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NEWS

OSSREA Congress Holds Its 10th Conference

OSSREA Congress held the 10th Conference from February 28th, 2011 to March 4th, 2011 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The five day congress included concurrent events such as the Executive Committee (EC) Meeting, the EC and Liaison Officers (LOs) Joint Meeting, the two day Congress and the Business Meeting, as well as the Editorial Board meeting.

The EC meeting was an event where the committee members went through the 2010 mini-congress minutes, matters arising from the meeting and their own agenda.

At the EC and LO meeting, separate and joint matters were presented and discussed. Also the OSSREA 2011-2015 Strategic Plan was accepted and endorsed.

The Congress was convened in the next two days. Nine university-scoping studies of the state of PhD programmes in Southern and Eastern Africa, the idea of the Pan African University, and OSSREA's proposal for setting up a social science research school with selected universities in the Region (RESSESA) were presented and discussed.



The Congress Participants

The deliberations resulted in the general understandings and consensus on the need to:

- make coordinated efforts towards improving the quality and relevance of higher education to the problems of societies in the region; and
- enhance the quality and capacity of PhD trainings in the universities;

The idea of the Pan African University and the RESSESA proposal received wider welcome and substantial inputs. The RESSESA was accepted and endorsed by the Congress.

President	Professor Habtamu Wondimu, Ethiopia
Vice President	Professor Herman Musahara,
Vice President	Professor Ruth Otanga, Kenya
Vice President	Professor Benigna Zimba, Mozambique
Member	Professor Rodreck Mupedziswa, Botswana
Member	Dr. Donald Chimanikire, Zimbabwe and
Member	Ms. Thandi Khumalo Swaziland

There was also a business meeting which resulted in new elections where the old Executive Committee (EC) of OSSREA was replaced by a new one. The new EC is composed of a President, three Vice Presidents and three members.

Out of the members of the Old EC, Dr. Donald Chimanikire and Professor Benigna Zimba still hold their membership portfolios.

In addition, the Editorial Committee of the Eastern and Southern Africa Social Sciences Review Journal (EASSRR) met for the first time. It discussed various issues that included how to choose higher quality articles for the Journal, the need to make the Journal more visible especially by targeting universities and African associations, and by attending more conferences and book fairs, and the need to invite guest editors for special issue editions. Accordingly, Professor Tekeste Negash who is a member of the Editorial Committees was chosen and he consented to edit a special issue book dealing with the country scoping studies

Executive Director Discusses with OSSREA Namibia Chapter and the University of Namibia

The OSSREA Executive Director (ED) Prof. Paschal B. Mihyo visited the Namibia Chapter and the University of Namibia, 10th–18th March 2011.

According to the ED, the purposes of his visit to the OSSREA Namibia Chapter were to:

- discuss with the responsible persons at the Chapter, the University of Namibia and various institutions and thereby survey the possibilities of re-organizing the Chapter;
- meet with the Vice Chancellor of the University and sort out ways of getting defaulters and the former Liaison Officer of the Chapter account for the funds allocated to the Chapter; or find out ways of recovering the finance; and
- devise new ways of channelling funds for the Chapter so as to avoid future problems.

The ED said that the Chapter former Liaison Officer eventually accounted for the funds and the Namibia University was collaborating on dealing with defaulters to refund the money to OSSREA.

The ED indicated that he also briefed the Vice Chancellor of the University of Namibia about the proposal to setup the Research School for Social Sciences in Eastern and Southern Africa (RESSESA). The ED and the Secretary of the Chapter also visited the Namibia Polytechnic, and the Labour Resource Research Institute to consult

on the possibility of social science researchers being interested in joining OSSREA and attending a general meeting of members to elect a new Executive Committee for the Chapter. Prof. Mihyo said that the following emerged from the consultations:

- most researchers were ready and eager to join OSSREA, but they questioned about benefits they would get as individuals from the membership.
- most of them indicated that they were made to believe that the Chapter was meant only for researchers at UNAM. The ED and the Secretary of the Chapter told them that this was not the case; and urged them to join and shape the personality and programmes of the Chapter to give it a national character and activities to reflect their interests.
- the researchers were very excited about research methodology courses; they expressed intention to apply and also requested for a special methodology course for Namibians.

Prof. Mihyo outlined that the most important decisions from the meetings and discussions were the following:

- The Chapter should reorganize, set up a new Executive Committee and move forward;
- The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences should be the anchor faculty;

- Those who were responsible for failure to account for the funds of OSSREA should be compelled to account for it and should not be given Executive Committee responsibilities; and
- All calls for training and research proposals should be copied to the DVC Academic Affairs, the Faculty of Humanities and the Director of Research for wider circulation.

The ED said the mission helped him to get an insight into the way the Chapter was managed, the needs and potential of the members and the role the university can play in strengthening the Chapter. Then, he concluded that:

- the Chapter should be supported to reorganize and the ED or his representative should be present at the meeting to reconstitute the Chapter;
- the VC and DVC for Academic Affairs and Research are strategic allies of OSSREA in Namibia and should play roles in guiding the Chapter and overseeing the funds of the Chapter;
- after UNAM becomes an institutional member, a new MoU should be entered into; and
- OSSREA should respond to the request of the members for a special training on research methods.

OSSREA Takes Part in the 5th Addis Ababa University Book Fair

During the 5th Addis Ababa University Book Fair, OSSREA had its stand as usual and sold books worth about 15,000 Birr at a 50 per cent discount rate.

The Fair, held March 14th–20th, 2011, was different from the previous ones in that there was a special four day workshop held at Addis Ababa University on the standardization of Ethiopian Scientific Journals and the publication of books. On the first day, participants dealt with issues regarding standard setting and quality assurance mechanisms of journals and this was led by Professor Lutetge from Germany who formerly worked in the Biology Department of Addis Ababa University.

The second day deliberations were about manuscript processing and the peer review process. Presentations were made by Mrs. Solome Bekele from the *Sinet Journal*, Dr. Mesfin from the *Ethiopian Medical Journal*, and Dr. Abiye Daniel from the EASSRR Journal.

In the third, day there were presentations that included copy editing and proof reading presented by Dr. Wendy Belcher and Mrs Sue Edwards, techniques of book presentations made by Dr Damtew Teffera, the editorial process and indexing presented by Mr. Shiferaw Bekele and Mrs Sue Edwards, and assessments and typesetting by Prof. Masresha Fetene.

In the last day, issues of marketing and distribution, open access journals and institutional repository procedures were discussed by Prof. Masresha Fetene from AAU and Mr Netsanet Animut from the British Council. The way forward was the conclusion part where the importance of standardisation of all journals within the AAU system was suggested as a way the university would like to pursue to ease and facilitate publication and dissemination.

The Book Fair was a vibrant affair as its predecessors where many authors, publishers, bookshops, and book vendors exhibited and sold their books.

OSSREA Organizes Course on Gender Mainstreaming and Budgeting

Training on Gender Mainstreaming and Budgeting was conducted 11–21 April 2011, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Mrs. Rahel Mesfin Research Coordinator at OSSREA and Coordinator of the Training noted that the training aimed at enabling participants to: (a) understand the basic concepts of gender and development; (b) understand and apply the processes and tools of analyzing existing gender roles, structures and attitudes in relation to decision making at national, regional, community and organizational levels; (c) comprehend and operationalise tools of mainstreaming gender in sector policies, strategies, and programs/projects; and (d) analyse

national and local government budgets to establish the differential impacts of revenue raising and expenditures on women and men and on different groups of women and men.

The Coordinator highlighted that some of the topics covered in the training included: understanding the basic concepts gender and development; gender issues in organizations; mainstreaming gender in sector policies, strategies and programmes/projects; and concepts, issues and experiences in gender budgeting and gender auditing.

According to her, the training was attended by 30 participants selected from 110 applicants from nine countries in the eastern and southern Africa Region. The facilitators of the training were Dr. Magadelina Ngaiza from the University of Dar es Salaam, Dr. Emebet Mulugeta from the Addis Ababa University, and Ms.



Trainees and facilitators stand in front of the training hall

Pamela Mhlanga from the African Centre for Gender and Social Development Division, UN-ECA.

The participants appreciated the course and were motivated to develop and submit individual and group proposals to OSSREA's Gender Research programme. A participant from South Sudan remarked that it has given them a good opportunity to network and exchange ideas and opinions. He also assured that all calls from OSSREA would be followed attentively and given appropriate responses; they would also play active roles in disseminating information about and from OSSREA.

At the end of the training, the President of OSSREA Professor Habtamu Wondimu handed over completion certificates to the trainees. He also urged them to apply the knowledge and skills they learned from the training to solve the social issues abounding gender and development in the Region and beyond.



