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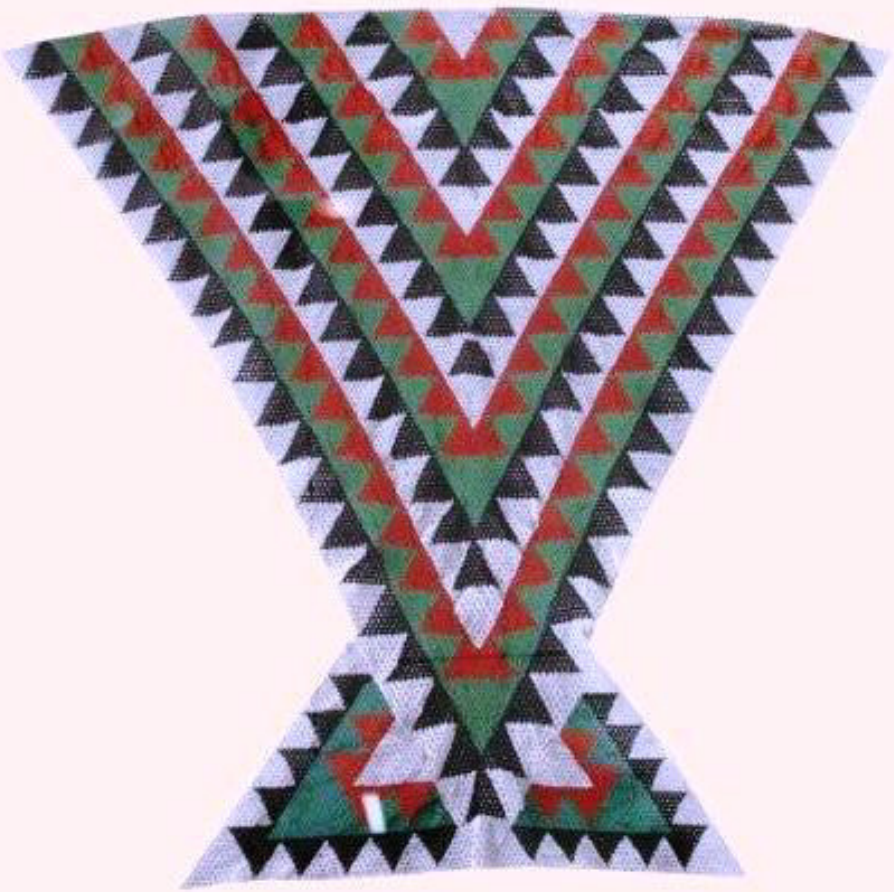
The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences



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EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* Readers,

Once again, I present an issue (Vol 4 no. 2) of *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. The eight articles in this issue focus on political science and public administration, industrial psychology, ethics, education, publishing and business management and literature.

In the first article, "Fluidity in Democratic Local Governance: The Achilles Heel of Nigerian Local Government", Daniel Adetoriste Tonwe from the University of Benin, Benin City, argues that the issue of democratic local governance is the key factor to address in order to drive and strengthen other factors to put local government on a sound footing. He concludes that where democratic local governance advances and flourishes, decentralisation becomes more effective and local governments and the communities concerned gain the authority, resources, and skills to make responsive choices and to act on them effectively and responsibly

In the second article, on industrial psychology, "The Impact of Emotional Intelligence on Worker's Behaviour in Industrial Organizations", Dayo Idowu Akintayo from Osun State University and Sunday Samson Babalola from the University of Namibia investigate the influence of emotional intelligence on workers' behaviour in industrial organizations. They recommend that an organisational support system should be encouraged in order to foster commitment, job involvement, improved job performance, satisfaction and commitment among the workforce. The third article, entitled "Public Sector Ethics in the United Kingdom: An Overview", is written by Eghosa Ekhator from the University of Hull, United Kingdom. He traces the origin of public sector ethics in the United Kingdom (UK), as well as corruption and unethical conduct, amongst others, and argues that the public sector in the UK has higher ethical standards than the private or business sector. He concludes that public sector ethics are an integral part of the organisational structure of the public sector in the United Kingdom. In the fourth article, Kwadwo Adusei-Asante from Edith Cowan University in Australia writes on "The State of Ghana's Local Government System: The Case of Assembly Members". Kwadwo discusses some of the weaknesses inherent in Ghana's local government system and unravels the complex factors that impact on decentralisation and local government systems. He recommends national civic education and constitutional amendments to address some of the challenges. The fifth article focuses on "Principal Leadership and its Impact on Student Discipline in Kenyan Secondary Schools". Maria Jebiwott Kibet, Jonah Nyaga Kindiki, James Kipngetich Sang and Jackson Kitilit from Moi University attempt to establish the relationship between leadership approaches and students' discipline in secondary schools and recommend that principals embrace democratic leadership in their capacity as school leaders by involving teachers, students and other stakeholders in decision making processes.

With regard to publishing, in the sixth article Ruth Simam and Daniel Rotich from Moi University and Henry Kemoni from the Technical University of Kenya write on "Educational Publishing and Provision of Quality Primary School Textbooks in Kenya". The three authors recommend the establishment of feedback mechanisms by the Ministry of Education to enable responses to complaints presented by textbook users, so establishing open and transparent guidelines on the appointment of panel members for evaluation, and that vetting committee members and educational publishers be given adequate time to develop textbooks for primary schools. The seventh article is entitled "The Role of Trust, Innovation and Knowledge Management in Entrepreneurial Survival Strategies: Selected Cybercafé Micro-entrepreneurs in Ibadan, Nigeria". In this article, Sunday Samson Babalola from the University of Namibia and Ayokunle Olumuyiwa Omobowale from the University of Ibadan recognise the complexity of the field of Information Communication Technology and examine how the concepts of trust, innovation and knowledge management are employed in aiding the cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs. The study reveals the ability of the micro-entrepreneurs to effectively develop trust, use knowledge management strategies and innovation in advancing their entrepreneurial outfits.

The last article, written by Patricia Louw from the University of Zululand, is on literature and linguistics. In her article entitled "Games, Tradition and 'Being Human' in Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Healers",* she revisits Ayi Kwei Armah's postcolonial critique in order to question our assumptions about human activities such as the Olympic Games and general health practices.

Enjoy your reading.

Dennis N. Ocholla,

Editor-in-Chief, Inkanyiso. JHSS.

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(c) The referees will comment on the papers' eligibility for publication in *Inkanyiso*, taking originality into account as well as the quality of research, argument, use of sources and writing style. Each referee will be granted not more than one month for this process.
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(e) After receiving the referees' reports, the Editor-in-Chief will verify manuscripts for publication in *Inkanyiso*. Selected parts of these reports will be sent back to the authors (without disclosing referees' identity) in order to explain the Journal's acceptance or rejection of the paper and in order to guide revision either for the upcoming issue or to help the author rewrite for future submission.
(f) Accepted authors should make the required corrections and email their final document to the Editor within the time specified.
(g) The Editor, after verification, compiles all the manuscripts into an issue with the addition of an appropriate introduction and then sends the issue to the publisher.
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(i) It is our policy to encourage and support novice and established authors. However, in order to improve on the quality of publications, manuscripts that are unanimously recommended by at least two reviewers for substantive revision or rejection may not be published.

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Page fees may be levied to cover the costs of publication once the Journal is SAPSE accredited.

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These should comprise 4000-8000 words, including the list of works cited and notes. Shorter essays (500-2000 words) such as book reviews and debates on topics introduced by specific papers may be accepted.
Format
Papers should be submitted electronically, as email attachments formatted in a recent version of MsWord or Rich Text Format. While each article should be accompanied by a note in which the author provides his or her full names, personal telephone number and email address, the article itself should be stripped of all references to the author's identity. This is in order to assist the blind review process.

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An *abstract* of the paper comprising a single paragraph of no more than 300 words should precede its first paragraph.

Numbered subheadings may be used throughout the article, but are not compulsory unless referees request them.

Single quotation marks are used in Harvard style for direct quotations from texts and for 'mention' of words and phrases to be discussed or defined. Double quotation marks are used only for a quotation-within-a-quotation. End punctuation is placed *after* the closing quotation mark.

Footnotes should be used very sparingly or not at all. If possible all information should be included in the main text. If footnotes are used, they should not exceed about five in number and should not be used for references, only for parenthetic material not directly relevant to the argument in hand but of use or interest to a researcher in the field.

Textual references should be used in preference to notes wherever possible. All textual references should include page numbers, unless the original text does not display page numbers. A reference should accompany almost any mention of a text, not only direct quotations from it. Textual references normally include the author's surname, the date of publication and the relevant page numbers. They are punctuated thus, with a colon separating date and page number, but no space after the colon: (Thorpe 1999:135-141).

The list of Works Cited should include all texts referred to in the article and no other texts. The list should be alphabetized, unnumbered and arranged on the page as indicated in the examples below. Each item in the list should include the following, in the order designated: author's surname; author's initials or names (depending on how the author is designated in the text described); date of publication; title and subtitle, separated by a colon (upper-case used only for the first letter of the first word); place of publication and publisher.

Please note that the 'place of publication' *must* be a town or city; it may not be a country, province, state or other area. The place of publication must *precede* the publisher's name and be separated from it by a colon. A list follows that demonstrates the required punctuation and arrangement. If an author uses a type of text not included in this list, a more comprehensive handbook of Harvard Style should be consulted.

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Works cited

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Buthelezi, Mangosuthu. 1990. Personal interview on August 5, 1990. Empangeni. `[Cassette recording in possession of author.] **[*INTERVIEW*]**

Davies, R T (ed). 1963. *Medieval English lyrics: A critical anthology*. London: Faber & Faber.

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Contents

Fluidity in democratic local governance: the Achilles' heel of Nigerian Local Government

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Democratic local governance emerged in Nigeria in the 1950s as a result of the granting of regional self-government status by the British colonial government. After more than sixty years of local democracy in the country, it is regrettable that while local government is of strategic importance in the national development process, its contribution has not been substantial. This is in spite of enormous resources that have been committed to ensuring that it contributes significantly to the national development process. Advancing the capacity of local governments to act effectively and accountably requires democratic local governance, relative autonomy and the political will of the local actors to engage in activities that significantly benefit the local populace. The argument of this paper is that, while these three factors are prerequisites for sound local government, the issue of democratic local governance is the key factor which when addressed will drive and strengthen the other two factors to put local government on a sound footing. Where democratic local governance advances and flourishes, decentralisation becomes more effective and local governments and the communities concerned gain the authority, resources, and skills to make responsive choices and to act on them effectively and accountably.

Keywords: Democratic local governance, local government, Nigeria.

Introduction

Local government is an ancient institution with an evolving conceptualisation. Politics which highlights the participation of the local citizenry in goal setting and decision making is central to the concept of local government. Government activities when conducted from a central point and far away from the people tend to become impersonal, and against this impersonality or abstract view there is perpetual rebellion. Localities are not simply areas and sites, but groups of people, living together as neighbours. They feel that they differ from the abstract average of humanity legislated for by the government and claim discretion to apply its uniform rules in a manner more closely fitting their real needs and their own ideas of themselves. At this point, the essence of local government takes form on the premise that it will check the danger of absolutism. Also important is the fact that, with the amount and the variety of work to be done country-wide by government, it is impossible for a single authority directly to undertake its performance. The government, too, does not have the requisite knowledge of all the diverse problems which are local in character. In this regard, Laski (1975:411) rightly observed that we cannot realise the full benefit of democratic government unless we begin with the admission that all problems in their incidence require decisions taken at the place, and by the persons by whom, the incidence is most deeply felt. Democracy at macro-level is nourished and takes a firm root when there is a local government that ensures participation of the local people in decision making to meet local needs. This paper contends that when there is disconnect that makes the participation of the local populace difficult or stunted, democratic local governance becomes a mirage and the very essence of local government a dream.

In effect, most countries have a system of local government for two reasons; the first reason is to institutionalise local democracy and the second is for it to serve as provider of local services. Using it as an instrument of local democracy, politicians elected to local councils make decisions on behalf of local communities, thus serving to safeguard against central government domination (Weeks 2009). The strengths of local government as a democratic instrument are its closeness to the population, its elected status, its accessibility and the opportunity it provides for public participation in the democratic process (Callanan & Keogan 2003).

Background and context of Nigerian Local Government

As is the case in several developing countries, the performance of local governments in Nigeria has been largely below expectation. The Political Bureau (1987:120) in its report admitted this when it averred that while local government is of strategic importance in the national development process, its contribution has not been substantial. This is despite enormous resources that have been committed to ensuring that it contributes significantly to the national development process. The third tier of government in Nigeria is still characterised by low revenue generation ability; inability to provide adequate services and amenities both in quantitative and qualitative terms; tendency to prepare ambitious budgets; and an inability to avail themselves of the benefits of development planning and to live up to the expectations of

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their clientele. For the citizenry at large, especially the illiterate and rural communities who form the bulk of the population of the local governments, there is a great deal of frustration arising from the poor performance of local governments in the country over the years (Ola & Tonwe 2005). This situation is not peculiar to Nigeria. A similar scenario is witnessed in other developing countries. The Nigerian case, however, provides us with facts which when analysed provide pathological clues to the maladies afflicting local governments in most less developed countries.

A basic constraint for the proper functioning of local governments is the under-developed nature of the localities. There seems to be a reciprocal cause and effect relationship between the degree of economic development and the degree of efficacy of local government. The more stagnant and economically poor a locality is, the fewer are the resources that can be taxed to generate revenue. Bleak income results in fiscal anaemia, which in turn is one of the causes for the general debility of local governments. The problem of limited resources has encouraged the politics of scarcity, in which dominant groups/elites manipulate and divert funds to nurse their constituencies with political motives. This results in unbalanced development. Unequal distribution of benefits creates hostilities, envy and frustration which make it difficult to achieve harmony between heterogeneous elements of the locality. Such features of government at the local level are antipathetic to the development of the localities and even the onerous task of national integration, which is intensely desired by resurgent nations but remains a pious wish due to harsh internal realities (Ola & Tonwe 2005).

The critical factors that have stultified the performance of the third tier of the government in the Nigerian political system emanate from the macro level. The state governments with their advantageous position, superior status and more qualified manpower pool have exhibited a tendency to eclipse local governments in development activities. Also important is the fact that despite recognition of local governments as partners in the national development process, the higher levels of government have not made serious efforts to draw them into the mainstream of national development.

The problems facing the Nigerian local government system are no doubt multifarious. These problems will fizzle away if three factors are positively achieved. They are:

1. local self-government which provides local people with the opportunity to participate in government through meaningful elections and to have access to public officials to express their opinions by organised and individual activity;
2. local governments with relative autonomy and discretionary authority to act without strict supervision and restriction from the macro government; and
3. the will and the authority of the local government as an institution to undertake activities that deeply affect the lives of people (Lockard 1968:451-9; Oyediran 2001:202-208).

