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STUCK ON THE RUNWAY: FACING THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICA'S DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

The Independence That Never Was

By the end of this decade, most African countries will be celebrating their golden jubilee of their independence. It will be an independence bonanza celebrated within the realm of rising abject poverty, misery, high infant mortality, rising rate of STD, HIV/AIDS pandemic; famine, economic crisis, political instability, civil wars, ethnic cleansing and genocide, declining living standards, rising rate of corruption and insecurity, the penetrating impact of globalization amongst many other ills plaguing the continent.

John W Forje

The question that beats the imagination of every one, is why a continent once held in high esteem, with much promise and expectations suddenly collapsed into a state of no return even beyond the lowest thinkable levels of the colonial administration? One begins to wonder whether the political independence of African states were wrongly negotiated; whether Africans lack the capacity to shape and manage their affairs and destiny? Is this due to wrong leadership role? Whether the colonial masters had a hidden agenda, that is, the instrument of political independence was handed out of spite, bad faith, creating salient hindrance and mechanisms of sabotaging the independence of African countries. Why has Africa after independence exposed itself to a new of form of colonialism? The article investigates issues surrounding the state of governance and democracy and its consequences in the region and within the world. Why does good governance remain imperative, holding the best sign and offering the right mechanisms for a lost continent and people at the dawn of the age of globalization and technological advancements ever known in the history of mankind?

Theoretical Setting

The conceptual framework of the paper departs from the premises that the absence of democracy contributes to the absence of good governance. It argues that African countries display the trappings of a consociational state, and good governance depends on the degree of application of the paradigms of consociation. Thus, the paper stresses the need of building a new culture of democratic governance through partnership between the state and civil society in the quest for sustainable development, and for the continent to be a part not apart of the rapidly changing global community of nations. The need

Continued on page 4

**ALSO IN
THIS ISSUE:**

- Land Conflict in Zimbabwe
- Poetry
- Budapest Update
- *Futures in Education* Reviewed
- Slaughter: 4 Years After

contents

JUNE 2005 -- VOL. 30 NO. 1

- 1 STUCK ON THE RUNWAY: FACING THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICA'S DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM
By John W Forje
- 3 EDITORIAL
- 12 BOOK REVIEW: *FUTURES IN EDUCATION*
By Sandra Burchsted
- 15 FUTURES IN EDUCATION: CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE?
By David Hicks (with Richard Slaughter)
- 16 EFFECTS OF LAND CONFLICT: THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE
By Charity Manyeruke
- 20 REFLECTIONS ON THE LAST FOUR YEARS ...AND THE NEXT FOUR
By Richard Slaughter
- 22 POEM: THE COMPLAINT OF THE FUTURIST
By Anonymous
- 23 POEM: EVERYDAY FUTURING
By Pentti Malaska
- 32 POEM: ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS
By Jocelyn Ortt-Saeed



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CHRISTOPHER B. JONES

African futures are very close to the present. I have been working with two long-standing WFSF members, JOHN FORJE and CHARITY MANYERUKE to feature articles on the futures of Africa. At first glance they may not seem "futuristic" but it became obvious to me reading and working with them that these are very much about the future of Africa, and in a wider sense about our own futures on the planet: the legacy of colonialism and environmental and human exploitation, land use and tenure, equity, and meaningful lives and our very survival. As many others, I have watched the mainstream news broadcasts and read more politically-attuned analyses of the struggles for the future of Zimbabwe, but MANYERUKE'S look at the conflicts put this story into sharp relief and gave an inside view that has been sadly lacking in the mainstream press. FORJE takes broader sweep of the evolving struggles for political, social, and economic directions of national leaders and for governance and participation in Africa's future.

SANDRA BURCHSTED, DAVID HICKS, and RICHARD SLAUGHTER all present one of our fundamental dilemmas in futures: how to reach deeper into the educational process to enhance futures literacy. One of the clear roles of the Federation in addressing the global problematique is to push the futures education agenda. We are making progress, but why does the pace seem so slow? BURCHSTED reviews an AFI monograph and highlights a number of those issues; HICKS asks us to do more. Please contribute to this effort.

SLAUGHTER reviews our four years as executives and points to tasks ahead... In addition to his summary: We are also engaged in greater collaboration with other futures organizations around the globe. We have established a reciprocal exchange agreement with both the World Future Society and Shaping Tomorrow. We have been formally or informally



involved, primarily through individual member participation, in a number of European futures conferences this spring. WFSF had a large contingent and a panel, thanks to REED RINER, at the annual CONTACT conference. It is hoped to also forge greater ties with the new Association of Professional Futurists in shared interests and discussions of professional ethics, certification, and branding. There continue to be incremental movements towards an International Masters in Foresight and FS in conversations between faculty in the various academic institutions offering curriculum and courses in futures. We continue to support and receive the support of the UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON-CLEAR LAKE, FINLAND FUTURES ACADEMY, and TAMKANG UNIVERSITY as institutional members. Don't forget to put the November TAMKANG conference on your calendars: *Global Soul, Global Mind, Global Action: Futuring from Survival to Thrival* (see details at: www.wfsf.org/events/upconf.shtml)

We are looking forward to a vibrant and full 19th World Conference in Budapest, Hungary. I just returned from a wonderful planning meeting with members of the Corvinus University of Budapest (CUB) planning team, ERZSEBET NOVAKY, TAMAS GASPARG, and REKA VARNAGY. The planning team has been very busy and developed a very attractive web site. The BUC is an attractive venue in the heart of Budapest on the Danube River across from the Citadel. We are delighted to have received an modest NGO Participation Programme award from UNESCO for the Budapest Futures Course (BFC) and conference. The BFC will take place in tandem with the conference and run two days beyond it. There are a limited number of scholarships to cover local accommodations and registration costs. For more info, go to:

www.budapestfutures.org

Board Elections: you will find an insert above this page that details the details of the electronic voting process and the instructions for optional mail-in (paper) balloting. Most of the nominees for the Executive Board and executive positions have submitted their vision statements which are also on the insert. Late submissions and updates can be found at: www.wfwf.org/elections.shtml ... questions or problems email jones@wfsf.org or phone +1-808-955-8215.

The web site has undergone a facelift and some streamlining. After some technical difficulties we are now able to accept credit card payments again—on a secure server connection. Further upgrades to the web site, including enhanced features for chat space and discussion groups are planned for the fall (N Hemisphere). We have held off upgrading to individual passwords until further notice.

See you in Budapest!

Stuck on the Runway (con't)

to foster mutual, peaceful coexistence within and between nations, to ensure social justice and equity (i.e., a common politics for all, not the existing individual belly politics which confront the present generation).

The analytical framework builds on a number of theories. We begin with Rational Choice Theory which explains the behaviour in the public realm - the behaviour of bureaucrats, politicians and civil society or voters in terms of self interest (Ward 1995). Public Choice Theory analyses how individuals and groups seek to gain access to and control over public resources in the "political market-place". It explains such things as behaviour of bureaucrats and elected representatives (Niskanen 1994). Pluralism (Dahl 1961, Polsby, 1980) is based on the premise that political power is fragmented and dispersed (Judge 1995: 14), and shifts to Stratified Pluralism (Judge 1995: 15) in which the outcomes are likely to be very unequal. Stratified pluralism suggests that there are multiple elites who are influential in different

situations but not in all. Elite Theory (Harding 1995, Evans 1995) assumes that all decisions are effectively controlled by a few, with little or no opportunity for others to exert influence or change the situation. Then Regime Theory "analyses the conditions under which effective coalitions of interests emerge to bring about public purposes (Stoker, 1995)." The concern in Regime Theory is with developing the capacity to act, rather than simply with governing or controlling. The Theories And Principles of Consociationalism is based on four major principles:

- The principles of joint-decision-making by representatives of all significant groups in society;
- The principle of autonomy for the different segments in a multi-cultural or multi-linguistic society;
- The principle of proportioning in the voting system to avoid absolute majoritarian democracy as well as prevent any minority tyranny; and,
- The principle of a minority censorship and veto.

The argument of the study is that consociationalism is not an end in itself. It is rather a means to an end and that end is the equitable distribution of

power, partnership and participation in the common wealth and governance of state. It builds on the hypothesis that Africa displays the trappings of a consociational state. Its spread and intensity is best measured by the presentation of a wide checklist of power, resources and position sharing. In fact the very survival of African nations as an entity depends on the degree of application of the paradigms of consociation. It is the failure of government in African countries to bring about economic progress and democratic governance systems that enable people to feel secure about the present and the future or stimulate the emergence of a critical mass of enlightened public opinion that believes the time has come for democratic change. In short, "the people's simplistic understanding of democracy and good governance is that it is a mechanism for changing the people at the top who make decisions. But democracy is certainly much more than that. It is my opinion that democracy will survive as a mechanism in the political process only in its widest ramifications as a way of life are understood and accepted by the African Peoples" (Susungi 1992).