Prof. Habtamu Wondimu, OSSREA President, hands over Certificates to trainees

OSSREA Organizes Research Methodology Training

OSSREA organized Research Methodology Training (RMT) Workshop for 30 PhD students (22 males and 8 females) drawn from nine Eastern and Southern African countries (Botswana-2, Ethiopia-5, Kenya-5, Malawi-1, Sudan-2, Tanzania-5, Uganda-4, Zambia-3, and Zimbabwe-3).

The objectives of the training, which was organized by the OSSREA Headquarters and conducted from 2nd to 18th, May 2011 at CCRDA Training Centre in Addis Ababa, were to enable trainee PhD students to: (a) articulate research problems and develop research proposals as well as theoretical and conceptual frameworks; (b) understand and em-

ploy qualitative and quantitative research methods in collecting and analyzing data; and (c) improve their skills of writing PhD dissertation.

While opening the training workshop, Prof. Paschal Mihyo, the Executive Director of OSSREA, noted that the training was aimed at making contributions to the overall efforts of promoting African scholarship through supporting PhD students to have in-depth skills in research methodology. He then encouraged the participants to be members of OSSREA and be involved in OSSREA-sponsored research projects. The ED promised that OSSREA would provide them the opportunity for publications as well as forums for sharing their research outputs. He also pointed out that OSSREA has initiated a new proposal to establish a Research School in Eastern and Southern Africa (RESESA), which is



Trainees and organizers of the training

aimed at supporting higher education institutions in the region to fast track their PhD programmes.

According to the training coordinators, the training comprised three major components: the first part *introduction to research methodology and research design* was facilitated by Prof. Kidane Mengisteab and included the topics: human inquiry, research questions, hypothesis formulation, variables and attributes, units of analysis, grounded theories, and sampling data collection, and data analysis methods.

The second part was on ‘quantitative research methods’, and it was facilitated by Prof. Assefaw Bariagaber, who covered theoretical populations and samples, survey research, questionnaire construction, and analysis of quantitative data (inferential statistics, correlation and regression, univariate, bivariate, multivariate, multicollinearity, and ANOVA).

Part three was on ‘Quantitative Data Analysis Using SPSS’ and was facilitated by Merga Belina from Addis Ababa University.

The major topics covered in the last part included: an overview of SPSS, designing template for data entry, entering data, data management, analyzing data, inferential statistics, non-parametric tests, as well as, correlation and regression analysis.

The training also afforded the participants the opportunity to share their experiences in research methodology and exchange ideas on development challenges in Eastern and Southern Africa.

At the end of the training, most of the participants of the RMT expressed their utmost satisfaction with the contents of the course, the facilitators, and the overall organization of the training. Their representative said that the training enticed them to revise their research proposals, sharpen and focus their research problems, and design appropriate data collection and analysis methods.

The event was concluded with a certificate hand-over to the participants, which was made by Prof. Habtamu Wondimu, President of OSS-REA, who expressed his hopes that the training would make remarkable contributions to the trainees ongoing PhD programme as well as future research.

The OSSREA ED Takes Part in a Discussion on Establishing an African Research Council (ARC)

The OSSREA ED, Professor Paschal Mihyo participated in the discussion on a draft report of the Taskforce that has been charged with the design of an African Research Council (ARC), which the African Union plans to establish.

Professor Mihyo said that during this second meeting of the taskforce which was held in Nairobi on the 1st of April, 2011, the participants endorsed the idea of forming the ARC unanimously and made the following suggestions for consideration by the Taskforce.

- The consultation process should also involve AAWORD, FAWE and the Diaspora constituency.
- To ensure sustainability, an endowment should be formed right from the start.
- All the sciences have to be captured.
- The danger of ARC being used by donors to abandon existing organizations should be guarded against.
- Funding should be tied to relevance of activities and not to most favoured disciplines.
- As there is a possibility AU will not accept the autonomy of the ARC, a strategy for balancing autonomy and engagement with the AU should be worked out.

- The document should be strengthened by facts and figures which show where we are and where we want to go and why.
- It would be helpful to be specific on what areas of research the ARC will prioritize. This will help donors to know whether to come in and beneficiaries to know whether their interests are covered.

The ED pointed out that he also discussed with Dr. Simon Carter the Regional Director of the IDRC Regional Office in Nairobi on getting back IDRC core support to OSSREA.

Research Director Takes part in the Second Academic Advisory Workshop

OSSREA Research Directorate Director Dr. Paulos Chanie took part in the Second Academic Advisory Workshop organized by The Africa Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Observatory on Migration and held 4–6 April, 2011 in Dakar, Senegal.

According to the Director, the conference was attended by about 20 participants. He indicated that issues discussed included: adoption of the report on the first meeting in October 2010; the terms of reference of the Academic Advisory Board; the 2010–2011 research action plan and planned activities for 2011–2012; the research methodology of the studies in Tanzania, Haiti, and ECOWAS region; the revised research guide of the ACP Observatory on Migration; the training modules for regional training on research methodology and programme cycle management; and the way forward.

After indicating that OSSREA is a member of the Academic Advisory Board, Dr. Paulos explained that he has expressed OSSREA's willingness and commitment to participate in the regional research programs and trainings. He said this was accepted by the Board and ACP has promised to involve OSSREA in the regional research and training programs once the preparatory work is completed.

The Director indicated that he also contacted representatives of various organizations working on Migration and discussed on the possibilities of future networking opportunities.

The OSSREA ED meets Development Partners in the Netherlands

During his leave between 6th to 26th April, 2011, the ED said he took time off and held meetings with a few development partners: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the African Studies Centre at the University of Leiden in The Netherlands.

On the meeting with the African Studies Centre (ASC), University of Leiden which was attended by Prof. Ton Dietz, the Director of the Centre and Prof. Jon Abbink of the University of Leiden, Prof. Mihyo indicated that he introduced the RESSESA proposal which they had read in advance. The meeting pointed out what and how OSSREA should do to access funding support through the changing funding modalities of the Netherlands, whereby most of the funds will be put into a central European fund and managed centrally.

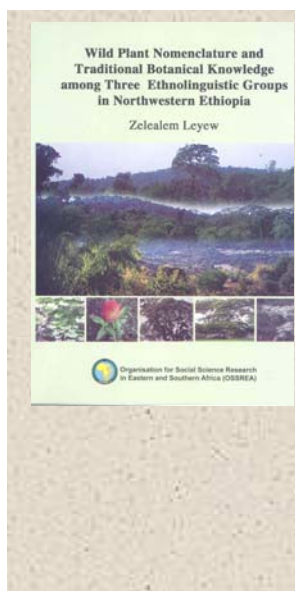
The ED also noted that while the Netherlands is in the process of winding up earlier programmes and developing new programmes, there is a possibility of starting a new one which will address research and capacity development in social sciences and humanities focusing on the four thematic areas: (1) water, (2) food security, (3) security, and (4) reproductive health. Thus, if the programme is finalized, OSSREA and CODESRIA may become beneficiaries. In sum, the opportunities for OSSREA will be wide but it has to brace itself for stiff competition with other global and regional networks.

Noting that the European funding policies are changing for the long-term and many organizations that, do not keep themselves abreast of changes will be left out of the development cooperation processes, Prof. Mihyo pinpointed that to prepare for the new procedures, OSSREA would have to:

- look for new European partners and strengthen links with its current partner: ASC, ISS, NAI and others with whom we can jointly develop projects and tender proposals;
- team up with other like-minded African organizations in order to form a consortium together with ASC and ISS and to be able to participate in tenders that will require such consortia;
- think of how books from the library of ASC at Leiden can be acquired within the RESSESA project; and
- secure a commitment from Presidents, Vice Chancellors and Rectors of Universities in the region to allow OSSREA to make copies of these dissertations and put them in the OADDIS (OSSREA African Database of Dissertation on Social Sciences) as proposed in the RESSESA project document and for which a small budget is already available.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

In the past quarter, OSSREA has published some books, periodicals and reports. These publications are explained as follows:



This book was written by Zelealem Leyew who is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at Addis Ababa University. The book is a result of an interdisciplinary research combining linguistics and ethnobotany. It describes the indigenous plant knowledge among three ethnolinguistic groups through an in-depth analysis of the morphology and semantics of vernacular plant names in the respective languages. It provides a wide array of data and texts depicting the importance of language analysis to fully explore the body of knowledge of ethnolinguistic groups surrounding their plant wealth. The book documents 360 wild plant vocabulary items with photographs of each plant species, and identifies the most endangered plants and the reasons for their endangerment. It gives emphasis to the application of the findings and methodologies of linguistics in ethnobotany. The author believes that the book is valuable for researchers and academics in the area of ethnobotany, linguistics and anthropology.