The argument of this paper is that, while these three factors are pre-requisites for a sound local government system, the issue of local self government, i.e. democratic local governance, is the core factor which when addressed will drive and strengthen the other two factors to put local government on a sound footing. The assumption of leadership of regional legislatures by Nigerian politicians as a result of the granting of regional self-government status by the British colonial government led to the emergence of democratic local government in the 1950s; this marked the dwindling of authority of traditional rulers in favour of elected local government representatives. After more than sixty years of democratisation, it is regrettable that in systemic terms, the interaction between local government and the macro system in Nigeria has only led to fluid democratic local governance, which has negatively affected the consolidation of local autonomy and the political will to undertake projects that substantially affect the lives of the people.

Theoretical framework

The General Systems Theory (GST) which is considered appropriate for the present work was developed by Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1928). Several scholars have contributed in no small measure to its analysis and understanding. These writers include Almond (1960); Easton (1965); Kast and Rosenzweig (1970); Laslo (1972); Kauffman (1980); Adamolekun (1983); Offiong (1996); Capra (1999) and Cummings (2001). The general systems theory is a holistic, process-oriented model of the universe in which all parts are mutually affecting. It stands in sharp contrast to the traditional linear, mechanistic model in which the universe is reduced to an assemblage of unrelated entities operating in a manner in which there is only one discrete cause for every event. The systems theory states that everything is fundamentally interrelated; input into one aspect of a complex system will affect other aspects of that system, which will in turn affect other aspects of the system and so on and so forth. In effect, it is made up of subsystems which together make up the system. The subsystems are assigned specific functions and provided with the appropriate framework (inputs) to optimally discharge their responsibilities (outputs). The existence of appropriate inputs in the subsystems is a precondition for them to contribute optimally to the system as a whole. In contrast, distortions and instability are experienced in the system where the required inputs for the subsystems are lacking. Examination of the pull and push factors in the Nigerian political system

which is an organised whole with identifiable, interrelated structures (states and local governments) in the context of the supra system (environment) with which it interacts in the cause of processing the inputs into outputs is core to this paper. The General System Theory has therefore been used as an analytical framework to explain the factors involved in the fluidity of democratic local governance in Nigeria. Some of the key concerns of local government administration as it relates to assessing power and influence, understanding the dynamics of inter-group relationships, system balance (*homeostasis*), and considering the changes involved in planning development activities, can be understood and described using General Systems Theory.

Democratic local governance in Nigeria: the pull and push systemic factors

Nigeria is one of the very few countries that have given constitutional recognition to local government as a third tier of government. The various Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria since 1979 guaranteed a system of local government by democratically elected local government councils in the country. Section 7(1) of the 1999 Constitution in this regard specifically states that:

> *The system of local governments by democratically elected local government councils is under this constitution guaranteed, and accordingly, the Government of every State shall ensure their existence under law which provides for their establishment, structure, composition finance and functions of such council.*

In spite of this constitutional provision, local government in the country since 1979 has been largely undemocratic. This development can be explained in systemic terms. Both the federal and state governments were responsible for stalling the materialisation of the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the constitution.

October 1, 1979 witnessed the swearing in of democratically elected civilian governments at the State and Federal levels and the return of the military to the barracks. Between October 1, 1979 and December of the same year when the tenure of Local Government Councils was due to expire, dissolution of Local Government Councils by state governors across the country was prevalent. Only a few councils were allowed to complete their tenure before they were dissolved. Gradually, all the local Government Councils in Nigeria were dissolved by each state government and replaced with caretaker committees appointed on a partisan basis by state governors. This action of the state governors grossly undermined a system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the Constitution.

Granted that the various state local government laws in the country empower the governor of the state to order inquiries into the activities of local governments and to suspend any defaulting local government council, this power was used in a rather irresponsible manner by state governors during the Second Republic. This is evident from the fact that inquiries were not instituted by the state governors, which showed that the Local Government Councils faulted in the discharge of their functions in a manner not conducive to the welfare of the inhabitants of their areas of authority as required by law before the dissolution of the Councils.

An important constitutional decision is worth mentioning here. In a case brought before the Chief Judge of the defunct Bendel State (now Edo and Delta states) by six legislators of the then Bendel State House of Assembly against the State Government for dissolving all the local government councils in the State and replacing them with Caretaker Committees, he ruled that from the evidence before the court there was no proof that the Local Government Councils were charged with bad government, investigated and faulted before their dissolution was ordered by the State Governor (Ola 1983:148). This action of the State Governor, he contended, was inconsistent with the Bendel State Local Government Edict of 1976, which stipulated that an inquiry must be conducted before any local government can be dissolved and that such wholesale dissolution of the entire third tier of government was not in any way envisaged by the 1979 Constitution.

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria obviously does also not envisage a vacuum which caretaker committees would have to fill for a period spanning two years. While it is a fact that the mass dissolution of local government councils by the state governors grossly undermined a system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the constitution, the main issue here is the legality of the actions of the state governors in ordering the dissolution of the councils. The non-conducting of Local Government elections during the Second Republic (1979-1983) was a more serious issue, as it made a complete mockery of a system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the 1979 Constitution. What immediately comes to mind here is why it is that the state governments did not conduct local government elections between 1979 and 1983 after the dissolution of the Local Government Councils or after the expiration of the tenure of the Councils in December, 1979. To do justice to this issue, Gboyega (1987:175-187) has brilliantly attempted an examination of the relevant

provisions of the Constitution with regard to the regulation and conduct of local government elections and the part played by all the parties concerned.

The 1979 Constitution (Second Schedule, Part II, Item E-11) empowered the National Legislative Assembly to make laws for the registration of voters and the procedure for regulating local government elections in the country. The state Legislative Assemblies are also empowered to make laws with respect to local government elections in addition to, but not inconsistent with, any law made by the National Assembly (Item E-12). Further, the constitution empowered the Federal Electoral Commission to ensure that the register of voters is prepared and maintained in such a form as to facilitate its use for the purpose of elections to local government councils (Third Schedule Part I, Section 69). At the state level the Electoral Commission is empowered only to organise, undertake and supervise all elections to local government councils within that state (Part II, Section 79).

Gboyega's analysis of the various provisions relating to the conduct of local government elections clearly reveals that if local government elections were to be held, the Federal Authorities would have to play a leading role in the election process. Firstly, the National Assembly would have had to pass an Electoral Law to authorise the revision of the register of voters or the preparation of a fresh one. Secondly, the Federal Electoral Commission would have to prepare the voters' register in a manner which would make it suitable for the conduct of local government elections. Regrettably, the Electoral Act which would enable the Federal Electoral Commission to commence work on the revision of the voters' register suitable for the conduct of local government elections was not passed until August 1982. The revision of the voters' register was completed by the Federal Electoral Commission just before the general elections commenced in August, 1983.

The delay by the National Assembly in passing the Electoral Law to enable the Federal Electoral Commission to perform its functions in the country was a major hurdle in the way of operationalising the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils as guaranteed by the 1979 Constitution. As Gboyega (1987:177) rightly noted, this point is of fundamental importance because there is a general notion that the non-conducting of local government elections in the country was occasioned by the blatant refusal of the State, which was solely responsible for the failure of the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the Constitution during the Second Republic. While it was obvious that the state governments were generally not enthusiastic about holding local government elections, it must be stressed that no state government would have been able to hold local government elections without the Federal Authorities first playing their part in the electoral process. Gboyega cited an important legal tussle in this regard to drive home this point. In a case filed against the Lagos State Government which attempted to hold elections to the Local Government Councils in the State, the trial judge held that from the evidence before the court there was no valid electoral register on the basis of which local government elections could be held. The Lagos State Government was thus prevented from conducting local government elections. It was obvious, therefore, that had other states attempted to hold local government elections, a similar court ruling would have restrained them from doing so.

Incidentally, when the Electoral Law was eventually passed by the National Assembly in August 1982, it provided that elections to all local government councils in the country be held on the same day and the date would be fixed by the Federal Electoral Commission. In this regard, the Chairman of the Federal Electoral Commission had stressed, hardly one month before the collapse of the Second Republic, that, come what may, local government elections were to be held throughout the country in January, 1984 in compliance with the Electoral Act. This further validates the contention that the responsibility for ensuring that local government elections were held in the country was primarily that of the Federal Authorities.

The new military regime appointed sole administrators for all the local government councils in the country in 1984. Elections were not held for local government councils in the country until the Transition of Civil Rule Programme of General Babangida began. It was in 1987 that another election for local government councils was held, the previous one having taken place in 1976. Another election was held in 1990 for the local government council members at the expiration of the tenure of those elected in 1987. These elected councils were dissolved in 1993. Caretaker committees mostly dominated by retired military officers were appointed to handle the affairs of local government level in the country. These were appointed by the Federal Military Government.

While the states were given an enhanced role in the conduct of local government elections in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Federal Government is still required to play a significant role. At least, the revision of the voters' register is undertaken by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) set up by the Federal Government. The non-conducting of local government elections in the country until 2004 and the use of caretaker committees in Nigeria are traceable to the fact that the election that brought the former Local Government Councils into being was held under the provisions of the Local Government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisions) Decree

No. 36 of 1998 under Abdulsalam Abubakar's administration. Section 7 of the said Decree prescribed a three-year tenure for all the Local Government Councils. This Decree was repealed through the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Certain Consequential Repeals) Decree No. 63 of 1999, which became effective on May 29, 1999. Because there was no broad and popular consensus on the 1999 Constitution, as well as the hush-hush manner in which the Constitution was released, adequate provision was not made for the tenure of the various local governments in the country.

The perceived ambiguity in the Constitution provided impetus for the National Assembly and the state houses of assembly to turn the local government councils into hunting grounds. The National Assembly in the exercise of its legislative powers promulgated the 2001 Electoral Act, which the President assented to on December 6, 2001. The Act sought among other things to increase or alter the tenure of office of elected officers of Local Government Councils in Nigeria. The attorneys general of the 36 states challenged this action and the Supreme Court ruled that the National Assembly cannot validly enact any law to increase or otherwise alter the tenure of elected officers either as Chairman and Councillors of Local Government Councils except in relation to the Federal Capital Territory alone. By this judgement, the Supreme Court placed the whole question of the control of Local Governments at the doorsteps of the various state governments and their houses of assembly.

The non-charitable state governments annexed the Local Government system in Nigeria since the judgement of the Supreme Court on the tenure and control of the Local Governments in March 2002. This continued until 2004 when local government elections were held across the country. The chronology of local government administration as painstakingly presented below by Aluko (2006) clearly shows the incessant default on the part of state authorities to conduct local government elections in Nigeria since 1976.

i. 1976-1979: Elected council with election on personal merit (Zero party parliamentary system).
ii. October-1979 December 1983: Hand-picked (i.e. selected) Local Government Chairmen and Councillors.
iii. January 1984-August 1985: Sole administrators/Management Council.
iv. August 1984-December 1987: Management Committee System with Sole Administrator (Civil Servant as chairmen).
v. January 1988-July 1989: Elected Chairmen and Councillors with Supervisors all elected on personal merit/ recognition.
vi. August 1989-December 1990: Management Committees with Sole administrators (Civil Servant as chairmen).
vii. January 1991-November 1993: Elected Local Government Councils on party basis (Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC),
viii. November 1993-April 1994: Administration of Local Government by the Secretaries (Director of Personnel Management (DPM) under the Military Administrator's (MILAD) directive.
ix. April 1994-1997: Selected Chairmen and 4 Supervisors (Indigenes) to run the affairs of the Councils.
x. 1997-June 1998: Elected councils of the 5 registered political parties under Abacha Regime.
xi. July 1998-May 1999, Sole Administrators (Civil servants) with 4 Indigenes selected as supervisors.
xii. June 1999-June 2002: Elected council on political party basis (Return to civilian era 4th Republic) (Presidential system).
xiii. June 2002-June 2003: Selected councils by state governors called Transition Committees.
xiv. June 2003-26 March 2004: No uniform system initially; some states used Directors of Personnel Management of the Local Government; others used the state government party supporters to form new *transition committees*. All states later opted for the latter arrangement.
xv. 27 March 2004-30 March, 2007: Councils elected on a party basis, second experiment under the 4th Republic.
xvi. As at May 2012: 25 of the 36 states are yet to conduct elections. Selected party members by state governors called Transition Committees or Management Committees run local government affairs.

The inaction of the Federal Authorities and the reluctance of the state governments in bringing to fruition the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the Constitution was mainly a matter of political convenience. While the non-conducting of local government elections during the Second Republic was at the expense of the flowering of local governments, it suited the design of the political parties in the country during this period.

The 1979 general elections saw the National Party of Nigeria (which also won the presidential elections) clinching seven states, the Unity Party of Nigeria five, the Nigerian People Party three, the Great Nigeria Peoples Party two, and the People's Redemption Party two states in the gubernatorial elections in the country. Thus, all five political parties were in control of two or more elements of state government machinery. For the different political parties at the state level, the continuous use of caretaker committees appointed on a partisan basis by the state governors was a matter of political

convenience. The absolute control of all local government councils by state governors would not have been possible in most cases, had elections been conducted. It was also politically convenient to use the caretaker committees to step up their popularity at the local government level before contemplating the conducting of elections. It is worth mentioning here that, while the singularly unsuccessful move by the Lagos State Government to hold local government elections in 1981 must be commended, it must be emphasised that the state would not have been so enthusiastic about conducting the elections if the victory of the ruling party in all the Local Government Councils in the state had not been likely. This is obvious from the fact that Lagos State is one of the states in the country where all the State Legislative Assembly seats were won by one political party in the 1979 general elections.

In the case of the ruling party at the national level, its victory at the 1979 general elections could not be said to be a landslide. The delay by the Federal Authorities in taking the necessary steps to conduct local government elections may not be unconnected with the fact that the ruling party at the national level in the country was more interested in stepping up its nationwide popularity before holding the elections. This contention can be buttressed by the fact that efforts were geared up towards holding local government elections after the ruling party at the national level made gains in the 1983 general elections. The National Party of Nigeria, apart from winning the Presidency, captured ten states in the gubernatorial elections, leaving four to the Unity Party of Nigeria, two to the Nigerian Peoples Party, two to the Peoples Redemption Party, and one to the Great Nigeria Peoples Party. In the fourth republic, the political class has also exhibited the same tendencies. The Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) won the 2003 general elections overwhelmingly. Ironically, in spite of the resounding victory, the party was not in a hurry to conduct local government elections in the country. While the fortunes of the PDP dropped slightly in the 2003 and 2011 general elections, the attitude of the federal government to local government elections has not changed. As at June 2012, in twenty-five (25) states out of the thirty-six states in the country, local governments are still managed by Transition Committees. The system of local government by democratically elected local councils guaranteed by the constitution has not come to fruition because the higher levels of government used the third tier of government for the furtherance of their political goals.

