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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Eurozone at a Crossroad: Politics Confronts Economics

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ABSTRACT

Eurozone (and implicitly the whole EU) finds itself at the crossroad. Economic "dynamism" of the last few years resulted in the growing differences between the Northern European "core" centered on Germany and the Mediterranean countries plus Portugal and Ireland. The key for the explanation of the rising differences in the economic dynamism between the European "North" and "South" is the understanding of the existence of two economic and social models within the original eurozone countries. Under the given circumstances, it would make sense to restructure the Monetary Union so that the each (currently) member country has a monetary policy suitable to its economic reality. However, the economic logic notwithstanding, the Eurozone member states remain firmly committed to its current form, albeit with minor adjustments in operational procedures The answer to this "mystery" lies in the fact that the Euro was, first and foremost, the political creation and basically remains so. It follows that the key to the Eurozone's survival is the political commitment. The political interests of member countries dominate the economic logic.

Keywords: Europe, Economic Dynamics, Economic Logic, Eurozone, Politics

INTRODUCTION

Eurozone (and implicitly the whole EU) finds itself at the crossroad. Economic "dynamism" of the last few years resulted in the growing differences between the Northern European "core" centered on Germany and the Mediterranean countries plus Portugal and Ireland. France stands economically in the middle. However, the growing number of observers and economic commentators stress that France is sliding from the "dual leadership" (together with Germany) to a biggest – and certainly the most important – member of the "Mediterranean" group.

The key for the explanation of the rising differences in the economic dynamism between the European "North" and "South" is the understanding of the existence of two economic and social models within the original eurozone countries. The extensive social welfare state is characteristic for both groups of countries. However, the "northern" model is more supply side, productivity oriented, whereas the "southern" model relies more on the demand side management. Those differences reflect both the different production mixes and the different structures of labor markets.

Different socio-economic models make for different preferences as far as economic policies are concerned. "Northern" countries prefer the concentration on the price stability and the related nominal wages moderation. In such an environment the productivity gains transform themselves into an increased competitiveness and a moderate, but steady rise in the real consumption. "Southern" countries model then enhances the rise of wages resulting in a competitiveness deterioration, which was historically countered by gradual depreciations.

Under the given circumstances, it would make sense to restructure the Monetary Union so that the each (currently) member country has a monetary policy suitable to its economic reality. (Whether such restructuring implies the leaving the common currency or the introduction of the parallel currency is, indeed, a matter of a detail analysis of individual country circumstances.) However, the economic logic notwithstanding, the Eurozone member states remain firmly committed to its current form, albeit with minor adjustments in operational procedures.

The answer to this "mystery" lies in the fact that the Euro was, first and foremost, the political creation and basically remains so (DG ECOFIN, 2008). It follows that the key to the Eurozone's survival is the political commitment. The political interests of member countries dominate the economic logic.

Currently (and in the foreseeable future) the key political interests of the Eurozone member countries are the preservation of Europe as a community of the free, democratic societies and the one of the key world players politically, economically and culturally. European Union – and its extension, the Eurozone – are seen as the umbrella guaranteeing peace, individual freedom and liberty. (That may seem as a grandstanding, but given the not so distant European history, it still resonates with the population.)

Moreover, the existence of the common economic space and the common currency increases the influence of the large European countries on the world scene and, perhaps more importantly, provides the poorer "southern" countries with a protection from sinking into the abyss of the insignificance in the globalized world economy.

Finally, the existence of a common organization – like the Eurozone – provides the smaller countries with the voice in the determination of their fate – the voice they may not have if standing alone.

Below, part II provides the more detailed discussion of the Eurozone's social and economic models and their interplay with the economic policies. Part III argues that the survival of the Eurozone is, first and foremost, a political phenomenon, in the face of the economic reality. Part IV concludes.

Economic and Social Models in the Eurozone

The discussion of the existence of the different economic and social models within both the EU at large and the Eurozone specifically is not new. However, in the most discussions of the protracted Eurozone crisis the explicit recognition and analysis of the existence of the different socio-economic models within the Eurozone is omitted, even if the relevant differences are assumed implicitly.

Several empirical studies (Rusek, 2012a, Aiginger, 2011, Chen et al, 2012) analyze the differences in the Eurozone performance between the "South" (often called the "periphery" – countries included are Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland) and the "North" (commonly called the "core" and including the remaining seven original Eurozone countries). These publications statistically analyze and confirm the growing dynamic differences between the just mentioned "North" and "South" of the Eurozone. However, they make no attempt to connect the observed divergent tendencies to perhaps the differing general history and the socioeconomic models.

There is, indeed, an area of research which stresses the existence of the different socioeconomic models within the Eurozone (or the whole EU). Aiginger (2009) defines the four different economic "systems" within the EU and conducts the comparative study of their economic performance. Hall (2013) distinguishes between the two economic models within the Eurozone and argues for the "systemic" causes of a different impact of the common monetary policy. In a somewhat different and broader approach, Spolaore and Wiarczarg (2013) argue that the different economic dynamics within the Eurozone is deeply rooted in the culture and history.

Broadly following the Hall, we distinguish between the two socio-economic systems (models) currently co-inhabiting the Eurozone. (It is possible to argue that there are actually three "models", with the so called "new EU members", i.e. the east European countries admitted after the 2004, constitute a separate category.) Mediterranean Countries (Greece, Italy, Spain, Greek Cyprus) plus Portugal constitute the "South", whereas Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg and Finland form the "North". Of the two countries in between, Ireland may be closer to the South and France to the North.

Differences in economic performance between the "North" and "South" are well documented in the publicly available data. Somewhat different strain of the analysis addresses the dynamics of the equilibrium values of the policy related variables (Rusek (2012b), Darvas and Merler, 2013). The conclusion here is not only that the equilibrium values for the variables like the real exchange rate and the nominal interest rate differ from country to country, but (perhaps more importantly) that the dynamic differences can be identified between the "North" and the "South".

The conclusion from the data are the persistent – and perhaps increasing – differences between the two parts of the Eurozone. In this context, the three interrelated questions arise:

1. What is behind the rising divergences in the performance of the different parts of the Eurozone?
2. Are these divergences the result of the common currency policies? (Or, in the alternative form: Do the policies necessary in the common currency area enhance the historically inherited differences?)
3. Are there policies which could overcome the divergent trends?

To answer the first question, let us compare the economies of the North and South (as defined above). We use three criteria. The first is the "response" to globalization and the emergence of the "Emerging Markets" (EM). The combination of the increased liberalization of the world trade (in the last about 15-20 years) and the rise of the Emerging Market (EM) economies (especially in Asia, but partially in Eastern Europe and Latin America as well) had two consequences. On the one side the growth of the "new economies" led to a rising demand for capital goods. This plays well into the hands of the North and its comparative advantage and tradition in heavy and precision engineering. On the other side, the rise of emerging markets was characterized by the rapid expansion in their exports, concentrated in the consumer goods and other "light" industries products – i.e. in the areas in which the Southern economic activity was and remains prevalent.

Given the different economic history and traditions, the advent of globalization created the opportunities for the North, but presented the South with rising challenges. One can interpret the impact of globalization on the Eurozone as the example of the Mundellian asymmetric shock par excellence. Given the generally expansionary impact of the globalization on the

northern economies the policy of a monetary restraint was called for, with limiting the inflation providing the space for the increases in productivity to be reflected in the gradual decline in the unit labor costs, resulting in the gradual depreciation of the real exchange rate. Northern competitiveness improved on a global scale, to be reflected in a positive current account dynamics and a reduced unemployment (even if the impact of the demographic factors on the latter should not be ignored).

Where the South is concerned, the impact of globalization itself was in general contractionary. Increasing import competition was exacerbated by the trend of the exchange rate appreciation in both nominal and real terms.

Globalization's "Mundellian" shock to the Eurozone was amplified by the differing structures of labor markets and the associated welfare arrangements. "Northern" countries rely on what may be called a centralized coordination. Wages are set sectorally (by the agreement between the employers and unions representing the employees) and coordinated nationally. This facilitates the control of inflation and the unit labor costs, with the eye on the competitiveness. The improvements in the latter then facilitate the positive employment dynamics. This system is supported by the effective vocational training system and comprehensive and rather generous welfare arrangements, aimed not only at the income support but at the facilitating the return to a productive labor activity quickly as well.

In contrast, in "Southern" countries the labor market arrangements are more fragmented, characterized by several competing unions and employers federations. There is only a limited coordination of the labor contracting. The result is then the more effective pressure on the wages increases. In the absence of the corresponding productivity growth, the competitiveness tends to erode. The welfare structures are more limited as far as benefits are concerned. The major elements here appear to be strict regulations limiting the possible layoffs. The goal is to stabilize the labor incomes. However, the unwanted result is the gradual shift toward a part time employment and the time limited contracts. Finally, the productivity enhancing vocational education system is rather limited.

Finally, the "southern" countries economic structure is characterized by a "dual" character – a rather large number of small family type businesses on the one side and the large, often multiactivity corporate organizations on the other side. The presence of the most vital element of "northern" economies, generally known under their German term/description as "mittelstand" companies, is at best limited. That indeed affects the dynamics of productivity – and hence the unit labor costs and the real exchange rates. Moreover, over the long run it influences the behavior and the dynamic position of the banking system.

Historically, banks in the "southern" countries developed a close relationship with their respective countries' large companies and with the support of the state. Given the relatively low domestic savings rate, the state (i.e. the central bank) was often the major source of "loanable funds". The other potential bank customers – i.e. the small businesses and individuals – were basically neglected by major banks and their needs were serviced by local establishments – small banks and lending cooperatives, often established and operated by the local authorities (provinces and states).

Given the close and symbiotic relationship between the large companies, the large banks and the state, the interest rate often played a rather limited role in their operations and could be (and often was) manipulated in their mutual interests. As far as the "other" end of the financial

structure was concerned, the "small scale" of local operations, together with the lack of competition and a rather unclear risk implied rather high lending rates and a limited loan volume. The latter indeed tended to preserve the structure of economic activities and may be considered one of the factors weighting against the emergence of a significant "mittelstand" sector.

(It should be pointed out that the above described characteristics of the banking sector and its function were to a degree common to all original 15 EU countries. However, they were more entrenched in the "South", which played an important role in the processes of changes and transformations triggered by the establishment of the Euro. See the discussion below).

It should be obvious that the different economic systems in the European "North" and "South" – or the "core" and "periphery" , as those areas are sometimes referred to – are not the result of the adoption of the common currency Euro. They are the result of the extensive and long term historical dynamism, encompassing the differences coming from the religious, cultural and (to a degree) climatic differences. One may even discuss the impact of the "recent" history – WWII, Cold War and its aftermath. However, it should be equally obvious that the historically determined differences were moulded, modified and often "enhanced" by the processes of the adjustment to a new reality of the common currency.

It is generally recognized that the Eurozone at its inception was not an "optimum currency area" (OCA) in the standard Mundellian sense. (In fact the whole strand of the economic literature was developed by arguing the "concept" of the "endogenous" OCA – i.e. the establishment of the common currency will bring about the OCA properties subsequently for all participating countries). However, the differential impact of the common currency on the "Northern" and "Southern" economic models is seldom analyzed and the contributions of the differences between these models to a current crisis are seldom elucidated.

The introduction of the common currency required the complete liberalization of capital flows. That rather quickly resulted in a near equalization of the nominal interest rates. Inflation across the board remained close to the ECB target (below, but close to 2%) - even if this target was exceeded more often than not. However, within this broad average the inflation in the "south" generally exceeded the one in the "north" – which resulted in real interest rates in the "south" being consistently below the ones in the "north".

This, indeed, increased the "Southern" demand for credit, accelerating the economic growth and hence increasing the tax receipts. Spain and Ireland run large budget surpluses, reducing significantly their debt to GDP ratios. Italy achieved a primary surplus. After violating SGP criteria at the beginning of the 2000's, Portugal achieved a budgetary stability. Only Greece remained a significant public finance problem, but it was not known at the time (even if suspicions existed).

The increase in credit was financed by the domestic banks which in turn obtained resources on the interbank markets – i.e. basically by tapping the "Northern" savings. Statistically, this phenomenon appeared as the capital inflow – i.e. the current account deficits.

However, this dynamics had important effects which remained unnoticed (or noticed but ignored) at the time. Most of the capital inflow financed the increase in consumption, especially in housing and related consumer durables. Given the generally lower consumption and the lower quality of the housing stock of the "Southern" countries, this kind of behavior may be

sociologically and psychologically understandable, nevertheless…. Capital inflows maintained the domestic demand, a significant part of which fell on the non-tradeables sector. Combined with the labor markets rigidities, this tended to increase both employment and wages. However, the growth was mostly in the low productivity sectors (construction and services). Hence the unit labor costs (ULC) increased and the REERs based on ULC tended to appreciate. Simultaneously the Hartz IV reforms in Germany led to the (statistically observed) wage restraint and increases in productivity – i.e. the German ULC based REER tended to depreciate. These two phenomena led to the increase of the competitiveness gap between the "North" and "South". Moreover, the capital inflow induced demand (and wage and credit) expansion in the South tended to perpetuate the inflation and hence the real interest rate differentials. This prolonged the just described processes and led to increased "North-South" divergencies.

Additionally, this pattern of lending increased the risks for the banks' balance sheets – the phenomenon ignored by the national regulators. (One may surmise, however, that it would be ignored (or misunderstood?) by a hypothetical Eurozone-wide regulator as well. After all, the similar phenomenon was ignored by US regulators at the same period.) The problem here is that if a substantial part of bank assets (lending) is in the consumption – i.e. the individual income – related loans, then any shock to the individuals income generating power affects the loan servicing abilities, i.e. the riskiness of the lending institutions balance sheets. And indeed, if the lending bank resources depend on the interbank markets, the rising riskiness reverberates throughout the banking system.

The discussion up to this point leads to the two interrelated conclusions. The first is that the European North vs. South divide, characterized by the different, clearly distinguishable economic models, is not a consequence of the introduction of the common currency. These differences are the result of the hundreds of years of economic, political and cultural development and hence may be expected to remain for a foreseeable future.

It is, however, necessary to recognize that the North/South differences not only triggered, but dynamically exacerbated the current European crisis. Given the economic, political and social realities, the introduction of the common currency not only created the environment of the crisis, but is destined to lead, ceteris paribus, to a chronic crisis environment, punctuated, in the unpredictable intervals, by intensive outbreaks.

Given that conclusion, the last question above asked whether there are any answers cum solutions in the context of the preservation of the common currency.

Economic discussion in the last several years provides in general two kinds of answers. On the one side, the solution is seen in the federalization of European economies. The idea was best expressed by Nicholas Veron (2012) in the form of "four unions" – monetary, banking, fiscal and political. Appealing to committed supporters of the European integration, it implies a concentration of the important economic policy decisions (both macro and micro) on the European level, even if the implementation might (rather incongruously) be left to member states.

The problem with this concept is twofold. First is that it implies the reduction of the role of the national states far below the currently accepted compromises (aquis communitaire), which then raises the issues of the policy formulation and implementation in the situation where the common voluntarily accepted and popularly supported goals and operational procedures are difficult to discern. And second is that currently and in the foreseeable future any sustainable

European superstate (and that is what is implied by the "four unions") would imply the extended resource transfers from North to South. Indeed, this solution would require a significant revision of Treaties establishing the European Union – practically entirely new treaty. Chances of a success of such an endeavor today are practically nil.

The second possible solution is seen in the enhanced process of structural changes within the framework of current treaties. Some ideas in this direction were expressed by Rusek (2013) and, indeed, there are others. It may be argued that this is the direction preferred by the European Commission and the member states governments currently.

However, as currently interpreted (and practiced) this policy is asymmetric – applied basically to the South only. And, indeed, in southern countries this policy is highly unpopular, bringing about the high unemployment and the political instability, with positive economic results difficult to see. One can imagine the prolonged "muddling through" policies. But again, the chances for a radical success – and hence a solution of the current crisis – are limited.

Indeed, the protracted economic crisis in the Eurozone's "South" raises many questions about the Eurozone's survival in its current scale. These questions are not new, but the recent book of the tested and committed Europeanist Francois Heisbourg (2013) should wake up even the most dedicated. When the man of his statue and political history calls the common currency Euro the cancer on the European body economic and the danger to the very existence of the EU, it should be clear to everybody that there is something rotten in current European arrangements.

Euro Survival: The Triumphs of Politics?
Previous analysis and all the available data would suggest that the common currency Euro in its present configuration should not survive. Its costs for the "South" are staggering, with no realistic hope of the way out. But Euro survives nevertheless. Why?

Prevailing opinions explain this "mystery" by a combination of several "realities". Germany in this picture benefits from the current situation. From its point of view the Euro is strongly undervalued (using the recently reported study of Deutsche Bank by about 25%) which only adds to German globalization advantages elucidated above. And as long as the ECB policy keeps inflation under control, German advantages will persist. Having a strong economic and budgetary position facilitates German support for the EU bailout policies (and bailout funds like ESM), designed to mitigate the worst impact of the crisis on the "South" (together with other policies described in Rusek, 2013). Together with ECB's OMT policy designed to counteract the market generated shocks to the sovereign fiscal positions as long as the affected countries exercise a fiscal restraint, this approach stabilizes the "South" economic position, albeit at a rather low level of the economic activity.

"Southern" countries accept this policy approach and support it (rather reluctantly) by limited structural reforms and a fiscal restraint under the EU (and indirectly the ECB's) supervision. Their rationale appears to be the fear (often fed by rather alarming speculation cum studies of financial companies and international institutions) of the "catastrophic" consequences of leaving the Eurozone and re-establishing the monetary autonomy.

But one may argue that there is more to the "southern" persistence to remain the part of the Eurozone than the limited "northern" help and the (rather irrational) fear of the "unknown".

After all, no matter how self-centered the Eurozone is, it will remain the part of the world economy. And (as pointed out above) the globalization processes have a protracted negative impact on the "Southern" countries. Their need for structural reforms (basically across the board) is evident not only to elites, but to the majority of the population as well. The return to the own currency would certainly help to mitigate the current difficulties. But by removing (or rather by postponing) the pressure to adjust, those countries would face the danger of falling of the group of developed countries. Moreover, they would face the worsening situation basically alone.

The membership in the Eurozone (and the EU) provides the desired cover to elites to push for the unpopular structural reforms, in some sense a protection against some globalization pressures and, last but not least, the voice in policies shaping the outside environment. Moreover, assuming that the current difficulties may be overcome (or at least stabilized), the overall structural transformation of the EU economies is the only source of the funds (capital inflow) needed to finance successful structural reforms of "Southern" countries necessary to preserve their position in the world economy. And here the membership in the Eurozone is, indeed, of a paramount importance.

CONCLUSION

Eurozone is, first and foremost, the political creation. And as a such, its survival, with or without reform, is and always will be a political decision. Indeed, economic realities influence politics. But the policy – and hence the politics – is about more than the economy. Today both the "Northern' and the "Southern" European nations see their future in the European Union as the commonality of sovereign nations. EU institutions are the part of this shared attitude – which includes the current Eurozone. Economic reality is important, but it is only a part of the shared parcel. The realities, political views, and perceptions may change. But the Eurozone will survive as long as the interests underlying the political determination exist.

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Evaluating Challenges and Competence for Employees in a Chain Providing Corrective Actions to Customers with Mobile Terminals

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates challenges that are encountered by employees working in a chain that handles customer issues in mobile phones. For a firm to get a competitive advantage over competitors, customer issues should be handled timely and efficiently. To achieve this goal, the employee working in the chain, among other things, must have adequate competence, education and knowledge. This work attempts, through the use of a survey questionnaire, to analyze competences and challenges that are encountered by the employees working in the chain that resolves customer issues. Ordinal logistic regression and item analysis are used for the analysis in this article. The analysis results show that there is a statistical difference in competences in difference service levels within the service chain. The result of this work clearly affects management since it requires that they implement regular training of the products they are handling for all levels in the different stages of the service chain.

Keywords: competence, customers, satisfaction, ordinal logistic regression, item analysis.

INTRODUCTION

The term "competency" refers to a combination of skills, attributes and behaviors that are directly related to successful performance on the job. Core competencies are the skills, attributes and behaviors which are considered important for all staff of the Organization, regardless of their function or level.

Managerial competencies are the skills, attributes and behaviors which are considered essential for staff with managerial or supervisory responsibilities. Taking care that the core competencies are in place ensures that the right employee with right skills is performing the right job with the right output [1]. Core and managerial competencies are not specific to any occupation. One could demonstrate the competency of "teamwork" or "client orientation", for example, in performing any job. Defining competencies is important both for the Organization and for the staff. Competencies are forward-looking. They describe the skills and attributes staff and managers will need in order to build a new organizational culture and meet future challenges. They help organizations clarify expectations, define future development needs, and do more focused recruitment and development planning.

Competencies provide a sound basis for consistent and objective performance standards by creating shared language about what is needed and expected in an Organization. Organizational learning and the ability to create new knowledge are important factors in achieving a sustainable competitive advantage [2]. It is important that the environment for

learning and knowledge creation is analyzed in order to direct development efforts to the right areas [2].

Much is found in the literature about education and building competences for employees whether it be in a product manufacturing company or in a service firm, however there is few, if any, study cases in mobile terminals in after-sales employee challenges and competences when handling and managing customer issues. Hence this work attempts to fill this gap through a case study. The work investigates challenges that are encountered by employees working in a chain handling customer issues in mobile phones. For a firm to get a competitive advantage over competitors, customer issues should be handled timely and efficiently. To achieve this goal, the employee working in the chain, among other things, must have adequate competence, education and knowledge. This work attempts, through the use of a survey questionnaire, to analyze competences and challenges that are encountered by the employees working in the chain that resolves customer issues. The work is organized in the following manner: Chapter 2 goes through the literature; chapter 3 discusses the data collection and customer issues process; section 4 briefly explains the methods used in this work; section 5 displays the calculated results and discussion; section 5.1 discusses comments from different service levels in the chain; and section 6 concludes the work. Literature and 2 appendixes are finally displayed at the end.

LITERATURE BACKGROUND

The theory of performance is the foundation for the perception of competency [3]. A researcher [3] assessed through his fundamental contingency theory illustrated in Figure 1 below that maximum performance occurs when person capability or talent is consistent with the requirement of the job needs and structural atmosphere. The person's talent is portrayed by his or her: value, vision, personal viewpoint, knowledge, competences, life and career stage, interest and style [3]. Job requirement can be explained by the role of responsibilities and tasks needed to be done. Attributes of the organizational atmosphere that are anticipated to have a vital impact on the demonstration of competencies and / or the design of the jobs and roles include: culture and climate, structure and systems, maturity of the industry and strategic positioning within it, and attributes of the economic, political, social, environmental, and religious background surrounding the organization.

Figure 1 illustrates the theory of action and job accomplishment: best match implies that maximum performance, stimulation and commitment occurs when there is maximum overlap or integration [3].

Some researchers insist that organizations develop their human resources and enforce the amount of information and knowledge existing in order to distinguish themselves from other organizations [5]. Employees and know-how are highly variable assets for companies [6]. It is vital that the employee's competence and knowledge is continuously assessed and developed [2]. However, researchers argue that the traditional approaches to management, training and development will not provide the learning atmosphere demanded for knowledge tasks [7]. Another researcher argues that individual leaning doesn't guarantee organizational leaning but also asserts that without individual leaning no learning for the firm happens. Hence it is important that that organization supports and services individual learning and knowledge creation [8].

With the help of feedback systems, like surveys, diverse feedback is scientifically collected. The feedback provides an opportunity to gain new knowledge which in turn enables one to have a new vision, goals and strategy [9].
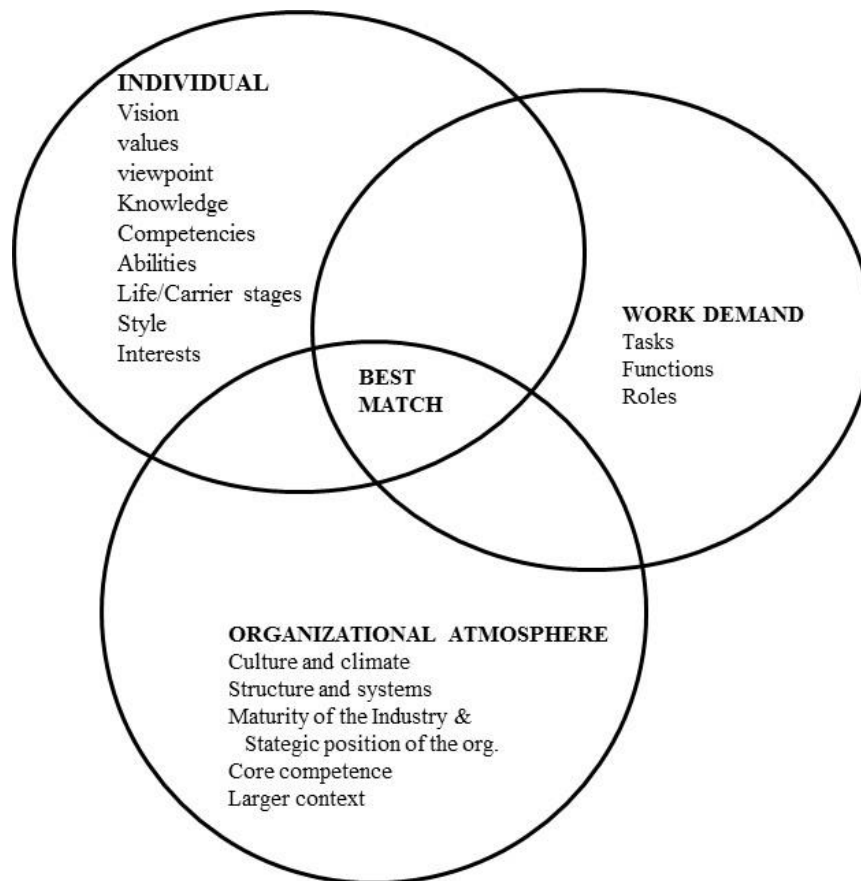
**Figure 1. Theory of action and work execution [adapted: 3]**

According to 2000 studies about competences done by [10] and his co-workers, the 20 most common competences were identified as shown in Table 2 below together with their associated rating scales, and respective clusters according to the competence dictionary [11].

Table 1:The 20 most common competencies [11]

Achievement and action	Helping and human service
Achievement orientation	Interpersonal understanding
Concern for order, quality and accuracy	Customer service orientation
Initiative	
Information seeking	**Managerial**
	Developing others
Impact and influence	Directiveness/assertiveness and
Impact and influence	use of positional power
Organisational awareness	Teamwork and cooperation
Relationship building	Team leadership
Cognitive	**Personal effectiveness**
Analytical thinking	Self-control
Conceptual thinking	Self-confidence
Technical/professional/	Flexibility
managerial expertise	Organisational commitment

Formal competence is measured, for example, by the number of years of schooling completed or by credentials received by an individual [12]. Actual competence is the ability to successfully handle a certain situation or to complete a certain task. In managing a customer's issues, competence as a requirement is needed in order to accomplish assignments effectively and timely, as illustrated in the Figure 2 below
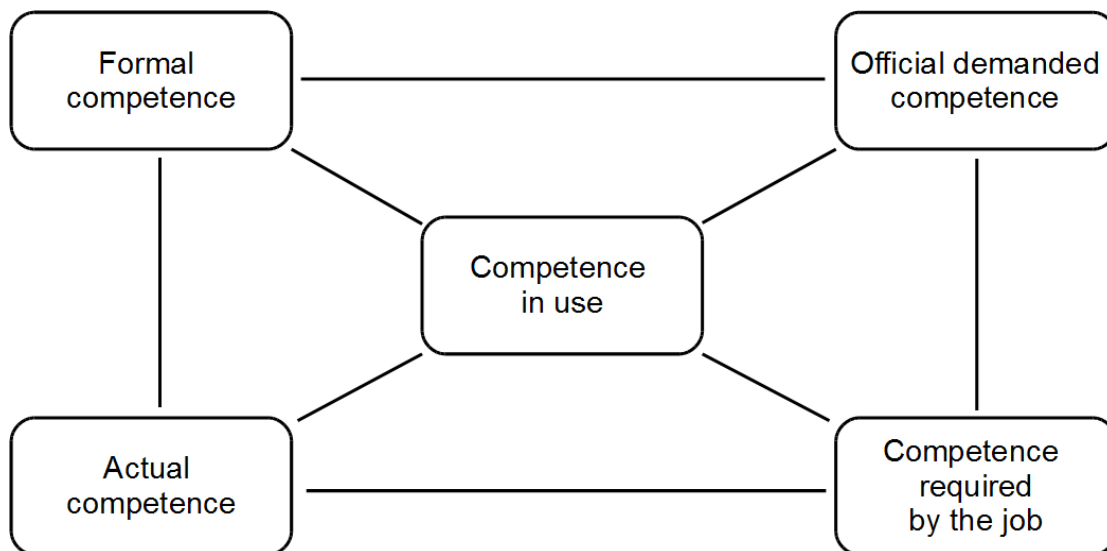
Figure 2: Different meaning of occupational competence [adapted: 12]

ISSUE ESCALATION PROCESS AND DATA COLLECTION

A web questionnaire was sent to 75 internal employees of Nokia working in a service chain (see Figure 1) allocated in 30 different countries in the world in year 2012. The target respondents L2, L3 and L4 resolves customer issues of mobile terminals raised through an in-house built tool called GENIUS. The survey consists of 9 background information and 16 questions (15 closed and 1 open). The response rate among the levels (L2, L3 and L4) were distributed as follows in Table 2

Table 2: Response rate by Levels

Level	Response %
L2	36.00
L3	26.67
L4	33.33

In the business group (BG) most responses came from the following groups tabulated in Table2

Table 3: Response rate by BG

BG	Response %
BG1	21.33
BG2	18.67
BG9	21.33
BG10	24.00
BG [The rest]	6.67

Although the questionnaire contains 16 questions only 10 questions (see Appendix I and II) were used in this article. The rest of the questions were used for other purposes of the in-house development.