Earlier African leaders comported themselves to reason and sink their individual or personal interests and work for the collective good, the better and quicker for the continent to take-off the runway of chaos, underdevelopment, abject poverty and external exploitation. Without good governance, Africa is doomed or stuck on the runway of underdevelopment and global marginalisation. Good governance and democratic rule remain the most appropriate distress calls for Africa in the new millennium. The ideal by many African leaders to appeal, seek and insist on group identity based on descent to galvanize support, seek and perpetually retain political power is what has plunged the continent into total disarray. Using ethnic weapon to usurp power is bad governance.

The colonial issue and the hollow independence victory puts into question the structural and functional form of governance in the continent. In this context, the difference in colonial and post colonial perspectives between the colonial masters anchored on the degree and form of administration put in place to oversee the governance of

these colonies. Rightly or wrongly these different forms of colonial administration have been inherited and constitute the underlining framework on which to judge the state and quality of good governance throughout the continent. The bulk of the continent's problems, as each country struggles to design a nation-state from its colonial legacy, is linked to the bequeathed administrative and political structure be it a centralized or decentralized one, presidential, and parliamentary systems.

One of the key issues is the interplay between these various institutions whether through formal political and administrative processes or through informal interactions. Seen within these perspectives, the processes which are of fundamental interest and concern are:

- How state governance can influence the conditions for economic growth, social well-being, stability and conflict resolutions;
- How state governance institutions seek to distribute the benefits of that growth--how it works in practice, and who benefits what, how, where and when from these distribution processes: and,

path to sustainable development and ensuring genuine independence.

Good governance emerges from the literature review has having a number of critical elements, for example, broaden national trends and the role of the state in national economy; the role of the state in the new international division of labour and globalization in particular its ability to play a role in either the command and control system of global economic organization and activities or as a channel or receptor for international flows of investment, goods and services; the structure of state economy and its ability to restructure to maintaining competitiveness, profit levels and employment; the of politics in embracing issues such as the nature and role of political leadership, political order and stability, the rule of law and representation, and not the least, the issues of networks based on relations of trust, partnership, participation at all levels of society reflecting to a large extent, the concept of social capital and well-being.

What is required is a broad framework for analyzing the various issues and the various actors, parties and interests involved in, or having influence upon, those processes. The analytical framework is based on a series of questions:

- How the poor can bring their agenda to bear on state governance, in contrast to how other sectors of society influence the agendas.

So far, the traditional approach of government in respect to governance and societal development has been "top-down" and "trickle-down" in formal attempts at poverty alleviation and distribution. It is clearly evident that this top down system has not improved the social well-being of the vast majority of the population. The argument here is that this aged-old approach should be replaced with a "down-up" or "trickle-up" input approach of partnership and participation to enable excluded groups to gain access to and influence in policy-making decisions and overall national agendas.

The focus here is on the critical interaction between the various actors involved in addressing the issue of state-building and other development problems. The issue of good governance as outlined above can be tackled in various ways. In this case, the broad theme chosen is that of Africa being struck on the runway with a distress call for revamping the situation and placing it on the right

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-
- First, about the decision-making processes and events, the rules which govern those processes, and the outcomes of those processes; and

- Second, about the different categories of actors, parties and interests involved identifying the context and constraints within which they operate, their source of power or authority, and how they relate to each other.

Seen within this perspectives, we can comfortably note that governance encompasses many and varied inter-related issues. For example see Figure 1.

How has Africa fared in the issues raised here? What is the role and significance of civil society in sustaining or impeding the culture of good governance? What part does the international community play? Why is good governance an imperative for moving the society forward? Can good governance become a reality in Africa?

Khan (1977) suggests that the way institutions and organizations work is important to enabling it to "push through" political change. Democracy and governance in Africa has been struck on the runway due to the absence of "bottom-up" approach, and exclusion. The

Figure 1

GOVERNANCE

- Promoting decentralization and strengthening local authorities;
- Encouraging and supporting participation and civic engagement;
- Ensuring transparent, accountable and efficient governance of the nation;
- Promoting and ensuring quality administration and management and assurance;
- Ensuring security - implying the rule of law as applied to property, human life and low levels of crime and violence;
- Provision of social infrastructure, especially health care and education, in order to develop appropriate labour force skills and a quality of life sufficient to maintain health and attract skilled personnel and investment; and,
- Administrative and organizational structure and capacity, relevant to decision making policy design, implementation of proactive policies and consistent and efficient implementation of service delivery and regulatory systems.

people have been excluded from the development process unable to "directly influence policy" (Blair 1998: 67-80) and hindered from working for the common good, (Ibrahim 1997: 53-66), and addressing public issues. Hence Devas (1999) notes that the concepts of "government" and "governance" and Hyden (1992) suggests that governance requires at least four inter-related perspectives, trust, accountability, reciprocity and authority." Africa's democracy and governance has been struck on the runway due to some of the issues presented in Figure 2.

To a large extent, the state has failed to address the political, economic and social circumstances, structures and process which influence the extent of good governance to which the society has to achieve economic growth and to escape from the state of abject poverty and deprivation. To go further, you cannot have a healthy economy when the political system is sick. Good governance equally implies that the political system, be it presidential or parliamentary, centralized or decentralized - be totally accepted by the citizenry as legitimate. Hyden (1992:15) goes further to identi-

Figure 2

Failure of African leaders to provide an atmosphere of:

- Reciprocity, similar to exchange but involving a continuing relationship with mutual expectations, reciprocity relates to the quality of social interaction between members of a political community: without reciprocity, trust will be eroded;
- Trust and reciprocity, in effect, a socio-political contract which embodies a degree of political equality, tolerance and inclusiveness;
- Authority, including legitimacy of the decision clearly defined allocation of responsibilities at market and effective coordination; the legitimate power of political leaders to make and implement policies in the economic interest, involving voluntary acceptance by others of an asymmetrical relationship.
- Accountability, requires citizen influence oversight, responsiveness and responsible leadership, adherence to the rule of law and transparency.

fy three conditions (each with three elements) that facilitate good governance (see Figure 3).

Governance has been hijacked by a bunch of hungry and thirsty military tyrants or self-centered civilians. The two groups share one thing in common--holding society captive and the transformation of the state into a personal dynasty and private property, hence the triumph of what has become "Presidents for Life". It is only in Africa where presidents continue to govern for over twenty-five years and are not prepared to give up power. For this reason, the "top-down" policy approach and governance is much preferred to the "bottom-up" (civil society) approach which is more critical to the successful realization of developments. The "trickle-up" approach calls for transparency, partnership, participation,

accountability and responsibility sharing. These ingredients of transparency, accountability, responsiveness, partnership and genuine public participation and consultation future are the basic tenets of good governance. Similarly, one can identify state legitimacy and credibility being partly achieved through (i) accountability; (ii) transparency; (iii) responsiveness; and (iv) genuine public participation and consultation.

The interaction between the state and civil society is important in determining the context within which the scale and shape of constitutions are created, function and render the required services to the entire nation. It is this relationship or struggle not just between the state and civil society, but also between groups within civil society (whose relative power is often influenced through state interventions) that is a recur-

ring issues about the failure of good governance in political setting like Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Kenya, and Zimbabwe. State intervention has not been in the best interest of the nation, but to satisfy the needs and aspirations of certain selected classes of people who have claimed total hegemony over the rights and properties of the nation as their personal property.

Recognizing the weakness of government institutions in Africa, Halfani (1997: 31) refers to the critical need for "the vitalization of the institutional framework for articulated public action." This vitalization includes legitimacy, authority, vision and governance, and is essential if the public system is to complement civil society and individual actions and investments which now predominate. There is need therefore to identifying and strengthening formal government system in terms of:

- powers, functions, jurisdictions;
- financial resources and central-local relations;
- technical and human resources capacity;
- relationships with the private sector and community;

- political processes and leadership;
- urban planning and land management.

