclosure of one's secrets induced by various motives in the secular sphere.

Such practices in religious or secular self revelations have won the attention of religious leaders and several other writers so that gradually literary works having to do with confessions have emerged.

### **B. Confessional Literature**

The Academic American Encyclopedia defines Confessional Literature as "a type of autobiography in which private thoughts or behavior in such matters as sexuality, politics or religion are disclosed" (1983,177).

The tradition of disclosing ones intimate life history in a written form began long ago. It was said that the traditional form of confessional literature was first introduced by Saint Augustine in his profound work *Confessions of Saint Augustine*. Subsequently, biographies and

autobiographies have taken an extensive form and were developed into a distinct genre. Saint Augustine's confession introduced the genre and is by any standard the first developed autobiography worth its name.

Beginning in the fourth century, the development of the genre took ups and downs and as of the 18<sup>th</sup> century both biography and autobiography with their sub-genre, the 'confession', have greatly advanced and secured wide popularity as a literary form.

Autobiography as a record of an individual's life, written by the subject himself or herself could be said to be of much wider significance particularly during the final years of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. and 19<sup>th</sup> c. as well. What is more, it was during this same period that confession as a mode of writing took leave of its previous religious overtone and began dealing with secular subject matters.

The pioneer work in this trend, namely the *Confession of Saint Augustine*, was, needless to say, totally religious. In his confession the Saint's major purpose seems to be the acknowledgement of his unflinching

faith in God. In the meantime he narrates about his upbringing from his heedless childhood days up to the time of his conversion into Christianity. His confession thus is a reflection of the struggle he encountered in the transition from irreligiosity to religiosity, meanwhile praising God for his guidance.

The second popular autobiographical work- *Confessions of Rousseau* first appeared in 1784, announcing the shift made by the confessional mode from religious subjects to romantic and mundane day-to-day issues. Rousseau's contribution served as a model and was followed by several writers. Among the several works that appeared in line with confessional literature few could be mentioned here.

- *Confessions of a China Hand* by Ronald Farquharson (1950)
- *Confessions of a Disloyal European* by Jan Myrdal (1968)
- *Confessions of a European Intellectual* by Franz Schoenberner (1965)
- *Confessions of a Young Man* by George Moore (1928)
- *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* by Thomas De Quincey (1821)

- *Confessions of Zeno* by Italo Svevo (1958)
- *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit* by Samuel Taylor (1957)
- *Confessions of an Irish Rebel* by Brendan Behan (1965)
- *Confessions of Felix Krull* by Thomas Mann (1954)
- *Confessions of Nat Turner* by William Styron (1967)

From recent literary works the *Confessions of a Mask* by the Japanese author Yukio Mishima (1972) is also in the category of the confessional novel genre.

All the above indicated works and several others explicitly put their titles as a "Confession of ..." so and so, and the type of confession they presented varied from religious beliefs such as based on good and evil to personal thoughts and emotions that disclose facts and feelings about the self. However, in all cases one thing is common. All of them treated a mental anomaly, haunting characters, and that thing has to be disclosed in order to come to terms with oneself as well as with the community or the divine spirit by and large.

Quite innumerable works also dealt with the theme of confession though their titles and

approaches differed from the above. Some writers while dealing with some other themes also include the universal theme of confession in their works. For instance, Anglo-Indian novels such as *The Guide* and *He Who Rides a Tiger* take confession as one of their sub-themes.

### 1. Treatment of Confession in Some of the Novels

The classical confessional work, *Confessions of Saint Augustine*, despite its division into thirteen books, the confessional issue followed the physical and mental development stages of the saint. The mode of presentation differed from the above listed works in that it resembled one long prayer to God. Acknowledging and praising God primarily, at the same time he confesses his sins. He also records the spiritual struggle he had encountered on his way to become a great Catholic saint.

Augustine's confessions starts with humility and praise "Great Art though, O Lord, and greatly to be praised, great is thy power, and thy wisdom infinite (Pusey 1962,1). The expressions and style of writing used are no dif-

ferent from a prayer. And this mood goes on throughout the beginnings of the thirteen books. Saint Augustine disclosed his sins to God by saying "O Lord my God, I sinned in transgressing the commands of my parents and those of my masters" (Ibid, 10). At times he presents his confession as a sacrifice in the following manner: "Accept the sacrifices of my confessions from the ministry of my tongue"(Ibid: 64). Hence, one easily observes the total religiousness of the subject and its parallelism to the Bible whereby several saints pray and confess to God in order to secure His mercy.

Saint Augustine himself is said to have commented on his work by saying, "My confession in thirteen books praise the righteous and good God as they speak either of my evil or good and they are meant to excite men's minds affections towards Him" (Master Plots, Vol. 2,1057).

In comparison to *Confessions of Saint Augustine*, the other confessional novels mentioned above may all be said to be secular and more or less romantic. Most of them treated confession from the point of view of psychol-

ogy of human conduct and trend of thought.

Rousseau, for one, offered a personal account of his own experience with stark frankness about all his faults, crimes and passions. Rousseau himself asserted. "Thus have I acted, these were my thoughts such was I. With equal freedom and veracity have I related what was laudable or wicked" (Rousseau 1784, 1060). He also declares that in his writing he told the truth, publicly and fearlessly. Indeed Rousseau relates a detailed account of his upbringing, including his likings and disliking.

In both cases, Saint Augustine and Rousseau strictly narrated about their own life experiences in such a way that they revealed their innermost personalities meanwhile acknowledging their sins. Nonetheless, their confessions remain the former religious and the later secular.

Novels that came subsequently, even though confessional, were all fictional creations whereby characters disclose their secrets and portray their intimate self, and attempt to come

to terms with themselves and others. Obviously, the stories might have been based on the authors personal experiences though they are depicted under the guise of fictional confessors. Some of them are based on true historical figures and their narration is supplemented with variety of episodes.

For instance, *The Confession of Nat Turner* is based on the true history of a black American hero. The story is told by Turner, even though written by William Styron. W. Styron took Turner's actual statement of confession that he made while under custody. In this connection Styron commented that he "rarely departed from the known facts about Nat Turner and the revolt of which he was the leader" (Styron 1967,9)

The other confessional novels mentioned earlier are more or less all fictional and their style of presentation is that of simple autobiography. What makes them confessional is their frankness in disclosing their secrets and inner self. The fictional heroes at times simply speak out all their secrets, however debased, without any reserve. Others recount their indulgence into sinful exercises.

In *Confession of Zeno*, Svevo (Svevo 1958,187) discloses the mental disturbance and the kind of miserable life lived by characters who break social convention. Such characters obtain peace and mental equilibrium in confessing.

The above few examples are meant to indicate the treatment of the theme of confession by various authors in some of the confessional novels mentioned earlier. What follows is the assessment of the theme of confession in the two Anglo-Indian novels *The Guide*, and *He Who Rides a Tiger*. Both of them use different styles or approach in treating the theme of confession.

## 2. Raju's Confession in *The Guide*

R.K Narayan, author of *The Guide*, and one of India's social critics, is famous for his interest in raising a variety of social and fundamental questions and in commenting upon them. M.K. Naik once commented that "Narayan is a writer who not only asks some fundamental questions about good and evil and their roles in human life but also finds his own answers to

them" (Naik 1970). Truly, all Narayan's works are commentaries particularly on the Indian past and present and the human condition in general.

Narayan while treating several other themes in *The Guide* also raises the theme of confession. The Protagonist Raju is at one point forced by circumstances to make confessions in order to avoid a testing encounter in his new Swami role.

According to the story Raju had committed several crimes or sins that demanded confession. Moreover, after coming out of the prison, a mere chance encounter with a peasant by the name Velan, indulges him into assuming false and pretentious kind of life: that of playing the role of a *Swami*. In actual fact he did not mean to take the role cunningly, but was forced into it by the treatment of naïve peasants. However, when the time of severe drought and hunger set in, Raju, as a Swami, was expected to take an ordeal and fast for 12 days. But he did not want to starve.

Even though he thought of running away, he was not sure if he could escape. What remained for him was to confess, pure and simple. Even then, he did not have the courage to address all the villagers. Instead he chooses one of his intimate peasant friends (Velan) and tells him his real secrets, that he was no saint or Swami.

In this regard Raju's confession in a way resembles that of the Catholic private confession auricular which is made with an individual priest. The difference however lies in the fact that in Raju's case Velan is neither a priest nor an authorized person to accept confessions.

On the other hand, Raju's confession is also different from the confessions of Saint Augustine as well as that of Rousseau. In the case of Saint Augustine, the saint addressed God even though he put his words into writing. Rousseau on the other hand, simply disclosed his inner self to whoever reads his confession. Most other confessional novels that came within the trend also followed a more or less similar model.

From the point of view of narration all confessional novels, including *The Guide*, use characters (fictional) who make confession in the first

person. In most confessional novels written in the form of autobiographies, they also all use the "I" or first person point of view throughout. In the case of *The Guide*, Narayan used a mixture of modes with shifting point of views from chapter to chapter or even within a chapter.

R.K. Narayan seems perhaps to mix up the artifice in order to break the monotony as well as to assert pretence of modernity and in the meantime to create suspense.

After Raju summoned Velan to listen to his story, one expects to hear Raju's life history in an orderly way at least a sort of beginning right in the next chapter. For instance, at the end of chapter six Raju says "Velan I must speak to your ears. You must pay attention to what I am going to say...I am not a saint..." (Ibid) Contrary to this leading sentence the next page (chapter seven) begins by saying "I was accepted by Marco as a member of the family." (Ibid: 100) and Raju's confession continued up to the end of chapter ten. The last chapter (11) gave the final account of Raju's life through the third person narrative.

Raju confessed all about his life as a guide and the resultant seduction of Rosie, Marco's wife, his manipulation of her art as a dancer, his greed and forgery, and his final imprisonment. In his confessions Raju has given a detailed account of his life history from his birth up to his emergence from the prison gates without any omission.

Despite his frank confession about his being just an ordinary erring human being like anyone else, Velan could only respond "I don't know why you tell me all this Swami. It is very kind of you to address, at such length, to your humble servant." (Ibid: 208)

Raju's intention was to facilitate his own escape by making this confession. That is, upon discovering that running away from the whole thing might only end up in being dragged back and punished for fooling them, he resorted to make confessions. Ironically, his confession only caused adoration on the part of Velan. His confession did not bring about the desired relief or anticipated escape.

The reason for this might be accounted for by the fact that Raju's confession did not result form genuine regret. His behavior did not

emanate from an inherent motive designed to clear his conscience. It was only when he was cornered that he thought of confession. Confession by its nature should come out of a sense of guilt. It should result from an introspection of one's desire to come to terms with himself. In the case of Raju, it seems that he would have kept on pretending to be a Swami had not events taken a different turn against his personal comforts and interests.

On the other hand, it is indicated that the same peasants who initially mistook Raju for a genuine Swami, finally misunderstood his confessions and thus forced him to his death by starvation. It is also ironical that the role of a Swami that he silently took in order to be well fed finally brought about Raju's death through hunger.

Raju's nature of avoiding being direct, in revealing the truth also has led Velan to take him for a Swami. In a similar manner Velan's brother misquotes Raju, and hence the process of his doom is set on. Raju's instruction stated "tell your brother immediately, wherever he may be that unless they are good I will never eat, say I will never eat. Don't ask what." The ambiguity turned out to be re-

ported as "The Swami, the Swami does not want food any more"...

Thereupon, Raju's final trouble emerged so much that he was forced to make his confessions. However, the motives behind his confessions obviously was not penitence but was motivated by desperation. Had Raju been genuine he would have confessed to the public rather than to a peasant of no consequence. Raju kept on pretending even after he discovered that Velan was not doing anything to relieve him. He had all the chances to make amends. For instance, when the journalist asked him to tell something about his early life Raju kept to his fraudulence and answered, "what do you want me to say?" and even boldly asserted that he has been a yogi.