Issue Escalation Process

Figure 3 illustrates the chain network process for customer issues escalation. For example when a customer X confronts an issue Y, e.g. ringing tone of the terminal is not functioning well, he/she will contact any authorized service vendor (ASV) *i.e.* L1 for resolving the issue. If L1 is not able to resolve the issues, it will be escalated to a higher level of service, in this case L2. The procedure will continue in the network chain until a corrective action(s) is provided to the customer (Mwegerano, et. al. 2012)

The process from which data was collected is displayed in Figure 2 below. Respondents were from L2, L3 and L4.
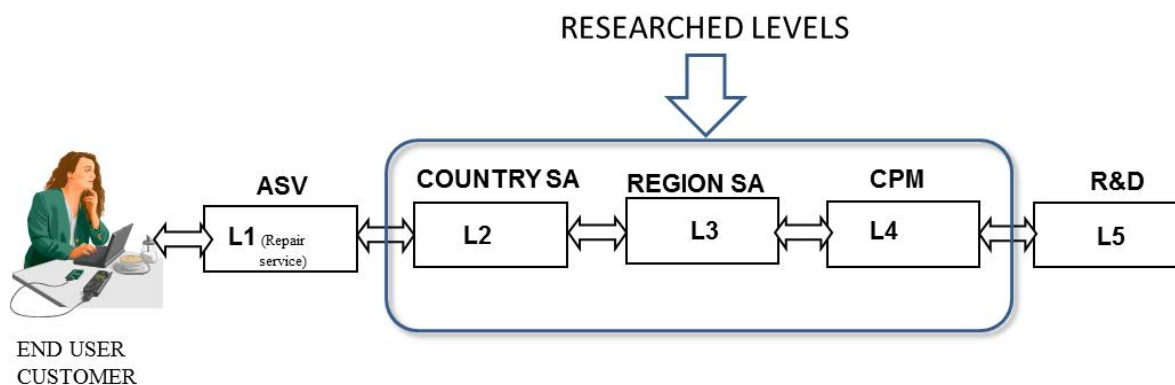
L1 = Authorized Service Vendor
L2 = Country Sales Area
L3 = Region Sales Area
L4 = Care Project Manager
L5 = Research and Development

Figure3: A simplified issues escalation path diagram

METHODS

In this paper, item analysis was used to assess how reliable multiple items in this survey measure the same construct. Questions in further analysis were selected based on internal consistency for all included items.

Furthermore, Cronbach's Alpha for a selected question was calculated. Generic sample distribution comparison per question was done by using Boxplot. Ordinal logistic regression is used to perform logistic regression on a question results. Mood's Median test was carried out to find out whether there was significance in the question results. All the calculations and Figure results were obtained by using a Min Tab statistical tool.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Questions for further analysis were selected based on internal consistency for all included items. The inter-item correlation matrix displays the strength of the relationship between every pair of items is displayed in Figure 4 below.
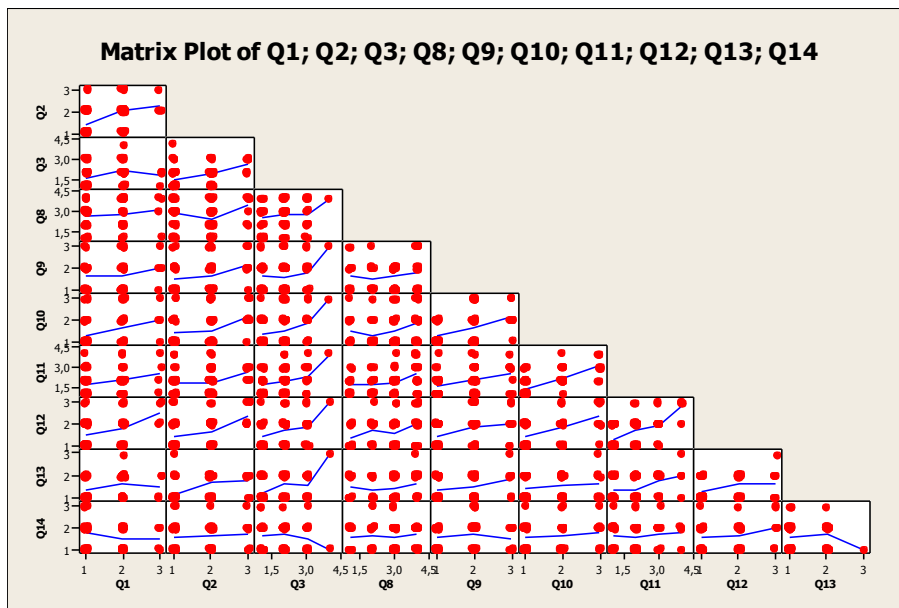
Figure 4: Inter-item correlation matrix

Cronbach's Alpha for selected question is 0.7460, which is higher than a commonly used benchmark value of 0.7. This suggests that at least some of the items measure the same construct.

Generic sample distribution comparison per question was done by using Boxplot –chart displayed in Figure 5
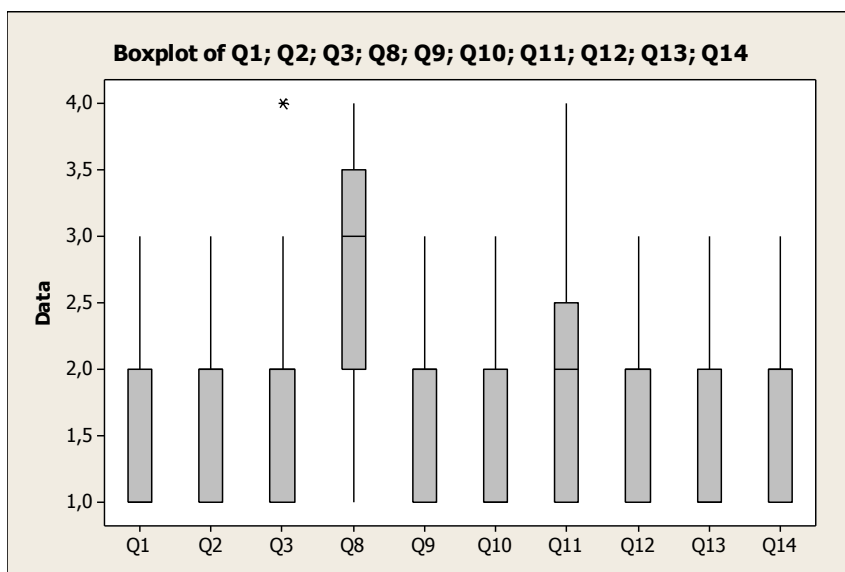
Question	Median
Q1	1
Q2	2
Q3	2
Q8	3
Q9	2
Q10	1
Q11	2
Q12	2
Q13	1
Q14	2
Total	2

Figure 5: Box plot of the questioners results (Q1-Q3, Q8-Q14)

In general the questionnaire results are quite good, with medians ranging from 1 to 3 from question to question having total Median of 2 (In Likert –scale Often and Partially) as shown in Table 4.

Predictors used in regression analysis are Level (Question 1.2), Nokia employment time (Question 1.7) and Cap Genius usage time (Question 1.8)

Mood's Median test shows that there is statistically significant (P=0.000) difference between

question results. Results from Question 8 "Do you have regular trainings on different products you are handling in cap genius tool?" suggest that more emphasis for product trainings is in place (Median 3 "Sometimes").

Table 4: Mood Median Test: Results versus Questions

```
                                                Individual 95,0% CIs
Question   N<    N>=  Median   Q3-Q1   ---+---------+---------+---------+---
Q1         38    37   1,00     1,00    *--------------)
Q10        39    36   1,00     1,00    *--------------)
Q11        26    49   2,00     2,00                  *
Q12        32    42   2,00     1,00    (--------------*
Q13        39    36   1,00     1,00    *--------------)
Q14        32    43   2,00     1,00    (--------------*
Q2         31    43   2,00     1,00    (--------------*
Q3         26    48   2,00     1,00                  *
Q8         13    62   3,00     2,00                           (------*
Q9         32    42   2,00     1,00    (--------------*
                                       ---+---------+---------+---------+---
                                       1,20      1,80     2,40      3,00

Overall median = 2,00
```

Table 5: Goodness-of-fit

Question	Pearson P-Value
Q1	0,006
Q2	0,273
Q3	0,385
Q8	0,208
Q9	0,123
Q10	0,394
Q11	0,526
Q12	0,282
Q13	0,771
Q14	0,150

Table 5 above displays the summary of the logistic regression analysis of Good-of –fit with Pearson values for the selected questions. Pearson P-value indicates how well the model fits your data.

Table 6: Logistic Regression of Q1

| Predictor	Coef.	SE coef.	z	p	Odds Ratio	95% CI Lower	Upper
Const(1)	0,673081	1,40731	0,48	0,632			
Const(2)	3,80637	1,48927	2,56	0,011			
L							
3	-1,10870	0,630670	-1,76	0,079	0,33	0,10	1,14
4	-1,73011	0,598580	-2,89	0,004	0,18	0,05	0,57
WE 1 trans	-0,0913703	0,0805913	-1,13	0,257	0,91	0,78	1,07
WE 2 trans	0,541715	0,682894	0,79	0,428	1,72	0,45	6,55

Log-Likelihood = -58,411
Tests that all slopes are zero: G = 12,485, DF = 4, P-value = 0,014

Goodness –of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	p
Pearson	178,196	134	0,006
Deviance	116,821	134	0,855

From Table 6 it can be seen that there is a statistical significance between levels in Question 1
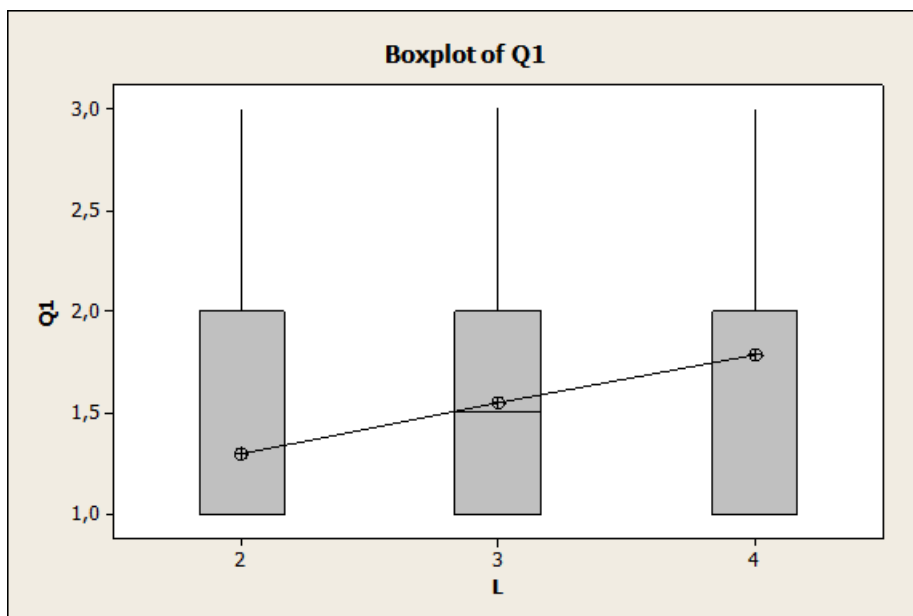
Figure 6: The Boxplot of service level's performance

From Figure 6 it can be seen that service level 2 (L2) had ca.1.3 average score performance while service level 4 (L4) had ca.1,75 average score performance. This implies that L2 had the best performance average score.

Open Questions Remarks and Comments from the Respondents (L2-L4)
From the service level 4 (L4) point of view, it was noted that the lower levels, in this case L2 and L3, do not seem to provide immediately enough information about the issue to the

resolvers, normally L4. Lower service levels should filter more issues by reading product manuals and specifications to reduce unnecessary issue escalation to higher levels and hence reducing the issue resolution times for the customers. The business impact of an issue should always, if possible, be attached when escalating it to higher levels. The business impact will give the resolvers an opportunity to prioritize those issues according to the business impact reported from the field. The business impact could include for example, how wide geographically the issue has spread, how great is the number of mobile terminals affected, financial loss incurred already, and a forecast of how much more would the business lose if the issues are not resolved fast and well. Lower levels should be equipped with enough tools to handle and manage their customers. L4 noted that the lower levels should have an understanding of how the resolvers' process functions before corrective actions can be provided to the customers. This could give an understanding why some issues take a long time to be resolved and others not. New product training in this group was non-existent according to some respondents. Issue reporting tools between L4 and R&D was reported as inconvenient because the tools are different from the ones used by all other service levels, i.e. from L1-L4. The L4 service group concluded that there should be some key performance indicator (KPI) for every service individual on the service chain (ref. Figure 3)

From the point of view of service level L3, they would like to have more visibility of the issue status on a regular basis. Similar issues with common corrective actions should be identified and sent back for closing to reduce the lead time metrics for the teams. The faulty sample terminals delivery process can jeopardize the issue resolution times due to custom formalities and other paper work needed for sending the samples to the resolvers. Sometimes the provided corrective actions do not match with the root cause of the issue hence issues are experienced through the life of the product. Corrective actions should be improved by the issue resolvers, in this case L4 and R&D.

From the point of view of service level L2, more options should be incorporated into the escalation tool such as a video attachment, so that the issues can be well explained to the resolvers. It causes a lot of pain to fill all the fields in the tool such as adding something in the database when something is accidentally missing or has been wrongly uploaded, before escalating an issue to the resolvers just to find out that it takes a long time to provide corrective actions.
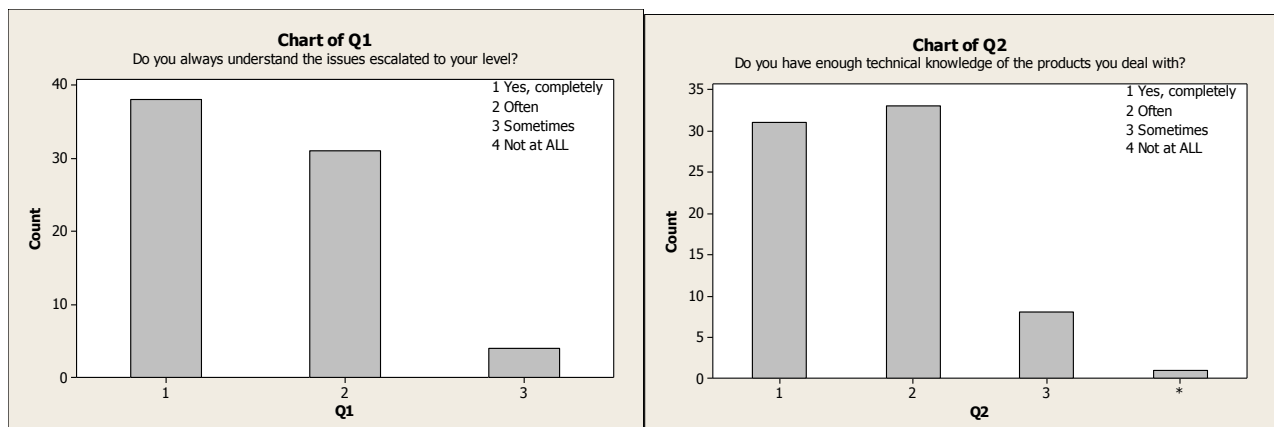
CONCLUSION

This case study work has examined some challenges found in the service chain handling that handles customer issues with mobile terminals. Also the paper has attempted to analyze some competence gaps among service levels or members. Mood's Median test shows that there is statistically significant (P = 0,00) difference between question results. Results from Question 8 (see Table 4) reveals that more regular training for different product is needed (median 3 "sometimes"). This also had been noted in the previous work [13]. This was also echoed in the opening comments. Service level L2 had the best average score (1.3) in performance while service level L4 had the lowest average score i.e., 1.75 (see Fig 6). This paper has a managerial implication for further actions to be taken to examine and implement the required resources or time to see that the service staffs get sufficient product trainings and in time. Further work could be extended to make a longitudinal survey of the total chain from the field L1 to R&D and also to add more explanatory variables like actual response times given by the issue resolvers to customers and also the quality of correction actions as perceived by customers.
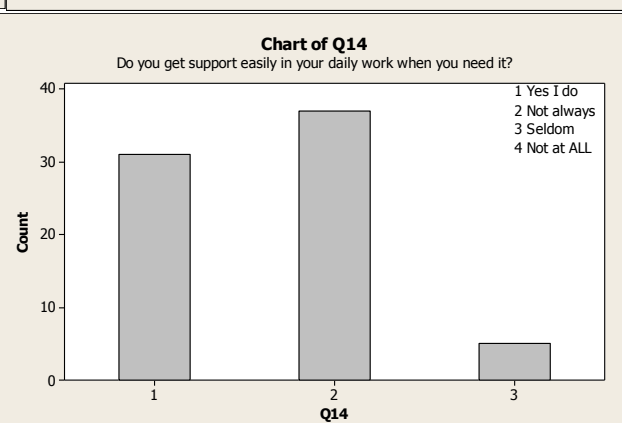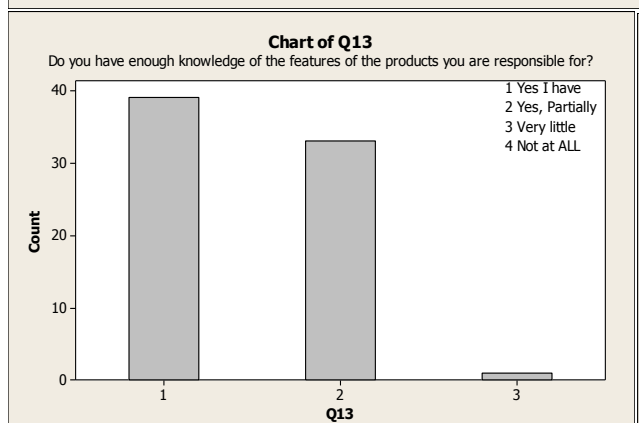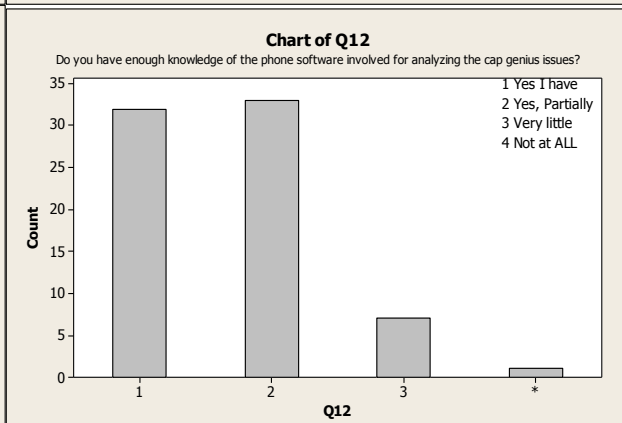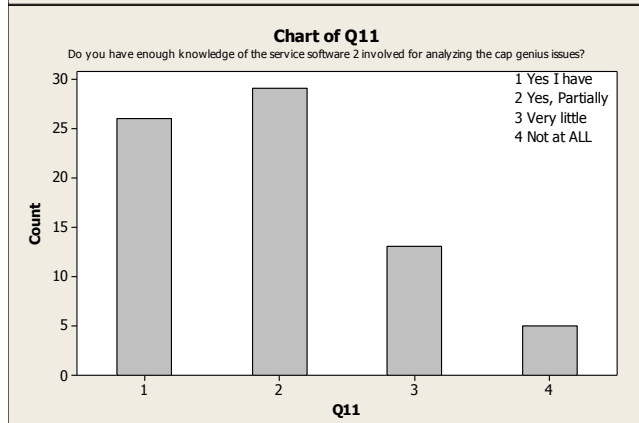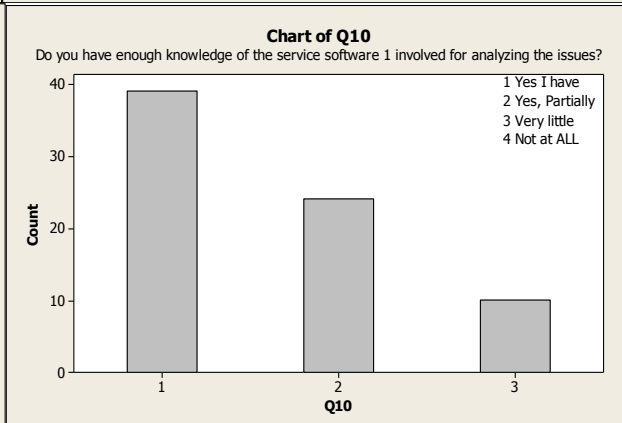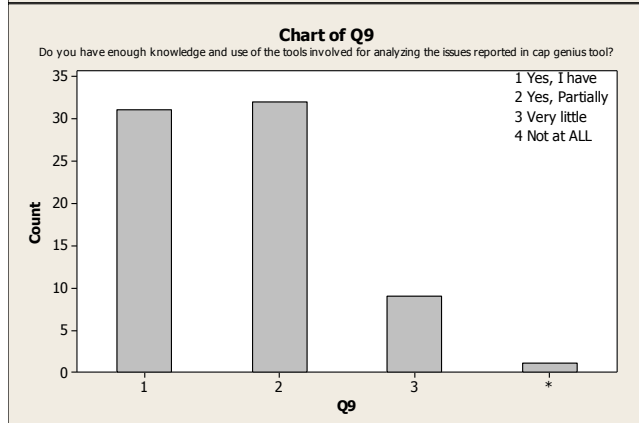
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APPENDIX I:

Bar Charts Results By Questions

Chart of Q3
Do you have enough usability knowledge of the products you deal with?

1 Yes, completely
2 Often
3 Sometimes
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q8
Do you have regular trainings on different products you are handling in cap genius tool?

1 Yes, always
2 Yes, often
3 Sometimes
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q9
Do you have enough knowledge and use of the tools involved for analyzing the issues reported in cap genius tool?

1 Yes, I have
2 Yes, Partially
3 Very little
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q10
Do you have enough knowledge of the service software 1 involved for analyzing the issues?

1 Yes I have
2 Yes, Partially
3 Very little
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q11
Do you have enough knowledge of the service software 2 involved for analyzing the cap genius issues?

1 Yes I have
2 Yes, Partially
3 Very little
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q12
Do you have enough knowledge of the phone software involved for analyzing the cap genius issues?

1 Yes I have
2 Yes, Partially
3 Very little
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q13
Do you have enough knowledge of the features of the products you are responsible for?

1 Yes I have
2 Yes, Partially
3 Very little
4 Not at ALL

Chart of Q14
Do you get support easily in your daily work when you need it?

1 Yes I do
2 Not always
3 Seldom
4 Not at ALL

APPENDIX II
Challenges In A Chain Working For Corrective Actions In Cap Genius Tool

It is important for the after-sales managers to know what challenges are being faced, and what is the performance of the employees working in a network channel that handles customer issues in mobile terminals. This study is also an ongoing Licentiate's research thesis. Hence your responses are very important. It would require around 10 minutes to answer. Your response will be kept confidential and only aggregate level and /or responses will be reported to the managers. For any question regarding the survey, please feel free to contact andi.mwegerano {at} nokia.com

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Which of the following best describes your background?

○ Technical

○ Business

○ All above

○ Others, please specify: ☐

1.2 At which Genius level do you work?

○ L2

○ L3

○ L4

1.5 In which sales area do you work for? [Select ... ▼]

1.6 In which country are you located? ☐

1.7 How long have you been working for Nokia in overall [Time in months] ☐

1.8 How long have you been handling the CAP GENIUS issues for Nokia [Time in months] ☐

1.9 Business group working with at the moment [Select ... ▼]

QUESTIONNAIRES SURVEY

1. Do you always understand the issues escalated to your level? [Select ... ▼]

2. Do you have enough technical knowledge of the products you deal with? [Select ... ▼]

3. Do you have enough usability knowledge of the products you deal with? [Select ... ▼]

4. Do you have enough time to verify the issues escalated to your level before escalating or transfer them to any of the levels? [Select ... ▼]

5. Do you feel the lower levels are not evaluating the issues enough before they escalate to your level? [Select ... ▼]

6. Do you feel the upper levels are not evaluating the issues enough before they ask for more information from your level? [NB: For L4 the upper level for you is the L5 or the designers in R&D outside of cap genius tool] [Select ... ▼]

7. Are you confident on using the cap genius tool for handling the reported issues to your level? [Select ... ▼]

8. Do you have regular trainings on different products you are handling in cap genius tool? [Select ... ▼]

9. Do you have enough knowledge and use of the tools involved for analyzing the issues reported in cap genius tool? [Select ... ▼]

10. Do you have enough knowledge of the service software (Phoenix) involved for analyzing the issues? `Select ... ▼`

11. Do you have enough knowledge of the service software (Nokia Care Suite) involved for analyzing the cap genius issues? `Select ... ▼`

12. Do you have enough knowledge of the phone software involved for analyzing the cap genius issues? `Select ... ▼`

13. Do you have enough knowledge of the phone features of the products you are responsible for? `Select ... ▼`

14. Do you get support easily in your daily work when you need it? `Select ... ▼`

15. How do you prioritize your issues when handling for corrective actions? `Select ... ▼`

16. Please, enter here any comments regarding competence, improvements or any suggestion regarding your work in the cap genius chain.

Thank you for taking your time to complete this survey!

Reclaiming Oromo Indigenous Organizational Structures and Fostering Supportive Environments for Health

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ABSTRACT

The health of the Oromo people is determined by complex and intertwined social and natural environments. Modifying or entirely changing these environments necessitates developing effective organizations and leadership. Colonial socio-cultural-structural impositions conditioned the Oromo people to adopt the Euro-centric discourses and its top-down organizational structure. The top-down organizational structure is incompatible with the Oromo episteme; it is inaccessible, inequitable and unsustainable. Such a structure does not foster full participation of community members and promote healthy social conditions. This paper provokes a discussion as to whether or not the Oromo people and other indigenous people need to adopt the Euro-centric organizational structure or maintain their indigenous structures to transform their society and promote health. The Oromo indigenous organizational structures are framed in an Oromo paradigm of thinking and they are in a better position to understand the social problems of the Oromo people. In addition, they foster the participation of people, create a stable, transparent and dynamic society and help to continuously improve the social environments in which the Oromo people work and live. This can prevent illness and injuries in the first place and helps implement the principles of health promotion strategies and creates supportive environments i.e. nagaa (peace), haaqa (social justice) and tasgaabi (social order).

Keywords: Ormo People, Ormo Indigenous Organizational Structure, Healthcare

INTRODUCTION

We cannot solve our problems with the same thinking we used when we created them. Albert Einstein

The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.
(Lorde cited in Smith, 1999 p.19).

The first quote is the words of the famous theoretical physicist Albert Einstein who developed the general theory of relativity. The second is the words of an African-American activist and scholar. These two statements convey one common message - to better understand and solve our social and environmental problems, we need to change the lenses through which we see the world around us. The statements of those scholars are consistent with the views of Karl Marx and Max Weber (Weber, 1930) who theorized that socio-cultural beliefs are a fundamental determining factor in promoting or hindering social transformation. These statements remind us to reflect, ask questions and critically see our social realities. Similarly, the Oromo and other colonized peoples need to ask whether or not they need to retain the euro-centric organizational structures or reclaim their Indigenous organizational structure.

In promoting and defending the quest of Indigenous people to self-determination, Michael Dodson stated that, "Self-determination is the river in which all other rights swim". Michael

Dodson (cited in Craig, 1996). The concept of self-determination is intertwined with the idea of human liberty. Many critical thinkers have given a wide range of definitions to the concept of self-determination. Although there are differences among them as to what freedom, dependency and interdependency mean, there is consensus that self-determination and liberty are two of the essential conditions needed for all human beings to flourish and thrive. The concept of self-determination could apply to the person or to a group. It means that groups or individuals have free will. It is the right to make free choices, unconstrained by external agencies, and immunity from the arbitrary exercise of authority. This includes social, economic, political and cultural independence, home rule or sovereignty. According to Van Scotter et. al. (1991), if societies wish to secure their survival and flourish, they have to establish peace and stability in the changing world and maintain social order and foster supportive environments for health. In addition, they need to reproduce biologically, culturally and socially as well as create conditions that guarantee them physical and mental health, have goals and aspirations, as well as find meaning and purpose in life. The concept of self-determination includes being governed by society's social philosophy, norms and by the traditional social structure.

Human beings solve their social problems by organizing and effectively utilizing their human and natural resources (Cummings & Worley, 2001) and creating supportive environment for health. Leadership and organizations help societies to envision a better future and coordinate the means to accomplish more than what individual members could ever achieve on their own (Dugassa, 2012). This makes organization and leadership the lifeblood for all societies. In the twenty first century, information technology has brought together the global community and this has intensified competition for resources and knowledge. The changes in the economic environment from local and national to global markets require leadership and organization that can function in complex conditions and create supportive environment for health. This makes the need for effective organization and leadership essential.

Community leaders and organizations employ a number of unique methods to transform their society. Transformational change requires considerable innovation (Cummings & Worley, 2001). Indigenous organizations and leadership are in a position to better understand the social factors that shape health, safety, risk, and develop comprehensive strategies for change. The interactive actions help to refine the way their organization approaches community health, and allows community members to better understand the challenges they face and the opportunities they have. Indigenous leaders can systematically shift the focus and create social environments that prevent illness and injury in the first place by applying health promotion strategies (Dugassa, 2012) or fostering supportive environments for health.

