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NEWS

OSSREA Hosts a Conference on the Practicality of Global Development Reports

OSSREA hosted a short conference on the usefulness and applicability of global development reports at its Conference Hall on 13th April 2010. The half-day conference, entitled *The Use and Usefulness of Global Development Reports from the Perspective of Ethiopia*, was sponsored by the Network for Policy Research, Review and Advice on Education and Training (NORRAG), and moderated by Professor Kenneth King, discussed the value of global development reports with a specific Ethiopian perspective. The meeting had about thirty participants drawn from different fields of study, and representatives from Department for International Development (DFID) of UK, the African Union Commission (AUC), the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the International Institute for Cooperation Building in Africa (IICBA), the Ethiopian Teachers' Association, as well as various academics, researchers and interested individuals, among others.

The meeting was formally opened by the Executive Director of OSSREA with welcoming remarks, after which Professor Kenneth King, the Convener, gave a presentation on the Norrag NEWS 43 entitled, "A World of Reports? A Critical Review of Global Development Reports with an Angle on Education and Training". The presentation was about how accessible these development reports are and how

that vast amount of data actually gets filtered into national ministries, national policy and national universities. The argument also was that global reports themselves do not and cannot represent the situation at the local level in any detailed way, and hence national policymakers need to deduce the implications for themselves. It was therefore generally argued that better ways of packaging information should be looked into thus availing global material to the readership in general and the decision makers in particular.

The guest speaker for the occasion was Prof. Dominic Kofi Agyeman, Vice President of the Regional Scientific Committee of the Educational Network for West and Central Africa (ERNWACA), who presented a paper on "*The Impact of Educational Research and Global Reports on Policy and Practice in Africa*".

The final part of the meeting was a roundtable discussion on "*The Use and Usefulness of Global Development Reports from the Perspective of Ethiopia*". It was moderated by Professor King and included three panellists: Professor Paschal Mihyo (Executive Director of OSSREA), Dr Chris Berry (Education Advisor at DFID, Ethiopia), and Mr Firdissa Jebessa, President of the Ethiopian Educational Researchers' Association (EERA).

The conference generated interesting debates and exchange of ideas among participants. The main question put to the panellists and audience was whether interna-

tional reports have any impact on policies at regional and national level. It was pointed out by many speakers that:

- Such reports help countries to know where they stand. This helps some to make efforts to catch up;
- Some countries on which the reports are negative may be forced to respond or take corrective measures;
- Reports help with knowledge sharing, e.g. on HIV, Education for All, and poverty trends;
- Reports such as those on Education for All by UNESCO have helped governments to formulate policies. This has been done in Ethiopia;
- The problem is that the use of such reports is constrained by lack of advocacy, resources for policy formulation, implementation and institutionalization, and a limited role of intellectuals in supporting policy processes;
- Critical capacities are necessary for policy analysis, articulation, formulation, and innovation of policies of the reports have to adequately be used; and
- Ownership of policies is crucial and this is constrained in countries where development partners have taken centre stage.

Professor Mihyo, on his part, urged research institutions to go for “Cooperative Competition” and “Competitive Cooperation” in terms of fund-

ing and programmes, and also requested donors and continental organisations to start working more closely with research organisations to help policymakers make more informed decisions. Dr Berry, on the other hand, talked about his experience of working in Ethiopia and expressed his willingness to work with organisations like OSSREA if the opportunity arose. Mr. Firdissa elaborated on what his association was doing and mentioned some of the problems encountered in conducting research in the Ethiopian context.

The moderator, panellists and participants agreed that to increase the impact of educational research and global reports on policy and practice in Africa:

- Conclusive research findings should be repackaged and communicated to policy and decision makers;
- Initiation, planning and implementation of educational research should involve not only researchers but also policy and decision makers, curricular designers and implementers, and networks and associations of professionals; and
- Education policy and curricular designers should filter donor policies for relevance.

In winding up Prof. Kenneth King concluded by remarking that there is need to increase synergies between researchers and policy makers; that regional integration efforts should be enhanced and researchers from the region could support policy across borders; and that there is need to internationalize programmes, policies and practices to

ensure common ownership of regional and global policies.

The Conference ended with the understanding that OSSREA would continue to co-host meetings on such topical issues with Norrag in the future, too.

OSSREA Executive Committee and Liaison Officers Meet

A joint meeting of the OSSREA Executive Committee members and Liaison Officers of 18 OSSREA national chapters was held at the PROTEA Hotel in Lusaka, Zambia, from 26th to 29th January 2010. The agendas from the three-day meeting included issues like approval of minutes of the previous meeting and matters arising from those minutes; presentation of the Executive Director's Report and National Chapters' reports; The OSSREA Strategic Plan; OSSREA's research programmes and its web sites; Resource mobilisation, and The way forward. There were also group discussions among the Executive Committee members and the Liaison Officers where ideas relevant to the particular group were raised and extensively discussed.

In the joint Executive Committee and Liaison Officers meeting attendants of both groups were first briefed by the Executive Director on the state of affairs at OSSREA, followed by the introduction of the new OSSREA Strategic Plan. The Plan was presented by Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research, and participants were taken through a step-by-step processes and the various stages involved in

the development of the strategic plan. After the briefing various questions and issues were raised and discussed by participants.

Subsequently, the new research clusters were introduced where the interim Research Director explained how each Chapter would be able to participate in the programme. The five major categories of research clusters presented were:

- 1) Migration and Employment;
- 2) Social Policy and Social Development;
- 3) Gender in Economic and Political Arenas;
- 4) Natural Resources and Rural Development; and
- 5) Political Governance and Conflict Management.

On the agenda of resource mobilisation, the general objectives were presented as being: Strengthening goodwill, Strengthening organisational capacity; Widening the visibility and influence of chapters at country level; Identifying champions, and Establishing funds.

In the final session both committees met separately in their respective groups and discussed their own agendas. At the end of the consultation many members expressed their gratitude to the Secretariat for the hard work that has been put into making the meeting a success. It was also agreed that all comments from the discussion would be incorporated into the various documents, and that a two-way mechanism of communication should be maintained at all times; and in the event that there is no response from one end, messages could be sent directly

to the Executive Director. It was also suggested that the electronic copies of all the presentations be sent out, and the deadlines for the call for papers for the 2010 OSSREA Congress be communicated to all members.

The meeting came to an end with the understanding that the practice should be maintained and National Chapters and the Secretariat should work more closely in the future.

OSSREA Tanzania Chapter Conducts SWOT/C Meeting

Following the decision of the OSSREA Executive Committee and Liaison Officers joint meeting of 26-29 January 2010 in Lusaka, the OSSREA Executive Director, Prof. Paschal Mihyo consulted the Tanzania Chapter on the new strategic plan and on initiating a process that will lead to the formulation of a country strategic plan for the Tanzanian national Chapter. The meeting was well attended and the members carried out a SWOT/C analysis of their Chapter. Among the main strengths identified during the session were: the location of the Chapter, which is on the premises of the University of Dar Es salaam; the support it gets from the Institute of Development Studies; the presence of a robust and motivated membership, and the Chapter's links with the policy sectors of various ministries in the country. Issues identified as threats included: decreasing financial resources; inability to fund activities of the majority of members; declining number of senior scholars who are willing and ready to guide young scholars; diminishing visibility, and failure to mobilize and boost membership drive within new universities located far from the main city. It was thus decided that the new strategy should be used as a tool for revitalizing the Chap-

ter, recruiting new members, mobilizing own resources and increasing the number and quality of publications.

OSSREA Collaborates with DFID and the British Council

In August 2009, the Department for International Development (DFID) of UK approved funding for the British Council in Kenya to establish a new research and capacity development network covering six countries in the region: Kenya, Ghana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. The network, known as Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR), will establish collaborative teaching and research programmes between a selected number of universities in these countries. OSSREA, accordingly, was invited to provide consultancy services and be part of the initial project team, charged with the setting up of those activities and programmes. The project team has so far conducted several consultation meetings and is currently carrying out scoping studies on how to launch the programmes. It is expected that most programmes would be in place by the end of this year and activities will commence in 2011. OSSREA is very proud to be part of this important initiative.

OSSREA Participates in a Planning Meeting with SSRC

OSSREA took part in a planning meeting that was organised by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), New York, to support and develop the next generation of African social scientists. The meeting was held at the La Palm Royal Beach Hotel in Accra, Ghana from 26th to 27th March 2010. The Planning Meeting, which was supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, focused on the Social Science Research Council initiative to create a fellowship programme to support early career African social scientists working on peace, security and development issues. The initial focus would be on faculty working in Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda, with the expectation of expanding it later on to cover the continent as a whole.

As such, the meeting was intended to seek feedback from African social scientists, and discussed the best approach, possible partnerships and collaborations. Participants included academics from faculty in Ghana, South Africa, Uganda and United Kingdom and researchers from various regional research institutions and think-tanks in the continent. With regard to avenues for possible partnerships and collaborations, the meeting acknowledged the need to closely work with organisations such as OSSREA in the envisaged endeavour.

Given that this meeting was one of several planning sessions, the organisers are now engaged in holding meetings with various other stakeholders on the continent before submitting their report to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for consideration.

OSSREA Partakes in a Conference on Academic Freedom

An international conference under the title, "Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility and Academics and Researchers in Africa: What are the New Challenges?", was held in Oran, Algeria, from 9th to 11th March 2010.

The three-day conference that was sponsored by CODESRIA and its Algerian counterpart, the National Research Centre in Social and Cultural Anthropologies (CRASC), was attended by well over twenty academics drawn from Africa and the African the Diaspora. OSSREA was represented by Dr Abiye Daniel, Director of Publications and Dissemination.

Dr Ebrima Sall, the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, and Dr. Nouria Remaoun, the Director of CRASC, welcomed all participants to Oran, Algeria, while the Algerian government representative officially opened the conference. Various distinguished keynote speakers from around the world were also invited. Most of these, who were involved in the writing up of the Kampala Declaration of 1990, saw the event as a unique opportunity to revisit the manuscript. The Kampala Declaration is a statement on intellectual freedom and social responsibility where it is argued that all parties have rights and responsibilities. The declaration has three sections: i) Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, ii) Obligations of the State, and iii) Social Responsibility.

The major theme groups of the conference included: Theoretical and Conceptual Issues,

Gender and Ethical Issues, Academic Freedom in the Age of ICT, Global and Country Perspectives and Academic Staff Unions and Academic Freedom, as well as a presentation on scholars at risk. Contemporary challenges were also explored and extensively discussed from the point of view of the new world order, meaning the free market economy and the demand it placed on academics as well as private institutions that are in constant competition for resources with government institutions.

Lastly the Kampala Declaration was revisited, and it was felt that the previous commitment should be reaffirmed, as well as ways of harmonizing the French and English versions of the document be found. It was also suggested that the methods and means of how the Declaration has been implemented so far should be studied. The meeting ended with the common understanding that scholars have many challenges yet to face in the future in terms of academic freedom and social responsibility. It was also felt that all scholars should be made aware of funds that are available, i.e. The Emergency Relief Fund, and The Legal Defence Fund, that can be utilised by scholars who are at risk and might need protection. Finally, it was also agreed that promotional conferences and publications should be done more regularly and awareness created within society.

OSSREA National Chapters Conduct Workshops on Strategic Panning

Four national Chapters of OSSREA conducted workshops on strategic planning during the period 26th February to 19th March 2010.

1) The OSSREA Botswana Chapter

The OSSREA Botswana Chapter conducted a workshop on strategic planning at the University of Botswana on 19th March 2010. The one-day workshop, which was attended by 18 participants, had two major agendas: a) developing a draft strategic plan for the Botswana National Chapter, and b) discussion on OSSREA headquarters' draft strategic plan. The meeting was divided into two – morning and afternoon – sessions. The morning session was dedicated to developing OSSREA Botswana Chapter's strategic plan while the afternoon session was devoted to discussing the strategic plan developed by the OSSREA headquarters. The discussion on both agendas was facilitated by Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research for OSSREA.

The process of developing the strategic plan for the Botswana National Chapter focused on analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities of the Chapter. Participants of the workshop, who were also members of the OSSREA Botswana Chapter, were actively involved in the discussion and carried out the SWOT analysis and identified the strategic objectives of the Chapter. Finally, members assigned the Chapter's office with the responsibility of finalizing the Chapter's strategic plan by following the format developed by the Headquarters.



Participants of the Botswana National Chapter's Workshop

In the afternoon session, which was scheduled for reviewing the Headquarters' strategic plan, members were first briefed on the need for and the process involved in developing the OSSREA 2011 – 2015 Strategic Plan. They were also informed about the various components of the strategic plan: the result of the SWOT analysis, the stakeholders' analysis, the strategic objectives, the result-based management matrix (the actions, output, outcome, performance indicators, and the expected budget), and the research programmes of OSSREA. After deliberating on the various elements of the strategic plan, members endorsed the strategic plan developed by the OSSREA headquarters.