In the long run, his superficial pretensions gradually took a more concrete form wherein he found himself for the first time in his life making an earnest effort. He even went further and made a resolution. "If by avoiding food I should help the trees bloom, and the grass grow, why not do it thoroughly?" (Ibid 213) The thought itself seems to reflect his obstinacy. He went on becoming bolder and bolder until he got immersed with his own make-belief. He finds himself ashamed to give up his

pretense after all that popularity and public fuss over his name. Otherwise what would be the wisdom of insisting on an ordeal without a pinch of genuine faith? It might as well be concluded that Raju might have dreamt of coming out victorious to add to his fame all the more. That seems why he went on with renewed strength. R.K. Narayan satirizes about the fate of the pretender by playing upon Raju's imaginations. Fragile Raju says "Velan it is raining in the hills. I can feel it coming up under my feet, up my legs." (Ibid 221) But the fact remains that Raju is standing in a knee deep pool of water. In a delirium resulting from hunger and exhaustion Raju imagines rain coming as a result of his fasting. Narayan seems to comment that confession should be genuine, to a right person and at the proper time.

### 3. Kalo's Confession in *He Who Rides the Tiger*

In comparison to *The Guide* B. Bhattacharya's novel *He who Rides the Tiger* has a simpler and a straight forward plot. Kalo the black smith led a wretched life due to poverty and yet was never an imposter. He never cheated or indulged in corruption. While hunger devastated his village Kalo took ref-

uge in the city as all other villagers attempted to do. On his way to the city, hunger forced him to steal some banana fruit for which he got imprisoned.

Kalo gradually learned that the rich and members of the higher caste were responsible for his wretched life. The story unfolds with Kalo's gradual development in consciousness as he moved from pre-political to political maturity. In the long-run Kalo decided to take revenge upon the perfidious lot of the higher class. And it is this desire for revenge that led Kalo to create an artificial god that would enable him gull the rich and force them bow down to him and his creation.

However, after he has confirmed his victory over the whole lot of oppressors, Kalo's conscience did not allow him to go on cheating. He wanted to clear his conscience by confessing whatever he has done. Nevertheless, the implementation of Kalo's confession was not easy. Before the actual confession, he languished in travail for weeks at end. Finally, he found that the only means that would enable him come to terms with him self and clear his conscience was through confession. At the same time, the idea of giving up, "ease comfort, security for

hard living had frightened him." (Bhattacharya 1955, 235) Kalo's inner self that always stood for righteousness and the feeling of success in having avenged on the oppressors gave him the strength to make his final confessions. He has seen all men for what they are and finally decided to end with fraudulence opting for a clean mind.

According to the story, Kalo's struggle with him self in the process of effecting his confession was well depicted. His worries and total state of mind as he brooded over the case was observed in detail. His physical feature was pictured as "eyes deep in their sockets as if he had not slept for many nights" (Ibid 234) showing how seriously he was affected.

Finally, he addressed the several hundred people staring at him, at a big ceremony. "Now listen well, priests and pundits. Listen to the truth. I have installed a false god, for there was no dream at all. I have made you commit sacrilege and blacken your faces" (Ibid 235). He goes on to confess how he was hungered, forced to commit theft and went to jail and how he came up

with the idea of the dream and the god Chiva. Kalo did not omit any of the facts in his public confession. In so doing, he differed from Raju who lacked the courage to face the crowd with the truth. On the other hand, Kalo was not forced to make his confession by any external motive. It was his affected conscience that nagged him to confess. Whereas Raju died with false pretense instead of revealing his true self to the public, Kalo however, showed courage to tell the very people he fooled. And this he did on his own free will.

Kalo's truthfulness and humble conscience are presented on several occasions. He could not hide the secret of his stealing bananas and his final imprisonment from his beloved daughter. He confessed what he did why he did so, because the weight of concealing his sin disturbed his mental peace. On the other hand, Raju concealed that he forged Rosie's signature in order to get hold of all her jewels until the case was discovered and he was put in jail. Even then he was not ready to confess his sin to a woman who lost her marital status due to his relationship. What is more, his actions of forging did not emanate out of necessity or due to hunger. Raju committed forgery out of greed or avaricious behavior. Despite

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Rosie's innocence and generous behavior Raju strove to own all her wealth by all means. However, he did not repent for his evil actions willingly. Kalo's behavior is totally different. His evil behavior was caused by the evil treatment he received from the higher class. Nevertheless, he repents in the final analysis. On the other hand, Kalo was well aware of the dire consequences of such confessions in public. He knew the danger. All the same, he had the will and confidence to make his confession. True to his expectations "the audience gave full-throated shouts...The rogue! The shaitan! Beat him up break every bone in his carcass" (Ibid 238), etc. But this did not intimidate him to the point of withdrawing.

Similar thoughts have also gone into the mind of Raju when he brooded over the idea of confession. However, he did not possess the courage to put his ideas into practice, because he always thought of an easy way out.

Another point worth mentioning about Kalo's confession is that his confession seems only new to the narratee that made up the public and not to the reader. The reader has been privileged to know the secret as he pursued Kalo's actions one after the other. What remained in suspense is perhaps the fact about whether

Kalo would confess or not. From the previous virtuous behavior of Kalo which was well grounded, one may as well anticipate that at a certain point he might disclose his secret, at least to an individual if not to the public.

The confession may also be said to provide more satisfaction to Kalo's mind because it confirmed his courage. He proved that the previously humiliated Kalo has gulled his superiors, inhabitants of a higher world. That he has equaled or even sized them up is revealed in the bold confessions he made to the public.

Kalo's character thus obviously was the type, governed by venerable values. On the other hand, Raju stands as a different character. He is the type who never cared for good or evil. That is, he did not observe conventions or communal moral codes as long as his wellbeing is comfortably secured. In a word Raju may be taken as an imposter. Nonetheless, both Raju and Kalo made their confessions however, we know for variegated motives. But both have similarity in that they expected social or psychological relief from their confessions.

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## Conclusion

Confessional novels as a sub-genre of autobiography have been popular particularly for the last couple of centuries. The confessions of Saint Augustine (4<sup>th</sup> c.) and then Rousseau's confessions stand out as pioneers and served as models for subsequent works that flourished in that tradition.

Confessions, being one of the universal human fundamental issues, have been and are still reflected in literary works coming out of different cultures.

The two Anglo-Indian novels, *The Guide* and *He Who Rides the Tiger* have a similar theme of confessions even though they differed in their approaches from their predecessors' in the trend of confessional literature. Most of the novels in that tradition were mostly given titles such as Confessions of...so and so. And the confessions they portrayed are simply self revelations of various individuals with either a profane or holy subject matter as befitted the characters. Their stories are also in the form of direct autobiographies that frankly dealt with the individuals' intimate secrets, etc. However confessions made in

*The Guide* and in *He Who Rides the Tiger* are of a different mode. Both followed the classical or traditional confession making approach. Someone commits a sin and then confesses either to God, to a priest, or to someone else.

In both the novels, Raju and Kalo embark on committing certain crimes and finally make a breast of their secrets, the former to an individual, and the latter to the public. In both cases confession is sought to bring about absolution either to social, personal or mental ailments. It is meant to secure social or mental equilibrium that has been disrupted due to a sin or crime committed.

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## Continual, Consistent and Predictable? An Anatomy of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy 1990-2008

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### Abstract

Since the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe the same leadership, ruling party, and governing constitution has rather remained more or less the same. In relation to foreign policy issues one would assume that it would also remain almost constant. It is the overall aim of this paper to examine and evaluate the extent to which the Zimbabwean foreign policy has remained continual, consistent and predictable. Current debates in Zimbabwe highlight the different interests involved in this transformation. Predicting the foreign policy of a state is straightforward whenever the relevant international and societal norms to produce a clear and consistent expectation of appropriate behaviour with respect to the state in a given situation is available. The paper will assess the presence of social norms both within the state and the international environment in order to test congruency. This allows

for a clear prediction of behaviour. Making a prediction becomes therefore problematic when there are international and domestic norms of sufficient commonality and specificity, which place contradictory norm-based demands on the state concerned. The paper will further investigate whether if certain shared, value-based expectations of a state's appropriate behavior continues to exist, and whether the state will continue to pursue a foreign policy that is consistent. In the final analysis it will expose the central factors at play in changing policy or that makes it continual and consistent in a rather changing environment.

### Introduction

Ulf Engels had hinted in 2003 that the path being followed by Zimbabwe seems to have indicated that Zimbabwe's foreign policy was largely going to remain continual, consistent and predictable. In April 2005 Zimbabwe celebrated 25 years of independence through Silver jubilee celebrations. Since attaining independence in 1980, Zimbabwe in interacting with actors in the international arena has exhibited a behaviour that is largely consistent, continual and predictable. This arises from the fact that the party that took over government in 1980 has been uninterrupted at the helm of decision-making in Zimbabwe's politics. Also, the legal framework upon which the state was based was completely overhauled by the Lancaster House constitution. Though amended several times, it

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is a document that has since maintained a political-economic system that is largely stable. Since the attainment of independence, Zimbabwe has enjoyed a relationship with other actors in the international system.

### **Conceptual and Theoretical Framework**

Foreign policy has been defined as a strategy governments use to guide their actions towards other states and as a process involving a set of procedures and structures that states use to arrive at foreign policy decisions and implement them.<sup>1</sup> Zimbabwe, of late, has been said to depict a collapsed or insecure state, a besieged state, weak state, parasitic state, failed state, decaying state e.t.c. There is one underlying assumption in this research study. Given that the regime that has been at the apex of power in Zimbabwe has remained there ever since 1980, one is tempted to believe that the policy maintains consistency, continuity and largely predictability. The leadership and political party in Zimbabwe has virtually remained the same since independence therefore there is continuity in foreign policy formulation and implementation.

Foreign policy is described as involving actions and ideas decided upon by policy makers in order to solve a problem, promote or influence some change in the policies, attitude or actions of another state or other states, whatever the case may be.<sup>2</sup> Zimbabwe's foreign policy objective is fundamentally to help safeguard and enhance the security and prestige of the country and the quality of life of its people by engaging with other countries at various levels in order to influence their behaviour so that an international environment conducive to the attainment of these goals is created and maintained.<sup>3</sup> Zimbabwe's foreign policy can be considered in three segments, namely, the geographical region within which the country is situated, (SADC), the African continent itself as a whole, (AU) and the entire international community.<sup>4</sup>

Further, foreign policies are the strategies used by governments to guide their actions on the international arena. They spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation as well as general means by which they intend to pursue those objectives.<sup>5</sup> Foreign policy outcomes result from multiple forces working at once on the various levels of analysis.

For Orwa, foreign policy “is the sum total of a raved intentions vis-à-vis its relations with other states and non state actors in international relations”.<sup>6</sup> According to Handreider foreign policy should be defined as a “coordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers seek to manipulate the international environment in pursuit of certain objectives through moralising principles to guide their pursuit.... an outcome of the interplay between domestic and international environment with which states operate”.<sup>7</sup> According to Morgenthau, it is “an instrument for pursuing the national interest which is defined in terms of power”. It embodies its aspirations in dealing with the states in international arena. These aspirations are expressed through systematic and coordinated statement of goals and sets of actions.