The recent attempt in epistemological re-orientation many Global institutions are interested to promote building the capacity of the colonized and marginalized people. These institutions use the language of institutional building and capacity building (Jelinek, 1979). The institutions they are referring to are the ones that resemble the Euro-American institutions and function in their epistemology. However, it is not clear if Indigenous people are better organized when the structures of their organization are based on the social structures and episteme of the group or when it is based on the Euro-centric – top-down structure. In this paper, I explore whether or not the Oromo indigenous social structure can be used to build their organizational structures. In particular, I take a close look at the ways that organizational structure inherited from the Euro-centric paradigm has affected the development of Oromo leadership and organizations. Understanding the ways in which the worldview of a society informs the organizational

structure of that society has vital importance in helping us to understanding the challenges that in this case the Oromo people face, in getting organized and mobilizing their natural and human resources and transforming their society.

Improvement in population health does not happen by chance. It requires creative vision, strategic decision making and a thoughtful implementation of knowledge of population health. This happens through the intentional allocation of human and natural resources, building appropriate infra-structure, programs and services (Dugassa,2008a). In this paper the questions I ask and try to answer include: to bring social transformation and foster supportive environments for health, what types of organizational structures are needed? Do the Oromo people have to maintain their own indigenous social organizational structures or make use of the Euro-centric organizational structure? What are the challenges of maintaining the indigenous organizational structures? Answering these questions requires rigorous thinking and soul searching.

This paper consists of five major parts. In the first part, I introduce the topic under investigation and present the statement of the research problem and objectives of the research. In the second part, I explore the constructs of the Indigenous Oromo social structure. In the third part, I examine the complex ways in which colonialism alters the social structures, institutions, and the customs and functionality of societies. I then take a close look at whether or not a centralized command system of organizational structures can effectively lead an egalitarian-democratic society and organize people to counterbalance the colonial agenda and advance their human liberty and dignity and prepare them to the better future. Finally, I take a critical look at the contemporary Oromo organizational structure.

Statement of Research Problem
Providing background and context in which an event occurred or is occurring, makes it easier to understand the conditions that have generated the question under investigation and hints at what we need to take into consideration. Oromos are an egalitarian society. Critical analyses into Oromo history reveals that the two major reasons that brought the Oromo people under Ethiopian rule were: a) the support that the European empire builders provided to Abyssinia; b) competition among the Oromo clans (Holcomb & Ibsa, 1991) and c) assimilation of the Gada leaders into the Abyssinian culture. The colonial power structure damaged supportive social environments for health and created unhealthy social conditions (Dugassa, 2008, Jalata, 2005). This exposed the Oromo people to both old and new diseases.

In the process of the formation of the present state of Ethiopia during the 1880s, the European empire builders provided racist theoretical reasoning (Dugassa, 2008), military hardware and personnel for Abyssinia to invade Oromia (Holcomb and Ibsa 1991; Jalata, 2005 and Bulcha, 2002). The deeply entrenched epistemological views that unified the European empire builders with Abyssinia were: a) Christians have the right to colonize and exploit others; b) the Christian world is the civilized world and it has a moral obligation to civilize uncivilized people. Driven by such racist convictions one of the methods the Ethiopian government used to colonize and maintain the power relation was by dismantling Oromo institutions, denying them leadership (Darkwah, 1978; Dugassa, 2012) and assimilating them into the Abyssinian culture.

Since the Oromo people lost their sovereignty in the 1880s, they have continuously been denied the right to become organized. The Ethiopian government exploits and controls the human and natural resources of Oromo people with little or no resistance to their policies. Indigenous Oromo institutions such as *Siiqee, Qaalu* and Gada leadership have either been

totally banned or incapacitated (Bokku, 2011). The teaching of Oromo worldviews and perspectives are either totally banned or hampered. The denial of both construction and transmission of Oromo centric knowledge has disrupted their relations with the social, natural world and divine power. For example, Ethiopian institutions teach Abyssinian and Oromo students that the Oromo worldview and institutions represent backwardness and savagery. The objectives of such schooling are to convince Abyssinians that the privileges they are enjoying are natural. The other objective is to convince the Oromo people that their knowledge and experiences are inferior to the Abyssinians and that the colonial power relations as well as their social problems are natural and inevitable (Dugassa, 2011). It is for this reason that the TPLF led Ethiopian government explains the social problems of Oromo people as being caused by "poverty, famine or drought" rather than the malignant colonial social policies.

The vanguard Oromo political organization, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) has effectively mobilized the Oromo people on Oromo-centric ideas is facing several challenges. One of these challenges is its organizational structure. Influenced by the Western school of thought, modern Oromo leaders made the structure of their organization consistent with the European hierarchy system - where there is a head, body and tail. Although the OLF has effectively mobilized the Oromo people to reclaim their sovereignty, it is facing enormous difficulties in managing the dynamics in the organization and in maintaining internal stability. The reasons for the difficulties are compounded by the Ethiopian government's tireless efforts to weaken an independent Oromo organization and the failure of the organization to manage internal social dynamics.

It is not only Oromo political organizations that face challenges. Oromo communities, Oromo churches and Oromo mosques are also facing enormous difficulties. Given that the members of Oromo political organizations and Oromo communities are diverse groups (some believe in centralism and others do not), it is not surprising. Paradoxically, although the members of the Oromo church and mosques theoretically accepted the structure of hierarchy, they are not keen on it. For church groups the ideas of God the Father, the Holy Spirit and God the Son are preached. In mosques Allah and about the teachings of last prophet are sermonized. Technically the teachings of these religious encourage discipleship, fellowship, hierarchy and centralism.

What are the supportive environments for health?

Supportive environments for health are social conditions that offer people protection from threats to health, and enable them to expand their capabilities and develop self-reliance in health. They encompass where people live, their local community, their home, where they work and play, including people's access to resources for health, and opportunities in life, peace, stability and empowerment (WHO, 1998). According to the WHO (1998) action to create supportive environments for health has many dimensions. This may include direct political action to develop and implement policies and regulations which help create supportive environments (healthy social and economic policies, developing community, regional and national leaderships, fostering sustainable economic development and social actions.

In the last fifty years, as Oromo intellectuals started to organize communities, religious institutions and political parties, they used the organizational structure framed by Euro-centric perspectives. Most Oromos maintained their indigenous organizational structures. When those who maintained, and those who have lost, indigenous structure came together the differences in view reveals. For some, centralized

leadership where command and order goes is needed and they insist on getting organized accordingly. For others, a centralized command system is not equitable, democratic and transparent and they resist.

For the Oromo people, spirituality is part of their past, present and future (Bokku, 2011, Daaniyaa, 2007; Aguilar, 2009). Spirituality is known to give society theoretical lenses through which people can understand the social and natural world. The long protracted war perpetuated by the Ethiopian government against the Oromo people is intended to make them submissive (Jalata, 2007). The motives of Christian and Islam religious missionaries are consistent with the colonizers' racial and cultural superiority theory and their intentions are to legitimize colonial ideas and agendas (Dugassa, 2011). The worldview of a particular of society informs the members to name the problem, what to do about it and how to do it. Worldview set norms in social relations and inform members as to what constitutes proper social order, ethically rightness or dishonorable behavior.

The Ethiopian government banned Oromo social, political and religious institutions and this has created fertile ground for foreign religions to compete to control the Oromo mind. Religious conversions are seizing and reprogramming the mind. Reprogramming minds leads to losses of accumulated knowledge, wisdom and experiences. This causes the loss of spiritual and social capital, leads to confusion, disorganization, instability, poverty, and several other social problems (Aguilar, 2009).

Social transformation and the legitimization of colonial power relation begin by changing opinions. Let me give a specific example and show where religious conversion leads to confusion. According to (Weber, 1930), protestant church teaching fostered the development of work ethics and capitalism (accumulation of wealth, profit and hard-work). In Oromia, protestant teaching discourages profit making, accumulation of wealth and hard work. Instead, it promotes endless prayer and submissiveness. A result of the Ethiopian government's colonial social policies and protestant teaching, begging that had been taboo in Oromo culture has now become common. In Oromia, church leaders became uncritical followers and propagators of the teachings that they have not tested or lived under. This promoted blind faith in foreign ideas and perspectives. The teachings are contrary to the Oromo worldview and validate the colonizers' perspectives. For example, Jomo Kenyatta the first Kenyan President explained the impacts of religious conversion in Kenya when he said,

> *When the Missionaries arrived, the Africans had the land and the Missionaries had the Bible. They taught [us] how to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened them [our eyes], they had the land and we had the Bible (Kenyatta).*

Societies better solve their social problems if they are empowered and coordinate their human and natural resources (Mann et al. 1999). It is for these reasons that researchers, motivated by a sense of social justice, human emancipation and health promotion, promote the need to build the capacity of people to solve their own problems. The idea of capacity building includes three major areas (a) sustainable development, (b) building civil society and social capital, and (c) organizational development and management theory. On the institutional level, the idea of capacity building encompasses aiding pre-existing institutions in developing countries. This necessitates critically looking into the structures of an organization.

Leadership envisions a better future, set new standards, energizes, enables the members and transforms society (Cumming & Worley, 2001). It is hard to envisage achievements in social transformation, in social security reform and the fostering of supportive environments for

health without organizations and leadership. Leadership can be seen in the ability of policymakers and politicians to skillfully use their power to communicate a vision that they can realize through the mobilization of supportive coalitions. The purpose of this study is to meet four competing aims: developing effective Oromo social, economic, political and cultural organizations, maintaining the Oromo indigenous governance (leadership & organizational structure), managing the clan-regional political sentiments and making competition among leaders a peaceful one.

Objectives:
My research objective is motivated by a sense of social justice, human emancipation and a desire fostering supportive environments for health in Oromia. The primary objective of this paper is to study whether or not the Oromo people need to reclaim democratic, transparent and Oromo-centric institutions, leadership and organizational structures and make the center of decision making body of their organizations accessible and equitable or embrace the Euro-centric top-down organizational structure.

Contemporary Theory of Organization
The word organization is derived from the Greek word organon or ergon - as we know it "organ" - and it means a coordination of parts (of the body, a body system, cell. It can be the way in which living things are organized (Wikipedia). In the Western world the functions of organs are framed in relation to their social order and there is a hierarchy. The top is the head and the other body parts are subservient to it. The Oromo concept of organization should be consistent with their egalitarian social structures.

> *Why we have to study about organization when we are working in public health?*
> *Public health is defined as "the art and science of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health through the organized efforts of society (WHO, 1998). One of the responsibilities of public health is fostering policies that promote health. Democratic, transparent and equitable organizations readily make efforts to create supportive environments. This means studying organization should be seen as part of our efforts to foster supportive environments for health.*

The concept of organization can be explained in three different metaphors: mechanical, body organs and cultural (Gharajedaghi, 2011). The mechanical metaphor explains organization as a chain of actions and reactions through which it directs the bigger society. This metaphor represents the organizational structures that are led by the singular mind. This has been seen among societies ruled by monarchies, theocrats or dictators. The mechanical metaphor refers to the idea that power comes from a divine power. For example, in medieval Europe, it was believed that divine power gave the authority to the head of the church and church leaders acted as go-betweens between human and divine power and they set policies and practices. Even today, there are several states and institutions that still use this metaphor. In such organizational metaphor a few religious leaders or dictators decide on the fate of the people. This metaphor prescribes that the people ought to be docile followers rather than critical thinkers.

The second metaphor is about organisms that constitute different organ systems, tissues and cells (Gharajedaghi, 2011). Although this metaphor recognizes the importance of the interaction of all body parts, it recognizes that some parts of the body are more important than others. Organizations that are structured in this way recognize the participation of all parts of the organization; however, decision-making is left for the few powerful groups. This metaphor represents neo-liberal organizational structures. The metaphor that represents organization as a living body encourages the interaction of all the departments. However, when it comes to

decision making, the degree of involvement is limited to only the few. Such a form of organizational structure is inequitable and environmentally unsustainable. These types of organizational structure focus more on promoting the interests of the dominant group. The primary examples for such organizational structure are states led by Neoliberal democracy.

The third metaphor by which organizations are described is the cultural or worldview perspective. This metaphor recognizes the importance that culture and the worldview of the members of the society, have in framing the organizational structure. It sees that the structure of organizations resembles the structure of the society and that it is unique for different societies. The organization described in the cultural metaphor makes decision making more democratic, equitable and environmentally sustainable. This metaphor is consistent with the Oromo worldview and it entails the idea of equity, diversity and the accessibility of all organizations to all people.

Oromo Indigenous Social Organizations

Social organization is a system that has a characteristic pattern of relationships (McShane, 1998). The social organizations of all people are unique to their culture. The social organization of a group of people includes how people interact, how the mechanism kinship systems work, its marriage residency patterns, how people divide up the various tasks that need to be completed, who has access to specific goods and knowledge, and what ranking strategy is being used.

Oromos have unique complex, pluralistic and "organic" social organizations (Legesse, 2000; Elemo, 2005). One of the most important Oromo social organizations is patriarchal kinship – such as family, kin, sub-clan, clan, moiety and nationhood. The second is generational – *hoboo* – *cooraa* and Gadaa party membership and *Siiqee* for Oromo women. The third relates to age – *Hiriyya*- for boys *Addoyye* for girls. The fourth is based on the accessibility to spiritual and ethical knowledge – i.e. *Qaalu*. The Oromo social organization encompasses the basic facts of life, starting from conception, birth, marriage, kinship, death and others associated with them. It includes cultural identity, continuity and social stability.

One of the Oromo indigenous social organizations is the family, sub-clan and clan. The purposes of social organizations are to effectively manage the social and economic affairs of the members and guarantee their collective security and safety. Clans collectively protect their members from the threats of natural calamities and inter-intra -clan conflicts. However, Oromo clans are bonded together in marriage and one clan is not entirely distinct from the adjacent ones. Oromo tradition does not allow marriage between close family members. It requires the couple to be apart for at least nine generations. This requires different clans to find a marriage partner from another clan. Such cultural practices have significantly prevented public health problems that can result from consanguineous marriages. For example, consanguineous marriages (marriage between close family members) increases the risks of several genetic disorders including birth defects, still births, infant mortality, disabilities, different forms of eye diseases, deafness (Hamamy, 2012) and mental retardation (Woodley, 2009).

Although the Oromo people use the clan structure to establish safety and security for their members, the Ethiopian government uses it to divide and rule. The Oromo people are not empowered with regard to their affairs and their social problems and social structure are at the discretion of the colonizers. In addition, since the Oromo people colonized their social relations, problems and social structures are not vigorously evaluated and renewed. The absence of the renewal of social relations made the Oromo people vulnerable to the Ethiopian

government attacks. For example, when the Abyssinian king Menelik evicted the Abichu Oromos from their land, the Abichu moved to the Galaan Oromo territory. Binding to the traditional clan border, the Galaan did not welcome the Abichu (Darkwah, 1978). As a result, when conflict between the two Oromo clans started, Menelik pretended to support the Abichu and subdued both clans. This event became the beginning of the final successful attempt to colonize Oromia.

The second important Oromo social structure is generational – *hoboo – cooraa* and Gadaa party membership. Party membership is not by choice but by genealogy for Oromo men and marriage for women. This structure puts the father and the son into two distinct memberships and loyalties. If the father is *cooraa*, the son is *hoboo* and vice-versa. In all cases, they are expected to be loyal to their family, clan and their party membership. In the Gada system, the father and the son should be members of different parties (Leggese, 2000). This social norm requires every Oromo person to be loyal to the family, clan and the party. This promotes peace, stability, democracy and establishes checks and balances in society, a principle which is instrumental in fighting corruption. For example, in many parts of the world, dictators organize their family and clan members to defend their power and share the privileges. In the Oromos' case, loyalty to the family, clan and age grade are expected also trustworthiness to the party membership is anticipated. This means the indigenous Oromo social norm and structure does not allow dictators to emerge or corruption to spread. Oromo War chiefs like Gobana Dancee, Abba Jifar, Kumsa Moroda emerged after essential Oromo institutions like *Qaalu* were attacked and the Oromo worldview that guided their moral value was suppressed by colonial teachings.

The human brain perceives the world according to its own initial wiring. When we are conditioned to adopt a new perspective, many changes occur in the ways we see the world (Rock, 2007). Shifting the worldview of society brings change in the social structure, social values, perspectives and their universe. This makes people misrepresent, misperceive and misunderstand themselves (Said, 1994). In the long term, this destabilizes society and cripples their social conditions. It is for these reasons that colonial religious teachings are used to divide the Oromo people.

Culture and Social Structure

Culture is the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterize a given community, institution or organization (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Others see culture as an operating system that guides social organizations toward a predefined order (Gharajedaghi, 2011). Culture shapes individuals' abilities, roles, motives, knowledge, values, responsibilities and the leadership model. It influences outlook, perceptions, assumptions and directs individuals to come together, form organizations and pursue agreed on collective goals (Hall, 1997). Culture facilitates community members establishing networks with each other and among different communities and organizations. It influences the relationship between social and natural environments and governs individuals, family and community relationships. It sets beliefs, values, behaviors, laws, traditions, identities, institutions and responsibilities. Culture collectively programs the minds of individuals, organizations and societies. Culture influences the social structure, governance arrangement, the naming of social problems and the finding of solutions. This suggests that effective organization and leadership can be developed in the episteme of the society.

In this paper, Oromo culture is a belief system that guides the ideas and ideologies and ethical values of the Oromo people. Oromo culture gives meaning in life and it entails power, law and social order that govern the society and maintain *nagaa* (peace), *fayya* (health), haaqa (social justice) and *tasgabi* (social order). It shapes the ways community and institutional leaders exercise their position and foster their governing skills. Oromo culture supports the social structure of the society and helps to function in harmony and supports members to establish multiple layers of networks. In turn, these social structures and networks enable people and organizations to effectively manage and organize society and solve their own problems.

Our world is not ruled by those who have the right worldviews or higher morality. It is run by those who have the power to convince others that they are right (Gharajedaghi, 2011). It is for this reason that cultural assimilation is seen as one of the tools colonizers use for social control. As did the European empire builders, the Ethiopian government has used assimilation as a tool to conquer, pacify and control. The Ethiopian government worked to force the Oromo people to abandon their epistemological view and adopt the colonizers' perspective. In my previous work (Dugassa, 2012), I have elaborated the ways the Ethiopian government used cultural assimilation as a means to deny the Oromo people a leadership. Assimilated and indoctrinated Oromo individuals were made to fight their own people on behalf of the Ethiopian government. Oromo individuals, who were enslaved, indoctrinated and assimilated into the Ethiopian culture, are trained to propagate the institutions and ideas that have subjugated them.

Education is a powerful colonial and anti-colonial tool. For example, many African liberation movement leaders were educated in the European school system and they used the knowledge they acquired to organize their people and resist colonial occupation. Although these leaders liberated African people from the colonial physical occupation, they legitimized Euro-centric perspectives, and delegitimized the Afro-centric worldviews. These leaders unwittingly inherited European ideas and perspectives and legitimized the colonial system of governance. The legitimized systems include the colonial legal system and centralized political power or command centers- which legitimized social hierarchy and denied the principles of diversity and equity. African leaders gave epistemological validity and adopted the European organizational structure. The organizational theory and structures that these leaders acquired from European schooling were used to govern the African people. If I use Fanon's words, although the African liberation movement was about people's self-determination, it turned out to be replacing black-skin and white-mind (Fanon, 1962). Postliberation African organizational structures are contrary to the core values of African people. As a result, although in most of African culture collective aspirations are valued more than individuals' desires the constitutions of many African countries emphasize individual rights. The embracing of the European organizational structure and perspectives did not produce the desired effects.

The Influence of Culture

In the same way that DNA is the source of information for biological systems, culture is the blueprint for socio-cultural groups (Seale, 2006; Hall, 1997). What makes the Oromo people different from others is their cultural blueprint. Culture can be better explained as the metaphor of a coat that protects individuals from external threats of natural and social environments, such as extreme cold or heat. This means that Oromo culture protected the Oromo people from the damages perpetuated by colonial forces and internal social anarchy. Oromo culture gives epistemological reasoning, a blueprint for the Oromo people, for individuals, communities and social organizations to function in harmony. For example, in Oromo prayers and blessings the most important words are peace (*nagaa*), health (*fayya*), social order (*tasgabbi*) and justice (*haaqa*) (Aguilar, 2009, Dugassa, 2011). In the Oromo worldview, centralized power is contrary to Oromo democratic values.

Culture and language greatly influence leadership. Language communicates meaning (Hall, 1997). When many African countries adopted European languages as their official languages, they legalized the colonial knowledge and leadership and delegitimized indigenous African languages, their knowledge and their types of leadership (Dugassa, 2011). Although many African countries have been celebrating their liberation for nearly six decades, the social conditions of many African people are not much different from when they were under colonial rule. The experiences of Oromo leaders are not different from other Africans. The structures of organizations that the Oromo leaders formed resemble those of other African leaders. Although these leaders have committed their precious time, energy and life to the liberation struggle, they are still functioning within the colonial organizational structure. What are the impacts of adopting the organizational structures that are foreign to the Oromo people?

Organization and Social Structure

What is organizational structure? Why do we need to study the structure of organizations? How it is relevant to the efforts of the Oromo people to decolonize themselves? The concept of structure involves the frameworks around which the group or institutions are organized and the underpinnings that keep the coalition functioning. Social structure binds members together and helps them function in harmony and gives members clear guidelines on how to proceed. A clearly established structure gives the group the means to maintain order and resolve disagreements. In other words, organizational structure is like the operating manual and it tells the ways it is put together and the ways it works. It describes the duties and responsibilities of different departments and the ways decisions are made.

All societies have a unique social structure and the structure of all organizations have to be consistent with the structures of that society. By definition, organization implies a social structure. Whether or not we recognize it all organizations represent the social structure of society. In usual cases, the structure of an organization matches the objective of the organization, and the society in which it functions. When organizational structures are imposed, a mismatch usually occurs. While the need for structure in an organization and society is vitally clear, the best structure for a particular socio-cultural group is harder to determine. The structure for any organization is dependent on the objectives, ideology of the organization and the socio-cultural setting, the history of the organization and its development.

The organizational structure of a society is shaped by its socio-cultural settings. The organizational structure determines the roles of the decision-making bodies and the ways

responsibilities are assigned, controlled, and coordinated, as well as ways information flows among different departments (McShane, 1998). Organizational structure depends on the objectives and the strategies of the institution and the social setting in which it functions. In a centralized structure i.e. a mechanistic structure, the top layer of the organization has most of the decision making power and has tight control over other divisions. In a less-centralized structure i.e. organic structure, the decision making power is distributed and all the departments have some degree of independence.

Organization is a social unit of people that is structured and manages to meet the needs or to pursue the collective aspirations of the group. All organizations have a management structure that determines relationships among different departments and the members, and subdivides and assigns roles, responsibilities, and the authority to carry out different tasks. In general, organizations are open systems--they affect, and are affected by, the social environments. The effectiveness of leadership and organizational structure are heavily dependent on the perspective and manner in which leaders create policy, whether there is coherence for a sustained period of time and whether steps are taken to ensure that this continues after their departure.

The structure of an organization is dependent on the objectives and strategy of the establishment (McShane, 1998). The structure of an organization is typically its arrangement of lines of authority, communications, rights and duties of departments and individuals. Organizational structure determines the roles, responsibilities are assigned, controlled, and coordinated, and information flows among different departments. In a centralized structure, the top layer of management has most of the decision making power and has tight control over departments and divisions. In a decentralized structure, the decision making power is distributed and all the departments and divisions may have different degrees of independence Patrick Sullivan (2007) studied the case of the indigenous Australian people and found out that sovereignty, culture and indigenous institution are critical for good governance.

The structure of an organization reflects the culture of that particular society. In the contemporary world, market economy has intensified competition at the local and global levels. The successes of societies are dependent on the structure of their organizations. In its turn, organizational performances depend on its structure and whether or not the structure of the organization is consistent with the local social philosophy. Society's social values guide the design process of the organization and help to discover areas for improvement and generate relevant innovations.

There are different types of organizational structures. Some of the structures are designed to maintain hierarchy while others promote the full participation of members of the society. For example, organizational structures that promote participation in the decision-making process channel much of the information-processing activities. Enabling an organizational structure facilitates society members to reorient, renew and brings large-scale changes as well as organizational transformation. Design processes address the systemic nature of organizational change.

Colonialism and Structural Assimilation

The word colony comes from the Latin word "colony" and it entails farming, cultivating and settlement. Colonialism is when a group of emigrants or their descendants' settle/cultivate in a distant territory but remain subject to or closely associated with the parent country. Colonialized people are those who are politically controlled or occupied by another country (Reference Dictionary). Initially, the concept of cultivation and settlement was simply linked to

space or land. For these reasons, in the 1960s in most African countries, liberation movements were intended to free the land from colonial physical occupation. However, forcing out the metropolitan armies from Africa did not lead to true liberation. After the colonial armies left, many African leaders who have adopted the European culture and ways of life, allowed the colonial language to be the official language of newly independent states. As a result, in many African countries the official languages became English, French, Portuguese or Arabic and official religions were either Christianity or Islam. Paradoxically the leaders who sacrificed their human and natural resources to liberate their people adopted the ideas, ideologies, worldviews and institutional structures that had dehumanized and subjected them to slavery, colonialism and unbearable poverty. To understand this paradox, one needs to examine the way colonialism is seen- because definitions lead to action.

Religious conversion and cultural impositions are some of the colonial tools used to control and disempower the colonized people (Said, 1994). For example, in Australia Christian missionaries attempted to control every aspect of Aboriginal lives. Missionaries cooperated with the colonial government to control the language that the indigenous people spoke, the type of housing they lived in, their labor, wages, education, even their movements to or from their communities, as well as their social relationships, marriages and even the number of children they should have (Sullivan, 2007). Religious impositions are basically reprograming and controlling the mind. The Nigerian writer Achebe (1958p.176) described the damages that the colonial religious imposition causes when he said:

> *the white man is very clever. He came quietly … with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.*

Achebe's observations in the case of people in Nigeria five decades ago are consistent with the case in Oromia today. In Oromia, the indigenous religion is legally banned by the Ethiopian government. This has created favorable conditions for foreign religions i.e. Christianity and Islam and their different sects to compete over the Oromo episteme and minds. This has led to conflicts among communities (BBC News, 2006) and even the breakdown of families.

African liberation movement leaders were educated by Euro-centric schools and they conceptualized colonialism and liberation from the perspective of the colonizers. They understood that the presence of colonial agents makes the liberation incomplete. This understanding led to the colonizers being physically forced to leave Africa. However, this allowed the colonial ideas, ideologies, system of thinking (Dugassa, 2011) and governance structure to stay. When newly independent states were formed, they started to run the internal and external affairs of their perspective countries basing them on the ideology and value of the colonizers. This conditioned many African countries to be dependent on the ideas, ideologies and experiences of the empire builders (Mazrui, 1978). Such dependencies not only undermined the efforts of African people, but also it legitimized the idea of domination, exploitation and colonial power relation. In the minds of many Africans and Europeans, this has created the notion that Europe is a knowledge producer and charity giver and Africa is a consumer and receiver. This makes clear that the concept of colonialism goes beyond settling, cultivating and controlling the land. It includes economic exploitation and impositions of myths or controlling the minds. Oromo people need to learn from the mistake of other Africans and

widen their scope in defining colonialism. They need to redefine that the objective of their struggle is to end the social, economic, political, cultural and ideological imposition or domination and reclaim Oromo myth making.

Colonialism and Structural Assimilation

Structural assimilation refers to the integration of one society into the social customs, institutions and social groups of the dominant society. It entails the entrance of a group "into the social cliques, organizations, and institutional activities of another society. Structural assimilation is part of the colonialism of the mind. Cultural assimilation is one of the major pathways through which structural assimilation is perpetuated. A change in culture (worldview, language, values and perspectives) alters the epistemological foundation of the society, for example such understanding or conceptualizing what constitutes ethical right and wrong (Mazrui, 1978). Let me give a specific example and explore the ways the imposition of one language over the other brings change in epistemological orientation. To show this, I will to compare English grammar structure to the Oromo language grammar.

English Grammar Structure	**Oromo Grammar Structure**
Subject + Verb + Object	Subject + Object + Verb
I eat bread	*Ani dabbon nyaadha*

In English and Oromo language grammars, I (Ani) the subject go first. This makes the speakers of both languages put themselves ahead of anything else. In the English language, the verb follows the subject and the object comes last. English grammatical structure suggests that, next to me, what I do is important and what I do it upon is least important. In the case of the Oromo language, next to I (Ani) the object comes and the verb (what I do) comes last. The Oromo language structure suggests, next to me, that the subject I do upon comes and what I do comes last. These structures are not random and they reflect the social structure of society. Consistent with the grammatical structure, English and other European societies emphasize individual rights and individual efforts more. However, Oromo people as much as they value individual rights, they also treasure collective rights and collective work. Let us look at another example.

English	**Oromo**
I eat	*Ani nan nyaadha*
He eats	*Ini ni nyaataa*
She eats	*Isheen ni nyaati*
You (s) eat	*Ati ni nyaataa*
You (p) eat	*Isaan ni nyaatuu*
We eat	*Uni ni nyaanaa*

In English grammar, he and she take the same form of verb "eats" and first person singular (you) and second person plural (you), third person plural (we) take the same form of verb "eat". In Oromo there is differentiation for he and she (ni nyaataa and ni nyaati) as well as for Ati (you –first person singular and Isaan (second person plural you) and plural Uni (we). Language is the product of a social setting and it varies based on the social structure of the speakers (Lupyan & Dale, 2010). In English grammar, men and women use the same verb. This suggests they do the same thing. Consistent with the grammar structure, the English people developed an institution that can be led by male kings or female queens. However, the Oromo people have developed two distinct institutions: Gada – which is always a male figure and

Siiqee- which is exclusively led by Haadha Caacu – female head. This implies the language structure reflects the social structure of the society. The absence and presence of gender differentiations are reflective of a gender centered division of labor in society.