This book by Nicholas M. Odhiambo who is a Professor of Economics at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and an NRF-rated Researcher documents that since the origin of the new orthodoxy of financial liberalisation, many developing countries have implemented far-reaching financial reforms; but the efficacy of the reforms has been, at best, inconclusive. It states some economists now believe that the beneficial effects of financial liberalisation were either oversold to the developing countries, or were grossly misunderstood by the developing countries. Others have argued that its efficacy differs from country to country and over time. This book re-enforces the debate on whether financial liberalisation positively impacts on economic growth by examining the impact of financial liberalisation in four SADC countries, namely South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Lesotho. Specifically, the book attempts to answer two overarching questions: (i) Does financial liberalisation (proxied by a flexible interest rate) lead to financial deepening? (ii) Does financial deepening which results from financial liberalisation Granger-cause economic growth? The empirical findings of this book show that there is strong support for the positive impacts of financial liberalisation on financial deepening in the four study countries. However, the financial depth which results from financial liberalisation only Granger-causes economic growth in one country, i.e. Zambia. The book, therefore, concludes that the relationship between financial liberalisation and economic growth is at best ambiguous, and may be sensitive to a country's level of financial development



Volume XXVIII No. 2 of the Eastern African Social Sciences Research Review Journal contains four peer-reviewed articles and a book review. The articles are:

1. Firm-level determinants of exporting behaviour: Evidence from Kenyan manufacturing firms, by *Augustus S. Muluvi*;
2. Extent and determinants of household poverty in rural Ethiopia: A study of six villages, by *Dawit Alemu, et al.*;
3. Ethical culture of SMEs and perceived contract enforcement in Ugandan buyer-supplier contractual arrangements, by *Josef M. Nathi, Sarah Eyaa, and Matthew Kalubagna*; and
4. Colonial modernity and the african worldview: Theorising and historicising religious encounters in south-western Zimbabwe, by *Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni*

The book review is a look into *A Bibliography of Ethiopian-Eritrean studies in society and history, 1995–2010*, which was written by Prof. Jon Abbink of the University of Leiden, the Netherlands and published jointly by the African Studies Center of the University of Leiden and OSSREA.

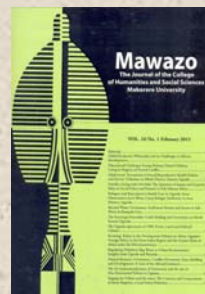


This issue of the OSSREA Bulletin contains news articles, blurbs of new publications, and feature articles with the following titles:

- Extensive reading: A viable option for Africa, by *Michael Daniel Ambatchew*
- High staff turnover in the Zimbabwe Republic Police: A case study, by *Frank Gwavuya*
- China's Cooperation with Ethiopia: With a focus on human resources, by *Kenneth King*



The 2010 Annual Report contains accounts on research and capacity development; governance and leadership; and publications and dissemination. It also reads on the accomplishments of the Office of Executive Director, Finance and Administration; OSSREA's results-based management matrix for 2011 operations; and OSSREA's allocation by source for 2011 operation.



Mawazo is a biannual journal of the OSSREA Uganda Chapter. This Vol. 10 No.1 of Mawazo contains an editorial and 12 different articles, such as global economic philosophy and its challenges to African development; educational challenges facing school children living in regions of armed conflict; adolescents' perceptions of sexual reproductive health policies and service utilization; families living with HIV/AIDS: the question of equity and responsibility in social policy and practice in Sub-Saharan Africa; refugees and reproductive health care in Uganda; and beyond water governance.

FEATURE ARTICLES

Municipal Performance Measurement: Lessons from Ontario

James Alan Oloo*

Abstract

Performance measurement has continued to grow in popularity in municipal government reforms. Berman and Wang (2000) attributed this to the quest for increased efficiency and accountability. Using descriptive and normative perspectives, this study presents a case for municipal performance measurement in Africa. It explores Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing Municipal Performance Measurement Program and water services disruption in the Canada capital regional municipality and presents possible lessons for African municipalities. The study contributes to available literature on municipal performance-based reforms in Africa.

Keywords: Municipal performance measurement, Africa, Ontario, Ottawa-Carleton

Municipal Performance Measurement: Lessons from Ontario

Many municipal governments all over the world appreciate the need to assess and improve the quality and efficiency of their services to their citizens. Since the publication of Ridley and Simon's *Measuring municipal activities* in 1943, through the "reinventing government movement in the 1990s", and especially, 1994 when the International City Manager's Association began the Comparative Performance Measurement Program (Lindblad 2006, p. 647), performance measurement has continued to grow in popularity in municipal government reforms. Berman and Wang (2000) attributed this to the quest for increased accountability and enhanced performance. Nyhan and Martin (1999, p. 348) defined performance measurement as, "the regular collection and reporting of information about the efficiency, quality, and effectiveness of government programs." Arguing that performance measurement is a means to an end rather than an end in itself, Behn (2003, p. 586) identified eight managerial purposes of performance measurement, which are to: (1) evaluate, (2) control, (3) budget, (4) motivate, (5) promote, (6) celebrate, (7) learn, and (8) improve.

Using the descriptive and normative perspectives, this study presents a case for performance measurement in municipal governance in Africa. It explores origins

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of performance measurement programs in Ontario (Canada's largest province), draws from experiences of municipalities in it, and then presents possible lessons for African municipalities. Descriptive sources of this study were websites of the City of Hamilton in Ontario and the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing. The study contributes to available literature on performance-based reforms in Africa by presenting suggestions for development and implementation of municipal performance measures.

Rationale for Municipal Performance Measurement

Murray and Dollery (2004) asserted that a key objective of municipal performance-based reforms is to stimulate productivity and efficiency in service delivery while at the same time reducing costs of service provision. Murray and Dollery posited that these reforms may be in the form of "implementation of new management practices and the establishment of a clearer separation in the roles between council management and elected representatives" (*ibid*, p. 3).

Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2007) argued that the provision of the best and safest services at the most efficient cost and with clear accountability is a key goal of municipal performance measurement. Palmer (1993) posited that municipal performance measurement enhances value for money, which is a core principle underpinning public service delivery, while Kloot and Martin (2000) asserted that performance-based decision making encourages efficiency and ac-

countability in the public sector. This is especially relevant in the African countries that generally have younger populations and cities that are expanding at a fast rate (Oloo 2010).

Performance Measurement from International Perspectives

Performance measurement gained popularity in European and North American public sector from around the 1980s (Lindblad 2006). In the United Kingdom, the popularity of municipal performance measurement can be attributed to "pressure from the central government and the Audit Commission, greater public expectation and consumerism, compulsory competitive tendering, and the changing culture and attitudes among local authority managers" (Kloot and Martin 2000, p. 236). These factors are prevalent in most parts of Africa today. In Kenya, for example, the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 increased pressure for reforms in municipal governments and led to greater public expectations of their governments as evidenced by the fact that over 70 per cent of Kenyans voted for the new constitution in the referendum.

In the Australian state of New South Wales, municipal councils are required by law to submit performance reports to the Minister for Local Government annually. The reports include information on "financial results, infrastructure status, employment information, and council's performance against

meeting other external legislative requirements” (Murray and Dollery 2004, pp. 17–18).

Among the stated objectives of public sector performance management in the United States in the 1990s was to “enhance performance-based decision-making by implementing information systems that supplement traditional input-oriented performance measures (e.g. expenditures and staffing levels) with measures focused on results and the achievement of strategic objectives” (Cavalluzzo and Ittner 2004, pp. 244–245).

Performance Measurement in the African Context

The drive for reforms in Africa has tended to emphasize performance measurement in the public sector. This is especially the case in central governments and state corporations in countries such as Angola, Botswana (Chimwaso 2000), South Africa (Leggett 2002), and Zambia (Mwansa 2005). However, performance measurement at the municipal government level has not had the attention it deserves despite the suggestion in literature for correlation between strategic plans and performance measures (Kloot and Martin 2000). Thus, while there are increasing trends in municipal performance measurement research across North America and Europe, similar studies of the area in Africa are still very limited. There is, however, need to improve services in African municipalities and the writer believes that there are lessons to be learned from Ontario.

Municipal Performance Measurement in Ontario

In 2000, the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing announced the Municipal Performance Measurement Program which requires all municipalities in Ontario to file financial and performance measurement data with the provincial government annually (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007). Municipalities are also required to make the results of their performance publicly available to their taxpayers. The Ontario Municipal Performance Measurement Program (MPMP) is based on two main principles: (1) municipal decision-makers want to be efficient and deliver value for local services, and (2) taxpayers need to know how their tax money is spent and how their services compare both year-over-year and in relation to other municipalities (City of Hamilton 2008).