Patel distinguishes three main areas of policy orientation and direction for any state, that is, policy of status quo, imperialism or expansionist policy and prestige or demonstrative power. Foreign policy is domestic in its origin, but it is affected and influenced by factors that lie outside the state, the international environment. These relates to actions and responses by other states, which often trigger reactions by the state whose foreign policy is affected by such ac-

tions. The reactions are not haphazardly coordinated but they are done through a set or sets of foreign policy decisions and actions. Foreign policy, for a state therefore, “is first and foremost a reflection if not an extension of its domestic policy”.<sup>8</sup> The relations between African countries and the West mirrors “enemies and opponents as well as allies and supporters, both internally and externally”.<sup>9</sup> The relationship hovers around structural connections of class interests be they strategic or tactical as it pertains socio-economic, political, military and cultural aspects. In other words, “the history of post colonial Africa is the history of the consolidation of its domination and exploitation by the centre... (the) majority of the African countries is characterised by the emergence and expansion of the national bourgeoisie, which serve largely to maintain these relations of domination and exploitation”.<sup>10</sup>

The study of foreign policy decision-making in political science is marked by successive theoretical approaches, each using a different viewpoint to describe behavior and to explain specific policy decisions. Depending on their respective conceptions of agency, theories of foreign policy have to answer different questions in order to ac-

count for the foreign policy behaviour of states. A theory that assumes that actors are self-interested utility maximizers has to address the question of which goals are sought by the actors under study.

Classical theorists such as Hans Morgenthau, of the rational approach, focusing on the rational assessment of interests and power resources to reach value-maximizing choices represent the first way of viewing foreign policy. This Rational Actor Model remains useful as a quick approximation to predict choices by policy-makers in states such as the ex-Soviet Union, where the detailed process of decision-making was hidden from public view. Variations of this approach attempt to apply the same rational calculations to multiple actors within a state.

Neo-realism however sees the cause of all the power struggles and rivalries not as a function of the nature of states, but as a function of the nature of the international system. States are out there alone. As for neo-classical realism, it is a sort of revival of classical realism. It accepts all of the above about power rivalries

only to suggest that state characteristics (state level variables) play a large role in the behaviour of states. States do not just seek power and they do not just fear other powerful states; there are reasons why states seek power and there are reasons why states fear other states.

Meanwhile, understanding Zimbabwe's behaviour in international relations cannot be divorced from the current debate on the "clash of civilisation" and the Fukuyama thesis of "the end of history". From a wider perspective, the driving forces are the population explosion in the Islamic world alongside rising economic power in eastern Asia. These developments are fuelling the challenge to the West's world dominance, especially in the presentation of values that are regarded as "universal". Inter-civilisational conflict has arisen in various fields; nuclear proliferation, immigration, human rights, democracy and context of definition.

An attempt to contextualise Zimbabwe in the global forum without making reference to

epitomising the future as presenting a new world of disorder would be fatal. This involves acceptance of old problems as dying but the new ones are emerging- instead of history dying/ending, there is rather “remaking of history” back to the future. The new ones are presented through, but not limited to, globalisation, economic problems, population growth, environmental stress, the spread of crime and diseases, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction e.t.c. All these are accompanied by symptoms that exist to depict disorder - crime, social distress, collapsed states, refugees, fundamentalism, desertification and genocide.

### **Some Historical Analytical Aspects of Zimbabwe’s Foreign Policy**

The early writers on Zimbabwe’s foreign policy have largely been influenced by the Marxist theory, dependence theory and the political economy approach in their analysis. Patel noted that Zimbabwe features the desire to achieve total independence...safeguarding sovereignty on both the political and economic fronts.<sup>11</sup> In the first seven years of independence, Patel concluded that change is a long term process and the survival of the Zimbabwean state will be dependent on how it guards, mortgages or sells its sovereign independence. He noted *Zimbabwe has meaningfully pursued*

*the dispersal of dependence as a method for safeguarding its sovereign independence and, hopefully, assuring a better future for the majority of its peoples.*

The domestic environment of Zimbabwe has been analysed by a number of authorities. Colin Stoneman and Lionel Cliffe noted that it depicts a neo-colonial situation.<sup>12</sup> This is a concept that emanates from Nkrumah, denoting postcolonial relations in which a former colonial and a neo-colonial master continue in relations that depict the colonial era, whose objective was/is perpetual exploitation of the former colony.

Brian Kagoro views the domestic environment from a political perspective especially the emergence of what he termed effective opposition politics, the failure to transform a repressive colonial state, patronage politics and contradictions that existed in World Bank and IMF prescriptions and advocating for neo liberal policies.<sup>13</sup>

John Robertson tended to concentrate on the economic dimension to the Zimbabwean domestic environment citing issues of debt, shortage of foreign exchange and assault on the commercial farming sector. Robertson sees Zimbabwe's prosperity being dependent on cooperation with international financial institutions and overall change in political leadership and the nature of the regime.<sup>14</sup> This is an observation also made by Tedd Brett and Simon Winter who noted emphatically, "No progress will be possible until a new regime emerges that honours its commitments and adopts policies that benefit the whole of Zimbabwean society, rather than its own supporters".<sup>15</sup>

In his analysis of both the domestic and external environment, Patrick Bond notes that Zimbabwe requires a rather radical policy alternative that is far removed from the current debate of nationalism on one hand and neo-liberalism on the other and moves further to serving the needs of the society rather than the narrow interests of elites, internal and external.

Instead of narrow Washington-centric macro-economic options and projects that are forced by donors/lenders, Zimbabwe can consider

other advice that would be biased, instead towards a broader, deeper strategy for inward-oriented, equitable development.<sup>16</sup>

Ibbo Mandaza, analysing Zimbabwe's domestic environment, noted that there is likely to be continued contradiction between imperialist hegemony and popular demands of the masses.<sup>17</sup> Ulf Engels provides a comprehensive analysis of Zimbabwe's foreign policy largely for the first decade of independence. He did highlight pertinent issues and it is from this author that the researchers largely borrow the theme, hence the desire to deny or confirm his assertion on continuity, consistency and predictability of Zimbabwe's foreign policy. His work largely fell short in terms of the time framework that the researchers will dwell on.

Richard Schwartz has devoted a whole text analysing Zimbabwe's international relations. He noted of the vulnerabilities that are faced by an independent state in the developing world. Schwartz analysed Zimbabwe's external conducts with various multilateral institutions, countries and continents, concluding.

...running the international affairs of an LDC is a tough assignment, but it could be done more efficiently were the government to submit to some form of internal yet political audit...With the "commanding heights" of the economy still largely in private hands since independence, evident efforts to bring Zimbabwe's international economic relations lie within the government's operational ambit...<sup>18</sup>

### **The Contemporary Evidence**

The complex manifestations of foreign policy can be understood in terms of political upheavals, international relations and superpower confrontation. Especially in the developing world, the distinctive foreign policies are related not so much to the problems of postcolonial statehood but so much on autocracy. This is largely a direct product of elite socialist ideology robust, active and daring proving that some small states have the capacity to play a constructive role in world affairs. However, foreign policy in Zimbabwe also seems to have been firmly influenced by a colonial legacy, idiosyncratic factors and economic underdevelopment alongside the dependence that normally accompanies it. With the waning of Cold War, second wars of liberation emerged exacerbated by the fall of communism and its attendant commandist version of state administration.

### **The West**

At the root of the colonial state was domination and its ability to impose hegemony upon subjects- the control exercised was based on monopoly of power and its ability to use force or the implied threat of superior force. Why is Africa important to the West? Among others, the most probable reasons have to do with geo-strategic calculations in terms of sources of strategic, cheap raw materials, markets for expensive manufactured products, and outlets for export of capital and reserves for cheap labour within the international division of labour. All this is also made possible and easy to do courtesy of a brazenly unequal trade relationship, which created a core-periphery relationship. All this is calculated to ensure that Africa continues to be strongly depended on the West's advanced technological, information, management, marketing and transportation techniques and advanced science-based production methods of the centre.

The theoretical and practical recognition of the primacy of internal factors over external factors is of crucial importance as far as the resolution and defence of nature of relationship of domination and exploitation, which the centre established and maintains with African countries, is concerned. Ever since the Fast Track Land Reform Programme at the turn of the millennium, the West at the behest of Britain and the US has not only vilified, demonised and ostracised the southern African country, but also imposed declared and undeclared sanctions on Zimbabwe, which continue to be widened despite the humanitarian crisis ravaging the country. There is no doubt that despite the governance concerns of the international community, the Zimbabwean issue's handling has been riddled with class interests. Any government of a state in the world by and large goes into or is entrusted with state power to pursue and/or defend certain interests. But whose class interests are being served in the process? It is critical to discern whether it is the interests of those who control the state and the economy, and further, if they are in common with interests of the masses of the people of that given country. USA 's foreign policy is fundamentally aimed at increasing Africa's contribution to US prosperity.<sup>19</sup>

Many African leaders are hard pressed to deliver on independence promises and are seeking to live up to expectations nurtured during their fight against colonial rule. Attention has reverted to local levels in which their lines were rooted (where the battle between the modern and older established values would continue to be fought). The language of the colonial governance exacerbated this cultural distance between the governors and the governed and further strengthened the position of those in power.

### **Global Institutions**

As the world dangerously moves towards the era of full-scale global governance, it is the hope of the developed world that the ideas, norms and rules underpinning it reflect diversity of values and interests in the world. Zimbabwe has maintained a critical stance on the actions and operations of the UN with special reference to the world body's failure to rid itself of undue US hegemonic influence. It has to be borne in mind that at the founding of the UN in 1945, Africa's presence in the world body was hardly noticeable, as there were only two black ruled states that were members namely, Ethiopia and Liberia. South Africa,

though a member too, was actually a white minority controlled state on the African continent and did not represent African interests at all. Today, Africa has the largest number of countries as member states of the UN having achieved its objectives of successfully exorcising the continent of colonialism and imperialism.<sup>20</sup> Barring minimal and therefore inconsequential discord here and there, emerging is a realisation that in its interaction with the rest of the world, Zimbabwe is not influenced by, nor does it take any order from other states or foreign interests. Its obligation is to the people of Zimbabwe, and not to foreign interests, which inspires and influences the Southern African country's conduct of relations with other members of the international community. On several occasions, this is a national vision that has been carried to the UN, effectively shaping Zimbabwe's behaviour with other countries. Zimbabwe maintains that the UN has failed to be the centre for harmonizing the actions of the nations but has instead been hijacked by a few countries whose conduct sometimes undermines its authority. Zimbabwe is concerned that the world body's Security Council has often failed to adopt balanced approaches in dealing with various crises in different regions of the world.

When there is a threat to peace in Europe or other regions, the UN has zealously and robustly deployed peacekeepers provided for with adequate resources. As a result the peacekeepers are able to deal immediately with the threats to peace and security that might arise. On the other hand, its response to African conflict situations can be described as often half-hearted and hesitant.<sup>21</sup> A classic case was Zimbabwe's decision to spearhead a regional military alliance in 1998 to avert the imminent fall of the Kabila regime in the Democratic Republic of Congo into the fierce rebel movement. All this was after a considered, swift and plausible realisation on the part of then Organ on Defence and Politics Chairman, Robert Mugabe that the UN would surely drag its feet on the DRC threat, while ironically doubling peacekeeping efforts elsewhere. Zimbabwe continues to be the leading regional voice of the Southern end of Africa in calling for a reformed, representative and broadly based UN organisation, remarks that were even reiterated on the occasion of reigning Secretary General, Ban- Ki- Moon's ascension to the throne.

### **North-South**

Globalisation and the expansion of economies of scale have implication not only for the state's capacity and legitimacy but also for society at large as various groups and individuals seek to redefine themselves in a rapidly changing domestic and individual environment.<sup>22</sup> The African state reflects the disintegration of structure, legitimate authority, law and political order within the confines of the state. Anarchy never reigns as any vacuum is easily filled with locally ethnic nationalist or simply warlords.<sup>23</sup> What will get Africa out of her present food and fiscal crises is not clamping down of more government controls but the release of people's organisation genius at solving country's problems. Africa's political problems have interacted with inherent economic weaknesses and aggravated by inappropriate and policies, hopes of revival and recovery fade everyday.