2) The OSSREA Sudan Chapter

The Sudan National Chapter of OSSREA organised a workshop on strategic planning at the University of Khartoum on 4th March 2010. The one-day workshop had two major agendas: a) developing a draft strategic plan for the Sudan National Chapter, and b) discussion on OSSREA headquarters' draft strategic

plan. The workshop, which was attended by 20 participants, was divided in two sessions. The morning session was dedicated to developing OSSREA's Sudan Chapter strategic plan while the afternoon session was devoted to discussion of the OSSREA Headquarters' strategic plan. The discussion on both sessions was facilitated by Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research for OSSREA.

The process of developing the strategic plan for the Sudan Chapter focused on analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities of the Chapter. Participants of the workshop, who were members of OSSREA Sudan Chapter, were actively involved in the discussion and carried out the SWOT analysis and identified the strategic objectives of the Chapter. Finally, members assigned the Chapter's office with the responsibility of finalizing the Chapter's strategic plan by following the format developed by the OSSREA secretariat.

In the afternoon session, which was scheduled for discussing the OSSREA Headquarters' Strategic Plan, members were first briefed on the need for and the process of developing the OSSREA 2011 – 2015 Strategic Plan. They were also informed about the various components of the strategic plan – the result of the SWOT analysis, the stakeholders' analysis, the strategic objectives, the result-based management matrix (the actions, output, outcome, performance indicators, and the expected budget), and the research programmes of OSSREA. After discussing the various elements of the Strategic Plan developed by OSSREA, members gave their approval.

In addition to the above, a separate a meeting that included the Director of Development Studies and Research Institute, University of Khartoum, Dr. Idris Salim Elhassan (also Member of OSSREA Executive Committee); the Liaison Officer of the OSSREA Sudan Chapter, Dr Munzoul, and Dr. Paulos Chanie, the OSSREA Interim Director of Research was held. The meeting deliberated on ways of strengthening the relationship between OSSREA and the University, and on the need for signing a memorandum of understanding was agreed upon. In the end, the Liaison Officer of the Chapter was charged with the responsibility to follow up the issue.



Participants of the Sudan National Chapter's Workshop

3) *The OSSREA Swaziland Chapter*

The OSSREA Swaziland Chapter conducted a workshop on Strategic Planning at the University of Swaziland. The workshop, which was held on 16th March 2010 and was at-

tended by 17 participants, had two major agendas divided into two sessions. The morning session was dedicated to developing OSSREA Swaziland Chapter's strategic plan while the afternoon session was devoted to discussion of the OSSREA Headquarters' strategic plan. The discussion on both agendas was facilitated by Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research for OSSREA.



Participants of the Swaziland National Chapter's Workshop

The process of developing the strategic plan for the Swaziland National Chapter focused on analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities of the Chapter. Participants of the workshop, who were also members of the OSSREA Swaziland Chapter, were actively involved in the discussion and carried out the SWOT analysis and identified the strategic objectives of the Chapter. Finally, members assigned the Chapter's office with the responsibility of finalizing the Chapter's strategic plan by following the format developed by the Headquarters.

In the afternoon session, which was scheduled for discussing the OSSREA Headquarters' Stra-

tegic Plan, members were first briefed on the need for and process of developing the OSSREA 2011 – 2015 Strategic Plan. They were also brought up-to-date on the various components of the strategic plan: the results of the SWOT analysis, the stakeholders' analysis, the strategic objectives, the result-based management matrix (the actions, output, outcome, performance indicators, and the expected budget), and the research programmes of OSSREA. After discussing the various elements of the strategic plan, members gave their approval of the strategic plan developed by OSSREA Headquarters.

In addition to the above, a separate meeting was held between the Vice President of the University of Swaziland, Dr. Joyce Vilakati (also OSSREA Swaziland Chapter's Liaison Officer), Dr. Mathew (OSSREA Swaziland Chapter's Treasurer), and Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research for OSSREA. Issues discussed in the meeting included: strengthening the relationship between OSSREA and the University of Swaziland, and signing of an MOU, on which the participants were in full agreement and assigned the Liaison Officer with the responsibility of following up the issue.

4) The OSSREA Uganda Chapter

The OSSREA Uganda Chapter conducted a workshop on Strategic Planning at the Makerere University on 26 February 2010. The one-day workshop had two major agendas: a) developing a draft strategic plan for the

Uganda National Chapter, and b) discussion on OSSREA headquarters' draft strategic plan. The workshop, which was attended by 25 participants, was divided in two sessions. The morning session was dedicated to developing OSSREA's Uganda Chapter strategic plan while the afternoon session was devoted to discussion of the OSSREA Headquarters' strategic plan. The discussion on both agendas was facilitated by Dr. Paulos Chanie, Interim Director of Research for OSSREA.



Participants of the Uganda National Chapter's Workshop

The process of developing the strategic plan for the Uganda Chapter focused on analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities of the Chapter. Participants of the workshop, who were members of the OSSREA Uganda Chapter, were actively involved in the discussion and carried out the SWOT analysis and identified the strategic objectives of the Chapter. Finally, members assigned the Chapter's office

with the responsibility of finalizing the Chapter's strategic plan in line with the format developed by the Headquarters.

In the afternoon session, when was scheduled for discussing the OSSREA Headquarters' Strategic Plan, members were first briefed on the need for and process of developing the OSSREA Headquarters' 2011–2015 Strategic Plan. They were also informed about the various components of the strategic plan – the result of the SWOT analysis, the stakeholders' analysis, the strategic objectives, the result-based management matrix (the actions, output, outcome, performance indicators, and the expected budget), and the research programmes of OSSREA. After discussing the various elements of the strategic plan, members gave their approval of the strategic plan developed by the OSSREA Secretariat. The Interim Director used the opportunity to join the OSSREA Ugandan Chapter in launching an OSSREA special issue of *MAWAZO*, the journal of the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences of Makerere University.

OSSREA Staff Graduates

Mr Belete Demissie, member of the Finance and Administration Unit at OSSREA, graduated on the 10th April 2010 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Accounting from Admas University College. The OSSREA staff congratulates him on his success and wishes him all the best in his future endeavours.



Mr Demissie being congratulated by Prof. Paschal Mihyo, Executive Director of OSSREA, at his office

OSSREA Hosts Conference on *Diversity in Political Participation and Representation*

The Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) hosted a Cross-Regional Consultation Workshop, organised by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and the Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AFriMAP), from 5th-7th May 2010 at the Intercontinental Hotel, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Welcoming remarks were given by the Executive Director of OSSREA, Professor Paschal Mihyo who hoped that everyone had a safe journey to Addis Ababa. The keynote speaker Dr Abdalla Hamdok, Director of NEPAD and Regional Integration Division (NRID), United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) discussed issues about Africa and officially declared the conference open. Following this, Mr. Mark Salter from International IDEA gave a general background on the work done by his organisation and the theme of diversity and political participation and representation.

The main themes around which the discussions focused included:

- Diversity in Citizenship;
- Diversity in the Organisation of Society;
- Diversity and Inclusivity; and
- Diversity Management: Principles, Lessons Learned and Best Practices.

The consultations started with paper presentations, after which country experiences were presented and discussed, and then concluded with plenary discussions. At the end of the two-day conference, Mr Ozias Tungwarara, Director of AFriMAP, summarised the major issues raised during the consultation process and mentioned a few points on the way forward.

The meeting ended with the three Directors of OSSREA, IDEA and AFriMAP, agreeing to work in partnership in the future and all participants were thanked for coming and sharing their ideas. Mr. Mark Salter gave a closing speech in which he wished everyone a safe journey home.



Organiser and Presenters at the Conference



Participants at the Conference

Strengthening Capacity for Policy Implementation: An Assessment of the Design and Implementation of Business Process Reengineering Reform in Ethiopia (OSSREA and ECSC)

A half-day workshop was held on 20th April 2010 at the Ethiopian Civil Service College where the lead researchers- Dr Tesfaye Debela and Mr Atkilt Hagos-presented their proposal on BPR in Ethiopia. A general consultation was held on the Terms of Reference (TOR) that was submitted by OSSREA and what the researchers presented. On the whole the discussion was successful and the researchers were complemented especially in terms of the design, implementation and outcome but it was pointed out that that there were too many variables that had to be controlled. During the course of the discussion various points were raised that would strengthen the proposal. These included:

- Previous research done on BPR would contribute towards sharpening the methodology;
- Condensing the objectives;
- Looking at successful and not so successful cases and how to select

them;

- The general trend of moving from function to process;
- How to evaluate customer satisfaction and attitude;
- The sample size;
- The experience of other countries; and
- The role of incentives.

The meeting ended with the understanding that the comments would be incorporated into the proposal and an updated proposal would be submitted.

OSSREA at the Addis Ababa University Book Fair

OSSREA took part at the annual Addis Ababa University Book Fair which was held from 22nd to the 28th February 2010. This year, the Fair was not the usual extended two-week affair but instead was a one-activity filled week.

OSSREA had a stand in the front and obtained maximum visibility and also had the opportunity to sell some of its publications. All the 2010 publications were given maximum coverage and, as usual, OSSREA had the opportunity to give out free previous publications to the student population. At the end of the fair OSSREA was given a certificate of participation by the Addis Ababa University.



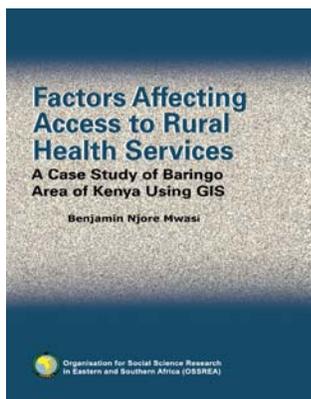
NEW PUBLICATIONS

In the period between January–June 2010, OSSREA published, co-published and disseminated seven books on different issues. Summaries of the books with their covers are presented below.

Factors Affecting Access to Rural Health Services: A Case Study of Baringo Area of Kenya Using GIS

Benjamin Njore Mwasi

Ensuring equitable access to health services is a



universal goal of governments. Achievement of this goal requires, among other things, the identification and removal of the many barriers that hinder access to health services. Broadly, these barriers can be

grouped as physical, economic, social and cultural. Access to health services can arise due to one or different combinations of these four barrier types. Any attempt to improve access to health services requires the identification of prevailing area-specific barriers and their contributions to the overall condition.

This study sought to identify the major barriers to health service access for a special section of the Kenyan community, namely a rural community in a semi-arid environment, using Marigat Division of Baringo District within the Rift Valley as an example. Such environments are characterized by harsh weather conditions, sparsely distributed small settlements, poor road and other communication networks and low economic levels. The study used both primary and secondary socio-economic data, including health service attendance patterns, population and disease incidence distributions, as well as bio-physical data, such as topography, weather and road networks, to analyze health attendance patterns. The Geographic Information Systems technology was used to integrate the socio-economic and physical data and analyze them while the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was used for statistical analyses.

The results show that about two-thirds of the population studied attend health facilities regularly, with the attendance patterns showing some variations across sex, age, education, marital status and type of occupation. Although not analysed in detail, ethnicity and religion did not seem to affect health facility attendance patterns. Distance, time and money were found to be the strongest barriers to health facility attendance in the study area, with distance being the single most important factor affecting the choice of the facility attended. There seems to be both spatial and temporal variations in disease incidence type and numbers, with more diseases occurring during the wet seasons.

Availability of facilities is generally low whether assessed in terms of density of facilities (< 0.01 facilities per square kilometre) or by population per facility, with each facility having more than 5000 people. Accessibility analysis by both Euclidean and slope-based friction surfaces show that very few people live within one kilometre from a health facility. In terms of road-network based accessibility, only 6,050 people out of 69,450, representing less than 10% of the population, were found to be within 5 km. from a health facility. Similarly, only 5,250 people lived within 15 minutes drive time to a health facility.

The study also shows that, a GIS can be used to identify the optimum facility to take a patient on the basis of both time (least time) or cost (shortest distance). Using pre-defined high need for a health facility criteria, namely areas with a population density greater than 20 people per square km. and do not have a health facility within a 5 km. radius, the GIS was able to identify such areas. Similarly, the GIS identified areas with potential for private investment in health service provision using need-for-health services and ability to pay or the poverty index.

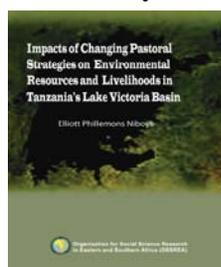
The study concludes that health service needs and barriers to health service access vary widely within and across geographic areas. Consequently, area-specific analysis of needs and barriers can produce useful data for informing policy on improving accessibility to health services. Further, integrated analysis of socio-economic and bio-physical data using GIS technology provides an ob-

jective means for making decisions on where to locate new facilities or which facilities to upgrade. The technology can also help decision makers solve problems of physical access by identifying where to construct new roads or upgrade existing ones to all-weather standards.