Descent to Decay

Government intentions to impose its will on the people can only be construed as ignoring the democratic process it claims to honour. Once the democratic process is thwarted and ignored, good governance and participatory democracy is blocked. Throughout the continent, attempts continue to be made to politicize and tribalise the constitution-making process either by using military might, party politics, ethnicity, racism and poverty to mislead ordinary citizens into believing that the violation of fundamental human rights is intrinsically linked to the non-cooperation of the other political parties in painting what they see as a good image of the country. That is to say, opposition parties are enemies of the nation. It is opposition parties that have contributed to the bad state of the economy. The recent case in Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Kenya are typical examples of confusing the debates on the real issues of governance plaguing each country.

Figure 3

Citizen influence and oversight	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Degree of political participation ○ Means of preference aggregation; ○ Methods of public accountability
Responsive and responsible Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Degree of respect for civic public realm ○ Degree of openness of public policy making ○ Degree of adherence to the rule of law
Social reciprocities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Degree of political equality ○ Degree of intergroup tolerance ○ Degree of inclusiveness in associational membership

Constitutional making in Cameroon was thwarted by an ethnic hegemony and narrowed to the mere use of modern communications gadgets for people to fax, telephone in their opinions rather than organizing a constitutional conference to deliberate on the issues and a referendum conducted to approve the draft constitution. It was purely tele-guided by a political party that had since lost its credibility and legitimacy to represent the people. The numerous fraudulently and rigged elections conducted in many African countries tells the story of democracy and good governance teetering on the brink of a dangerous precipice.

It can be said that the major problem confronting the cultivation, nurturing and proper practice of good governance throughout the continent rests on chaos theory that has emerged between an unwanted regime and a peoples' movement. The peoples' movement is prevented by a dictatorial or military regime from addressing the situation and presenting a new vision for the nation. The underlying issues for struggle are:

- The quest for legitimacy;
- The quest for ownership of state property;
- The laundering of the fruits of the nation.

Since independence, most political parties and leaders have lost their credibility to serve and lead the nation. The pre-independence leaders and parties have served their usefulness and have failed to adjust to the realities of the changing period. The major aspiration of the people having changed from acquiring independence (in order to be free) to the desire to fulfill rising expectations of quality living standards through the provision of basic needs: shelter, health care, education, food, water, etc. The founding parties and leaders have failed to meet people's aspirations half-a-century after independence. Instead of accepting the realities of their declining status within the society, by packing and leaving the political stage, a policy strategy of coercion and might was introduced into the body politic of the society: a divide and rule tactic, with ethnocracy and blackmail injected into the mainstream of governance.

The collapse of monolithic party system is due to the failure of providing for the needs and defending the interests of the broadest segment of the population. The quest for legitimacy, participation and benefit-sharing by the excluded group challenges the existence and authority of the founding parties and leaders. That the wave of democratization or the emerging political grouping equally sought for legitimacy through a dual agenda, namely (i) the spread of its ideological orientation, influence to a possibly broad based section of the nation and across the broadest political spectrum and civic opinion of society; and (ii) gaining legitimacy as an all-inclusive and people-driven initiative with the objective of meeting the aspirations and fulfilling the needs of the people. The emergence of political parties in many African countries since 1990 was to reverse the dominating status of the earlier political parties for example, in Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Benin, and Nigeria, and to challenge the political legitimacy and credibility of the dominant one-party system as a representative instrument of the people.

The quest for ownership is in line with the quest for legitimacy. The dominant one-party system and leadership style had abrogated for itself the right of ownership of the state as party or individual property. The desire of the excluded public is equally to share in the ownership of state property, to be part and parcel of the constitutional-making process and governance, (see Sandbrook 1985: 95)

Finally, the laundering of state property is a combination of the first two by the ruling political parties and leaders. The

fruits of the nation are inequitably shared. The stronger get richer at the expense of the excluded majority. The laundering of state property (especially finances) in foreign countries has contributed to the prevailing economic crisis of African states today. That the governance has passed from these countries to an international financial conglomerate, the Bretton Woods Financial Establishment, is no surprise. Fifty years after independence, Africa has voluntarily gone to a new form of slavery with the total complacency of the leaders.

It can be stated that African leaders have demonstrated clear ingenuity in domestic politics by hanging to power for too long, often against the will of their people. A strong patron-client relationship has been established, present all kinds of political gymnastic for their political survival. Thus post-independent Africa started with a "false euphoria" which constituted the greatest obstacle to the social and economic progress of the continent designed and executed by Africans (see Barnes 1969). The African leadership style perpetuated the persistence of abject poverty for the vast majority and affluence for the few. Internal and external exploitation of the rich potentials of the nation encouraged. No doubt this prompted Dumont (1962) to castigate and classify the continent in a book as "False Start in Africa," or as Achebe (1962) noted in another publication "Things Fall Apart."

The situation is that "the kind of independence granted to the continent and the second generation of African leaders

at the helm of the continent did not augur well for Africa." Africa fifty years after independence reveals a whole range of painful problems still lingering for lack of effective leadership. To a large extent, Oginga Odinga's "Not Yet Uhuru" remains a fact of political decay. Hounnikpo writes about "acquiescence is the result of the socialization of leaders in secondary nations. Elites in secondary states buy into and internalize norms that are articulated by the hegemon and therefore pursue policies consistent with the hegemon's notion of international order." The quest for legitimacy and ownership has pivoted on the frontiers of the continent's quest for sustaining the old order and that of second liberation or the rejection of dictatorship and unaccountable governance which undoubtedly reflects a progress in Africa's rebirth through the fledgling democracies are still fragile.

Curing Africa's Poverty in Governance and Democracy

When Kwame Nkrumah preached the gospel of "seek ye first the political

kingdom" the idea was the struggle for and even it be an in-comprehensive deal construed on the inherent believe that partial freedom was better than slavery, or in the words of Mathurin Hounnikpo "bad independence was better than no independence." To a large extent, he was right given the plight of the continent in global politics. The Cold War placed Africa in an awkward and vulnerable situation. No one foresaw the collapse of the Communist system and the new contract of intent between East and West. Seeking the political kingdom implied getting political independence and be fully armed to secure the other items for the growth of the nation. The quest here is what did African leaders make of the "new political kingdom?"

It is not out of place to conclude that "leadership" is the underlying litany of the continent. Drawing from Anice "it is the failure of African rulers, African governments, African governance institutions that account for the emergence of first, political decay, socio-political instability, and social fragmentation,

and finally, political disorders in contemporary Africa."

Bad governance in Africa exposes Africa's descent into decay - the result of the tragic failure of African leadership, in the social, political and economic arenas, the personalization of rulership, the expropriation of social resources by the kleptocracy of the ruling classes in a patron-clientelist autocratic, coercive and dangerously intrusive state. Another writer, Ken Post (1964:65) states that the first political parties that emerged from nationalist movements was "a reaction against foreign rule, seeking above all to restore the dignity of people who felt themselves degraded by centuries of exploitation and control." Here we see Nkrumah's clarion call for "seek ye the political kingdom" as the most appropriate instrument of restoring the dignity of the people, their freedom and right of existence as human beings. It was signal for "hope" and for "freedom".

The hope for Africa is what Lijphart (1977) calls "consociational democra-

cy" in deeply divided societies. Fatton states that "the development of democratic mechanisms of accountability and representation is the means with which Africa can begin to arrest its descent into hell and squalor." Instead of resolving ethnic-political cleavage which divides most African leaders, political leaders have only perpetuated the divide for their personal interest. The one party system "monolithism" only created "exclusion, encompassing expulsion and the still more vicious annihilation" (Bath & Noel).

Rephrased in another way, monolithism which constituted the foundation for governance in the immediate post-independence years of Africa failed to resolve the following Tetzlaff's (1992) categories for ethnic-cleavage (see Figure 4). The one-party state therefore showed its flaw, one of them being that it could not integrate the ethnic groups by an equitable distribution of resources. The post-independence African leadership either understood the

African traditionalism or did not. Some of the new leaders either prolonged the household and for the future of his children."