Spirituality and language set the norm in the mind of speakers. Language makes events and ideas meaningful and often defines our realties (Dugassa, 2006). It helps maintain individuals and collective ways of living and gives meaning in relationship (Dei and Asghazadeh, 2003). Language serves to bring people together or divide them (Kontra et. al, 1999). For example (Battiste, 2002) an indigenous scholar argues that indigenous languages and their symbolic, verbal, and grammatical structures provide unconscious orders of structure in society and help to maintain harmony in the group. Educators cannot teach indigenous knowledge outside of Indigenous languages. The Euro-centric episteme promoted hierarchy between the social and natural world and this allowed the knowledge of the environment to be lost. Battiste argues that there is an urgent need to conserve the indigenous knowledge to help develop mechanisms to protect the earth's biological diversity. Indeed, the impacts of the Eurocentric episteme are not limited to the earth's biodiversity; it allowed some people to live in poverty and in fear and others in luxury with few worries.

Indigenous Oromo Organizational Structure
Knowledge is socially constructed and this makes it diverse. Knowledge is constructed based on a specific epistemological starting point or belief (O'Brien, 2006). This makes the validity of knowledge grounded on the social location of the knower. Knowledge that is based on a specific epistemological starting point can be valid for one group of people, but not for others. The knowledge of the Oromo people reflects their lived experiences and realities and it is part of their worldview. The knowledge, worldview and the cultural norms of the Oromo people are instrumental in setting ethics and morality of the group and their individual behaviors. The Oromo worldview determines the ways that members of the society behave and create a unique social structure. The deeply instilled worldview and culture of a society inform the structure of their organizations. As the social, political and culture of a society changes, the structure of the society and organization also significantly changes.

The Gada system is one of the most important Oromo social-cultural-political organizations. It organizes Oromo society based on age and genealogy and assigns different responsibilities. It guides the social, political and economic life of the Oromo people (Legesse, 2000). The Gada system and Qaalu guide the Oromo worldview, epistemology, philosophy, art, history, methods of time-keeping and every aspect of the Oromo peoples' lives. The Gada system is democratic, equitable, and transparent and it is deep-seated in the Oromo worldview. When the Oromo people complain about the Ethiopian colonial policy, they say "baraa Gadaan buluu, cunqursaa fi samiich hinturee = when we were ruled by Gada, there was no oppression and exploitation. When they talk about the future of the Oromo government they say "akka gadaati buula = we will be governed in the Gada principles". When they say that Gada is adoptable, they say, "Gadaan hirruu hinqaabu =Gada is complete.
In the Gada system Oromos, are organized in grades and parties. The Gada grades are the stages of development which go through (7-11) different stages. The stage of development refers to the age of the male parts of the Oromo society. For the women, their Gadaa party membership goes with their husband (Elemo, 2005). Although Gadaa grades remain the same all over Oromia, some of the names are somewhat different. In the Gada system, there are five different parties (Birmajiim, Melba, Muudana, Roobale, Duuloo). By birth, one becomes

Dabballee - the first age grade (in one of the parties) and then is transferred to the next grade every eight years. Party membership is predetermined by the father's party membership. The party membership of the father and son is five parties apart. The elected Gada officers stay in power for eight years. The Gada leaders come to power when they are 40-48 years old. Under the Gadaa system, decisions are made by consensus. The Oromo people developed the principle of equity, collective security and safety. Gada gives rise to a group oriented, non-hierarchical organization, which operates by consensus and fosters full participation of all members of the society.

Freedom, justice and security are intertwined. One cannot be free if she/he is not secure and one cannot be secure if the person is not free (Gharajedaghi, 2011). The objective of the Oromo people's struggle to self-determination is to regain their collective security and safety which they have lost after their collective rights were violated. This includes regaining control over the decision making processes, revitalizing Oromo institutions and fostering the emergence of strongly held and revitalized Oromo cultural identities. This helps in making socially and culturally acceptable and economically feasible decisions and implementing them consistent with Oromo ideas and ideologies.

From the Oromo perspective, there are three intertwined principles i.e. peace, health and social order that are essential for their survival. These principles are the foundation on which Oromo society is built. In the Oromo perspective, the presence of personal, community, environmental peace and health as well as harmony with the divine power are essential conditions for their social wellbeing. The idea of group orientation means that the collective interests of the members, such as peace and harmony of the Oromo people with each other and with others, are more important than the individual interests. Collectivism emphasizes individuals' obligation to the group as well as group obligations for the individuals. It stresses collective security and safety over individual interests. Under Gada leadership, when decisions are made by consensus it guarantees that the decision making process is equitable, inclusive and transparent.

How do cultural assimilation and ideological imposition influence the development of leadership and institutions? How do cultural and ideological impositions influence the structure of a society? Should the organizational structure of a society reflect the culture and worldview of the group? What are the relationships between cultural assimilation and structural integration? It is clear that epistemologies, ideas and ideologies can be imposed on people's minds and used to control the society. According to Said (1994), colonialism is not necessarily about the presence or absence of

> *The following are the Gada Grades:*
> *1. Dabballee (0-8 years of age)*
> *2. Folle or Gamme Titiqaa (8-16)*
> *3. Qondaala or Gamme Gurgudaa (16-24)*
> *4. Kuusa (24-32)*
> *5. Raaba Doorii (32-40)*
> *6. Gadaa (40-48)*
> *7. Yuba I (48-56)*
> *8. Yuba II (56-64)*
> *9. Yuba III (64-72)*
> *10. Gadamojjii (72-80)*
> *11. Jaarsa (80 and above)*

the colonial army, but about culture and ideology. Assimilation leads to changes in opinions and it legitimizes the colonial myth, the dominant reality and the unjust power relation (Dugassa, 2011).

Epistemological concepts guide our sense of particular social and political practices, as well as reinforce norms, beliefs and interests embedded in them. Education can be a colonial tool that is used to control and exploit, or it can be used for liberation and emancipation (Freire, 2000). Through education, the colonizers enforce or coerce their perspective in the minds of young students. Like many other African peoples, the Oromos have no control of their schooling.

Through formal and informal education, many Euro-Abyssinian-Arab perspectives have been foisted upon the Oromo people. For these reasons, many Oromo organizations have adopted the organizational structures of compliant control and command center.

Organization and Learning
Organizations and societies are living bodies and they continuously learn from their experiences by doing different things, trying out new ideas, structures and behaviors (Hanna, 1988). As do societies, organizations also learn how to detect and correct errors and then develop theoretical knowledge and practicality applying it. Organizations learn ways of changing the norms, assumptions, underlying theories and how to improve the learning process. When organizations make efforts to self-design and self-evaluate they enable members to generate new strategies, structures and in the process they learn to modify the ways they do things. The concept of organization and leadership are closely associated with challenges and changes; hence, they are part of the essence of the learning process. They help societies to learn how to better understand their problems, build their capacity, and more importantly learn how to learn. This means that organization and leadership are intertwined with the learning process (Dugassa, 2012).

Knowledge is the product of individuals' and groups' rigorous mind activities (Hacking, 2001; O'Brien, 2006). The knowledge produced is dependent on the epistemological starting point (Smith, 2002). This suggests that the structure in which societies get organized should be consistent with their culture, values, and experiences as well as their lived realities. Since knowledge is socially constructed, things that do not fit into our societal knowledge are seen as deviant knowledge. The sentiments we attach to our ideas have a powerful influence on us. Our political, religious and other ideas, for instance, are connected to our fundamental values and moral notions. Indeed, what primarily distinguishes human beings from other living things is their cognitive capacity. For human beings, what we do has deep meaning. If we are asked to do something that does not make sense to us, we either do sloppy jobs or resist doing it.

According to Rock (2006), leadership can be measured by leaders' ability to improve people's thinking. If leaders help people to critically think, they can help them to develop a whole new set of skills—i.e. the ability to create the physical and mental space for them to think, the ability to help others simplify their thinking, the ability to notice certain qualities in people's thinking, the ability to help others make their own connections. This means the most important skill that contemporary leadership should develop is to help the followers to critically think. This is consistent with the major functions of our brains which are known to create order out of the chaos of data coming to them. Our brain links the information it receives and gives our lives sense. It is for this reason that societies work to establish comfortable social conditions and maintain social order. Individuals and societies best function in such an atmosphere. Hence, the role of leadership is to connect and establish associations between items of information and support followers to think in a contemporary paradigm (Rock, 2006).

Epistemological re-orientation fosters a shift in our paradigm of thinking. Different ways of looking at the world produce unique knowledge. The shift in a paradigm of thinking fosters knowledge construction of a different kind. Given that a paradigm of thinking gives researchers and policy makers a framework of thinking, knowledge produced and policies set create new reality. A paradigm shift helps us to widen our scope, to better understand our social realities and to solve our social problems. However, if the dominant groups impose their paradigm of

thinking upon the marginalized groups, they will confuse them. In that case, instead of seeing and understanding their realities through their own lenses, they comprehend it through the eyes of the dominant. This distorts the reality of the marginalized groups. Let me give a concrete example. In the Oromo worldview, black and blackness represents purity and holiness (Dugassa, 2012). From the European perspective blackness represents sorrow, ugliness and crime. Both concepts are ingrained in the worldviews of the two peoples. If the European values are imposed upon the Oromo people, it overtly or covertly informs them that the social problems they face are natural and acceptable.

The Future Directions in Oromo Organizational Structure
The future of the Oromo people depends on the ways they get organized, manage their resources, accommodate their differences, revitalize their social structure, support the development of the minds of the younger generation and foster supportive environments for health. As I mentioned above, the word organization itself is derived from the Greek word organon or ergon - as we know it `organ` - and it means a compartment for a particular body. In the Western world, the structures of organizations are framed to be consistent with their social relation-- hierarchy form. The Oromo concept of organization should be consistent with the Oromo social structure and it should be egalitarian-equitable- accessible and democratic, fairly distribute tasks and privileges and develop strategies to achieve collective goals – the public good.

The reasons that have kept the Oromo people under colonial rule include: a) the support that the European empire builders provided to Ethiopia; b) the absence of cooperation and coordination among the Oromo clans; c) the absence of organizations founded on the Oromo indigenous structure. The Oromo people need to deeply reflect on their lived experiences and tackle them accordingly. To improve the community health development, the Oromo people need to get organized, challenge the colonial agenda and ideology and prove that they are a stabilizing force in the Horn of Africa region and beyond.

Culture collectively programs the mind of people (Cerulo, 2002). As Jalata put it (Jalata, 2007), the leading ideology of Oromo people should be Orommumma-– Oromo-centricity. Oromo organization should be based on the Oromo social structure. As has been seen in many African countries, the ideas, ideologies and organizational structures that are contrary to the Oromo worldview cannot lead them to liberation, foster social transformation and create supportive environments for health. Foreign ideology and organizational structure will not work for two reasons. First, ideas and an ideology that do not fit into the Oromo worldview condition them to adopt the perspective of others. Human beings are social beings and forcing the Oromo people to abandon their culture and perspective exposes them to unwanted risks. Abandoning Orommumma is losing the cultural blueprint and this sets the stage for people to be programmed, assimilated and to become nobody or anybody. The second reason is the challenge of practically adopting foreign ideas, ideologies and perspectives. The ideas and ideologies that do not correspond to the Oromo worldview take several generations to actually understand.

If we closely look at the reasons for the difficulties that Oromo churches and mosques have in getting organized, we see that both religious teachings are truly foreign to the Oromo people. Although in principle the members accepted these beliefs, the ideas and ideologies in those religious teachings promote a hierarchy and a centralized command system. These teachings are contrary to the Oromo worldview and irreconcilable in the minds of the members. Some of the agonizing concepts include a) lifetime church and mosque leaders; b) conceptualizing these leaders as if they are different from the members and being docile followers of them; c) the

hierarchy among the members and leaders.

The Oromo people have several unique social structures. The founding fathers and mothers of these structures set them for specific purposes. Some of the most visible purposes are maintaining peace, promoting health, equity, transparency and democracy. For these reasons, all Oromo individuals are expected to be loyal to the family, to the Gada grade party membership and to the clan. There are several phrases that exemplify this deeply engrained value. *Hidaa malee xanaachi hidhiigu* (= if the blood of close family members are shed, your blood is also shed). *Hirriya malee dhaqxee gaggesaa* malee galtii (=if you go out without your peers you will return with no escort). *Gosaa ufiti baqataani* (= you escape and hide in your clan). Indeed, it is morally wrong to be loyal to one and less loyal to the other. Gada principles are ingrained in the Oromo culture and do not require extensive teaching and learning.

What does it mean to adopt Gada as an Oromo organizational structure? The principles of Gada are deeply rooted in the minds of Oromo people. The need to adopt the Oromo indigenous social structure in institution building should not be a matter of debate. The intent is not just a simple devotion to the principle of self-determination; it goes beyond that. Making use of the Oromo social structure in institutional building fosters using the accumulated wisdom of Oromo people. This makes institution building easier, faster and relevant. Reclaiming Gada as an Oromo organizational structure means implementing the principle of democracy, transparency, equity and inclusiveness. This increases the participation of members of the Oromo society. In turn this increases creativity, learning and problem solving skills.

What type of transformation is required to revitalize Gada principles? Gada is part of the Oromo culture and it does not require major effort to revitalize it and it does not involve significant changes to make it work in the contemporary world. Transformation is helping the Oromo people realize the complexities and the magnitude of the challenges they are facing and convincing them that they can change their hopelessness to hopefulness, misery to happiness, destitution to prosperity and disease to health.

**The Oromo Social Structure and Contemporary World**
When the Oromo people developed Gada; the age grade system and Siiqee, the social realities of the Oromo people were very different from today. The contemporary Oromo world is fast paced and the challenges they face are complex and the opportunities they have are widespread. The challenges they face can be contained if they are effectively organized. If they are organized, they can effectively make use of the opportunities. They can effectively get organized if they frame the structures of their organizations to be compatible with the social structure of the Oromo people.

Creating a new and an alternative vision is considered a key element in a leadership framework; in its turn, vision is driven by the social problems of society and its values (Cummings & Worley, 2001). In Gada, leaders are elected on the merit of what they have done, rather than what they promised to do (Dugassa, 2012). Knowing that children and adults are judged by society fosters hard work, creativity and prepares everyone to act in socially acceptable ways. As students better focus on their studies when they know that they will be evaluated, children and adults do better when they realize that they are evaluated by society. The other fascinating reality about the Gada system is that the Oromo society starts grooming

children for leadership from their birth. This process informs the family and community members of the need to prepare their future leaders. The assessment of leadership continues even after power is transferred.
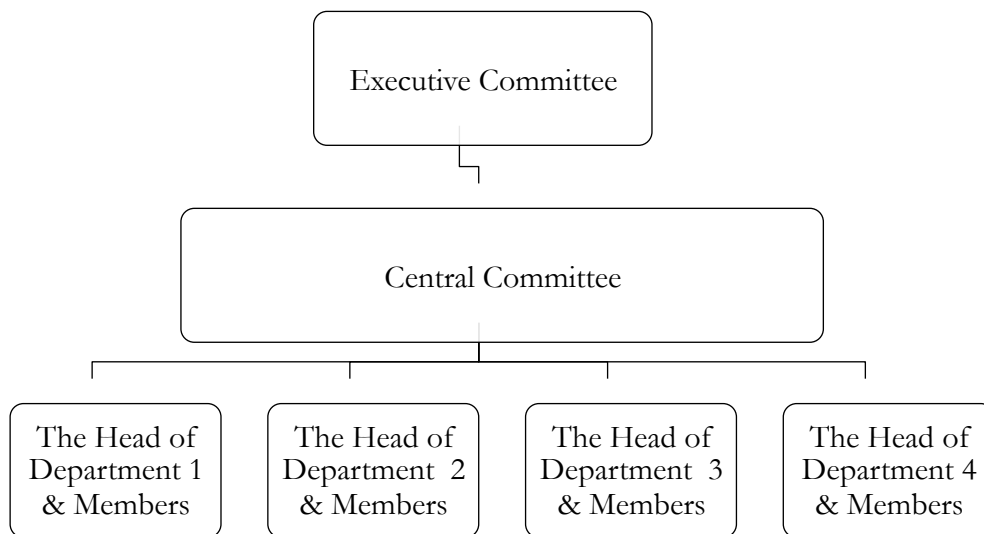
Figure 1: Hierarchical & Centralized Command Model of Organizational Structures
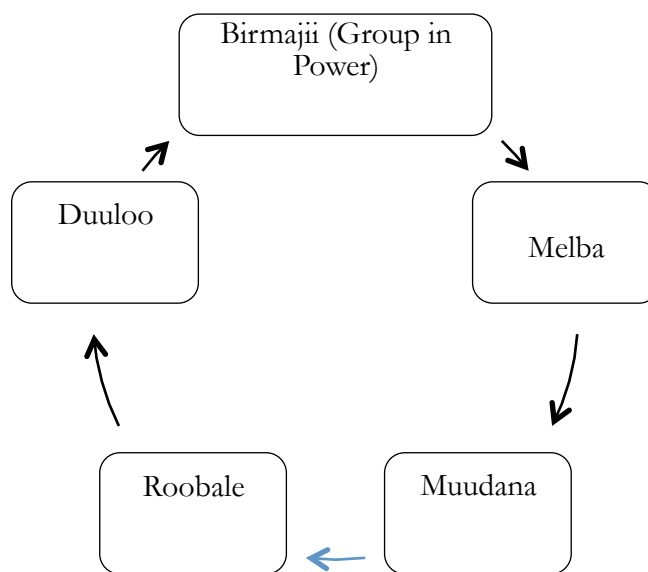
Figure 2: Gada based Organizational Structure

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The health conditions of the Oromo people are determined by complex and intertwined social and environmental conditions. Modifying or entirely changing these environments requires strategic planning and the collective efforts of society. This necessitates developing effective organizations and know how leadership. Ethiopian colonial policies conditioned the Oromo people to adopt the Euro-centric discourses and a top-down organizational structure. The top-down organizational structure is incompatible with the Oromo worldview and it is inaccessible, inequitable and unsustainable. This structure does not foster the full participation of community members. The Oromo indigenous organizational structure functions in the Oromo episteme. Such an organizational structure is better able to understand the social problems of the Oromo people, fostering the participation of people, creating a stable society

and healthy social environments and cultural relevant solutions. This significantly prevents illness and injuries in the first place and helps in applying of principles of health promotion strategies and fostering supportive environments for health i.e. as nagaa (peace) and tasgaabi (social order) and haaqa (social justice).

The structure of an organization is dependent on the objectives and the strategy of the establishment. Organized societies can effectively coordinate their human and natural resources. If societies are empowered and organized they can better understand their problems and solve them. It is for these reasons that postcolonial development literature promotes the need to build the capacity of people to solve their own problems. Indeed, the idea of capacity building encompasses three major areas (a) sustainable development, (b) building civil society and social capital, and (c) fostering organizational development and management theory. The idea of capacity building encompasses aiding pre-existing institutions in developing countries. This means that the need to get organized and identify appropriate organizational structure is critical to the very survival of the Oromo people.

Leadership is a process by which a person and a group use organizations to influence others to accomplish an objective, and direct society in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent (Dugassa, 2012). The quality of leadership is assessed by the ability to see the present in terms of the future. Developing organizations and leadership is critical in transforming and revitalizing colonized people. Colonizers overtly and covertly attack the leadership and the institutions of colonized people. This makes it hard for the Oromo and other colonized peoples to develop their own leaderships and institutions. Organizations and leaderships are essential to bring peace, stability and create healthy social conditions. The struggle of the Oromo people for self-determination, to develop their own leadership and organization should be seen as the means to empower themselves, solve their own problems, reduce emerging risks and make use of rising opportunities as well as creating healthy social conditions.

Transformative leaders at all levels of society use their positions to influence, enable and accelerate progress when they work in favorable institutional environments. Contemporary leaders are expected to use their position of influence to protect the public good and further enhance the rights and opportunities of the poor. Leadership is seen as the ability of policymakers and politicians to skillfully use their positions and knowledge to communicate their vision, vision that can be realized through the mobilization of supportive coalitions. Leadership plays an important role in any society. It is hard to envisage large scale achievement in establishing social security and healthy social condition without it. Transformative leadership and organization is not something that would be simply nice to have; it is something that the Oromo people need to rigorously pursue and continuously build on.

The use of indigenous organizational structure and leadership is critical to the development of effective Oromo organizations. Based on the above analyses, I propose that the contemporary Oromo organizations adopt the indigenous Oromo organizational structure and multi-headed leadership. The benefits of having more than one command center are: a) it helps to assure that all institutions are democratic and transparent, b) it makes institutions function compatibly with Oromo culture; c) it makes it hard for the colonial forces to target the institution; d) it opens more doors for ambitious leaders to freely compete, e) it makes the center more accessible to members of society; f) it diversifies methods of struggle, g) it

enhances the capacity of the Oromo people to defy colonial forces, h) it prevents clan and regional politics and i) it promotes peace and stability.

The social conditions in which the Oromo people live are different from those of the past. The life expectancy of the Oromo people is rising and the interaction of Oromo people with the global world makes the life of this society more complex. In the past, Gada leaders took office around the age of 40-48 and then transferred the power and retired (Legesse, 2000). Our world is becoming more complex and early retirement is not economically feasible. At the same time, of 40 is not old enough to have accumulated many experiences. This necessitates extending the age at which the Gada leaders take office.

The other important question that the Oromo people need to ask is whether or not they need to have five parties, as is the case in the Gada system or whether they need to adopt the Gada structure in the political party formation. In my view, having five different political parties cannot be turned into better choices. The practical and realistic choice is adopting a three party system - i.e. Conservative, Liberal and Leftist. All the parties need to adopt the Oromo indigenous social structure in their party formation. This means all the party and community organizational structures should consist of Birmajiim, Melba, Muudana, Roobale and Duuloo. The leadership of the organization should shift accordingly.

There are several challenges in adopting the Oromo indigenous organizational structure. The challenges include how can the Oromo people make consensus decision making fit into this fast paced world? The Qaalu leaders were instrumental in challenging egocentric arguments – what is required to rebuild this very important institution?

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45

Human Security and Human Rights: Harmonious to Inharmonious Relations

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ABSTRACT

Human security and human rights are universal phenomena, poor to rich and individual to all people in the universe. Human security and human rights are harmonious to inharmonious natures. Human security is state to people-centered notion, whereas human rights are human-centered more. Security and rights advocate individual freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom to live in dignity, freedom to take action on one's own behalf, freedom to inherit peace, and freedom to protect nature (environment). Human security is a derogation of certain human rights belonging to civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. Human security underscores as inherent, inalienable, interdependent, multidimensional, and non-derogatory rights and freedoms whereas human rights are the core of them. Human security is exclusion of slavery, apartheid, injustice, inequality, indignity, insecurity, and inhibition similar to human rights. Human security puts security agenda at the top that strengthens humanitarian laws and their actions, respect human rights, disarm armed group, prevent or transform conflict, and defense citizen. Whereas human rights leave a significant impact for protection, promotion, and fulfillment of humanitarian action and such action realizes rights translating into practices, building up institutional capacity for its implementation. Human rights are guided by international treaties, legal instruments, and humanitarian laws whereas human security does not have any such definite parameters. Human security is a neologism, but integrated concept, however human rights have been a long history. Security protects human's basic needs and capabilities, whereas rights act to respect or preserve them. Security assists to reduce differences of rights implementation while State suppresses some rights in the name to maintain law and order. Human security tries to ensure safety to all including asylum seekers, whereas rights demand to implement international and national legal measures. There is a contesting (many cases) and reciprocate (some cases) relationship between human security and rights to advocate its spirit: survival, liberty, life, and dignity of person. Human security has three generations: Civil-Political Rights, Socio-Economic Rights, and Collective Rights similar to human rights. Human security follows four additional generations: Right to Peace, Right to Dignity, Right to Sovereignty, and Right to Shared Responsibility.

Keywords: Human security, human rights, harmony, inharmony and generations.

INTRODUCTION

The Cold-War I ended the bi-polar politico-ideological warfare, but emerges the world into multi-dimensional identity-based (identitism) conflicts within the country in particular. The emergence of multiple identities ingenuity advocates individual and commune to societal safety without fear and want to all, namely, dignified citizen, asylum-seeker, stateless-people, and refugee is now popularly known as human security. Human security is universal, visible, inalienable, and non-derogatory in the universe. Human security is a vital core of life, liberty, and dignity to human rights. Thus, human security is a ship of human rights.

The escalation of multi-cultural and socio-political "identity" differences proliferate global armed conflict that leads to a new type 4Ps of power, politics, property, and privilege competitions (liberal capitalism vs. identitism) in Cold-War II. The Cold War II is being surfaced after the collapse of iron curtain communism from Eastern European countries. Capitalism vs. identitism clash continuously widens the space because of 6Cs of caste, clan, class, color, culture, and chance contests. The democratic governments often follow capitalism in which identity issue tussle with capitalism. Despite of less numbers of human casualties, the numbers of identitism conflicts are on the rise in Cold War II which endangers lives and freedom of personal rights.

The deteriorating indicators of human security and human rights are: numbers of homicide, militarization, autocracy, and political instability. The present world Cold-War II propagates violence within nations in compared to between them previously. Thus, nature of global human security is shifting. Peace is not just the absence of armed violence or war, but presence of individual security and rights. The personal human security tends to freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom to live in dignity, freedom to take action on one's own behalf, and freedom to inherit pro-nature environment for ourselves and forthcoming generations. Such measures are interrelated and interconnected for human security and national security (Annan:2000). And these dimensions are parts of human rights too.

The study particularly focuses on what is human security? What is human right? What security and rights for which values and threats? What security and rights for whom? What relations do security and rights have? How do harmony and inharmony work?

The paper provides an overview of the human security and human rights practices existing in the world and their relationships concerning with a concept of being survival, daily life, liberty, and dignity of human beings. It researches when and for what purposes the United Nations initiate human security and human rights. It examines the scale and consequences of the various roles of harmonious and inharmonious relations to them in a transitional society. Secondary literatures mostly draw on to learn from yesterday, analyze to live for today, and encourage to hope for tomorrow.

Human Security

The *Global Peace Index 2013* (GPI 2013) reveals that there has been a less peaceful world falling 5 percent GPI score over the past six years (2008-2013). The human security initiatives in recent years went down owing to People's Uprising in Arab, deteriorating human lives in Afghanistan and Pakistan, civil war in Syria, escalation of drugs war in Central America, and economic downturn in European countries (GPI: 2013:1-2). The human security deteriorates in 110 countries than increase in peace 48 since 2008 (GPI: 2013:4). The lack of human security do not just rise conflict, it leaves impact to everyone. The human insecurity takes heavy cost on Global Economy. The violent cost 9.46 trillion US dollars in 2012 alone equivalent to 11 percent of Global Gross Development Product (GDP) and 75 times more than efficient development assistance (Guardian: June 11, 2013). Despite of declining the peace Index, the ten highest ranking countries out of 162 surveyed are relatively small and stable democracy, human rights, and human security. Iceland has again topped as a peaceful nation followed by Denmark at 2nd, Austria at 4th, Switzerland at 5th, Finland at 7th, Sweden 9th, and Belgium at 10th ranks from Nordic and Alpine regions. New Zealand scores 3rd and Japan 6th from Asia-pacific region and Canada at 8th ranks (GPI: 2013: 16).

South Asia refers as the least peaceful nations in overall. Himalayan countries Bhutan remains

at 20th and Nepal at 82nd ranks whereas Bangladesh at 105th, Sri Lanka at 110th, India at 141st, Pakistan 157th, and Afghanistan 162nd (GPI: 2013:14). War-torn countries are least at place of human security and human rights comprising Somalia at 161st, Syria at 160th, Iraq at 159th, and Sudan 158th ranks (GPI: 2013: 4-6). North Koran is one of the world's largest standing armies where military expenditure is estimated at 20 percent of its GDP (GPI: 2013: 24).

Human Security is not a new concept in social, historical, and political sciences. It is a universal phenomenon. Three schools of notions namely ancient understanding, traditional concept, and modern thoughts are to be studied briefly for the studies on human security. The nation or states originated and sustained based on the notion of human security. Human security addresses a set of rights, liberty, and dignity which could not be ignored.

The ancient understanding of human security had been origin first time from Eastern World that has been available at archeological studies of Egyptian Pyramids, Iraqian Gilgamesh, Indian Harappa, and Chinese River Valley Civilization.

Pyramid, one of the seven wonders of the world in ancient Egypt, is a monumental structure that especially built (2649-1640 BC) of stone as a royal tomb in ancient Egypt (The New Oxford Dictionary of English:2001:1510). In pyramid, dead bodies had been carefully preserved with their belongings believing that the soul would return to the body afterlife. While many tombs had been looted, the offspring had made stronger and larger structures to protect and make them safer (Discovery Channel: curiosity.discovery.com).

The Gilgamesh, two-thirds god and one third man, had carved on a stone all of his toils and had built the wall of Uruk-Heaven, the wall of the sacred Enna Temple which had called the holy sanctuary at the reign of 2500 BC. Gilgamesh, the greatest surviving work of early Mesopotamia, had been a superhuman strength who built the city walls of Uruk to defend his people from external and pervasive threats (Carnahan: 1998:1).