Explaining the insensitivity of supra authorities

While fundamental changes aimed at placing the third tier of government on a sound footing have emerged in the process of the modernisation of the county's federal polity, these changes have not led to the flowering of local government. This is attributable to the fact that the federal and state governments, on whose shoulders rest the responsibility of ensuring that these changes are effected, have not been responsive and committed to playing their respective roles in the emergent arrangement in the country.

The federal Government did not take the appropriate steps to ensure the materialisation of the system of local government by democratically elected local government councils guaranteed by the constitution between 1979 and 1983 and between 2002 and 2004, because it suited the ruling elites at the federal level. Since 2007, some states are still nonchalant about holding local government elections. These lapses on the part of the federal government created an opportunity for the state governments to run the affairs of the local government councils through appointed caretaker committees. Thus, it may be said that the local government system in the country has continued to deteriorate because of the nonchalant attitude of politicians at the helms of affairs at the macro levels of the polity. Since 2007, the posture of state governments to conduct local government elections whenever they deem fit remains unchallenged. Such behavioural aspects of the federal and state governments only show that it is inappropriate to look into institutional and legislative prescriptions as reflecting a faithful picture of reality. The divergence between precept and practice and the resultant discontentment indicate the need for finding probable explanations for such developments. Some conceptualisations may be helpful in this regard.

The stark reality of competitive democratic politics is that a government, irrespective of its level, depends for its effectiveness on a decision-making apparatus that is concerned with ultimate political power (Riggs 1964:313). Mostly, the national/state elites are interested in the substance rather than the desirable form of politics. Motivated by the logic of pragmatic politics, they perceive and use government at the local level to serve their specific political interests. The ruling political parties endeavour to capture local government machinery to consolidate their position and have a firm grip over the grassroots support. Similarly, the non-ruling political parties are found to show an unusual interest in capturing local government machinery, because a network of control over local bodies is perceived by them as useful in battering against the ruling political parties which are entrenched at the state and federal levels of the polity. The interests of the third tier of government have been, time and again, sacrificed by macro governments (federal as well as states) to suit their convenience and subserve their narrow partisan ends. In the light of the above it is easy to comprehend reasons for:

i. Federal lapse in causing voters' lists to be prepared in the Second Republic and now again in the Fourth Republic.

ii. Wanton disregard for law by state governments in dissolving and creating more local government councils

In view of the fact that such behaviours of governments and political parties are a peculiarity of modernising (in contrast to modernised) polities, the issue needs to be further classified. Riggs has tried to explain such inter-governmental behavioural peculiarities in terms of the compatibility of interests among different levels of government. His (Riggs 1964:313) hypothesis is that:

> the strength of local self government within a national union varies directly with the compatibility of interests and needs of the external and internal clientele of local government. The more developed a society, the more compatible these interests tend to become, hence the easier it is for an external (central) government to permit devolution of power to local authorities and the more attractive it becomes for internal (local) groups to seek more autonomy. The more prismatic a system is, the greater the incompatibility of internal and external clientele demands.

The incompatibility of interests between state and local governments leads to another abnormality. This pertains to the concentration of power and centralisation of authority at the state headquarters. Such a phenomenon is specifically found in countries characterised by negative development. Although the higher level ruling elites are aware of the demerits of centralisation, still they are reluctant to liberalise control due to their apprehension of incompatibility of interests, although the *alibi* used by them is the immaturity and incapability of local government. The more the state governments tighten their control over localities, the more it angers and alienates the local elites. Consequently, discord and discontent are intensified, triggering the demand for more strengthening of minority rights. To counteract such trends, the usual remedy sought is sweeping legal reforms to strengthen local self-government. The approach, however, rebounds; instead of removing it aggravates prevailing tensions in the system if the basis of modernisation for such transformation is not created.

Often, state governments are unmindful of the essential elements of political modernisation. Worse still, they are not in a position to fully appreciate the adverse implications of their actions for political modernisation and socio-economic development. This contention is substantiated by the way state governments dissolved the democratically elected local government councils and replaced them with nominated management committees. It served their transient political purpose of having compliant and obedient local agencies. But it weakened the process of political modernisation at the local level. The nominated caretaker/management committees blocked the operationalistion of key elements in the political modernisation syndrome; viz. equality, capacity and diffraction. The nominated committees by their inherent nature were unable to protest or resist the act of malfeasance and misappropriation on the part of the state government of local government constitutionally allotted revenue. Nominated committees cannot exercise genuine democratic control over local government personnel. The local civil service which is independent of the local government councils to a significant extent is not required even to be responsible to democratically elected local government councils in a number of instances. This would only enhance bureaucracy at the local government level.

Conclusion

The inconsistency and incongruent working of the country's modernising federal polity has caused distortions in the political system in general and created moribund conditions for the third tier of government in particular. Nigeria presents a paradox in which macro-democratic governments have throttled grassroots democracy, whereas a non-democratic military had to step in to remedy the distorted political system and resuscitate grassroots democracy. In contrast, where democratic local governance advances and flourishes, decentralisation becomes more effective and local governments and the communities concerned gain the authority, resources, and skills to make responsive choices and to act on them effectively and accountably. Advancing the capacity of local governments to act effectively and accountably requires promoting the desire and capacity of individual citizens and civil society organisations to take responsibility for their communities, participate in local priority-setting, assist in the implementation of those decisions, and then monitor their effectiveness. In all of these, democratic local governance is core. This study therefore argues that unless democratic local governance overcomes its fluid state in Nigeria, decentralisation to local authorities will remain ineffective and local authorities will not have the push to engage in activities that will deeply affect the lives of the local populace positively.

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The impact of emotional intelligence on workers' behaviour in industrial organizations

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The study investigated the influence of emotional intelligence on workers' behaviour in industrial organizations. This was for the purpose of determining the appropriate management strategies that could foster improved job performance, job involvement, satisfaction and commitment among the workforce in Nigeria. The study adopted ex-post facto research design. A total of 652 respondents were selected for the study using proportionate stratified sampling technique. A set of questionnaires with five sub-scales was utilized for data collection. The hypotheses generated for the study were tested at 0.05 alpha level using Pearson Product Moment Correlation and t test statistics. The findings of the study revealed that there was a significant relationship between emotional intelligence and workers' job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment. The study recommended that organizational support system should be encouraged in order to foster commitment, job involvement, improved job performance, satisfaction and commitment among the workforce. Labour and management education that could incorporate psychological issues that can enhance emotional intelligence such as burnout, stress, interpersonal relations and conflict management should be organized for workers on a continuous basis, in order to foster workers' retention and development.

Key words: Emotional intelligence, job performance, organization, workers' behaviour

Introduction

Scholars tend to view emotional intelligence as a factor with a potential to contribute to more positive attitudes, behaviour and work outcomes. This appeal probably fuelled the claim that emotional intelligence is a key foundation of successful job performance (Joseph & Newman 2010). Several researchers have tried to define or describe emotional intelligence, for instance, Ciarrochi, Chau and Caputi (2000) conceptualized it as an ability, while Schutte and Malouff (1999) viewed it as a personality trait. Mayer, Saloyey and Caruso (2000), however, asserted that emotional intelligence is a competency that is expected to augment positive attitudes toward work and drives positive behaviour towards better outcomes. Bar-on and Parker (2000) viewed emotional intelligence as non-cognitive intelligence which is defined as an array of emotional, personal and social abilities and skills that influence an individual's ability to cope effectively with either environmental demands or pressures. The current study adopted the concept suggested by Salovey and Mayer (1997), that emotional intelligence is a subset of social intelligence which involves the ability to monitor one's own feelings and emotions as well as that of others; discriminate among them and use such information to guide one's thinking and actions.

Although some research has suggested that there has been little empirical evidence to support the importance of emotional intelligence in the workplace, with most claims unproved (Ashkanasy, Hartel, & Daus 2002; Zeidner, Matthews, & Roberts 2004); there are studies that showed the role emotional intelligence plays with regard to job performance (Bachman, Stein, Campbell and Sitarenios 2000; Tischler, Biberman, & Mckeage 2002), management performance (Langhorn 2004), and turnover (Goleman 1998).

Job satisfaction, which has been described as a complex of emotional reactions to the job, has been linked both to situational and personal factors; that is, sociological and psychological perspectives. According to Heller, Judge and Watson (2002), situational factors include job-related conditions such as pay, opportunities for promotion, and working conditions and job characteristics, while personal factors include personality disposition, traits, self-esteem, motivation, and emotions (Dormann & Zapf 2001). To Adewoyin (2006) job satisfaction is a feeling or affective response to facets of a

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work situation. As Okedara (1995) found positive associations between job satisfaction and the construct of emotional intelligence; similarly the study by Alam (2009) showed that job satisfaction and dimensions of emotional intelligence are positively related. Alam (2009) then suggested that for firms to improve perceived job satisfaction among its employees, such a firm should ensure that employees are not only aware of their emotional intelligence but encouraged to make use of it. Researchers (such as Afolabi, Awosola & Omole 2010; Carmeli, Yitzhak-Halevy, & Weisberg 2009; Ghoniem, ElKhouly, Mohsen, & Ibrahim 2011; Sofian, Salim, Nasir, Arip, & Mustafa 2012; Wong, Wong, & Law 2007) found some evidence that emotional intelligence is related to job satisfaction from sample of participants ranging from police officers to teachers.

According to Rathi and Rastogi (2009), organizational commitment is an important determinant of organizational effectiveness. The concept organizational commitment has been constructed as incorporating: affective, continuance, and normative aspects. Continuance commitment is defined as the extent to which employees feel committed to their organizations by virtue of the costs that they feel are associated with leaving (Akintayo 2009). Affective commitment is positive feelings of identification with, attachment or/and involvement in the work organization (Allen & Meyer 1996). Employees with strong affective commitment will remain in an organization because they want to; employees with strong continuance commitment remain because they need to; employees with strong normative commitment remain because they feel they ought to do so (Akintayo 2009). Emotional intelligence has been shown to be an important predictor of organizational commitment, for instance researchers (such as Cichy, Cha, Kim, & Singerling 2007; Guleryuz, Guney, Aydin, & Asan 2008; Mohamadkhani & Lalardi 2012; Rathi & Rastogi 2009; Sarboland 2012; Velmurgan & Zafar 2010) revealed that emotional intelligence was significantly and positively related to organizational commitment. In this study, we examined the relationship between emotional intelligence and two forms of organizational commitment – affective and continuance. Emotionally intelligent individuals are optimistic, a trait that enable them to focus on the resolution rather than the reasoning.

Job involvement is a belief descriptive of the present job and tends to be a function of how much the job can satisfy one's present needs (Kanungo 1982). Employees do not get involved in the job only for self-relational interest fulfilment; they also get involved in the job because they let their emotions play a role. Becoming highly involved in the job is often a response to emotional rather than rational needs. Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) quote a cook discussing the centrality of being emotionally involved in the job: "I just love the activity … I concentrate totally, so I don't know how I feel ... it's like another sense takes over." People are social who, through job involvement, fill the need for emotional experiences. Teaching work is often complex and challenging and seasoned teachers with a high emotional intelligence often get extremely involved in challenging experiences and complex situations that may not occur elsewhere. Seasoned teachers, for example, often remain beyond the required working hours even teaching students free of charge or without anticipating any immediate reward. They do this not for economic reward, but because it allows them to cope with those complexities that yield an intense emotional experience (George 2008).

Evidence supports a positive effect of emotional intelligence on the success of the individual at work (Goleman 2007). This is particularly important if we believe that management skills lie at the heart of leadership (Whetten & Cameron 2001), and specifically recognize the need to develop and acquire skills for teaching pupils and that emotional intelligence may have a critical role in the creation of effective leadership. A notable study conducted by George (2008) showed how the aspects of emotional intelligence – arousal and expression of emotions, use of emotion to enhance cognitive processing and decision making, knowledge about emotions and management of emotions – contribute to effective leadership. Carmeli's (2003) study indicated that emotionally intelligent employees develop emotional attachments to their organizations and thus become more committed to them. For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that although it is theoretically significant to show how each aspect affects performance behaviour, it is more accurate to recognize that skills come in groups and clusters, and that they support one another (Action Society Trust 1996).

The previous studies reviewed in this study focused on emotional intelligence as it affects the success of an individual in the workplace with specific emphasis on each worker's behaviour in isolation, mostly in developed countries of the world. The present study is designed to focus on emotional intelligence as it impacts on multiple workers' behaviour. Also, most of the findings reported in the previous studies required further empirical verification in order to establish the possibility of being generalized across races, regions, and countries. The premises of workers' behaviour in this study include job performance effectiveness, job involvement, job satisfaction and organizational commitment. The reason for exclusion of other phenomena, such as efficiency, work-family conflict, withdrawal intention, industrial accidents, and productivity are in the main those of convenience. It was felt that to include these would have expanded the scope of research to a proportion which would have been unmanageable within the limit set by time and resources.

Against this background, the study investigated the impact of emotional intelligence on workers' behaviour in industrial organizations in Nigeria. This was for the purpose of determining appropriate management strategies, using

emotional intelligence, that could foster commitment, improved performance on the job, cooperation and compliance among industrial workers in Nigeria.

1.1 Research hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested for the purpose of the study:

- There is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence and workers' behaviour (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment)
- There is no significant difference between the behaviour of respondents (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment) from public and private organizations on the basis of emotional intelligence
- There is no significant difference between the behaviour of male and female respondents (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment) on the basis of emotional intelligence.

Methodology

The ex-post-facto research design was adopted to investigate the relationship between emotional intelligence and the workers' behaviour in industrial organizations in Nigeria.

The target population consists of all workers who had spent at least three years in the industrial organizations under study. The study was conducted at the premises of First Bank of Nigeria Plc., Nigeria Breweries Plc., Power Holding Nigeria Plc., United Africa Companies Plc., Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation and Nigerian Telecommunication Plc. A total of 652 respondents were selected to represent the two strata of public and private organizations using proportionate stratified sampling technique. The purposive sampling technique was used to select the respondents, who had spent at least three years in the organizations under study. 398 (61%) of the respondents were male, while 254 (39%) were female. The age range of the respondents is between 25-60 years, with mean age of 25.82 and standard deviation of 11.61. However, 374 (57.4%) and 278 (42.6%) respondents were respectively selected from public and private organizations.