Service areas covered by the Ontario MPMP include land use planning, fire services, library, parks and recreation, police (note that in Ontario, there are national, provincial and municipal police services, unlike the case in most parts of Africa where policing is almost always a national agency), water, and waste management (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007). Each of the services is assessed against a set of criteria such as whether it reflects major expenditure areas for municipalities, it is of value to the pub-

lic, and falls within municipal responsibility (City of Hamilton 2008).

Conditions that necessitated the birth of performance measurement in Ontario have similarities to the challenges being experienced in many African municipalities. Examples of challenges being experienced in many African municipalities include annual flooding across western Kenya; ineffective solid waste management in Kampala, Dar es Salaam, and other urban centres in Africa (Ayoti 2009); insecurity in Nairobi, Kinshasa and parts of Johannesburg; perennial water shortages in Kisumu, a city located at the shores of Lake Victoria (world's second largest fresh water lake); as well as police service that has consistently been identified by Transparency International as being one of the most corrupt and ineffective public agencies in most parts of Africa (Noble 1999). There are, therefore, lessons to be learned by African municipalities from Ontario's experience.

Here is an example from what was until 2001 known as the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton as presented by the Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2007, p. 4): "Every winter between 1985 and 1993, the Regional Municipality recorded an average of 200 cases of disruption of water services resulting from frozen water pipes. The colder than average winter of 1993-1994 led to a record 2300 reported cases of frozen services. Water supply to thousands of households, including the Prime Minister, was disrupted. The municipality incurred over \$2.2 million in un-

anticipated spending." (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007).

The Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton responded to the challenge of frozen water services by developing a performance measurement and monitoring system which collected data on indicators such as occurrence of frozen services, cost, and lost revenue. The system enabled the region to predict when and where frozen services would occur. The prediction, in turn, allowed the region to provide early warnings to the public, mitigate the effects of disruption in water supply, and prioritize its capital program for replacing water pipes (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007).

The Regional Municipality experienced another severe winter in 1995-1996. However, only 94 cases of frozen services were reported; cost was significantly reduced; revenue loss was avoided; and service was maintained to residents. Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2007) attributed the success of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton in mitigating effects of winter-induced frozen water services to performance-based policies.

Behn (2003) identified general characteristics of performance-based measures for different purposes such as evaluation, budgeting, motivation of employees, public engagement and support of a decision, and innovation and improvement (Table 1).

Table 1. Characteristics of performance measures for different purposes

Purpose	what public managers need to help achieve this purpose;
Evaluate	outcomes, combined with inputs and with the effects of exogenous factor;
Control	inputs that can be regulated;
Budget	efficiency measures (specifically outcomes or outputs divided by inputs);
Motivate	almost real-time outputs compared with production targets;
Promote	easily understood aspects of performance about which citizens really care;
Celebrate	periodic and significant performance targets that, when achieved, provide people with a real sense of personal and collective accomplishment;
Learn	disaggregated data that can reveal deviancies from the expected; and
Improve	Inside-the-black-box relationships that connect changes in operations to changes in outputs and outcomes.

SOURCE: Behn (2003, p. 593).

Why Performance Measurements for Municipalities?

Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2007) identified four broad rationales for municipal performance measures (see Table 2). In jurisdictions such as Ontario and New South Wales, results of performance measurements are publicly available. This promotes accountability and transparency and enhances tax-payer engagement in public projects and services that affect them. It also helps answer questions like: “What does the government plan to achieve? What is it accomplishing? And at what cost?”

Municipal performance measurement enhances the sharing of best practices and learning from experiences of others. It provides data that support evidence-based decision making and help identify ways for municipalities to provide high quality, efficient, and effective services (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007).

Melkers and Willoughby (2005, p. 118) noted that effective performance measurement enhances communication “within and across branches of government, advances learned discussion about the results of government activities and services, and adds value ... by providing relevant information about results, costs and activities.” This could stimulate productivity and creativity in the public sector through monitoring of ongoing performance and evaluation of past performance.

Municipal performance measures can improve monitoring of municipal budgets by measuring whether the budgets are based on realistic costs and benefits and if expected service levels are being met (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007). Performance-based measurement may lead to effective resource allocation, “employee motivation, performance contracting, improving government services and improving communications between citizens and government” (Wholey and Hatry 1992, p. 604) while enhancing public engagement and

confidence in municipal governments (Pollanen

2005). See Diagram 1 for a better understanding of the benefits of performance-based measurement.

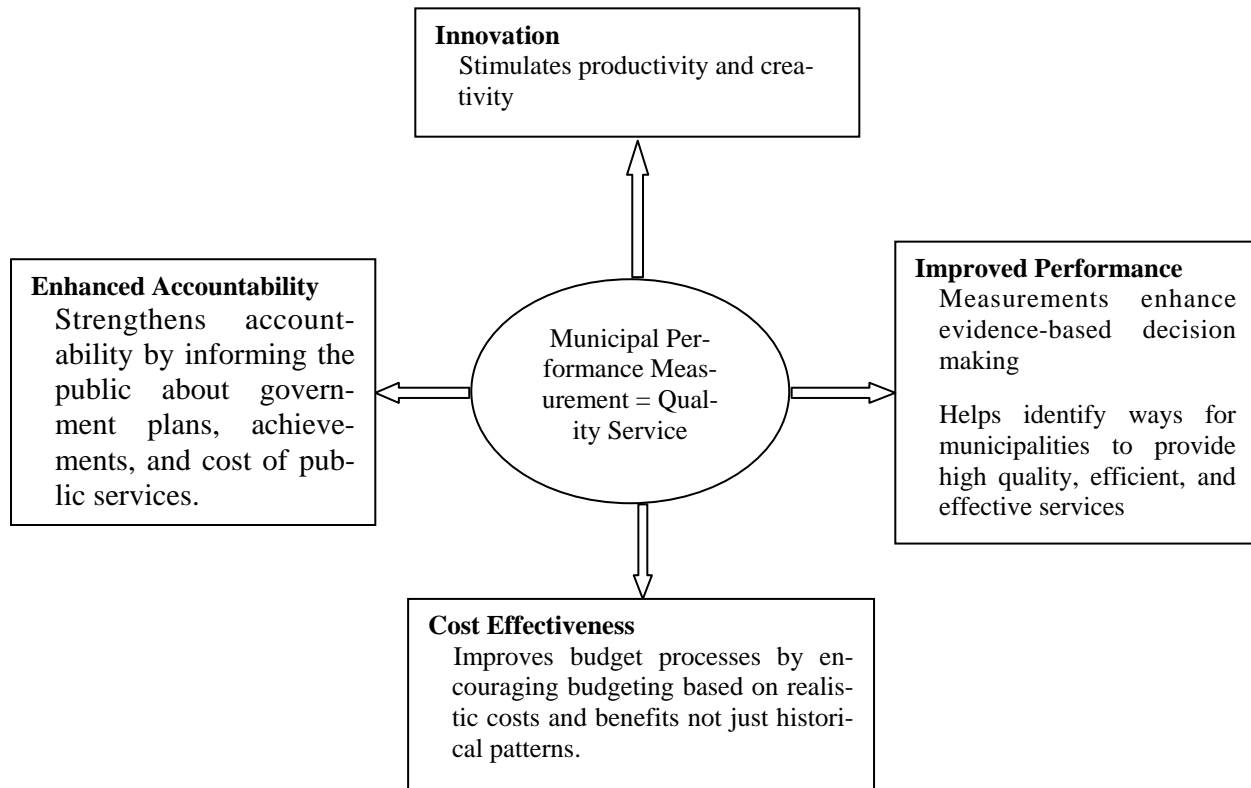


Diagram 1. Ontario MPMP Model—Benefits of Performance Measurement

SOURCE: City of Hamilton (2008).

Criticism of Municipal Performance Measurements

Despite its advantages, municipal performance measurement has also weaknesses. Smith (1995) identified the following unintended consequences of performance-based reforms: (1) use of performance indicators can inhibit innovation and lead to organizational

paralysis, (2) the risk of focusing on quantitative and not qualitative aspects of performance (p. 284), (3) goals of the administration taking precedence over that of the organization (p. 287), and (4) the risk of emphasizing on “measures of success rather than the underlying objective” of the measurement (p. 290).

Impediments to Effective Implementation of Performance Measures

Greiner (1996) identified four categories of possible impediments to effective implementation of municipal performance measurement: (1) institutional challenges such as mistrust of measurement and employee resistance; (2) pragmatic challenges such as lack of credibility and usefulness; (3) technical; and (4) financial challenges. Other possible impediments include uncertainty and interdependence (Pollanen 2005). Despite such challenges, implementation of municipal performance measures in Africa will benefit from the fact that Africa can learn from experiences of jurisdictions such as Ontario that have successfully implemented performance measurement in its public sector while at the same time taking into consideration the local challenges and opportunities that are available.