Impacts of Changing Pastoral Strategies on Environmental Resources and Livelihoods in Tanzania's Lake Victoria Basin

Elliott Pillemons Niboye

This study revolves around land tenure in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas of Tanzania, which, the author claims, is under stress. According to the study, the stress emanates mainly from changing natural and demographic environments. Other underlying causes are social, economic and political changes. In the past three to four decades, both pastoral and agro-pastoral areas have been experiencing rapid population increase, with a national mean population growth rate estimated at three per cent per annum. This has increased the demand for cultivation lands, forcing pastoralists and agro-pastoralists to more marginal areas and triggering off, in some cases, environmental degradation process. These processes are paralleled by overall climatic changes with concomitant increasing droughts. The combined effect of these processes has culminated in a



general decline of pastoral and agro-pastoral community's welfare and increased livelihood insecurity.

The book further argues that, the decline also stems from both current and past governmental policies that viewed pastoralism as an unsustainable land use system which has to be transformed by sedentarisation. The case in point here is the Maasailand settlement and Operation Barabaig development schemes. The colonial land policies disrupted pastoral land tenure systems through alienation of customary lands to the state and settler farmers. This in turn eroded the legitimacy of traditional decision making structures, leading to the breakdown of these structures. Nationalisation and villagisation policies during the 1970s led to widespread alienation of pastoral lands. These policies caused land tenure insecurity and created conditions for open access. Pastoralists were forced into the remaining atrophied common grazing areas, with shrinking resource base. These processes culminated with livelihood insecurity in agro-pastoral and pastoral communities, forcing an increasingly large number of pastoralists to shift to other means of livelihoods like cultivation in marginal lands, wage labour and out migration.

Similar policy externalities were generated in the main agro-pastoral areas in the Western Cotton Growing Areas of Tanzania. The severely affected are the pastoral and agro-pastoral areas in Western Tanzania, including the study area. The government subsidy on cotton led to crop intensification which

resulted in wide scale deforestation, loss of soil fertility and overall environmental degradation. This in turn led to enormous loss of grazing lands and increased grazing intensities. The processes have been aggravated by high human and livestock population densities as well as unfavourable, semi-arid environmental conditions.

Furthermore, the recent economic reforms and trade liberalisation have ushered in new threats to pastoral and agro-pastoral systems, though they have also created some opportunities. The National Agriculture Policy promoted commercial agriculture production. This was followed by land tenure reforms, like the Land Act No.4 of 1999 and the Village Land Act No.5 of 1999, that support land market in the country. These policy changes, in conjunction with other sectoral policies like the Wildlife Management Act of 1975, have been followed by large scale privatisation of the remaining pastoral lands for commercial farming, hunting blocks, mining and land speculation, further marginalising the pastoralist. Currently, there are cases of large scale expropriation of pastoral lands by corrupt officials, leading to forced evictions of the agro .

Loss of grazing lands, environmental degradation and high grazing intensities in the main pastoral and agro-pastoral areas of Tanzania have led to massive migration of pastoralists and livestock. Currently, there is a steady movement of livestock from the north and northwest regions of the country to the south. The main target areas include Morogoro, Coast, Mbeya and Rukwa regions. This has

brought different ethnic groups into the same ecological ranges, with increased potential for environmental degradation and resource-use conflicts. The perceived social and environmental consequences are arousing concern at different levels of governance. In some areas the immigrant pastoralists and indigenous ethnic groups, mainly agriculturists, have forged complementary co-existence, while in some areas the immigrant pastoralists have intensified the conflicting demands for natural resources; and in some areas this has led into violent clashes and loss of lives. Despite these negative effects, sedentarisation of large herds in one area has caused massive damages to the environment. The current decision by the Tanzanian government to evict the migrant pastoral communities from the Ihefu wetlands in the Usangu plains is a case in point. The area, which is a source of water supplying many hydro-electricity generating dams downstream, has been extensively degraded and thus affecting the volume of water supply.

The increase in human and animal populations in Lake Victoria Basin and the policy interventions mentioned above have exacerbated the demand for land leading to shrinkage of available pastures thereby threatening the survival of pastoral production systems. This has caused changes in the mode of production for the agro-pastoralists in the area. Increasing and prolonged droughts, coupled with high population densities in the regions bordering the Lake Victoria basin, has led to spontaneous partitioning of grazing lands, thereby disrupting the traditional transhumant stock movements where the animals were moved to the Lake Ba-

sin during the dry season and returned to home ranges during the rainy season. Now a large proportion of the migratory herd has settled permanently in the basin, amplifying the grazing intensity in the area. Such movements and the eventual sedentarisation in the basin have caused negative impacts on environmental resources as well as on the community welfare. As such, using range inventory and socio-economic surveys, this study explores the impacts of these changes in agro-pastoral land use on the physical environment as well as livelihood and welfare of the community in Missungwi District.

Finally, the major findings of the study include the following: The district produces many crops both for food and cash, but the most important are cotton and paddy; domesticated animal products also contribute substantially to the district economy; as the wealth of the household increases so does the number of cattle owned and likewise the number of acres cultivated. That most (80%) of the community members are agro-pastoralists and only a few (20%) of the community members are involved in non-farm activities; land is largely obtained through inheritance and the size of landholding owned varies from 3 - 20 hectares on average; rangelands in the villages under the study were of moderate to low productivity, while the low vegetation cover (50% and below) indicates increasing risks to soil erosion. The results further indicate that the range condition at Nyang'homongo and Ila-lambogo villages was fair, while the range condition at Kasololo village was poor.

The study also established that high-grazing intensities have contributed to the reduction of the fire effect especially in areas near the Lake, due to substantial reduction in herbaceous vegetation. So the major disturbance factor for the range vegetation in the study area is herbivorous mode of feeding or grazing only.

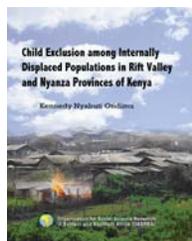
The findings have an implication for management of the rangelands, whereby the different disturbance regimes could be encouraged in order to attain the desirable vegetation formations and range productivity. For example, the negative impacts that arose from the past policies imply that new policy measures should be introduced in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas of Tanzania, especially in the study area.

In conclusion, the study recommends the following measures: First, there is a need for developing a “sustainable grazing system” which combines traditional pastoral knowledge, scientific range management principles and pastoral local institutions. Secondly, the grazing systems to be innovated and adopted should be premised on “non-equilibrium model” for grazers in arid and semi-arid environments, where flexibility and livestock mobility are allowed to some extent.

Child Exclusion among Internally-Displaced Populations in Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces of Kenya

Kennedy Nyabuti Ondimu

Globally, over 25 million people are displaced within their own countries by the effect of conflicts, human rights violations and natural hazards. In Kenya, thousands of families are each year displaced by the effect of inter-ethnic violence, environmental disasters and forced government eviction from forest reserves. Due to lack of alternative areas to settle, the majority of these displaced communities end up squatting in informal settlements in the nearby urban centres or at the fringes of the forest zone where they are exposed to extreme poverty and deprivation. Since almost all the displaced families originate from the rural areas, the act of displacement shatters their family-based rural economies as they seek refuge in towns. Internally-displaced children face many risks given the violence and uncertainty surrounding both their family’s flights and their lives in the place of asylum. For instance, they may become separated from their families, lose their homes and find themselves living in poor conditions that jeopardize their health and education. Loss of family protection and inadequate resources to address the needs and challenges that internally-displaced children face can leave them at significant risk of being trafficked to slave-like working conditions elsewhere.



This report presents findings of a child exclusion survey among the internally-displaced persons (IDPs) in Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces of Kenya that was conducted between January and August 2007. The main objective of the study was to examine the extent of child exclusion among IDPs in Kenya in relation to attaining the ideals of the 1989 Convention for the Rights of the Child, the Millennium Development Goals, and the World Fit for Children declaration. The researcher specifically sought to identify the social, cultural and economic impacts of internal displacement on children in Kenya and suggest the practical interventions that could minimize their impoverishment, and therefore help restore their livelihoods as espoused in the Millennium Development Goals. Child well-being was measured in the study population by use of eight major indicators, namely household poverty level; environmental safety; child health status (nutrition and disease prevalence and vaccination); birth registration; access to education; prevalence of sexual and physical violence; and child labour. In addition to the above, the study sought community attitudes, and perceptions of government and other programmes; experiences, views and attitudes on child well-being in order to inform and enrich programmes on child welfare in emergency situations in Kenya.

The findings of this research reveal that internally-displaced children in Kenya (whether removed from their homes due to violent clashes, government eviction, natu-

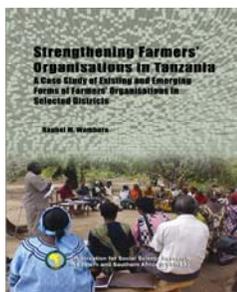
ral disasters, etc.) suffer the consequences of their displacement. This is exposed in increased poverty and deprivation as indicated by poor congested housing; hunger and malnutrition; lack of access to health care; poor health; prevalence of malaria and other infectious diseases; and lack of education services. Due to various socioeconomic factors and absence of community check mechanisms and programmes, children of internally-displaced families are often exposed to physical and sexual abuse, worst forms of child labour, and most of them denied birth registration. These children therefore need emergency protection and material assistance from the government, NGOs and other humanitarian agencies.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the reader to the problem of internally-displaced persons and the study objectives. Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework by reviewing the relevant literature on child well-being in complex emergencies. Chapter Three gives a background on the study area and introduces the methodologies used to collect and analyze data. Chapters four to six are devoted to discussion of the findings, followed by the final chapter, Chapter Seven, that summarizes the key study findings and suggests strategies for improving the conditions of displaced children in Kenya.

Strengthening Farmers' Organizations in Tanzania: A Case Study of Farmers' Group Organizations in Selected Districts

Raphael M. Wambura

According to the author, the main reason for undertaking the study, “Strengthening Farmers’ Organizations in Tanzania: A Case Study of Farmers’ Group Organizations in Selected Districts” was to identify and promote appropriate strategies for organizing and empowering farmers’ groups in order to determine their own destiny in the process of bettering their livelihoods and alleviation of poverty in Tanzania.



The specific objectives of the study were to: (i) take an inventory of formal and informal forms of farmers’ group organizations in terms of membership, organization management, history, activities and sustainability; (ii) identify factors of success or failure and best bet practices in formal and informal forms of farmers’ group organizations; and (iii) explore strategies for strengthening formal and informal forms of farmers’ group organizations.

The study was conducted in six districts (about 5% of the 127 districts) in Tanzania, which were selected based on the status of different formal and informal forms of farmers’ primary (grassroots) organizations spread across five regions in the country. Data were collected from total sample of 113 respondents (67 male and 46 female) comprising of: 86 primary (grassroots) farmers’ group organization respondents; one respondent from Ministry of Agriculture, Food

Security and Cooperatives; four from apex organizations at national level; six from regional/district apex/union organizations; five from Donors and International NGOs collaborating with funding farmers’ organizations, and 11 key informants. Several data collection methods, which utilized interview schedules, checklists and researcher’s diary as main tools, were employed for this study. The specific methods of data collection used are described in detail in the book. Qualitative data were analyzed using “content analysis” technique. Quantitative data were processed and analyzed to produce frequencies, cross tabulations and correlations. Important comments of various experts and stakeholders workshops in Swaziland and Tanzania are also reflected in the report.

The major findings of this study were as follows:

1. While the four-tier system of farmers’ organization structure is still operational as per the 1991 Cooperatives Societies Act, the current Cooperative Societies Act No. 20 of 2003 recognizes a two-tier system (that is, Primary and Federation). Other tiers (Secondary and Apex) can be formed depending on members’ needs. The essence of this was to enhance efficiency and effectiveness and to make farmers’ organizations more responsive to farmers felt needs.
2. The new trend shows that there is a considerable increase in number of farmers’ organizations. However, the existing farmers’ groups are scattered and still not well organized or they lack skills to manage themselves. Many groups are not recognized and lack horizontal communication with their fellow farmers.