A set of questionnaire titled 'Emotional intelligence and workers' behaviour scale', which was made up of five sub-scales, was utilized for data collection. Section A of each of the sub-scales contains the socio-demographic information of the respondents, which include: Name of organization, age, sex, marital status, educational qualification, duration of membership of organization, etc.

Regarding job performance scale, Black and Porter (1991) scale was used as a measure. This measure contains five items (overall performance, ability to get along with others, completing tasks on time, quality of performance, and achievement of work goals) that were assessed on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). On the scale, a high score indicates a high reported worker's score. The instrument had a co-efficient alpha of 0.87. For the present study, the researcher reported a Cronbach reliability co-efficient of 0.89

Job involvement scale was based on a 10-item scale developed by Kanungo (1982). Sample items are: The most important things that happen to me involve my present job, Most of my personal life goals are job oriented, My active participation in planning and organizing organizational activities is recognized by my boss, etc. The measure was assessed on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha value for this scale was 0.82, but for the present study, the researcher reported Cronbach reliability co-efficient of 0.85

Organizational commitment scale was based on the scale developed and validated by Allen and Meyer (1990). Sample items are: 'I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own', 'I do not feel like a part of the family at my organization', etc. The measure was assessed on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 = strong disagree to 5= strongly agree). The Cronbach's alpha value for this scale was 0.73; for the present study, the researcher reported a Cronbach reliability co-efficient of 0.76.

Job satisfaction scale measure was based on a 6-item scale developed and validated by Tsui, Thomas and Edward (1992). Sample items: How satisfied are you with the nature of the work you perform, considering everything, How satisfied are you with your current job situation?, etc. The measure was assessed on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 = very dissatisfied to 5 = very satisfied). The Cronbach's alpha value for this scale was 0.68. For the present study, the researcher reported a Cronbach reliability co-efficient of 0.72

As far as emotional intelligence scale is concern, we measured self-report measure of emotional intelligence developed by Schutte and Malouff (1999) for several reasons. The measures used in this study consist of 33 items. Samples are: I know when to speak about my problem to others; I am aware of my emotions as I experience them (appraisal and expression of emotion); I present myself in a way that makes a good impression on others; and I have control over my emotions (regulation of emotion); when I feel a change in emotions, I tend to come up with new ideas,

and I use good moods to help myself keep trying in the face of obstacles (utilization). The measure was assessed on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. The Cronbach's alpha value for this scale was 0.90; for the present study, the researcher reported Cronbach reliability co-efficient of 0.89.

The questionnaires were administered to the respondents at the premises of First Bank Nigeria Plc., Nigeria Breweries Plc., Power Holding Nigeria Plc., United Africa Companies, and Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Workers from various departments in the selected organizations in Nigeria participated in the study. The researcher, with permission from the personnel managers of the selected organizations, approached the respondents individually. The researchers explained the purpose of the study to the respondents. The questionnaires were administered through the heads of department in selected organizations. The respondents were assured of their anonymity and the confidentiality of any information being provided. However, of the 675 copies of the administered questionnaire, only 652 completed filled copies were collated and analysed statistically for the purpose of the study.

Results

From the analysis of the data collected, and of the stated hypotheses, the following results were obtained:

Ho1: There is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence and workers' behaviour (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment).

Table 1 summary of Pearson product moment correlation showing the relationship between emotional intelligence and workers' behaviour (job performance effectiveness, job involvement, job satisfaction and organizational commitment

Variable	N	Mean	SD	r	Sig
emotional intelligence	652	20.45	13.01		
job performance	652	20.21	10.23	.241	.001*
job involvement	652	23.51	9.73	.117	.421
job satisfaction	652	24.33	10.52	.123	.421
organizational commitment	652	21.87	11.41	.117	.001*

*significant $p < .001$

The results in Table 1 indicate that emotional intelligence had a significant positive relationship with job performance, $r = .241$, $p < 0.001$. Thus hypothesis one was not confirmed. Table 1 also revealed that a significant relationship exists between emotional intelligence and workers' job involvement, $r = .117$, $p > 0.05$. The hypothesis was not confirmed. Moreover, the finding showed that emotional intelligence did not have a significant influence on workers' job satisfaction, $r = .123$, $p > 0.05$. Thus hypothesis three was confirmed. Besides, the findings revealed that emotional intelligence has a significant relationship with organizational commitment, $r = .177$, $p > .05$. Thus hypothesis one was not confirmed.

Ho2: There is no significant difference between the behaviour of respondents (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment) from public and private organizations on the basis of emotional intelligence.

Table 2 Mean standard deviation and t-test-on variables by type of organization

Variable	Organizational type	N	Mean	SD	df	t	Sig
Job performance	Public	374	21.33	12.56	650	15.81	.000**
	Private	278	24.11	10.41			
Job involvement	Public	374	26.29	9.82	650	13.21	.231
	Private	278	26.14	8.77			
Job satisfaction	Public	374	27.34	11.23	650	9.90	.000**
	Private	278	28.54	10.67			
Organizational commitment	Public	374	28.38	13.39	650	11.36	.01*
	Private	278	34.46	12.16			

**significant $p < .000$
*significant $p < .01$

Table 2 shows that the respondents from private organizations were found to be demonstrating higher job performance effectiveness than respondents from public organizations, $t (650) = 15.81$, $P < .05$. Also, the result revealed that

respondents from both public and private organizations were found to be demonstrating the same level of job involvement, t (650) = 13.21, P > .05. Table 2 revealed further that respondents from private organizations were found to be higher on the job satisfaction scale than respondents from public organizations, t (650) = 9.90, P < .05. This finding could not be attributed to emotional intelligence. The organizational commitment was found to be higher among respondents from private organizations than those from public organizations, t (650) = 11.36; P < .05. The findings showed that there was a significant relationship between the behaviour of the respondents from private and public organizations except for job involvement.

Ho3: There is no significant difference between the behaviour of male and female respondents (job performance, job satisfaction, job involvement and organizational commitment) on the basis of emotional intelligence.

Table 3 Mean Standard Deviation and t-test-on variables by gender.

Variable	Gender	N	Mean	SD	Df	t	Sig
Job performance	Male	398	22.45	11.23	650	8.43	.432
	Female	254	21.17	10.87			
Job involvement	Male	398	18.67	10.34	650	6.47	.367
	Female	254	18.02	9.56			
Job satisfaction	Male	398	22.34	12.14	650	10.12	.631
	Female	254	21.78	11.39			
Organizational commitment	Male	398	20.46	12.68	650	7.57	.543
	Female	254	19.87	12.16			

Table 2 shows that the male and female respondents were found to be equally demonstrating job performance effectiveness, t (650) = 8.43, P >.05. Also, the result revealed that male and female respondents demonstrated the same level of job involvement, t (650) = 6.47, P > .05. Table 2 revealed further that both male and female respondents were equally found to be higher on the job satisfaction scale t (650) = 10.13, P > .05. This finding could not be attributed to emotional intelligence. The organizational commitment was found to be high among both male and female respondents, t (650) = 7.57, P > .05. The findings showed that there was a significant relationship between behaviour of the males and females.

Discussions

Hypothesis one postulates that there is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence and workers' behaviour (job performance effectiveness, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, job involvement). The hypothesis was not upheld. The finding indicates that emotional intelligence is related to the likelihood of respondents to be mostly effective and efficient on the job. In essence, emotional intelligence in either a public or private organization could positively influence job performance effectiveness among the workers. The findings verify Adewoyin (2006), Akintayo (2009), Bar-on and Parker (2000), George (2008), Mohamadkhani and Lalardi (2012), Rathi and Rastogi (2009) and Sarboland (2012), who reported that efficiency on the job among the workers has been found to be positively influenced by emotional intelligence. The finding of the study implies that emotional intelligence tends to afford workers the opportunity to perform their duties with ease without much supervision. This indicates that the poor performance and inefficiencies on the job from which the idea of productivity bargaining relationship derives is not an entirely adequate one for the present study. However, the finding disagrees with Action Society Trust (1996), which reported that no significant correlation was found between job performance effectiveness and emotional intelligence.

As revealed by the findings of the present study, the hypothesized research question, which stipulated that there is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence and job involvement, was not confirmed. From the results, it was observed that the higher the emotional intelligence of the workers, the higher the level of job involvement. In essence, the measure of job involvement in an investigation of this kind is often day-increased productivity as a percentage schedule to be worked per week or year. However, the respondents on this ground have made objections to be used for this measure in that, in the case of job involvement it was due to genuine emotional intelligence, which may often be quite lengthy and thus dissert the levels of job involvement, especially in private organizations. The finding agrees with the research of Allen and Mayer (1990) and Ashforth and Humphery (1995), which reported that emotional intelligence tends to motivate workers toward utilization of the emotional skills at workplace even in a complex situation.

The findings further showed that as the level of job involvement is being used as an indicator of high emotional intelligence or low emotional intelligence; evidence compiled from short deliberate and low job involvement may be the

best measure of determining the level of job performance effectiveness in any work organization. The findings further indicate that bureaucratic control in public organizations are likely to be more stringent than in private organizations concerning low job involvement scale; consequently individual workers in the private organizations may have to seek opportunity from the superior manager to be more saddled with enriching jobs. The findings imply that it is quite possible that some public organizations will have quite a low level of job involvement compared to private organizations.

The study revealed that there is a significant relationship between emotional intelligence and job satisfaction. The finding revealed that the two variables are not correlated. The findings imply that emotional intelligence coupled with structure and a reward system invariably tends to influence satisfaction among the workers. The finding corroborates Goleman (2007), Saloyey and Mayer (1997), who submitted that as the emotional intelligence increases, the percentage of workers understanding themselves and of the incentive payment scheme decreases; and that this could affect interpersonal relations and the level of workers' satisfaction with the system. The findings imply that job satisfaction among the workers is not a function of their emotional intelligence; but rather affected by the task structure, group relationship and reward system.

Furthermore, the findings showed that there is no significant relationship between emotional intelligence and organizational commitment. The hypothesis was not confirmed. The findings of the study indicate that male and female respondents were both committed to organizational goal achievement, even on the basis of emotional intelligence. The findings of the study tally with Okedara (1995), Allen and Mayer (1990) and Akintayo (2008), who reported a direct association between emotional intelligence and organizational goal achievement resulting from positive identification and loyalty to the organization, especially in private organizations. The positive association between emotional intelligence and organizational commitment might be due to the fact that employees with high emotional intelligence are better able to recognize, manage, and use their emotions.

Hypothesis three stated that there is a significant difference between the behaviour of the respondents (job performance effectiveness, job involvement, job satisfaction and organizational commitment) from public and private organizations on the basis of emotional intelligence. The findings revealed that the respondents from the private organizations were found to be demonstrating performance effectiveness on the job better than respondents from public organizations. The finding tallies with the studies of Adewoyin (2006), George (2008), Whetten and Cameron (2001), who reported higher effectiveness on performance scale in private organizations than in public organizations.

Besides, the result shows that poor performance on the job is more pronounced in public than in private organizations. The findings indicate that the more an organization is increasing in worker development, the more the frequency of improved performance and productivity. The findings of the study corroborate George (2008) and Goleman (2007) who submit that private organizations tend to experience higher levels of job performance effectiveness resulting from organizational structure, reward system and task structure than public organizations. The authors posit further that public organizations will have quite a low level of job performance effectiveness, job satisfaction, job involvement and organization commitment when compared to private organizations.

Moreover, the findings of the study revealed that respondents from private organizations experienced more job satisfaction than the respondents from public organizations, resulting from high technological innovation and high incentive payment schemes. The finding implies that as the emotional intelligence of the work group increased, the percentage of workers' understanding of the incentive payment schemes increased, and this could lead to an improved level of workers' satisfaction with the system, job performance, job involvement and organizational commitment to organizational goal achievement among the workforce.

Furthermore, the results showed that the respondents from private organizations demonstrate more affective and continuance commitment to organizational goal achievement than respondents from public organizations. The finding implies that respondents from private organizations tend to be more committed to goal achievement and demonstrate more emotional intelligence than respondents from the public organizations since the organizational structure of the former tends to foster compliance, supportiveness and cooperation on the part of the workers. The findings of the study are in line with Akintayo (2008) and Bar-on and Parker (2000), who posited that private organizations, where work is less divided, displayed a relative harmony between workers and employers that tends to induce commitment to organizational goals. It is only in public organizations that this relationship and organizational commitment is in an unhealthy state. In essence, organizational commitment (affective and continuance) is visible among workers in private organizations more than in the public organizations, resulting from the bureaucratic structure of the public organizations, compared to the organic structure of private organizations.

Conclusion

The study established that emotional intelligence has significant contributions to workers' behaviour, with corresponding implications for organizational goal achievement in work organizations in Nigeria. The study further submits that emotional intelligence is significantly correlated with workers' behaviour with peculiar patterns in public and private organizations. Thus, effective management of people and other resources in an organization requires consideration for effective behaviour that could be of consequence to emotional intelligence and the task structure of an organization. Also, centralization and co-ordination of the task structure of an organization with implications on goal achievement require high emotional-oriented task performance vis-à-vis the reduction of tension and work-induced stress in work organizations.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study and the contentions of Goleman (1995) that emotional intelligence should become increasingly valued in the workplace so as to retain talented and knowledgeable employees, the following recommendations are made:

- Training programmes, which are capable of incorporating some psychological issues that are work-oriented, such as: burnout, stress management, occupational safety, conflict management and inter-personal relations; and that intend to enhance emotional intelligence should be organized for workers and managers on continuous basis in both public and private organizations. This will definitely lead to improved performance, cooperation, commitment and satisfaction with work condition on the part of the workforce.
- Equally, recruitment of workers process should embrace conduct of aptitude test on emotional intelligence using standardized test and ensure that those candidate(s) that are high on emotional intelligence scale are considered for final employment. This will possibly guarantee effective job performance, job involvement, and foster commitment and compliance among the workforce.
- Similarly, organizational structure that could encourage equitable reward system should be encouraged in organizational management; in order to foster workers' job satisfaction, job performance effectiveness, job involvement and organizational commitment and virtually guarantee efficient and effective management of organizational resources for results.

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Public sector ethics in the United Kingdom: an overview

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The article starts with a brief and concise definition of public sector ethics. It traces the origin of public sector ethics in the United Kingdom (UK). Also, corruption and unethical conduct amongst others are in focus too. An analysis of the expected ethical standards in the public sector and mechanisms used to maintain such standards are also in focus. The mechanisms include codes of conduct and the use of regulatory bodies. To remedy the defects inherent in the extant public sector ethics in the UK, some recommendations will be made. The conclusion will posit that the public sector in the UK has higher ethical standards than the private or business sector in the UK. *This paper is a general review of the extant literature on public sector ethics in the United Kingdom and its main finding is that public sector ethics are an integral part of the organizational structure of the public sector in the United Kingdom.*

Keywords: Corruption, public sector ethics, transparency, codes, regulatory bodies, ethical standards, United Kingdom

Introduction

Ethics plays an important role in any public sector organization. This is especially so in the United Kingdom. Unethical standards lead to negative consequences for the public sector. This article will attempt to answer the following questions. Firstly, why should we expect higher ethical standards from the public sector than from the commercial or business world? Secondly, what mechanisms should government employ to ensure the maintenance of those standards?