Conclusion

Whatever the purpose of conducting performance measurement, the process generally involves some common features. The African municipal governments should articulate and communicate their vision for change and improvement in service delivery (Bracegirdle 2008). Bracegirdle further suggested that governments should focus their implementation of performance-based decisions on a “few critical areas of performance” rather than on “overloaded plans with overly ambitious goals” (p. 8).

Municipal governments should define desired results and performance measurement methods to use. Methods of performance measurements may include opinion surveys, observer ratings,

demand statistics, and occurrence reports and could be both qualitative and quantitative (Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing 2007). For performance measurement to be successful, African countries will need to invest in the development of human resources through training, research, and development.

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Artisanal Fisheries in Lake Victoria (Kenya): Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Utilization

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Abstract

In the recent past years, the most far-reaching economic change in Kenya's fish industry has been the increased exportation of Nile perch to international markets—hence an improvement in the country's export earnings. In contrast, there have been increased levels of poverty and malnutrition amongst the fisherfolk communities living within the Lake Victoria basin. Thus, of public concern is to understand the paradox between the impact of the growing exportation of fish and the declining socioeconomic and health indicators. This paper presents an in-depth understanding of the specific challenges that are encountered by artisanal fisherfolk and recommends various measures that could reverse the current status and enhance the participation of the fisherfolk in improving Kenya's fish industry towards provision of food, income, and foreign exchange.

Key words: Artisanal fisherfolk, Lake Victoria basin, fisheries, sustainability

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1. Introduction

Kenya's fish industry has developed over the years to be a major source of food, employment and foreign exchange (Nyeko 2008). The fisheries sector employs over 50,000 fishermen and women, and another 800,000 persons are engaged in fish processing and trade. The fisheries resources support the country's economy with average export earnings of US\$50 million annually through fish trade (Ardjosoediro and Neventhe 2008). Odongkara (2008) writes that Lake Victoria provides about 95 per cent of the total fish landed in Kenya, which include *dagaa* (*Rastrineobola argentea*) (62.9 per cent), Nile perch (*Lates niloticus* L.) (29.9 per cent), tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus* L.) (5.3 per cent), and *fulu* (Haplochromines) (1 per cent).

The most far-reaching economic change in the Kenya's fish industry has been the commercialization of Nile perch, which has significantly contributed to evolution of the fisheries sector from domestic-consumption-oriented to an export-oriented industry (Abila 1998; EPZ 2005; Schuurhuizen, van Tilburg, and Kambewa 2006). In contrast, of urgent public policy concern is the paradox between the impact of the growing exportation of fish to the international markets and high levels of poverty and malnutrition amongst the communities within the L. Victoria basin (Abila 2003; Omwega, Abila, and Lwenya 2006; Priebe and Graeb 2009). The artisanal fisherfolk are increasingly losing access to and control of the fishery resources. This could perhaps be evident in the reduction of the number of fish

smoking kilns and thriving trade in consumption of skeletal waste obtained from export-fish processors. The export of previously available local fish has also contributed to the reduction in supply of affordable and nutritious food source. Fish is a rich source of protein; fat (carbohydrate); vitamins A, B and D; and mineral elements such as calcium, iron, zinc and selenium (Huss 1988). This reduction is thought to be one of the major contributors to the high levels of malnutrition among the children living within the Lake basin. About 30–50 per cent of children are moderately to severely malnourished; whereas 60–70 per cent of these children suffer from moderate to severe micronutrient vitamin A, zinc, and iron malnutrition (GoK 1999). These observations are in contrast with the common belief that the dietary habits amongst the fisheries communities are mainly based on fish products. The current trend in increased malnutrition and poverty levels calls for an urgent in-depth understanding of the specific challenges afflicting the artisanal fisheries subsector as prerequisite for policy or other interventions.

2. Challenges in the Artisanal Fisheries Subsector

There are concerns that the artisanal fisheries subsector operates without an explicit national policy. The government has continued to invest in measures aimed at promoting more exportation of fish and fish products to the international markets in order to maximize foreign exchange earnings (GoK 1991).

Unfortunately, these measures often favour the large-scale commercial fisheries stakeholders more than the artisanal fishermen. For instance, some fish processing factories have in the past years benefited from low taxes or tax exemptions on essential factory equipments (Bokea and Ikiara 2000). However, similar advantages were not extended to the other sub-sectors of the fisheries sector that were not directly exporting fish, such as the artisanal fish processors and traders. The currently launched Economic Stimulus Plan (ESP) that is aimed at development of aquaculture mainly focuses on enhancing fish stocks against the dwindling natural stock but mentions little about postharvest management of the aquaculture fisheries.

The poor infrastructural systems, compounded with lack of adequate sanitation, chilling, and cold storage facilities, have made it imperative for the artisanal fisher folk to consider feasible alternatives, mainly use of indigenous fish preservation methods (smoking, salting and sun-drying). Unfortunately, due to limited effectiveness and efficiency, these traditional methods are associated with high economic and post-harvest losses caused by colour change, extraneous matter contamination, bacterial breakdown, mould and insect infestation, pilferage by birds and animals (Mndeme 1998; Owaga, Onyango, and Njoroge 2009a; 2009b; 2009c). For instance, the landings for *dagaa* in Kenya are as high as 62.9 per cent of total landings, but the value of the catch is very low compared to other fish species landed. As reported by Ofulla *et al.* (2007), the post harvest losses in the *dagaa* sub-sector are estimated at 20–30 per cent during non rainy

seasons, and up to 50 per cent during the rainy season. Consequently, these small pelagic fisheries, which are commonly regarded as ‘poor man’s’ food because of their low retail price, are increasingly being underutilized for human consumption, but instead are mostly used for the production of fishmeal in the animal feed industry.

There have been various reports of increased fish demand for national domestic consumption; and other communities in Kenya embrace the need to enrich their diet with fish products. Unfortunately, this development occurs against the backdrop of dwindling fish stocks in the lake, which has been attributed to use of inappropriate mesh sizes (Abila 2003). This has, consequently, led to reduction in daily catches and income levels amongst the fisher folk and seriously threatens the future of the fish industry in the region, if not checked.

The domestic fish market is not well defined or organized. Fish prices are characterized by numerous upward and downward shifts due to a number of factors. The prices are mainly determined by middlemen and commercial fish processors (Ardjosoediro and Neventhe 2008). The production, processing and marketing activities have become technology-dependent—leading to marginalization of the artisanal fisherfolk. Subsequently, the fishermen’s income has been perma-

nently precarious because of the dependence on middlemen for means of marketing their fish products.

3. Proposed Intervention Strategies in the Artisanal Fisheries Sub-sector

3.1 Policy Framework

There is a need for a systemic fisheries policy that explicitly addresses the plight of the artisanal fish industry both as a renewable natural resource and as a source of staple food. The direction of change towards industrialization in the fisheries sector is an incentive to the need to promote the establishment of cottage industries, which would process fish products using improved traditional methods.

3.2 Infrastructure and Appropriate Fishing Gears

Fish harvesting and handling is often done using traditional or other rudimentary fishing crafts at the prevailing tropical ambient temperature conditions due to limited access to cold storage and chilling facilities. Identification and implementation of sustainable funding mechanisms in terms of savings and credit schemes would be necessary for improving fisheries management during harvesting and handling. This will facilitate the purchase of boat engines and appropriate fishing gears, such as ice-insulated containers, which significantly extend the shelf-life of fresh fish (Eyo 1998). The stakeholders, therefore, need to allocate adequate financial and human resources towards the im-

provement of infrastructural facilities, such as display shades and cold storage facilities.

3.3 Public Education and Community Management Programs

In recent years, there has been a concern over unsatisfactory fish handling practices in the Lake Basin. The problem of declining fish stocks has also been raised and is associated with use of inappropriate methods such as undersized mesh. This calls for the need to invest in public education and community management programs. The non-governmental and community-based organization represents a unique “vehicle” for introducing appropriate participatory fisheries management practices. For instance, fishermen should be encouraged to deliver their fish at the right catch size at gazetted landing beaches. An attempt has already been made towards establishment of Beach Management Units (BMU) (Ogwang, Odende, and Okwach 2006). Public education should also aim at promoting the environment conservation, culture of saving, financial literacy, and business management, such as pricing and costing skills.