- Figure 4**
- The politically unjust distribution of power resources and power positions;
 - The ecologically determined scarcity of resources;
 - Religious intolerance & cultural missionization of the state;
 - Political attempts to revise borders and unjust treaties.

colonial rationale (for want of something better) or fell back to the appeal to group identity, when confronted by other groups, with the forlorn hope that this was where the fellowship could be found in their battle for survival (see Ofege 1993). Susungi (1992) captures the essential when he postulates, "the one-party state turned out to be everything except what its proponents and advocates had claimed it would be able to do. The one-party state is now considered to have failed to satisfy the basic aspirations of the people. These aspirations are the right of each citizen to feel physically, economically, and psychologically secure for himself, his

Disease and Cure

Africa's leadership style and political dimension is plagued with "individual" and not "common interest." Seeking the political kingdom was a focus on "common interest" which was converted into "individual interest" at all costs. The continent is faced with two things, "the disease and the cure." The Disease: Africa's disease is clear, "too few accumulate power, and own the wealth of the nation; to many are marginalised and own nothing." The Cure: Africa's chronic disease requires a chain of many inter-related medications. Crucial here is the change in general mentality

Figure 5 -- Conditions for Getting off the Runway

- the political system, depending on the interest and changes to the nature of the system which may close or open up opportunities for good governance and influence the democratization process;
- the nature and seriousness of specific accountability, governance and economic problems plaguing the continent;
- improving the living standard of the vast majority of the population, ensuring their respect and protection of fundamental human rights and participation in the governance process;
- the need to expand the political and economic base, examining development activities and the partnership agreements between state and civil society or facilitate decision-making and implementation by the implicit parties in concert with each other;
- the rejection of the model of continued state democratic control in favour of one that supports decentralization of powers and decision-making and the idea of self-managed communities.
- promoting a "third way" with a focus on how to structure a more humane democratic and economic system that maximizes the participation of all people in the wealth of the economy and political dispensation not just through the state but through partnership between the state - civil society and individuals.

and attitude. A change of guard is imperative. Change of guard simply implies creating a new and enabling political dispensation - seek, yea, the political kingdom for all, a new priority for the poor majority without taking existing property from the rich, but making them understand the damaged done to the continent.

The politics of reconciliation, consensus, and inclusion has to be embarked

upon. Or else, there will be no future for the region in an ever challenging, rapidly changing and complex global community system. Hence the "demand for a new type of leadership or force the old guards to under go a radical transformation and renewal" process, cannot be ruled out. Admittedly, giving an old dog a new name is not easy. Therefore, the need also for a radical transformation in the mentality and attitude of the people to

cultivate a new attitude vis-à-vis power and governance throughout the continent. There are "ways to reconcile cultural diversity with constitutional democracy" Chege (1995). This provides the best policy options for the continent to adopt. Hence it is imperative for leaders to seek this path for a renewed Africa.

Democratic governance deals with power relationship among different

stakeholder in societies and with "political relationship between the state and the different groups in society, particularly the rural" (Porio, 1997:2) and marginalised population. To move forward and in the right direction in ensuring the nurturing of democratic governance, existing over zealous powers of African leaders and politicians as well as the forces of law must be constrained. In other words, the rule of law, checks and balances, freedom and other basic tenets of the democratic credo must be enshrined in the constitutions of African countries. Furthermore, two key questions have to be identified and addressed:

- the nature of the relationship among stakeholder at certain political and economic conjunctures; and
- the forms of negotiations that strengthens or weakens the position of stakeholder in governance.

Concluding Remarks

There is a way toward the reconstruction of an political and economic order for Africa that is both free and produc-

ive. It provides practical in sight and guidance for the realization of democracy and good governance in Africa at the dawn of a new millennium.

Drawing from the experiences of world experts and scholars in the field, the issue of good governance has been elevated by the injection of democratic and moral values and ethics concerning the purpose of life on planet earth, which must appeal to all sides of the political spectrum and which can be introduced in a flexible, step by step manner for the common good of all. The South African process of reconciliation through a government of national unity present an immediate and particular immediacy for the rest of the nations of the continent still searching for a new political and economic system to copy and modify according to its socio-economic and cultural dispensation.

Africa is stuck on the runway because of the absence of good leaders in changing state policies and practices to some degree. Securing radical

change remains out of reach to the vast majority of the population. Stretching from this premises is focus on at least four areas, namely:

- the capacity of grassroots movements to represent the needs of their members;
- the nature and support given by the more enlightened groups within civil society to the organization of the poor and marginalised;
- the nature of the strategies used by civil society to further the cause of good governance and democracy, the needs of the poor, and the outcomes of such strategies;
- the role and response of the international community towards the needs, demands and aspirations of the African continent, particularly, that of the marginalised group.

Multiple theories and approaches ensure that state policies and practices, leadership role, and input of the international community are made more favourable towards democracy, governance and addressing the plight of the excluded. The conclusion is one of more radical strategies for social and political changes. One part of civil society seeking ways and means to realize a new forward looking agenda through the existing state institutes gaining a position of control and influence and changing policies and practices: the partnership and participatory process being envisaged as per-

haps the best example.

To get to the state of democracy and good governance in the case of Africa implies the prior seizure of the central power of the state and the leadership cult worship mentality that clouds political leaders and parties today. Civil society must seek alternative distribution of power, not just a transfer from one party to another without reforms to address the pertinent problems plaguing the society--democracy and good quality management--as the governance system of each country. The need to overhaul the governance system in Africa is here now (Forje 2000).

In all, creative action by both government and civil society can foster social capital, linking mobilized citizens to public agencies and institutions so as to enhance the efficacy of government. This is what the continent needs most. This implies, as Kale (1999) points out that "the principles of good governance and democratization will be erected on the foundation that is by no means terra nullius. These laudable principles will be introduced into societies that have a past, a present and, a possible future. The target or perhaps, beneficiaries is a more appropriate term, of these reforms are the main, people in search of a life appreciably better than the one they

currently find themselves in.....these managers of reform are, in the main, men and women motivated by social and economic interests which they will try to protect and preserve."

The activities of these noble people of vision will good done the annals of history and reach the targeted groups and objectives if only that society "operates a free independent, pluralistic comprehensive and credible press which should act as the gatekeeper or watchdog of the society. It should be able to check on bad management, corruption and other excesses rampant in society and also contribute to the education and enhancement of the well being of the citizen," (Esoka, 1999). The press remains a vital tool in ensuring the cultivation, nurturing and sustainability of governance democratic governance in any society. Borrowing from Thomas Jefferson on this issue, he noted that, "were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter."

Whether African leaders and governments like it or not, global forces are working towards the sustainability of democracy and good governance in every country.

Those nations that respond to the clarion call for the institutionalization of the basic tenets of democracy will usher quality living standards to their population as well as ensure a peaceful coexistence amongst nations of the world. Those that do not have only themselves to blame when their oppressed citizens and the rest of the world will rise against them Good governance in Africa - which way forward remains the burning issue for the continent in the new millennium.

In essence, the key role of a strong civil society to balance the power of the state, facilitate accountability and underpin popular democracy and good governance, though by no means a new idea, has been a relatively neglected element in Africa's development strategy. One reason has been the notion of "weak states, strong societies" which in the immediate post-colonial period led to most emphasis being placed on consolidating the state apparatus of the newly independent countries. A second reason has been the legalistic concern of donors to deal through governments as countries' legitimate authorities. Taking advantage of these prevailing situation went wild and uncontrollable. As the failure of African governments has become increasingly apparent, the attention of

development specialists has turned to building up the private sector and working directly through developmental NGOs. This approach is too narrow. It is the whole of civil society that needs to be strengthened, if a stable balance between the state and civil society is to be achieved. Achieving that stable balance is good governance.

The growth of partnership and participation and the strengthening of associational life are crucial to building a stronger civil society and ensuring good governance. Both empower ordinary people, giving them the voice to demand more accountable government. It is such trends that lie behind the call for democracy and good governance now being witnessed across the continent. It remains to be seen whether a spirit and culture of political competition can be replicated and sustained in African countries through some form of regulated and transparent reward system, without leading to abuse. If it can, as demonstrated by South Africa's government of national unity in the early years of the collapse of apartheid, the countries of the continent will have evolved a democratic system that seems more in tune with its cultural heritage and equally embracing the tents of democratic governance.

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Book Review

Futures in Education

The AFI monograph, *Futures in Education: Principles, practice and potential* by Jennifer Gidley, Debra Bateman and Caroline Smith is a welcome and valuable reference and resource for those interested in futures in education. Gidley, Bateman and Smith tackle the difficult tasks of characterizing what is meant by futures or foresight in education; describing its current state; mapping extant principles and practices and identifying key areas in futures in education that could serve to progress the goals of futures education.

The monograph is made up of two chapters, several appendices and tables. The first chapter, written by Gidley, is "Futures/Foresight in Education at Primary and Secondary Levels: A Literature Review and Research Task Analysis." The second chapter, "Futures Education in Australian Primary and Secondary Schools: Mapping Current Principles and Practice" is written by Bateman and Smith.