The Harappa (3300-1300 BC) is an archeological site in Punjab of India. The Harappan civilization is known as Indus Valley Civilization in which each Harappan city had been surrounded by thick, strong, and tall walls and gateways. The walls had served to enclose separate from community differences and statues of another city to safe animals in night for not being looted and to protect the people in general from raiders, invaders or military conflicts, and flood. Houses had also been built two stories high with windows overlooking the courtyard on the purpose of security. The principle weapon had been the bow and arrow. The arrows had been tipped with points of metal or poisoned horn (www.harappa.com).

The ancient Chinese Yellow (Hueng He) River Valley is one of the oldest and largest civilization around 6000 BC had been engaged in defend or military activity since the dawn of warfare. The civilization not only given a birth of Empires era, but produced many ethnic and cultural groups in China. They often engaged into warfare. The Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties (kingdoms) had been divided into different territories to rule by aristocratic military leaders[i]. Military leaders frequently involved into wars of unification, expansion, and defense of their territories. Thus, China had been a rich in terms of military warfare in the world where Sun Tzu wrote a book on *The Art of War* in 6th century BC (http://www.ancientmilitary.com). The Great Wall of China had started to build as early as the 7th century BC for the protection to Chinese Empire from various nomadic groups or military. The Defense Characteristic Great

Wall has been the longest, bigger, stronger, and unified famous fortification even in modern day world (Wall of China Project: 2013).

The traditional security focuses on security of nation states instead of personal security. It means the traditional security has been nation-state centric upholding the principle of sovereignty. The notion belongs to security between the nations rather than security within nation. Traditional security is also a concept of national to international security in the global arena. National security is a conventional realist approach of intra-and-interstate security[ii].

The national security tends to secure the territory of nation from all kinds of political, socio-cultural, economic, environmental, nation-states and non-nation-states, and natural disaster threats. The concept of national security is to freedom from military threat and political coercion. National security is a philosophy that uses to maintain for a stable nation with the concept of sovereign state and rule by sovereign (MacFarlane et al: 1994).

The UN establishment has given dichotomous importance: people and territorial security. In San Francisco Conference in June 1945, the US Secretary Edward Reilly Stettinus Jr. reported: "The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social fronts where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace." He further stated that the Security Council should make the world secure not only from war, but security in their homes and their jobs (Lippmann: 1943).

The world's eminent philosophers have defined their theoretical concepts of territorial security, communities' security by their own ways. Plato in his *Ideal State* stated security means not only freedom and economic happiness, but societal or individual justice. Aristotle's *Political Theory* stressed upon to protect natural and comparative politics and democracy. Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* argued on the structure, social contract, and legitimate government for the good of the commonwealth whereas Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* focused on political treaties, effective truth, ethics, and conflict. Immanuel Kant stressed on security of state, security of neighbor, and security of the freedom of the state. Klaus Knorr termed of national security. Karl Marx's *Dictatorship of the Proletariat* highlighted protection of individual laborers, class, and their communities. Harold Lasswell defined the distinctive meaning of national security that advocates freedom from foreign dictation. Arnold Wolfers put forward the objective of national security that was absence of threats to acquire values and subjectively.

The modern phenomenon of human security developed along with the progress of human civilization, humans' needs, and interests in the changed context. Several authors have contributed for the origin of human security. Emma Rothschild stated extended (human) security prevent humans from civil conflicts (1995: 98). Gary King and Christopher Murray (2001-2002) and Caroline Thomas (2000) stressed upon individual basic needs, political freedom, human dignity, and democracy. Fen Osler Hampson emphasized to human security for the protection of personal interests, safety, and liberty. Studying conflict-prone African countries, Leaning and Arie (December 2000) focused human security as a new developmental dimension for the protection of individual survivals. Amartya Sen (July 28th 2000) has given human security as alternative concept of poverty and development for individual security of survival. Kanti Bajpai (August 2000) has ensured human security as audit to reduce threats for individual freedom and safety. Sadako Ogata (2003) mentioned that human security is to protect and empower people to live with safety and dignity.

Japan, Canada, and Norway initiate the importance of individual human security introducing it on their legal instruments, international relations, and foreign policies. The Government of Japan considers human security as an individual freedom from want, fear, and dignity, but Japan has given an equal emphasis to both freedom from want and freedom from fear as a two wheels of the same cart. Canadian Government focuses for personal freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights and their safety. Norway stresses upon human security as the freedom from fear identifying a core agenda of preventive action, control of small arms and light weapons, and peace operations.

The traditional concept of the human security leads to responsible integrity of the state for the purpose to prevent the state from interstate war, armed violence, civil disorder, nuclear proliferation, etc. whereas human security tends to individual in which state is responsible for the personal integrity from the critical pervasive threats, namely poverty, hunger, disease, violence, landmines, national disaster, and human rights violation and abuse. Human security is an extension of national security.

The pioneering step of human security developed in the global while the UNDP produced 1994 *Human Development Report*. The dichotomous form of human security is safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (UNDP:1994:23). Human security needs in homes, jobs or communities (Jolly et al: May 2006:1). Thus, human security turns to State-centered conceptions of national security to people-centered considerations of security (Freitas: 2002:37). The Commission on Human Security 2001 defines "The objective of human security is to protect the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive threats in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfilment " (Keizo:2002:42).

The people-centered human security focuses for survival, likelihood, and dignity of individuals. Human security is a vital core of life, personal freedom, and dignity (UN Trust Fund for Human Security: December 2011:4). National security has for long been interpreted narrowly-territorial security from external aggression, protection of national interests in foreign policy, and global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust (UNDP:1994:22).

Human security in broad term tends to economic security, food security, health security, personal security, political security, community security, and environmental security (UNDP: 22-28). Economic security is freedom from want (hunger/poverty); food security advocates the right to access to food; health security focuses the right to access to health care and protection from diseases; environmental security means right to protect from dangers as environmental pollution and depletion; political security enjoys civil and political rights; personal security ensures physical safety from extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, domestic violence, war, criminal attacks, involuntary disappearance and abduction, drug use, etc.; and community security guarantees survival or protection of traditional cultures, identity of ethnic groups, and the physical security. Environmental security relies on a healthy physical environment curiously assuming that whatever damage they inflict on the earth, it will eventually recover (UNDP:22-28).

The Commission on Human Security[iii] states "Human security and state security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other. Without human security, State security cannot be attained and vice versa" (2003: 6). It responses the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats such as from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden

economic downturns. Human security depends upon development, human rights, and national security (UNTFHS:September 10, 2009:6). Human security protects fundamental freedoms which are essential of life creating civil, political, social, economic, environmental, military, and cultural systems for people's survival, livelihood, and dignity.

Human security is broader notion, encompassing non-military and non-state threats (Krause and Williams: 1997; Baldwin: 1997). However, the US defines the human security as a term of war "a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war" (Lippmann:1943). Human security directs towards the reducing poverty, achieving economic growth, and preventing conflict. The coalition for the promotion of human security is to find a way to reconcile the competing national interests with safety and security (Mahmud et al: December 2008:71-72).

The two central words "human security" contain in the very notion itself, for example, 'security' as a mean of protection from various threats, crises, and provisions of a safe environment and 'human' as a shift of focus from a State-central approach towards placing the individual at the center (Oberleitner: June 2002:26).

Thus, the emergence of human security is significant for personal security discourse. It is now drawing world's attention on the course to respect essential connotation. The security threats shall only be eradicated while all parties such as government, international organizations, NGOs, civil society, professional organizations, and likeminded institutions and individual works together for the fulfillment of basic needs, freedom, dignity, and right to development.

Human Rights
Asia which belongs to world's 60 percent population with very complex cultural, socio-political, and economic diversities has heterogeneity even on theory and practice of human rights. Asian notion of human rights to some extent is defensive and focus more to defend on people's democracy or authoritarian regimes in compared to control and offensive politics of western perspectives. Asian notion focuses for economic development and political rights as two wheels of the same cart. It advocates duties of the state and rights of individual on equal footing. It further states that civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, the rights of the individual, and the rights of the community, the society and the nation are interrelated and indivisible (Kawamura: 1977). The concept basically concentrates on the implementation of human rights that balances between individual human rights and obligation of individual toward the state or community. China said, "Nobody shall place his own rights and interests above those of the state and society, nor should he be allowed to impair those of others and the general public" (Kawamura: 1977). Amartya Sen stated that the moral appeal of human rights has been used for varying purposes, from resisting torture and arbitrary incarceration to demanding the end of hunger and unequal treatment of women (CHS: 2003: 9).

The culture, region, class, and values differences between east and west have seen in several official delegations at World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. The delegations from Singapore, China, Indonesia, and so forth were tried to influence other representatives through their own definition based on culture, values, and diversities. Chinese delegation said, "'When poverty and lack of adequate food and clothing are commonplace and people's basic needs are not guaranteed, priority should be given to economic development. Individuals must put the states' rights before their own" (Sen: July 14-21, 1997) rather than civil and political rights. Foreign minister of Singapore warned "Universal recognition of the ideal of human rights can be harmful if universalism is used to deny or mask the reality of diversity". The Indonesian representative said, "Now generally accepted that all categories of human rights -

civil, political, economic, social, and cultural, the rights of the individual and the rights of the community, the society and the nation - are interrelated and indivisible" (Sen: July 14-21, 1997 and Kawamura: 1977).

The Asian cultural values and socio-political identities are less favor to freedom, but more apprehensive to order and discipline. It, in general, focuses more on basic needs as basic rights of community or people rather than individual political and civil liberties in compared to West. In authoritarian countries, the politics of government controls faster rates of economy and economic growth, but few rich elites control all systems of government and political parties in liberal or multi-party democracies. The authoritarian regimes such as China, Singapore, South Korea, Malaysia achieved rapid economic growth rather than liberal democratic country Japan, India, Costa Rica, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, etc.

It is to be noted that the Asian perspective should be examined in socio-political context, multi-party democracy to people's democracy and to authoritarian rule. However, people's democracy is gradually moving towards liberalism and authoritarian regime is declining too. In some context, there is democracy without people's representatives. Nepal lies in such a democratic republic country in the world of that it functions without people's representatives in all tiers. Moreover, the Government is led by monocrats[iv] chosen by mainstream leaders of Nepal.

Asian value systems have become particularly quite central in Confucius and Hindu-Buddhist faiths. The core of Confucius faith leads to humanism and relationships. Confucian is an ethic of socio-political teachings that leads to honesty and humanity. Such teachings promote the virtues. The five virtues such as humaneness, righteousness or justice, property or etiquette, knowledge, and integrity are no less than the broader sense of present western model of human rights. The relationship is a social harmony and social harmony is a bond between family and society. There are five bonds: ruler to ruled, father to son, elder brother to younger brother, friend to friend, and husband to wife. In Asian culture, husband needs to benevolence toward his wife and wife needs to respect the husband in return (Yao: 2000 & Nylan: 2001).

Hinduism recognizes as the oldest living religion that had been started from the Vedic era (1700 to 500 BC). The principal philosophy of Hinduism is *Basundaeva kutumbakam* (The world is one family) (Pathak: November 2, 2008:1). Hinduism has significantly ethnic and cultural diversity which mostly follows in Nepal and India, Indian subcontinent. It completely grants freedom of belief and worship. Hindu faith includes *dharma* (duties/ethics), *samsara* (the continuing of birth, death, and rebirth), *karma* (action and subsequent action), *moksha* (liberation of samsara), and *yogas* (paths/practices). In general, the faith of Hinduism enriches along with the *karma* and *dharma* based on daily morality (Sivananda: 1997 & Vivekananda:undated).

In Hindu conception, human rights mean good governance originated from *dharma* and *dharmasastras* which were originally used as "science of law" and "science of social justice" and are still revered so in Hindu-Buddhist countries. *Dharma* and *dharmasastras* refer to the privileges, duties, and obligations of human beings. The Constitution of India and Nepal has been developed and enriched by deriving from the moral standards established by *dharma* and *dharmasastras* in the areas of politics, religion, and social justice (Pathak:2005:24).

Buddhism leads to Theravada (the school of elders) and Mahayana (the great vehicle) with human *sukkha* and *dukkha*. The Buddhism practices through three jewels: Buddha (fully

awakened one), *dharma* (the teachings), and *sangha* (the community). The eightfold paths of Buddha are: right to view, right to intention/thought, right to speech, right to action, right to livelihood, right to effort, right to mindfulness, and right concentration (Pathak: 2005:50-55). The western conception of human rights emphasizes upon the basic civil and political rights of individuals that determine the power of government over the governed (Shaw:1977:198). Human rights are entitled to every man, woman, and child because they are human (Lawson:1996:xix). The ideology of human rights being moral rights is that every man, woman, and child possesses inherent and inalienable rights (Pathak:2005:19). These rights are: (i) universal, (ii) individual, (iii) paramount, (iv) practicable, and (v) enforceable (see Macfarlane:1985). Maurice Cranston states that human rights are the rights of all people at all times and in all situations (1973:21) even in times of conflict and national emergency. It is universally true to respect life, to respect for one's dignity, to be dealt with honestly, to have one's interest, to be freed from coercion and intrusion, and to have one's distress cared for (Pathak:2005:20). Therefore, human rights are the rights of individuals to meet their needs and purposes (Macfarlane:1985:6).

In many cases, human rights may or may not be legalized, but there has been a strong provision of social ethics, state duties, and responsibilities. The idea of human rights has often motivated through the national legislative and international instruments such as 1215 Magna Carta, 1628 Petition of Rights (Great Charter of the Liberties of England), 1689 English Bill of Rights, 1791 American Bills of Rights, 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in the 20th century (Pathak:2005:35-38). The understanding of human rights may further be divided into human rights as moral rights, human rights as legal rights, and human rights as cultural relativism (Pathak:2005:19-21).

The human rights approach defends the value of a list of human rights that includes freedom from torture and genocide, and the right for a woman to take paid leave after childbirth. The human security approach necessarily addresses concrete security threats and human rights threats individually (Alkire: 2003: 40).

The waging of armed conflict and war against terrorism violate national and international human rights bills and international humanitarian law (IHL). Amnesty International and many other human rights organizations work for the rights of victims against terrorism and armed groups, supporting them in their struggle for truth, justice, and reparation (April 2011:1). In conflicting and fragile states, humanitarian action is needed. The humanitarian falls on the category of human rights, but action or intervention counts as a part of human security. Human rights have definite principles of each individual aspect. Principles of human rights at each element given below are taken from a book on *Politics of People's War and Human Rights in Nepal*.

- **Philosophy**: Philosophical rights are based on the concepts of human dignity, self-reliant, paramount, and the egalitarian rights.

- **Nature**: Natural rights are universal, inherent, non-derogatory, inalienable, and self-evident.

- **Political**: Political rights are the respect for the integrity of life, the right to liberty of movement, freedom, and participation in political life.

- **Civil**: Civil rights are enforceable rights to citizens, physical integrity and safety, protection from discrimination and insecurity, right to adult franchise, and equal participation in

economic, social, and cultural life.

- **Legal**: Legal rights are a rule of law, equality before and under the law, and protection from all kinds of injustices.

- **Social**: Social rights are to ensure an adequate standard of living, the right of family, fraternity, solidarity, non-discrimination, and self-determination.

- **Economic**: Economic rights are to work and distribute resources for the adequacy of basic needs such as food, housing, clothing, and healthcare.

- **Culture**: Cultural rights are participation in cultural life, customary practices, the right to minorities, and the right to education.

- **Religion***: Religious rights are for a secular nation, freedom to change his/her belief, and intolerance based on faith or religion (Pathak:2005:27).

- **Class**: Class rights are to reduce disparities between rich and poor; end of unequal wage, prejudice, and exploitation; and initiate equitable resource distribution, social friendship, social harmony, cultural promotion, political participation, and inclusive nation state.

- **Worker**: Worker rights are a right to unionize, firmly implementation of national laws and international employment standards, and equitable distribution of benefits of productions between employees and employers.

- **Owner**: Owner rights are rights not to unionize at workplace; liable for loss and profit; ensure safe working place and environment; and right to hire, suspend, promote, dismiss, and distribute bonus to workers respecting customary practices, national laws, and international instruments.

These principles are against the gross violations of human rights as result of conflict, displacement, and human suffering on a massive scale. In this regard, human security underscores the universality and primacy of a set of rights and freedoms that are fundamental for human life (UN Trust Fund for Human Security. September 10, 2009: 9).

Human rights refer respect, protection, promotion, and fulfillment of basic needs and freedom to which all human beings are entitled as beneficiaries whereas state is responsible to work as duty holders. Thus, human rights are a child of law these continuously enrich through the needs, purposes, and demands in the changed context of human civilization.

In two "human rights" words, 'human' characterizes to man and mankind by nature and 'rights' claim entitlement to justice attaining through non-interference from others. Human rights commonly understand as inalienable fundamental rights and freedoms which as conceived as universal[v] and egalitarian[vi] (Pathak:2005).

Eastern values of Confucius, Hinduism, and Buddhism have already stated the broader term of human rights long back compared to Western human rights perspectives. These faiths were obedient to the state and loyalty with the family and society/community for social harmony. Thus, the modern conceptions of human rights have been drawn from Asian value systems in particular and western notion of human rights in general. The ancient faiths focuses more on egalitarian society unlike present day power, property, and privilege of politics even the ratification, accession to, and intervention of fundamentals of human rights and humanitarian law.

HARMONIOUS AND INHARMONIOUS RELATIONS

Harmony is part of life that exits in self, society, nature, and divine (Giri: January 3, 2012:1). Harmony, human security, and human rights go hand in hand. Human security and rights are

the process for perfection whereas harmony is a perfect relationship. Both are experienced alone by a person whereas harmony is a systematic character between two or more persons or parties; harmony is always a plural condition. Human security enjoys alone; harmony is living together peacefully (Pathak: December 3, 2012: 1-4). Security implies calmness; harmony requires unity (Pathak: February 2013). Article 1.4 of the UN Charter keeps the harmony of the nation at the center.

Pyramid I : Peace-Conflict Lifecycle

Source: Dr. Bishnu Pathak: 2010
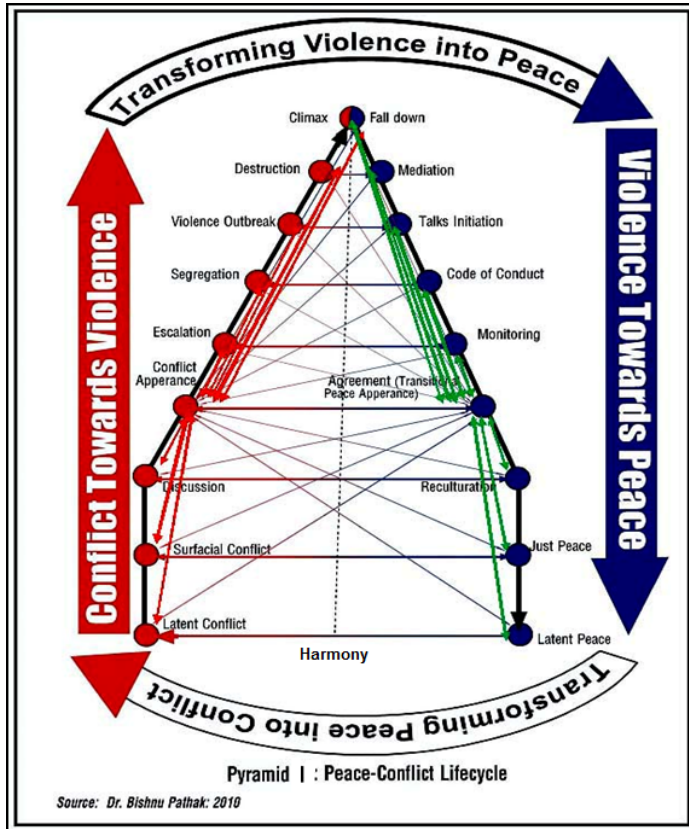
Harmony is a joining of heart and spirit (Sharma: January 3, 2012:1). Leo Semashko focuses to individual in the society believing that individual harmony is only part of the social harmony. Without acknowledging the social harmony, individual harmony cannot be understood (2012:22). The value of security and harmony is based on the human mindset, human rights, mutual respect, and trust, cooperation, co-existence, and open mindedness (Gandhi Vidhya Mandir: February 11-13, 2012). Harmony is based on the social justice, fundamental rights, and freedom, co-existence, and fraternity (see Pyramid: peace-conflict lifecycle). It is envision of individual and societal mindset for love without hierarchy which separates development of peace and conflict. It is a discourse of what we observe; what we read; what we analyze/say; and what we do for world peace, justice, happiness, and humanity.

Therefore, harmony is against all types of negative conflict, thoughtless debate, insensitive deliberation, and insecurely implementation of human rights. The term inharmonious is antonyms, opposite, and wretch of harmonious word.

Harmonious Relations between Human Security and Human Rights
Both human security and human rights try to address violence-free and hunger-free individual to society in which human rights entail certain elements of human security that are equally vital, equally fundamental, equally significant, and equally applicable.

In general, human security debts with tradition[vii] of human rights and human rights have contesting relations with human security. Displacement, disappearance, and human suffering such as arbitrary arrest, detention, cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment, and so forth are the results of gross violations of human rights. For this, human security emphasizes the universality and primacy of a set of rights and freedoms as fundamentals for human lives and their fulfillment. Human security has no distinction than civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights (UNTFHS:2003:9). Both try to wipeout grave violations, abuses, and threaten in a multidimensional and comprehensive manner. Human security introduces a practical agenda for identifying the specific rights that are at risk in a particular situation of transitional security (Pathak: February 5, 2013). It considers the institutional arrangements for governance that are needed to apply and uphold collective and individual rights. "Human security complements state security, enhances human rights, and strengthens human development" (CHS:2003: 2). Human security encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health

care rights and each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own individual potential (CHS:2003:4).

There has been a harmonious relationship between the concepts of human rights and human security. The concept of human security invokes in modern political debates as human rights. Amartya Sen said, "Since human security as an important descriptive concept demands ethical force and political recognition, it is useful that this can be appropriately obtained through seeing freedoms related to human security as an important class of human rights (CHS: 2003: 9). Human security is a broader concept, comprising of fundamental rights as well as basic needs, resources, and capabilities. Human rights is a core of human security (Alkire:2002:5) where human security has been a normative structure.

Every person anywhere in the universe, irrespective of birth, sex, citizenship, geography, culture, profession, and socio-political origin, has some fundamental rights in which others should respect. Human security has a moral appeal for varying purposes of rights including to end hunger to all. One of the most important aspects of human security is that people should be able to live in a society that honors their fundamental human rights (UNDP:1994:32).

Human security is a core effort to construct a global society where the safety of the individual is at the center of international policies and priorities as a motivating force for international action. International human rights standards, humanitarian law, and the rule of laws are advanced interwoven as a coherent for the protection of individual. State persons or authorities who violate these standards are fully held accountable and state is compelled to enhance and enforce these standards. Human security is a state of feeling happy, safe, and free from worry which protects rights against something wrong that might happen anytime, anyplace to anyone.

Human rights are specific contents, recognized, and prescribed in international human rights instruments, also called International Bill of Rights. They are: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)[viii]; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD); the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); etc., while the topicality of human security traced back in *1994 Human Development Report* of UNDP (Hai:2008:5). The 1994 Report referred to two major components such as freedom from want and fear of human security. However, both have already stated by the US president in four freedoms of speech in January 1941. The freedoms of fear and want have been stated in Preamble of the UDHR including right to social security in Article 22 and Article 25.1 on right to employment security of the UDHR. Besides, a few articles of such rights instruments directly advocates of human security.

Security is a secure condition or feeling (UNDP:1994:23) which consists of objective (the surrounding situation) and the subjective (personal feeling) factors. The security concerns with person (personal security), society (social security), and world (international security) in human rights instruments. There has been a competitive relations between the right holder (person) and duty bearer (state security) while former asks to ensure rights of all and later advocates for their duty to protect them.

Personal security is to protect from arrest and detention by State security forces and other non-state actors. Article 3 of the UDHR and Article 9 of the ICCPR ensure liberty and security

of person. Articles 9.3 and 9.4 of the ICCPR safeguard to each person from arbitrary arrest and detention. He or she shall be brought before a judge at the earliest. Article 10 of the ICCPR guarantees individual dignity and humanity. The Article 11 prohibits the use of imprisonment as a punishment for breach of contract. Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom provides right to liberty and security of person. Article 6 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and Article 1 and 7 of the American Convention on Human Rights specify right to life, liberty, and personal security. Thus, individual or personal security has been a common concern of all human rights treaties and other legal instruments.

Social security has ensured at the article 22 and 25 in the UDHR. Article 9 of the ICESCR, Article 16 of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and Article 9 of the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the area of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights recognize the right of everyone to social security. International security refers the form of a collective right which has stated in Article 23 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which says "All peoples shall have the right to national and international peace and security".

Human security has long been connection with rights and such rights correspond with the duties of other individual, people, and institution. Duties shall take the form of perfect obligations which constitute specific demands on particular persons or of imperfect obligations. Amartya Sen says, "To give effectiveness to the perspective of human security, it is important to consider who in particular has what obligations (such as the duties of the state to provide certain basic support) and also why people in general, who are in a position to help reduce insecurities in human lives, have a common-though incompletely specified-duty to think about what they can do" (CHS:2003:9). Human security within a general framework of human rights shall bring many rewards to the perspective of human security (CHS:2003:9). Thus, human security and human rights shall go working relations with characteristic clarity through mutual respect and benefit.

Human rights shall be trade off for more security concerning with individual person. Human security trumps over human rights and it has been a catchword debate on the changing meaning of security in the world. Japan, Canada, and Norway have developed an active agenda of freedom from fear in their foreign policy. Security provision has been incorporated in Japan's foreign policy and the World Bank, *albeit* in very different ways, to pursue freedom from fear and want. Japan does not prioritize freedom from fear over freedom from want, but holds them as dual objectives of human security (UNDP:1994:3). The UN on human security report on *We the People... with* freedom from want and fear, and freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment, are interrelated to human and national security (Annan: March 2000).

Governments of Austria, Canada, and Norway have established Human Security Network (HSN) in March 1999 of states and NGO, the coalition of the like-minded individuals and institutions (Paris 2001:87). On the course of institutional prioritize of human security at international level, the UNTFHS established in March 1999 mainly with contributions from Japan and the informal group of 13 countries (Estrada-Tanck:2009:3). The HSN succeeded to achieve an international ban on anti-personnel mines.

Owing to supplement relations between human rights and human security, the specific demands of human rights have to be filled with appropriate motivational support, human security helps to fill the specific demands through logical substantiation, conquering human

insecurity. Since human security demands an important descriptive concept for moral force and political recognition, it shall appropriately be achieved by freedoms associating with human security that is an important class of human rights.

The 1993 Vienna Declaration of Human Rights stresses upon the universality, indivisibility, interrelatedness, and interdependence which are similar to human security. The 2001 Durban World Conference against Racism, Fear, and Hatred of Migrants was held to protect and attain human security. The respect human rights itself protects the human security.

In millennium year, UNSG suggested to strengthen the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the human rights machineries: the treaty bodies and committees (CHS:2003:28). Regional human rights mechanisms such as Inter-American Commission and Court for Human Rights tried to address state obligations during the civil conflicts in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe tries to promote protection of human rights through its Human Dimension Program linking with multilateral security issues for domestication of human rights and democratization. Similarly, African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the African Court ensure the normative institutional framework on the course to protect people. Even African Union offers opportunities for protecting human rights addressing human insecurity issues. No Human Rights Commission has been formed in governments' level in Asia-pacific region, but civil society is actively engaging on human rights for the security of human beings. However, in most of the Asian countries, human rights organizations are functioning under the umbrella of political parties to fulfill their parties' interest rather for the need and benefit to people in general.

National, regional, and international security organizations much focus for human security through human rights training to state security forces, disseminating information to media, (re)integrating former combatants either into army or into society, conducting election monitoring, and supporting displaced persons or communities. For examples, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the residing great majority communities accepted to return back to the minorities. Moreover, they supported to restore returnees' properties respecting their human rights. Besides, security forces gave priority in rehabilitating drinking-water and electricity services and the reconstruction of buildings under the "Open Cities" program (CHS:2003:27). Human security should be mainstreamed as a priority agenda in international, regional, and national levels. Such institutions should respect the humanitarian principle and action on the strategies linking with political, military, and humanitarian levels to protect people from conflict; uphold human rights and humanitarian law in protecting, and empowering people in conflict; require to disarm people and fight crime; mitigate the violent conflict in collapsed states and contested territories fully upholding all rights; and respect the right of each person's nationality and ensure effective citizenship on the course to attain human security (CHS:2003:32).

The Workshop on Relationship between Human Rights and Human Security reaffirms the conviction of human rights to attribute human dignity for the implementation of the notion of human security (Jose:December 2, 2001). Similarly, human security applies on enforcing humanitarian law in all conflicting parties, state-and-non state actors including warlords and rebel groups.

Human security includes protection of citizens from environmental pollution, transnational terrorism, massive movements and infectious diseases as HIV/AIDS, and long-term conditions

of oppression and deprivation. Regional and international organizations, NGOs and civil society are involved in managing security issues fighting against HIV/AIDS, the ban against landmines and the massive mobilizations in support of human rights (CHS:2003:6).

On July 9, 2013, the Transparency International (TI) has published its Global Corruption Barometer 2013[ix]. The report said that Nepal's political parties are responsible to 70 per cent for corruption followed by civil service with 66 per cent (see case study II). Similarly, the corruption level stands at 58 percent in police, 51 per cent in parliament and judiciary, 30 per cent in private sector, 20 per cent in NGOs, and 17 per cent in health service. Likewise, 16 per cent corruption is found in religious sector and the least, 14 per cent, in the media. Thus, entire democracy of Nepal tilted upon *Dhan Bahadur* (wealth), *Don Bahadur* (gangstar), and *Bal Bahadur* (power) without people's representatives for 15 years. The above figures are itself an example of that how the people in the universe shall themselves assume what type of human security and human rights is there in Nepal.