3.4 Improved Traditional Methods for

Handling, Processing and Storage of Fish Products

In order to reduce the quality losses and subsequent economic losses, urgent attention needs to be given to establishing the hygienic practices through the supply chain. This is mainly because unsanitary handling of fish enhances fish spoilage rate (Owaga, Onyango, and Njoroge 2009a;

2009b). It also poses food safety risk to the consumers (Owaga, Onyango, and Njoroge 2008); hence the occasional closure of the potential export markets for the fish originating from L. Victoria basin. The other concern in artisanal fish processing is how to extend the shelf life and convert the fish into more marketable form without compromising its nutritional quality. Longer shelf life allows for market expansion and increases the economic value of the fish. Although sun-drying is the most common fish drying method, it is greatly hampered by significant post-harvest losses due to slow drying and heavy dependence on natural weather, which predisposes the fish products to contamination and pilferage by birds and animals (Mndeme 1998). Therefore, considerable research effort should be aimed at assessing the economical and technical feasibility of appropriate drying methods such as drying racks and solar dryers. This will, for example, reduce the current loss of quality to increase the percentage of *dagaa* that can be sold as food grade instead of feed grade. Traditional fish smoking is commonly done in pits or raised smoking racks. However, the smoke densities and heating temperature are not easily regulated—hence giving rise to substantial nutritional losses and irregular quality of products (Ikeme 1998). Thus, smoking method needs to be improved to reduce the build-up of spoilage and pathogenic agents. As such, more emphasis should be put on development of appropriate design of the current smoking methods, especially with regard to the fuel consumption, product qual-

ity, and reduced processing time. The packaging of artisanal fish products relies on perforated woven baskets and sacks, which do not offer adequate protection against hazardous substances—consequently resulting in shortened shelf life. Processed fish products are vulnerable to oxidation, insect infestation, and bacterial contamination. There is need for improved storage facilities that are able to control and maintain the required environment and, at the same time, are technically and economically viable to artisanal processors and traders, such as the plastic layered baskets.

3.5 Artisanal Fish Products Distribution Value Chain

The most common artisanal fish products in the domestic food market include fried, smoked, and sun-dried forms of Nile perch, tilapia and *dagaa*. Due to the high perishability, the processing of such products mainly serves as a means to preserve some of their values. The high levels of post-catch losses indicate that the introduction of coolers and improved ice distribution systems would be an upgrade strategy that could stimulate growth of value chain (Ardjosoediro and Neventhe 2008). Though indirectly, this would lead to more availability of the fish products in supply, and hence promote access of the population to the fish food at an affordable price. For instance, *dagaa* is commonly used as a component of weaning foods for children due to its rich nutritive value. Therefore, it could help alleviate the already high cases of malnutrition. This implies less reliance on the middlemen for marketing—hence, the artisanal fisherfolk are able to get wider profits margin on the products at the

point of sale. However, this should be accompanied with awareness among the artisanal fisherfolk on not only the prices and demand in the market, but also on other pertinent issues affecting the industry. Such issues included empowerment of small enterprise groups to reduce distribution costs by facilitating collective action amongst traders, progressive environmental practices, capital resources, business skills, and knowledge. This would provide useful insight on supply and demand, and other emerging issues affecting the industry—hence improving the distribution pattern.

Conclusion

The artisanal fisheries communities dominate Kenya's fish industry. Therefore, policies and programmes should be developed to restructure and strengthen the traditional fish industry. Analyzing the artisanal fisheries value chain dynamics along the handling, processing, and marketing chain would be necessary to address the real problems unique to the artisanal sub-sector. This would promote a sustainable fisheries management by involving participation of all stakeholders, including researchers, extension officers, and other relevant officers from government and non-governmental institutions and the community.

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A Theoretical Analysis of the Sources of the Political Regime Change Agenda in Zimbabwe (2010)

J. Matunhu and **D. Munemo*

Abstract

This study addresses the problem of regime change in post-colonial state in Zimbabwe. The regime change agenda is widely blamed by President Mugabe and some SADC Heads of State and Government for the unprecedented economic and political turmoil in the country from 2000 to 2009. The objective of the study was to explore the foundations of regime change in Zimbabwe by tracing events that may have culminated in the assault on ZANU PF's hegemony from a development economist's perspective. The study assumes that the regime change agenda has its root factors that lie within President Mugabe's regime and others in the external politics. Together, these factors resulted in the economic and political recession in the country. The significance of the study is that it contributes objective knowledge on the justification for the regime change agenda in Zimbabwe. The study responds to the question on what is the origin of the disastrous regime change agenda in Zimbabwe.

Key terms: Regime change, Zimbabwe, ZANU PF, President Mugabe

Introduction

Generally, for a political regime to survive, it needs to either have a strong mandate from its people, or a strong military might to suppress dissent from its populace or external forces. Political regimes that, for whatever reason, fail to

have one or both of these eventually give way to new political regimes. The convergence of domestic and foreign players in their opposition against President Mugabe's regime precipitated events which have given birth to the regime change agenda. The scheme is designed to remove The Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) from power by establishing a new centre of political authority in the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The objective of this discourse is to explore the sources of the regime change agenda in Zimbabwe.

Conceptualisation of Regime Change

Basically, a regime is the centre of political authority in a given country. Inherent in a regime is a specific hierarchy of governmental offices. A regime also specifies the powers granted to the government as a whole, the powers granted to those who hold offices and the procedures through which the offices are filled. Gasiorowski (1996) classifies political regimes into three categories: (1) democratic, (2) semi-democratic, and (3) authoritarian. A regime change is the displacement of a political administration. According to Fishman (2000), a regime change occurs when the rules, norms, principles and decision making procedures that govern the nature of the regime are abandoned. One regime is replaced by another either through a transformation from one type of regime to another or through a non-constitutional change in the ordering of the governmental offices or the procedures through which the offices are filled. Clearly, constitutional changes in the ordering of offices or in the

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procedure by which they are filled must follow the constitutional procedures for constitutional amendment or change. Non-constitutional changes occur when people hold government offices through non-constitutional means. With regard to Zimbabwe, President Mugabe and ZANU-PF have consistently claimed that the regime change agenda is non-constitutional, undemocratic and so unacceptable. The question that remains to be answered is what factors motivate the regime change agenda in Zimbabwe?

Factors that Promote Regime Change in Zimbabwe

The discourse classifies the factors that promote regime change in Zimbabwe into four interrelated categories: (1) national politics, (2) state corruption, (3) national economics, and (4) social issues. The factors are discussed in the following section.

(1) National Politics and the Regime Change Agenda in Zimbabwe

The regime change agenda in Zimbabwe can be traced to several political issues. First, the lack of ideological clarity of the Mugabe regime may also have contributed to the regime change agenda. Upon attaining political independence in 1980, President Mugabe's government had declared that Zimbabwe was going to be a socialist state. However, in practice it became capitalist—what Bond and Manyanya (2003) call 'talking left but walking right'. This was evidenced when President Mugabe associated himself more with capitalist blocks such as Britain and the United States of America than with the socialist states.

President Mugabe's close ties with the West saw the United States providing Zimbabwe with a three-year aid package of US\$225 million; and by March 1981, the USA pledges to Zimbabwe had reached nearly 900 million pounds (Bond and Manyanya 2003). Despite receiving massive funding by the end of the first decade of independence, Zimbabwe was reeling under an economic crisis. The vast majority of the population (Guzura 2007) faced declining standards of living because of the regime's failure to stem growing unemployment, depressed wages, increasing prices of basic commodities, and the shortages of commodities. These circumstances could have contributed much to the search for a regime change in Zimbabwe.

Secondly, at independence in 1980, President Mugabe's Marxist-Leninist stance and decision to form a socialist state ruffled capitalist and right wing interests. For instance, the apartheid regime in South Africa felt most threatened by a powerful socialist state across Limpopo River. Having failed to get its preferred candidate, Muzorewa, to power, South Africa's principal objective became one of keeping Zimbabwe weak and in a defensive position. One of the strategies was to support the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana—RENAMO) insurgents in Mozambique and the Super Zimbabwe African People's Union (Super ZAPU) dissident activities in the western-half of Zimbabwe. As expected from any regime, President Mugabe used his military might to deal with both situations. However, the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice Report (CCPJ) alleges that President Mugabe was rather ruthless in his

management of the post-independent dissident activities. In fact, the CCPJ reports that President Mugabe's North Korea-trained Fifth Brigade was responsible for 20,000 deaths and the displacement of thousands of people from their homes during the dissident activities in Zimbabwe (www.sokwanele.com/pdfs accessed on 26/01/10). The President contended that there was nothing unusual for people to die in a war and that his legitimate government had the right to use any method to stem the tide of insurrection (www.thestandard.co.zw accessed on 02/03/10). The Ndebele people still appear to be hostile as evidenced by their refusal to accept the North Korean soccer team to camp in Bulawayo on their way to South Africa for the historic 2010 FIFA World Cup tournament.