Virtually all of Africa inherited overdependence on a narrow range of primary commodities for export and foreign exchange earnings, which rendered them excessively vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices; a tradition of state intervention in every sector of

the economy overrunning the state's administrative capacity (judiciary and regulatory). Budget deficits ballooned due to bureaucratic and political mismanagement, incompetence, and corruption and grand theft. Zimbabwe's relationship with the North has deteriorated largely because of massive efforts in firmly establishing the economy in indigenous hands as a result of deteriorating relations with traditional Western investors. Either the economic resources are now drifting into the hands of locals or towards what government calls "friendly nations". As ill be discussed later, these happen to be countries whose relations (foreign policy) with Zimbabwe are not hostile.

### **South-South**

Zimbabwe shares deep solidarity with almost the entire developing countries especially those who share its worldview, that is a world of sovereign entities who firmly hold the right to unfettered, self determination without interference by the powerful nations of our time. Zimbabwe hogs the limelight in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century for several reasons. For close to a decade now, the country, especially its leadership has

battled to withstand fierce vilification by powerful forces that have done almost everything to isolate it in the international community of states and nations. However, because the rhetoric coming from Harare (self-determination, sovereignty, emancipation) is largely nationalistic and pro-poor, Zimbabwe has never fall short of sympathisers. Despite a biting political and socio-economic crisis, Zimbabwe's foreign policy is also the reason why the state has miraculously failed to sink or collapse. Strategies for successful foreign policy success have thus depended on long-term economic strategies to reduce vulnerabilities, foster greater regional integration, and diversify trade, aid, and technological sources. The distinctive problems are a result of a "decaying state", miserable domestic, regional; international constraints have precluded an effective foreign policy in the 1990s. South Africa, a member of the United Nations Security Council has on several occasions opposed US and UK sponsored drastic resolutions against Zimbabwe at the UN because of its close ties with its neighbour. Further, the support that Zimbabwe has enjoyed from its Southern counterparts continues to keep legitimate punitive international action at bay. Zimbabwe's interaction with the South is best understood in terms of changing domestic coalitions, political fractions within the state, and

foreign actors. This in itself provides a vital lesson as to how weak states can exploit comparative advantages and opportunities to exert regional and continental leadership as well champion common interest.

### **Continental**

#### **OAU/AU**

Since joining the OAU, (now the AU) soon after the attainment of independence in April 1980, Zimbabwe has played an active role towards the realization of the organization's objectives. Firstly, His Excellency the President has attended almost all the OAU/AU Summits where he has made his contributions in the deliberations of that body. Secondly, Zimbabwe has contributed immensely in terms of material and personnel to AU/UN peacekeeping missions in Somalia, Angola, and Rwanda. In Liberia, our contribution was in the form of sending an eminent person, the late former President Canaan S. Banana as a Special Representative of the OAU.<sup>24</sup> The provisions of this Council stipulate that an attack on a member state by an outsider will be deemed an attack on all. The most recent poignant demonstration of the solidarity that Africans are building has been the refusal by the Af-

ricans to attend the African/EU Summit in Lisbon, Portugal without Zimbabwe's participation. Thus, the age-old tactic of divide and rule has been thwarted and it is hoped that this stance by the leaders of the African continent will become the norm in future in different situations or circumstances with regards to different countries. It can thus be seen that the AU has established a firm foundation of unity and solidarity in action in the continent. What it means to Zimbabwe is that our policies, attitudes and behaviour have to conform to what the AU Charter says on various issues. We are a member state of the continental organization hence our foreign policy should be in tandem with the principles and objectives enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the AU.<sup>25</sup>

### **Regional**

Zimbabwe's neighbours, particularly Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana, which had already attained sovereign independence when Zimbabwe was still waging its armed struggle for freedom, immensely contributed to the achievement of this country's independence by offering political, diplo-

matic, moral and material as well as financial support to the liberation movements.<sup>26</sup> These countries will thus, remain relevant to Zimbabwe's international intercourse as long as the liberation war government is in power and at the helm of foreign policy-making. However, recent events have once again tested Zimbabwe's foreign policy with regards to Botswana's vicious criticism of the government of Zimbabwe following a widely condemned presidential election in June 2008. New Botswana president General Ian Khama has not minced his words and his administration has declared that it does not recognise the Government in Harare.

The next layer of close interaction in Zimbabwe's foreign relations within the region is the Southern African Development Community (SADC). When the regional grouping was formed in April 1980 as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) it was tasked with the objective of pursuing policies aimed at curtailing dependence on apartheid South Africa and the integration of the economies in the region.<sup>27</sup> Thus, in

more or less the same vein, Zimbabwe's foreign policy towards the region aims at emphasizing the importance of solidarity and cooperation with the governments and peoples of the various countries.

It was none other than Foreign Affairs Minister S. Mudenge who asserted that this policy is partly a reflection of Zimbabwe's gratitude for the solidarity and support it enjoyed during the difficult period of the struggle for independence. Even today, albeit under extreme pressure from within and without the country, Zimbabwe still enjoys SADC's solidarity. This was especially demonstrated during the critical phase of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Further, this solidarity has frequently been unequivocally demonstrated during several SADC Summits, like in Dar-es-Salaam in August 2003, when the Heads of State and Government called on the Commonwealth and the EU to lift sanctions imposed against Zimbabwe.<sup>28</sup>

These are the principles that have always guided Zimbabwe when considering making contributions towards peace efforts in such countries as Lesotho, Angola, Somalia, Mozambique, and East Timor as well as in the former Yugoslavia. It is in defence of the same

principles that our men and women were deployed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as part of the SADC Allied Forces and Zimbabwe will continue to pursue with determination its quest for peace and justice among the nations of the world guided by the principles of impartiality and equal sovereignty.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Future of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy**

After close to three decades of one-party-rule that has remained consistent and certainly predictable, Zimbabwe's foreign policy faces a predictably uncertain future given the country's contemporary domestic political dynamics. The emergence in 1999, rise (1999-2007) and subsequent significant political and international gains of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 2008 have heralded the undeniable arrival of a new breed of politicians. The two MDC opposition formations have collectively and individually made an impact on Zimbabwe's political scene to the extent that they are the majority in the legislature's Lower House. Further, the opposition's link with powerful actors in the international community necessarily invites one to spare a thought for Zimbabwe's foreign policy direction from now. This is important especially with regards to the fact that the opposition promises to bring a 'new,

modern and progressive' way of running the country, which indicates a significant departure from the current nationalist/military alliance manning the state which has crafted and pursued the afore-discussed foreign policy. The ruling ZANU (PF) party and the two MDC formations are currently engrossed in SADC initiated talks brokered by South African President Thabo Mbeki aimed at resolving the decade long economic and political crisis. To that end, a power-sharing arrangement is on the agenda.

In view of the possible, in fact, inevitable power-sharing compromise in discussion, it follows that for the first time in Zimbabwe's post-independence history, the complexion of the administration will be different. The incoming politicians represent a broad-based yet contradictory set of class interests as diverse as labour and capital as well as local and international interests. To the extent that for 28 consecutive years the Mugabe regime has pursued a foreign policy rigidly guided by the need to safeguard sovereignty, total independence, self-determination, justice and equality of all and territorial integrity, the fusion of opposition, yet popular politicians themselves ambassadors of the powerful globalisation forces fronted by the capitalist neo-liberal agenda of the primacy of markets is expected to affect the foreign policy of Zimbabwe, one way or the other.

## Conclusion

The period under investigation gives the evidence that Zimbabwe has a foreign policy that has largely been consistent, continual and predictable due to a number of factors. The nationalist-military alliance that is ZANU PF has maintained a stranglehold on state power in Zimbabwe for 28 undisturbed years. In its interaction with actors on the international scene, Zimbabwe gives an interesting case of a small nation of the South consistently pursuing its foreign policy in a manner that has angered a lot of big actors in the process. Through skillful diplomacy, manoeuvre and outmanoeuvring of perceived and real adversaries, Harare has interacted predictably. The maintenance of one-party rule as well as a single Head of State largely explains this state of affairs as the ideals and aspirations of the liberation struggle, the subsequent definition of the national interest upon independent statehood as well as the dynamic yet comprehensible international economic, political and military system as it affects Zimbabwe has continued to guide foreign-policy making. New realities which however cannot be de-contextualised from contemporary globalisation, economic stress, the influence

of the latter day waves of democratisation and the undisputed power of regime change agendas confront Zimbabwe at this juncture with possible far-reaching implications not only on foreign policy making, but its long-term economic and political stability and resource sovereignty in the 21st Century.

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## **Good Governance and Educational Reforms**

*Michael Daniel Ambatchew and  
Martin Prew*

### **Introduction**

In a recent call for papers OSSREA (2008) stated:

African countries will continue to be bedevilled by violent conflicts (of various types), human rights violations, ineffective and personalized political parties, some form of economic growth, increasing poverty, deepening and extreme inequality and deepening aid dependency - all clearly pointing to the absence of democratic governance ...

Such diatribes strongly laced with Afro-pessimism seem to emanate from disillusionment brought about by the shattering of the dreams held by many Africans of post-

independence prosperity. Neville Alexander (1996) comments upon the fact that policies in Africa tend to have systematically depressing or disastrous results. This probably emanates from governments being too willing to absorb and apply 'obvious' theories and the inability of policy makers, implementers and intellectuals to adapt such theories to the practical realities of the particular country and to the felt needs of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural populations. At the same time, African countries are being pressurized to tread internationally acceptable paths by the carrots and sticks used by global institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The number of soft and hard loans contracted effectively silences them from querying upfront whether all of these 'internationally acceptable paths' are indeed internationally accepted or beneficial to their specific country.

Although, education is deemed by many to be one of the most powerful weapons to bring about Africa's much sought after renaissance, it has not to date had much impact. Disjunctive relations between Africa and the North make innovative solutions hard to come by. For instance, while there are 300,000 highly qualified Africans in the Diaspora, of whom 10% have doctorates; African countries spend US\$ 4 billion to employ around 100,000 western experts per year (Barka 2000). Obviously, African governments are also to blame for some of the push factors such as discrimination in appointments and promotions, social unrest and political conflicts, and under-utilisation of qualified personnel. Nevertheless, when over 50% of Ethiopians who go abroad for training do not return and there are more Ethiopian-trained doctors in Chicago alone than the whole of Ethiopia (Barka 2000), easy solutions such as more training are going to be far from adequate.

Whether continental initiatives like NEPAD can reverse the global situation in which Japa-

nese cows and European cows are each subsidised by US\$ 7.50 and US\$ 2.50 per day respectively, while 75% of Africans live on less than this (Williams, 2004:37) is a question that only time can answer.

Educational planning in Africa tends to be based more on ideological convictions, anecdotal evidence and imitating foreign trends rather than well-researched and documented evidence of the practical realities on the ground. This is not surprising in light of the fact that Western education was transplanted warts and all barely a century ago. What is surprising is that over the past decades the trend has continued whereby global institutions like the World Bank, IMF and United Nations and/or bilateral partners like the former Soviet Union and East Germany, England, America, and Germany dominate the conceptual frameworks within which African education is being developed. They continue to push what might be viewed as outmoded and irrelevant forms of education in Africa driven in part by international benchmarks such as

the Dakar Declaration of Education for All and the Millennium Development Goal of full access to schools.. This happens because these institutions and countries subsidize education provision, the ruling elite and their children benefit from imported education models and access foreign universities with their aligned qualifications, and there are few coherent voices opposing this foreign domination with any form of indigenous or more appropriate alternative. What should be happening is that international concepts and theories should be adapted to African realities depending on the culture, traditions and histories of countries, as well as to the unique characteristics of each school. This leads to questioning the societal and developmental role of schools, and whether they can build a new social order and drive improved local level democratic governance.

This paper looks at a particular systemic approach to classroom, school and district improvement, building on the national School Improvement Policy, which has the power to

transform school community relationships and in the process could create the capacity from the ground up to practice democratic governance. This could have important implications over time.