Gidley's work on futures/foresight in education at primary and secondary levels is a thorough insightful assessment of futures in education today enhanced by her thoughts regarding a possible future of futures education. The scope of futures of education research in the literature review is organized into three major areas: the research with youth (mostly in school settings) which explores their views and visions of the future; the actual teaching of futures concepts, tools and processes in school settings; and the speculative research into transformative educational models and approaches which have futures/foresight thinking as part of their worldview. The task analysis illuminates strengths, weaknesses and gaps in the research. The notes and bibliography at the end of this chapter are extensive.

Chapter one begins with a brief discussion of ten key concepts in futures education developed in large part by Richard Slaughter. In addition to the ten key futures concepts Gidley includes additional futures concepts with particular significance to youth futures: one or many futures; probable, possible, preferred and prospective futures; personal vs. global and optimism and pessimism. Table 1 Exploratory Typology of Futures in Education with Young People is particularly informative. It explores four futures orientations: probable, possible, preferred, and prospective and how they relate to types of futures studies and their underlying paradigm.

Sandra Burchsted

Research exploring youths' views and visions of the future is covered next. Here Gidley reviews numerous research projects conducted by Eckersley, Hutchinson, Hicks, and Inayatullah to name a few. Research into the effects of age differences, gender differences and cultural diversity of views and visions are covered. The literature review covering the research on youths' views and visions reaffirms the need for more and new research methods in this area.

The need for more and different forms of research with youth on these issues was stressed by Gough (1987).

We have to be cautious about taking the survey results at face value. The children ... may be telling themselves and the researchers stories about alternative futures, including futures they want to avoid. We need alternative research designs to get out the deeper, underlying attitudes. The results so far are only scratching the surface.

Next Gidley addresses the practice of teaching futures concepts, tools and processes in school settings. Here readers find Richard Slaughter's ideal picture of

futures in education and potential levels of implementation of futures in education. A list of the scope of the tools and methodologies available for teaching futures in schools is also included. Numerous instances of futures in education being applied globally are noted. These include: the works of David Hicks in curriculum innovation in the UK; Paul Torrence's Future Problem Solving Program; and Thomas Lombardo's work at the Futures Institute, Rio Salado College, Arizona. Several futures based curriculum innovations originating in Australia and New Zealand including one developed by Kathleen Rundell and Richard Slaughter for the Board of Senior Secondary Schools Studies are mentioned. Gidley observes that due to lack of systemic support for teachers in their schools most have not been widely adopted.

Of particular interest was the research indicating a link between empowerment and futures education. The Re-Imagining Your Neighborhood (RYN) project is offered as an example of a futures project that is effective in empowering youth to develop a greater sense of hope and possibility. This comes as no surprise to those who have been involved in youth futures education; however it is heartening to know

researcher to explore this area. Recently, research in rural Australia explored the possibility that futures processes might reduce clinical levels of hopelessness. Gidley notes that more research is needed in this important area.

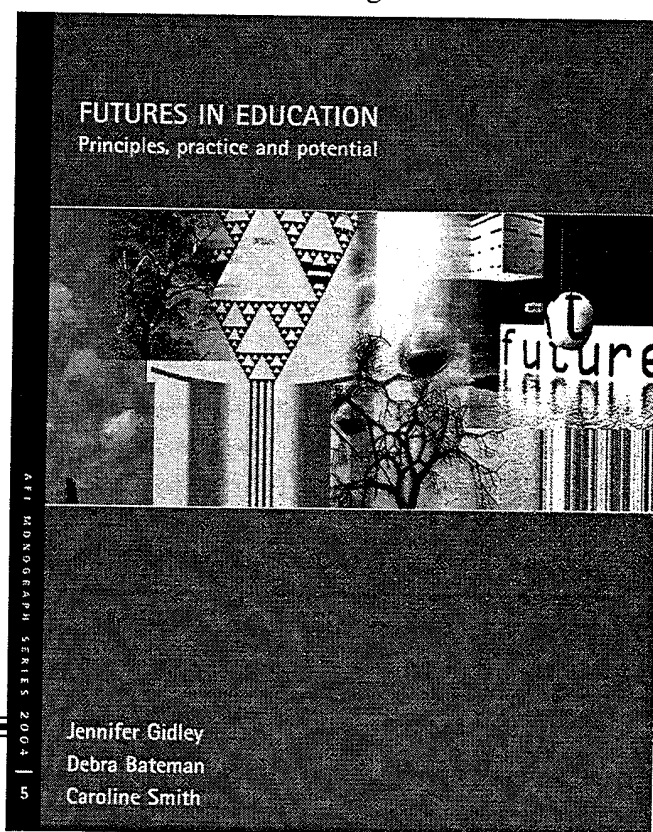
Gidley analyzes the progress of futures in education over the past forty years by comparing major contributions to her typology in Table 1 of the monograph; by demonstrating how the framework connects with Slaughter's emerging Integral Futures Model; and concludes by describing the "state of play" in futures education according to Ken Wilbur's all quadrants, all levels Integral scheme.

Gidley proposes "two new perspectives that "old school futurists" need to take on board: the empowerment-oriented, action research component which has been lying dormant since the mid-nineties and the integral futures model which is newly emerging." In concluding Gidley suggests eight research focus areas for futures education. They are:

1. Psychological dimensions of future in education
2. Diverse ways of knowing
3. Developing integral consciousness

that empirical evidence backs up what futures educators have known intuitively for some time.

The review revealed limited research into the psychological implications of futures in education. Martha Rogers is credited with being the first futures



4. Socio-cultural diversity
5. Cultural resources
6. Human/social futures
7. Tackling the social systems
8. Cultural foresight- some speculative big picture research ideas

Chapter 2, Futures Education in Australian Primary and Secondary Schools by Bateman and Smith maps the current principles and practices of futures education in Australian Primary and Secondary Schools. It is comprehensive and informative. Bateman and Smith begin with an audit of the current State and Tertiary curriculum documents to find out if Futures Education is implicit within other curriculum areas or explicitly mentioned. The authors discuss briefly the Futures Education knowledge of Curriculum Consultants. The original report, from which this chapter is derived, provides an overview of knowledge, programs and practices within five selected schools identified by key individuals in the Futures Education community as having Futures Education to

varying degrees within their programs. The information was collected through interviews of staff members and focus groups conducted with groups of students who were engaged in Futures Education. Interview questions were circulated for expert review on the World Futures Studies Federation email discussion list. Key themes, conclusions and recommendations that may further the development of social foresight through Futures Education in schools concludes the chapter.

Bateman and Smith's survey reveals the current state of explicit Futures Education is immature.

Explicit FE is that which attempts to develop Futures literacy, drawing widely upon Futures Studies literature for processes and content, and expressed in curriculum statements and outcomes that clearly problematise the future.

Of the four curriculum consultants interviewed, not one possessed extensive knowledge of Futures Studies, although they were aware of it and interested in professional education in Futures Studies. The consultants view Futures Education as "implicit" within other curriculum areas particularly developing a sustainable future. Curriculum documents confirm that teaching about the future appears in a variety of ways that can be considered implicit or explicit.

However, Bateman and Smith assert that "explicit Futures

Implicit FE is taken to mean the plethora of statements and curriculum outcomes that refer to the future, but frame it as taken for granted, uninformed by the FE literature as evidenced by the lack of explicit Futures literacy comprised of language, concepts and tools.

Education is still the missing dimension in education." Curriculum documents from Tasmania, South Australia and Queensland are analyzed and the authors find that all contain an explicit Futures Education approach, seeking to develop futures thinking, skills and concepts.

In spite of the underdeveloped state of Futures Education the authors conclude the "stage is set for Futures Education to be widely adopted in Australian education."

With their eye towards prospective futures for Futures

Clearly curriculum developers have come to a realisation that consideration of future options and alternatives is vitally necessary in today's world.

Education in Australia, Bateman and Smith wrap up their report with a list of nine actions or recommendations. These recommendations are a call to action in which all futurists have an important role to fulfill. If we answer this call the education sector could become "a powerful and central player in the emergence of social foresight."

The AFI monograph, Futures in Education: Principles, practice and potential is a substantial contribution to the field and a practical reference and resource for those interested in Futures Education.

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WFSF XIXth WORLD CONFERENCE

and Budapest Futures Course 2005

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The WFSF (schools) group hopes to put together a short monograph on good practice in schools and/or teacher education. We think there may be WFSF members who are not aware of the group but who nevertheless might be able to contribute appropriately. Are you one of them?

A letter from Rick Slaughter

Dear Friends,

As you know, David Hicks has established a WFSF list of futures educators. Setting up the list was a first step. It's now time to take the second. For this I am asking you to please reflect on your work and to select one or two key practices that, in your view, are (a) highly successful and (b) could be implemented by others.