Generally, ethics are 'a set of principles, often defined as a code or system that acts as guide to conduct' (Lawton 1999:299). Ethics are universal concepts at the core of human existence, which entail the notions of good and evil that are inherent in all communities (Singer 2011). On the other hand, moral rules regulate conduct relative to a person or cluster of societies (Singer 2011). Ethical standards are supposed to exist in any society without necessarily being made explicit. This is what the concept of 'ethos' (Latin: mos/mores) means, which are the customs and rules of behaviour in a given society. Thus ethics and moral rules do overlap at times. This has been evident in history from the holocaust in Germany to apartheid in South Africa. The question here is: can good managers commit administrative evils? (Adams and Balfour 2004). It is obvious from the holocaust example that the officials responsible might have had objections morally but they were obliged to follow the orders of their superiors. Such orders from the superiors can be argued to be the prevailing 'ethical standards' in the German society (public service) during the Second World War.

Furthermore, ethics understood as ethical theory has the task to reflect critically on these phenomena. From this perspective, ethics are not 'universal concepts at the core of human existence' but the theory dealing with such concepts, values, etc. that are always a matter of evaluation within a society as well as between societies. In this sense, ethics as a theory as well as practice does not deal with meta-historical universal concepts but what people think is good (or bad) for their life. Sometimes, the term 'meta ethics' is used when dealing with what the tradition calls 'moral philosophy' or 'philosophia ethike' but also in the in this case it is not just about the meaning of the concepts, but about the level of reflection.

The observance of high ethical standards of conduct is not a new phenomenon or fad (Davis 2003). The ensuring of high standards by political or government actors evolved into or pre-dates the modern concept of the rule of law (Rechtsstaat) and is traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman epochs (Davis 2003). However, the modern-day evolution of administrative ethics is traced to the mid-1970's which was largely influenced by the New Public Administration (Management) thoughts of the 1930s (Cooper 2004). New Public Management (NPM) is the importation of commercial concepts into the public sector thereby watering down the traditional concepts of administration inherent in the public sector. Some of the concepts imported into the traditional concepts of public sector administration include contracting and the use of professionals.

Administrative or public sector ethics are the set of guidelines or legal regulations that guide public sector organizations in countries. Ethics in the public sector have profound effects on the image or perception of the organization. If a public sector firm is deemed to be unethical, the perception will cause negativity and derision by the public. However, if the firm is seen as an example of good ethical conduct, the citizens and other stakeholders would be interested in doing business with such an organization.

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The first part of this article has focused on the evolution and definition of the concept of ethics. The second part of the article will dwell on the menace of corruption in the public sector. Corruption is a dent in any public sector organization. Corruption in the public sector of the United Kingdom will be in focus in this section. The third part of this article will dwell on the reasons why higher ethical standards are expected in the public sector than in the business world. The fourth part will elucidate the measures that government can use to maintain high ethical standards in the public sector. In conclusion, the article will posit that ethics play immeasurable roles in the public sector. Good ethical practices have come to stay in the public sector.

Corruption in the public sector

Corruption is one of the major unethical conditions prevalent in modern-day public sector organizations. Corruption simply 'is operationally defined as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain' (Transparency International 2006). Corruption affects the public sector negatively in the developed and developing countries. There are other forms of unethical conduct in the public sector apart from corruption (Davis 2003). Some of these unethical conduct include excluding citizens from public services or when groups of individuals are not adequately catered for by the government (Davis 2003). However, corruption is the most pervasive unethical behaviour in the public sector because of its inherent negative manifestations.

There are two opposing views on corruption, negative and positive (Mahmood 2005). The negative view which is the most widely accepted, posits that corruption has negative effects on productivity, growth and the socio-economic wellbeing of any organization or country (Mahmood 2005). Other negative manifestations of corruption include the use of less efficient providers and reduced taxes on income amongst others (Davis 2003).

The positive view on corruption contends that it does not affect a country's development negatively because the existence of corruption might help by oiling the wheels of bureaucracy (Mahmood 2005). That is, ineffective regulatory or legal systems could be by-passed easily. Thus, corruption enhances efficiency in the public sector by reducing time and paperwork (Kaufman 1997). The positive view of corruption is opposed by the current world-wide efforts to stamp out bribery and corruption, especially in developing countries. The United Nations, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and aid donors have put the anti-corruption and good governance measures on the front burner of their programmes (OECD 2006).

The concept of corruption is culture-bound (Davis 2003). The notion that corruption is 'culture-bound' undermines the notion of the universality of ethical concepts and with regard to the difference between the object of ethics, ethics as a theory, codes of ethics (or codes of morality) and the law (including legal theories). Here, it can be argued that corruption is a phenomenon (not the only one) of administrative ethics (or 'ethos') as well as of administrative ethics theories. It is not a question of how corruption is related to codes of behaviour or to (the rule of) law, but on how corruption can be (and it is being) dealt with within ethics theories. It is not 'just' as a matter of applying a 'universal' ethics in the sense of a universal code also, because ethics theories deal with universality (and particularity) but they are *qua* theories not fixed once and for all.

In the UK, it is unacceptable and often criminal for public officers to accept gifts (Davis 2003). However, corruption is seen as part of the culture of many developing (especially Asian and African) countries. In Pakistan, corruption is seen to be an integral part of the administrative culture (Islam 2005). For example, family and communal ties have given rise to the culture of 'Sifarish' which literally means 'connection' or 'recommendation' (Islam 2005). The Pakistani concept of Sifarish is similar to the Chinese notion of 'Guanxi' (Islam 2005). Guanxi is the social interactions between people and favours inherent therein (Xin and Pearce 1996). Also, in Nigeria, corruption is seen to be part of the administrative or bureaucratic culture and a way of life. There is a culture of bribery, otherwise termed 'settlement' culture in Nigeria. Here, embezzlement is seen as a deliberate strategy of the government in Nigeria (Timamy 2005; Adebanwi and Obadare 2011).

Corruption is also a negative phenomenon in developed countries. Different countries have different ways of regulating or controlling unethical conduct or corruption in their countries (Davis 2003). These are Westminster-styled and direct line; the UK which is of the Westminster-type slant tends to control the incidence of corruption directly (Davis 2003). Undermining the controls against unethical conduct in the country, there have been a lot of corruption scandals in the UK.

Corruption and sleaze in the UK

The concept of corruption is culture-bound (Davis 2003). Most local authorities in the UK have a policy on what is acceptable, since not all gifts constitute a bribe. As long as gifts are registered, and the values do not go above a certain amount, then it is not considered a criminal offence. Corruption is seen to be part of the (public sector) culture of many

developing (especially Asian and African) countries; however, in developed countries corruption scandals still sometimes occur (Caiden 1994). The United Kingdom is no exception. The Nolan Committee set up in 1994 was a direct result of the prevailing sleaze in the UK in the 1990s. The Committee was set up in 1994 by the then Prime Minister John Major to investigate a series of incidents involving members of parliament and their alleged misconduct (which included alleged dishonesty and inappropriate sexual conduct) (Davis 2003). The conduct of the members of parliament led to bad publicity for the government and it affected public confidence in the government negatively.

Corruption scandals in the UK include 'Donnygate' when some Doncaster council officials were convicted for expenses fraud (Davis 2003). Other corruption scandals include the 'votes for homes' scandal in the Westminster Council (Davis 2003). In 2006, there were allegations that the Labour party in the UK was guilty of cronyism; Labour allegedly was appointing only its party members to commissions. For example, appointments of members of the National Lottery Board were geared in favour of Labour Party members. In the BAE arms scandal, it was alleged that an arms deal between the UK and Saudi Arabia was marred by fraudulently increased prices (Guardian 2006). Another scandal was the 'cash for honours' affair when peerages were allegedly given to donors to the Labour Party (BBC 2006).

More recently, in 2009, the UK parliamentary expenses scandal was brought to the fore. This was chiefly triggered by a leak published by the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper (UK) on the ways some members of parliament fiddled with expenses claims. According to the *Daily Telegraph* (2009), the expenses entailed "how politicians – from the Cabinet to backbenchers of all parties – exploited the system of parliamentary allowances to subsidise their lifestyles and multiple homes". As a result of the anger and odium generated by this scandal, some of the MPs involved either resigned, were prosecuted (and jailed in some instances) or lost privileges accruing to them as MPs, amongst other consequences.

Ethical standards in the UK public sector

This section of the article will dwell on the higher ethical standards expected in the public sector than those generally described in the commercial world, as well as the mechanisms government should employ in the maintenance of good ethical standards. Such mechanisms will include a code of conduct and the use of regulatory bodies amongst other measures.

The origin of public sector ethics in the UK is traced to the Northcote-Trevelyan Report (1854) on the civil service (Lawton 1998). Traditionally, workers in the public sector subscribe or are bound to what is commonly referred to as 'public ethos' (Lawton 1998). Thus, public sector workers or employees were committed to what is now known as good ethical standards. In furtherance of this, commentators have agreed that public sector ethos is a 'good thing' (Lawton 1998:51). The traditional public sector ethos included honesty, merit, probity and impartiality amongst others (Lawton 1998). Simply stated, public ethos means acting in the public interest. Here, personal interest should give way to the public interest. For example, an employee's view or perspective should not colour his or her sense of duty to the society at large.

Corruption in the public sector world-wide has led to attempts to improve the ethos of the organizations. Thus, public sector ethics includes 'value awareness, reasoning skills, the role of law, and organizational implementation' strategies (Bowman *et al*. 2001:195). Public sector ethics is a combination of both the internal and external issues, which affects the way the organization is run (Wood 2004). The internal constituent of public sector ethics revolves around the way and manner in which the organization is managed or administered internally. The external constituent is the relationship between the public sector and the community or society, which this involves the cultural values shared by the employees in contradistinction to the law (Wood 2004). Thus, public sector ethics encompasses the totality of the employees' relationship with their working environment, and its outside environment also plays a major role. Public sector ethics is said to consist of values held in common by the public services manager and expressed through its values (Lawton 1999).

The Nolan Committee 1995 set out seven principles which a public sector worker must abide to. These principles are selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership. However, these principles have been criticized on the basis that they are not exhaustive (Davis 2003). It excluded principles of the public sector such as 'competence' and 'representativeness'. Competence is at the cornerstone of any public sector organization. If the public sector is not run by competent officials, it may lead to the erosion of ethical standards in the system. Also, the public sector should be a true representation of the larger society. Thus, nobody should be discriminated against on the basis of gender, religion, race or sexual orientation, especially in the public sector.

Recently, the seven principles of public life have been expanded to ten. The ten general principles of public life are selflessness, honesty and integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, personal judgement, respect for others, duty to uphold the law, stewardship and leadership (Standards Board of England Website 2007). It is arguable that the new additions to the general principles of public life have responded to the criticisms levelled against the previous seven

principles of public life. The recent additions (to the general principles) have made it more encompassing and dynamic in tune with the modern public sector in the UK.

In research conducted via questionnaires by Alan Lawton on the Nolan principles on public sector managers, it was discovered that the managers were not totally in agreement with the prescribed ethos (Lawton 1998). This behaviour of the managers can be rationalised on the basis that ethical standards cannot be easily defined or isolated and an ethical framework arises as a result of the interplay of government policies, legislation and codes of conduct amongst others (Wanna *et al.* 1992). Thus, it is obvious that public sector employees and managers may not even understand what ethical standards or ethos entails. The implication is that employees have diverse opinions on what constitutes a public sector ethos. The question at this juncture is: on the basis of the analysis above, can we say that there is a single or generic public sector ethos in the UK? The next part of the article will seek to answer the question.

Unified public sector ethos?

There is the general assumption by government officials and commentators that a unified public service ethos exists (Lawton 1998). However, this view is not fool-proof or free of criticisms. Pratchett and Wingfield (1994) in their research on ethos in local governments in the UK posited that there exists a generic public sector ethics which encompasses motivation, loyalty and accountability amongst others. From this research of Pratchett and Wingfield, two major strands of arguments arose (Lawton 1998; Lawton in Rose and Lawton 1999). Firstly, 'there is something distinctive about managing in the public services' (Lawton 1998: 54). The second assertion is that 'there is a common ethos that binds those who work in the public services together' (Lawton 1998: 54).

Proponents of the first assumption posit that that there are noticeable differences between the commercial world and the public sector. These differences include

> the statutory framework within which most public services operate; the public sector's concern with equitable outcomes; the processes and structures adopted to achieve a complexity of goals; the recipient of services being the citizen generally or the client rather than the customer: and that public services provided nationally (Lawton 1998:54).

On this basis, it is argued that the public sector is different from the commercial sector. This was true of the pre-NPM (New Public Management) public sector. Under the traditional form of administration in the public sector, differences could be easily detected between the public and private sectors. However, this is not the case today. This argument (of the distinctiveness of public sector) does not hold water in today's post New Public Management driven public sector. Here, the distinction between the private sector and the public sector has become 'blurred in recent years' (*Guardian* 2003). One reason is that a lot of privately driven initiatives have been imported into the public sector. The public sector is now run under business ideas that result in public firms now focusing on results (outputs and outcomes) instead of the processes like commercial firms (Davis 2003). Other business concepts inherent in the modern-day public sector include contracting, setting of annual targets, increased mobility amongst employees in different sectors and the managerial freedom. Many local authorities have been led by Chief Executive Officers, similar to what obtains in the private sector.