In 1989, Zimbabwe entered the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) militarily to prop up President Laurent-Desire Kabila's regime against the Rwanda- and Uganda-backed insurgents. President Mugabe's decision to participate in the war in the DRC had a financial implication on his country's economy. According to Makoni, the then Minister of Finance, Zimbabwe spent US\$200 million during its two years of military intervention in the DRC (www.irinnews.org extracted on 20/07/2010). However, military analyst Michael Quintana, editor of the African Defence Journal, estimated the cost to be US\$281.5million; the editor claims that Makoni's figure is too low as it excludes expenditure on military equipment acquired for the estimated 12,000 Zimbabwean troops in the DRC as well as the replacement value of losses to the equipment

(www.irinnews.org extracted on 20/07/2010). The hugely expensive military involvement in the DRC and Mozambique is just one of many decisions that have contributed to the country's economic failures. According to the Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa (2005), the first decade of Zimbabwe's independence (1980–1990), was a lost decade; because President Mugabe lost the golden opportunity to prosper his nation. The opportunity was lost because the country failed to adequately deal with the social, political, and economic challenges that it faced.

President Mugabe's critics have also criticized him for his personal patronage system which is based on neo-patrimonialism. The critics argue that his personal patronage resulted in economic mismanagement in Zimbabwe. As Bratton and van de Walle (1997:458) note:

In neo-patrimonial regimes, the chief executive maintains authority through personal patronage, rather than through ideology or law. As with classic patrimonialism, the right to rule is ascribed to a person rather than an office. In contemporary neo-patrimonialism, relationships of loyalty and dependence pervade a formal political and administrative system and personal wealth and status. The distinction between private and public interests is purposely blurred.

This description summarises the way President Mugabe crafted and maintained the regime since 1980. The essence of neo-

patrimonialism is the award by public officials of personal favours within the state. For instance, in 2005, President Mugabe made history by appointing his sister Sabina Mugabe and her two sons (Leo and Zhiwawo) to cabinet posts. The philosophy around neo-patrimonialism is that in return for material rewards, the clients of the neo-patrimonialism will mobilize political support and refer all decisions upward as a mark of deference to patrons (Hirschman 1972).

Technically, the patronage system with its inherent weaknesses allows incompetent, ineffective, and inefficient officials to hold public offices. In the case of Zimbabwe, appointment to office was based on loyalty to the President and ZANU-PF liberation war credentials ahead of competence. This situation led to poor service delivery to the public by President Mugabe's government, leading to a rise in opposition against it and a search for regime change. According to Guzura (2007), the inability of the government to provide social services and the increasing corruption in the government initiated the sprouting of civil society organizations in the 1990s with the majority of these pursuing a political agenda.

One can also trace the roots of the regime change agenda in Zimbabwe to the deep seated political problems that saw the disgruntled PF-ZAPU members forming ZANU-PF in 1964. It must be recorded that both parties participated in the armed struggle against colonialism in the country. ZANU-PF opened a war front

in Mozambique while PF-ZAPU fought from Zambia. The effort of the two political wings resulted in a negotiated peace settlement at Lancaster in 1979 and the elections saw Ian Smith's regime making way for Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF on 18 April 1980. In the spirit of reconciliation, President Mugabe formed a unity government. The problem arose when the two parties failed to work together; Joshua Nkomo was accused of arms cache and for masterminding the dissident activities in country. He was sacked from President Mugabe's cabinet and properties that belonged to his party were confiscated by the state. Joshua Nkomo skipped the border into exile and dissent activities escalated.

With time, President Mugabe's regime faced intense political and economic challenges which forced the incumbent to adopt dictatorial approaches to his leadership. Edgar Tekere, formerly a senior ZANU-PF member and confidante to Mugabe, was expelled from the party for criticizing President Mugabe's dictatorial tendencies and harbouring corruption. Upon his expulsion from ZANU-PF, Tekere founded the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM). The party challenged ZANU-PF in the 1990 elections and won twenty parliamentary seats. The outcome of the election torpedoed President Mugabe's plan to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe. Tekere's challenge to President Mugabe gave hope to the groups which harboured regime change, such as the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions—the embryo of the Movement for Democratic

Change (MDC).

The MDC, which was formed in 1987, gained much support from the urbanites and the white community who appeared to have suffered President Mugabe's failing economic and political policies. According to Tambudzai (2005), the MDC, which won 57 parliamentary seats in 2000 against 62 for ZANU-PF, posed the greatest political threat to President Mugabe's regime. As a way of managing the opposition party, President Mugabe introduced draconian laws such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA), which limited people's freedom of speech and the right of association. POSA is similar in intention to the colonial laws such as the Preventive Detention Act which arrested Black Nationalist leaders and also the Native Affairs Amendment Act. The Acts denied Africans to have meetings without the consent of the Native Commissioners' approval. According to Chigora and Guzura (2008), POSA revived memories of the colonial past, thus cultivating the spirit of regime change in Zimbabwe.

(2) State Corruption and the Regime Change Agenda in Zimbabwe

At political independence, most countries drifted from bureaucratic administration that emphasized good governance to one that emphasized sovereignty of politics. In Zimbabwe, this resulted in the emergence of patrimonialism—lacking in accountabil-

ity, transparency and state corruption. In this context, corruption is the abuse of official powers for personal gain.

State corruption (Matunhu 2008) has resulted in the unseating of governments such as that of Chiluba in Zambia, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Abacha of Nigeria, Suharto of Indonesia, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, and Milosevic of Serbia/Yugoslavia. The effect of corruption is that it weakens government institutions by disregarding official procedures, siphoning off the resources needed for development, and selecting or promoting officials without regard to performance. Corruption undermined the legitimacy of President Mugabe's regime, thus creating a favourable ground for a regime change agenda in the country.

According to Meredith (2002), in 1988, evidence of state corruption in Zimbabwe was presented by the government daily *The Chronicle*, which published stories of corruption in the distribution of vehicles by the government-owned Willowvale Motor Industries. An Inquiry Commission set up by President Mugabe to investigate the allegations of corruption in the distribution of vehicles found several ministers guilty. The story of state corruption in the country was published by the then editor of the daily Jeoff Nyarota, for which he was threatened by Enos Nkala and later he lost his job. One of the cabinet ministers, Frederick Shava, was tried and convicted and was given a nine-month sentence for perjury. However, President Mugabe pardoned the minister and

turned the whole exercise into a charade. According to Meredith (2002, 87), President Mugabe said, “. . . who amongst you has not lied . . . Yesterday you were with your girlfriend and you told your wife you were with the President. Should you get nine months for that?”

Seemingly, the President's decision and action against the perpetrators of corruption shattered the peoples' confidence in the ruling party and government. By the end of 2001, the policies of the Mugabe Government and the large-scale public sector corruption had seriously damaged the economy of Zimbabwe. Factors reflecting this damage included the following (www.hrforumzim.com – retrieved on 12/06/2010):

- unemployment stood at about 60 per cent and was expected to rise as the economy contracted due to businesses closure or downsizing;
- formal sector unemployment had fallen by 90,000 (seven per cent) to its lowest level since the mid-1990s;
- a large percentage of Zimbabweans suffered from poverty and the situation was deteriorating rapidly;
- according to the Zimbabwe Government Central Statistics Office, inflation stood at 64.4 per cent in June 2001, having risen from 55.5 per cent in May 2001.

Inflation was forecast to reach nearly 100 per cent by the end of 2001;

- the cost of staple items was set to escalate further following the increase of over 70 per cent in the price of petrol in June 2001;
- some 70 per cent of the country's GDP was required to service the regime's foreign debt, and the Government had defaulted on foreign debt repayments;
- the economy was forecast to shrink by about 10 per cent in 2002; foreign investment had plummeted;
- what were once growth industries, such as tourism, had been devastated; tourists have stopped visiting Zimbabwe because of the violence and instability;
- several foreign governments had cut, reduced or suspended aid to Zimbabwe to register their disapproval of the lawlessness that characterised the country; and
- there had been an exodus of black middle class professionals, including doctors, nurses, teachers, accountants and other people with skills that are badly needed; the small white population had also shrunk considerably.

The discourse holds that these situations corroded the regime's credibility and legitimacy from within the country as well as from the

international community; the effect of which motivated the people of Zimbabwe and the international community to pursue the regime change agenda.

(3). National Economics and the Regime Change Agenda in Zimbabwe

The regime change agenda in Zimbabwe could also be linked with the economic problems that the post-independent state suffered under the political leadership of President Mugabe. At independence in 1980, President Mugabe's regime had to deal with Ian Smith's inherited debts. According to Bond and Manyanya (2003), Rhodesians left Mugabe the following financial liabilities: a multi-lateral debt of US\$5.3m, a bilateral debt of US\$97.9m, and private debt of US\$593.9m. These odious debts hounded Mugabe's government and continue to haunt Zimbabwe as it reels under a huge foreign debt.