3. Most farmers' organizations are largely involved in marketing of agricultural crops commonly known as Agricultural Marketing and Cooperative Societies (AMCOS). This kind of emphasis has resulted in making other types of cooperatives (e.g., finance, trade, industry, minerals and fisheries) less emphasized.
4. Most formal organizations were registered with an elaborate organizational structure (almost similar to all organizations) and constitution or by-laws and are member-owned. In addition, they had a vision and mission statements, with some having corporate strategic plans. Nearly all have similar objectives of empowering farmers to have their voices heard in an endeavour to improve their livelihoods through increased incomes.
5. Generally, almost all farmers' organizations were found to be relevant in the context of the country's policies and development strategies, the Millennium Development Goals, and the socio-cultural, economic and political environment of the members. It was realized that it was in this context that the Government and its development partners have jointly decided to support this kind of farmers' initiatives.
6. In terms of efficiency and acceptability, it was somehow difficult to establish these two parameters without going into a deep institutional analysis of the organizations. However, from discussions and extrapolation, it was possible to ascertain that these farmers' organizations are meeting part of their mandates through implementing relevant programmes, establishing strategic alliances with government, regional and international bodies, and collecting and expending member subscriptions, among others.
7. With regard to strengths of Federation/Apex/Union farmers' organizations, it was found out that these organizations had: an elaborate organizational structure and constitution, relatively well trained staff, assets and forged linkages with other partners. On the other hand, weaknesses revolved around low membership, low operational and developmental capital, low levels of education of members, dependence on external support and failure to address sustainability and cross-cutting issues like gender and HIV/AIDS. Although, primary farmers' organizations faced similar problems, the magnitude of these weaknesses was more magnified or compounded as they rely on Apex organizations for support and advice.
8. Dissatisfaction among some primary farmers' organizations due to poor services rendered by regional Apex/Unions made them think of withdrawing their membership. Despite these weaknesses, prevailing opportunities included: strong Government support including existence of an enabling policy environment and legal as well as regulatory framework and

cooperation and/or linkage with various Government Ministries, Universities and other training/research institutions, NGOs, financial institutions and the private sector. Some of the limitations were farmers' resentment in cooperation due to past legacy of cooperatives and inability to offer quality and timely services to their members due to financial constraints.

The study's recommended strategies for strengthening farmers' organizations include the following:

1. Economic development in Tanzania depends on agriculture which dominates the economy, providing more than 46% of GDP. Agriculture is also a source of both employment and food for 80% of the population. Farmers' organizations are therefore the most important civil society organizations in Tanzania. And to be able to play their role more effectively, they require support from farmers themselves, government and development partners
2. Given the sound institutional set up that has been established, overall strengths and/or achievements of the current farmers' organizations, as well as issues of market liberalization and globalization, among others, it is recommended that government, development partners and members of farmers' organizations themselves should all team up in a collegial manner and develop strategic mechanisms for revitalizing the organizations in an endeavour to improve members' livelihoods as an attempt to reduce poverty
3. There are many farmers' organizations existing in Tanzania, but many of them are weak and are not able to meet the aspirations of the membership. These organizations require capacity to develop their secretariats and hold activities that would justify their existence and demonstrate their importance to the membership, triggering their support. There is a need for leadership training so that the organizations are well governed and truly represent the interest of the membership.
4. In situations like that of MVIWATA where farmers' organizations have been established and are strong, they are able to lobby and carry out advocacy work. They should be able to establish linkages and alliances and also participate in policy formulation, planning and implementation of programmes as key stakeholders. All these will lead to the identification of important issues for dialogue that would cut across all levels.
5. For organizations to effectively identify issues and disseminate them to the membership, there is a need for developing a strong and efficient infrastructure. This requires resources, training and expertise, with both domestic and external support.

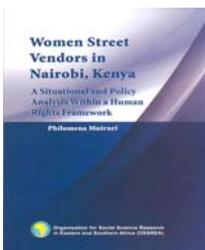
Women Street Vendors in Nairobi, Kenya: A Situational and Policy Analysis Within a Human Rights Framework

Philomena Muiruri

Street vending represents a significant share of the urban informal economy. Poverty and high levels of unemployment in Nairobi City have seen the number of women street vendors increase as they take up street trading as a means of survival and a livelihood strategy. However, there is limited understanding regarding the socio-economic characteristics of the women vendors, challenges they experience and the effects of the regulatory framework on their activity. The study used a human rights perspective to examine the situation of women street vendors because policies dealing with street trading should be based explicitly on the norms and values set out in the international law of human rights so as to promote and protect the rights of women street vendors. Data was collected from women street vendors who were purposively selected from the streets using interview schedules while interview guides gathered data from key informants in the public and private sectors. Data analysis employed quantitative techniques on the questionnaires and hypothesis testing and qualitative methods for content analysis.

Findings revealed that 68% of the women

trade in perishables; they possess low skills and lack the level of education required for better paying jobs; 97% have no other sources of income apart from vending, and 87% joined the activity because of poverty and unemployment. Other attractions of street vending were identified as its schedule flexibility, and that it requires minor financial input and the skills involved are low. They experience numerous problems, including harassment through destruction and confiscation of their wares and operating tools, demolitions, beatings, arrests, fines and imprisonment, evictions and corruption particularly from the city authorities. As a result, they lose their wares, capital and livelihoods which subsequently exacerbate poverty and increase their vulnerability. They are further constrained by lack of access to a wide range of services, including child care, public utilities (water and electricity), sanitation, garbage removal, storage, shelter and financial services. Their right to ply their trade is impeded by an inappropriate legal and regulatory framework that is not in line with the needs of the urban poor and which fails to give them legal recognition. The greatest challenge facing women street traders is with regards to site of operation and right to trading space which consequently impacts on their other rights due to constant harassment. The rights based approach to the problems of women street traders illustrates the need to respect the rights and fundamental freedom of women vendors allowing them to work in dignity, have a say in decisions that affect their lives and economic, social and urban



policies are responsive to their needs and aspirations. The study recommends a national policy on street vending that respects, fulfils and protects the rights of vendors to carry on their activities without harassment, protect and expand their livelihood, improve public image and enable the integration of street vendors into the urban distribution system. This will assure the vendors to rights of a reasonable standard of living, food, housing, health protection, education and social security.

Documenting the Ethiopian Student Movement: An Exercise in Oral History

Bahru Zewde

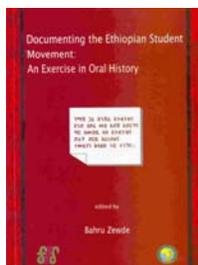
A joint publication with Forum for Social Studies (FSS), this book presents a selective record of four days of reflections by protagonists of the Ethiopian student movement in those heady days of the 1960s and 1970s. As in many other African countries, in Ethiopia, too, intellectuals have played a role and exercised an influence disproportionate to their size.

The pre-war intellectuals were pre-occupied with a whole gamut of concerns ranging from educational development to fiscal reform and had an essentially reformist agenda. Driven by a concern to save the regime from the double threat of internal disintegration and external invasion, they urged what could be character-

ized as defensive modernization.

The second period of intellectual intervention began only in the late 1950s. It revolved mainly around Ethiopian students, both at home and abroad. This eventually evolved into what came to be known as the Ethiopian Student Movement which could be said to have gone through three successive stages: self-awareness, reformism, and revolutionary commitment.

The third stage is the focal point of this study and constitutes the crucial period that forms both the backdrop and the essence of the changes that have come to affect fundamentally the Ethiopian state and society – changes that are yet far from being over. It is clear that there is one single factor that explains the direction Ethiopian history has taken in the last four decades or so—it is the role of the intellectual. To try and unravel the history of the intellectual is therefore to go more than half way to understanding how Ethiopian history took the trajectory that it took in the second half of the past century, and where Ethiopia finds itself today. A commendable addition to the study of the struggle of African youth in the turbulent 60s and 70s in general and the Ethiopian student in particular.



MAWAZO

The Journal of the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences, Makerere University

This issues is a special edition co-published by



OSSREA Uganda National Chapter and Makerere University. Each of the 18 articles in this publication addresses the need for African countries and Uganda in particular to set up

democratic institutions and systems that propel good governance, ensuring effective and efficient management of resources, poverty eradication, promoting conflict and gender-sensitive approaches to enhance national development without losing focus of people's culture and their indigenous knowledge systems.

The first article discusses Uganda's experience of democratic local governance and decentralization in reference to promoting effective and efficient delivery of services. It argues that decentralization is a means of poverty eradication, and singles out systemic corruption as one of the challenges Uganda faces, systematic corruption which makes services inefficient. It is proposed that virtue, courage, professionalism and a fundamental institutional reordering to bring public ethics into the equation by retraining all public servants especially civil servants in the discipline of public ethics.

Using a case study of Buganda Lukiiko, the next paper highlights the dilemma that Uganda faces; how to sustain traditional systems of governance in context of decentralization and

whether this could constitute a basis for federal system of governance in Uganda.

Another paper takes the discourse of governance to a critical level, and argues for a paradigm shift from policy to results-based implementation and one of the public universities in Uganda and also argues for a paradigm shift which should begin with transforming higher education so as to make higher education a spring board for sustainable development. It clearly demonstrates how higher institutions of learning and the pedagogy they employ needs urgent transformation so as to be of service to the development process in Uganda.

Next, using a case study of Kabale district, it is demonstrated how cultural practices are to-date contributing to maternal mortality. To avert this tragedy in our time, it strongly recommends affirmative action for rural women, empowering them economically and enabling them to have access to education so as to enable them to take decisions that affect their lives, families and communities. One of the articles explores how women in Kampala have a possibility of co-owning the matrimonial home with their husbands. Although this is still an uphill task due to Uganda's patriarchal society, it demonstrates the gender dynamics of homeownership rights.

The subsequent article highlights the contribution of women in enhancing good governance at local government levels and was conducted in Mbale district in eastern Uganda. It demonstrates how women in leadership are exercising effective and efficient representa-

tion at the different levels of local governance. This is followed by another article that studies a new social phenomena of Urbanization and polygamy and its impact on poverty reduction.

The next four articles, using different case studies, demonstrate the challenges Uganda is facing to make social-economic development a lived reality. The first of these articles studies the performance of the liberalised coffee marketing system and its capacity to alleviate poverty at the grassroots while the second focuses on the Nile perch and raises critical issues concerning the fish industry in Uganda. It is argued that any authentic process of socio-economic development and industrialization cannot lose sight of the environment and should take into account indigenous knowledge systems. The third one highlights critical issues of political ecology that have to be taken into account to ensure sustainable development in Uganda with specific reference to the Karuma Hydropower Project. The last article articulates the forgotten treasure, indigenous knowledge systems and their role in development.

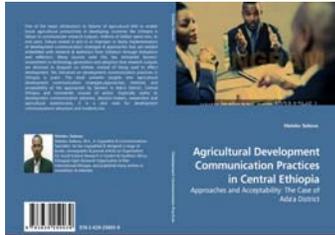
The article, that deals with the "film industry", demonstrates the potential of performing arts in influencing the development process in the country and how they can contribute to enhance a culture of peace. While performing arts and the film industry have a role to play, they cannot be effective in a vacuum; there is

need to re-think the governing structures and the capacity to enhance peace and development. This challenge in Uganda's context is also articulated in another article on "Movementocracy" and the challenges facing political parties in Uganda. The article argues for the need to respect and promote the fundamental right to political participation as a strategy of ensuring transformational development, the absence of which triggers conflict, violence and war while another makes a critical analysis of the crises in Darfur and points out lessons to be learnt to enhance peace and stability on the African Continent. Accordingly, peace, security and stability that Africa urgently needs cannot become a reality unless the question of refugees is effectively discussed and handled at all levels. Another argument highlights the issue of refugees and their plight in Uganda and urges the member states of the African Union (AU) to pass a policy and resolution, whereby no African should be made to feel a refugee on the African continent. This also requires a joint action and proactive strategies for handling disasters and recording the phenomena of refugees and internally displaced persons, as clearly articulated in another article, that also argues for an urgent need of new policies at all levels to proactively provide hospitality to refugees and internally displaced persons.

Last but not least, the final article focuses on the folkloristic foundations of ethnic conflict in Uganda and points out a real starting point for anyone striving to promote peaceful resolution of conflict as a strategy of sustainable and transformation development.

A New Book by OSSREA Staff

Mr. Matebu Tadesse, a Publications Assistant at



OSSREA, has published a book entitled *Agricultural Development Communication Practices in Central Ethiopia*

Approaches and Acceptability: The Case of Ada'a District.

From his experience as an Editor of research publications at the Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization, now Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research, and his study in development communications, Mr Matebu shares his view in this book that one of the major attributions to failures of agricultural research for development to enable boost agricultural productivity in developing countries like Ethiopia is failure to communicate research outputs, millions of dollars spent into, to end users. This failure, he notes, is rooted in lack or improper implementation of development communication strategies and approaches that are needed in integration with research and extension from initiation through evaluation and reflection. Yet literature on development communication practices in Ethiopia is scant. The author believes that this new book presents new insights into agricultural development communication strategies, approaches, methods and acceptability of the approaches by farmers in Ada'a district, central Ethiopia and commends courses of ac-

tion. The author recommends the book especially to development communication planners, decision-makers, researchers and agricultural extensionists, and is a vital read for development communications educators and students, too.