### **Educational Practice and Research**

Marsh (2006,31) states that regardless of what educational policy-makers decide, it is the social microcosm of the classroom, which predicts the success or failures of any nation's citizens in the future. Consequently, it is the classrooms of today that should be given close attention and care, in order for them to nurture and produce the leaders and citizens of tomorrow, who will indeed go beyond paying lip-service to democratic governance and earnestly strive to achieve and achieve the empowerment of each and every person to attain his/her best irrespective of gender, colour, race or any other factor.

This brings up the issue as to who should be researching the reality of the classroom and how their findings should be incorporated into policy and practice. Educational research is not new, however, it was usually the western educational expert who did the research that often came up with findings that reflected his/her convictions but rarely influenced life in the classroom. The first point to consider is the researchers themselves and their degree of objectivity and bias in carrying out the research. Although cynical, it is patently obvious that many researchers have a vested interest in positive results. Most are expatriates performing “parachute consultancies” or living in an African country for a short span of under 3 years. Therefore, they transplant foreign practices that might appear to take in the short term, but quickly lead to anti-body rejection. This ‘taking’ is further enhanced by the fact that the project is trialled in a highly controlled environment, which is not found in the real world. Williams quotes a Commission for Africa report that says, “... the agency of Africans is key, and the application of Western-inspired remedies is not guaranteed to succeed” (2007,17).

However, African researchers have integrity and subjectivity issues too. In fact, a study in Guinea (Diallo and Diallo 2007) openly acknowledges that the researchers felt pressurized to present a positive image of the elementary school system and had to be coaxed into presenting the true picture by a researcher who felt that the purpose of the study was diagnostic and things had to be presented as they were. Interestingly, when they finally presented their study, which gave a negative image of the situation on the ground, the Guinean government forced them to redo the whole evaluation again the next year, only to find the same results. Which country is willing to hire an expert whose previous intervention has not been self-affirming? Which government seeking election votes and popularity is going to admit that the millions spent on a project have not produced the desired results? Which donor is willing to give funds to partners who did not succeed in their previous project? It is a fact that Africa is inundated with positive education evaluations (e.g. JET 1996), which say more about the politics of the moment

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than about the project being evaluated.

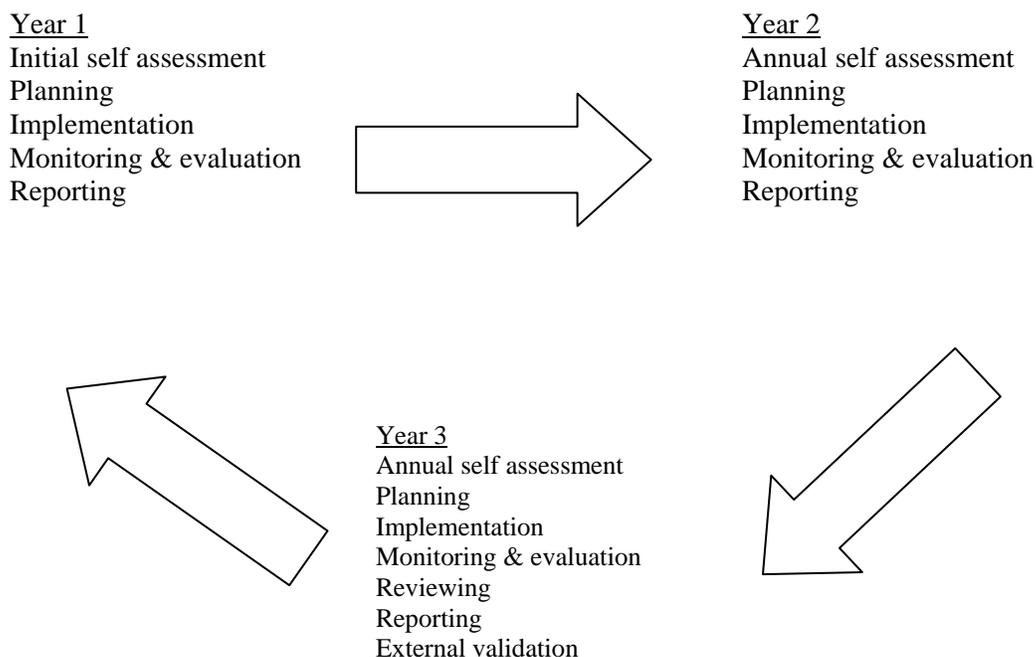
### **The New Educational Trend**

Fortunately, after following educational sector reforms that seem to have followed a 'one size fits all' approach, the latest trend of educational reform seems to have taken aboard Alexander's obvious comment (2008,1) that, "we should have at the very least begun to understand that there are no blueprints and no pontifical infallibility," and made room for basic research that could potentially inform educational planning and making it responsive to individual realities at school level.

The current educational reform in Ethiopia that follows in the wake of the Education Sector Development Programmes that have swept over Africa for more than a decade has the inclusion of a School Improvement Programme (SIP). SIPs are arguably the single most important programme included in the new General Education Quality Improvement Programmes (GEQIP) that are currently receiving strong backing from the World Bank and international donors. The key idea behind the SIPs is that educational planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluation are all basically decentralized to the school level along with a block grant for the schools to have financial muscle

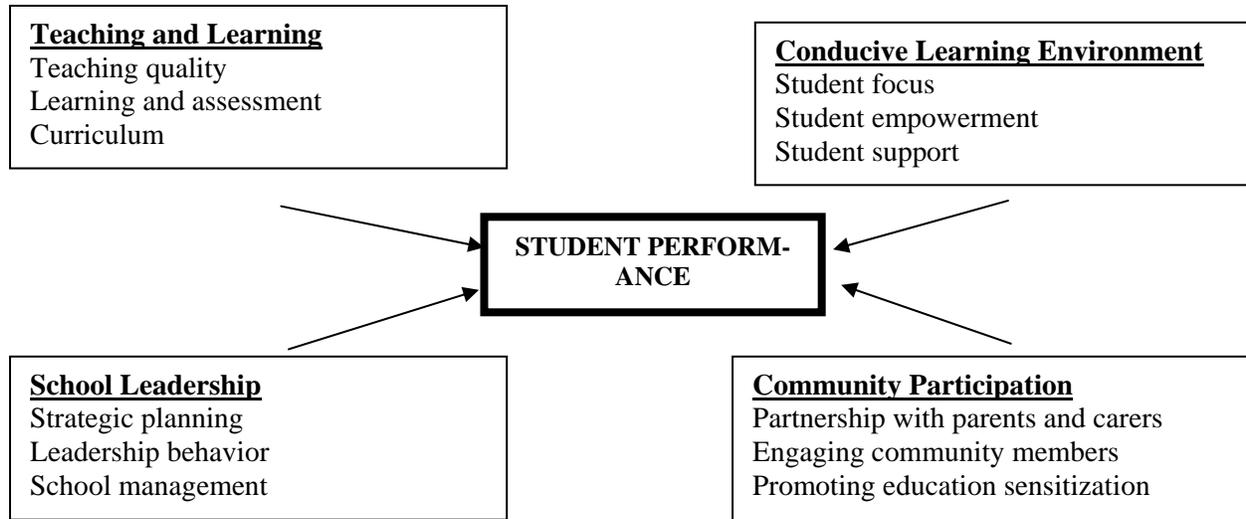
to back their development priorities. In the final analysis, it is the schools that are at the delivery end of quality education. Therefore, schools should be given autonomy and authority to modify, adjust and initiate sound pedagogical practices. Admittedly schools might and will probably prefer to 'upward delegate' powers to benefit from economies of scale, but this will involve their giving from their money and consequently be in a position to demand rather than beg for services from the other educational bodies. Schools will be involved in an upward cycle that is expected to take them to educational excellence in the form of improved student performance. A typical SIP cycle would look like the following;

The School Improvement Programme Cycle so how exactly does this differ from any other of the education initiatives and reforms that have come and gone over the decades?



To begin with, it is basically a whole-school process rather than a piecemeal approach of giving teachers some training or changing a set of textbooks. This is joined up development. A holistic approach to looking at a school with the student at the centre has not often been used to good effect in Ethiopia. Teaching and learning, school leadership, a

conducive learning environment, community participation and empowering learners have all been tackled in various forms by various players over the years. This reform, however, will look at all these factors together with a general student centred ethos being at the heart of the reform. The factors can be seen in the diagram below;



Secondly, the general approach is a bottom up rather than a top down one. Year after year teachers and school administrators have had to suffer the indignity of having ‘experts’ and researchers from above coming to tell them what will work in their particular schools. Often these ‘experts’ were no more than mouthpieces of visions of education hatched in the corridors of power that had little notion of what was happening in the schools. Although this reform is indeed, once again, conceived from above, it allows the space for the schools to grab the reins and decide their own direction. This is very encouraging, as just a few years ago, one of the writers of this article commented;

In a country and world, where top-down decision-making has been the practice for centuries, it is difficult to conceive that “lower” level schools could have the foresight and capacity to manage themselves better than the “upper” authorities. Nevertheless, if the schools are given control over and made accountable for their individual budgets, they will be able decide their own priorities and needs. (Ambatchew 2003, 254).

The worthlessness of highly scientific research that is tested in a sterile environment and more often than not ends up gathering dust on a shelf has long been regarded as a second best to ‘action research’ that teachers can actually put to use immediately, despite being accused of having several methodological flaws. This cycle, which begins with initial self-assessment, takes action research

to a completely new level, validating the teachers' assessment of their practice and empowering them to implement their findings in their own schools. In fact, this approach is viewed as completely new and a supervisors' handbook being prepared in Ethiopia (EMOE 2008,6) reads:

Improvement Committee (SIC) in testing out the school's effectiveness and capacity to improve;

- Where possible, the views of teachers, pupils, parents and community representatives should be sought;
- A report will be written following the inspection, which will summarise the inspection findings and provide schools with a copy of the Inspection Record form.

The new inspection arrangements are different from previous inspections because:

- The school's own self-assessment form (SAF) is a central part of the inspection;
- There is a greater focus on the well-being of pupils;
- Inspection approaches need to be very flexible in the light of schools being in the process of a new system of review and improvement;
- Judgements on standards, and the progress that pupils make, rest in most schools particularly on the assessment data;
- Some teaching should be observed to verify claims made in the SAF;
- The quality of the school's conduct of the self-assessment process and, associated with this, the school's plans and capacity to improve, are at the heart of the inspection;
- There is a much stronger interaction between the supervisor, the school's leadership and management, and the School

Thirdly, this intervention is seen to be cyclical rather than a one-off intervention. Heneveld and Craig (1996,51) call for more flexible timetables in World Bank projects. Such a timetable is built into the SIP model. They say that the usual pattern is to set as tight a deadline as possible and then frequently roll forward due dates. They recommend: "... mechanisms should exist for Task Managers to lay out slower timetables in the beginning and justify any, and presumably less frequent, delays by showing how they will enhance participation and ownership." Therefore, although many schools will probably lack the capacity to competently manage the process at the beginning, they can gradually develop the skills in consecutive years.

### **Can the New Intervention Work?**

Many educational innovations come and go with African governments coming and leaving power, thereby making institutional memory and sustainability serious stumbling blocks. Theoretically, if this process was allowed to proceed without external intervention and is controlled largely at school level, then the schools and districts will have everything they need on site and will not be dependent on the powers that be. The Department of Education of the Eastern Cape in South Africa states;

School improvement is about growth and development and, like a seed, requires nurturing and time, as well as commitment, planning and diverse inputs to ensure its success. It is the intention of our Department to collaboratively sow the seeds of educational development at all levels of the education system and nurture the progress in schools to ensure strength and sustainability.