For example I might choose the 'Extended Present' exercise that I developed from Elise Boulding's notion of a 200-year present. Also I might choose the 'empowerment matrix' that I developed some time ago. Both have proved successful in multiple contexts.

You may also know that the monograph written by Jenny Gidley summarising much of 'what we know about FS in education' was published by the AFI this year. If possible I suggest that you obtain a copy as background. (See <http://www.swin.edu/afi>) The aim now is to work on a more international version. But time is short. We need your responses by the end of June 2005 in order to edit them and, at the very least, have them up on the WFSF site by the Budapest conference in August. Other publication options will be canvassed in due course.

Futures in education comprises one of the main concerns of the WFSF. So this is a personal request to you to please assist us with this vital project.

Richard Slaughter
President, WFSF

Futures in education: can you contribute?

Good practice format

Aim: for members of the WFSF Schools Group to collect together examples of good practice in relation to 'futures in education' that can be used at elementary, secondary or teacher training level.

Format: this should not be written as a description of what you have done but rather set out as series of explanatory instructions (see below) that other educators can then follow.

Length: the one or two examples that you provide should be c.1000 words overall.

1. **Title** ~ a simple title which indicates the nature of the activity
2. **Purpose** ~ state clearly the intended learning outcome for this activity
3. **Age group** ~ state the age group for which this activity is intended
4. **Preparation** ~ any prior work that needs to have been done before the activity can be undertaken successfully
5. **Procedure** ~ a step-by-step description of the activity that can be followed by other educators
6. **Please provide** ~ any simple diagrams or illustrations that are needed
7. **Context** ~ provide a brief overview of how you personally have used the activity together with any notes that will help others to do so. If the material has been published elsewhere please provide a full reference for this.

Please let me have your examples of good practice by July 1st at the latest and preferably as a Word document.

Send to:

Dave Hicks: Bath Spa University, School of Education, Bath BA2 9BN, UK

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EFFECTS OF LAND CONFLICT: THE CASE OF ZIMBABWE

The land conflict in Zimbabwe has its roots in colonial legacy. The fight between blacks and whites over farms in Zimbabwe started with the occupation of the country by the British settlers. The root of the conflict is that they (the whites) occupied the land without any compensation being paid to the black Zimbabweans. Yet the whites also say that back then the land had no value. It was just huge tracks of green forests which did not deserve any payment. This shows that the land conflict in Zimbabwe has more of political overtones than legal or economic overtones.

Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ) agreed not to amend the constitution for 10 years, meaning that private property had a 10 year guarantee. Land in Zimbabwe was therefore sold on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis. The British Government committed 33 million pounds to this project which would provide land for resettling blacks. These British funds were counter funds of which the GOZ had to raise a matching sum. The GOZ had problems with this arrangement because the farms that were offered were not only few but they were not in rich farmlands. The GOZ could not secure enough funds to provide adequate infrastructure for the resettled people. This irked the GOZ and it started questioning the morality of buying one's own land.

With such land resettlement problems, the Land Acquisition Act (1992) was enacted. It pronounced compulsory acquisition of land for redistribution. This was enacted upon realisation also that 1% of the Zimbabwe's then 12 million population still controlled one-third of the best farmland when the black majority were anguishing in poverty because of overpopulation on barren lands.

White farmers whose farms were compulsorily acquired are getting paltry compensation for equipment and land development. This has angered the white community who have challenged GOZ over the rights to private property, and human rights abuses. The farm workers have not been spared in this conflict. To make matters worse, the land conflict in Zimbabwe has also spilled into neighbouring countries.

As a result of this conflict the GOZ instituted a Land Audit whose report has since exposed a lot of abuse of power by those with heavy political weight. The political willingness to implement the

Charity Manyeruke

recommendations remains to be seen as the GOZ is already seeking amendment of the Land Acquisition Act which is posing challenges on the constitutional rights.

The effects of the land conflict in Zimbabwe will be discussed in this paper. The discussion will be limited to: farm workers, the white farmers, the emergence of the new farmers, the genderisation of the conflict and the spilling over of the conflict into neighbouring countries. Possible solutions to the conflict will be explored.

Conflict theory

Conflict theory considers the possible causes of conflicts, though they differ from country to country and region to region. These encompass economic, political, cultural and social parameters especially consequences derived from the end of the Cold War and its aftermath--as well as globalisation and liberalisation of the world economy which have generated a sense of political economic insecurity in Africa (Baregu 1999, 7). According to Scott Thomas, Africa is confronted

with problems that are still part of the legacy of colonisation but which were frozen by the Cold War and were never satisfactorily resolved after independence because the way East-West rivalry distorted African politics (Thomas 1998, 6).

Authoritarianism and dictatorial regimes have contributed to conflicts in Africa. These dictators think that they know it all and therefore lack constructive consultations in their management. This has resulted in haphazard policies that are not monitored in their implementation stages. The results of such a system is a failed policies. The results are often chaotic, bloody and with much damage that cannot be reversed. The struggle for political power over the means

of production has caused eruption of conflicts across Africa. In Zimbabwe it is the struggle to control the economy that has caused the land conflict. This is because of the belief that "land is economy and economy is land" an idea which is sold to the public by government. It is with this background, that the land conflict in Zimbabwe will be discussed.

The emergence of the new farmer

The land conflict in Zimbabwe has produced three groups of new farmers: real farmers, experimental farmers and wealth-seeking farmers. Real farmers are those new farmers who have true farming skills and have done very well in terms of production. Experimental farm-

ers are those without any farming skills but who want to try it out to see if they can make it in farming. They either have the passion for farming or have admired their farmer colleagues. Wealth-seeking farmers consist of the political heavyweights and businessmen only in search of wealth. This latter group is often unconcerned about the means to the end but only about the end. They have sold all farm products that they have found on farms but fail to maintain the farming standards in their farms. They redirect funds they obtain cheaply from Government support to private investments which offer higher returns.

Real farmers however benefit from the support they get from Government. These benefits

include access to cheap loans, duty free agricultural equipment and machinery imports, research and extension services. Conflict between the new farmers and the old farmers has been mostly on resistance to farm occupation. The new farmers have resorted to using court orders of eviction, law enforcing agencies and youths (mostly graduates from the GOZ's controversial national service programme) to force out the old farmers. Many people have lost their lives in these violent conflicts.

Property has been destroyed especially in cases of violent occupation. The old farmers have willingly damaged equipment, poisoned water and in some cases the soil, in retaliation.

White farmers have also resorted to selling farm equipment in order to avoid its acquisition by new farmers. New farmers have bought some of this equipment and animals for a song as the white farmers have run for their very lives.

Dispersion of the White Community

The white farmers initially worked with the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU) with the hope that they could work out an understanding with the government. Events took a twist as cracks started appear in the CFU. The group became divided into the hardliners and the moderates. The open alignment of the farmers to newly formed opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Party further

widened the rift with the government.

The hardliners formed an organisation called Justice for Agriculture (JAG). It is JAG which formed lobby groups all over the world. They created a fund to assist the victims of the Lland conflict. This assistance includes payments for accommodation, food, and psychological support for the displaced and tortured farmers. JAG has created "safe houses" for displaced farmers throughout the world. They have sponsored litigation against the government. JAG also sponsors the opposition so that it can take a favourable position on land.

Moderate white farmers have remained in the CFU. They are

continuously engaging the government in dialogue on the land conflict through a structure called ZJRI (Zimbabwe Joint Resettlement Initiative). Some farmers have joined the Zimbabwe Commercial farmers Union whose initial members only consisted black indigenous commercial farmers.

Some white farmers have fled to neighbouring countries either to seek employment as farm managers or have been allocated farms. Out of a total of 4500 white farmers, about 1600 white commercial farmers from Zimbabwe went to South Africa to work as farm managers hoping for a political change at home. The white commercial farmers have been given land in Zambia but this has resulted in conflict with local black commercial farmers. They claim that these white farmers were given prime land and concessionary rates on electricity and water. A few farmers went to Mozambique and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The land conflict in Zimbabwe has resulted in forced white farmer migration. It has left a number of them job-

less while others have changed professions. Former white farmers have joined agro-processing and agricultural commodities businesses where there is less political conflict. The land conflict has created an international stir, especially in the Commonwealth and United Nations. It has left some white farmers homeless and without any source of income.