FEATURE ARTICLES

Cybermarketing African Football in the New Millennium: Angola and South Africa 2010 and beyond*

*Satwinder S. Rehal **

ABSTRACT

Football is the most globalised sport today, marked by the increase in the circulation of players in major leagues across the world and the wide media broadcasts witnessed in the last ten to fifteen years. However, taking a closer look at football's global advance is less widespread than expected. A notable case is that of the digital divide between Europe and Africa for instance, especially in the role and application of ICT and football development in the latter. This paper seeks to provide a rapid appraisal of the state of Internet use and cybermarketing of African football by CAF member Associations based on four broad categories, namely interaction brochures, virtual storefronts, information clearinghouses, and customer service tools. The paper highlights the very low level of investment by majority of National Associations in many African countries in the use of the Internet for cybermarketing purposes. This key observation can be attested by the low number of official national football association web sites, a factor that has grave implications in that very little is reliably known about football in various African countries, especially in light of the 2010 World Cup finals to be held in South Africa. Such limitations tend to restrict accessing unofficial web sites whose information and content cannot be relied upon and equally limits the monetary and publicity potentials that national associations can derive through cyber marketing. This paper therefore recommends for national football associations in Africa to sustainably invest in the potentials of the Internet given the current growing trend in the rapid adoption of this technology in the continent.

Keywords: African football, internet use, cyber-marketing

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* This paper is a modified version of the original, which was presented during the First Congress of the African Sociological Association, sub-theme: "Soccer in

Africa: Globalisation, Nationalism and the Local" (Special Panel) held at Rhodes University, Grahamstown-iRhini, Republic of South Africa, between 15th -18th July 2007.

INTRODUCTION

Football, or soccer as it otherwise known, is the most globalised sport today marked by the increase in the circulation of players and wider media coverage during the last decade and a half. Giulianotti (2002), for instance, notes that the 2002 World Cup, which was co-hosted by Japan and South Korea, had a worldwide television audience of more than 30 million with 32 national teams from all continents battling for a shot on history. Globalisation in football has also been evidenced by the increased ability of players to move between clubs and countries at a global scale-with this diffusion and political structures offering an advanced case study in the globalisation of a cultural form (Ibid.). In essence, the globalisation of football has increased immensely in the most recent period, as limits on the number of foreign players have all but lifted in soccer's main market in Europe. And as league clubs become much more commercialised, they have moved away from their old 'socially-conscious' role where they previously functioned as part of trade unions, political parties or community and ethnic organisations (Milanovic 2005). A number of scholars have researched the impact of globalisation on the sport in Africa, focusing more on the labour aspect of African football players at the global level. Milanovic (ibid), for instance, argues that the

free circulation of labour, increased returns to scale and endogeneity of African footballing skills, producing, on the one hand, higher overall quality of the game and increasing inequality of results among clubs, while on the other, lower inequality in the national teams' performance. Based on this postulation, he asserts that football's global rules have allowed poor countries to capture some of their 'leg drain', a term which he used to refer to the improved skills that players acquire while playing for better foreign clubs. This argument provides an example as to how forces of efficiency, but also inequality, unleashed by globalisation, can be harnessed by the existence of global institutions to help improve the outcome for the poor countries.

On the flip side, some scholars note that the luring of the best talents out of Africa have undermined the quality of the sport in the continent. It is argued that the impact of this trend has tended to lower the standards of local football, reinforcing the perception that leaving Africa is the only choice for promising footballers (Blatter 2003). While the personal accomplishments of these athletes should not be disputed, the increasing flight of Africa's finest players to Europe is also indicative of a structural problem in African football (Akindes, Darby & Kirwin 2006). The "muscle exodus" as Confederation of African Football (CAF) President Issa Haytoub asserts, has grown tremendously in the past decade, fueled by the nearly 20-to-1 wage discrepancy between African and European clubs (Andreff 2004). Euro-

pean clubs increasingly use their financial advantage to recruit Africa's best players when they are as young as 14 years old. Sepp Blatter, the President of FIFA, has equally chastised the increasing labour migration as a form of neo-colonialism, finding it unhealthy, if not despicable. In addition, the performance of many African national teams, it is argued, has been adversely affected when European clubs refuse to release African footballers to play for their home countries, fearing injury to their key imported players. While FIFA regulations now compel clubs to release players, there is a legal battle in the European Court of Justice as to whether clubs can demand monetary compensation for injuries that they may sustain during national competitions (European Report 2006). If the legal challenge is successful, the potential financial cost to FIFA could put the current regulations in jeopardy.

In agreement with Giulianotti (2002), it can be asserted that a closer look at soccer's global advance, just like many other globalisation processes, is less widespread than first meets the eye. A notable case is that of the role of ICTs and football in Africa, which is a far cry in comparison to other continents. The processes of ICT use and football development in other continents, especially in Europe, have highlighted the internationalisation in club recruitment and enhanced the aesthetic sophistication of club soccer while national associations are

seen as state-like actors operating much more like modern multinational corporations (Ibid.). Advances in digital networks, personal computers, online services and the Internet are daily shaping the information superhighway at the global level (Grimes 2004), and it is one that African football associations need to tap especially with the anticipated interest on African football due, ostensibly, to the hosting of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Take, for instance, in the past eight years the English Premier League (EPL) has become increasingly commercial, and there has been a consequent growth in the importance of club marketing, where the potentials of the Internet and cybermarketing have simultaneously developed as a commercial phenomenon over the same period. These technological advances are changing the face of businesses, with the information superhighway offering organisations an abundance of opportunities.

Used properly, the Internet can be a powerful source of competitive advantage in global markets, and an increasing number of organisations are developing Internet-based strategies to support their overall business development (Hamill 1997, 300). For instance, the governing body of Federation of African Football (CAF), following pressing requests from the media on the identity of the best African player for the last 50 years, published an integral list where Internet users voted for Cameroon legend Roger Milla as the Best African Football Player for the period 1957-2007 with 2,246 votes (www.cafonline.com). While acknowledging the attributes of the Internet, this paper provides a preliminary assessment of the state of Internet use and cybermarketing of

African soccer by CAF member associations. The assessment is based on Ainscough & Lockett's (1996, 41) typology that defines four broad categories of Internet use, namely interaction brochures, virtual storefronts, information clearinghouses, and customer service tools. Let us see these in more details.

(i) Interaction Brochure

Majority of organisations use the Internet as an interaction brochure where they are providing information about their organisations and/or the services they offer, and exchange information. Interactive brochures vary from simple information, to highly sophisticated multimedia productions that can include SoundBits and video clips in order to provide detailed information.

(ii) Virtual Storefront

The virtual storefront allows interested customers to browse through merchandise and purchase items online where the storefront allows the customer to examine the range of products that are available for purchase, place their order and have their purchases delivered. Virtual storefronts have a great levelling effect, as small organisations are instantly transformed into a worldwide distributor by providing a direct source of sales (Ainscough and Lockett 1996, 42). An organisation's web site can thus be used to explain and demonstrate a product as well as to make direct sales, and where these 'Cybermalls' have the potential, to capture a variety of customer types (Bennett 1997, 325).

(iii) The Information Clearinghouse

Organisations that have a strong research and developmental component use information-clearing houses to exchange information with customers and other researchers. An information clearinghouse refers to a place where product questions can be asked and answered online, meetings and conferences are announced, and research findings are shown and explained. Current technology allows participants to have real time video and audio interactions via the Internet where these virtual meetings and discussion groups can bring people with similar interest together in the form of meetings and discussions (Ainscough and Luckett 1996, 42). The Internet substantially has the capacity to improve an organisation's ability to communicate with existing foreign customers, suppliers, agents and distributors, and where improved communication channels exist, generate a wealth of information on market trends and on the latest technology, as well as on research and technical developments (Bennet 1997, 327). This attribute is supported by Paul (1996, 29) who states that an increasing number of organisations are using the Internet as an important tool through which they communicate internally with their business partners and with their customers.

(iv) Customer Service Tool

The Internet can provide customer service facility on a 24-hours basis by allowing questions, orders and service online. Organisations often receive customer questions on services online

and provide detailed answers within a day. Some organisations anticipate questions in advance and provide a list of frequently asked questions online (Ainscough and Luckett 1996, 41). As such, management enthusiasm and perceived benefits seem to be the driving force for ongoing Internet usage (Poon and Swatman 1997,400).

Other related concepts are market intelligence and sales promotion. Marketing is essentially an information processing activity which links an organisation to the external environment in which it operates. The ability to process information is therefore an important tool that contributes to the success of an organisation. Effective management of information can also be a powerful source of competitive advantage for the organisation. Effective management of information is important in helping an organisation to deal with a range of complex environments that are subject to rapid and often unexpected changes. The use of the Internet for marketing intelligence is regarded as one of the most important ways in which connectivity can improve an organisation's ability to develop international markets (Hamill 1997, 308).

The Internet can equally be used for direct and internet-based sales of existing products and services, in which the Internet is integrated in the offering itself (Samiee

1998, 9). The Internet can provide an organisation with an attractive, low-cost method of sales promotion to global customers. A web site can be used for advertising, corporate visibility, brand name recognition, public relations press releases, corporate sponsorship, direct sales, customer support and technical assistance. It also bestows on the organisation a certain set of characteristics that make it an effective tool for assistance, as well as for sales promotion. Some of the vital characteristics of the Internet are that they are information-rich that can be quickly and constantly updated to encourage regular visits. It can be stated that the Internet adds value to the customer in the form of real information and services that encourage interactivity and responsiveness (Hamill 1997, 310). The Internet, in effect, provides an organisation with an additional channel of advertising which involves the development of a web site that is easy to use and to find. E-mail can also be used to develop relationships with potential customers using one-to-one communication. In sum, it is argued that promotion on the Internet must be integrated with the traditional offline promotional strategies to ensure maximum effectiveness (Bickerton, Bickerton & Pardesi 2000, 219).

METHODOLOGY

Study Design and Data

The Confederation of African Football (CAF) is the governing body of African football and was founded in 1957 by Egypt,

Sudan, Ethiopia and South Africa. The Association has fifty-four (54) Associate Members divided into six zones, namely the Zone 1–Northern Zone (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia); Zone 2–West A (Cape-Verde, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea–Bissau, Liberia, Mauritania, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Spanish Sahara/Sahara Occidental); Zone 3–West B (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana, Niger, Nigeria, Togo and Mali); Zone 4–Central Zone (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sao Tome and Principe); Zone 5–Central East Zone (Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Tanzania), and Zone 6–Southern Zone (South Africa, Angola, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Comoros, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

An Internet search was carried out between the 12th to 23rd February 2007 using national association links as listed in the official CAF web site (www.cafonline.com), where all member associations were identified and their respective URL link pages accessed. A rapid appraisal was thereafter employed to identify listed and functioning web sites [to] undertake a thematic analysis based on Ainscough & Lockett’s (1996, 41) typologies of Internet-use for cybermarketing purposes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In terms of e-mail addresses, 31 (60 per cent) CAF member associations indicated e-mail addresses, with associations in the Southern Zone having the most (71 per cent) indicated e-mail addresses, followed, respectively, by associations in Zone 2 (70 per cent), Central Zone 4 (63 per cent), Northern Zone 1 (60 per cent), Zone 3 (43 per cent), and lastly, Zone 5 (30 per cent). The functionality of these e-mail addresses, however, was not undertaken to determine and validate their operational statuses. This evidence is suggestive of the fact that an attempt was made by various football associations in the continent for e-communication purposes, with associations in the southern African region leading the way. Associations in East Africa were listed as the least to have adopted e-technology for communication purposes at the time of analysis.

An analysis of national football association web sites as listed in the CAF web site showed only 11 national associations (21 per cent) had indicated URL addresses, namely Algeria (www.faf.org.dz), Morocco (www.frmf.ma), Egypt (www.efa.com.eg), Tunisia (www.ftf.org.tn), Liberia (www.liberiansoccer.com), Burkina Faso (www.fasofoot.com), Cote d'Ivoire (www.fif.ci), Ghana (www.ghanafa.org), Cameroon (www.fecafootonline.com), South Africa (www.safa.net), and Angola (www.fafutebol.com). Of these URL addresses, only eight (8) were functional during the period of this research. This outcome indicates that only 38 per cent of listed national

football association web sites were operational in early 2007, and this comprised just 15 per cent of the total number of CAF member national associations. This low level adoption of technology was evident just three years away from the upcoming FIFA World Cup in South Africa. The inactive web sites at that time were those for Egypt (on test), Morocco and Angola.

Based on a conceptual analysis in tandem with Ainscough & Lockett's (1996, 41) typology for cyber-marketing, all the eight (8) functioning national association web sites had aspects of Interaction Brochures in which the associations provide information about their organisation and services, including their contact information. The web sites' contents ranged from simple information, to highly sophisticated multimedia productions which included video clips or photo galleries that provided detailed information. But this low number of accessible official web sites has an implication in that very little is known about the other (79 per cent of) national associations. This disadvantage limits individuals from accessing unofficial web sites whose contents may not reflect those of the National Association. All the eight (8) accessed country web sites did, however, not have a strong virtual storefront component in their sites which would otherwise have allowed interested customers to browse through merchandises and equally enabled the purchase of such items online, including, but not restricted to, national team t-shirts, apparel or other merchandises. These web sites equally lacked information on the range of products

that are available for purchase, placing of orders or modes of delivery. In terms of a Customer Service Tool, the web sites had some of this component by having FAQ links. The sites, however, lack an online service component that can receive customer questions and/or services online and provide detailed answers within a day.