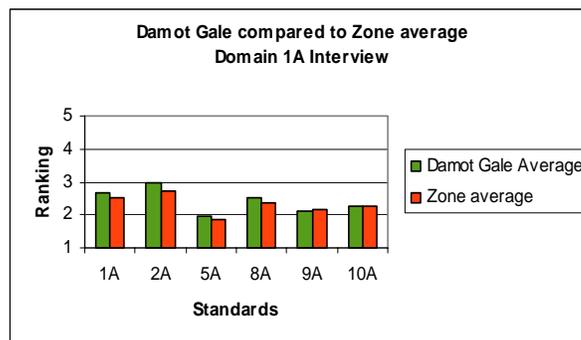
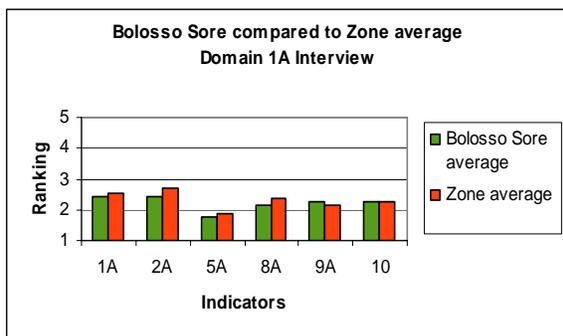
However, it is clear from the initial implementation of the policy that the weakest part is the school and district capacity to implement the SAF as designed. The case study, from Ethiopia, below describes one attempt to get round that

hurdle in a cost-effective way and provides some clues as to how such initiatives can help bring about robust, democratic local governance in an African context.

Two woredas (districts) and an international education NGO, Link Community Development (LCD), are working together to implement the SIP in the Southern Nations and Nationalities Peoples' Region (SNNPR) of Ethiopia. The starting point was the provision in the SIP that allows for supervisor verification of the implementation of the self-appraisal forms. The supervisors in these two woredas are meant to supervise about five schools each and so are a key link between the woreda and the schools. They are expected, as in so many systems in Africa, to both support and inspect their schools. The woreda management and LCD adapted to the SNNPR reality a process called School Performance Review that LCD is using in a number of countries, including Ghana, Uganda and South Africa. This process involves a small appraisal team of supervisors visiting each school for a day and appraising the teaching and learning,

management, governance and leadership of the school, using the national SIP indicators and instruments developed for the purpose. The approach involves interviews with all key stakeholders including parents and community members, lesson observations, focus group discussions, observations, document analysis and overall provides an effective overview of what is going on in the school (IOB 2008).

school’s own self-appraisal process and include the results of standardized tests administered by the woredas to Grade 4 and 7 pupils in a range of core subjects in all the schools being audited. The report is in Amharic and is presented to the school soon after the visit.



Sample Figures Graphs (LCD 2008)

The result of the visit is that the supervisors provide each school with a graphic and narrative picture of their present status in relation to several indicators, behind which there are numerous sub-indicators. These support the

Using software that has recently been developed the school will be left with a graph of its status at the end of the visit.

This allows for immediate feedback and has been shown to increase the way that the school uses the appraisal. This is sup-

ported by a generic manual, which helps schools read their graph and provides guidance on how to use the graph against each indicator. It is like a road map to assist schools in their planning. Each school's graph informs the planning at cluster and woreda level. Given accurate data for each school the woreda and supervisors are in a very strong position to be able to identify which schools and groups of schools present particular problems. This allows for highly targeted intervention and saves money in that it stops the need for a more scattergun approach to in-service training that tends to dominate.

Perhaps more important for our discussion, the graphs are used by the school to meet with their community under the chairmanship of their supervisor. At this School Performance Appraisal Meeting (SPAM) the community members are encouraged to engage with the school over what they see in the report. The graphs and other data are presented in a form that is easy to digest and does not require strong literacy skills and will be interpreted for the community by the supervisor

and school director in the appropriate dominant local language. This allows the community to understand what is happening in their school and engage in a conversation with the school about how problems the school and the community face can be resolved collectively. It also ensures that the school authorities realize that they are accountable to the community and as the SPAM becomes institutionalized as an annual event, the school authorities will become more accountable to the community and try and ensure that their school performance improves so as to avoid being embarrassed by the community. In Uganda such a community-driven process led to an average of 50% increases in test scored by primary school pupils (IOB 2008). With such knowledge and engagement it has been shown that the communities feel increasingly empowered to support and criticize the school where appropriate and most importantly feel that the school is 'theirs' (Prew 2003).

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### **How Will Good Governance be Enhanced by this Project?**

Good governance in many parts of Africa has unfortunately tended to remain as aspirational phrases on paper related to democratization and decentralization rather than being implemented in practice. There is no doubt that Africa as a whole is struggling with issues of democratization, decentralization, participative decision-making and the like. Introducing the SPR and SPAM as part of SIP will enhance transparency as well as accountable leadership. This is definitely a step in the right direction. Progress in the democratization of society and the process will have a knock on effect in several spheres. The need for community participation in the school improvement committee is a good way of empowering schools and communities and at the same time creating an opportunity to have a voice in their own affairs and thus develop a feeling of ownership. Community participation is a must for ensuring that quality education is achieved. Parents and the community are seen as

providing an indispensable element in the education process; they are the ones to ensure that children come to school healthy, fed and ready to learn. They usually provide financial or material support to the school in one form or another. If given the chance they can effectively participate in school governance and even assist in the instruction. At the primary level especially, the parents can be considered as the indirect or even direct beneficiaries of the school. Therefore, although they cannot be forced to participate, everything possible must be done to encourage them to take an active role in educating their children. The other side of the coin is that the community learns about democratic leadership from the schools, particularly if it is structured through a SPAM process. Two central topics in good governance are the distribution of power and resources, and if the school improvement committees are actually given both to use in the schools, they will also develop their capacity to govern.

More important is probably character development. In essence the human psyche is formed in our early to middle childhood rather than in adulthood. Quite a lot of the problems in governance in Africa today can be traced to the exploitative and disempowered state adults have been raised in. Although colonialism is often used as a scapegoat for much of Africa's problems, the traumatic experiences of colonialism are indeed alive and painful today. It is only through raising a new generation of Africans that the African Renaissance can turn from mere wishful thinking to a reality, and where better to bring about such a transformation than in schools that can model democratic and empowered leadership?

The third point is that the area of education is relatively non-threatening in the short-term, unlike elections that can have immediate consequences and be clamped down upon. Most African governments have a benevolent attitude to education and view it as a non-political and therefore non-threatening way to improve lives.

Empowering citizens by letting them have a real voice in the educational process focused on their local school will help ensure real democratization and decentralization, without ruffling too many feathers. Greaney (1996,32), says:

Persistent, focused, informed programs; courageous leadership; good management of limited resources; and informed enthusiastic teaching are required if we are to achieve the long-term goal of helping children in developing countries learn to read. When this goal is realized, these children will have access to new sources of knowledge, insights and pleasure that can help illuminate and change the quality of their lives.

One could optimistically add, "and change the quality of Africa's governance in the long run!"

### **Conclusion**

This SIP project in partnership with LCD in the two woredas indicates that schools can play a critical role in extending and deepening local democracy through the

structured involvement of the school community in reflecting on, and analysing school performance data, and planning the response to the challenges and successes facing the school. This should, and usually will, lead to increased enrolment and more important sustained attendance at school. It also creates a forum in which members of the community are able to engage in a non-formal way with their rights as local consumers of education and users of the local school. There is no more basic democratic act than engaging in decision-making affecting the schooling of the community's children. However, it is possible that playing that role can lead to playing more and deeper democratic roles in the community and beyond.

In addition, by developing the literacy levels and overall quality of schooling of the children in the community, the project is ratcheting up the capacity of the community to have a deeper engagement with local democracy into the future.

SIPs are definitely not a panacea to all of Africa's woes. It is unrealistic to expect good governance to mushroom simultaneously across this vast and diverse continent, simply because some development goals and interventions have been introduced. Just as it took the USA a long time to move from abolishing slavery to electing an Afro-American president, so also will it take Africa a long time to evolve democratic rule. Nevertheless, the bricks of the nations are rapidly being laid today, so educators must ensure their bricks are in place, as the quality of a building depends on its foundations.

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## **The Historical Development of Taxation in the World and Ethiopia: A Few Points**

*Tadesse Makonnen*

In Matthew 17:24-27, a New Testament poll tax is found and it says that after Jesus and his disciples arrived in Capernaum, the collectors of the two-drachma tax came to Peter and asked, “Doesn’t your teacher pay the temple tax?”

“Yes, he does”, he replied. When Peter came into the house, Jesus was the first to speak. “What do you think, Simon?” he asked. “From whom do the kings of the earth collect duty and taxes—from their own sons or from others?” “From others” Peter answered. “Then the sons

are exempt” Jesus said to him. “But so that we may not offend them, go to the lake and throw out your line. Take the first fish you catch; open its mouth and you will find a four-drachma coin. Take it and give it to them for my tax and yours.” The poll tax was presumably the type of tax that the Romans levied when Caesar Augustus decreed a census or taxing of “The entire Roman World” in Luke 2, 1-3 at the time of Jesus’ birth.

In the ancient civilization of Palestine, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, individual property rights did not exist. The king was the sole owner of everything in his domain including the bodies of his subjects. The king could simply force them to work for him, earn income in the form of food from their lands and precious metals from their mines. The kings also conquered the neighboring countries to confiscate their property. Under the system of feudalism kings, nobles and church rulers all col-

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lected taxes. The burden of taxation fell heavily on the peasantry.

All governments require payments of money, taxes from people and Governments use tax revenues to implement various social activities. Taxes are compulsory payments to governments without expectation of direct return or benefit to tax payers and it imposes a personal obligation on the tax payers. Throughout history, people have debated the amount and kinds of taxes that a government should impose, as well as how it should distribute the burden of those taxes across Society. Unpopular taxes have caused public protest, riots and even revolutions however in political campaigns; candidates' views on taxation may partly determine their popularity with voters.

In Ethiopia different rulers have used different mechanisms to get resources from their citizens in the form of taxes. Though taxation came in to being with the emergence of state and govern-

ment, people used to contribute from their cattle and agricultural products to the governors of the state. The kind of traditional tax system continued for several centuries smoothly until it was replaced by the modern tax system in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Evidence indicates that in the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, taxes were paid in kind and in money. Payment in kind included various forms such as salt, honey, butter, grain, livestock (cows, oxen etc), horses and mules, and cloth.

Taxes in Ethiopia during the period 1855 – 1868 consisted of direct and indirect taxes. Direct taxes included land tax “Giber”, Tithes “Asrat”, provincial administrative taxes, tax for appointees and appointment, tax for maintenance, tax on honey, production tax from certain economic activities, and irregular and ad hoc taxes. The land tax was levied for the use of land and the tithe (means a tenth part) and was levied on the annual products of

the land. Artisans and salt producers were also taxed and during periods of war peasants were even asked to pay even more than twice a year. Indirect taxes during this period included toll taxes, caravan taxes and “Frida” (tax on slaughtered cattle).

Taxes traditionally in Ethiopia used to be paid in kind. However, monetary payment steadily increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century because of the circulation of money and changing government policy. Historical evidences reveal that there was no proper assessment of tax during those days. In certain periods, a territorial unit was assigned to collect a fixed amount of tax from various sources regardless of the quality of taxable product or the area of land. In certain other periods, tax was collected based on the measurement of land, on the quantity of grain produced or on the number of cattle possessed.

During this period, taxes were imposed on income from employment; from rent of land and buildings, from businesses, vocational occupa-

tions, and interest and from the exploitation of wood and forests used for personal use. Though at the beginning, agricultural income was exempted from the payment of tax, later it was also subject to tax. Tax rates for various heads of income varied according to the changes in government policies. The constitution of Ethiopia approved in 1995 gave powers to federal and regional governments to levy and collect taxes from the sources allocated to them. A number of changes have been made in the tax policy of the country pursuant to the structural changes. Ethiopia has thus far gone through various stages to reach the present standard of tax collection.