Farm workers

This socially outcast, poor class was caught unaware by the land conflict. The majority did not know where to take refuge. There were two issues at stake, as they were not sure whether to support the "new farmers" or their old masters. Initially, they tried to resist the occupation of farms in order to safeguard their jobs. However the invasion forces (farm invaders) were powerful as they had full blessing of the state. For some farm workers, the new farmers were seen as "liberators" from white oppression: poor wages and marginal living conditions. They at least expected change in the status quo.

Another category of farm workers manipulated this anarchical situation to their own advantage. They grabbed their former masters' property or destroyed it. The right to private property principles embodied in the constitution of Zimbabwe was completely disregarded by these farm workers. Why should they behave legally when those with political muscles do not?

Some farm workers in fact joined the bandwagon of farm invaders by grabbing pieces of land in their masters farms. Most of such farm workers have been kicked out by political heavy weights. This has left many farm workers homeless and unemployed since only 8% of them have been resettled. The farm workers have been involved in violent clashes with mob invaders as they try to hold on to the farms which they thought rightfully belonged to them. These clashes have been bloody and resulted in disorderly settlements. Houses and property were burnt in these violent clashes. Farm workers have killed their kith and kin over land.

Contrary to mob invasions, there has been chiefs invasions. This is farm occupation by the political heavy weights. This has been "orderly" only to the extent that it enjoyed the backing of the police, and other government security agencies. Faced with such state machinery, the white farmers and farm workers have in most cases given in. The land conflict has left some farm workers homeless as they were fired by the new farmers in preference to their loyal workers. One can therefore conclude that the land conflict at this level has not been managed properly. At least the government could have put up a policy which could have protected this vulnerable group.

Gender Dimensions

The land crisis in Zimbabwe has torn its people apart along gender lines. The policy implementers have favoured men compared to women. In June 2000, the Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ) had resettled 2005 families under the villagised scheme yet only 132 or 6% were female heads of household. 80% of women in

Zimbabwe (Central Statistical Office, 1992) depend on land for their livelihoods and 52% of the population is female. Of the 52%, 35% are female headed households. (A Mugugu: Women and Land Lobby Group President, 2000). These statistics show that the concerns of women in Zimbabwe are justifiable. The Land Reform has not considered their case properly. This situation is contrary to the war veterans' case who were given a 20% quota allocation right on land being redistributed yet they constitute only 0.005% of the population (A. Mugugu).

Women are advocating for a quota allocation in the land distribution. This will ensure that they are not discriminated against as has always been the case for women in Zimbabwe. Women's concerns in the land conflict in Zimbabwe's have been neglected not only because they are less than 10% women in policy making positions in Zimbabwe, but the women in power have obtained farms using their positions. The majority of women have therefore been left in the cold.

Spill over

Blacks hunger for land has spilled over from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries. South Africa and Namibia have not been spared. The South Africa's Landless People's Movement (LPM) pressure group is demanding that there should be a natural "Land Summit" to discuss ways of providing land to rural blacks and resolving their disputes with white commercial farmers. The South Africa's Land Access Movement of South Africa has made land-reform the centre piece of their strategies in 2003. The LPM has cited that 10 years after the dense of apartheid, only 2, 3 percent of the country's land has been redistributed, compared with the government's pledge to hand 30% of agricultural land back to the poor black.

According to the South Africa's farmers union, AGRIC-SA, 142 white farmers were killed in the country in 2000 and another 906 were attacked. In 2001, 140 were killed and 970 were attacked (Roman 2003, 36). The South African Land issue is a conflict in the waiting

room because by the advent of democracy in 1994, 90% of the land was owned by white individuals and enterprises. The remaining 10% was 'owned' under various mechanisms by the indigenous black majority. The "sunset clauses" negotiated at CODESA (South African Constitutional talks) and incorporated into the constitutions secured white privilege into the future by entrenching individual property rights. The government has thus implemented the market driven land reform or "willing seller, willing buyer". This programme has resulted in the transfer of title to some 3% of the land in the last 9 years. Government's stated objective of 30% by 2000 has been extended to a 2015 timeframe.

Thus one can conclude that the Land Conflict is precipitating and infiltrating events in land issues in South Africa. The South Africans must be thinking that if their brothers in Zimbabwe have been given land why not them?

The Way Forward

1. Reconciliation

Reconciliation signifies a process of developing mutual accommodation and recognition between antagonistic parties in order to establish a new relationship on a shared future (Issue Paper 2001, 2). Reconciliation requires an acknowledgement of wrongs committed during colonial era and the Zimbabwean Government and engage

in the peace making process. Reconciliation should promote economic and social justice in order to promote peace in Zimbabwe.

This position is supported by Didymus Mutasa when he said:

Reconciliation is not the opposite of economic and social justice, it is not the sanctioning of the status quo, it does not ban change or redistribution of land, wealth and income. While reconciliation is the goal of the struggle of liberation justice is its basis. The problem in Zimbabwe is that many people perceive reconciliation as an instrument to prevent justice. Reconciliation is not a matter of policy statements that it cannot be achieved in a day, that there is neither a short cut, not anything like low cost reconciliation avoiding conflicts at any costs. Reconciliation is a long term project and it requires the active and constructive participation of the whole population. (Mutasa 1992, 3)

With the aim of resolving the economic inequalities in Zimbabwe, reconciliation resulting in participatory democracy seems to be the way forward for this country.

2. Conflict Prevention

Conflict prevention has emerged as an important alternative to the management and resolution of violence. It is easier and less costly to prevent a conflict from emerging than to deal with the many human and other costs after violence has begun.

Land conflict can be prevented from worsening through the following:

- * Constructive dialogue
- * Establishing a legal framework that is consistent with the International Bill of Rights.
- * Civil society involvement.
- * Adoption of the Abuja Accord of 2001 which demand:
 - * delisting of farms by GOZ that do not meet the criteria set by Government e.g., conservatories, safaris and tea estates.
 - * Stopping further occupation of farm land
 - * Removal of occupiers from farms that were not legally acquired land, and
 - * Respect of the rule of law.

The problem of adopting the Abuja Accord is with the Zimbabwe's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. This means that the conflict between Zimbabwe and the international community over the farms will deepen since Zimbabwe has no obligation to follow the Abuja Accord despite its obvious merits.

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Reflections on the last four years ...and the next four

AS Chris and I come to the end of our four-year term it's appro-

appropriate for us to look back as well as forward. One thing that I want to say is that we owe Chris a huge debt of gratitude for the enormous amount of work he has performed for the Federation over this period, often single-handedly and during less than ideal times for him personally. Among much else he has consistently carried out the necessary 'administrivia' work; he has produced a number of very fine issues of the Bulletin; he has up-dated and transformed the web site and performed a wide range of other tasks. Among his more onerous duties has been to try to regulate the sometimes 'over the top' indulgences that some permit themselves on the e-list. Thanks are also due here, of course, to Reed Riner for keeping the list in order and attending to all the many tasks that that constantly involves.

Richard A Slaughter

Working in such ways for the Federation is truly a 'world service to humanity'.

Looking back over the last four years we're all aware, no doubt, of the profoundly disturbing pattern of world affairs in which violence and suffering continue to play a regrettably large part. I've tried to address these uncomfortable facts throughout. But I've also looked beyond them to the further devel-



opment and application of our field(s) of futures studies and applied foresight. It's here, I think, that we can see signs of real progress.

Recall that twenty years ago the dominant paradigm was that of forecasting. It was followed by the rise of scenario building that served to emphasise divergence in the forward view and hence alternatives in the here-and-now. With the rise of post-modernism we then saw the rise of new tools for understanding cultures, ideologies, social interests and the like. While some found these developments threatening (and sadly still do) they added powerful new tools to the FS toolkit. Finally, we've seen the inclusion of stage development theory that has cast new light on the interior development of practitioners. This, and other 'interior individual' phenomena have arguably helped us to collectively complete a forty year process of development in FS and applied foresight that culminates (for now at least – but certainly not for ever) in what has been termed integral futures.

So, while a look at the continuing tragedies of the wider world still cause us much pain and suffering, as FS practitioners we need to constantly remind ourselves of the real progress that has been made over this period. Many members of the WFSF have played key parts in this process and will continue to do so.

Objective evidence of the growing capacity of our field can be gleaned from various sources. One would be the health of the Futures program at Tamkang University in Taiwan, under the Directorship of Kuo-Hua Chen, assisted by Sohail Inayatullah and others. Another would be the Doctorates I've seen over the last couple of years. One by Chris Reidy (dealing with Greenhouse Policy issues) and another by Ivana Milojevic (questioning the currently dominant Western hegemony in educational paradigms) that will emerge as a powerful book later this year.