The second argument on public sector ethics is that there is a uniform ethos that binds employees or staff in the public sector (Lawton 1998; Lawton 1999). That is, workers are subject to the same ethos in the public sector notwithstanding the sector in which they are based or their expertise. This argument is not fool-proof. It has been contended that there is no 'public service ethic or uniform "public service culture" in which the values of stability, honesty and fair trading held sway' (Pollitt 2003:138). The reason is that different or distinct agencies and bodies are subject to their specific ethos which will vary as a result of their functions or activities (Kemp 1993; Pollitt 2003). This assertion is in line with the findings of the research conducted by Pratchett and Wingfield on local government officials (1994). They concluded in the research that 'there was no "universal" ethos clearly articulated and defined' (Pratchett and Wingfield 1994:32). Undermining, the aforementioned assertions that the extant UK public sector has no unified public sector ethos and has been heavily influenced by market or business, non-business ideals still contribute to the distinctive or unique public sector ethos inherent in the UK public sector today. For example, it has been argued that public sector workers are influenced by intrinsic rather than commercial motivations (*Guardian* 2003; Rayner *et al.* 2012). Here, public sector workers are not necessarily influenced by their pay cheques, but largely choose such jobs because they want to make a difference, thus pay might not be the major contributory factor (*Guardian* 2003; John and Johnson 2008). Also, public sector workers are willing to make sacrifices for the sustenance of their services. Recently, due to the massive cuts in spending in the UK public sector by the central government, some National Health Service workers agreed to a reduction in their salaries and holiday allowances to protect jobs in the health sector (*Guardian* 2012). Here, public sector

workers in the delivery of (essential or public) services are said to have an allegiance to the ethos prevalent in the public sector (Horton 2008; Rayner *et al.* 2010). Thus, there is a general consensus that a semblance of ethos still exist in the public sector, refuting postulations to the contrary. The next part of the article will dwell on why the public sector is expected to have higher ethical standards than the commercial sector.

Higher ethical standards in the public sector

The public sector is expected to have higher ethical standards or a superior ethos than the private or commercial sector. Firstly, there are expectations from managers and the relationship of trust between the citizens and the officials is the bedrock of government or governance (Lawton 1999). The officials are expected to act in the best interest of the citizens. When trust between the citizens and officials is breached, it can lead to allegations of unethical conduct or behaviour against such officials. The public sector acts in the public interest. However, in the private sector, a relationship of trust between the officials and the citizens (consumers) is not compulsory. However, modern-day business firms do engage in corporate social responsibility. For example, a lot of companies have gone 'green' by cutting down on global emissions or pollution.

Another reason for higher ethical standards in the public sector is to reduce or mitigate the incidence of corruption. Corruption is more detrimental in the public sector (Davis 2003). Corruption scandals can lead to the fall of governments and negative publicity for the local authorities. The effects of corruption in the private sector might be limited to the employees or the company itself. However, in the public sector in the UK, corruption affects a larger segment of the society. For example, benefits cheats in the UK are said to be depriving the central government of about 1 billion pounds a year and this has adverse effects on the economy and legitimate benefit dependent members of the society (*Guardian* 2008).

In the public sector, the best possible product or service is expected to be provided, whereas businesses are interested in profit maximization. The citizens dependent on a particular service or good provided by the state are expecting to get the best possible product from the government. This also applies when such products or services are sub-contracted to outsiders. Contractors and sub-contractors are expected to give the highest possible service or product within their contractual capability. However, in the commercial or private sector, profit is the magic word. The private sector wants to make as much profit as possible and manufacturing (or supplying) of the product is heavily dependent on the profits it expects to gain from such ventures. Profit maximization is the cornerstone of private enterprise or business.

Public sector activities affect a greater number of the citizenry than the private sector which deals with only its customers (or suppliers and other stakeholders). For example, the collection or non-collection of bins by local authorities affects every household in the area. On the other hand, the products or services in the private sector affect only its customers and suppliers; not necessarily the larger society.

The next part of the article will dwell on the measures to control or maintain good ethical standards. There are various measures of maintaining good ethical standards in the public sector. The measures include code of conduct, prevention and control measures amongst others.

Measures to maintain public sector ethos

Codes of conduct

Codes of conduct play a major role in regulating or maintaining good ethical standards in the public sector in the UK. Due to the rise of sleaze and corruption in the UK, various codes of conduct have been developed to combat this scourge. Codes are 'systematic efforts to define acceptable conduct' (Plant 1994:221). To its proponents, codes serve as guidance to public officers on what is good or bad (Rohr 1991). Other functions of codes include the stipulation of sanctions when unethical conduct arises (Lawton 1999). Other functions include providing ways of resolving disputes and providing the coherent guidelines which minimises ambiguity (Lawton 1999). Furthermore, codes of conduct can be used to identify desirable or acceptable conduct, as a set of principles to regulate unethical behaviour amongst others (Lawton 1999).

In the UK, due to the inadequate legal framework to combat unethical behaviour (especially corruption) in the public sector, there has been a rise in the use of codes of conduct to combat this. The underlying reason why codes are prevalent in the UK is that the UK operates an unwritten constitution as the basis of its parliamentary democracy. That is, there is no single document that encompasses the totality of the UK legal system. Thus, the use of codes fills the lacunae in the law in the UK.

Codes can be unwritten or written; however, it is the written codes that are enforceable and provide a sense of accountability to the public (Chandler 1989). Written codes may be enacted by government, associations representing certain individuals, professions or organizations (Plant 1994). A major example of a code of conduct is the general

principles of public life which was developed by the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan Committee 1995). Here, strictly speaking, the Nolan principles are not a code of conduct; they may be enshrined within a code of conduct but they themselves do not constitute a code of conduct. Examples of the principles include selflessness, integrity, objectivity and accountability amongst others. As a result of the success of the codes in the UK, they have been exported to other countries in central and eastern Europe (Davis 2003).

A recent example of a code of conduct in the UK public sector is the Ministerial Code of Conduct. This code is managed or administered by the Propriety and Ethics team within the Cabinet Office (Cabinet Office Website). Here, the Propriety and Ethics Team 'advises the Cabinet Secretary, ministers and departments on issues under the Ministerial Code, the Prime Minister's code of conduct and guidance on procedures for ministers' (Cabinet Office Website). Simply, this code elucidates on the expected conduct of ministers during the discharge of their duties. In 2011, an addendum was agreed by the Prime Minster, stating that 'The Government will be open about its links with the media. All meetings with newspaper and other media proprietors, editors and senior executives will be published quarterly regardless of the purpose of the meeting' (Cabinet Office Website).

However, codes are not fool-proof; they have been heavily criticised by commentators (Davis 2003; Lawton 1999). A major criticism of a code is that it 'provides a false sense of security' (Lawton 1999: 309). Thus, a code is said to be a measure of the ethical standing of the organization. Here, the organization might be engaged in unethical behaviour and it will be justified on the basis of its code. This creates a conundrum; different organizations may have different interpretations of what constitutes unethical conduct. What is unethical conduct in Council A may be borderline or ethical in Council B. A probable justification for this discrepancy could be that different councils may have distinct values or ethics regulating their conduct.

Another criticism of codes of conduct is that they (codes) represent the views or the interests of the parties that draw them up (Lawton 1999). Thus, the question arises: who owns the codes that have been drawn up? For example, codes could be drawn up by a body or committee composed of different individuals (with different backgrounds) with distinct values (Lawton 1999). This situation may lead to different interpretations being given to the codes on the basis of an individual's values. However, the situation could be redressed if the standards are negotiated amongst the different parties or stakeholders rather being imposed by an external party (Davis 2003).

Other criticisms of codes are that they are not all-encompassing to include every possible scenario and are vague and over-generalised to the extent that they may not be of immense help to a manager or employee in the public sector (Lawton 1999).

Codes are insufficient in controlling sleaze in the public sector. However, codes have been strengthened and made mandatory in local authorities in the UK.

The use of regulatory body (Serious Fraud Office)

One measure that can be used to maintain good ethical standards includes the use of regulatory bodies. An example of a regulatory body in the UK is the Serious Fraud Office. This Government agency, which is part of the UK criminal judicial system, aims to protect the society by investigating and prosecuting people who commit serious or complex fraud (Serious Fraud Office Website 2008).

The Serious Fraud Office was created by the Criminal Justice Act of 1987 as a direct result of the 1986 Fraud Trials Committee Report, also known as the Roskill Report (Serious Fraud Office Website 2008). The Criminal Justice Act states that the major role of the Serious Fraud Office is to conduct investigations and the prosecution of serious fraud cases in the United Kingdom with the exception of Scotland. The aims and objectives of the Serious Fraud Office include 'reducing fraud and the cost of fraud; the delivery of justice and the rule of law; and maintain the confidence in the UK's business and financial institutions' (Serious Fraud Office Website). Thus, the Serious Fraud Office is an important tool in preventing, investigating and prosecuting corruption by business and in the public sector. It is a potent tool in maintaining sound ethical conduct in the public sector.

The Serious Fraud Office (SFO) also prevents and investigates fraud in the public sector. This has led to the lowering of corrupt practices in the public sector. It has investigated complex fraud both in the private and public sectors. In 2006, the SFO undertook an investigation into South Yorkshire Trading Standards Unit as a result of a shortfall of £7 million in the accounts which came to light at the death of the unit's general manager (BBC Website 2008).

The use of regulatory bodies like the SFO is better or more effective than codes of conduct because it prescribes (criminal) punishment for offenders. Thus, convicted offenders of (criminal) corrupt practices could end up in jail as a direct consequence of their acts. However, the use of the SFO in is not fool-proof. In the UK the central government can apply pressure on the SFO to stop investigations into any matter. In 2006, the SFO commenced the investigations into BAE systems (a UK government defence contractor) that was alleged to have bribed some Saudi Arabian officials in the

course of negotiating the Al Yamamah arms deal (BBC 2007). Due to the economic relationship between the Saudi Government and the UK, the Tony Blair administration acting through the Attorney-General in 2006 announced the SFO was dropping its investigation of BAE systems (BBC 2007). This decision was premised on the need to maintain the wider public interest (Serious Fraud Website 2008). Thus, political exigencies may be used as excuses to stop investigations in the UK.

Transparency in the public sector

A measure that can also be used to maintain ethical standards is increased or improved transparency in the government or in the public sector. There is the view that an increase in transparency will lead to a fall in unethical conduct or corruption (Davis 2003). In 2000, the Freedom of Information Act was promulgated into law by the parliament in the UK. This law allows access to information to interested members of the public. Here, the right of access to certain information held by public authorities to interested members of the public is available on request. The Freedom of Information Act has led to improved transparency in the public sector. Citizens or stakeholders can complain and ask for information, when allegations of corruption or unethical behaviour arises in the public sector. For example, if a local authority claims to have spent a certain amount of money on a project in an area, the stakeholders or citizens may apply for such information to be made public so that the actual amount spent will come to the fore.

E-government can also lead to increased transparency in the public sector. Here, governmental documents (reports) and accounts could be put online; this will lead to higher accessibility to the society (Davis 2003). This has the shortcoming of possible electronic fraud and criminals may take advantage of it. For example, the government wants to put the medical records of the patients in the National Health Service (NHS) scheme online and made available on the internet (BBC website 2008). This has been criticised by medical doctors and the citizens (and other stakeholders) because of the serious security risks involved. Criminal gangs may access such medical records illegally and use them for nefarious activities.

Control and prevention measures

Control and prevention centred mechanisms can also be used to maintain ethical standards in the public sector (Davis 2003). Here, control measures such as independent fiscal and legal scrutiny can be used (Davis 2003). Other measures include the protection of whistle blowers, encouragement of staff to report unethical conduct and the active involvement of stakeholders in governance (Davis 2003). Control measures are not fool-proof and are expensive to run. To mitigate the flaws, prevention centred measures are advocated (Davis 2003). Prevention centred methods used in the UK include avoidance and disclosure of conflicting interests by officials, non-discrimination against people (i.e. on the basis of gender, sexual orientation or race).

Consultation with the public can also be a preventive measure to maintain good ethical standards in the public sector in the UK. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development posits that engaging with the citizenry is a vital criterion for good governance (OECD 2001). The benefits of such engagement with the citizens include the improvement of quality of governance allowing the government to tap into other sources of information or perspectives (Martin 2003). It also has the benefits of increased accountability (and transparency) in government activities or policies and leads to more productive interactions between the stakeholders and the government (Martin 2003). A good example of the use of engagement with the citizens is Clause 3.1 of the 1999 Local government Act. This Law requires local authorities and other statutory bodies to consult stakeholders (for example, citizens, commuters amongst others) in planning and delivering goods or services. This can lead to the maintenance of good ethical standards in such local authorities.

Use of International Conventions

International Conventions can be used to maintain high ethical standards in the public sector in the UK. The two Conventions in focus will be the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Anti-Bribery Convention 1997 and the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) 2003. The United Kingdom has signed and ratified both conventions.

The OECD Anti-Bribery Convention 1997

This convention is officially designated as the 'OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions' (OECD website 2008). The OECD by means of this convention hopes to fight bribery in international business to improve development and reduce poverty, thus encouraging confidence in the markets (OECD Website 2008). The pointers to the success of this convention are the various country reports on compliance and the regional actions (OECD Website 2008a). Also, the OECD collaborates with the civil society and the

private sector who are partners in the fight against corruption (OECD Website 2008a). This convention has greatly reduced the incidence of corruption in businesses.

Currently, thirty four OECD member countries including the UK and six non-member countries – Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Russia and South Africa, have adopted the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention (OECD Website 2013). Here, a total of forty countries have adopted the Convention. The Convention is the first world-wide instrument to fight corruption in cross-border commercial deals (OECD Website 2013). This convention criminalises bribery of foreign public officials in international business or commercial transactions (OECD Website 2008a).

Domestication of the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention in the UK

The UK signed the Convention on December 17, 1997 and ratified it on December 14, 1998. Further statutes were enacted to domesticate the spirit of the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention in the UK legal system. The Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001 is a direct consequence of the Anti-Bribery Convention in the UK. This statute amended the law in the UK with regard to corruption, bringing new provisions that improved the law on international corruption (OECD Website 2008b). This statute also gives the UK courts powers over criminal offences committed abroad by UK citizens and companies (OECD Website 2008b). However, to strengthen the law on corruption in the UK, it has been advocated that a Comprehensive Law should be enacted that will encompass the common law and the different laws on corruption in the UK (Law Commission UK in OECD Website 2008b).

The United Nations Convention Against Corruption 2003

The United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in October 2003 (UNCAC Website 2008). Due to the 'globalisation' of corruption, UNCAC seeks to create an international legal regime in which countries can domesticate their anti-corruption laws. It includes measures such as the criminalisation of corrupt practices, prevention, international co-operation and the recovery of ill-gotten assets (UNCAC Website 2008).

Domestication of the UNCAC in the UK

The UK signed UNCAC on 9 December 2003 and ratified it on 14 February 2006. The UNCAC became fully operational in the UK when the Criminal Justice (International Co-operation) Act 1990 (Enforcement of Overseas Forfeiture Orders) Order 2005 came into law on 31 December 2005 (OECD 2008). A further domestication of the UNCAC can be seen in the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 (External Requests and Orders) Order 2005 which came into effect on 1 January 2006.

The two conventions can also be used to maintain ethical standards in the public sector. Deapite the fact that they are mainly used in the private sector, the anti-corruption provisions can be used to reduce the incidence of corruption in the public sector. In the United Kingdom, unethical conduct in the public sector can be adequately redressed by the aforementioned measures.