The accessed web sites, as well, lacked Market Intelligence components for cyber-marketing purposes. Insertion of this facility can provide functional abilities for information processing and offers such sites opportunities to external environments and the ability to process information, a vital tool in managing organisations successfully. As a Global Sales Promotion Tool, the accessible web sites are quiet low. As a marketing tool, the web sites do not reflect much in terms of offering opportunities for direct sales of products and services. Limited aspects of web site advertising, corporate visibility, brand name recognition, public relations' press releases, corporate sponsorship, direct sales, customer support and technical assistance were evident from the analysis and being in need for development. Tunisia's National Association web site, however, is remarkable in using its site to advertise its sponsors and other services. E-mails are the only aspect of global sales that the National associations could use to develop relationships with potential customers using one-to-one e-mail communication, given that at least 60 per cent of national associations have e-mail facilities.

Based on an Internet search and rapid appraisal of the status of Internet use for cyber-marketing purpose by CAF's member associations, it is observed that there is a very low level of use of the Internet by African football associations, especially for cyber-marketing purposes. This is despite the fact that the limelight on African football is expected with the hosting of the CAF African Nations Cup in Angola and the FIFA World Cup in South Africa in 2010. These two major events indeed provide a much needed springboard and opportunity for African football associations in general to market themselves intensely as the focus of the world shifts to the continent. The potential advantages in the use of the Internet are immense and one that CAF should emphasise member associations to seriously consider for adoption. As a matter of priority, CAF can adopt a policy to this effect. This emphasis takes into consideration the outcomes of a UNECA (2000) status report on Internet use in Africa which showed a relative and rapid growth in Internet use in most urban areas in Africa, in much the same pattern as the adoption of the mobile phone, though still quiet low in comparison to other communication mediums. Estimates indicate that, of the approximately 816 million people in Africa in 2001, only 1 in 4 have access to a radio (205 million or 25 per cent); 1 in 13 have a TV (62 million or 7.6 per cent); 1 in 35 have a mobile phone (24 million or 2.9 per cent), and 1 in 40 have a fixed telephone line (20 million or 2.5 per cent); 1 in 130 have a personal computer (5.9

million or 0.7 per cent); 1 in 160 use the Internet (5 million or 0.6 per cent); 1 in 400 have pay-TV (2 million or 0.25 per cent).

Global access to the Internet should not deter organisations, especially in this context, African football associations, from investing in the potentials of the Internet despite its low usage and access. Despite the acknowledged infrastructural and financial barriers and constraints at harnessing the potential of the Internet in Africa, recent trends indicate a growing adoption of the technology across the continent, especially at present given the continents' linkage with broadband Internet connectivity in 2009, East Africa being the most recent beneficiary (Blenford 2009). The potential for growth is therefore immense in Africa based on global trends. According to ITU Telecom (2004), in developed markets, growth rates for broadband skyrocketed with the global broadband subscriber numbers increasing by 72 per cent in 2002 to reach 63 million by the end of the year. Although broadband markets are still at an early stage of growth, rapid take-up of the service suggests there is much potential in the market. There are an estimated 39 countries in Africa with 1000 or more dialup subscribers, 20 countries with more than 5000 and 16 countries with 10 000 or more subscribers. Countries such as those in North Africa and Southern Africa have more highly developed economies and better infrastructures which naturally result in larger populations of Internet users. Most of these countries were also among the first on the continent to obtain Internet access and so have had the most time to develop the user base. Nevertheless, some countries, such as Senegal and Cape Verde, are buck-

ing the trend, and have much higher levels of connectivity than their GDP/capita would suggest. Also, after many years of relative inactivity, the recent opening up of the Nigerian Internet market has begun to have an impact on the African Internet picture. With a fifth of Sub-Sahara's population, the country was still a relatively small player in the Internet sector until mid-1998 when it only had a few dialup email providers and a couple of full ISPs operating on very low bandwidth links.

African national football associations need to harness the advantages of the Internet since it is acknowledged that this technology has the potential to reduce the competitive advantages of scale economies in many industries, making it easier for their organisations to compete on a worldwide basis, even if relatively small. Global advertising costs, as a barrier entry, will significantly be reduced as the Internet makes it possible to reach a global audience more cheaply. The Internet's low communication cost can also allow organisations with limited capital to become global marketers at an early stage in their development (Hamill 1997, 305). The Internet is also an efficient new medium for conducting worldwide market research and has the potential to add a whole new dimension to marketing (Ibid. 306). This potential is necessary for consideration by football associations in Africa. In effect, the way organisations advertise, promote, sell, shop, browse and buy products and services of all kinds have been fundamentally changed by the Internet. It also represents a communication

tool that rivals and can outperform television. Businesses are quickly learning that promoting their products and services over the Internet today can be more effective and less expensive than buying television time. The Internet is the next primary international marketing place. The next great economic expansion will happen via the Internet as its supporting technology adds value for the customer and the organisation. It offers a new frontier that is still in its developmental phase and a frontier that will change the way business functions (Gordon & De Lima-Turner 1997, 362). A paradigm shift has occurred in the digital age adopting a public relationship philosophy of communicating a message through interactive communication (Boutie 1996, 52) with the Internet providing an added and augmented response path for direct marketing, advertising and promotional activities. The Internet's various unique features, such as multimedia environment, availability, global reach, ease-of-use, and store vast amounts of information, speed, interactivity, ability to reach a mass market, the ability to customise information for individual users, as well as the ability to transact sales, are making the Internet a powerful marketing tool (Bothma 2000, 84).

The Internet, by its nature, is an international communications medium. Internationally, a site on the World Wide Web (www) gives organisations a vast potential reach, while the same message can penetrate the narrowest niche of markets among information seekers (Bennett 1997, 325). The marketing mix is therefore experiencing a fundamental trans-

formation and the catalyst is Internet commerce which African national football associations need to effectively harness. The Internet has the potential to affect each component of the marketing mix and where a web site can be used to explain and demonstrate a product, or make direct sales. There are, however, a number of international marketing implications in the use of the Internet that should be considered by organisations before its adoption (Hamill 1997), where associations can hire reliable consultants in this regard.

CONCLUSION

From the analysis provided, the research indeed highlights the low level of investment CAF member associations have made in the use of the Internet and investing in cybermarketing of their organisations and services. As a cyber-marketing tool, based on Ainscough and Lockett's (1996, 41) typology that defines four broad categories of Internet use, most of the functional association web sites had greater components of *Interaction Brochures* than the other cyber-marketing typologies, dwelling more on the provision of general information about their respective associations and services in addition to electronic communication address. These web sites did, however, range from those that provided basic information, to those that provide highly sophisticated multimedia productions. The latter aspect was indeed very limited to very few web sites. But this low number of accessible official association web sites has

an implication in that very little is known about 79 per cent of other CAF member associates in terms of general information. This limitation inadvertently reduces individuals' chance to access unofficial sites and thereby force them to rely on varied sources of information that in most cases cannot be authenticated. In addition, such limited and unreliable information sources have implications on empirical research, publicity, e-commerce and in the management of effective and efficient national associations. It is upon CAF to lay the foundation to have member associations establish and maintain purposive web sites in order to positively market the sport better both in respective member countries and the continent in general. It is, after all, for the good of the game.

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A Cursory Analysis of the Limitations and Challenges of a Cost Benefit Analysis Approach to the Gautrain Rapid Rail Link

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INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Gautrain rapid rail link project, South Africa's most ambitious public transport project so far, revealed intrinsic limitations or difficulties governments are confronted with when attempting to use the technique of Cost-Benefit Analysis (CBA) for major projects. In that regard, this article presents an *ex-post* cursory examination of the issues arising. It then further goes to assess whether CBA is as a reliable tool to assist in making decisions about major capital projects.

South Africa is situated on the southern most tip of Africa, occupying a land area of approximately 3.4 times that of Germany but with a population of approximately 57 per cent (46.9 million) of Germany. The country is divided into nine provinces (see Figure 1 below).

Gauteng Province is the smallest province but forms the economic engine of South Africa. Twenty per cent (9.3 million people) of the national population is estimated to live in Gauteng, and its two largest cities, Pretoria and Johannesburg, are rapidly transforming into a single conurbation.

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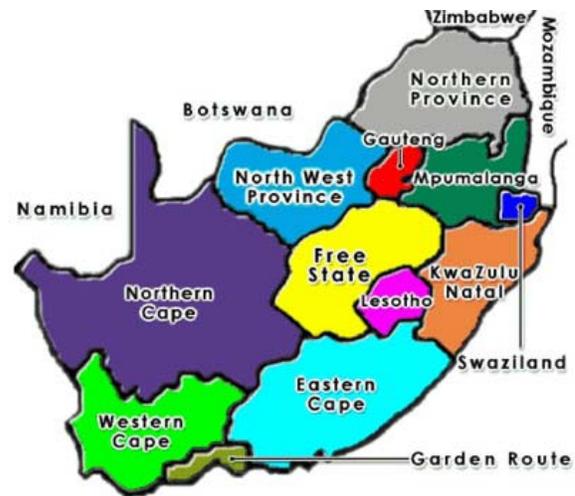


Figure 1. South Africa Provinces

Gauteng is characterised by a near complete absence of an organised and efficient public transport system which, in part, is also responsible for congested roads due to rapidly rising use of private vehicles. In 2002 the provincial department of transport noted that the main highway between Pretoria and Johannesburg was almost at full capacity for over 12 hours a day¹ and the situation in 2010 has certainly worsened. This view is supported by the provincial department's estimates that traffic volumes have been growing by over seven per cent per annum². The situation hence requires rapid resolution in order to generally relieve the congestion, and more specifically, spur the province's economic development.

The Gautrain project is the "most expensive

single public transport project ever undertaken³ in South Africa. The total cost of the project is estimated at around R24 billion (£2 billion)⁴. It is an 80km rapid transit railway system that will link Johannesburg, Pretoria and The OR Tambo International Airport. The system will consist of underground as well as over ground stations and will be supplemented by the introduction of 250 buses to shuttle passengers within a 10km radius of the Gautrain stations. It is envisaged that Gautrain will provide a viable public transport alternative for road users in the province and thus go a long way in relieving road traffic congestion.

LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES OF CBA IN THE GAUTRAIN PROJECT

This section aims to identify the challenges and limitations confronting the government in applying a CBA analysis of the Gautrain project. It starts off by briefly defining CBA. It then identifies the five general procedures involved in any CBA process. From this, six main difficulties confronting government in using the CBA technique for the Gautrain (a major capital project) are identified and elaborated.

The article adopts the definition of CBA by Brzowska (2007) which defines CBA via its purpose. Brzowska (Ibid.) states that the “purpose of CBA is to ensure that the public sector allocates scarce resources efficiently to the competing public sector projects”. Brent (2006) quotes Prest and Turvey (1965, 686) as defining CBA as the process of “maximising

the present value of all benefits, less that of all costs, subject to specified constraints. Both these definitions reflect the finite nature of public resources, and hence the need to apply them to the best available option of activities.

CBA is thus necessarily prescriptive as it serves to inform public policymakers on investment decisions based on cost and benefit analyses of different projects as well as different conditions within a project. In doing so, CBA largely involves the estimation and summation of benefits and costs in monetary terms at a given time.

By implication, a comprehensive CBA will consist of the following five steps:

Identification of all the costs and benefits of a project;

- (a) A clearly laid out criteria of valuing the costs and the benefits, especially the intangibles, such as the value of life and benefits due to improved environment;
- (b) A sensitivity analysis interrogating the robustness of the project under varying conditions;
- (c) An outline of available alternatives to the project as well as relevant constraints related to the project; and
- (d) A comparison of total benefits vis-à-vis total costs.

It is from this CBA framework that the following six challenges of CBA can be identified:

- (1) **Identification of All Costs and Benefits of a Project:** This can be a complex and con-

troversial process. This is especially so with regards to public goods, characterised by a high number of intangible benefits and costs.

The Gautrain Project, as with any disputed/controversial project, attracts various opinions as regards whether all costs and benefits were included, depending on whose view is being considered. In fact, some of the project's stated benefits have been rejected as fictional. For example, the Parliament Portfolio Committee on Transport questioned the ability of the project to deliver on its key stated benefit (the alleviation of road congestion on the N1 highway). It noted that traffic on the highway is currently growing at an estimated seven per cent annual rate. The Gautrain Project will attract 20 per cent of existing car users by its completion in 2010. The committee concluded that, given the seven per cent increase in traffic on the highway, a 20 per cent reduction on car volumes would still leave the highway "more than congested in 2010 than at present⁵".