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## PUBLICATIONS

### Research Reports Submitted

#### Social Science Research Reports

- Hussen Eshetu. *The role of non-formal basic education in preventing the spread of HIV to the rural population: Limitations and prospects in Amhara, Ethiopia.*
- Kifle Zeleke. *Community response to HIV/AIDS related stigma and discrimination against PLWHA in some selected areas in Ethiopia.*
- Richard Wafula Kisaka. *Assessing the relevance of indigenous knowledge systems for sustainable agriculture: A case study of Njoro division, Kenya.*
- Sunungurai Dominica Chingarande. *An analysis of the impact of transe-boundary natural resources management on the livelihoods of border communities: The case of ZIMOZA Trans boundary natural resource management area.*
- Saif El Din Daoud Abd El Rhman. *The effectiveness of social spending in Sudan: Pro-poor policies or pro-poor spending? Case study of Kassala state.*
- Wangenge G. Ouma. *Income generation and the quality crisis in Kenya's public universities.*
- Joy Owen. *South Africa. Africa's America: An oasis for African educational migrants?*
- Claudious Chikozho. *Policy and institutional dimensions of innovations in Semi-Arid regions: The case of the Makanya-Chome catchments in the Pangani River Basin of Tanzania.*
- Edward Mutandwa. *Can biotechnological innovations be considered as a vehicle for revitalizing African agriculture? Case of the Zimbabwean sweet potatoes.*
- Carolyn M. Getao. *Flood management in the Kano plains, Kenya: Impacts, people's perception and coping mechanism.*
- Euclides Goncalves. *Migrant labour and marriage strategies among youth in southern Mozambique: A study of Ukaba in the administrative post of Mocumbi.*
- Jeminos Chipatiso. *The impact of HIV/AIDS stigma on corporate social responsibility: A case study of the mining sector in Zimbabwe.*
- Mary Vienney Night & William Kasaija. *The nature and causes of conflict between politicians and public officers in decentralized districts in Uganda.*
- Peter Kaumba Lolojih. *The role of civil society in building democracy: A critical assessment of Zambia's return to multiparty politics.*
- Richard Wambua. *The making of an engineer: Background characteristics of female engineering students in Kenyan national Polytechnics .*
- Satwinder Singh Rehal. *Mining-induced resettlement effects and impoverishment risks: as case study of titanium mineral sands project in Kwale, Kenya.*
- Victor Kasulo & J. Luhanga. *Forest resource accounting for improved national income accounts of Malawi.*
- Wilson Magaya. *Community based natural resources management: An analysis of community and private sector strategic partnerships as incentives for community participation.*

#### Gender Issues Research Reports

- Chikalanga Mweemba Davies. *AIDS Orphans and the Aged/Elderly Women in Zambia.*
- Demoz Nigatu Asfaw. *Is HIV/AIDS the gamble girls must take in order to survive? Uncovering the roles of Ethio-American men in persuading the*
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*sexual risk-taking behaviors of adolescent girls in Gondar town of Ethiopia.*

Tabarek Lika. *Housing Policy Options for Poor Women in the Ethiopian Urban Slums: Reflections on the Ongoing Condominium Housing Projects and Slums Clearance and Upgrading Schemes in the City of Addis Ababa.*

Nagwa Mohamed Ali El Bashir. *Sudanese Islamist women activists: an Exploration in their Political attitude(s) and perspective(s).*

Sheima Hssan Abdulla. *Knowledge of unmarried adolescent females about reproductive health risks related to Sexual behaviour in Muslim societies in Khartoum Sudan.*

Paul M. Nsimbila. *Violence in marriage in Tanzania: The Case of Shinyanga and Tabora regions.*

Flora O. Kasumba. *Child headed households in Tanzania: A case of Makete district.*

Mutasim Ahmed Abdelmawla Mohamed. *Gender gap in human development and its impact on economic growth: The case of Sudan (1990 - 2003).*

Andanje Mwisukha. *Towards gender equity in sports: Insights into the under-representation of women in sports leadership in Kenya.*

Basia Dennis Bless. *Gender analysis of urban living conditions of HIV/AIDS orphaned children in Lesotho.*

Celiwe Patience Seyama. *The potential role of civil society in political reform in Swaziland: A case study of civil society groups in the Kingdom of Swaziland.*

Deborah Mulumba. *Sexuality and reproductive health among refugee adolescents in Kampala.*

Idda A. Makawia. *Understanding the linkages between gender roles, ecological deterioration and poverty in Usambara highlands, Tanzania.*

Leah Wambura Kimathi. *Organising from without: The role of women-self help initiatives in reducing poverty in Kibera Slums, Nairobi.*

Mabel Mandela. *Feminization of poverty: An analysis of the informal sector in Zambia.*

Margart Njirambo Matinga. *Integrating gender in the Malawi energy policy and policy formulation.*

Rose Anne Njiru. *Sexual activities and implications for the reproductive health of adolescent street girls in Nairobi.*

Teferi Getahun. *Gender bias in education and its impacts on rural development in Ethiopia: The case of Awi.*

## Latest Publications

### ◆ Journal

**Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review, XXV, no. 1 (January 2009)**

**Athumani J. Liviga.** *Tanzania: A Bumpy Road to Consolidated Democracy*

**Monageng Mogalakwe.** *The Documentary Research Method – Using Documentary Sources in Social Research*

**Paulos Chanie.** *Disconnect Between Public Sector Management System and Decentralization Reforms: An Empirical Analysis of the Ethiopian Situation*

**Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review,  
XXIV, no. 2 (June 2008)**

**Abeje Berhanu.** *Matching Extension Service with Farmers' Needs: Towards Combining Social and Agro-Ecological Approaches in Ethiopian Extension*

**Geoffrey Bakunda.** *The Impact of a Liberalised Trade Regime on the Potential for Agricultural Value Addition in Uganda*

**Gebre Yntiso.** *Urban Development and Displacement in Addis Ababa: The Impact of Resettlement Projects on Low-Income Households*

**Book Reviews**

**Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review,  
XXIV, no. 1 (January 2008)**

**Degnet Abebaw.** *Determinants of Solid Waste Disposal Practices in Urban Areas of Ethiopia: A Household-Level Analysis*

**Martin Enock Palamuleni.** *An Analysis of the Proximate Determinants of Fertility in Malawi, 1992-2004*

**Emebet Mulugeta.** *Crossing the Hurdle: Survival Strategies of Poor Women in Addis Ababa*

**Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni.** *Patriots, Puppets, Dissidents and the Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Contemporary Zimbabwe*

**Samuel O. Onyuma.** *Assumptions about Microenterprise Lending as a Precondition for Development: A Critical Review*

**Book Review**

**Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review  
(Special Ethiopian Millennium Issue XXIII, no. 3  
September 2007)**

**Articles**

**Woldeamlak Bewket.** *Rainwater harvesting in drought-prone areas of the Ethiopian Highlands*

**Addis Gedefaw.** *Where is community participation in the Locales? The case of Sida's Woreda support programme in Awabal Woreda*

**Assefa Gebre Habte Wold.** *Opportunities and constraints in agricultural production in Ambo Woreda, Ethiopia*

**Fresenbet Zeleke and Gezahegn Ayele.** *Assessment of comparative advantage of horse bean and lentil production in Basona Werana District, north Shewa, Ethiopia*

**Wassie Berhanu and David Colman.** *Farming in the Borana rangelands of southern Ethiopia: The prospects for viable transition to agro-pastoralism*

**Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review,  
XXIII, no. 2 (June 2007)**

**Articles**

**Antony W. Odek and James Alan Oloo.** *Challenges facing community home based care programmes in Botswana.*

**Josef Muburi Kirigja; Eyob Zere Asbu, William Greene and Ali Emrouznejad.** *Technical efficiency, efficiency change, technical progress and productivity growth in the national health systems of continental African countries.*

**M. O. Esilaba; N. T. Maara and J. K. Tangus.** *Impact of human-wildlife conflict resolution on wildlife conservation and socio-economic welfare of pastoral communities: A case study of Samburu Pastoralists, Samburu District, Kenya.*

**Ndirangu M.; Mwangi J.K. and Changeiywo J.** *Educational provision for the academically gifted: Rhetoric or*

reality? Case of primary schools in Nyandarua District, Kenya.

Tesfaye Semela. *Identification of Factors contributing to gender disparity in an Ethiopian University.*

Getnet Alemu.. *Revisiting the entitlement approach to famine: Taking a closer look at the supply factor-A critical survey of a literature.*

### Book Review

#### ◆ Books

OSSREA. 2008 *The HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa: An Impact and Response Assessment—The Case of Ethiopia.* ISBN: 978-99944-55-07-2

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of poverty reduction strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Ethiopia.* ISBN: 978-99944-55-13-3

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of Poverty Reduction Strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Kenya.* ISBN: 978-99944-55-14-0

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of poverty reduction strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Rwanda.* ISBN 978-99944-55-16-4

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of Poverty Reduction Strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Zambia.* ISBN: 978-99944-55-12-6

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of poverty reduction strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Malawi.* ISBN 978-99944-55-15-7

OSSREA. 2008. *Assessment of poverty reduction strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Uganda.* ISBN: 978-99944-55-17-1

OSSREA. 2008. *The HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa:*

*An Impact and Response Assessment - The Case of Tanzania*

OSSREA. 2008. *The HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa: An Impact and Response Assessment - The Case of Uganda*

OSSREA. 2008. *The HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa: An Impact and Response Assessment - The Case of Zimbabwe.* ISBN 978 99944 55 03 4.

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OSSREA. 2008. *Proceedings of the regional conference on the Assessment of Poverty Reduction Strategies in sub-Saharan Africa: The Cases of Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia.* ISBN 978-99944-55-21-8

OSSREA. 2008. *The HIV and AIDS challenge in Africa: An impact and response assessment. Executive summaries of the findings of research carried out in Botswana, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.*

OSSREA. 2008. *Bong Le HIV/AIDS: Diphatsa Mo go Borre Le Lekgamu La Borre Le Le Itebagantseng Le Kganelo Ya HIV/AIDS Mo Botswana*

*Boleng Jwa HIV/AIDS Mo Matshelelong Le Itsholelong Ya Dikgwebo Tse Di Potlana Tsa Metse Ya Selegae: Go Tlhophilwe Metse Mengwe Mo Botswana*