The fortune of Nepal is that she lies in between the two emerging superpower China in the North and India in the South. The misfortune is that Nepal is within these two superpowers. China friendly assists to small and landlocked country Nepal. Its sole concern is to stop anti-Chinese or free Tibet activities from Nepal. However, India has a very deep socio-political and natural resources interest in Nepal. How much India has an influence in Nepal shall be realized by the recent daylong visit of India's Foreign Minister on July 9, 2013. Nepal's top and former Prime Ministers lined up at the hotel to meet India's Minister. All four former PM failed to prior notice to the Nepal's Ministry of Foreign Affairs violating the Diplomatic Code of Conduct-2011. These leaders severely humiliated nation's sovereignty and dignity (Tiwari: July 11, 2013). This is just a single case of how Nepal's leaders bow down their heads in front of India's power and politics.

Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh granted audience to Nepal's topmost leaders namely Prachanda, Sher Bahadur Deuba, Madhav Kumar Nepal, and Susil Koirala in New Delhi similar to monarch granted audience before the proclamation of Republic Nepal on May 29, 2008. India puts topmost priority to Nepali Congress party while both Deuba and Koirala invited for six days visit from June 9-14 and August 4-9 respectively, while Prachanda for four-day (April 27-30) and Madhav Nepal for five-day (July 23-27) within five months alone this year. It happens while Nepal's leaders have feudal attitude, lilliputian mentality, and slavery standpoint. They are incapable of sorting the existing problems of Nepal because of deepening ideological crises, culture of impunity, corruption, and non-implementation of legal measures and signed agreements and treaties.

The differing politico ideology of two emerging superpower China and India informally reach on a harmonious conclusion to establish cultural monarchy in Nepal for their own security interests. India used Prachanda-led Maoist card to dethrone kingdom and is again trying to use Baidya-led Maoist card to restore monarchy in Nepal stating as a symbol of incarnation of Hindu God, sovereignty, and unity. India afraid of increasing demands of ethnic and cultural federation in Nepal, on the one hand and exhausted to convince with 162 parties in Nepal, on the other. China has been a long tie with Nepal's monarch.

The insecurities cause the downside risks. Such stakes threaten human survival and endanger the inherent dignity of men and women, suffer human beings uncertainty of disease, and abrupt penury because of financial downturns. Human security demands protection from endangers and the empowerment of human beings to cope with such possible hazardous overcome and it is for to respect human rights and judicial security to human beings.

After the 9/11, the security perspective for an individual turned into collective security for institutions in security threats discourse (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 11). Collective security strives to promote security for all the members, without prejudice to the beneficiary, location, resources, or relationship with Great Powers (UN:2004:19). The collective security interest is guided by the interest of USA and its Lilliputians. The idea of collective security was enforced by the UN when it was discovered the intent of terrorists is to attack on values such as respect for human rights; the rule of law; rules of war that protect civilians; tolerance among peoples and nations; and the peaceful resolution of conflict. It lies at the heart of the Charter of the UN (UN.2004:48).

Human Security in UNDP of Nepal*

The Crisis Prevention and Recovery under UNDP Nepal announced a vacancy for the position of Team Leader of Collaborative Leadership and Dialogue Pillar (SB-5) on May 25, 2013. The duties and responsibilities of the position were to mainstream conflict sensitivity for the promotion of collaborative leadership practices at both national and local levels. The position required PhD with 10 years experiences in peacebuilding. While I have two decades of experiences on conflict transformation and peacebuilding initiatives, I applied for the position.

The UNDP called for the written text morning and interview at afternoon on June 26. Only two applicants including its author (me) were attended for interviews. While I found a suspicious role of my competitor at both written text and interview, I was very much confused that whole night. Finally I sent an appeal to my Interviewers Lach Fergusson, Peacebuilding Advisor and Peter Barwick, Project Manager at 3.00 o'clock next morning with my following observations:

- *We all examinees submitted our signed forms and photocopies of mark sheets except my competitor.*
- *We all followed the instructions of examiners including to switch off mobiles except my competitor.*
- *While he was taken a special care by the examiner, I congratulated him immediate after the written text.*
- *He confidently said to me stating "You have theoretical experiences, but I have practical skills and power."*
- *My competitor was interviewed for 67 minutes in compared to 43 minutes to me. He was accompanied by HRD Officer to see off him till outside door, but I was not. Peter repeatedly said to finish my answers soon.*
- *More importantly, the interviewers held 7 minutes clandestine meeting before my interview, but one of my interviewer Bandana Risal left the room before my departure.*

My overall impression was that my competitor was already selected before written text and interview held. I was attended just to complete the process. As I did not get back any response on my appeal, I again wrote an email to Dennis Curry, Head of Peacebuilding and Recovery on July 12 asking for right to information. On July 16 he replied, "I have checked with HR colleagues and this process is still ongoing. Rest assured that, along with all candidates, your application and interview have been fully considered, and we wish you best of luck in the process". I again wrote emails requesting for result of the proposed vacancy on 38th and 42nd days, but in vain. On August 8, I finally wrote a final email stating "I have no more hope of that justice prevails in Nepal, Satile sarapeko desma yastai hunchha (It happens in the country where suttee had given a curse)". My second interview was conducted by Peter Barwick and Rina Chhetri on August 18th after 52 days of my first interview and third interview was on December 2, 2013 (after 160 days of my first interview) by Krishna Raj Adhikari and Rina Chhetri. The team leader was required a PhD, of at least 10 years, in development work related to conflict resolution, conflict prevention, and peace-building experiences, but they finally hired Master Degree holder.

Why does the UN lose its credibility in Nepal? First, conflict often occurs in the least developed countries, but UN officials are from developed countries. Such officials are unfamiliar with the socio-political, conflicting terrain, and poor people's voices, grievances, and suffering. Second, except a few officials such as Robert Piper, most of inexperienced with poor certificates holders recruit into poor and conflict prone country like Nepal. The qualified and experienced citizens easily get jobs at their desired institutions and demanded facilities and place. Third, such new officials first learnt from the experts and later try to be a master of them. Fourth, such officials seek incompetent junior staffs owing to inferior complexities. However, they conduct texts and interviews of intelligent ones to polish the report of recruitment process. Fifth, they have less humanitarianism, but more job-orientation. Sixth, none of the competent intellectuals speak a word against such humiliation fearing to denial of future opportunities. Lastly, they are highly influenced and entertained by privilege of power, politics, and property. This is a representative case alone.

The Voluntary Minors and Late Recruits (VMLRs) of the Maoist Army vandalized the UN office at Dhangadi, Kailali district on the charge of unhygienic food provided to them during skill-oriented training on February 10, 2011. The VMLRs claimed that they received unhygienic food and poor accommodation because of massive corruption done inside the UN. The Global Corruption Barometer 2013 stated that Nepal's civil servants are responsible to two-thirds percent of corruption. It is to be remarkable of that injustice commits anywhere is challenge to justice everywhere.

Note: This case study is analyzed based on the personal experiences gained while being worked as a senior peace, security and human rights expert on International Evaluation of Support (Denmark, Finland and Switzerland as core donors and Germany, UK, and Norway as peripheral donors) to the Peace Process in Nepal, 2012-2013.

Human security is a security of all dimensions; human, state to nature in the universe. It respects human rights, tends to promote egalitarian society, and strengthens development. It seeks to protect people against a broad range of threats to individuals and communities and, further, to empower them to act on their own behalf (CHS: 2003: 2). Human security upholds human rights, pursuing inclusive and equitable development and respecting human dignity and diversity (Ogata: 2003:5). Thus, human security and human rights often interconnected, multidimensional, universally applicable to all people everywhere, poor to rich individuals and nations.

The concept of human security is to respect the fundamental of all human lives rather than defend, shield, guarantee, maintain, uphold, secure, preserve, safeguard, ensure, and so forth of human rights. Thus, human security is a redefined comprehensive intra-and-intra-personal security. Human right is a legal instrument whereas human security is diverse and flexible which shall operate at local, nation, regional, and international levels. Human security strengthens existing legal framework and treaties of human rights.

Inharmonious Relations between Human Security and Human Rights

Owing to recent humanitarian crises, emergencies and their concerns, war on terror, individual needs, unequal distributions of resources, and competition to grasp the opportunities, harmonious and inharmonious relations shall clearly be seen between human security and human rights. Large numbers of countries have been working to respect, protect, promote, and fulfill the norms, values, and principles of human rights in the world. Dozens of International Conventions, Covenants, and Declarations have already been endorsed by the UN Generally Assembly and most of the member states of the UN have either signed or ratified/acceded to them. There is no public debate and discussion on human security. However, human security studies have been initiated by the World's First Online Transcend Peace University, Germany from March 2013.

In assessment between human security and human rights, two different concepts and approaches are to be studied. The concept of human rights loses the conceptual autonomy of its proponents; on the contrary, human security has proved to be far different from that of human rights, being more political, more blurred, and paradoxically more subject to abuse compared to human rights (Buranelli:undated:6-7).

The UN charter did not sufficiently define the essence of human rights. The adoption of the UDHR in December gave a birth to recognize inherent, equal, and inalienable rights of individuals including members of the human family. The UN Charter has given top priority on peace and security, but could not move ahead to draft neither the declaration of human security nor convention because of politics of powerful and developed nations. Thus, human rights issues have been widespread and human security is limited. Sudha Menon says, "The Charter does not provide any concrete strategy for implementing the rights, it still provides a beacon light for the further development of human security (Menon: 2007: 4).

The issue of human rights to USA has become prominent to unite the states whereas same issue worked for secession in former USSR and Yugoslavia. The USA and its allies, politically and socio-economically try hard to impose the same anti-communist strategy to secede the

Tibet from China. That is why China wants to make its own country secure tightening anti-Tibet protest from neighboring land Nepal. Besides, India time and again asked Nepalese authority to ensure security stopping fake currency transferring to India from Nepal.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan had launched several activities related to human security. The initiative started in December 1998 when Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi expressed his views on human security in the Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tomorrow (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 14). It has played a significant role to proliferate the ethics of human security which supported to establish the Commission on Human Security[x] (CHS) in 2001 financially and technically. In March 1999, the Government of Japan and the UN Secretariat launched the UNTFHS to finance UN Human Security projects and to increase the human security operational impact. Its purpose was to translate the human security approach into practical actions vertically at all field levels. It has more than 200 globally funded projects (UNOCHA:2009).

In 1998, Canada and Norway signed a bilateral agreement to establish the Human Security Network. One year later, the network extended its membership with like-minded foreign ministers of 13 countries, Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand, and South Africa (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 14). The Network's efforts include the steps toward the application of human security, including Ottawa Convention on Anti-personnel Landmines and establishment of the International Criminal Court (UNTFHS: 2009:57). However, there have been worldwide human rights network.

> ### Security to Nepal's Caregiver in Israel
> *More than 8,000 mostly female migrant workers are presently working in Israel as caregivers. The human insecurity (discrimination and exploitation) and human rights abuse (torture and humiliation) to Nepalese migrant workers begin from their own home country. The exploitation started while intended migrant workers should pay fees US $ 6,000-12,000 to recruitment agencies/brokers in Nepal (Oved et al: July 2011: 7). One-fifths of the fees went to their Israel broker agencies. Even after invested that much of money, a few of migrant workers failed to receive visas while their agent(s) failed to bribe US $ 100 to 500 to Nepalese staffs working in Embassy of Israel in Kathmandu clandestinely. Most of the Nepalese are to face humiliation even from their own Nepal Police, guarding at the Embassy, in the name of tightening security, being received order from senior staffs at the Embassy. While approximately 1,000 youths had already deposited their fees to Israeli brokers, the Israeli Government suddenly stopped to grant visas further caregivers from Nepal in April 2009. Moreover, the documents deposited for visas were also cancelled. Israeli brokers freed from the scene instead to pay back the fees taken from Nepalese youths. A caregiver Tara Kumar was beaten by Sara Netanyahu, wife of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in August 2011 (Tarnopolsky: September 1, 2011).*

The *Politics of People's War and Human Rights in Nepal 2005* stated of moral rights, legal rights, and cultural relativism that initiates from the embryo in mother's womb as inherent and inalienable rights. The moral rights include universal, individual, paramount, practicable, and enforceable (see Macfarlane: 1985). Human rights are the rights of all people at all times and in all situations (Cranston: 1973:21) even in times of conflict, national emergency, and other humanitarian crises.

Human rights need to be practicable as the rights to an adequate livelihood as per the resources and opportunities of a nation. Human rights are a concept of legal rights in which all men are entitled under international, domestic or customary laws. Since 1948, three types of international human rights instruments have been promulgated, which include: legally binding with a complaint mechanism, legally binding without a complaint mechanism, and not legally binding.

First, legally binding instruments with a complaint mechanism are five listed in the ICCPR[xi] and its Two Optional Protocols, ICERD[xii] and its Optional Protocol, CAT[xiii] and Its Optional Protocol,

CEDAW [xiv], and its Optional Protocol, and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities[xv] (CRPD) and its Optional Protocol.

Second, legally binding instruments without a complaint mechanism include the rights listed in the ICESCR and CRC. The CRC unites all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of the children. The CRC has 150 state parties where First Optional Protocol restricts to use of children in military conflict and Second Optional Protocol prohibits the sale of children, child prostitution, child pornography and child labor.

Third, not legally binding instruments are those which consist of UDHR 1948, Declaration of the Rights of the Persons belonging to the National or Ethnic, Religious and linguistic Minorities 1992, and Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion or Belief 1981.

The doctrine of human rights is also act as cultural relativism that exists through knowledge, truth, and morality in relation to culture, society, and historical context, and they are not universally the same. The cultural relativism uses in three prominent worlds: First World, Second World, and Third World and each of it has their own international, regional, and national interests (Pathak: 2005:21).

Unlike human rights as moral, legal, and cultural relativism, there is no any works have been done for human security. *Albeit* widely used and supported by several scholars, experts and politicians, it is difficult to assess what 'human security' consists of: since everything seems to fit within this expression, the logical conclusion is that human security is nothing, being everything (Buranelli:undated:6-7).

Human rights have limited or reduced rights in compared to human security. Human security seems to comprise threats from all dimensions in the universe whereas human rights do not primarily concern with natural disasters and other threats from non-State actors. Human security provides security even to asylum seekers from feeling sense of insecurity whereas human rights suffice to open a discussion of asylum seekers to genuinely implement international human rights treaties as a freedom to live with dignity[xvi].

Human security perceives as national security allowing derogation of certain human rights. If human security assumes more importance alongside national security, human rights could not so easily been neglected, legally speaking, and derogated (Seidensticker: 2002: 1). Human security expands the notion of human rights towards threats that do not only emerge from States. Human security might allow for a better explanation of why acts by private parties and non-state actors should be seen as human rights violations (Oberleitner: February 11, 2003:6). The article 13 of the UDHR states "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" and "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". The right to leave one's country voluntarily or involuntarily left a practical effect to the people to enter another country on the one hand. State security forces, on the other, have carefully guarded their right to determine to whom to permit and reside in their territories. Consequently, there has been little progress in developing a normative framework to regulate the movement of people with security between states and to protect their rights (CHS:2003:45).

Since human rights regime feels uncomfortable in dealing with human security as a prime target, the international security actors and institutions feel odds to deal with human security as human rights. Each human rights and human security competes one another to enhance

their influence internationally. On September 18, 1999, the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights Mary Robinson was even invited to address in Security Council to make the loud voice of human rights.

So long as the UN had focused all its efforts toward emphasizing on fundamental human rights and freedoms but prioritizing little on human security, deliberations on human security were almost absent for over three decades till in 1980 the Brandt Commission[xvii] brought to forefront the issue of freedom from want (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 8). The report highlighted the differences in understanding the term of living standards (economic development) among the people in rich Northern and developing Southern hemispheres of the world. The Brandt Commission Report envisages for a new kind of global security for social, economic, and political ends and threats from classical military perils. Moreover, the governments lacked political will to act on the issues owing to the polarization of the Cold-War I (Quilligan:2002).

Human right is a basic framework of universal obligations while human security points to a certain cross-section of such obligations. The language of human rights have seems weak as it was/is highly being politicized in both Cold War I and Cold War II whereas human security language is attractive. Human security uses in socio-cultural, economic, political, and military purposes while human rights are the legal instruments to prevent person or community from violations or abuses or to punish victims' perpetrators following national and international rights measures.

The UNSG Boutros-Boutros Ghali implored "an integrated approach to human security" to address the root causes of conflict spanning a number of economic, social, and political issues. The UN is capable of maintaining international peace and security, securing justice, and human rights and promoting "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" (June 17th 992:1-4). The UN had finally produced its first comprehensive *Human Development Report* in 1994. All nations should agree on a 3 percent a year reduction in military spending and increase for human security by establishing a human security fund (Human Development Report: 1994).

The Social Summit 1995 finally produced the Copenhagen Declaration and Program of Action that cooperated to develop some operational indicators of human security unlike the development of human rights in 1948. The Copenhagen Declaration incorporated ten commitments including economic, political, social, cultural, and legal environment; eradicate absolute poverty; support full employment; promote social integration and safeguard human rights; strengthen cooperation for social development through the UN, etc (The World Bank and the Copenhagen Declaration: Ten Years After: September 20, 2004:1-16). The summit also offered various concrete proposals for an early warning system identifying the countries in crisis, viz. Afghanistan, Angola, Haiti, Iraq, Mozambique, Myanmar, Sudan, and Zaire (UNDP:1994:3). That summit was the largest gathering ever of the world leaders of the era.

The report *Human Security Now 2003* strives to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and rights and their fulfillment. The Human Security Unit (HSU) was established in 2004 at the UN OCHA with the principal objective to keep human security in the mainstream of UN activities along with human rights (Human Security at the United Nations: 2012). But it could not be that much of effective while the culture of militarization widely prevails in the earth.

Over the past year, the Security Council resolutions are driven by human rights concerns. In 1977, the Security Council sent a team in South Africa to restore peace and stability against the human rights violations. The same Council had labeled South Africa as threats to regional security and stability. Thus, the UN Security Council shows double standards. However, UN Security and Human Rights Council never tried to protect individual's human right under human security concern. It is to be remarkable of that UNSC was constituted to maintain world's peace and security.

The Security Council uses force to restore international peace and security as stated by the article 1.1 of the UN Charter, but it mostly advocate the idea of human rights. The propaganda of human rights is to criticize the competitors (countries) who refute the western model of democracy "the economy control by the state-politics" against the "state-politics control over economy".

Human security has not been developed the degree of independent priority yet that has been achieved by human rights. It means human security does not have the same correlative duties as human rights. Unlike thrust of human rights on correlative duties, human security does not necessarily have obligations. Human rights framework is more vocal and more fundamental. The question for the Commission is how to connect human security onto the grander vehicle of human rights. Human security shall reduce excessive use of force in the realization of rights; however, national security agency often uses to defend suppression of human rights. Human rights could not be neglected in the name of security (Seidensticker: February 5, 2002:1).

In most of the cases, human rights advocates only to first generation of human rights (freedom from fear), however, human security gives discretion of progressive realization to both freedom from want, second generation of human rights (Pathak: July 1, 2013:1). These generations are to be considered as the highest aspirations of the common people for human security first.

Human security may help to reduce differences on the implementation of human rights while state suppresses some rights in the name to protect others. The USA has yet to ratify second generation of human rights. Nepal has ratified both generations, but the government never tries to compliance them. Moreover, there have been differences on implementation of rights between powerful and weak or poor people over the period of time. "Human security may give a fresh approach to balancing civil-political and socio-economic rights" (Seidensticker: February 5, 2002:1).

Speaking at the 77th Congress on June 1941, Franklin Roosevelt had stated that American security had been seriously threatened. The US had been engaged in two wars against the European nations and Western Indies. So, he observed, "But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence". At that speech, he placed national security as a destiny in 3hs of hands, heads, and hearts of its millions of free men and women and their faith in freedom under the guidance of God (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 3). He emphasized, "Freedom means supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them" (June 1st 1941:1). He put forward four essential human freedoms which are: (i) freedom of speech[xviii], (ii) freedom of worship[xix], (iii) freedom from want[xx], and (v) freedom from fear[xxi] (June 1st 1941:2-8). Thus, he Roosevelt put forward nation's security first and then human rights unlike today's US policy.

The adoption of the Landmine Ban Convention, the UN Conference on Small Arms, and the International Criminal Court (ICC) are focused to human security. No human rights

organizations or institutions have authorities to enforce human rights obligations except ICC and international criminal tribunals. While human rights and security work together, it shall change traditional views on both concepts. The concept of human security extends the debate of human rights while the security forces mobilize for the purpose of humanitarian intervention. More analysis will be needed to explore whether and how human security explain and allow for the use of force in order to protect human rights (Ramcharan:2002).

Universal, interdependent, indivisible, inherent, inalienable, and non-derogatory are the major philosophy of human rights. Similarly, the core value of human rights are accessibility, accountability, dignity and identity, equity and equality, diversity, impartiality, independence and autonomy, participation and social inclusion, transparency, integrity, and empowerment (Pradhan: unpublished:5). The principles and core values of human security are yet to be identified, to be formed.

Human security is an impressive machine of human rights. The distinction between human security and human rights does not lie in their motivation or subject matter (Alkire: 2003: 39). Till millennium year, the language of human rights has been very much influential, but language of human security has gradually been replacing the human rights influence along with the emergence of identitism in the Cold War II. The implementation of human rights initiated in 18th century to 20th century through US Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom to bring the perpetrators into judicial custody, but human security tries hard to protect the basic needs, freedom, and national security in 21st century similar to prevention is better than care.

The principal concept of human rights is essential enough to acknowledge, safeguard, and promote the society. Human security makes a noteworthy contribution by recognizing the importance of freedom, want, and dignity from basic insecurities in both new and old concepts. The richness of human security secures human lives through moral claims recognizing certain freedoms and basic needs as human rights. Human security puts nation's security agenda at the top to strengthen humanitarian action, respect human rights and humanitarian law, disarm armed groups, prevent conflict, and respect citizens. Human rights leave a significant impact on humanitarian action and such action helps to realize rights translating into practices and building up institutional capacity to its implementation.

The millennium decade has been very much important on the people's movement and resides in a desired country for which International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families were come into force in December 2002. The migrant workers were also benefitted by the 1949 ILO Migration for Employment Convention and the 1975 Convention on Migrant Workers. However, the ILO migration provisions did not attracted that much of states for human security. Similarly, only few states ratified the 1977 European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers to ensure personal security.

There are numerous committees within the UN on the course of safeguarding different human rights treaties at global level. The intergovernmental body UN seeks to apply international jurisdiction for universal human rights legislation. For human rights, two prominent bodies namely UN Security Council and the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) have been formed. The senior body of the UN for human rights protection is the OHCHR. Other protecting bodies of human rights are: UN General Assembly, ICC, and Human Rights Committee. African Charter on Human Rights and People's Rights, American Convention of Human Rights, and European

Convention on Human rights are the three principal regional protection bodies of human rights. There are several other international non-government human rights organizations such as ICRC, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, etc. and National Human Rights Commission at national level has already been formed for the protection of human rights. However, violation and abuse of individual and collective rights have not been stopped while the nation heads toward identity-based conflict in 21st century.

It is to be noted that there is no any such UN, regional, and other national protecting bodies to human security have been formed despite the removal of threats stated in the article 1.1 of the UN Charter. Article 1.2 focuses for equal rights and right to self-determination whereas Art. 1.3 emphasizes the mandate to achieve international co-operation in resolving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, gender, language, or religion. Although, the Article 1.1 could not be given that much of attention in compared to articles 1.2 and 1.3 of the UN Charter.

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) have been set up in Argentina, Chad, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Timor-Leste. Amnesty provisions to the perpetrators of human rights abuses were adopted in Chile, Greece, Rwanda, South Africa, and Uruguay except serious human rights violations. International Criminal Tribunals was created as International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), and the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL) to prosecute individuals for genocide, crime against humanity, war crimes, and crime against aggression. Reparations and compensation have been paid in Germany, Switzerland, and Timor-Leste (CHS: 2003:11). These all measures relate more to human rights, but less in terms of human security.

However, Nepal did not establish Commissions for Truth, Disappearance, and Peace and Rehabilitation even seven years of Comprehensive Peace Accord signed on November 21, 2006. Nepal does not have economic security too. Corruption is widespread in Nepal that leads the nation towards the culture of impunity. Every ambitious Nepali competes for power and politics not for to serve people and nation, but to commit for corruption.

Human security is beyond legal approach of human rights to address the underlying causes of inequality and violence at nation, region, and globe levels. Freedom from fear and freedom from want are freedom from violence and freedom from poverty. Human security is vague and unclear measure. It is state-centric to human centric notion in the world. It opens new dimensions of human security within the UN system and other international organizations in addition to all people of the world taken as individuals (Pathak: July 1, 2013: 7). Human security is absence of definite limitations as it includes everything in the universe considering risk to security. Inclusion of anything and everything from military to non-military parameters such as climate change, border security, terrorism, diseases, and basic needs to individual security has been a great challenge for the formulation of policy of human security. The powerful nations are against on the formulation of human security policies to all people and nations. Moreover, powerful nations fulfill their vested political interests in the name of implementation of definite parameters of human rights. Thus, human right has been incorporated by each state at its international relations and foreign policy.

On the whole, human security is a non-hegemonic and complementary concept of human rights. Both have contesting relationship on the course to advocate its nature: personal life,

liberty, dignity, and development.

CONCLUSION

Although, human security is an age-old concept, its practice initiated after the end of Cold-War I and beginning of Cold-War II. The issue of human rights (capitalism – the economy controls the government and parties) against the people's rights (communism-the government and parties controls over all aspects in the country including economy) played a significant role to wipeout politico-ideological warfare. The gap of communist ideology is being replaced by identitism: caste-ethnicity, culture, sex, class, color, resource, region, and religion that begin to surface along with Cold-War II (Pathak: February 5, 2013:2). The identitism finally gave a birth of personal human security against previous idea of collective state security or community security. As much as the identitism conflicts shall be propound for 150 to 200 years from now, the debate and discussion of human security would be more proliferated from community, region and nation to a broad range, an important global issue. If the intervention of human rights does not function under the vested interest of powerful nations, human rights shall solely be function as a core under the umbrella of human security. Thus, the impact of human security and human rights shall be seen in all generations that ultimately give a neutral path to respect, defend, promote, and fulfill the needs and interests of a person without prejudice and color.

Three human rights generations was first proposed by Czech jurist Karel Vasak in 1979. Generation I leads to Civil-Political Rights. The participation of political life with full liberty is called first generation which protects individuals' civil and political rights from state's or group's excessive use of power. Generation II guides Socio-Economic Rights. The equal conditions and treatment on economic and social rights is termed as second generation that ensures equal citizenry rights. Generation III focuses to Collective Rights. The collective development rights of people and groups is called third generation. It is a fraternity that constitutes a broad class of rights such as women, children, minorities, physically challenged, and so forth.

Only three generations mentioned above could not cover the needs, interest, and hope of people in this diversified present identitism universe. I, hereby, propose four additional generations, namely Generation IV on Right to Peace, Generation V on Right to Dignity, Generation VI on Right to Personal Sovereignty, and Generation VII on Right to Shared Responsibility on the course to ensure genuine human security to all that fulfills the dreams and ambitions of all individual to groups, communities, nations, and regions to worldwide.

Cumulative efforts through absence of silence and civil disorder, judicial equity, and reculturation[xxii], fraternity, and security are called fourth generation (right to peace) which only achieves when hungry are feed, unemployed are employed, vulnerable are protected, marginalized are included, and freedom are unrestricted. The respect, protection, and promotion of human worth without distinction is called fifth generation (right to dignity) that enlightens the concept of dignified citizens, culture, faith, and idea[xxiii]. A sovereign people implies the intrinsic, inalienable, and non-derogatory power and authority to determine his/her path and destiny are called sixth generation (right to sovereignty) in which sovereign person shall have free will to choose one's action and reaction action without being forced or ordered to by the state or another person to brings constructive change in the society. Present world faces numerous external and internal threats ranging from climate related disasters, organized crimes, armed violence including terrorism, human trafficking, health pandemics, and economic downturns. The mitigation or transformation of such daunting challenges within and beyond nation working together harmoniously is called seventh generation[xxiv] (right to

shared responsibility) that shall bring change on the free lifestyle of All closer to egalitarian society.

While international covenants on ICCPR and ICESCR were drafting in 1966, the US and its allies gave a top priority to first generation, but former USSR and its allies were seen on behalf of second generation. Such trend continues in the entire Cold-War I and II. Freedom from fear is a vision of collective security for preventing catastrophic terrorism and use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, reducing the risk of war and use of force and encouraging mediation, peacekeeping, and peace-building processes (UNGS: March 21, 2005:24-33).

Human security is a protection of life, liberty, security, dignity, and integrity. It prevents from a violent threats facing by people. Such violent conflicts link with poverty, inequalities, discriminations, restrictions, and unequal distribution of resources. For protection and promotion of people in emergencies and conflicting situations, a broad range of safety or conflict sensitivity measures with do no harm approach shall be developed, taken, and intervened. Human security is a broad, but it is human to nature or universe-centered, not state-centered. The state-centered to human centered security approach is a basic concept of human rights. Human security and human rights (mega, meso and micro-levels respectively) serve as common concerns, purposes, and mutually reinforcing elements. However, human security and human rights seem partly competitive on the course of intervention[xxv] because of broad vs. limited and priority vs. non-priority criteria.