Two new monographs from the AFI support this point. One, by Jose Ramos, explores the appli-

cation of a metascanning methodology to Australian practitioners and organisations. It's only a matter of time before the method is similarly applied elsewhere. It summarises some of the distinctive features of advanced FS methods. When I applied the method myself to a December 2004 Mapping the Future report of the high profile Washington-based National Intelligence Committee, I found that this method revealed far more about the value and limitations of that work than anyone might have reasonably expected. - Proof, if you will, of the power of integral futures methods. Another new monograph takes up a theme that has also emerged over the last four years – that of 'creating and sustaining social foresight'. Chris Stewart and Maree Conway have taken a careful look at some of the institutional arrangements that are needed for social foresight to become a reality. It is high quality indicative work that will be of interest to progressive futurists everywhere. (Both can be accessed via the afi website: swin.edu.au/afi)

Did we save the world during these four years? Hardly. Yet the ways we 'read' the signals of success or failure profoundly evoke our own filters and internal processes of meaning-making. While much, much, more remains to be done there are indications that the Federation continues to serve its members through the dedicated efforts of a tiny group of people. While there are many who want to see it do more, the ideas, suggestions, complaints and criticisms that regularly emerge, often seem to outweigh the capacities of the critics to do anything substantial themselves to carry forward projects or a working agenda. With the exception of long-time supporters such as Zia Sardar and the ever-iconoclastic and brilliant Ashis Nandy, the loudest voices at meetings are often those who are simply unavailable to help at other times. This is now a challenge for the next administration – how to coaxe more members to take an active part in moving the organisation forward. Its other challenge, which is perennial of course, is to find the financial resources to support new initiatives. We did not find a pot of gold ourselves. But what we did do was to begin a process of exploring the nexus



between foresight and philanthropy. We were not surprised, therefore, to find new opportunities emerging in that very engagement that I believe holds out great hope for the future.

The next administration will also need to find new ways to energise and involve the Executive Board. While many are eager to be elected to it it's clear that fewer are actually willing or able to support a reasonable workload for the Federation. This and the resources issue are not new – they are perennial concerns for a people-rich, cash-poor organisation fuelled by aspiration, idealism, profound concern for the present and future(s) of humanity. There are, perhaps, too few hard-headed admin and business-oriented types among us but many, many idealists, social innovators and would be innovators. Some of the latter never seen to recover from their total lack of success.

In some ways the Federation can be seen as an ungainly beast and one that's very easy to malign. But it does work, and sometimes it works very well. I recall a message from a younger

member seeking assistance with a research topic. Within days she had a short list of exactly the kind of material she was looking for from all around the world. That, to me, was the Federation in action. It is, as Wendell Bell said of the wider field, sometimes a 'disputacious community'. It 'works' in proportion to what people are prepared to 'put in'. It 'fails' in proportion to what people are NOT willing to 'put in'.

When any one of us has a problem, an issue, a project that we want to carry forward, what do we do? We contact friends and colleagues in the WFSF and elsewhere to seek their criticism, their support, their engagement. Sometimes our requests fall upon deaf ears. Often they bring forth rich rewards.

Either way we know that as we contemplate an every more risky and threatened future, we are most certainly not alone in our efforts to create a better world.

Brisbane
April 2005

The complaint of the futurist

Anonymous

All along the long hours of long working days
I collect information, check it, eat it, and swallow it.
Then my brain chews the cud as in a very slow stomach
And again I bring it up, in a continuous flow, its such special food:
Trends, weak signals, suspicions of ruptures to come
Change to anticipate, to imagine, to intuit, and to understand.

But as the bad cholesterol is embedded in the good one
Information carries a strong emotional burden
Namely hopelessness, distress, doubt, uncertainty, uneasiness, despair...
Which, always so slowly, so discreetly, is poisoning
Not only your brain, this very core futurist's work tool
but even your soul, so-well protected within its ivory tower.

My soul, this other crucial work tool that is our compass
That helps us to find the proper meaning
of all this information we deal with, all these decisions we advise
The proper meaning of the world itself that orders our futures vision.

And year after year, decade after decade
The poison darkens my soul and my brain.
My insight becomes less accurate
I wonder more and more often about the rightness of my work
I wonder more and more often about the craziness of the world.

And I long for sunshine, for the light that could brighten the future
And my life, and my work and my certainty about the world to come.
And I long to do another job, with no responsibilities
No fear for my children, no despair about the insane decisions.
And I long for an island, some lost paradise, some beach
Where I could taste happiness again and forget what I am.

What I am... A futurist.
Not work nor a job, not a duty nor even a vocation
But the very self soul unalterably built to peer into the future.
Who I am? A futurist.
Just such a thing you cannot resign from
No way to escape, no place to hide, no place to rest far away.
No other choice, in fact, than to recover
To dissolve the poison by the hard medicine of your will
In order to jump once more on your feet
Having brushed away the dust of the darkness
Ready to move mountains and save the world
Ready to believe in humanity, once more.

Just a futurist.

Sense of reality
of the present sprouts up
from two seeds of time

from the past
with all that materialized
within me and
out there somewhere, and

from the futures
yet not unfold to the senses
within me or
out there somewhere

but
as perceived and thought, feared or hoped for
targeted and desired
within me and you

At the present the seeds of time
as in a cosmic hole are
molding together, and
the time cannot escape from becoming real

ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS

Jocelyn Ortt-Saeed

*How to elect a courageous group
of peaceful, committed members -
able to see light in the dark
and hope in the eyes children?*

*I labour now for meaning,
quest for understanding -
turning from tsunami grief
and the inclination to depression.*

*All my days are one long day.
I wash, cook, sew and read -
know how you are from what you write
and let my life flap like a tent.*

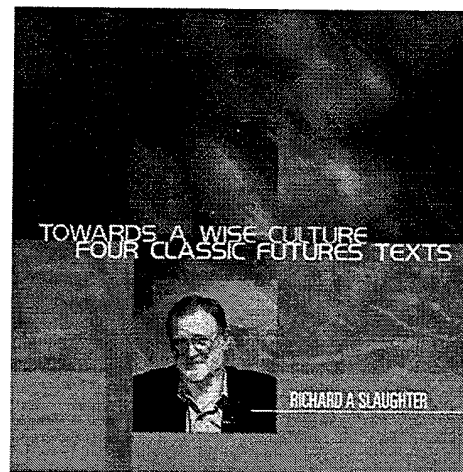
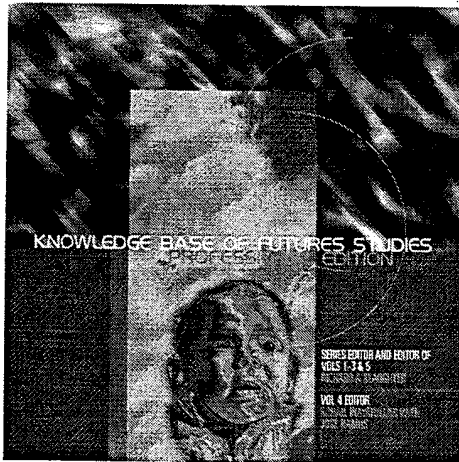
*See now! A red quilt's being s titched
for cousins who will soon be wed -
in nights of drumming and gunfire
in the Afghan camp over the wall.*

*I turn one question inside out;
watch the smoke from a cow-dung fire,
recalling how you taught me to care
as I whirl in the daily round of tasks.*

*Then, like some signal from beyond,
the quiet eyes of a newborn child
parachute into my life,
reminding me of my own task -
to sing a clear note of promise
and hold up my end of the rainbow!*

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Comments on the Knowledge Base

I congratulate you on one of the most important publishing events in the history of FS. For many decades to come these volumes will remain the standard by which all other work is judged. *Wendell Bell, Prof Emeritus, Yale.* This is a most impressive project and (it) will be a tremendous contribution to the field. *Edward Cornish, Founder, WFS, Washington DC.* The best futures resource available. *Graduate Students, Futures Program, UHCL.*

Comments on the books

On RTF: Read it and weep. And then clear your eyes. *WFSF News 1988.* On the FP: Ambitious futurism with an attitude. *Future Survey 1995;* An inspiring book, *WFSF Bulletin 1996.* On F3K: Slaughter is the most prolific champion of critical futures thinking today and this book offers a fine overview of his writing, *Future Survey 1999.* On FBD: This book is a blueprint for recasting the discipline (of FS) on a more secure basis. *Boss Magazine, 2004.*

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