Translated Summaries of *The HIV and AIDS chal-*

- lence in Africa: The Case of Botswana*
- OSSREA. 2008. Jinsi Vvu Na Ukimwi Vinavyoathiri Sekta Ya Kilimo Nchini TaAnzania  
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- OSSREA. 2008. Ilyaashi Lyakusupula Intambi Shscuupo Na Imisango Yakukumaninamo Iya Abaume Na Baanakashi Pali Ino Nshita Ya HIV Na AIDS Mu Zambia: Ukulolesha Pafya Mucitungu Ca Mansa  
Translated Summary of *The HIV and AIDS challenge in Africa: The Case of Zambia*
- Habtamu Wondimu. 2008. *Handbook of peace and human rights education in Ethiopia*. ISBN: 978-99944-55-11-9
- Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Alfred G. Nhema (eds.). 2008. *The roots of African conflicts: The causes and costs*. ISBN 978-1-84701-300-2. £17.95.
- Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Alfred G. Nhema (eds.). 2008. *The resolution of African conflicts: The management of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction*. ISBN 978-1-84701-302-6. £17.95.
- The HIV/AIDS challenge in Africa: An impact and Response assessment: The case of Botswana*. ISBN 978 9994455 02 7. US\$10.00/Eth.Birr 70.00.
- The HIV/AIDS challenge in Africa: An impact and Response assessment: The case of Zambia*. ISBN 978 9994455 04 1. US\$5.00/Eth.Birr 25.00.
- Shibru Tedla and Fiona Flintan (eds.). *Gender and social issues in natural resource management research for development*. ISBN 978 9994455 19 5. US\$9.00/Eth.Birr 65.00.
- Proceedings of the international conference on international aid, trade and development in Africa: The search for a development paradigm*. ISBN 978 99944 55 00 4.
- Proceedings of the international conference on the social science and HIV/AIDS in Africa: New insight and policy perspectives*. ISBN 978 99944 55 01 0.
- Tesfaye Tafesse. 2007. *The migration, environment and conflict nexus in Ethiopia: A case study of Amhara migrant-settlers in East Wollega Zone*. xv + 173 pages, ISBN-978-1-904855-84-2 US\$9.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- Victor Muzvidziwa. 2005. *Women without borders: Informal cross-border trade among women in the Southern African Development Community Region (SADC)*. xiii + 180 pages, ISBN-13: 978-1-904855-61-3, US\$10.00/Eth. Br.70.00.
- Mary Njeri Kinyanjui and Meleckidzedeck Khayesi. 2005. *Social capital, micro and small enterprises and poverty-alleviation in East Africa*. xiii + 130 pages, ISBN-13-978-1-904855-60-1, US\$9.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- Kennedy Nyabuti Ondimu. 2005. *Risky sexual behaviours among migrant tea plantation workers in Kenya*. xiii + 127 pages, ISBN-13-978-1-904855- 63- 6, US\$9.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- Richard Y. M. Kangalawe, Amos E. Majule and Elieho K. Shishira. 2005. *Land-use dynamics and land degradation in Iramba District, Central Tanzania*. xiii + 130 pages, ISBN-13-978-1 904855- 62- 8, US\$9.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- OSSREA. 2005. *Proceedings of the international conference on African conflicts: management, resolution, post-conflict recovery and development*.
- Kasenally, Roukaya and Sheila Bunwaree (eds). 2005. *Media and democracy in an age of transi-*

- tion. OSSREA Mauritius Chapter, Mauritius. xviii+376 pages. ISBN 99903-73-18-3.
- Nhema, Alfred G. (ed). 2005. *The quest for peace in Africa: Transformations, democracy and public policy*. (Arabic version) ISBN 977-279-441-1.
- Achola, P.W. Paul *et al.* (eds.). 2004. *Governance, society and development in Kenya*. OSSREA Kenya Chapter, Kenya. Moi University Press, X+157 pages. ISBN 9966-854-38-X
- Muna M.M. Ahmed *et al.* (eds.). 2004. *Dryland husbandry in the Sudan - grassroots experience and development*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, 2004. ISBN 1904855431. US\$7.00/Eth. Br. 60.00.
- Mitiku Haile *et al.* (eds.). 2004. *Research and development on dryland husbandry in Ethiopia*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, 2004. ISBN 1904855407. US\$8.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- Elly N. Sabiiti and Tegene Teka (eds.). 2004. *Dryland husbandry in Uganda - community participation and development*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, 2004. ISBN 1904855423. US\$7.00/Eth. Br. 60.00.
- Nashon K.R. Musimba, Dikson M. Nyariki, Charles K. Ikutwa & Tegegne Teka (eds). 2004. *Dryland husbandry for sustainable development in the southern Rangelands of Kenya*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, 2004. ISBN 1904855415. US\$6.00/Eth. Br. 49.00.
- Eshetu Chole. 2004. *Underdevelopment in Ethiopia*. 347 pages. ISBN 1904855350. Hardback US\$20.95/Eth. Br. 180.00 Paperback US\$7.00/Eth. Br. 57.00.
- Nhema, Alfred G. (ed). 2004. *The quest for peace in Africa: Transformations, democracy and public policy*. 416 pages. ISBN 9057270498. US\$29.95/Eth. Br. 198.00.
- Zewde, Bahru (ed). 2003. *Land, gender and the periphery: Themes in the history of eastern and southern Africa*. vi + 178 pages. ISBN 0 954538420 paperback. US\$ 15.00/Eth. Br. 65.00.
- Salih, M. A. Mohamed (ed). 2003. *African political parties: Evolution, institutionalisation and governance*. Pluto Press. 372 pages. ISBN 0 7453 2038 4 hardback. US\$25.00. ISBN 0 7453 2037 6 paperback. US\$20.00.
- Ahmed, Abdel Ghaffar M. 2002. *Changing systems of livelihood in rural Sudan*. 220 pages. ISBN 0 95420302X. US\$10.00/ Eth. Br. 45.00.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *Anthropology in the Sudan: Reflections by a Sudanese anthropologist*. 192 pages. ISBN 90-5727-044-7. US\$17.00/Eth. Br.145.00.
- Babiker, Mustafa (ed). 2002. *Resource alienation, militarisation and development: Case studies from East African drylands*. vii + 205 pages. US\$10.00/ Eth. Br. 45.00.
- Muhereza, Frank, and Peter Otim. 2002. *Pastoral resource competition in Uganda: Case studies into commercial livestock ranching and pastoral institutions*. 192 pages. ISBN 0 95420302X. US\$17.00/ Eth. Br.145.00.
- Assefa, Taye; Severine, M. Rugumamu and Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed (eds). 2001. *Globalization democracy and development in Africa: Challenges and prospects*. iv +379 pages. ISBN 0 9521269 4 X. US\$15.00/Eth. Br. 100.00.
- Negussie, Getachew Kassa. 2001. *Among the pastoral Afar in Ethiopia: Tradition, continuity and socio-economic change*. 208 pages. ISBN 90-5727-039-0. US\$17.00/ Eth. Br. 145.00.
- Salih, M. A. Mohamed (ed). 2001. *Local environmental change and society in Africa*. viii + 225

pages. ISBN 1-402-0046-4. US\$20.00/Eth. Br. 170.00.

Salih, M. A. Mohamed; Ton Dietz and Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed (eds). 2001. *African pastoralism: Conflict, institutions and government*. vii + 311 pages. ISBN 0-7453-1787-1. US\$22.00/Eth. Br. 188.00.

OSSREA. *OSSREA on CD*. 2001. US\$20.00/Eth. Br. 170.00.

#### ◆ Environmental Forum Publications Series

Moleele, Nkobi M. and Ntshabane, Tidimane. 2002. Environmental management in Botswana. Have the national conservation plans worked? *Environmental Forum Publications Series* no. 5 vii + 63 pages. US\$8.00/Eth. Br. 35.00.

Musambe, Thérèse and Kabenga, Innocent. 2002. Environmental management in Rwanda: Have the national conservation plans worked? *Environmental Forum Publications Series* no. 3. vii + 27 pages. US\$6.00/Eth. Br. 25.00.

Shumba, Veronica; Enos, Mutikani and Baker, Sibongile. 2002. Environmental management in Zimbabwe: Have the national conservation plans worked? *Environmental Forum Publications Series* no. 4. viii + 55 pages. US\$8.00/Eth. Br. 35.00.

#### ◆ Research Reports

*Social Science Research Report Series*, No. 33. vi + 176 pages. ISSN 1608-6287. US\$8.00/Eth. Br. 63.00. (anthology of three reports)

Marisa, Lovemore. The impact of commercial forest areas on nearby rural communities in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. *Social Science Research Report Series* No. 32. viii + 69 pages. ISSN1608-

6287. US\$5.00/Eth. Br. 42.00.

Belete, Zewdu and Assefa, Yemesrach. Willingness-to-pay for protecting endangered environments: The case of Nechsar National Park. *Social Science Research Report Series* No. 31. vii + 31 pages. ISSN1608-6287. US\$5.00/Eth. Br. 22.00.

Nalugwa, Sarah. Indigenous approaches to the HIV/AIDS scourge in Uganda. *Social Science Research Report Series* No. 30. ix + 57 pages. ISSN1608-6287. US\$6.00/Eth. Br. 39.00.

Bewket, Woldeamlak. Land degradation and farmers' acceptance and adoption of conservation technologies in the Digil watershed, Northwestern Highlands of Ethiopia. *Social Science Research Report Series* No. 29. iiiiv + 65 pages. ISSN1608-6287. US\$5.00/Eth. Br. 35.00.

*Gender Issues Research Report Series*, No. 23. vi + 164 pages. ISSN 1608-6295. US\$7.00/Eth. Br. 59.00. (anthology of three report)

Onsongo, Jane. Factors affecting women's participation in university management in Kenya. *Gender Issues Research Report Series* No. 22. ix + 65 pages. ISSN 1608-6295. US\$5.00/Eth. Br.40.00.

Wawire, Violet K. Gender and the social and economic impact of drought on the residents of Turkana District in Kenya. *Gender Issues Research Report Series* No. 21. vii + 29 pages. ISSN 1608-6295. US\$5.00/Eth. Br. 30.00.

Kilavuka, Janet Muyoma. A comparative study of the socio-economic implications of rural women, men, and mixed self-help groups: A case of Kakamega District. *Gender Issues Research Report Series* No. 20. vii + 57 pages. ISSN 1608-6295. US\$5.00/Eth. Br. 36.00.

**Charles Nzioka.** OSSREA. *Willing Fathers, Reluctant Parents: Young Men's Perspectives On Unwanted Pregnancies And Abortion In Kenya*

### Development Research Report Series

Huggins, Christopher. 2003. Rural water tenure in Kenya and Tanzania: Changing tenure patterns, legal regimes and community responses. *Development Research Report Series* No. 5. ISSN 1608-8875. viii + 84 pages. US\$12.00/Eth. Br. 51.00.

Teka, Tegegne and Azeze, Alemayehu. 2002. Cross-border trade and food security in the Ethiopia-Djibouti and Ethiopia-Somalia borderlands. *Development Research Report Series* No. 4. ISSN 1608-8875. vi + 63 pages. US\$6.00/Eth. Br. 31.00.

Ahmed, Abdel Ghaffar M.; Alemayehu Azeze; Mustafa Babiker and Diress Tsegaye. 2002. Post-drought recovery strategies among the pastoral households in the Horn of Africa: A review. *Development Research Report Series* No. 3. ix + 70 pages. US\$12.00/Eth. Br. 49.00.

### Forthcoming Publications

**Nsolo J. N. Mijere.** OSSREA. The Management of Universal Primary Education in Uganda

**J.C. Munene.** OSSREA. The management of universal primary education in Uganda

**Julius H. Mangisoni.** OSSREA. Farm-Level Economics of Soil-Conservation Practices in the Zomba Rural Development Project of Malawi

**Luckson Muganyizi Kaino.** OSSREA. The Use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in Learning: Gender Differences in the Attitudes of Secondary School Students of Botswana

**Edward E. Marandu.** OSSREA. *Testing the Theory of Reasoned Action and its Extensions: Predicting Intention to Use Condoms*

**CALL FOR ARTICLES, REVIEWS AND COMMENTARIES**

Since the February 2003 issue of its Newsletter, OSSREA has been publishing short articles on topical issues concerning the transformation process in Africa. The African Union and NEPAD have been among such topics dealt with from various angles. Our aim is to provide members of the academic and research institutes with a lively forum for debate and reflection on matters of critical concern for the people of the continent.

In the January 2009 issue of the OSSREA Bulletin, we plan to publish a few articles on issues of interest to the continent. Accordingly, OSSREA members and other interested scholars are invited to contribute articles.

Articles should be 6-8 pages in length, including a brief abstract. Authors are advised to include their full address and send their contributions by e-mail before **31<sup>st</sup> December 2008** to:

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Readers wishing to respond to or comment on the articles in this Bulletin should also send their papers to [pubunit@ossrea.net](mailto:pubunit@ossrea.net)

### The Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review (EASSRR)

OSSREA invites contributions to its journal. The EASSRR publishes articles, book reviews, research notes and other short communications pertaining to the social sciences. The Editorial Policy and Authors' Guidelines are available on the website <http://www.ossrea.net>

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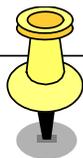
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