The world is need less-armed, but more funded to human security to restores peace, security, and harmony. The genuine compliance of security and rights may prevail social harmony in the world irrespective of poor and developed nations, caste, ethnicity, color, sex religion, region, political or other opinion, social origin, property, birth or other status. Thus, today's urgency is to transform the negative synergy into the positive one through the indirect/direct informal and indirect/direct formal peace talks (dialogue) among the conflicting interest parties from inharmonious to harmonious relations coping with peace-conflict lifecycle approach.

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Endnotes

[1] The military activities had been first recorded by the Xia Dynasty (2200 -1600 BC) through Sumerian script.

[1] In 1996, the National Defense College India stated that national security has been an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources, and finally the military might. A Report of the US Secretary of Defense Harold Brown during the Carter administration (1977-1981) emphasized on the national security and physical and territorial integrity on the course to maintain its economic relations with rest of the world.

[1] The Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established in January 2001 by the UN Secretary-General on the occasion of 2000 Millennium Summit for a world "free from want" and "free from fear." The CHS comprises 12-member including Professor Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen.

[1] Partyless individuals

[1] applicable everywhere
[1] same for everyone
[1] Natural law and natural rights

[1] Unanimously adopted in December 1948

[1] The survey was conducted with 114,000 people in 107 countries.
[1] The CHS is comprised of 12 members including Mrs. Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen. Its report named *Human Security Now* was submitted to the UNSG in 2003.
[1] The ICCPR stresses upon rights of physical integrity, perusal security and liberty, rights of the accused and fair trial, individual liberty, and political rights where there are 74 signatories and 164 parties till the mid of 2013. Almost all 64 nations including India, USA, UK, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Israel, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Bangladesh, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Korea, Russian Federation, etc. ratified or accessed to the ICCPR with their own reservation (http://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en). Even though, Nepal has blindly ratified without any reservation.
[1] The ICERD emphasizes the definition of discrimination, prevention of discrimination, condemnation of apartheid, prohibition of incitement, promotion of tolerance, mechanisms of dispute resolution, and individual complaint mechanism. There are 86 signatories and 176 parties as of June 2013. 60 parties such as Australia, Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, France, India, Israel, Italy, Nepal, Korea, Switzerland, UK, USA, etc. have put forward their reservation and interpretative declaration on the Convention.
http://treaties.un.org/untc/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-2&chapter=4&lang=en
[1] Each year on June 26 recognizes as the International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. The Convention has 153 state parties.
1 The CEDAW came into force in September 1981. The UNSCR 1325 and 1820 are focused to protect women in all forms of violence including sexual violence even the country into the conflicting period (http://treaties.un.org).
[1] It was not 155 signatories where 132 are state parties have signed the convention as a quickly supported human rights instruments (http://treaties.un.org).
[1] In millennium declaration of UNGS and its common interests demand for rule of law, human rights and democracy (UNGS: March 21, 2005: 34-38).
[1] The Brandt Commission Report was written by an independent commission headed by Willy Brandt, the former German Chancellor and a Nobel laureate in 1971 in the course of reviewing international development issues. The Commission initiated the studies in 1980 and completed its work in 1987

[1] Freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

[1] Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

[1] Freedom from want—which, translated into worldly terms, means economic understandings which will secure every nation for a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world. It is also a shared vision of development, national strategies, trade and financing for development, sustainability environment, and other priorities for global action and implementation of challenges (http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/270/78/PDF/N0527078.pdf?OpenElement).

[1] Freedom from fear—which, translated into worldly terms, means world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation would be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world. It is a vision of collective security that prevents catastrophic terrorism, use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, reduction of the risk and prevalence of war, and use of force (http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/270/78/PDF/N0527078.pdf?OpenElement).

[1] Reculturation includes disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion, reparation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reconciliation, and reintegration (Pathak: August 2013: 4-5).

[1] Human dignity is much broader than human rights. It could mean identity, pride, confidence, sense of belonging, ability to make choices, enjoyment of freedoms, empowerment, education, equity, culture, political participation, etc (Mushakoji: Winter 2012:5).

Some countries namely Finland, New Zealand, Hungary, and Israel have incorporated to safeguard the third generation of human rights. In April 1997, the Council of Europe approved the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Dignity of Human Beings.

The European Commission has its mission to protect and preserve the environment for present-future generation to promote the sustainable development. If one person has a right, the other (state) has duty to respect that right and ensure security. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights said, "Everyone has a right to respect for their dignity". Canada, Denmark, France, Portugal, Sweden, and US Government have done something to respect for human life and dignity. Germany has incorporated human dignity in article 1 of its Constitution. The Charter of fundamental rights in the European Union affirms the inviolability of human dignity. The South African Constitution lists the human dignity as the achievement of human rights and freedom. Article 7 of the Swiss Constitution stated, "Human dignity must be respected and protected".

[1] A more secure world is our shared responsibility for us, our children, and grand children at homes, works, schools, roads, and natures. The shared responsibility is no less than right to intergeneration equity, clean environment, and sustainable development. Pro-poor governance, civil-military relations, community policing, conflict sensitive programs, and people-centric government, parties, civil society organizations, and media are today's essence to compliance human security and human rights.

[1] Intervention leads to strategy, planning, implementation, and monitoring-evaluation of the programs.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN ZIMBABWE AND ASSOCIATED CHALLENGES: SYNTHESIS AND ANTITHESIS

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ABSTRACT

The local government system in Zimbabwe has experienced many changes and challenges during the colonial period and after independence in 1980. The Urban and Rural District Council Acts have been amended many times to initiate efficiency and effectiveness in local governance. The focus of such changes included the need to remove racial discrimination, abolish dual systems of development emphasizing white and black areas, develop democracy, good governance, decentralisation and to align local governments institutions' politics and policies in such a way that they support national strategies and visions for development. Despite many strategies or policies initiated over the years, it system the admirable local government system inherited from the colonial period has deteriorated significantly. Varied challenges have been articulated that include lack of funding, too much central government interventions in local issues, recentralisation through forcing local government officers to report to Governors, Provincial Administrators and District Administrators, violence during local elections, abuses of political power by the Minister of Local Government who 'willy nilly' or constantly has dismissed councillors, councils and mayors and so on. The study was a typical desk research. Documents from central government, local governments and books and journals were reviewed and analysed. The results indicate that political comment to achieving democracy, good governance and decentralization is needed. The description of the local government system of Zimbabwe in the new National Constitution (2013) is a positive development. Local government legislation has given too much power to the Minister of Local Government who has tended to abused it as evidenced by unilateral appointments of Commissions and firings of legal institutions. There is also need to elected literate councillors who can form policies or interpret statistical information like financial data especially during budget debates. The deterioration of a local government system cherished by many during the 1980s to the 1990s is a clear testimony of the slow political, governance and democratic development processes.

Keywords: Government Systems, Zimbabwe Government, Politics, legislation

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe was a British colony and its local government system naturally reflects the colonial legacy. The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for Zimbabwe (IDAZIM) (2010:17) states, "Upon achieving independence in 1980, the country inherited a racially based model of governance that served the interests of white Europeans and segregated white from black Africans". Chigwata (2010:24) states that Government in Zimbabwe was primarily based on the principle of 'separate development' of races, notably whites and blacks, with the former benefiting more than the latter. To serve the purpose of 'separate development', local government was similarly divided on the basis of race. Urban Councils, in various forms, were elected by the whites, enjoyed sound autonomy, and provided reasonable services to the white community. The urban and rural councils were administered to the advantage of the white colonialists while the blacks were relegated to the status of third rate citizens and the blacks

were confined in terms of living to what was called Tribal Trust Lands (Reserves) or Native Lands, African Councils and later changed to District Councils.

District Councils generally were impoverished, lacking adequate infrastructures like schools, health facilities and roads, lacking adequate rainfall and the land was infertile compared to farms forcibly grabbed by the colonialists. They were infested by tsetse-flies. The stay of blacks in towns and cities of Zimbabwe was considered temporary. They were accepted in urban areas for the sake of providing labour. The blacks were also registered during their stay in any urban area and this was meant to control their movements.

Chigwata (2010:24) further argues that 'local government was racist, exploitative and subservient in character. It was not only logical but also justified for the ZANU PF-led government to immediately after independence (1980) introduce reforms to correct the racially based model of governance. Mapuva (2011:7) affirms, "Ordinarily, the existence of Africans in urban areas was prohibited under colonial legislation unless they were providing cheap labour in mines and factories. This justifies the enactment of laws which required every African to possess a pass indicating their names and that of their employer where applicable.

Mutizwa-Mangiza (1992: 111) and Stewart, Klugman, and Helmsing (1994: 3–4) explicate that during the first decade of independence, successive efforts to end this dual system. In 1980 African Councils were abolished and replaced with fifty-seven (57) District Councils that were large and their councils were democratically elected. In 1988 (Government of Zimbabwe, 2004) the Rural District Act 8/1988 (Chapter 29: 13) was promulgated and it unified the District and Rural Councils into the single system of rural administration. The Ministry of Local Government in a document entitled *Revitalization of Local Authorities* (2004:6) argues that the major objective of the exercise was the rationalisation of local government in the rural areas. The amalgamation of the Rural and District Councils was seen as necessary to dismantle the former racially based local government system and create for the rural areas a local government system that would promote nation building through interaction across the colour line (Government of Zimbabwe, 2004). As a result of the 1988 legislative changes, Zimbabwe adopted a bipartite system of local government composed of Urban and Rural District Councils.

Colonial Urban Local Government System A Brusque Survey
Munzwa and Jonga (2010:125) allege that 1890 to 1939 was the first of colonial domination in the country colonially named Rhodesia. During this period many mining centres were set up, for example, Kadoma, Chegutu, Marondera, Chinhoyi, Gweru, Redciff, Bindura and Shamva. Urban councils originated with the establishment of Harare, previous named Salisbury in 1890. The creation of Harare saw the establishment of the Salisbury Sanitation Board by the British South African Company (BSACo) in 1892 in response to pressure from residents of the emerging town who were worried about sanitary conditions. Marumahoko and Fessha (2011:3) state, "The need for similar boards was evident in other fast-emerging towns. While the boards were confined to sanitation issues at first, they later evolved into what is the equivalent of the present day urban councils as they became responsible for service provision in general". In 1892, the major function of the boards was refuse collection. It meant that these boards had no executive power and heavily dependence on the company for funding, they were generally subservient to the BSACo.

Harare and Bulawayo became fully fledged urban councils in 1896 and the members were directly elected. Marumahoko and Fessha (2011:3) further explain that there was no change in the status of urban councils up to 1923 when the Company's administration was terminated on

the granting of self-government to Rhodesia. Before 1923, the boards established remained subordinate to the BSACo which appointed the members. In 1930 the first Urban Councils Act was passed and was called the Municipal Act (1930), (Mapuva, 2011:6). City council status was conferred on seven urban councils, including Harare and Bulawayo, in 1967. During that period 26 town management boards and three local committees were established to provide services in the smaller towns. This, however, did not bring any significant change in terms of financial status.

Wekwete in Munzwa and Jonga (2010:126) states,

> ". . . the country experienced the highest rate of increased housing stock due to vigorous stand development between 1965 and 1971. It is during this period that the housing for Africans was really embraced".

The foregoing discussion indicates that between 1890 and 1980 the relationship between central government and urban councils was that of centre- periphery. Munzwa and Jonga (2010) also concluded that the post-independence era, that is, 1980 to 1996 was marked by vigorous deracialisation of the systems including the urban and rural settlement systems.

In 1980 the Urban Councils' Act of 1973 was replaced by the Urban Councils' Act (Chapter 214). The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 214) was changed in 1995 and 1996 and replaced by the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15). The Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15] provides for the determination and establishment of councils, qualification for election into council, management committees of councils, appointment of officials, powers, duties, functions, rights and obligations of councils and financial matters . In 1997 the Urban Councils' Act (Chapter 29:15) was varied and substituted by the 1997 Urban Councils' Act and again replaced by the Local Government Laws of 2008.

Challenges Of Decentralization In Africa

Zimbabwe's decentralisation policies are or were meant to create government structures closer to the people, to enhance participation in decision-making and to facilitate development. When discussing decentralisation and local government system in the Constitution of Zimbabwe, Olowu (2009:4) outlined the following as challenges of decentralisation in Africa:

A. The fundamental problem of decentralised local governance in developing countries is the fear of national leaders that the transfer of power represents a zero-sum game in which local leaders (who might also be politicians in a different party) gain power and resources at their expense. This could be a real problem in view of the nature of highly personalised nature of politics especially in many African countries and the tendency for the opposition to gain in strength in the major especially capital cities.

B. A number of decentralisation programmes have simply transferred power, authority and resources from a group of elites at the national to the local levels. Such elites might be traditional or conservative and against all forms of modernity or change or they might be transformative or corrupt.

C. Weak individual (human resource) incentives put available capacities out of reach of district and community level authorities. For instance, the remuneration packages for staff at local communities are often set at levels lower than at the national government.

D. There is disconnection between the national and local levels. Such disconnection between micro and macro, upstream and downstream aspects of economy and society fosters a less effective development process even though the local level may actually experience a deeper, more focused development impact.

Organisations function the way they are because of the institutional incentives, which exist or are missing. Organisations provide opportunities for cooperation among individuals and the organisational rules determine the response of these individuals to either cooperate or shirk. Hence, institutional incentives are those elements that make people who work in or with these organisations – as leaders, officials and clients – to display diverse behaviour modes that either support or undermine local development.

Before 2013, the Zimbabwe Constitution contains no provision on local government. One might have thought that this was a legacy of the British colonial inheritance as local government is regarded as a statutory not a constitutional issue in erstwhile British colonies.

Decentralisation Policies In Zimbabwe- A Brief Survey
Moyo (2010, Online) argues that after independence decade there has been a series of legislative enactments, directives and pronouncements which created structures and procedures facilitating the devolution of responsibilities and powers to lower levels of government. The changes were influenced by reasons such as the need to encourage efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of goods and services, the need to facilitate development in urban areas, the need to encourage democratic good governance, and the desire to bring and promote strong leadership like the introduction of the Executive Mayoral System in 1996.

Chombo the Minister of Local Government (2009: x), explains that the legislations that defined the modus operandi of the local government sector are; Provincial Councils and Administration Act, The Urban Councils' Act, The Rural District Councils' Act and The Traditional Leaders' Act. The Acts among other issues define the mandate of local governments and in the process define the legal and functional relationships between and among the various actors in local government, that in essence are the key enablers to development, to the extent that same have to proffer safe lending to all development initiatives. The following paragraphs will elaborate on decentralization policies.

The Prime Minister's Directives on Decentralisation and Development (PMDDs) of 1984 and 1985, for example, established the position and roles of the Provincial Governor (PG). The directives were given a legal status in 1985 when it became the Provincial Councils and Administration Act (Chigwata, 2010:8). Furthermore, PGs are classified as political heads of provincial governments and provide leadership to the provinces thereof. Besides the PGs, the PMDDs also created other structures at the provincial level and these include; Provincial Councils (PC), Provincial Development Committees (PDC) and other sub-committees of the PDC. The provincial administrator (PA) also undertakes a very important role in provincial governance. Each province has a PA who is responsible for coordinating the activities of central government ministries and agencies at the provincial level to ensure coordinated development planning and implementation. The Village Development Committees (VIDCOs), Ward Development Committees (WADCOs), District Development Committees (DDCOs), Provincial Councils (PCs) and Provincial Development Committees (PDCs) and Provincial Governors (PGs) were also created as coordination and consultative structures under the PMDDs. The intergovernmental hierarchy of committees created by the PMDDs was mandated to take charge of local planning and development as a mechanism to facilitate popular participation (Chigwata, 2010:8).

Besides the establishment of PGs, The Prime Minister's Directives resulted in the amalgamation of the Rural and District Councils .This development left Zimbabwe with two systems of local government, that is, the Urban and Rural-District Councils. These are lower

sub-national structures compared to the Provincial Councils. The Rural-District Councils are headed by a District Administrator. The Minister of Local Government IN 2003 directed urban councils to report to the Governors, Provincial and District Administrators. The introduction of DAs and PGs in the urban governance created serious conflicts that negatively impacted on the activities of urban councils.

The other major structure created by the decentralisation policy was that of the traditional leaders and these include chiefs and headmen. Their role is to allocate land and try civil and criminal cases among other duties. The Traditional Leaders Act of 2002 is the law that guides their governance activities.

The formation of the MDC changed in many ways the political environment, giving birth to political violence, murder, assassinations, destruction of properties, political instigated migrations locally and internationally and finally serious economic meltdown. The creation of new laws and the amendments to existing laws especially from the 1990's in many ways was part of a Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) Party seditious strategy that was hatched to keep it in power. Legislative changes seemed to have too many political overtones to be paraded as democratic (Makumbe 2009:25).

The deterioration of the rule of law in Zimbabwe has definitely influenced the deterioration of public institutions like urban councils whose duty is to provide public goods and services to communities in a democratic manner. In the urban areas democratically elected councils and executives during the time of the National Unity Government were being harassed and dismissed by the central government through the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing and some of the dismissed were mayors Mudzuri (Harare, 2004), Lionel De Necker (Gwanda 2012), Ivory Matanhire (Bindura 2011), Itai Masaka (Deputy Mayor Mutare 2010) and Brian James (Mutare 2012). All these mayors were replaced with pro-ZANU-PF Party individuals (Sibanda, 2012:1). Councillors in a majority of these urban councils were also dismissed and replaced with what is called special interest councillors who are also ZANU-PF Party supporters. It is a common saying in Zimbabwe that 'democracy is now in the intensive care'.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher adopted a desk research methodology since adequate documented information that needed synthesis was available. Documents from the Ministry of Local Government, Urban Councils and Rural District Councils were consulted and analysed. In addition books and articles published in newspapers and journals were also reviewed. The reviewed data was organized into groups, sifted and interpreted into meaningful information. Documents relating to the historical development Zimbabwean local government system, policy issues, plans and directives were some of the major sources of data.

Positives About The Local Government System In Zimbabwe

Despite the aspect of discrimination between whites and blacks, at independence in 1980 Zimbabwe inherited a local government system that was decentralised and specifically devolved. Three types of local governments were created and they included Urban, Rural and District Councils. The Prime Minister's Directive of 1984 redefined the types of local governments and reduced them to only two, that is, the Urban Councils and the Rural District Councils.

The Prime Minister's Directive was a policy pronouncement that was meant to realign local government activities to be supplementary and complimenting national government

development efforts and further refocused local governments on development in their areas of jurisdictions. Also a possible correct perception is that a pseudo one party system pursued by a pro-socialist ideology Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) expected this party to keep constant and clear contact with the grassroots where its power or support base was anchored. The policy also reduced discriminatory tendencies of the earlier tripartite arrangement that gave more advantages to urban areas and farming areas that were inhabited by whites.

The local governments enhanced governance through providing democratic platforms at local levels were issues of a local nature are debated and policy decisions and development plans or options are voluntary agreed. Thus local governments in Zimbabwe are both political institutions that develop local development policies and further support development policies initiated and are being implemented by central government. They are organs of state power. Local politicians are basically inducted into politics before becoming national policy makers. The politicians and other stakeholders meet and discuss issues of a local a nature directly. In Zimbabwe, the local governments provide platforms through which direct democracy can be realised.

Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) (2010:4and8) argues that government policies and reforms on legislation are at times delivered through fiscal pronouncements. In the financial area decentralisation policy in Zimbabwe promoted participatory budgeting system. Central government realised that the residents were crucial stakeholders in the governance of urban council and therefore were supposed to be empowered by participating in budgeting. Participatory budgeting is part of overall strategic effort to promote local and engendered democracy and smart partnerships in local authorities. The main objectives of participatory budgeting are to promote civic intervention and participation in local governance, involve the communities in generating self-sustaining livelihoods options, and promote accountability and transparency in local public finance and budgeting (ZWRCN, 2010:8).

The stakeholders are critical in determining the democratic and governance space of local governments. ZWRCN (2010:8) in an attempt to explain decentralisation policy quotes the Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development Circular Number 6 of 1983 that states: "Council should consult with residents and stakeholders whenever it proposes new rents, services and supplementary charges in any given council." Participatory budgeting is being practised in Zimbabwe urban councils since the year 2000. However, as a matter of policy all local governments are expected to submit certificates of consultation to central government through the Ministry of Local government (ZWRCN, 2010:8). The Urban Councils' Act requires the same. However, no records are available in the urban councils to prove that such meetings are taking place.

Local governments have specific boundaries and their functions are clearly spelt out in the Urban Councils and Rural District Councils Acts. This scenario allows their stakeholders to keep a typical control over the bureaucrats (employees) who provide special services or advise to politicians. Thus in Zimbabwe, the principles of good governance guides and is the focus of such institutions. Important principles of good governance pursued by local governments are transparency, accountability, rule of law, responsibility, and participatory decision-making. The compact nature of a local community could allow some of the mentioned principles to be greatly achieved compared to what could be achieved by the national government.

Critical local services provided to the advantage of the local communities include sewerage treatment, garbage collection, roads, drainage and health facilities development, provision of electricity, housing, social amenities, schools, land development, control of livestock, provision of land to citizens, solving conflicts, providing justice especially through chiefs and headmen, controlling deforestation and so on.

Challenges Confronting Local Governments In Zimbabwe

The new Zimbabwe Constitution of 2013 unlike the previous one has defined the local government system in Zimbabwe in great detail. It was unforgiveable that the previous Constitution deliberately did not explain the local governance giving the Minister of Local Government advantage of creating the Urban Councils Act and allowing him to amend it as he wish. This scenario led the said Minister to be too powerful and inevitably abusive to local governments to benefit ZANU PF Party. Zimbabwe Institute (2005:15) states, "Local government in Zimbabwe, unlike in other modern democratic states, has no constitutional backing. The constitution of Zimbabwe is silent on the establishment of local government save for Section 111 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe that recognises the existence of Provincial Governors and Chiefs as sub-national levels of government. Yet, the Zimbabwe Constitution, in its preamble, states that the "constitution is the supreme law of Zimbabwe and if any other law is inconsistent with this constitution that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void". Zimbabwean constitutional law thus regards the Constitution as being supreme and superior even to the Legislature. In that regard, the administrative and political culture in Zimbabwe highly regards those matters enshrined in the Constitution, which cannot be changed before careful review, consultation and defensible justification". Zimbabwe Institute (2005:16) further states that the Constitution should; establish local authorities as a free standing level of government at sub-national level, specifically the district and provincial levels for Metropolitan Provinces; spell out the various responsibilities and functions of the different levels of governments, state the major objects and responsibilities of local governments and that it should state the revenue sharing. Therefore, if the Constitution establishes the local authorities, central government will have no automatic right to suspend and dismiss local authorities and its elected representatives. Making local government a constitutional creation will also do away with the restrictive *ultra vires* doctrine.

Voting System

Before 1980 the Black majority in Zimbabwe were not allowed to vote. Their stay in Urban Areas was only temporary. Kamete (200b:6) asserts that what buttressed the race card was a host of legislative and administrative instruments, chief among which was the constitution. Kamete (200b:6) points out that the Land Tenure Act designated urban areas as "white only" areas, blacks being allowed only to provide labour there with the understanding that they would retire "home" when their usefulness run out. Kamete (200b:6) in addition, indicates that the blacks being aliens in the urban areas could not own property there. Consequently, they could not vote in urban local government elections. These racist laws were reinforced by the promulgation of many similar laws, for example, the Land Apportionment Act which took away land from the blacks in the rural areas.

Machingauta (2009:11) contends that there was no place for Africans in the local government system that was developing until the 1950s when the African Advisory Boards were set up to look after the interests of the growing African population in the towns. At independence attempts were made to bring all urban areas together and for the first time Africans could participate in local government elections by electing councillors for their own areas. Until the1990s very few blacks owned property in Harare and ZANU-PF Party did not quickly change legislation after independence in 1980 because residents who did not own property

were not trusted voters and because politicians felt they could be swayed any direction. Kamete (2000b:9) argues that by 1990, Harare had about 100 000 people on the housing waiting list. This indicates that the majority were lodgers and that the politics and administrative issues in urban areas continued to be dominated by whites living in middle-income and low-density areas because they owned property.

By 1990 those living in the high density areas were 400 000 and in the low density areas less than 122 000. Thus Kamete (2000b:9) argues that those not voting in the low income areas were about 75%. Ten years later this number increased to 80%. Kamete (2000b:9) emphasised that what made the local vote undemocratic was the fact that the affluent groups who could vote were decidedly in the minority. Currently voter apathy is rampant in urban areas and still a minority of blacks currently own property.

Kamete (2000b:11) further alleges that by the year 2002 ZANU-PF Party officials owed the City of Harare about Z$330 million (US$7.3 million) in unsettled bills. Therefore in democratising local government elections the politicians felt that control of local resources by the wrong people was retarding their progress and access to coveted resources. The only way to change the situation was to overwhelm the system with popular vote. The point is legislative amendments between 1980 and 2000 could have been driven by the desire to loot and gain power rather than to benefit the majority poor. In 2002 residents who were not Zimbabweans by descent and/or had dual citizenship were disenfranchised. The aspect became topical in the crafting of the new constitution because ZANU PF Party wanted to disfranchise all those taken to be rebels who supported the Movement for Democratic Change Party. Kamete (2000b:16) claims that legislation disadvantaged a quarter of a million of registered voters. In rural areas violence, intimidation, beatings and murder are used by rogue politicians to get votes and therefore freedom, rule of law, responsibility and accountability is greatly limited. Democratic local governance is thus a wish that may take years to achieve if attitudes to who is the enemy does not change.

Poor Service Delivery
Madzivanyika (2011:14) maintains: "Basic services must, be available, accessible, culturally acceptable, and affordable, of good quality and provided on a non-discriminatory basis." Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) (2008:1) also explains that residents in the various local authorities in Zimbabwe have had to contend with a plethora of problems which include uncollected refuse, bursting sewers, erratic water supplies, roads filled with potholes which have become a nightmare for motorists. The Network further states that there has been a general dissatisfaction among residents with the level of service delivery and these are some of the considerations that might have affected the choices of the electorate as they chose the councillors for their respective local authorities.

Madzivanyika (2011:34) states that the Urban Councils' (UC) Act provides electricity as a competence of UCs. The generation and distribution of electricity was revoked in 1989 from UCs by central government and the authority to do so was given to the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority. Madzivanyika argues that this removed a potential revenue generating base from UCs. Lack of constitutional protection weakens the ownership of functions they perform. The system is also wasteful and in some instances causes over concentration of resources on one service at the expense of other basic services.

The situation in Chitungwiza provides a summary of the deteriorating situation of the urban areas in Zimbabwe. The Herald, 22 November (2005:1) expressed that a visit to the workshop

yard by the Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development and Chitungwiza Council officials revealed that 15 trucks, and 11 tractors plus several service vehicles were grounded. The paper (ibid) further states that garbage in some areas is not collected for long periods and have become an eye sore and a health hazard. The Newspaper gives an example of roads in (low density suburbs) Unit N, L, P, St. Mary's and parts of Zengeza that were blocked by garbage. Burst sewer pipes and water shortages compounded the horror. It also indicates that infant deaths were recorded in the town as a result of the unhygienic conditions and in addition at least 2 000 cases of watery diarrhoea cases were also reported at health centres in 2005.

Despite the Minister's threats to force urban councils to deliver, the City of Harare has no resources. The Town Clerk argues that they have failed dismally and was now appealing to the government to bail out. More than US$250 million was needed to rehabilitate the city's water treatment works and delivery infrastructure but the Council has no alternative means to raise such big amounts of money. It is absurd that for political mileage the ZANU PF Party during national elections campaign has promised to cancel debts owed by residences for services provided. Currently local governments are cancelling big figures of money they were owed by their customers. It has exacerbated their financial position.

The *Voice of America (September 28, 2012:1)* claims that Zimbabwe was gripped with fears of another cholera outbreak in Harare where suburbs including Hatcliffe, Budiriro, Mount Pleasant, Tafara, Mabvuku, and Chizhanje have gone for weeks without clean water. A similar outbreak killed many residents in 2011. In the same media *(September 28, 2012:1),* UNICEF Country Representative Peter Salama indicated that about 4,000 Zimbabwean children die of diarrhea each year. Mason (2009:1) explains that the first large outbreak of cholera was reported in 1992 in Manicaland and Mabvuku/Tafara suburbs on the Eastern edge of Harare. About 2 000 cases and a mortality of 5% were reported. The following year (1993) there was 5,385 cases and 381 (6%) deaths. The next outbreak in 1998 had more than 1 000 cases and 44 deaths. In 1999 cases reported were 5,637 and 385 deaths. Most of these cases were in Chipinge and Chiredzi, in the South-East of the country again close to the Mozambique border. During 2002, the cases that were reported in Manicaland and Mashonaland East totaled 3 125 including 192 fatalities. At least 304 cases with 11 deaths were reported in Kariba, on the border with Zambia in October 2003 and a further 99 cases, 16 of them fatal, were reported from Binga, a small fishing community on the shore of Lake Kariba. Mason (2009:1) also claims that a severe outbreak of cholera has been reported in Zimbabwe since mid 2008. At least 92 000 cases and over 4000 deaths were registered in 2008.

The researcher has included the above statistics to demonstrate the impact of failures of the urban councils to provide effectively and efficiently the critical services to the urban communities. Thus the failure to supply clean water and to maintain sewerage system drainage is the major culprit in the outbreak of cholera, diarrhoea and typhoid.