Whilst this also reflects a trend that the government in South Africa has recently been criticised of – *the uncritical acceptance of certain perceived benefits of public projects* – it is a reflection of the complexity that accompanies the identification of costs and benefits. This is especially so when the benefits and/or costs are inter-linked. For example, a reduction of carbon

emission due to relieved road congestion is identified as another of the Gautrain's benefits. However, if the reduction of road congestion is suspect, then this automatically puts to doubt the reduction in carbon emissions.

Whether additional employment is a social benefit is also confronted with many challenges. Wages are costs and can only be added back as benefits in particular instances that idle labour has been absorbed and used. Even then, adding them as benefits only tends to cancel out the costs and this is likely to lead to a zero net effect. A possible way of solving this is by assessing job creation in terms of costs and possible alternatives. This, however, is challenging as it often does not give pleasing results. Given the technical nature of the project and South Africa's chronic skills shortage, it is doubtful that job creation assessed using this method would result in a positive net effect.

- (2) **Valuation:** All costs and benefits in CBA are expressed in monetary equivalents. This involves making value judgments, sometimes controversially, about society. Dinwiddy and Teal (1996) note that a very problematic feature of CBA is "deciding what criteria or weights to be used to add together gains and losses of different groups in society in order to

reach an overall view of desirability. The evaluation of intangible costs and benefits, such as the value of life or the benefits of an improved environment, whilst not necessarily impossible, often tends to lead to a lot of dispute.

The importance of valuation in CBA arises from the misleading and cascading effect that any misinformed valuation results in. An ill-informed valuation will have the misleading effect of prescribing an otherwise unviable project (or vice versa). This in turn can lead to undesirables, such as government committing itself to costly operating subsidies. With the Gautrain Project, provincial and national government has provided a patronage guarantee figure below which it has committed itself to subsidising the operator –up to the break-even figure.

The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Transport, for example, notes wearily that the Gautrain project leader has consistently predicted that completion of the project will be far ahead of international norm whilst major construction engineering groups have cast doubt on that probability.

In this regard, contention still remains as to the extent to which the patronage guarantee figure is realistic, with concerns being that a large amount of governments transport budget will eventually end up subsidising

Gautrain. More devastating is the fear that government might in future have to resort to distorting taxes (thus affecting the marginal social cost of public funds) in order to buoy the project.

(3)*Distributional Issues:* These often tend to complicate CBA. Certain government projects have distribution (and not economic efficiency) as an objective. An example of this is the construction of low-cost housing for ‘previously disadvantaged communities’ in South Africa. Whereas it can be easily argued that there were many more ‘efficient’ projects the government could have invested these funds on, it is clear that in such an instance the distributional effects of public expenditure far outweighed efficiency.

By contrast, the Gautrain Project has been controversial due to its focus on the relatively affluent. In a country with myriad development challenges, a number of analysts have questioned the rationality of spending so much money on a project that not only targets the affluent in society⁶ but also has no plan on how the project costs will be recovered.

Distributional issues are closely related to issues to do with alternative projects either in the sector or similar yet more cost-effective methods of achieving the same goal. Additionally, distribution

arguments are closely accompanied by ethical or moral imperatives, as is the case with the above example, where government was morally and ethically obliged to correct the social ills of history.

(4) ***Ethical and Moral Issues:*** The growing importance of ethical and moral issues is exemplified by the fact that the Great Inga Dam project in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which has the capacity to generate enough electricity to light up the whole of Africa, has been greatly compromised by civil society groups that have questioned the morality of embarking on such a project when the majority of the poor in the DRC (and indeed much of Africa) will remain without electricity. Such is the rise of ethics and/or morality issues in CBA that Turner (2007) prophesies that “CBA’s prescriptive importance will decline as moral/ethical constraints, amongst others, become more politically binding”.

(5) ***Selection of the Discount Factor:*** CBA aims to compare present investment costs with future projected benefits based on a particular year’s values. Benefits and costs hence need to be discounted to their present value for comparability, and this involves identifying a discount rate. The choice of the rate at which to discount is important as it has the ability of concluding the viability of a project, and any disagreement on this can make a big difference. The discount rate is normally different to the market interest rate for two main reasons:

i. For the private sector, this rate will differ

due to distortions introduced by things such as government taxes. In the case of the Gautrain Project, its estimated costs escalated to more than three-fold—from R7 billion in 2002 to R24 billion—in part due to the fact that initial estimates had not factored in value-added taxes and their effect on the project.

ii. For society, this rate will often differ as society and the market will not always value investments equally.

(6) ***Risk and Uncertainty:*** Dorfman (1972) defines the presence of risk as instances in which a number of probable alternative outcomes are possible whose effects and outcomes on the project have to be analysed. This implies that careful consideration has to be given and a probability attached to the possibility of an alternative outcome being realised. Risk hence implies that not only are the alternative outcomes known but their probability of occurrence can be calculated. With the Gautrain Project, risks include cost escalations due to foreign exchange shocks as well as the risk that the projected ridership will not materialise, hence locking government into an undesirable subsidy of the project.

Uncertainty, on the other hand, can be distinguished from risk in that it is a risk

whose probability of occurrence is unknown. Brent (2006) states that a major challenge in CBA is when “situations of uncertainty [are] converted to situations of risk by introducing probabilities subjectively when they were not available objectively”, or what Mackie and Preston (1998) refer to as “gold plating the ‘do-something’ option/cost overruns”. The highly overoptimistic construction time-frames of the Gautrain⁷ certainly suggest that, amongst other things, uncertainty has been subjectively converted into risk, albeit optimistically so.

THE FUTURE OF CBA

The world has over the years witnessed an unprecedented rise in the use of CBA by governments. This has been matched by a similar rise in its controversy in the academic world⁸. Amongst its detractors, moral arguments against CBA seem to form the backbone of its near rejection.

However, this article concludes that CBA remains a crucial government tool due to the following:

- i) As with any tool, the efficiency of CBA is dependent on its proper use. CBA must be adjusted and adapted to take into consideration the prevailing conditions of specific projects. It is this adaptability of CBA that is its crucial strength.
- ii) CBA is a tool facilitating decision making. To make decisions, a criterion of evaluation must be invoked. Not only does CBA

do this, but it forces evaluators to do so in a transparent manner. This often has the important by-product that any CBA can be assessed on the strengths of its justifications, valuation and assumptions.

- iii) Whilst the utilitarian argument that calls for governments to maximise preferences of its people has its merits, in certain circumstances, especially in developing countries, consumer preferences might be uninformed. For example, a number of people might not see the usefulness of the Gautrain simply because they have never experienced organised and efficient public transport. This, however, is no reason for government to abdicate from improving the lives of its people. Put very simply, this means, in certain cases government has the prerogative to identify worthwhile projects.
- iv) In instances where the government's objective setting is done properly, the ethical/moral debate should not be of significance. It stands to reason that moral/ethical issues should be accounted for at the objective setting stage of government planning. Hence, when it comes to carrying out CBA analysis of projects, they will already have achieved the ethics/morality approval. This is not to say that certain morality/ethics issues cannot arise from the CBA but rather that those that do should not be insurmountable.

- v) Prest and Turvy (1965) enquired whether there was a better alternative to CBA. Whilst CBA has undergone rigorous scrutiny over the years, it seems that all alternatives suggested have either been further refinement of CBA or merely dialects of CBA, maintaining at their core the very same principles of CBA.

The conclusion is, however, qualified by stating that the following three necessary and sufficient conditions have to be in place for CBA to retain its usefulness:

- a) Government objectives and targets have to be clearly defined and well formulated;
- b) Evaluators need to be competent and well-informed so as to properly comprehend CBA and make realistic justifications and valuations; and
- c) Government should be able to properly identify instances in which consumer preferences are uninformed or distorted.

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3. *Ibid.*
4. The Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) estimates that current expenditure on the Gautrain Project accounts for over 11% of the 2007/08 and 87% of the 2007/08 provincial capital budget. See the Gauteng Provincial Government Budget Booklet 2007/08 available at <http://www.treasury.gov.za/documents/provincial%20budget/2007/Guides%20to%20the%20Budget/3.%20Gauteng%20-%20Budget%20Booklet.pdf>. Accessed 5 January 2008.
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6. For example, the Secretary General of the very powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was quoted as saying "it was absurd that government would spend billions of money on a train to serve the elite while workers had to cope with unreliable public transport" – *Business Africa* website "Gautrain a Waste of Money", Tuesday 6 June 2006. www.business.iafrica.com/news/501163.htm accessed 05 January 2008. The parliament portfolio committee on transport also questions the lack of distributional focus of the project. <http://www.pmg.org.za/docs/2005/comreports/051123pctransport2.htm>, accessed 5 January 2008.
7. The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Transport, for example, notes wearily that the Gautrain Project leader has consistently predicted that completion of the project will be far ahead of international norm whilst major construction engineering groups have cast doubt on that probability.
8. Adler and Posner (1999), for example, note: "the reputation of CBA among American academics has never been as poor as it is today, while its popularity among agencies in the US government has never been greater".

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Economic Sanctions as a Tool in International Relations: A Critical Analysis of its Conception, Implementation and Effective- ness in Zimbabwe 1996- 2008

Percyslage Chigora and Tobias Guzura***

ABSTRACT

The last four years into the 2000 new millennium ushered in a new era of disbelief, discontent and despair in the eyes, on one hand, of Zimbabwean state as an actor in the international system, and on the other hand, of the international community. Some international actors chose (besides other forms altering the behavior, i.e. military force, political coercion, covert action and diplomatic persuasion) to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe citing misdeeds that the country was committing. Sanctions, as such, were targeted at altering the behavior of Zimbabwe as an actor in international relations to more desirable state of affairs from the point of view of the imposers. It is the purpose of this paper to analyse the justifications and implementation of sanctions as a tool of inducing change of behavior of international actors. It holds that, though the sanctions had a considerable impact on Zimbabwe, the intended objectives were not achieved. The short article, in the final analysis, seeks to investigate the factors that contributed to their failure from the perspectives of both the imposer and the target.

Keywords: Sanctions, European Union, International Relations, Multilateral Institutions, Zimbabwe.

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INTRODUCTION

As already mentioned, this article attempts to explore and draw attention to the implications and impact of sanctions regime on Zimbabwe's development. It questions the effectiveness of the current sanctions regime. The question of whether sanctions work has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate over the years. The principal argument is that, contrary to the common belief that sanctions can bring about the desired goals of compelling the government to act and behave in a particular manner, they are, in fact, missing their intended targets. Instead, they are hitting the poor, disempowering civil society and consequently threatening overall development process. The paper goes beyond the basic political assertions and considers at length whether or not the sanctions regime has itself become a threat to development in Zimbabwe.

THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Traditionally, sanctions have taken the forms of arms embargo, imposition of trade and financial restrictions, interruption of relations by air and sea and diplomatic isolation. Sanctions are basically measures applied in response to perceived wrongdoing by a state. Put simply, a sanction can be either a punishment or permission. Economic sanctions can vary from imposing import duties on goods from, or blocking the export

of certain goods to the target country, to a full naval blockade of its ports in an effort to verify, and curb or bar specified imported goods. In essence, then, sanctions are used as a policy of segregation for political and economic isolation by the imposing entities.

According to Evans and Newnham (1990,79) economic sanctions are "a form of economic statecraft which involves the use of economic capability by an actor or a group of actors (the imposer) in a deliberately coercive manner to pursue certain policy goals." They generally noted that, "the Imposer will identify a certain actor or a group of actors (the Target) against which the sanctions will be directed. The reasons for sanctions is get the Target to behave in a more compliant and favourable way of the Imposer. The means used to secure this compliance will involve denying the target access to certain goods and services that are controlled by the Imposer". (Ibid). Thus, in economic sanctions the Imposer seeks to deliberately weaken the economy of the Target, either temporarily or permanently. Economic sanctions may be directed at the whole Target or at some section of the society within the target.

WHY SANCTIONS ON ZIMBABWE?

In Zimbabwe, the Western countries that enacted sanctions have interests that they want to attain. It is not so much about, what exist as conventional knowledge, abuse of human rights, lack of democracy and the rule of law but rather much about the West and their interest. According to Brath (2002):

The policies of Western capital in Zimbabwe relegated Zimbabwe to being a source of natural resources and raw materials, combined with a specialized agricultural economy based on cash crops for export – tobacco being the most important export crop – rather than diversified agricultural production that includes production of food for domestic consumption. These economic policies of Western capital were exacerbated by the Structural Adjustment Programme (s) of the IMF and the World Bank. ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe have, until recently, been the "Quislings" of British and American transnational corporations. ZANU-PF sold out the Zimbabwean peasants and workers long ago when it agreed to the Lancaster Agreement that left the Zimbabwean economy and the arable land in the hands of domestic and transnational capitalists... Capital interests in Zimbabwe expected ZANU-PF to uphold the pilfering "rule of law" of the Lancaster Agreement. ZANU-PF "did the right thing" and stood with the dispossessed population of Zimbabwe. As a consequence of supporting the land seizures in Zimbabwe, ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe have fallen out of favour with the British and American transnational corporations, as well as with the domestic capitalists in Zimbabwe – both Black and White.