Conclusion

This article has focused on public sector ethics in the UK. It posited that the public sector ethos has led to higher ethical standards in the public sector. However, some commentators still doubt the effectiveness of the public sector ethos leading to higher ethical standards because of its inherent contradictions. Such commentators do not believe that NPM leads to higher ethical standards in the public sector. They believe that the notion of New Public Management (NPM) in the public sector has led to the watering down of the public sector's ethos (Hughes 2003). They contend that research has shown that the declining public confidence in the public sector is the result of the introduction of the New Public Management principles (Haque 2001). Furthermore, such commentators aver that the managerial autonomy inherent in the private sector is difficult to apply in the public sector. Accordingly, they contend that this unhealthy interchange of managerial autonomy in the public sector has led to unethical practices by workers via inappropriate means (Wood 2004). Also, the decentralisation inherent in the NPM-influenced UK public sector leads to a lack of accountability and invariably erodes democratic control.

Other manifestations of the increase in unethical conduct as induced by NPM include: results in business and market models which have replaced service as the cornerstone in the public sector (Wood 2004), and the problems of privatisation.

This article has argued against these views that NPM has led to lower ethical standards in the public sector. Here, the article posited that NPM does not lead to lower public sector ethos but to a better and improved ethos in the public sector. For example, public sector workers are influenced by intrinsic rather than commercial motivations.

Furthermore, the public sector is expected to have higher ethical standards than the commercial world because of the (the public sector's) special relationship (of trust) between officials and stakeholders. As seen from the previous sections

of this article, it is obvious that good ethical standards are a *sine qua non* for any public sector organization. Good ethical standards are the most important policy in the public sector, because all other policies are dependent on it (Wood 2004).

Furthermore, the government utilises mechanisms such as codes of conduct, improved transparency, regulatory bodies and international conventions to maintain ever higher ethical standards in the public sector.

As we have seen from the analysis in the earlier sections of this article, public ethos may be problematic in its application, but it still remains a good thing. This work will align itself to the view of Dennis Thomson who stated that: 'Ethics may be only a means to an end. Government ethics [public sector ethos] provides the preconditions for the making of good public policy. In this sense, it is more important than any single policy because all policies depend on it' (Thomson 1992: 255).

Finally, this paper does not suggest that the modern public sector should discard the influences of market or business on its ethos. The contention of this paper 'is not to argue that the public sector does not need to modernise, but successful change must build on the public sector ethics, not subvert it' (*Guardian* 2003).

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The state of Ghana's local government system: the case of Assembly Members

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International development organisations have, for a long time, presented Ghana as having a highly functional inter-government system or decentralisation. While this projection is far from the country's grounded reality, Ghana continues to benefit from the 'misrepresentation' as one of the preferred destinations in the sub-Saharan region for foreign aid and development assistance. This paper discusses some of the weaknesses inherent in Ghana's local government system. Specifically, it unravels the issues affecting the operations of Assembly Members, who are key facilitators of developments at the local level. The paper is based on the ethnographic study of the World Bank-funded Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP) implemented in Ghana between 2005-2011. The analysis of the empirical data collected in 2010/2011 from nine localities in the Eastern, Greater Accra and Volta Regions indicates that Assembly Members are faced with many challenges, some of which would require national civic education and constitutional amendments to address. The paper seeks to show the complex factors that impact on decentralisation and local government systems.

Keywords: Assembly Members, local government, decentralisation, Ghana, community-driven development, CDD, traditional chiefs, partisan politics.

Introduction

Decentralisation continues to gain prominence in international development discourse and policy analysis, with a significant body of literature devoted to it. The interest in the subject stems from the belief that so-called bottom-up approaches achieve better development outcomes (Chambers1983, Crook & Manor1998). Decentralisation is also believed to promote democracy through the inclusion of local voices in development processes (World Bank 2004, Binswanger, de Regt & Spector 2010). If effective, decentralisation is also believed to enhance service delivery, reduce corruption, reduce poverty and prevent autocracy (Ahmed & Brosio 2009, Zhou 2009). Given these advantages, since 2000 the World Bank has been promoting Community-Driven Development (CDD) programs[2], an approach that is believed to give local people total control over development projects (Mansuri & Rao 2004, World Bank 2010)[3]. Because CDD programs are believed to work better in highly functional decentralisation contexts[4]; the World Bank and many proponents of the approach seem to be encouraging developing countries to step up their decentralisation efforts (Dongier, Van Domelen, Ostrom, Ryan, Wakeman, Bebbington, Alkire, Esmail, & Polsky, 2003, Mansuri & Rao 2004, Binswanger *et al.* 2010, World Bank 2010).

At the same time, some international development agencies have resorted to what we refer to as 'development celebrity labelling' by projecting some countries as models of good governance and decentralisation, whom others must 'emulate'. Within the sub-Saharan African region, Ghana is one of such countries enjoying the development celebrity label (see Whitfield 2008, Woll 2008, *http://www.dfid.gov.uk/ghana*,; Binswanger *et al.* 2010).

This paper argues that the substructures of Ghana's local government machinery are weak, making the country barely worthy of the development 'celebrity' projection. The paper focuses on the operations of Assembly Members, who are key stakeholders of Ghana's local government system. Although there is evidence that Ghana's decentralisation has stagnated and needs an overhaul (see Constitutional Review Committee Report 2011, Ahwoi 2005 & 2010, Tettey 2006, Gyimah-Boadi 2009, Ofie-Aboagye 2009, Antwi-Boasiako 2010), the focus on the realities impacting on the work of Assembly Members seems to be lacking. By pointing out some of the constitutional provisions and cultural issues affecting the functions of Ghanaian Assembly Members, we seek to show the complex factors that impact on decentralisation and local government systems. In this regard, the paper attempts to answer the Research Question: What are the factors that impact on the operations of Ghanaian Assembly Members?

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2. Ghana's Community–Based Rural Development Project (CBRDP) was designed as a CDD program. The overall objective of the project was to empower rural populations to participate actively in issues affecting their lives, while supporting Ghana's decentralisation process, particularly the Area Councils (see CBRDP Implementation Manual 2006, Yaron 2008).
3. Since 2000, the World Bank Group has invested nearly 2000 in CDD programs (see Wong & Guggenheim 2005, Binswanger *et al.* 2010).
4. This theory has been challenged (see Adusei-Asante & Hancock 2012).

The paper is based on the case study of Ghana's Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP). The CBRDP aimed to contribute to the overall 'empowerment' of the rural population, while simultaneously strengthening the country's decentralisation system (CBRDP Implementation Manual 2006). By providing fixed amounts to beneficiary localities to implement projects of their choice from predetermined categories, the CBRDP sought to bridge the gap of uneven distribution across socio-economic groups and geographical locations (CBRDP Implementation Manual 2006). The project also aimed to strengthen Ghana's local government substructures (Assembly Members, Area Councils and Unit Committees) as planners and implementers of development initiatives at the local level. The CBRDP was implemented under the supervision of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) and the Regional Coordinating Units (RICUs) in conjunction with an independent CBRDP secretariat. The project was piloted between 2005 and 2011 in all ten regions (CBRDP Implementation Manual 2006, Binswanger *et al.* 2010).

Methodology

The findings presented in this paper were extracted from a PhD dissertation written by this author[5], which explored how arguable decentralisation theories and the application of complex concepts such as 'community' and 'empowerment' affected Ghana's Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP). The data was drawn from the review and analysis of relevant academic literature and qualitative data collected during a seven-month fieldwork period (2010/2011) in nine localities from three regions of Ghana: Eastern, Greater Accra and Volta. The qualitative data was generated from participant-observation, focus group discussions and individual (semi-structured) interviews with Assembly Members, Unit Committees, Traditional Chiefs, CBRDP Managers and other key informants. Fifty individual interviews and ten focus group discussions were conducted. Twenty-five questionnaires were distributed in each of the nine CBRDP beneficiary localities researched. They were administered randomly, but purposively to residents who had intimate knowledge of the work of Assembly Members and on the implementation of the CBRDP in their respective localities.

A total of nine male Assembly Members were interviewed; the oldest was over sixty and the youngest was in his 'mid–thirties'. They all listed their main occupation as either civil servant or self-employed being a part-time Assembly Member. Eight of the Assembly Members had at least completed basic education and could read, write and speak English with varied fluency[6]. Almost all the Assembly Members interviewed were married with children; some with two or more wives. While most of them lived in the localities they served, two lived and worked elsewhere and visited their Electoral Areas occasionally. Two of the Assembly Members had served only once and were seeking re-election, while the others were stepping down voluntarily, for reasons discussed subsequently in this paper.

Background

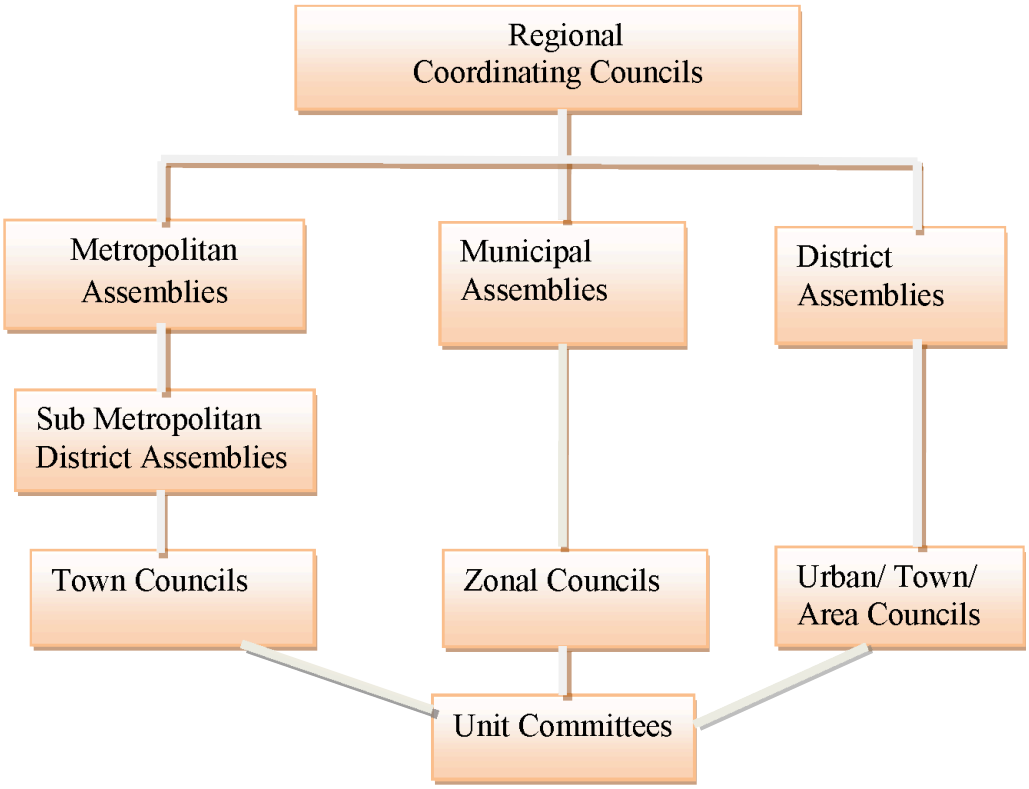
The 1988 Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Local Government Law 207, Legislative Instrument 1589 was the landmark legislation that provided the legal framework for a decentralised local government system in Ghana. The PNDC Law 207 has been strengthened as an entrenched provision in Chapter Twenty of the current Constitution (Ahwoi 2010). Article 240 provides the framework for the country's decentralisation system although other relevant laws have been passed to augment it.[7]

Ghana's local government structure is made up of Regional Coordinating Councils and a four-tier and three-tier Municipal/District Assembly system (see Figure 1). Given their constitutionally mandated political and administrative authority at the local level, Municipal/District Assemblies (MDAs) are very 'powerful' in the country's decentralisation system (Gyimah-Boadi 2009, Ahwoi 2010). Municipal/District Assemblies coordinate and supervise all programs by Government Ministries and Departments and non-governmental organisations (Section 10 (5), Local Government Act 462). Municipal/District Assemblies also have responsibility for eighty-six functions; sole control over certain public services; and the prerogative to make decisions regarding some executive and policy issues (Tettey 2006, Gyimah-Boadi 2009, Ofie-Aboagye 2009, Ahwoi 2010).

However, the operations of MDAs allow many loopholes for political manoeuvring, which has a trickle-down effect on Assembly Members (Crawford 2004; Sumberg & Okali 2006; Antwi-Boasiako 2010). While Article 248 (2) of the Constitution does not allow MDAs to be partisan, the opposite seems to be the reality (Tettey 2006, Gyimah-Boadi 2009). According to Ahwoi (2010: 62) the politicisation of the MDAs is due to the modelling of the country's local

5. Adusei-A., K (2013). "Towards Aid Effectiveness: Contested Theories and Concepts, A Case Study of the World Bank's Community-Based Rural Development Projects in Ghana". Unpublished PhD Dissertation: Edith Cowan University, Australia.
6. Others could only manage 'broken' English or could not express themselves in English at all.
7. These include, but are not limited to: the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462); the Local Government Service Act 2003 (Act 656); the District Assemblies Common Fund Act 455, the National Development Planning Systems Act 480; and the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies Standing Orders (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992; Kyei-Baffour 2009; Antwi-Boasiako 2010; Ahwoi 2010).

government structure on that of Canada, which has a 'partisan central government superimposed on a non-partisan local government system'. There appears to be a stronger leaning towards the argument which blames the politicisation of the MDAs on Article 243 (2) that allows the President to appoint Municipal/District Chief Executives[8] (DCEs) rather than their being elected (Tettey 2006, Antwi-Boasiako 2010). As the chief representative and the principal executor of the central government's programs in the district, DCEs run the day-to-day functions of the MDAs. DCEs are appointed for two terms of four years only, but have to be nominated by the President and approved by two–thirds of the Assembly Members present and voting (ILGS & MLGDE 2006, Tettey 2006, Ahwoi 2010, Antwi-Boasiako 2010).