Undemocratic Legislative Amendments

Zimbabwe United Residents Association & Combined Harare Residents Association (2003:5) claim that the Urban Councils Act of 1995 is characterised by delegation rather than devolution of power and functions. The Act is built upon the concept of upward accountability and not local accountability. The Minister responsible for local government has a say in many issues and not the local people or civic groups. Related to the above, Central Government, and not the local people, retains firm control over all local authorities with powers to suspend the enabling legislation, suspend a local authority and put in an administrator as has been done in the case of City of Harare, and suspend individual councillors and prohibit them from taking active part

in local politics. Chatiza (2010:39) asserts that the legal provisions for people's participation in governance generally, and local government affairs in particular, are weak in Zimbabwe because there is no consultation during decision making on critical issues.

Central Government Usurping Local Power

Madzivanyika (2011:33) alleges that efficient and effective provision of services is undermined by a high level of central interference in the decisions of local governments. In 2005, the Minister of Local Government issued a directive which revoked water management functions from UCs and transferred its management to the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA). Madzivanyika (2011:34) contends that the transfer of water to ZINWA without the necessary accountability mechanisms led to regressed patterns in the provision of water and sanitation in urban areas. The transfer of the UCs function to provide water also deprived UCs of local taxing sources of revenue thereby constraining their already weak revenue bases. ZINWA failed to perform efficiently and effectively in the new task allocated to it and Madzivanyika (ibid) explains that eventually because of the poor performance, in 2008, the minister responsible for water provision issued another directive handing water provision back to councils. The announcement of such directives only indicates the nature of volatility in the operations of urban councils despite many alterations to the Urban Councils Act. The researcher also views such changes as retarding good planning and development of urban water provision policies and strategies. It indicates lack of vision on the part of leadership. They are using management based on opportunism tactics.

*The Financial Gazette, (*February, 27 – March5 2003:4) published a story on the conflict of the Minister of Local Government and the mayors over the introduction of District Administrators (DAs) in urban areas. The mayors felt it was a strategy by government to want to interfere with their operations and to force them also to report to ZANU (PF) appointed functionaries. The Minister's directive was declared outside the provisions of the Urban Councils Act. *The Financial Gazette,* (February 27 – March5*, 2003:4*) writes further that the move from the Minister were part of a wide and wicked manoeuvre to dampen spirits and frustrate the executive mayors by making them report to bureaucrats sympathetic to ZANU PF. Madhuku argues in the Financial Gazette, (February 27 – March5, 2003:4) that the government wants to scuttle the wishes of the electorate by allowing ZANU PF to come through the back-door. He also feels that the approach whereby mayors report to Governors and District Administrators was a death knell for democracy because the move simply makes elected officials accountable to hand-picked ZANU PF functionaries. *The Manica Post,* (6-12 January, 2006:9) reveals a situation where the mayor and councillors of Mutare resigned because of too much intervention by the Minister of Local government in the affairs of the city council. A Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) provincial secretary for information and publicity in the same Newspaper explains that the resignation decision by MDC Party councillors and mayors was taken after realising that the elected councillors and mayor couldn't work under the newly appointed commissioners.

The Commissioners are appointed by the Minister of Local Government in situations where he/she has dismissed or dissolved a council. The problem arose because the Commissioners were handpicked by the Minister and the major qualification was there links to ZANU-PF Party.

Perceptions On The Appointed Commissions For Councils

Kamete (200b:14) explains that poor urban governance led people residing in high density areas to revolt and caused the Ministry of Local Government to dissolve council and dismiss all councillors of the City of Harare in 1999. Despite the fact that the law gives a Commission a

limited lifetime of only six months, the Harare City Commission lived beyond its time and appeals to the High and Supreme Courts were in vein. This tactic of dismissal of councils and appointments of Commissions was repeated in other towns. Kamete (2000b:14) maintains that ZANU-PF Government could not call elections because it was losing support in urban areas as exemplified by the situation in Bulawayo, Masvingo and Chegutu were the opposition had won. A challenge is that culture or perception of regarding anyone who defeats a ZANU PF Party candidate in elections as an enemy is common or rampant though wrong for democracy to develop. People who compete are not enemies but friends in good faith.

The dissolution of councils and also dismissal of councillors who were substituted by Commissions is a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe urban councils' governance. ZESN (2008:2) states that the operations of local authorities were paralyzed because no tangible cause has been provided and the dismissal of councillors and replacing them with Commissions was prevalent in most areas where MDC had won elections, for example, Harare, Mutare, Chegutu and Kariba. Jonga (2012:339) argues that even commissioners are persons who are not experts in the administration of local governments/urban councils. The Urban Councils Act is again silent on the basic requirements needed if a person has to be appointed a commissioner. The lack of necessary expertise or knowledge results in councillors or such commissioners rubber- stamping issues raised by employees. Where councillors have been fired for poor service provision, mismanagement of councils' assets, funds and so on, for example, in Harare and Mutare cities, the commissions appointed have done no better. There are signs of further deterioration of infrastructure and services in such cities.

The Issue Of Making Local Laws
Different urban councils are expected to create by-laws suitable in governing areas of their jurisdiction. The power of making by-laws however, has been usurped by central government through the Ministry of Local Government. Madzivanyika (2011:34) laments that the making of by-laws is another area where local authorities have been frustrated by central government. Local Government Laws 2008 state that the Minister of Local Government has power to approve small laws that are made by councils (Marumahoko, 2010:47). It seems, in Zimbabwe the law gives the Minister the discretion either to approve or disapprove the by-laws. The discretion given to the Minister potentially compromises the functions of UCs, because by-laws can only take effect after approval by him/her. The Minister has been given excessive control powers over the activities of local governments. The way the powers are applied hates good governance in Zimbabwe. Madzivanyika (2011:35) further claims that a thriving Urban Local Government (ULG) requires citizens to set the overall agenda on service provision. The design of the UC's Act compromises also the efficiency of UCs in the event that the Minister fails to approve timeously or he disapproves the by-law.

Financial challenges
Lack of revenues or failure to expand the revenues base will compromise the final incomes of the councils. Limited revenues will inevitably results in inadequate services and in addition ineffective and inefficient responses to public demands or needed investments. In Zimbabwe, councils cannot change laws impacting on revenue generation, for example, taxes and surcharges without the approval of the Minister of Local Government. Madzivanyika (2011: 35) explains: "The design of the UC Act limits the capacity of UCs to raise taxes or tariffs. UCs can only raise, for example, property taxes, surcharges or borrow within limits set by the minister."

The Manica Post, (3-9 February, 2006:1) quotes Chombo defending the increase of services rates by most local authorities, "It is important for them to charge economical rates for them to

remain viable. Most local authorities were struggling to make ends meet because of the rates they were charging." Maromahoko (2010: 47) portrays the deteriorating governance in urban areas of Zimbabwe by providing statistics on revenue generation in the City of Harare. He illustrated that the City of Harare budgeted to collect revenue to the tune of US$ 230.09 million in 2010 against an expenditure target of US$275.63 million, resulting in a budget deficit of US$47.54 million. In addition, the City also had a budget of US$77.33 million revenue from water against a total budget of US$230.09 million. The amount targeted was unacceptably low. The intrusive nature of the Ministry of local government is vivid in the expenditure activities of urban councils. Marumahoko (2010:48) maintains that Section 309 of the 1996 Urban Council Act (and also the Local Government Laws 2008) requires all urban councils to supply the Minister of Local Government with any record he may solicit to discharge his duties.

Governance woes were exacerbated by the failure of government departments to pay for services offered to them by urban local governments. Documentary evidence indicates that every year each ministry is allocated funds by Treasury for the payment of services and supplementary charges especially those ministries that had offices and institutions at provincial and district level. Ministries were not paying bills to local authorities for provision of services like refuse removal, water, and sewage facilities. Most sector ministries still viewed their debts to local authorities as being ex-gratia and not obligatory. The ministries thus are depriving local governments of important revenues that are vital in financing service provision in other areas. Strict rules and regulations need to be put in place to force the concerned ministries to take necessary steps to pay the huge amounts of revenues they owe the urban councils.

Metropolitan Governors Meddling In Urban Councils' Activities
The Urban Councils' Acts do not command the personnel of such institutions to report to the Governor's office. In 2000 the then ruling party ZANU-PF noticed that it was losing ground to the opposition party, the MDC that it surreptitiously developed a decision to co-opt District Administrators and Governors in the governance of urban councils. The Zimbabwe Institute (2005:18) argues that the confusion and complication arises from the unclear and unspecified division of labour between the Executive Mayor and the Provincial Governor, the former representing and speaking for the electorate, the latter representing the President and speaking for him. The Institute further argues that the problem is clearly exacerbated in situations where the Executive Mayor and the Governor belong to two different parties subscribing to different philosophies and approaches towards urban governance.

Constant Changes To Mayoral Systems
Zimunya (2004:2) argues that from 1980 to 1995 municipalities and cities in Zimbabwe were run under the ceremonial mayoral system. Under this system, all councillors were elected on ward basis. There were no special qualifications for a councillor except age and eligibility to vote. There were no qualifications required for a mayor despite the fact that he/she would assume some administrative responsibilities. The Urban Councils' Act of 1997 [Chapter 29:15] was prominent because it introduced the executive mayors in municipalities and cities. The executive mayors were directly elected by the residents and held office for four years. Their qualifications were known. Zimunya (2004:3) explicate that Section 49 (1) of the Urban Councils Act set out the educational qualification of the executive mayor which are as follows: (i) a general certificate of education with passes in at least five subjects including , at Ordinary Level; and (ii) either (A) a general certificate of education with passes in at least two subjects at Advanced Level; or (B) a post Ordinary Level qualification in any career or profession obtained after pursuing at least two years of studies.

Zimunya (2004:3) states that executive mayoral system was generally borne out of a direct perception by central government of weaknesses in the decision-making process of councils in the ceremonial mayoral systems. The absence of a full time political leader in council who would guide and direct both elected and appointed officials in the administration of the urban council encouraged the changes. Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) (2008:2) claims that the abolition of the Executive Mayor was more for political expediency than economic rationality because by the year 2000, most urban local authorities such as Kariba, Chinhoyi, Mutare, Chegutu and Bulawayo just to mention a few, had been under the management of MDC Party.

In the State of Local Government in the Country (2004:100), the Ministry of Local Government argues that the view of ZANU-PF Government and shared by many is that the institution of the executive mayor has become unsustainable in terms of the resources because of the expensive on mayoral mansions and Mercedes Benz and the exit packages are many. luxurious life style of the executive mayor is happening at the expense of service deliver.

Minister of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing directives
Kamete (200b:15) asserts that the minister issued three serious directives that crippled the authority of councils and mayors. The first directive called all recruitments and promotions effected by the Commissions in the previous six months from June of 2000. The second directive instructed council to refer to the Minister all council resolutions dealing with human resources and financial matters. The third directive banned all mayors from attending Cabinet Action Committee meetings. The directives were an attempt to clip the wings of the new city administrations which were viewed by ZANU-PF politicians and Ministers negatively because they were appeared to be focused at outperforming previous administrations. The previous administrations were dominated and led by ZANU-PF Party officers and therefore the new scenario if it was supported was going to be an embarrassment to then ruling party.

Issues Of Good Governance
In the urban areas of Zimbabwe conflicts and administrative difficulties are aggravated by many situations. Many councillors are illiterate or semi-literate to the extent that they depend on the employees to function in councils' duties. Some employees have worked for many years in a council so that they find it impossible to be supervised by a junior councillor. Major difficulties appear were an employee is a senior politician of a party from which a councillor is elected. The councillors find it difficult to supervise their party superiors. Sachikonye, Chawatama, Mangongera, Musekiwa and Ndoro (2007:54) state that in the urban councils of Zimbabwe staff appointments are made along partisan lines and the backers among the legislators are obliged to 'protect their employees' in council, making accountability of such officials to their superiors, citizens and council as a whole a nightmare. Sachikonye, at al. (2007:54) further argue that where the officials are well qualified and competent, they tend to intimidate and challenge the elected and in some cases, the elected are made to account to the appointed.

Professional And Academic Qualifications Held By Councillors
In a study conducted by Jonga (2011:7), the researcher asked respondents the qualifications they held at joining councils. The findings revealed that 46.1% of the councillors and informants and 91.3% of the employees had O' levels and A' levels. Table 1 below shows the distribution of the responses.

Table 1: Qualifications held at joining council (N=34)

Designation	Frequency		
	'O' Levels		
	Yes	**No**	**No Response**
Councillor	4	4	2
Employee	14	0	10
	'A' Levels		
Councillor	2	3	5
Employee	7	4	13
	Certificate of competence		
Councillor	3	2	5
Employee	9	2	13
	Diploma		
Councillor	4	4	2
Employee	10	3	11
	First Degree		
Councillor	0	10	0
Employee	12	4	8
	Masters		
Councillor	0	10	0
Employee	6	4	14
	Doctorate		
Councillor	0	10	0
Employee	2	4	18

Source: Jonga (2012:336)

"The data in Table 1 shows that 12 employees (52.2%) had first degrees, followed by (10) 47.8% who had diplomas and (9) 39.1% who had certificates. In addition two (8.1%) of the respondents indicated that they had doctorates. Further investigation revealed that those who indicated that they had doctorates could have been holders of Medical degrees than Doctor of Philosophy degrees. This research discovered that highly qualified graduates are a rare species in urban councils because of poor working conditions and especially political interference from central government through the Ministry of Local Government. The findings also revealed that every employee had a qualification of some kind at joining council and many of the councillors did not have professional qualifications even O' levels. Councillors are elected on party terms (politics) and qualifications do not feature much when choosing candidates for election." No academic or professional qualifications are required for anyone to be elected councillor. However, the Urban Councils Act chapter 29:15 (1996:534) (Part V) Section 40 (Qualifications for election as Councillors) states:

Any person who –
   (a)   is a citizen of Zimbabwe; and
   (b)   has attained the age of thirty years; and
   (c)   is entitled in terms of section seventy to vote at an election of councillors; and is not disqualified from nomination or election as a councillor in terms of section forty-one.
-shall be qualified to be elected as a councillor.

"An informant explained that a councillor is a helper to citizens/residents. He added that the councillor's role is not to make political noise only or to interfere with employees' work. Councillors should be professionals who are concerned mainly with the day-to-day business of councils. All those interviewed were of the opinion that the councillors need to produce curriculum vitae for the public verification before they can be voted into office. This will be some form of vetting based on their political and professional achievements, capabilities/competences and future plans for that particular constituency. The qualifications help council to place individuals into appropriate committees. Random placements of councillors into different committees are meaningless and retard their effectiveness in conducting council business." (Jonga, 2012:338)

DATA ANALYSIS - RESULTS

Makumbe (2009:26) argues that authoritarianism is visible in Zimbabwe. This perception covers national and local institutions. This refers to limited public participation in decision-making, lack of transparency, accountability, observance of rule of law and violations of human rights in the governance systems, and claims that authoritarianism relates to a form of arbitrary government which uses coercive instruments of the state to expedite its own purposes of monopolising power while denying political rights and opportunities to other groups to compete for that power. The interventions on the Minister of Local Government in local affairs and through many strategies are enough testimony to it.

The politicisation of public administrative institutions has meant further isolation of the opposition and its supporters. Thus the administrative institutions instead of providing public goods and services efficiently and effectively, they have been turned into agents of oppression, suppression and instruments through which institutionalised violence in perpetrated. The Institute for Democratic Alternative for Zimbabwe (IDAZIM) provides a clear example of this scenario. IDAZIM (201:4) explains that by 2008 the Movement for Democratic Change Party (MDC) was in control of all the urban councils and it was also controlling more than half of the Rural District Councils. The IDAZIM maintains that the MDC electoral strength, especially in major cities revolutionized the political scene. This is because the ruling party controls the Ministry of Local Government and levers of the power at the national level, while the opposition controls most of the local authorities. This arrangement has created political conflicts that have led some of the MDC Party mayors to be removed from their positions even if the Ministry of Local Government claim to be acting impartially and taking such measures to promote efficiency and effective administrations in urban areas. IDAZIM (2010:16) states, "In a centralised system in which the Ministry of Local Government – the "mother" ministry of all local authorities – has a wealth of legal tools at its disposal to become involved, if not interfere, in local decision-making, animosity proved inevitable." Makumbe (2009:2) states that any force or group of citizens that attempts to demand their democratic and constitutional rights are swiftly dealt with by these personalised "state" institutions in the name of preserving peace, law and order, when in an actual fact these institutions have been reduced to mere survival instruments for dictators. The state institutions here include, the army intelligence agents, police, informal youth groups and other related interest and pressure groups. They no longer serve the interests of either the state or the citizens. Instead, they are now both personalised and privatised for the benefit of Mugabe, ZANU-PF mayors and illegal informal groups that are terrorising communities in many high density residential areas (Makumbe, 2009:2).

The philosophy of creating and maintaining a country ruled ZANU-PF Party has led to serious political violence that has led to the dismissal of legitimate mayors, councillors and councils. Combined Harare Residents Association (CHRA) in The Zimbabwean Newspaper (2012:1)

mentions that since 2003, despite the fact that people expressed their will during polls, the minister has on a number of countless times, dismissed or suspended elected councillors. The approach has earned him a pseudo title; 'the Executive Mayor of Zimbabwe'. The Newspaper in addition, argues that the Urban Councils Act has failed to put in place checks and balances on the power exercised by the centre hence; decentralisation has failed to earn its objectives with the bottom operating at the mercy of the centre. Mayors, councillors and councils have constantly been dismissed. The replacement of legitimate institutions by illegitimate ones is obviously a violation of the citizens' rights like the right to elect their leaders, rule of law, transparency and even ability to participate in decision making.

The Zimbabwe Institute (2005:31) also claims: that there are serious shortcomings in the form and implementation of the current local government policy in Zimbabwe. There is so much inconsistence between the policy and actual practice. The Institute concluded that there is need to generate a local government policy for 'all seasons'. The local government policy for all seasons should be immune to political whims of those in power. The alternative system of local government should have local government enshrined in the constitution in order to guarantee its sustenance. The 2013 National Constitution has incorporated sections describing the local government system in Zimbabwe. It should be noted however that written policies and plans need political commitment and resources to be transformed into programmes and projects. The projects are instruments for development and indicated implementation of political opinions. Local authorities should be established as a free standing and fairly autonomous level of government. The system would have decentralised structures that allow for community participation in all decisions that affect them (Zimbabwe Institute, 2005:31).

Mapuva (2011:12) argues that in Zimbabwe, the liberation background of the country which forced it to adopt a socialist/communist stance, tend to view non-state actors and the opposition parties and their supporters as saboteurs or enemies who should be guarded against or even avoided at all costs. Consequently local governance in Zimbabwe is heavily politicised with the ruling political party calling the shots to municipal authorities.

Makumbe (2009: 9) argues that when ZANU-PF Party and Government was confronted by a very strong opposition than before and since 1980 in the form of the MDC Party, the ZANU-PF regime crafted draconian laws that transformed Zimbabwe into a fascist state. However, the majority in Zimbabwe today are increasingly becoming disillusioned because they do not see their vote making any positive difference to their lives. The dismissals of councillors, mayors and councils and the introduction of Governors, Provincial Administrators and District Administrators in urban councils' administration all have failed to improve local governance. In contrast local governance has further deteriorated because of lack of vision, leadership, financial resources, corruption and lack of stakeholder and political commitment.

Mapuva (2010:18) quoting Makumbe (1998:87) argues that the cause behind the formation of residents associations in urban areas of Zimbabwe and much of the civil society movement has been frustrated and worsened by the ZANU PF government's pessimistic view that residents' associations or generally organized civil society are a fora for opposing national government policies. Mapuva claims that the suspicion of government has resulted in persecutions and surveillance of many citizens by the security agents.   It is an observation that in a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The fundamental rationale for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections. Zimbabwe has a defacto one party system. Governance calls for the involvement or collaboration of civil society organizations in the policy formulations, planning

and implementation of programmes and projects that impact on the lives of local communities. The Zimbabwe Institute (2005:5) expresses dissatisfaction with democratic governance in urban councils of Zimbabwe when it points out that the main legal instruments of local government invested in the President and the Minister of Local Government the power to suspend or act in place of a local authority and the power to nullify some decisions of local authorities. To show the excessive power given to the Minister of Local Government, the Institute refers readers to Rural District Councils' Act in which there are more than 250 instances where the Minister can intervene in the day to day running of Rural District Councils. The Zimbabwe Institute (2005:5) concluded that there is simply too much of the "Minister shall" concept in Zimbabwean local government legislations and this has entrenched excessive central executive intervention.

Mapuva (2011:9) argues that although Zimbabwe may be credited with a high literacy rate, it appears that these mechanisms are not as widely used as initially envisaged or as it may appear on paper. Considerations should be put to the fact that many citizens are more concerned with immediate bread-and-butter issues and in most cases do not spare time to politicking. Additionally, the current Constitution of Zimbabwe which has been in use for almost three decades does not make detailed provisions for local government and the only enabling legislation, the Urban Councils Act advocates for consultation rather than participation, which means that local authorities are not compelled to incorporate residents but may consult them on issues that they think are necessary to do so.

Kamete (2000b:48) when explaining the political and administrative challenges and arrangements in Zimbabwe concluded that the deterioration of the macro-economic situation since the year 2000 under the management of the former liberation movement (ZANU PF), coupled with a persistent atrocious record of urban governance under a local administration that was entirely made up of representatives from the ruling party, result in the 'informed' urban masses dumping the ruling party *en masse* and opting for change, a move that was supported strongly by the urban population. Kamete (2000b:48) in addition, believes that the change of faith in ZANU–PF Party and its government exposed the urban populace as enemies of the government and were ultimately labelled as reactionary and not trustworthy as compared to the people living in rural areas.

Chigwata (201:12) further argues that Zimbabwe has always been characterized by the accountability of local governments to the central government rather than to the people. He provided an example were Joseph Msika, a former Minister of Local Government, who indicated that in Zimbabwe, local government entails the division of functions and responsibilities between central and local government and also that the final accountability of local councils remains with the central government, which created local government in the first place. Msika was of the view that local government did not mean the extension of the concept of sovereign self-rule for local authorities. There is confusion in Zimbabwe around the concepts of 'local affairs and locally elected decision makers, on one hand, and the division of functions between central and local government, as well as the transfer of functions inherent in the decentralization debate, on the other. The current local government is not only unintentional but also undemocratic (Chigwata, 201:12).

In support of Chigwata (201:12) and also further elaborating on the local government system in Zimbabwe, Chatiza (2010:28) claims that Zimbabwe local government's dependence on central government, enshrined in the law, is seen as weakening local governance. Chatiza (2010:28) gave reference to De Valk and Wekwete who note that local government conditions in Zimbabwe were such that central government had a lot of powers. In their view the

conditions open up the possibility that the urban councils can be used by central government institutions for the purpose of implementing their priorities. Urban and Rural District Councils operating environment and relationship to central government form important constraints to exercising decentralised authority, thereby hampering the process of participation.

The discussions have also indicated the challenges associated with adopting democratic governance. The challenges in many countries and in addition, the need to modernise have unleashed varied reforms in these countries. Chakaipa (2010:39) maintains that while acknowledging that the law is not an all conquering instrument on matters of political and social interaction, one cannot deny that some of the problems that local government grapples with in Zimbabwe could be addressed through careful and far reaching legal reforms. There is good rationale in Chakaipa's (2010:39) assertion that law reform in local government needs to be approached with an understanding of the debate on the role of the central state in development.

CONCLUSION

Devolution as a method of decentralisation adopted in Zimbabwe is important because it gives sub-national institutions some form of autonomy in policy formulation and implementation. Despite adopting decentralisation policy, the Zimbabwean Government has remained dominant of local governments and this is a challenge it has failed to overcome. Lack of efficient and effective institutional structures and political commitment seem to hamper implementation of complete decentralisation policies and reforms. Olowu (2009:1) alleges that Zimbabwe has not been part of the good news as far as the effort to enhance the capacity of local governance is concerned. It is ironic that the resilient institutions of local governance that were inherited at independence have deteriorated over time both in the cities and rural areas. The Zimbabwe Institute (2005:31) concludes that the government has a very clear decentralisation policy, which aims at empowering local authorities and local communities. However, due to a number of reasons, notably, resistance from public servants, lack of political will, limited resources and challenged capacities of sub district structures, it has not been possible to make any significant progress in implementing the decentralisation policy.

To recommend, there is need to encourage political parties to choose candidates for election as councillors who have higher qualifications, the need to amend the current Urban Councils Act and go beyond political demands and demand higher academic and professional qualifications, the need for councils to have a systematic training programme to use as a tool to improve the qualifications of those councillors who enter the system with basic required qualifications, to encourage political parties to training their candidates or representatives so that they are able to articulate the parties agendas when they are engaged in council businesses and distance learning for councillors can be introduced in Zimbabwe like what is happening in Tanzania. Institutions like The Zimbabwe Open University can introduce pilot programmes since they have knowledge and skills on handling distance learners. However, the issue of contracting trainers with hands on experience could still be a problem.

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[i] The military activities had been first recorded by the Xia Dynasty (2200 -1600 BC) through Sumerian script.

[ii] In 1996, the National Defense College India stated that national security has been an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources, and finally the military might. A Report of the US Secretary of Defense Harold Brown during the Carter administration (1977-1981) emphasized on the national security and physical and territorial integrity on the course to maintain its economic relations with rest of the world.

[iii] The Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established in January 2001 by the UN Secretary-General on the occasion of 2000 Millennium Summit for a world "free from want" and "free from fear." The CHS comprises 12-member including Professor Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen.

[iv] Partyless individuals

[v] applicable everywhere

[vi] same for everyone

[vii] Natural law and natural rights

[viii] Unanimously adopted in December 1948

[ix] The survey was conducted with 114,000 people in 107 countries.

[x] The CHS is comprised of 12 members including Mrs. Sadako Ogata and Professor Amartya Sen. Its report named *Human Security Now* was submitted to the UNSG in 2003.

[xi] The ICCPR stresses upon rights of physical integrity, perusal security and liberty, rights of the accused and fair trial, individual liberty, and political rights where there are 74 signatories and 164 parties till the mid of 2013. Almost all 64 nations including India, USA, UK, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Israel, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Bangladesh, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Korea, Russian Federation, etc. ratified or accessed to the ICCPR with their own reservation (http://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en). Even though, Nepal has blindly ratified without any reservation.

[xii] The ICERD emphasizes the definition of discrimination, prevention of discrimination, condemnation of apartheid, prohibition of incitement, promotion of tolerance, mechanisms of dispute resolution, and individual complaint mechanism. There are 86 signatories and 176 parties as of June 2013. 60 parties such as Australia, Austria, Belgium, China, Denmark, France, India, Israel, Italy, Nepal, Korea, Switzerland, UK, USA, etc. have put forward their reservation and interpretative declaration on the Convention. http://treaties.un.org/untc/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-2&chapter=4&lang=en

[xiii] Each year on June 26 recognizes as the International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. The Convention has 153 state parties.

xiv The CEDAW came into force in September 1981. The UNSCR 1325 and 1820 are focused to protect women in all forms of violence including sexual violence even the country into the conflicting period (http://treaties.un.org).

[xv] It was not 155 signatories where 132 are state parties have signed the convention as a quickly supported human rights instruments (http://treaties.un.org).

[xvi] In millennium declaration of UNGS and its common interests demand for rule of law, human rights and democracy (UNGS: March 21, 2005: 34-38).

[xvii] The Brandt Commission Report was written by an independent commission headed by Willy Brandt, the former German Chancellor and a Nobel laureate in 1971 in the course of reviewing international development issues. The Commission initiated the studies in 1980 and completed its work in 1987

[xviii] Freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

[xix] Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

[xx] Freedom from want—which, translated into worldly terms, means economic understandings which will secure every nation for a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world. It is also a shared vision of development, national strategies, trade and financing for development, sustainability environment, and other priorities for global action and implementation of challenges (http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/270/78/PDF/N0527078.pdf?OpenElement).

[xxi] Freedom from fear—which, translated into worldly terms, means world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation would be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor anywhere in the world. It is a vision of collective security that prevents catastrophic terrorism, use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, reduction of the risk and prevalence of war, and use of force (http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/270/78/PDF/N0527078.pdf?OpenElement).

[xxii] Reculturation includes disarmament, demobilization, reinsertion, reparation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reconciliation, and reintegration (Pathak: August 2013: 4-5).

[xxiii] Human dignity is much broader than human rights. It could mean identity, pride, confidence, sense of belonging, ability to make choices, enjoyment of freedoms, empowerment, education, equity, culture, political participation, etc (Mushakoji: Winter 2012:5).

Some countries namely Finland, New Zealand, Hungary, and Israel have incorporated to safeguard the third generation of human rights. In April 1997, the Council of Europe approved the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Dignity of Human Beings.

The European Commission has its mission to protect and preserve the environment for present-future generation to promote the sustainable development. If one person has a right, the other (state) has duty to respect that right and ensure security. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration on the Human Genome and Human Rights said, "Everyone has a right to respect for their dignity". Canada, Denmark, France, Portugal, Sweden, and US Government have done something to respect for human life and dignity. Germany has incorporated human dignity in article 1 of its Constitution. The Charter of fundamental rights in the European Union affirms the inviolability of human dignity. The South African Constitution lists the human dignity as the achievement of human rights and freedom. Article 7 of the Swiss Constitution stated, "Human dignity must be respected and protected".

[xxiv] A more secure world is our shared responsibility for us, our children, and grand children at homes, works, schools, roads, and natures. The shared responsibility is no less than right to intergeneration equity, clean environment, and sustainable development. Pro-poor governance, civil-military relations, community policing, conflict sensitive programs, and people-centric government, parties, civil society organizations, and media are today's essence to compliance human security and human rights.

[xxv] Intervention leads to strategy, planning, implementation, and monitoring-evaluation of the programs.