For individual countries issue of interests have remained. For instance, according to White (2007), "The only things that the US is trying to recover in Zimbabwe are the economic interests of capital, and to maintain the presence of those interests in Zimbabwe. The objective is not "democracy" and "economic recovery" in Zimbabwe."

In this sense, sanctions in Zimbabwe that have tended to sacrifice the life of a whole people

for the sake of maintaining the strategic interests of a western state, would in no way be ethically justifiable. On the whole, the issue of human rights and democracy being cited become only smokescreens to cover up the real interests and objectives underlying the sanctions.

In no uncertain terms, sanctions in Zimbabwe have led to abuse of human rights, instead of solving the alleged problem in that regard. According to Hondora (2005) human rights ought to be understood in its rightful place or context. As he puts it:

A hierarchical order exists within human rights. Within this order, the right to life assumes primary importance. Rights such as those to health, peace and development can be derived from the right to life. These fundamental human rights, which are also fundamental economic and social rights, are the precondition for the validity of fundamental rights and freedoms...Sanctions which invalidate the fundamental economic and social rights of the population are problematic.

It thus follows that, from the point of view of international law, sanctions on Zimbabwe violated Paragraph. 1 of Article 54 of the First Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions, which notes that starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited. For Zimbabwe, the sanction had the net effect of affecting the common man in the street who has to bear with poor service provision, drastic shortages of basic commodities and much needed medical supplies.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SANCTION REGIMEN

The application of sanctions in Zimbabwe can be divided into two categories, i.e. as it relates to individual countries on one hand, and multilateral institutions on the other. Pertaining to individual countries they took the form of targeted sanctions whereby certain individuals or organisations within a country are specifically focused upon using, for example, travel bans, asset freezing, and restricting them from accessing benefits from the international community. Here lie some of the contradictions; as most of the people targeted by sanctions are covered by state immunity whether the restrictions become legal under international [laws] generates some problems. Even if they succeed [and] the targeted people conduct business on behalf of the general populace of the country, restrictions will directly affect the running of the affairs of the state, hence upsetting security and development of the nation as a whole. It suffices to say that eventually it is the general citizens that suffer, while the intended targets escape the effect of the sanctions because they have the power and opportunities to do so. In actual fact they will be the only ones accessing the available resources for their survival.

To legalise implementing its sanctions against Zimbabwe, the United States of America enacted a legislation called the Zimbabwe Democracy Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 2001. Specifically,

Section 4(c) Subsection 1 allows US executive directors to each international financial institution to oppose the vote against any extension by the respective institution of any loan, credit, or guarantee to the Government of Zimbabwe; or any cancellation or reduction of indebtedness owed by the Government of Zimbabwe to the United States or any international financial institution. (<http://www.zimdaily.com/news/117/ARTICLE/1879/2007-07-19.html>).

In the case of Britain's sanction, a number of areas of cooperation have been affected. Britain has militarily stopped the support it has been giving to Zimbabwe, and special export arrangements of various commodities have also supposedly been affected.

Secondly, multilateral institutions have been part of the sanction regime, working together with individual countries. United State had continued to use institutions she has influence on to implement its sanction on Zimbabwe. According to Hondora (2005), through ZIDERA:

From the date of its promulgation, any Zimbabwe foreign currency loan application made to the IMF, World Bank, the African Development Bank, among others, stood to be scuttled by the US, directly through its vote or indirectly through its influence within the institutions. On the international credit markets, with its junk investment status, Zimbabwe became an untouchable, because of its loan defaults and also because of the natural consequences

following the promulgation of ZIDERA. It also meant that any loan application made by Zimbabwe to any multilateral or bilateral international lending agency would carry an exorbitantly high cost, if they were willing to do business at all. This economic cost is quantifiable. Further, the US position, expressed through ZIDERA, meant that Zimbabwe would be unable to reschedule repayments of its debts due to the multilateral lending agencies. Practically speaking, debts became due and payable. And this explains why Zimbabwe paid £120 million to the IMF, and could not reschedule its IMF debt. That is a quantifiable cost.

Britain, in its turn, has influenced the European Union to push its agenda and impose the sanction the country in a number of ways. The EU suspended and re-orientated of certain financial and development cooperation programmes with the Government of Zimbabwe.

In response to the land reform programme that came into force in 2000, sanctions have been imposed on Zimbabwe by multilateral financial institutions as well. They suspended all forms of balance of payments support, technical assistance, grants and infrastructural development flows to both government and private sectors and stopped all lending operations to the country (<http://www.zimdaily.com/news/117/ARTICLE/1879/2007-07-19.html>).

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF SANCTIONS

On the whole, the immediate consequence of eight years of sanctions has been a dramatic fall in living standards, the collapse of the infrastructure, and a serious decline in the availability of public services. While the longer-term damage to the fabric of society has yet to be assessed, economic disruption has already led to heightened levels of crime, corruption and violence. In general terms, according to Mugabe, *The challenges to the economy are being aggravated by declared and undeclared sanctions by the Western countries, resulting in the absence of balance of payments support, the stagnation in capital inflows and escalation in the prices of goods and services* (cited in Ruzvidzo 2007).

When we turn to analyse specific sectors in Zimbabwe, the hardest hit have been industries that are dependent on imports, whose production fell due to the lack of raw materials and semi-manufactured products, as did the marketing of products. These industries include the power industry, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, non-metals, construction materials, finished products, metal-processing, chemical industry, and lumber and wood industries. Failures in these areas have had an overall effect on other sectors as they provide inputs for production. For instance, Zimbabwe, once the bread basket of southern Africa, had reduced scope of agricultural production. Here also lies a problem of assessing the impact. The correlation between sanctions and failed agricultural production is

strong but some attribute it mainly to the failed fast track land reform.

For the general populace, sanctions heavily impacted on the life and health of the civilian population. Zimbabwe relies largely on import medicine and hospital equipment. Because of failure to get balance of payment support, the health sector was hit hard. Thus, coupled with inflation, many people could not afford hospital fees or consulting private doctors. According to Hondora (2005), [if it were not for] ZIDERA, Zimbabwe would have been able to negotiate with the IMF with a view to reschedule or cancel its debt payment, or apply for more finance. Despite the fact that Zimbabwe was already in difficulties was apparent, withdrawal of the multilateral financial institutions from providing balance of payments support to Zimbabwe has also had an effect on some bilateral creditors and donors who have followed suit by either scaling down or suspending disbursements on existing loans to the government and parastatal companies (<http://www.zimdaily.com/news/117/ARTICLE/1879/2007-07-19>). Added to that is the fact that Zimbabwe had no record of failing to service its debts and was highly rated in the international financial markets. Gono (2007) has aptly captured the effects in the health sector noting:

Danida has also suspended the US\$29.7m health sector support programs established in May 2000 as a result of the land reform program. Zimbabwe's grant application for funding for its HIV/AIDS programmes to the Global Fund for AIDS was also rejected on political grounds. Three-

quarters of the equipment in hospitals in the capital, Harare, are not functional and this has had serious repercussions for the ordinary people. In the backdrop of an already overburdened health delivery system, many Zimbabweans are now finding it difficult to access affordable health facilities and drugs, particularly anti-retrovirals for HIV/AIDS patients. The City of Harare's Health Department immensely benefited from the various joint research projects with international stakeholders. These projects have since been terminated. The department used to benefit from such projects as, after their completion, it took over the equipment used for the research projects. The sanctions have also indirectly resulted in the relocation of the World Health Organization's regional offices to Congo Brazzaville, accompanied by retrenchment of Zimbabweans formerly employed by the WHO.

In as far as investment is concerned, in a situation where the capital account is in deficit, international investors, naturally, prefer other countries for investment, and this has deprived Zimbabwe of much-needed foreign direct investment (FDI). On the domestic front the negative perceptions by the international community led to Zimbabwean companies to access lines of credit to prop up their investment. According to Gono (2007):

As a result, our companies have to pay cash for imports. Also as a result of the risk premium, the country's private companies have been securing offshore funds at prohibitive interest rates. This has had a ripple

effect on employment levels and low capacity utilization as reflected by shortages of basic goods and services. Declining export performance has also adversely affected the standards of living for the general populace, and because of the deteriorating economic conditions, the country has experienced large-scale emigration, especially of skilled labour, thus further straining the economy. The sanctions have adversely impacted on FDI to Zimbabwe. Investors are shying away and FDI inflows have collapsed from US\$444.3m in 1998 to US\$50m in 2006. In addition, Anglo-American companies have been strongly discouraged from investing in Zimbabwe by their home governments.

Individual countries' withdrawal of support negatively impacted on a number of sectors. In the field of agriculture, Danida had been supporting Zimbabwe's agricultural sector programme, but its withdrawal plunged the country into food insecurity. In the education sector the Swedish government stopped its support programme in 2000. It used to facilitate the supply of textbooks, special education needs and construction of school buildings. As a result, the universities were severely affected as they could not access computers and related accessories from American IT companies (<http://www.zimdaily.com/news/117/ARTICLE/1879/2007-07-19>).

In the transport sector, Zimbabwe used to have a transport sector support programme of US\$48m, from Danida, which was started in April 2000. As Gono (2007) observes:

Had this program been undertaken to completion, it could have created employment opportunities and enhanced trade through efficient

movement of commodities within the country and the region... This was [also] meant to enhance entrepreneurial skills and capacity building for the rural population. However, no new programs have been put in place because of Sweden's suspension of cooperation with Zimbabwe.

It is important to highlight at this juncture that it is very difficult to make an accurate assessment of the impact of sanctions as it needs to take into consideration the environment in which the sanction regime operated as well as several other factors that should be factored in in the assessment. According to McGee (2007), two challenges often emerge:

The first is in determining the current status of humanitarian conditions in the sanctioned country or region, in the midst of a complex and often rapidly changing political and security environment. The second is in distinguishing between the effects of sanctions and the effects of other factors that influence the humanitarian situation in the targeted country.

Firstly, Zimbabwe was already undergoing a downturn if one was to trace its history from independence, and the situation was by now deteriorating— sanctions or no sanctions. Zimbabwean economy was going to suffer or, in essence, the political and economic environment which existed was not conducive to development cooperation. In other words, the problems cited may not be as a result of sanctions, especially taking the issue of food shortage. According to White (2007) it was as a result of IMF's earlier policies in Zimbabwe. She remarks:

Zimbabwe had always been a surplus maize producer with stockpiles of more than 1 million tons to tide the country over drought years. After implementing the structural adjustment plan(s) of the World Bank...which forced the government of Zimbabwe to sell its stockpiles of maize to make a profit so as to pay IMF and World Bank debt..... Zimbabwe now has to import maize to feed its destitute population. The IMF and World Bank structural adjustment plan(s) have precipitated food shortages in Zimbabwe, for which the ZANU-PF government is being blamed. These food shortages (read: famine) are part of the excuses used by the U.S. and EU to sanction Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the IMF and World Bank structural adjustment plan(s) devastated the economy of the South African country of Zimbabwe.

Secondly, a sanctioned state will design coping mechanisms that may help to mitigate or shift the impact of sanctions. Faced with problems, most of the time governments, industries and citizens have ways of shifting resources and activities to circumvent the restrictions that sanctions at first impose. In the framework of government and industries, a new policy, dubbed the "Look East" policy, that made strides in mitigating adverse effects of the sanctions was crafted. At individual levels, various household survival strategies were developed to ensure that they survive the adverse impacts.

Finally, other states and private actors interested in maintaining trade and other commercial ties with regimes that are subject to sanctions are not likely to support trade bans against states that would affect their business. In addition, the af-

affected states and individuals may resort to other trading partners that are not part of the trade regime. As such, Zimbabwe, faced with adverse reactions from the West, reformulated its policies and looked east. Some international actors that find themselves failing to access markets might find this as the window of opportunity to do business, thereby making the sanction regime fail.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, sanctions as a tool in international relations have had problems in meeting their objective and have worked successfully only in a minority of cases. The Zimbabwean case seems to demonstrate the same. The theoretical basis of sanctions is that they compel the government of the target country to change its approach in relation to certain problematic issues. For Zimbabwe, it has been done not only in the pretext of targeted sanctions on certain individuals in leadership posts as conventional wisdom seeks to imply, but in a manner that also had overall bearing on the general populace. We conclude that the success of sanctions largely depends on how morally and value sound they are seen from the perspective of the imposers as well as the target and the intended beneficiaries. Failure to appeal to the intended beneficiaries as the Zimbabwean case demonstrates, makes the aims and objective of

the sanctions regime dysfunctional. On the other hand, the target can institute measures to circumvent the negative effects of sanctions making assessment of the impact largely problematic.

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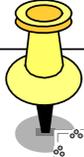
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