Source: Adapted from Ahwoi (2010

Figure 1 Structure of Ghana's Local Government system in the fourth republic

Some local scholars have suggested that the constitutional provision allowing for the appointment of DCEs should be amended to enable their election through popular votes (see Tettey 2006, Gyimah-Boadi 2009, Antwi-Boasiako 2010).[9] It is the view of such scholars that revising that constitutional provision will make DCEs accountable to the local people, as the status quo seems to promote DCEs default allegiance to the President rather than the local people. However, Ahwoi (2010) challenges that suggestion and asserts that the election of DCEs would result in the politicisation of the entire local government system. Although the country's politicians have promised to amend that constitutional provision (Article 243 (2)), it has remained lip service only (see New Patriotic Party Manifesto 2008; National Democratic Congress Manifesto 2008; Ex-President J.E.A. Mills First Sectional Address, cited in Asante 2009); many believe that the status quo offers the country's politicians an opportunity for controlling operations at the MDAs (Crawford 2004, Sumberg & Okali 2006, Tettey 2006, Gyimah-Boadi 2009, Kyei-Baffour 2009, Antwi-Boasiako 2010). This notwithstanding, analysis of the data presented below suggests that the election of DCEs would not necessarily depoliticise the system, although there is evidence that the status quo subjects Assembly Members to pander to the whims of DCEs.

8. DCEs will be used through out this paper.
9. The immeditae past Minister of Local Government and Rural Development and Environment also supports the idea *(http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=244165,* retrieved 10 July 2009).

The plight of assembly members in Ghana

Assembly Members are key facilitators of developments at the local level in Ghana. They are elected for four-year re-electable twice terms (twelve years in all), and are not to be identified with any political party. They do not receive salaries, but receive transport allowances when they attend the Municipal/District Assembly (MDA) meetings (ILGS & MLGDE 2006). While the current government has promised to pay all Assembly Members, this payment has not yet materialised (NDC 2008 Manifesto: 86). Because of the dearth of empirical research on the functions of Assembly Members in Ghana, many challenges and issues they face appear to be unknown. These include, but are not limited to: 1) Non-payment of salaries; 2) Relating to partisan M/DCEs; 3) Working with weak Unit Committees; and 4) Relating to Traditional Chiefs.

I Non-payment of salaries

Various reasons, which are categorized into political ambitions, volunteerism and family/friends' pressures, have influenced Assembly Members to take up the role. Those with political ambitions explained that the role was a first step into public service. Although the underlying principle was to serve the people, they considered it a foundation upon which they would build their political careers. The analysis revealed that sixty percent of the Assembly Members interviewed considered the position a stepping-stone into a political career. As Kofi Dogbe, a 35 year-old Assembly Member from the Volta Region put it, "It's hard to rise into the political limelight overnight. You need a reference and starting point." Interestingly, while some of these prospective politicians claimed to have no political affiliations, others indicated their leanings.

Nearly twenty percent of the Assembly Members had also taken up the role voluntarily as an act of service to the local people. Such Assembly Members claimed to have no political affiliations or ambitions, and that they were in the role to serve their people. The final category of Assembly Members interviewed consisted of those whose friends or family members asked or influenced them to take up the job. One of them stated that: When your people recognise that you can represent them in the District Assembly, it's an honour. If you say no, it will create displeasure and disappointment and may even be interpreted to mean disrespecting them. You need to honour the recognition given to you … after all, some of them contributed to your education.

The Assembly Members interviewed were on average in charge of twenty or more localities, some several kilometers away and accessible only by footpaths and bicycles. Interestingly, Section 16 of the Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462 (see ILGS & MLGRD 2006) expects an Assembly Member to:

a) Maintain close contact with his Electoral Area, consult his/her people on issues to be discussed in the District Assembly and collate their views, opinions and proposals;
b Present the views, opinions and proposals to the District Assembly;
c Attend meetings of the District Assembly and meetings of the sub-committees of which he is a member;
d Meet his/her electorates before each meeting of the Assembly;
e Report to his electorate the general decisions of the Assembly and its Executive Committee and the actions s/he has taken to solve the problems raised by residents in his Electoral Area;
f Draw attention in general debate to national policies which are relevant to the subject under discussion;
g Actively participate in the work of the sub-committees of the Executive Committee [of the District Assembly];
h Bring to bear on any discussion in the Assembly the benefit of his skill, profession, experience or specialised knowledge;
i Maintain frequent liaison with productive economic groupings and other persons in the District;
j Take part in communal and development activities in the district.

Confronted with such a realistically impossible task in an unpaid job, most Assembly Members seemed frustrated. Asked how they managed the situation, five explained that they visited each of the localities in their jurisdiction once a month, while others did so only when an emergency ensued. Assembly Members who lived outside their localities explained that their Unit Committee Members visited in their stead and attended to urgent issues in their absence. Almost all the Assembly Members interviewed were not worried only about being unpaid, but about the fact that their electorates expected so much from them.

The expectation of many local people from their Assembly Members seemed utopian. Some expected them to pay school fees, provide business capital, and initiate income-generating or employment-oriented projects. Thus, while a greater percentage of questionnaire respondents admitted knowing their Assembly Members, they always remarked, "I know him … but he does nothing for me". The high expectations confronting Assembly Members may be attributable to

the general high poverty levels across the country; the lack of public education on local government functions; and particularly, the many election campaign promises of the Assembly Members.

Because the position of an Assembly Member is electable, candidates are expected to visit their Electoral Areas individually to canvass for votes. During these campaigning times, many of them tend to raise the hopes of the people by promising things they cannot deliver. During the fieldwork, which coincided with the Ghana's 2010 local government elections, we encountered many potential Assembly Members who were promising to construct bridges, roads and schools. Tellingly, many Assembly Members disposed redeemable tokens, and doing favours or handing out gifts in electorates to win the constituents' votes. Some revealed that they spent almost 5000 GHC[10] on their campaigns. One was asked why such a huge amount of money was spent to get into an unpaid job. He replied:

> This is Ghana. Money is powerful. You can have a great vision or a manifesto; if it is not backed with 'action' [cash, gifts] people will not have confidence in you. For me it's not a big deal because I'm preparing myself for a bigger political future and there I will recoup all my investment.

Another explained:

> It is very difficult to win elections in this place empty-handed. It is a survival of the rich or the one who can pay more. Here, votes are for sale … even if you don't want to do it, you will be compelled to do the same, as your opponents will be doing it.

The fact that Assembly Members are not paid, but expected to do so much, has led to the misappropriation of funds earmarked for local development, one instance being the Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP). Because of the 'investment' some Assembly Members made to their work, they tended to see the CBRDP as an opportunity to recoup dividends. As a result, in some localities, the Area Council Chairmen and project officials disclosed that some Assembly Members awarded the procurement of the project's materials to themselves and/or inflated the prices.

II Relating to 'Partisan' Municipal/District Chief Executives

As briefly explained earlier, the Community-Based Rural Development Project (CBRDP) was designed to strengthen the country's local government sub-structures; ultimately, the Area Councils.[11] Although the Area Councils were expected to be the implementers of CBRDP, they relied heavily on the MDAs, as they lacked the technical capacities required. Given that constitutionally DCEs are the most powerful figures at the MDA level, they supervised the selection of the beneficiary Area Councils. DCEs also oversaw the MDAs facilitation of the projects, particularly the technical aspects: planning, engineering, and accounting, among others. It is therefore important to explain briefly how the politicisation of the operations of MDAs in Ghana impacted on the CBRDPs; this will clarify the context for understanding how the 'power' of DCEs affected Assembly Members.

As DCEs determined which Area Council would benefit from the CBRDP, we found that some of the projects were politicised and given to unqualified localities.[12] In Ghana, DCEs are eligible to contest parliamentary elections. As a result, some of them used the CBRDPs as political machines to launch their campaigns or win favours for votes. Whitfield (2008) attests to this practice, observing that some Ghanaian politicians streamline aid-funded projects so as to get themselves elected or for fulfilling their election promises in locations where there is no need. Therefore, while the CBRDP required that the projects be implemented in Area Councils having functioning offices, we found that some had no offices, although they had been given projects. Many sources reported that, whereas the projects were supposed to be managed by the Area Councils under the facilitation of professionals at the respective Municipal/District Assemblies' engineers, planning officers and accountants, DCEs who were aspiring to be elected as parliamentarians, aberrantly became the managers of the projects as a ploy to win political favour from the electorates. An Assembly Member whose locality benefitted from the project observed:

> Although I was the Presiding Member and was supposed to be in charge of the project, the DCE sidelined me and took charge, working with his party cronies. He did this because he labelled me as a member of the

10. Almost USD 4000.

11. This consists of Assembly Members, Unit Committee Member and Government Appointees.

12. The CBRDP secretariat relied on the DAs to choose deserving Area Councils to pilot the projects.

> opposition party and was also contesting one of the parliamentary seats in the district … I'm happy he lost.

An Area Council Chairman from the Eastern Region also related:

> The only project our Area Council got under my chairmanship was the public toilet facility the CBRDP brought. But the DCE had a political agenda … but I was powerless and could not challenge him. According to the CBRDP officials, we were supposed to build a sixteen-seater toilet facility, but the DCE divided the project sum of GHC15 000 and took part to another locality without consulting us.

Because DCEs wield so much power in determining which locality does or does not get projects, Assembly Members are forced to be obsequious at all cost, including lobbying them. According to the *Collins Concise Dictionary* (2001), lobbying is "an attempt to influence [mainly politicians] on behalf of a particular interest". Therefore lobbying involves putting forward arguments in support of a notion; however, 'lobbying' DCEs as used by Assembly Members presents interesting points for discussion. While each Assembly Member admitted that lobbying was a necessary skill required for success, they all had different ways of getting into the hearts of their respective DCEs or other influential officials at the DAs. This ranged from using gifts to providing party political contacts. In a discussion with the author, an Assembly Member revealed his manner of lobbying:

> Assembly Member: Lobbying depends on so many factors. For example if I need something like a local school … I will contact the one in charge of education at the District Assembly. Sometimes, I will bring them here to see things for themselves … But you don't bring down 'big men' just like that. You need to give them something or foodstuff … so that s/he can push your agenda.
>
> Author: Why do you have to do this? The person is doing his job. Is this not bribery?
> Assembly Member: My brother, this is Ghana … wheels must always be put under files so they move faster.

An Assembly Member from the Eastern Region presented another angle to the lobbying discourse. He pontificated:

> Assembly Member: When I was at … Electoral Area I was able to lobby for the District Assembly to build a public toilet for the Zongo community. Also the road between … was a big problem for the people so I was able to lobby to get the road constructed before my term of office ended. Through my lobbying abilities, I was able to provide streetlight for the people of ... and also extend electricity to Yabre.

After commending him for his achievements, we enquired of his lobbying skills that enabled him to attain all these projects for his Electoral Area. He said:

> As an Assembly Member you need to play your cards well to win projects to meet the needs of your community. Although the [District] Assemblies are supposed to be non-partisan, they are in disguise ... In the last eight years my government has been in office and that has helped me because the DCE knows that we belong to 'one family' [political party]. Because the DCE is my man he helps me to win projects for my communities as I have listed. Although some Assembly Members would claim that they do not belong to any political party, we know each other's political leanings. Political climates change so I try to convince the DCE to help some of my opposition Assembly Members friends with projects also so that when their government comes into office they can also help me if I'm still in office.

We asked him how he manages to convince the DCE, as there are obviously other Assembly Members who may belong to the same political party. He answered with an Akan proverb interpreted as: "if you don't help others to achieve their dreams you cannot see your dream come true". The DCE in question was in a contest to be a parliamentarian in a constituency that included the Electoral Area of the Assembly Member. Thus there was a certain understanding of reciprocity between the two men. This implied that the DCE sent projects (including the CBRDP) to that Electoral Area so that the Assembly Member could cite them as evidence of the DCE's generosity and therefore competence as a prospective parliamentarian.

However, not all Assembly Members had good relations with the DCEs. This meant that those Assembly Members were denied such development projects as CBRDP. The causes of the strained relations ranged from political rivalry to

personality clashes. The situation could be so bad that DCEs curse Assembly Members, evidenced in the November 13, 2011 headline of the Ghanaian Chronicle newspaper: "Antoa Nyamaa'[13] Will Kill You … District Chief Executive Invokes Local Deity on Assembly Members". We also encountered some Assembly Members whose perceived affinity with the opposition party meant that their Electoral Areas received no projects during the eight years rule of the opposition New Patriotic Party. One of them shared his experiences in the Volta Region:

> I have really suffered under the New Patriotic Party. The DCE perceived me to be a member of the opposition [National Democratic Congress]. For eight years I only had one project for my Electoral Area. We got that project because it was so crucial that he could not overlook it. During the implementation of that project he relied on his party faithful and neglected me. Because of this hurdle I have lost favour with my electorate and doubt if they would vote for me again if I contested.

III Working with weak Unit Committees

Unit Committees form the base of Ghana's local government structure. A Unit consists of settlements with a population of between five hundred and one thousand of ten elected persons in the Unit and not more than five other persons resident in the Unit to be nominated by the District Chief Executive. Following criticisms of there being too many Unit Committees in the country[14], that the membership of fifteen (15) was considered too large, and the general lack of interest in them, the membership has been reduced to five (5) elected persons who hold office for four years (L.I. 1967, section 24(1) 2010; Ahwoi, 2010).

Unit Committees represent their respective Electoral Areas in the Town/Area Council (see Figure 1). They are also expected to work closely with the Assembly Members so as to be in touch with the people; play important roles in public education; organising communal labour; raising revenue; ensuring environmental cleanliness; registering births and deaths; enforcing settlement planning; laying out and supervising District Assembly by-laws; implementing taxation; and monitoring of self-help or community-based projects (Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462, Section 24 (1). Consequently, if the Unit Committee of an Electoral Area were weak, the work of the respective Assembly Member would be very daunting.

Nationally, there seems to be a strong case in favour of the abolition of Unit Committees, as they appear to be dysfunctional, in spite of their election processes being expensive (Ahwoi 2010). In all nine localities researched, almost 85% of respondents to the questionnaires indicated they did not know who their Unit Committee Members were and what their functions were. Explaining why the Unit Committees are weak, Ahwoi (2010) argues that there is a perception among Ghanaians that, considering the numbers involved, the cost of Unit Committee elections do not justify the doubtful benefits derived from them. He argues further in favour of the suggestion that the country should save on costs by revisiting the original plan of holding Unit Committee elections by show of hands, as established under the Electoral Commission's Public Elections Regulations, 1995 Constitutional Instrument 10, paragraph 6 (1).[15] Another explanation for their ineffectiveness is that Unit Committees are not allowed to perform their decentralised functions. For instance, while there have been five Unit Committee elections conducted so far during the era of the Fourth Republic (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008), Kyei-Baffour (2009) and Ahwoi (2010) argue that these Committees have never performed any visible functions. While legitimate, the weaknesses of the Unit Committees go beyond the explanations already given. In fact they are weak because: 1) Partisan politics interfere with their roles; 2) Their members are not paid a salary; and 3) Some members do not understand their role.

Most of the Unit Committee Members interviewed expressed frustration about the interference of party politics in their work. Unit Committees form an integral part of Area Councils, which also consist of Assembly Members, ordinary residents appointed by the District Assemblies and the Government Appointees. