IN THIS ISSUE

- **NEWS**
  - OSSREA’s 9th Congress Concluded (P. 3)
  - Research Grant Award Programmes (p. 8)

- **FEATURE ARTICLES**
  - Migrant Remittances as a New Source for Development Finance: The Case of sub-Saharan Africa (p.18)
    
    *Claude Sumata*
  
    
    *Ishmael Mazambani*
  
  - Embu Oral Traditions: A Thematic and Historical Synthesis (p. 45)
    
    *Munyaradzi Mushonga*

- **PUBLICATIONS (P. 58)**

• Call for Articles (p. 65)
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**OSSREA’S 9th CONGRESS CONCLUDED**

The Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) held its 9th Congress in Gordon’s Bay, Cape Town, South Africa from 16th to 19th December 2007. The 9th Congress was convened one year ahead of the regular date due to certain circumstances and in accordance with the OSSREA Constitution. The three-day occasion that consisted of three major activities was officially opened by Dr Lionel Louw, Special Advisor to the Honourable Ebrahim Rasool, MEC, Premier of the Western Cape.

The principal objective of the scientific conference was to enhance the free exchange of views and ideas among African scholars, researchers, development partners, development practitioners and policymakers by facilitating for open and collaborative setting. The conference was also aimed at building adequate consensus regarding the major development obstacles confronting Africa at present in order to thereby set the key research agendas and strategic options that might best respond to the needs of both policymakers and the academic community. This is believed to contribute more towards realising the African renaissance, and to really claim the 21st century as an African century.

Out of a total of over 70 abstracts/papers that had been submitted to OSSREA, about 40 papers/abstracts were selected, of which 37 were presented at the scientific conference. The wide-ranging issues covered by the papers could be categorised under the following nine sub-themes:

The scientific conference is one of the three major activities of all OSSREA congresses at which papers on pertinent, topical issues affecting the African continent are presented and scholarly debates will be held. Accordingly, the theme selected for OSSREA’s 9th congress was, *Africa in the 21st Century: Setting of New Agendas*. This topic was chosen to be the theme of the Congress with the view to enabling African scholars, researchers and policymakers to explore the various approaches and methodologies to deal with the development challenges contemporary Africa is facing.
Alongside the Scientific Forum, special panel discussions were held. These panel discussions which are the integral part of the Scientific Forum, at this congress were aimed at critically examining the outstanding agenda of establishing the United States of Africa. In this connection, papers that investigated the theme from various perspectives and highlighted existing challenges and prospects of the integration process were presented.

The Business Meeting, which makes up the second component of OSSREA congresses, is particularly concerned with reviewing OSSREA’s activities over the last three-year period since the last congress, making constitutional changes as found necessary and electing new executive committee members. The Business Meeting of the 9th congress was held on the final day of the congress in a separate session. While a number of issues were raised and extensively discussed in this meeting among invited members, the main agenda items were: election of new executive committee members, financial report of OSSREA, and suggestions on the way forward.
At the end of the election process the following were elected as new and/or continuing members of the OSSREA Executive Committee:

1) Prof. Jotham C. Momba
   Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia
   (President)

2) Prof. Habtamu Wondimu
   Department of Psychology, College of Education, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
   (Resident Vice President)

3) Dr Grephas P. Opata
   Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya
   (Vice President)

4) Prof. Benigna Zimba
   Scientific Director - Instituto Superior de Relações Internacionais – ISRI
   Associate Professor - Universidade Eduardo Mondlane – UEM
   (Vice President)

5) Dr Idris Salim ElHassan
   Faculty of Technological and Developmental Studies, University of Khartoum, Sudan
   (Member)

6) Dr Lily Mafela
   Department of Languages and Social Sciences Education, University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana
   (Member)

7) Dr Donald P. Chimankire
   Dept. of International Relations & Social Dev. Studies, Institute of Development Studies, University of Zimbabwe
   (Member)

The Business Meeting was brought to a conclusion by passing a number of decisions on the way forward, and recommending measures meant to reinvigorate the Organisation, improve its operation systems and put it firmly on a sound, accountable and sustainable path.
The 9th Congress was officially concluded by the closing ceremony held in the evening of the third day. The ceremony consisted of book launching by various OSSREA national Chapters, and closing speeches by both the outgoing and the incoming presidents.
Participants of the 9th OSSREA Congress
News

Research Grant Award Programmes

I. Social Science and Gender Issues Research Grant Programmes

In accordance with the schedule drawn by the Secretariat, the jury members for both the 21st Social Science and 19th Gender Issues Young Scholars Research grant competitions met from 4 to 5 November 2007 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to select the best research proposals.

The jury members for the 21st Social Science Research Grant Competition (SSRGC) were:

1. Prof. Ramses Amer, Umea University, Sweden;
2. Dr. Donald Chimanikire, University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe; and
3. Dr. Yacob Arsano, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.

While the jury members for the 19th Gender issues Research Grant Competition (IGIRGC) were:

1. Prof. Imani N. Swilla, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania;
2. Dr. Regina G. M. Karega, Kenyatta University, Kenya; and
3. Dr. Jean-Bosco Butera, UPEACE Africa Programme, Ethiopia.

Among the applicants the following twenty-four, twelve under each of the programmes, were awarded the grant. The profile of the winners is presented in the Tables below.
### Profile of Winners of the 2007 Social Science Research Grant Competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8</td>
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### Profile of Winners of the 2007 Gender Issues Research Grant Competition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
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<th>Education</th>
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<td>Male</td>
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<td>Total BA/BSc</td>
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<td>Kenya</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**Winners’ Workshop**

A workshop for the winners of the Twenty-first Social Science, and the Nineteenth Gender Issues Research Grant competitions was held from 14\textsuperscript{th} to 16\textsuperscript{th} January 2008 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The workshop was officially opened by Prof. Habtamu Wondimu, Resident Vice-President of OSSREA.

**II. Sabbatical Research Grant Programme**

The selection of winners for the 2007 OSSREA Sabbatical Research Grant Programme was finalized, and the grantees identified. The jury members for the grant competitions met from 4 to 5 November 2007 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to screen the best research proposals. The jury members were:

1. Dr. Evelyn Pangeti, University of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe;
2. Dr. Kassahun Berhanu, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia; and
3. Dr. Sandra J. MacLean, Simon Fraser University of Simon Fraser, Canada.
The winners of the 2007 grant and their respective research topics are presented below:

1. Prof. Chris A. Shisanya, *Ethno-botanical knowledge as a determinant of sustainable environmental resource utilization and conservation among farmers in Kakamega district, Kenya*

2. Dr. Edrinnie Kayambazinthu, *Language maintenance of Chitumbuka in Dowa district of central Malawi*

3. Dr. Getachew Kassa, *Human security of minority groups in south-eastern Ethiopia: The case of Gurrantee, Gubawein, Shebelle, Woradubbe and Garrimarro of Dolo Oddo (dolo Ado) district, Somali regional state of Ethiopia*

A workshop for the winners was held from 14 to 15 January 2008 at OSSREA Conference Hall, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and was officially opened by Prof. Habtamu Wondimu, Resident Vice-President of OSSREA. The purpose of the workshop was to discuss the proposed studies and to offer the winners an opportunity to elaborate on their revised research proposals.
Workshop for Winners of Senior Scholars and Post-Doctoral Research Grant Programmes

A workshop for the winners of the 2007 Senior Scholars and Post-Doctoral Research Grant Programmes was held from 14-15 January 2008 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The workshop provided the winners with the forum to present their research proposals. In addition to the presentations of the grantees, discussants/reviewers who had assessed the proposals prior to the workshop also presented their comments on the proposed research projects of the winners. The grantees are expected to revise their respective proposals according to the feedback and submit the amended version for funding to OSSREA. The winners in the above-mentioned two programmes are presented in the Tables below.

### III. Senior Scholars Research Grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Topic</th>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Dr. Tabitha Kiriti-Nganga</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Institutions, gender inequality and pro-poor growth: The Kenya case</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dr. Susan Gwalema and Dr. Ahmadi Kipacha</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Female, Male</td>
<td>The socio-economic and cultural impact of development pressure on coastal indigenous Swahili communities in Tanzania: A case study of Ununio, Kaole and Kilwa Settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dr. Allan Kenneth Birabi</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Towards illumination of indigenous socio-cultural and ethnographic knowledge systems latent in African earthen architecture and mitigation of their vulnerability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dr. Innocent Pikirayi</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>The role of traditional knowledge in cultural heritage and conservation in the Limpopo province of South Africa</td>
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</table>
### IV. Post-Doctoral Fellowship Grant

**Winners of the 2007 Post-Doctoral Fellowship Grant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Research Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thomas N. Kibutu</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Promoting gender equality in Kenya: An examination of selected interventions targeting men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Samia Satti Osman</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Technological change and skill development: The case of Sudan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mohamed Nour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rosabelle Boswell</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Re-presenting heritage: Heritage management and tourism in Comoros and Zanzibar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Julius Bunny Lejju</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>An investigation of the influence of climate change and human-induced environmental degradation on lake level dynamics of Lake Victoria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dissemination Workshops

Research dissemination workshops under the HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa programme were organised by OSSREA. The workshops were held from 19 November to 10 December 2007 in Botswana, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. At the workshop researchers sponsored by OSSREA in the HIV/AIDS Challenge in Africa and other research programmes, such as the Senior Scholars and Post-Doctoral Fellowship grant programmes, presented their findings to the wider public in their respective countries.

The workshops were also organised with the aim of obtaining constructive criticisms and suggestions that will help enrich the quality of the research. Furthermore, such an exercise is believed to be one of the steps for facilitating and promoting the utilisation of research findings by various concerned organisations, policymakers, practitioners and researchers. Accordingly, the workshops were attended by researchers from various universities, government officials, NGOs and the media. The workshops were organised in collaboration with the OSSREA chapters in each country who played significant roles to the success of the workshops.

Training in Gender Mainstreaming

The OSSREA Gender Training Institute (OGTI) organised for the third time the training on gender mainstreaming, which was held from 3-7 December 2007 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The training was attended by 15 participants from Eastern and Southern Africa who represented various universities, research institutions, governmental and non-governmental organisations.

While trainees were selected from a total of 43 applicants, the facilitators were drawn from various countries within the region. The facilitators at this training were Dr. Alice Siachitema from The University of Venda for Science and Technology in South Africa, Dr. Emebet Mulugeta from Addis Ababa University, and Dr. Neddy Matshalaga from Zimbabwe. The themes covered in the programme included gender analysis, strategies and modalities in gender mainstreaming, opportunities for gender mainstreaming in African countries, indicators of monitoring and evaluation, mainstreaming gender in organisations, among others.
### Participants of the Training on Gender Mainstreaming, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Current Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Addis Gedefaw</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Assistant Lecturer, Bahir Dar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bekele Workie Ayele</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Lecturer, University of Gondar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rawda Siraj</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lecturer, Addis Ababa University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tizita Tilahun</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lecturer, Jimma University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ezekiel Mbitha Mwenzwa</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Lecturer, Government Training Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Susan Mbula Kilonzo</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Tutorial Fellow, Maseno University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Chrispin Kambani Banda</td>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Lecturer, University of Malawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Maphatso Grace Kachale</td>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lecturer, Bunda College, University of Malawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Ally Msaki Ahmed</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Asst. Lecturer, University of Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Astronaut Bagile</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Executive Director, Women in Social Entrepreneurship (WISE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Joyce Ayikoru Asiimwe</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lecturer, Mbarara University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Elifa Eliphas Machacha</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Academic Staff, Department of Social Development Studies, University of Zambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Enna Sukutai Gudhlanga</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Lecturer, Zimbabwe Open University</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Nelson Muparamoto</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Lecturer, Great Zimbabwe University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants of the OSSREA Training on Gender Mainstreaming,
Winners of the Senior Scholars Research Grant programme, 2007

Winners of the Post-Doctoral Fellowship Grant programme, 2007
**OSSREA Appoints Deputy Executive Secretary**

Dr. Akim J. Mturi has joined the OSSREA Secretariat as Deputy Executive Secretary on 1st February 2008. Dr. Mturi holds a BSc (Hons) from the University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in Chemistry and Statistics, MPhil in Demography from the Cairo Demographic Centre (Egypt), and a PhD in Demography from the University of Southampton, United Kingdom in 1996.

Before joining OSSREA, Dr. Mturi was Chief Research Specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, and had been Associate Professor of Demography at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, South Africa. He has also worked as lecturer and senior lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam and the National University of Lesotho, and was a Research Fellow at the University of Southampton.

Dr. Mturi has been actively involved in research for a period of over 20 years. His current areas of research interest include: social aspects of HIV/AIDS, sexuality, reproductive health and fertility. While Dr. Mturi has published extensively, his most recent research works include “Understanding the Changing Family Structure and Composition in South Africa in the Era of HIV/AIDS Pandemic”, and a short courses programme in population studies in South Africa, “Applied Population Sciences Training and Research”.

In addition to being a founding president of the Population Association of Southern Africa (PASA), Dr. Mturi is also a member of both the world Health Organization (WHO) Specialist Panel for Social Science and Operations Research on Reproductive Health, and the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) Panel on Population Growth and Human Welfare in Africa, as well as various regional and international professional bodies, such as IUSSP, PAA, UAPS, ISA, IAS, PASA, and of course, OSSREA, which he has now joined fulltime as a deputy executive secretary. The OSSREA Secretariat staff members wish him best fruitfuling years ahead and pledge him their full support in his endeavours.
Migrant Remittances as a New Source for Development Finance: The Case of sub-Saharan Africa

Claude Sumata*

Brief Summary: Remittances sent home by migrants to developing countries represent the largest source of external finance after foreign direct investment (FDI) and accounted for US$167 billion in 2005. This figure, which constitutes double of total development aid, could also be twice as much if we take into account informal channels. Official banks are not generally involved in these financial transfers. However, some individuals may remit through banks even if this is costly and slow and there is a high risk of losing money because of the use of the official exchange rates in some cases. In order to overcome these barriers, national governments need to implement a competitive climate, and encourage cost-effective payment technologies attractive to senders and recipients. A strategy aimed at reducing the high transaction costs of money sent to developing countries could increase the positive impact of international remittances on poverty. One can argue that the impact of remittances on growth can work either through the financial system or parallel to it. In many developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, remittances by international migrants to their countries of origin could be a powerful complement for non existent or inefficient credit markets. This is by allowing local entrepreneurs overcome barriers, such as prohibitive lending costs and lack of collateral, to start business.

Introduction
International migration has increased and official development assistance (ODA) to developing countries has fallen. It is estimated that remittances during the early 1990s accounted for between $70 and $75 billion per annum. This amount is a significant proportion of world
financial flows; of instance US$75billion amounts to more than 50% of ODA (World Bank, 2000). Remittances to developing countries represented approximately US$550billion between 1988 and 1999 alone, which is about USD$46billion per annum during this period. More recently, about $232 billion have been sent home by approximately 200 million migrants to their relatives. This amount constitutes three times as much of official development aid. It is assumed that remittances sent home by migrants from developing countries represent the largest source of external finance after foreign direct investment (FDI) and accounted for US$167 billion in 2005. This figure, which equals double of total development aid, could also quadruple if we take into account flows through informal channels.

A new approach of migration emphasises family strategies as an important determinant in migration decisions. In fact, family members can see migration as a form of portfolio diversification. There is some evidence to demonstrate that migrants and their families enter into financial contractual arrangements in which remittances tend to play a key role. Migration in this context is the manifestation of the viability of the family members as they share both the costs of and rewards of migration process. Consequently, it could be argued that remittances are temporarily internal contractual arrangements between the migrant and the family members rather than as a manifestation of purely altruistic decisions.

As a result, migration of an individual in developing countries may help to bypass credit and insurance markets and to diversify income sources. It is difficult to estimate exactly the effects of remittances. However, they tend to play a key role for many households and have significant potentials for economic prospects even though they do not always go into productive channels. In the case of developing countries, remittances are an important part of family members’ strategies as they can help to increase or maintain the level of household consumption. Remittances can be considered a form of portfolio diversification which help households left behind to cope with risk. The
especially during the 1990s. However, Net ODA flows to Africa have increased to a record high of US$26.3 billion in 2003 from US$21 billion in 2002. This trend reversed the downward pattern observed since the 1990s. There is some evidence that financial resources from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors are far below the promised 0.7 per cent of gross national income (GNI) to ODA. According to the Monetary Declaration of 2002 in Mexico, and the G8 Summit of 2002 in Kananaskis (Canada), ODA from DAC countries was expected to rise from the current 0.25 per cent of GNI to about 0.30 per cent by 2006.

It could be argued that the strong performance in 2003 was fueled largely by debt relief and emergency aid - in particular, the significant debt relief to the Democratic Republic of Congo and the emergency assistance from the United States to Sudan and Ethiopia. Another point is the fact that bilateral share of emergency aid increased sharply from less than 50 per cent in 1996 to 80 per cent in 2003. As highlighted in the Economic Commission for Africa Report (2005), Develop-
ional development agencies need to attract workers’ remittances through official channels in order to allow these resources to act as an important and stable source of external development finance.

More importantly, there are three major factors that can facilitate for remittances to play a key role in financing international development. Firstly, as migrant remittances tend to be primarily of private resources, it needs to be understood that these financial transfers do not substitute the developed world’s ODA duties. Secondly, migrant transfers are based on self-help by migrants themselves rather than disbursements by foreign benefactors as is the case for ODA and FDI. Thirdly, remittances sent back home by migrants are usually not countered by future outflows through interest, debt and dividend payments as well retention and repatriation of funds for donor country expatriates and suppliers.

There is some evidence highlighting that the impact of remittances can be increased considerably if these financial resources are

ment Assistance Committee (DAC) donors provided nearly 73 per cent of overall ODA in 2003.

Many African countries are aid-dependent which becomes evident when considering the total Net ODA as a share of GNI. In fact, this index seems to vary significantly across African countries. The following were among countries that relied heavily on aid in 2003: São Tomé and Príncipe (51.8 per cent), Guinea-Bissau (27.5 per cent), Malawi (24.4 per cent), Sierra Leone (23.3 per cent) and Mozambique (21.8 per cent) (ECA 2005).

It is becoming increasingly clear that policymakers need to implement new strategies aimed at redressing resource shortages. As transnational migration seems to increase in spite of serious regulations established in developed countries, it can be argued that migrant-supported development efforts led by home town associations (HTAs) might be encouraged for instance. In fact, remittances sent back home by migrants should be considered as a development tool along with other tools such as aid and trade. As emphasized by many studies (Ratha 2003; Varona 2004), governments and interna-
technically packaged as community investment funds and development aid funds. Indeed, this recognition could lead to the establishment of tax relief on remittances in developed countries. AFFORD, a UK-based African organization, raised the issue of remittances at a meeting that was aimed at discussing the UK priorities for Africa, leading to the Gleneagles Summit in June 2005. In actual fact, the UK government was asked to introduce tax relief on remittances sent home by immigrants from developing countries, in the manner similar to the tax relief for both donations and economic regeneration investments.

**Analysing the Dynamics of Remittances**

Most migrants send back home between 20 and 40 per cent of their income, and the overall remittances flow represent an enormous potential to poverty reduction and economic development. In many developing countries, remittances tend to be mainly channelled through informal system due to inadequacies of the banking sector. These flows of financial resources are generally sent to close family members, mostly parents and siblings. It is difficult to put an exact figure regarding remittances, however these transfers can play a crucial role in alleviating poverty, as they seem to be a direct response to the basic needs of the migrants' relatives. In truth migrants are contributing to the families' and relatives' expenses by supplying food, medicine, housing (renting or buying a house for instance) and education support.

There are many channels to remit goods and money although most remittances are not channelled through official transfers. One way to remit without incurring major costs appears to be using services of relatives travelling to the homeland. In this way, migrants arrange unofficial transfers of goods and money; but this is a risky strategy with no guarantee that items sent will be delivered safely. Individuals living abroad could remit through private agencies both formal and informal to ensure safe and smooth transfer of goods and money.
Official banks are not generally involved in these financial transfers. However, some individuals may remit through banks even if this is costly and slow, and there is a high possibility of losing money because of the use of the official exchange rates in some cases. Remittances are also channeled through money transfer operators, such as Western Union, Money Gram and Thomas Cook, even if their costs seem to be prohibitive for migrants especially those sending money from Europe to sub-Saharan Africa.

The means of transfers available within the official channels are limited and the absence of postal orders by mail personnel also motivates the use of unofficial transfers in many developing countries. In order to overcome these barriers, national governments need to implement a competitive climate, and encourage cost-effective payment technologies attractive to both senders and recipients.

It is worth pointing out that a strategy aimed at reducing the high transaction costs of money sent to developing countries could increase the positive impact of international remittances on poverty. As the increase of income available in this context could help many families to break the cycle of poverty and improve their living conditions. As highlighted by a recent study from the World Bank, there is a direct link between international remittances and poverty reduction, as a 10 per cent increase in remittances will reduce the level of poverty by 3.5%.

However, the mechanisms available in the market for the transfer of remittances have experienced great changes over the past few years as highlighted by many studies related to developing countries. In fact, Improvements in market competition and technological standards have resulted in a significant drop in the costs of remittance transfers. For instance, before 2003, the average fee charged for transfer of money from Europe to African countries averaged 10%, whereas nowadays these fees hover around 5%.

In many sub-Saharan African countries, the bank system is not as developed as in Asian and Latin
American countries, and therefore is not always able to attract migrants who send money to their homeland. Lowering the costs of remittances seems not to be the sole or the main priority in sub-Saharan Africa. National governments and international community need to improve cooperation efforts to foster the development of the banking system on which further actions aimed at using remittances for development purposes should be undertaken.

**Linking Remittances to Financial Services**

According to a recent IMF working paper, the impact of remittances on growth can work either through the financial system or parallel to it. In many developing countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, remittances by international migrants to their countries of origin could be a powerful complement for non existent or inefficient credit markets by allowing local entrepreneurs overcome barriers such as prohibitive lending costs and lack of collateral to start business. Remittances can help bypass difficulties with access to finances and implement profit-driven projects in developing countries with less developed banking sector. The IMF also highlighted that remittances do not boost growth in developing countries with well-functioning credit markets. This situation calls for more research to be undertaken to understand and work out how to address this issue.

Remittances should be considered as foreign savings as they interact with the structure of the local economy in the developing countries alongside with other policy tools such as international aid, aid or foreign direct investment. Unfortunately, the very high costs related to the transfer of remittances stem from the inefficiencies in the market and the regulatory framework in which individuals operate. It could be argued that the costs of financial intermediation are high mainly because of the oligopolistic nature of the market
and the issues of asymmetric information. Under these assumptions, banking sector development seems to be poor in many developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

Another point is the fact that remittances could help in providing access to financial systems and affordable financial services by attracting senders and recipients. The “unbanked” and poor populations could benefit from savings, insurance services, loans and access to bank accounts. Essentially, commercial banks and microfinance institutions need to attract consumers into the formal financial system in order to increase savings. It can be argued that channelling remittances into entrepreneurial activities and encouraging access to financial institutions for the poor in the community should be on the agenda of national governments and the international community. This strategy could be a powerful springboard to promote credit and savings opportunities for populations excluded from the benefit of these services. Consumers’ knowledge of the existing financial products actually depends on efficient information in the marketplace and a supply-driven economy that reacts to remittance beneficiaries’ interests in terms of savings, credit and insurance.

Recent International Initiatives

During the G-8 Summit in Sea Island, the members approved an Action Plan encouraging each country to undertake specific policies to reduce the cost of remittances. It is worth pointing out that these measures were conceived within the framework presented by the report of the UN Commission on the Private Sector and Development, which highlights the significant role of the private sector in the unleashing of resources currently locked in developing countries for the promotion of sustainable growth and poverty reduction. The measures established under the G-8 Action Plan include initiatives to encourage competition in the financial sector and better coordination among international organizations dealing with the issue. Another point is the fact that cooperation between remittance service pro-
Government of France has established a co-development policy and a facility has been created to co-finance projects led by associations of migrants to their homeland. Co-development initiatives are also encouraged and innovative schemes are gradually being set up with main partner countries. Specific funds also give a wider scope to projects co-financed with associations, and the schemes include mechanisms which facilitate investment in the homeland. A project was created in this context, including a guarantee fund for the loans promoting co-financed projects by Senegalese migrants in France which was linked to a micro credit union in Senegal. Another point is the fact that French cooperation efforts offer resources that allow highly qualified migrants to undertake projects in their home countries, organised by their employer in France in partnership with its counterpart in their homeland.

**Concluding Remarks**

Governments with huge potentials of migrants should pay a special attention to migration process to facilitate remittances and to channel them into sustainable production. There is some evidence to suggest that policymakers need to strengthen the development impact of remittances. As such national governments and international organisations need among other things, to:

- Promote greater remittance flows by paying close attention to the factors that generally influence remittances to pass through unofficial channels. Policymakers should remove taxation and overregulation, and improve infrastructure especially payment system. It could be argued that formal services are often unavailable and/or costly in remote areas, for instance. In fact, national governments should implement a policy aimed at gradually reducing transfer costs by encour-
aging fair competition among service providers;

- Allow remittances to promote economic development and reduce the weaknesses of the local economy especially by encouraging commercial banks and microfinance institutions to play a significant role in alleviating poverty. In fact, these institutions should offer attractive financial products to migrant families, such as mortgage loans and health insurance policies. It is worth mentioning that national governments need to encourage greater use of the banking system, too;

- Address inaccuracies in current statistics systems with regard to remittances flows in both developed and developing nations. It should be borne in mind that a sound statistics system gives a clearer picture of the financial transfers that a country receives with certain stability, contributing therefore to the achievement of better debt ratings. This strategy could be an incentive for recipient countries to improve their statistics. Indeed the provision of reliable data on remittances may help them grasp their economic impact and maximize its impact on the process of alleviating poverty; and

- Promote an orderly development of credit and popular savings institutions, protecting savings and increasing the supply of financial services to micro, small and medium enterprises. This strategy should encourage the channelling of remittances through microdeposits in these institutions. In fact, these resources will be released as microcredits promoting thus productive activity in the recipient country. This strategy could contribute to the provision of integrated services to senders and receivers of remittances, such as savings accounts, credits and mortgages.

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Ishmael Mazambani*

Abstract
In southern Rhodesia the law had different meanings to different people. To the state the law was used to maintain the status quo and to arrest and kill African nationalism. To Africans the law was an instrument of oppression. To children who were victimized by design or accident the law served as a justification for organized violence and tyranny. In short, the law was useless and meaningless.

This paper seeks to advance that too many Zimbabwean children who were abandoned, abused, exploited, and neglected, the law made them more vulnerable, as they were victimized and sustained scars that would not heal and wounds they are unable and unwilling to forget. To these children the state was a purveyor of oppression and injustice.

Introduction
In any society or country laws are very important and form an integral part of the lives of people.

Lord Justice Denning (cited in Reynold 1983, pp. 1-15) noted that the law had two great objectives: “to preserve order and to do justice.” Chancellor Sankey (Ibid) also pointed out, “the law is like a great rock upon which a man may set his feet and be safe.” These two statements bring out an element of the goodness of justice as justice demands that all persons be equal in the eyes of the law and insists on blindness to social distributions of class, disparity in wealth and power, and differences in race, color and creed. In colonial Zimbabwe, the law formed an integral part of political repression of Africans in general and children in particular. As the winds of change engulfed South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the colonial regimes resorted extensively to repression to suppress the escalation of nationalism and agitation. This resulted in the introduction of tougher security legislation and criminalization of African politics. In the 1960s, the colonial regimes legalized use of brute force and passed Draconian pieces of legislation to silence African political dissent and opposition to colonial rule.

This paper seeks to advance that children’s
plight in the 1960s in colonial Zimbabwe wors-
ened as laws were passed to terrorize the African 
populace and brute force was legalized. Under 
such conditions violations of children’s rights 
were rampant as children became more and more 
vulnerable.

**Political Intolerance in Southern Rhodesia**

The pieces of legislation that were passed from 
1959 onwards had various implications on chil-
dren in Southern Rhodesia. In 1959, the Public 
Order and Security Act was passed which pro-
claimed a state of emergency under its provi-
sions. The government was armed with the Sub-
versive Activities Act, and the Public Order and 
Security Act (IDAF 1977, 40), which empow-
ered the government to punish African national-
ists and supporters. The 1959 declaration of the 
State of Emergency reflected the tightening of 
settler clamp down on African nationalism as it 
granted the government sweeping powers to in-
discriminately and brutally deal with any form of 
behaviour that was deemed dangerous to the sur-
vival of the colonial state. This exposed Africans 
in general and the children in particular in many 
respects, and in the process laid the foundation 
for future human rights and children’s rights vi-o-
lations.

In Southern Africa political repression featured 
prominently in the 1960s as oppression intensi-
fied. On 21 March 1960, the apartheid govern-
ment of South Africa opened fire on African 
demonstrators at Sharpeville, while in Mozam-
bique a lot of Africans, including children, were 
killed during the Muenda massacre (IDAF 1979). In colonial Zimbabwe also the Rhodesian 
power opened fire on African demonstrators in 
Harare and Bulawayo in July 1960. This was a 
period of demonstrations, rent and beer boycotts 
turmoil, breakdown of law and order and a cli-
mate of fear (IDAF 1980). Many defenseless 
children who were not politically active were 
victimized and brutalised in all these cases. Some were maimed, and injured while some 
even lost their lives. These acts were a clear vi-o-
lation of the Declaration on the Rights of the 
Child which clearly states that:

> The child shall enjoy special protection and shall be
given opportunities and facilities by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose, the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration. (Freeman 1992, 32).

In Southern Rhodesia the passing of the Public Order Act gave the Rhodesian security forces sweeping powers over Africans, and new laws such as the Native Affairs Amendment Act, the Vagrancy Act and the Organizations Act were passed (Ncube 2001, 99-110). All these enormous bodies of repressive legislation were intended to suppress opposition to the white minority rule and were used exclusively against black people in general and black children in particular. Some laws were tailor-made to victimize young Zimbabweans. The Vagrancy Act was designed to get rid of all forms of support to the ANC and this had immediate and direct effects on children. The government generally believed that the unemployed Africans in urban areas were mainly supporters of the ANC. The Act gave the police powers to willy-nilly arrest young Africans and get rid of all youths in urban areas. The Act allowed the policemen, soldiers, civil servants and other employees of the regime to harass, break up and ban political meetings, arrest and detain people without charge and without a warrant (Ibid).

Security agencies such as the police and the CID, armed with these pieces of legislation, went on terrorizing Africans in African townships by conducting night raids that had colossal effects on many young Africans. According to Bhebe (1989, 80), the Vagrancy Act imposed many hardships on wives and children of people declared aliens and deported. Victims of such ruthless separation of families were faced by a number of problems as they were repatriated or abandoned. As in South Africa it was children who bore a great part of the effects of repressive policies (Britton and Minty 1988, 1-14).

Many laws, although they were couched in non-racial terms, were used almost exclusively against black people in general and black children in particular. The Vagrants Act was specifically designed for blacks and in the process
black children were victimised, in this case because of their skin colour. Racism in this case featured prominently in most of the laws. The Rhodesian laws were mostly discriminatory in intention and application. Racism in Southern Rhodesia was used to arrest and terrorise blacks in general and black children in particular. Traditionally, racism is used to justify the unequal distribution of society’s wealth, honour and prestige (Marger 1985, 5). However, in Southern Rhodesia it was used as a weapon to terrorize and brutalize children and violate children’s rights. The child shall enjoy all his rights set forth in this declaration. Every child without any exception whatsoever shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions.

Although Southern Rhodesian Law recognised the special needs of children on a number of points, these provisions were mostly theoretical. The common law presumed that children under 16 were not capable of criminal intent. The Criminal Act also required that all trials of children be held in camera and lawyers or their parents may assist that child in their defense. On the surface it might seem that the law protected children in colonial Zimbabwe, but in reality the opposite was true. Rather than designing laws to protect less-privileged groups, the Rhodesian government built an enormous body of repressive legislation in the name of preserving “law and order” (IDAF 1980, 34). Children who were victims of the Vagrants Act were not given a chance to consult lawyers or even their parents, and as such the law in that respect was used as an instrument to oppress the young and the most vulnerable group of every society.

The Intensification of Children’s Rights Violation

In 1960 the colonial government passed the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (LOMA) and never looked back in enacting hectic security legislation. It is interesting to try and conceptualize children’s rights discourse with the historical currents of the nationalists on one hand and the aspirations of the Rhodesian Front regime on the
means to fight nationalism and brought about untold human injuries, loss of lives and destruction of property in townships (1999,10-20). This was mainly meant to intensify its attacks and effectiveness, and hence the LOMA, through its amendments, was made “razor sharp” and made children more vulnerable than ever before. The enactment of LOMA had subsequently serious devastating consequences on the lives of many children in Southern Rhodesia.

Soon after the NDP was banned there were riots, arrests and tension in Southern Rhodesia as Africans in Highfiled demonstrated against the ban. The police opened fire, and while one man was killed about ten were injured as the police unleashed dogs on the demonstrators. (The Drum 1992, 100-4) Many children who were victims by association were beaten up, tortured or maimed during clean up operations by security forces especially in high-density areas of major cities. The systematic campaigns of assaults by police units with sjamboks, canes, baton sticks, whips and rifles terrified many black children as they were victimized without warning and explanation. In 1960 the government, armed with some “killer pieces of legislation”, went on to conduct wholesale searches on all NDP branch and national executive members as a step towards the violent suppression of African nationalism (Ibid). There were wide spread demonstrations in Bulawayo and Salisbury over the arrest of NDP members.

Many colonial governments regarded the shooting of peaceful African demonstrators at the time as a panacea for the situation in colonial Africa. The Sharpeville massacre in South Africa took the lives of 59 Africans, the massacres Soweto in South Africa and Muenda, in Mozambique left 600 people dead while in Namibia the Windhoek shooting of 1959 left many maimed and dead (IDAF 2003,45). Mounted police patrols in armored vehicles with weapons descended on African townships in Southern Rhodesia and opened fire on the demonstrators. In Bulawayo 12 Africans were shot dead and many were injured. The victimization and brutalisation of children was a miscarriage of justice in many respects, and particularly devastating when bearing in mind that children were innocent, hapless and defenseless. Most children
who witnessed these atrocities were forced to make choices, and were made to fight battles they should not have as children. The brutalisation affected the physical as well as psychological development of children who were forced to become adults and make adult decisions before their time (Britteon and Minty 1988, 228).

The Rhodesian security forces became more violent in their suppression of African nationalism in the 1960s. Some government officials such as Police superintendents took the law into their own hands as they now operated above the law. Secret special units and patrols which operated in African townships were established, and murder and sabotage squads destroyed the property and stoned the houses and vehicles of nationalists (The Drum 1992). Such activities of state agencies had devastating consequences on the lives of many children. And while many children were the direct victims and specific targets of the repressive action, the infliction of pain on the children was meant primarily to punish their parents.

The Rhodesian government forced many children to involve themselves in politics. In 1961 Edgar Whitehead deployed an army and the police reserve into African townships to crush the impending general strike violently. Irrespective of the failure of the strike to take place due to organisational and logistical problems, the police never failed to display their true colours and opened fire on civilians injuring many and killing two people (Ibid, 10-40). In 1962 the intolerant and uncompromising stance of the state against African nationalism was further displayed when the police opened fire at a ZAPU meeting outside Cyril Jennings Hall in Highfield where many children experienced violence directly and indirectly. The violence perpetrated on children was sanctioned by the state as the security forces were given indemnity against their unlawful activities. The draconian laws, designed to maintain the status quo at all costs, protected the police. As the laws in Southern Rhodesia exposed rather than protected black children in African townships, most laws passed by the colonial government directly or indirectly affected the African child.
The Unlawful Organizations Act outlawed all nationalist organizations and banned all public meetings opposed to white minority rule. Nationalist organizations which were considered a serious threat to white minority rule were banned, namely the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia, that was banned on 25 February 1959, NDP, that was banned on 9 December 1961, ZAPU, banned on 19 September 1962, ZANU and PCC, banned on 26 August 1964.

Many children in African townships were also victims of the Unlawful Organisations Act in many cases and for various reasons as sporadic acts of violence exposed the youths more to arrests in African Townships (Bhebe 1999, 14). Some were arrested for refusing to provide full information to the police about members of banned organisations. Others were victimised when they were suspected of having attended meetings of unlawful organisations and when they were found in possession of writings, banners, or insignia of banned organisations. The widespread arrests and prosecution of Africans alleged to be members of illegal organisations is shown by the Table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Prosecutions</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Southern Rhodesia: Legislative Assembly Debates

Another piece of legislation, the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act was also manufactured. This legislation resulted in a number of African children being detained or restricted as it gave the governor the powers to detain anyone considered dangerous to public safety (N.A.Z. 1959). It was more biting than most pieces of legislation in the sense that Detention Orders were not subject to any appeals, review or other proceeding in any court of law (Ibid). To most children who were victims directly and indirectly, the Preventive Detention Act was repressive in many respects. Children
who were arrested, although they were few, had no access to a fair hearing and there was no room to make appeals (CCJPZ and LRF 1997, 25-40). This meant that children who were arrested, though innocent, languished in colonial prisons as long as the white minority government desired. Similarly to those who had their breadwinners arrested the detention had terrible effects as it meant that they suffered economically and some had to drop out of school, while others became homeless.

The way African nationalists were arrested was also traumatic to most children. Police units and security forces armed with wire sjamboks, canes, batons, whips and vicious dogs pounced heavily on defenseless and innocent Africans. The conduct of door-to-door searches subjected children to dehumanisation and terrible treatment. As members of African communities, children were victims of open violence employed by the colonial state. The LOMA prohibited meetings of African nationalists and gave the police powers to enter, search and arrest people without a warrant, and gave them a three-year sentence for possession of any offensive weapon or material, and sentences of up to five-years for making subversive statements (LOMA, 14-69). The Minister of Law and Order was given overwhelming powers to ban publications considered subversive, and publication, printing and distribution of subversive materials was punishable by heavy custodial sentences. It was also considered a serious offence to do anything which might expose government officers and security officers to ridicule. (Horn 1964, 14-69) LOMA was not only draconian in the eyes of Africans but, also forced Federal Justice Sir Robert Tredgold to resign saying: "Outrages almost every basic right and in addition an unwarranted invasion of the executive to the sphere of the courts. The law is savage, evil, mean and dirty (The African Examiner 1960)."

One ex-political prisoner who was 15 years old in 1964 and was arrested under LOMA noted, "In Southern Rhodesia the law was an ass" (see I. Mazambani, Children's Rights and the Liberation Struggle for Zimbabwe, M.A Thesis, UZ, 2004). This goes a long way in demonstrating that the law in Southern Rhodesia was used to
violate human rights in general and children’s rights in particular. Instead of protecting the children, the colonial state was the chief perpetrator of the violation of the basic fundamental human rights.

As if that was not enough the colonial state enacted the Emergency Powers Act, which gave the government powers to rule by decree when all other legal tools proved ineffective and insufficient (Bhebe 1999). Ian Smith then declared UDI in 1965 in which police officers were given “unlimited powers” to harass the African populace, and arrest and detain children without informing their relatives, friends or lawyers. Empowerment of the police to use their powers as they wished resulted in gross misuse and abuse of power as the police assaulted, arrested, tortured and brutalised Africans in most African townships. Children under were not spared such terrible conditions as the police recklessly and enthusiastically used their powers.

All these experiences had devastating consequences on the lives of children. Many children perished as a result of the police use of lethal firearms and reckless and indiscriminate firing by government soldiers that killed many. Children were also subjected to violence whenever they were captured and the police could always vent their emotions on these defenseless and innocent victims. At times when things were bad children in war zones would spend weeks hiding in caves and bushes. In these places life was unbearable. Food was scarce and many evil acts were carried out in the name of war.

**The Climax of Children’s Rights Violations**

Following the passing of martial law, which turned all laws upside down, Smith adopted brutal counter-insurgency attacks against Africans, and by 1973, schools, clinics, Churches, grain meals, shops and businesses were closed and security forces were unleashed. This period constituted the climax of the liberation struggle when the political environment was highly militarized and the violence intensified. Civilians in general and children in particular, especially those in Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs), found life unbearable as the state stepped up political regression and
introduced measures directed at both the destruction and the flushing out of the guerrillas by means of reprisal of civilians (Bhebe 1999, 41).

The martial law was the most repressive and draconian piece of legislation ever passed in colonial Zimbabwe and it caused a lot of untold suffering on the defenseless black majority who were basically vulnerable children. Under the martial law the powers of the security forces were extended and Smith even stated that the martial law “would lead to tougher measures against our enemies” (The Rhodesian Herald 1978). All government servants and officers were empowered to do all things they considered necessary to suppressing terrorism. The commander of Combined Operations was empowered to enforce the martial law and establish special courts. Security forces were given powers to confiscate or even destroy goods, livestock or food they believed or suspected to have been used to assist terrorists (Rhodesian Government Notices 1978).

The special courts were Kangaroo courts where civilians and mostly children who supported the terrorists in one way or the other were arrested, detained, tortured or imprisoned. It should be noted that no appeals were entertained on judgment handed down by the special courts.

Violation of children’s rights during the liberation struggle reached an all-time peak during the internal settlement for a number of reasons. The period can be regarded in many respects as the climax of the liberation struggle. The internal settlement also resulted in a highly militarized political environment and the intensification of violence. Political repression by the white regime intensified as the Selous Scouts, Security Forces, Auxiliaries, Special Branch and Guard Force that perpetrated unprecedented violence on the African populace to get rid of all forms of nationalism. It should be noted that the introduction of the martial law sealed the power of the military and turned the country into a garrison military state. The situation worsened when the Selous Scouts (SS) impersonating ZANLA and ZIPRA guerrillas, organised *pungwes* (all-night meetings) to convince the people to accept the ceasefire.
During the so-called *pungwes* young men and girls were rounded off, beaten up, terrorized and forced to join the scouts. The SS drafted the young *mujibas* (male war collaborators and captured guerillas) into their ranks. The captured *mujibas* in Manicaland, Mrewa, Mtoko and other TTLs area were given a choice of being executed or changing sides and the young *Mujibas* were abducted and extensively beaten-up (IDAF 1979,3-5). Such inhuman and cruel acts of violence terrified and traumatised children who feared that they were going to be prosecuted next by the Selous Scouts. Some of the young boys were captured and drafted into reorientation and training programmers and into the ranks of Abel Muzorewa’s *Pfumo Revanhu* (Spear of the People), *Madzakutsaku* or Sithole’s *Chimwenje* (Light of the People).

The abduction of the *Mujibas* and turning them against the guerrillas was both horrific and dangerous to the *Mujibas* as those who failed to show interest in terrorising black people and vengeance were killed or maimed. All the while, children in the vicinity of these actions or who witnessed these horrific experiences were devastated. As if that was not enough the *Madzakutsaku* continued to make more threats on the already distressed and defenceless people.

As Muzorewa's and Sithole’s forces caused havoc in many rural areas, the number of ZANLA and ZIPRA forces increased, and concomitantly, the demands and efforts on the civilian population also intensified and a number of youths were transformed into the lower echelons of the guerrillas (Mazzari re 2000, 47-61). The young guerrillas went on to abuse their powers in various ways as the atmosphere of violence created by a militarized environment had negative effects on young girls and boys. At times the young guerrillas would teach these young boys to smoke and take alcohol, and in a drunken state the young *mujibas* committed many acts of violence and criminal activities, such as beating up people at will, and many became drug addicts.

Many civilians were executed for supporting the Internal Settlement. The International Defence
child the best it has to give.” These sentiments were further emphasized by the Nuremberg principles, formulated by the Law Commission, that stated that, “Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population or persecution on political racial or religious grounds …are outlawed” (SPRI 1996, 13-20).

The Rhodesian security antics in violating children’s rights reached a new level of intensity after the realization of the crucial role the masses played in the war and the introduction of draconian mechanisms to force the people not to support the liberation struggle. However, while weapons were important, as in any war, they were not as crucial as the people in determining the outcome. The Rhodesian security forces, in the name of suppressing communism, committed many atrocities to force the people not to support the guerrillas. They were conveniently protected by the Compensation Act which provided them with a licence to kill, maim and torture or do anything in “good faith” to crush terrorism (Johnson and Martin 1980, 117), and thus

Aid reported that:

Not only are people being beaten but also some are being killed without any mention of them in the news media… Some of those acts of violence are taking place right here in Salisbury townships but no mention is made in the press…such violence is going on everywhere with no mention in the news. The victims of all these incidents are supporters of external nationalists (IDAF 1979, 10-15).

Thus civilians were caught in between. While the Rhodesian security forces forced them to support the Internal Settlement, the Patriotic Front punished and killed Africans who attended rallies organised by Muzorewa. As a result many people lost their lives through the violence and terror from both sides. To make matters worse bereaved families and relatives were not allowed to bury or hold memorial services for the dead. Bodies were left lying for a long time and at times dogs and wild animals feasted on human flesh. The combined effect of all this to children was heart breaking and serious mental trauma as they witnessed some of the worst atrocities in human history. This was clearly against the declaration of the rights of the child adopted in 1959, which states that, “Mankind owes to the
toreched homesteads and granaries after the introduction of the Scorched Earth Policy. The policy negatively impacted on the lives of many innocent children, as they suffered when food, cattle and many basics were destroyed. The use of hunger as a political tool by the Rhodesian forces to coerce people caused a lot of suffering on the innocent African children who were not major players in the political struggle.

The introduction of the Scorched Earth Policy also exposed many children to violence at a tender age. In Chihota, Mrewa, Gutu and Mtoko whole villages were set ablaze by the security forces for allegedly supporting terrorism. Such atrocities were against the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), which clearly and categorically stipulates that participants in armed conflict should take concrete action to protect and assist child victims of armed conflicts, and should accord children special protection. However, using its draconian laws, the Rhodesian government subjected children to many atrocities rather than protecting them.

The introduction of collective punishment under the Emergency Powers (Collective Fines Regulations) of 1973, which gave the security forces powers to impose collective fines on inhabitants of an area when they were suspected of supporting terrorism grossly, affected the children in innumerable ways. As punishment was instituted on suspects rather than offenders, victims of this law became the entire villagers rather than the offenders. Collective fines usually involved payments in cash, livestock, or any movable property or even burning down homes of suspects, the cumulative effect on the children was severe in many respects. Many children were made homeless and destitutes, and this not only made the children suffer more at the time, but also critically affected their future lives in many ways.

**Conclusion**

It has been demonstrated that the law in Southern Rhodesia was used by the white minority regime to terrorise the Zimbabwean child. The
plight of children during the liberation struggle which has largely been ignored when the history of this country is discussed needs to be talked about deeply and frankly. This is particularly important considering that children were adversely affected by draconian laws and punishing pieces of legislation designed to eradicate nationalism. The crafting of oppressive laws had legalized violence and intensified children’s rights violations in Southern Rhodesia. Therefore lessons should be drawn from the past to come up with an informed position on the need for child-centred laws which ensure that childhood is not denied. The state has an obligation at all times, in all circumstances, of promoting and protecting children’s rights as their rights are not gifts but entitlements due to all children at all times. In short, children in any society deserve fair and impartial laws, that the laws must be enforced equally, fairly, freely and without infringing on children or denying them to enjoy their rights. Above all, justice must not only be done, but also be seen done.

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**Embu Oral Traditions: A Thematic and Historical Synthesis**

Munyaradzi Mushonga*

1. Introduction

While there may be several definitions of oral traditions, the general consensus is that they constitute verbal messages from the past that are transmitted from one generation to another. Henige (1982, 2) thus defines oral tradition as something widely practiced and understood in a society and [which] must have been handed down for at least a few generations while Vansina (1965; 1985) puts it as a testimony transmitted orally from one generation to another [about] a single sequence of events. These definitions of oral traditions must not be confused with oral history which can simply be defined as living memory about the recent past based on personal experiences, life histories or personal recollections and reminiscences. However, most oral traditions suffer from external influence (infusion or interference of outside information into oral accounts).

With these definitions in mind, this article attempts to examine the oral traditions of the Embu of Kenya collected by H.S.K. Mwaniki and published in 1971 under the title *Embu Historical Texts*. Of course a large corpus of texts by different oral historians would have made it possible to compare many instances of the same theme and genre, thereby facilitating deeper analysis and synthesis. Although the author made no mention of the processes and procedures employed in the collection, recording, transcription and translation of the oral traditions, it is evident that, his collections are based on as many informants as possible.

The Embu are located in east-central Kenya, on the south-eastern slopes of Mt. Kenya. To their west are the Kikuyu and Ndia, to the north are the Meru and Chuka, to the South are the Kamba and to the east are the Tharaka. Culturally and linguistically, the Embu are related to their neighbours, especially to the Bantu speaking groups of the Kikuyu, the Meru, the Chuka and the Mbeere, with the latter virtually indistinguishable from the Embu (Saberwal 1976, 31; Ambler 1989, 4).

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This paper has divided Mwaniki’s collections into traditions (themes) pertaining to genesis/origin, the economy and famine, space and time, and war. The article also lends itself to a multidisciplinary approach in order to enable validating, supplementing, amplifying or challenging what the traditions maintain, thereby allowing us to see some of the virtues and limitations of Embu oral traditions.

2. Oral Traditions Pertaining to Genesis

The term ‘genesis’ here is used in its broadest sense (as used by Vansina 1974, 317-322) to mean origin, creation and migration with reference to the Kuba traditions. To begin with, one of the main characteristics of the Embu oral traditions is that they tend to have shallow and unreliable genealogies of questionable chronological distance. For this reason, Embu oral traditions do not even allow the dating of relatively recent events, say of the 19th century.

Nonetheless, one of the versions recorded by Mwaniki has it that the very first people called Embu were a husband and a wife called Kembu and Werimba who bore sons and daughters who married each other until Embuland was filled, while another version runs, "This was so long time ago that nobody remembers properly. After all nobody was there but the writings say that God created Adam and Eve and these were the mothers of the Embu. They traveled from the creation place to Embuland" (Mwaniki 1971, 19-87). But according to Saberwal (1970, 3; 1976, 30) who also collected Embu oral traditions, the issue of origin generated no great interest among his informants although some of them told him that, "Ngai (God) created the Embu people (or the man, their common ancestor Muembu) when he created the rest of mankind, or that man Muembu and his close kinsmen migrated to Embu country from the Meru are”.

True enough, the oral traditions of nearly all the peoples of eastern and central Kenya start with the origins of mankind, just like most other traditions of oral societies in many parts of Africa. A case in point is the Kikuyu legend of Gikuyu and Mumbi which runs, "God created the first man and woman and gave them sheep, goats and land.
The two had nine daughters, among whom land was divided. These were the ancestors of the present Kikuyu clans and they still farm the land that was initially allocated to them by God" (Spear 1981, 46).

Typically, traditions of origin tend to merge a whole people into a single genealogy. Many of the Embu oral traditions compiled by Mwaniki point to Meru as their place of origin. For example, informants tell Mwaniki (1971, 42-3) that:

people came from Meruwards and crossed by Igambang’ombe ford. They settled at Guikuuri near Maranga hills. They had come from Igembme and came to Tharaka where they also settled. They left Tharaka to come to Embu. The first people were very few but found the present Embuland completely empty and so occupied it. These were the founders of the two clans, Kina and Igamuturi.

Another informant, says that the forefathers of the present Embu came from a place called ‘Tuku’ which might be Ethiopia or in Ethiopia (Mwaniki 1971, 43). Informants in the study also talk of their origin as a place beyond Meru and these stories are found echoed by other informants as well. One interesting testimony given by an informant to the author runs:

when the Europeans tried to ask the question of origin, we knew they wanted to take our land. So we told them … that we are not new comers or slaves, we belong to here since the land was created and we expelled nobody from here …. But in reality, nearly all nations came from Meru directions (Mwaniki 1971, 152).

Such are the oral traditions about Embu origins, which are also endorsed by their close neighbours, the Mbeere and the Chuka. For example, we find informants from Mbeere says "the Embu came from Igembe" and talk of Embu origins as being in the Meru direction (Mwaniki 1971, 181 and 211). Chuka traditional tales also claim that they (the Chuka) came from Meru, together with the Mbeere, Embu, Gikuu, Tharaka and the Maasai (Mwaniki 1971, 224). In short, a lot of corroborative evidence is found in both Mbeere and Chuka oral traditions about the origins of the Embu. But the question, to what extent can these claims be accepted as historical truth still remains to be answered.

Studies by J. Orde-Browne, G.W.B. Huntingford, H.E. Lambert and other anthropologists showed considerable interest in the folklore and customs of the different peoples of Kenya. However, they made little attempt to produce integrated histories of the different peo-
gists alike, all of whom have attempted to document the places of origin and the times and directions of movements and contacts.

However some, written sources provide some clues to Embu origins. The assertion by Lambert that the predecessors of the Kikuyu, Embu, Mbeere, Tharaka, Chuka and Meru peoples migrated to the general area of their present settlements from the famed Shungwaya region is one important work in this regard. Huntingford, Freeman-Grenville and Mathew have also recently asserted the Shungwaya origin. However, Saberwal (1976) maintains that such claims are baseless as none of his informants made reference to Shungwaya, cautioning readers not to accept them uncritically. Just like Saberwal, Munro (1967, 26) also rejects Lambert’s claims of a Shungwaya origin, arguing that the coastal peoples whose traditions are sufficiently strong enough to suggest a Shungwaya origin often refer to each other in these traditions and make no reference to the presence of highland peoples at Shungwaya, and also that the Highland peoples’ traditions do not confirm this at all, save for two
groups – the Meru and Tharaka. Munro further argues that the Kikuyu, Embu and Mbeere have no traditions of living anywhere else and that their origins are explained by myths. In Munro’s eyes, Lambert appears to have taken the Meru evidence of a Shungwaya origin and applied it to the general movement of the Bantu-speaking peoples of the eastern highlands. While he concedes that Lambert’s hypothesis could be correct, he underscores that there is need for supporting evidence. But as we have already seen, archaeology has yet to produce something concrete.

Notwithstanding the various claims and counter claims regarding the genesis of the Embu, the fact remains that the Embu migrated from an area outside their present location. It can also be safely concluded that the Embu came from the Meru direction and not from the famed Shungwaya region. Other interesting observations include claims of an Ethiopian origin, possibly explaining why the Embu state to have been created by God, as Ethiopia was a well-known Christian country at the time. Furthermore, the Embu claims that Ngai (God), created the Embu people, or that God created their common male ancestor, Muembu, when he created the rest of mankind has an analogy with the Biblical story of the creation of Adam. Such claims in a tradition could be a clear case of blending, that is a deliberate borrowing and internalization from other, external sources, such as the Bible.

Furthermore, the whole idea of creation could have been borrowed from the Arabs or other western Christian groups during periods of contact. As Saberwal (1970,14) points out, for several decades prior to the establishment of the administration in Embuland, parties of Zanzibari traders had been visiting the Embu and that two or three European-led expeditions had also visited the Embu. It is true that the advent of Europeans in East Africa was preceded by Arabs and the Poruguese, which finds confirmation in the memories of living Embu informants.
But one thing which readers should not miss in the Embu oral traditions of origin is the invention of the tradition in the wake of imperialism in order to safeguard their interests, as shown by Joseph Kibariki’s testimony. This is a classic case of deliberate distortion of tradition in order to validate claims to land rights, just like the various Yoruba states would claim direct descent from Oduduwa, the culture founder who established the city of Ife, in order to attain significant elevation of social and political status (Stekens 1978, 25). Thus during the 1960s, the Embu, fearing land appropriation by the Europeans, emphasized traditions that showed a long-standing attachment of the Embu-Mbeere to their land. Besides the threat of Europeans, border conflicts between the Embu-Mbeere and their neighbours have also led the different groups concerned to concentrate on traditions that prove their occupation of the lands since from the earliest times. A case in point are the Mbeere who have been advancing claims that their ancestors lived in Mwea from time immemorial, claims which number of witnesses have supported. It is therefore clear that anyone seeking to understand the Embu oral traditions of genesis must of necessity be aware of the intricacies involved.

3. Oral Traditions Pertaining to Economy and Famine

Embu oral traditions also talk about types of crops grown, domestic animals raised, trading activities and the various famines that hit Embu land. Embu oral traditions dealing with economy claim that the Embu grew various crops such as njavi, njugu, nthoroko, maize, and millets like sorghum, foxtail and bulrush, as well as bananas, arrowroots and sugarcane. An informant interviewed by Nwamiki states the millets originally belonged to Embu while maize and beans found their way into Embuland from the outside world. Herbert Ndwiga Gataara, the first educationist in Embu who attempts to trace the development of agriculture, says that the Embu people were collector-gatherers, and that Muembu learnt how to grow edible crops from the Comba traders. The traditional claim maintains, "Muembu, we are told, was first a hunter and collector-gatherer at the same time, then be-
came a herder with a bit of cultivation, lastly
took to cultivation with little herding. Yams and
sugarcane are indigenous while most grains and
beans are exotic" (Mwaniki 1971, 58). The oral
traditions also make mention of conducting trad-
ing activities with their Mbeere neighbours, bar-
tering goods like millets, goats and cattle espe-
cially in times of famine.

Mwaniki’s collections of Embu oral traditions
relating to economy are consistent with the sto-
ries and beliefs collected and analysed by Saber-
wal. According to Saberwal (1970, 2-3), there
was division of labour among the Embu with the
women cultivating a variety of crops and the
men were engaged in livestock management
(sheep, goats, cattle). Saberwal also tells us that
hunting and gathering was an insignificant occu-
pation among the Embu, although they were ar-
dent beekeepers. Like many other pre-colonial
African societies, livestock represented accumu-
lated capital that was used for bridal price and
other various social and traditional ceremonies as
well as for dispute settlement, in addition to be-
ing the last resort to food during times of famine
(Saberwal 1970, 3).

In line with the historical fact, Embu oral tradi-
tions point out that maize was not an indigenous
crop, but introduced by the first European traders
to came into contact with them. However, de-
spite the fact that bananas and sugarcane are not
indigenous to Africa, their oral traditions claim
the Embu have been cultivating them since time
immemorial. Ochieng (1990, 24) shows that ag-
riculture was first introduced into eastern Africa
through Ethiopia and the eastern Sudan from
South-West Asia during the 3rd millennium B.C.
In view of the Embu traditions' talk of bananas
and sugarcane as crops they grew, one may as-
sume that the Embu must have had commercial
ties with the outside world or with other coastal
African groups who might have established con-
tacts with the voyagers. The story of the
Comba traders (who might have been Arabs,
Swahili or European traders) bringing seeds to
Embuland from which the Muembu learnt how
to grow foodstuffs may serve as strong evidence
in that regard. The characterization of Muembu
as first a hunter, then collector-gatherer, herder,
and finally cultivator is also an interesting indicator. It is therefore possible that the tradition might have been borrowed from any of the hunter-gatherer and pastoralist groups of East Africa. Based on these factors, one can question the authenticity of the tradition, particularly given the status of some of the informant in the study.

Closely related to oral traditions on agriculture and economy are traditions of famine. We find many Embu oral traditions mentioning famines of the past most of which were due to drought and locusts. One informant tells Mwaniki that among the famines that were frequent in the past the memorable ones were *kavovo* and *kithioro*, particularly *Kithioro* because of its contemporaneity with the coming of *muthungu* (white man) (Mwaniki 1971, 7).

Other major famines mentioned in the oral traditions are *Nvaraganu*, *Kiverio*, *Murekethu*, *Kavovo*, *Kivatanja*, *Kanungu*, *King’ang’a*, *Kibatau*, *Kithioro* and that during such famines people ate such food as (boiled leaves of wild plants, blood drawn from both sides of cattle's' necks and milk diluted with a lot of water) (Mwaniki 1971, 29). There is a general similarity in many oral traditions that famines were a result of drought and locusts, thereby triggering movement of people in search of food and pasture. The traditions also say that many people died because of the famines, although many more died also due to the heavy work on the road when others died. Traditional stories of other groups also found to reinforce the Embu tales of famine. For example, in the Mbeere and Chuka oral traditions there are talks of famines caused by locusts and lack of rains (Mwaniki 1971, 237). To the extent that the Mbeere and Chuka mention the *Kithioro* famine as coming only ‘yesterday,’ after the white man was already around and during the time of the First World War, which can be placed somewhere between 1915 and 1918. While allowing for possible borrowings from each other, the Embu traditional tales of famine could hardly be dismissed out of hand. Although they do not provide dates save for *Kithioro* (1917-18), approximate dates could be set for some of the events in these traditions.
by using Saberwal’s proposition that rainfall variability was an important part of the ecological context, leading to famine every five to ten years and to major population migrations to and from Embu (Saberwal 1970, 3; 1976, 29). It is common knowledge that people's biggest challenge in precolonial, colonial and post-colonial East Africa has been famine due to poor soils and vagaries of nature. Saberwal notes that he finds it reasonable to accept Embu testimonies that rainfall in Embuland fluctuated widely and that famines were frequent.

From the above, a number of historical interpretations could be drawn. Firstly, the traditions tell us that the Embu were agricultural people who depended on the soil and livestock for survival and that climatic variability often caused them to make frequent movements in search of both food and pasture. This may explain why the Embu and their neighbours migrated from the Igembe-Tigania region to settle in the area to the south and east of the Mt Kenya area. It is also clear that Embu traditions of famine vividly recall the ugly face of colonialism where a good number of them lost their lives as they were forced to work for the colonial government. It is standing truth that forced labour was widely practiced throughout Africa during the colonial period. The Embu traditions of famine can be used to explain food shortages in the East African region in both past and present.

4. Oral Traditions Pertaining to Space and Time

Physical environments can influence a peoples’ conception and attitude of space and time in many ways. The Kikuyu, for example, see Mt Kenya as a marker of their early migration, their relocation to Nairobi, shifting from ridge to ridge, whereas the Embu regard it as being too close to be a significant place of origin, hence they talk of Meru, a distant place from their present settlement. Vansina (1985) notes that the most important spaces are linked to the spot of creation, with temporal as well as spatial value. The directional element is seen in Embu oral traditions that narrate their coming from the direction of Meru or from Ethiopia, both of
which represent their spot of creation.

The architecture of Embu village is another clear expression of their concept validation and utilization of space. According to their traditions, the Embu built all their homesteads in circular forms. Walls were put up of two concentric circles of closely erected poles. The gap between two rows of poles was filled with leaves and compacted with wooden mallets. The interior of the house was then divided into rooms with shorter walls of thinner posts (Mwaniki 1970, 97). What is of interest here is how the different huts of different members of the family were arranged relative to the members’ position or status. Mwaniki (1970, 98) describes it thus:

If one had more than one wife and sons, the second wife and subsequent wives had their huts in the order of seniority. The man had his hut to the extreme right of the senior wife’s, with the elder son’s hut nearest to his, and the rest to the left of the elder son’s, in order of seniority.

Also of interest were their sleeping arrangements. When sleeping in the family bed, the father slept to the right side of the bed with the mother on his left. The eldest child slept at the edge of the bed near to the wall, while the youngest slept next to the mother with the rest fitting themselves in order of seniority (Mwaniki 1970, 14). This arrangement conforms with some popular conceptions of space like ‘upstream’ or ‘downstream’, north or south, right or left, with the formers signifying superiority and the latter inferiority (Vansina 1985, 127).

However, the Mbeere traditions seem to lack the support for those of the Embu with regards to village morphology. If there are any, then they are silent on this conception of space. But the Chuka, without ruling out the possibility of borrowing from the Embu, do have traditions pertaining to space as they built circular huts. Moreover, a good number of Kenyan societies were found space-conscious. For example, villages of the Endo (of the Marakwet of Kenya) are built on the slope of the Cherangani escarpment and daily journeys from the village to the fields on the valley floor are constant process as of moving up (doka) and down (bore). They also distinguish the heavens and the earth by the terms him (up) and nwun (down), while some spaces are
informant, there were six ‘moons’ in one mwere season and another six ‘moons’ in the njavi season (Mwaniki 1970, 36-37). Thus the Embu had a twelve-month calendar, just like the modern calendar. Both Mbeere and Chuka traditions echo Embu traditions with regards to the concept of time, and of course, this should not be surprising given the overwhelming similarity between the two groups. Embu oral traditions also reflect that traditional dances and songs are performed during particular times of the year. For example, Mboi and Mukinyo dances are performed just before millets are ready for harvest, Kithuco after harvest, Kuanyi during the njavi (maize season), Kigaru during marriage and solely for women, njai during the season of sorghum, and Makaari songs sung by victorious warriors (Mwaniki 1971, 77-78).

It can be deduced from the above instances that the Embu conception of time was cyclical or repetitive in which the past and the present were constantly renewed with each repeating itself. However, the traditions say very little about the
remote past. This may not be surprising as many traditions of oral societies speak less of their remote past due to lapses in memory. As such, Embu oral traditions, like most African traditions, concentrate on the recent past and time-present, reckoning their times by the use of heavenly bodies and changes in climate.

5. Oral Traditions Pertaining to War

Mwaniki (1970; 1971) remarks that many oral traditions of the Embu mention going to war against their neighbours – the Chuka, Mbeere, Kamba, Maasai, Tigania, Meru, Gikuu, Gumba and Kikuyo. Such wars are also mentioned in both the Mbeere and the Chuka traditions that are collected by Mwanki. The Embu have always presented themselves as having been victorious in those wars. These claims are found corroborated in Chuka traditional tales which assert that the Embu always prevailed over them in war, a rare confession from any African group. While this admission may not be questionable, it remains doubtful as to whether the Embu were always victorious over their neighbors and other groups in war. There is a strong possibility, that Embu traditions in this regard have been ‘coloured’, a practice common among many oral societies of Africa, in order to express or uphold politically convenient sentiments of superiority and invincibility. However, the obvious fact is that there were several wars among the various groups of the Mt Kenya area, reinforcing written claims that pre-colonial African societies were always involved in internecine wars.

To conclude, this article has attempted to show that while some Embu oral traditions dealing with genesis, economy and famine, space, time, and war may be shrouded in myths, their historical values remains cannot be denied. Similarly, while many of the oral traditions may have suffered from contamination and loss of memory, they still have rich political, economic, social and moral significance that cannot be doubted. The article, through Embu oral traditions, has also highlighted that assertions by some scholars and commentators that all oral traditions are valueless are clear cases of misplaced judgment based on preconceived notions.
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Membership</th>
<th>Assoc. Membership</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>US$ 10.00</td>
<td>US$ 5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>US$100.00</td>
<td>US$50.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Payments can be made in local currency in the country of registration where OSSREA has Liaison Officers.

Executive Secretary
OSSREA
P.O. Box 31971
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Fax: 251-11-1223921
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