In 1990, the economic and political turmoil in the country compelled ZANU- PF to be clear on which political philosophy it would follow; the regime formally discarded all references in its constitution to Marxism-Leninism in line with the IMF and the World Bank recommendations. The Mugabe regime adopted neo-liberalism, which saw the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), accompanied by economic and political liberalization. However, ESAP worsened the economic and social hardships in Zimbabwe due to retrenchments at work places and the reduction in welfare by the state. Notably, poverty in the country worsened because of the implementation

of ESAP, which coincided with the 1992 drought.

ESAP was accompanied by political liberalization and an increase in opposition against the government, which saw more political parties such as the Forum Party, Zimbabwe Union of Democrats and the United Parties among others joining the fray against ZANU-PF in the 1990s. When it became evident that ESAP was incapable of lifting Zimbabwe from the economic malaise, political degeneration became the next logical step. Victory in the 1996 presidential elections did not spare President Mugabe's troubles. According to Bond and Manyanya (2003, 31) between 1980 and 1990, the Zimbabwe dollar lost 70 per cent of its value against the United States dollar; and between 1991 and 1995, the Zimbabwean dollar lost 67 per cent. Inflation averaged 13.4 per cent from 1980 to 1990 and 27.6 per cent from 1991 to 1995. Notably, the effects of ESAP worsened an already dire situation by eroding the standards of living of the masses.

Regime changes are more likely (Acemoglu and Robinson 2001), during inflationary and recessionary periods, because the costs of political turmoil to the rich and to the poor are lower during such periods. President Mugabe responded to the political challenges with intensified state repression, which alienated the government from civil society and the international community. In fact, on 9 March 2003, the USA signed the Zimbabwe Democracy Act that levelled sanctions against President Mugabe and other high-ranking Zimbabwe politi-

cians, freezing their assets and barring Americans from engaging in any transactions or dealings with them.

According to Maphosa, Kujinga and Chingarambe (2007), it was during the period of hyper inflation and economic recession in the country that corruption and economic mismanagement hit it hard. Service delivery by the state was at its lowest and poverty was increasing. Corruption and economic mismanagement (Meredith 2002) took a toll on state-owned enterprises such as the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCZIM), the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA), the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC), the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) and the District Development Fund (DDF). All these parastatals were staffed by ZANU-PF appointees, which confirm the earlier view that President Mugabe's regime was administered on neo-patrimonialism, which is a common practice when the political climate is not favourable to government.

(4). Social Issues and the Regime Change Agenda in Zimbabwe

The regime change agenda in Zimbabwe can also be traced to the inconclusive Lancaster House constitutional resolutions on social issues affecting Zimbabwe. Apparently, the talks at Lancaster brought the war to an end but did not fulfil the aspirations of social justice in Zimbabwe. The inequalities between whites and blacks persisted, especially in land hold-

ing. In fact, land was the primary reason why blacks went to war against the colonizers. At independence, about 6000 white large-scale commercial farmers held 39 per cent of the land; while about 8000 black small-scale commercial farmers only held 4 per cent. Communal lands where 4 million people lived accounted for 41 per cent (Moyo and Yeros 2005). The new socialist government was barred by the Lancaster House Agreement from taking land compulsorily for the first ten years but could only go ahead on a "willing-buyer willing-seller" basis to be funded by the British. Later, the British government reneged on its pledge to fund the land Reform in Zimbabwe.

Technically, the Lancaster Agreement protected the privileged colonial interests at the expense of those of the blacks. This was made possible because Britain was allowed to umpire in a match in which it had vested interests; the economy of the new Zimbabwe was going to remain in the hands of British nationals, at least for the first ten years.

President Mugabe's socialist principles were put to test. The Growth-With-Equity Programme (GWEP), which was meant to redress the colonial imbalances in all sectors of the economy failed to create an egalitarian society. Africans felt betrayed but held back their bitterness. However, at the turn of the 21st century, President Mugabe's regime was forced by the blacks to embark on the fast track land reform programme.

It would be unfair to think that the willing-buyer, willing-seller arrangements did not deliver land for resettlement in Zimbabwe. According to Bond and Manyanya (2003,24), at the end of the first decade of independence, a total of 6.5 million acres of former white land had been bought for the settlement of Africans. Regrettably, the land reform program was implemented in a chaotic manner. By 1996, farms for resettlement had mostly been given to senior government officials at the expense of peasants in marginal lands. According Meredith (2002), minister Witness Mangwende received from government a 3,000 acre farm in Wedza, which was earmarked for resettlement of 33 landless peasant families, and some 70 farms were allocated to ministers, members of parliament (MPs), senior civil servants and members of the security forces, and influential friends.

The Lancaster House Agreement clause that prevented the Mugabe regime from taking land lapsed in April 1990. This legally empowered the government to confiscate land and redistribute it in the spirit of social justice. However, many Africans remained without land (Moyo and Yeros 2005)—forcing the regime to consider taking measures that would make land readily available to the needy. The government of Zimbabwe could fix the price of land and deny the right to appeal in courts for fair compensation. President Mugabe's government aimed at acquiring 13 million acres of land to settle 110,000 families. This policy decision did not augur well with the propertied who had wanted to maintain the status quo in which the blacks in Zimbabwe remain without land while some people hold far

more tracks of land than they needed for economic purposes.

This situation motivated regime change as the whites preferred the MDC than ZANU-PF. In a rare synergy, the former colonisers joined hands with the disgruntled blacks against the Mugabe regime. In this marriage of convenience, the MDC got the support of the white community and foreign players, mainly of British origin who represented the interests of landowners in Zimbabwe. These include the Earl of Stair and Chippendale, the Director of Anglo-American Corporation, De Beers and the Bank of England (Chigora and Guzura 2008,526). Their support for the MDC was in response to a proposal by the government to engage in a land reform exercise designed to expropriate land while giving it to the majority blacks.

The contentious issue of land became a source of calls for regime change when the ZANU-PF government embarked on a violent land reform programme in 2000. Land hungry Africans, with the support from President Mugabe, invaded white-owned farms. According to Chimhowu (2006), the land reform programme did not only compromise the ability of the country to meet its food security needs, but also earned Mugabe widespread condemnation and international isolation from the West. Land is what the people of Zimbabwe wanted; and so in terms of availing land to the land hungry blacks, President Mugabe's strategy was good and successful. However, it is doubtful if the poor did receive the best arable land; because

of corruption the best land may have been mis-allocated to the people who already had land.

The dire economic and political situation in the country in the 1980s provided a platform for the critics of Mugabe to call for regime change. The attacks started from within ZANU- PF's bastion, by a group he assumed were his most loyal supporters—the war veterans. Guerrillas of the liberation war who had not been properly reintegrated into society found themselves without livelihoods and socially marginalized by one of their own (President Mugabe). In 1989, a War Veterans Association was created.

Approximately, 30,000 war veterans were unemployed and suffering at that time. The war veterans pressured Mugabe to pay attention to their plight. In 1997, the government paid unbudgeted gratuities of Z\$50,000. This decision by President Mugabe was a political deal aimed at quieting war veterans' protest over the government's failure to meet their basic employment and survival needs. Regrettably, the action led to the crash of the Zimbabwean dollar by 72 per cent against the US dollar. Chronic financial and economic crises ensued in the country. Over the years, the economic crisis affected the domestic political balance of power. The decline in the living standards of the vast majority of Zimbabweans created an upsurge of support for the opponents of Mugabe, whose perceived mismanagement and corruption were seen to be at the centre of the problem of governance. Much of this discontent was manifested through the support given to the MDC.

The regime change agenda was heightened in May 2005 when the President Mugabe regime embarked on a controversial operation *Murambasvina* (clean-up) campaign. The campaign targeted infrastructure not sanctioned by responsible authorities, vending and free-market trading. According to Maphosa, Kujinga and Chirangambe (2007), the campaign created a huge gap in the economy. Apparently, the unleashing of *Murambasvina* on the people, exacerbated extreme poverty as the people failed to afford the basics of life such as food, health, education, and shelter. Questions were raised locally and globally on the legality of and motivation for the exercise.

Conclusion

The regime change agenda has its origins deeply rooted in the history of the country and the policy failures of President Mugabe's regime. These two issues led to a confluence of factors both domestic and external in search of the ejection from power of President Mugabe's regime. The regime change agenda has led to a severe economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe, which eroded the president's popularity in favour of the opposition movements such as the MDC. The discourse concludes that President Mugabe's failure to successfully juggle the social, political and economic factors resulted in political degeneration, which ultimately motivated the opponents of the regime to mobilize support against Mugabe.

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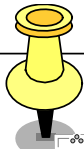
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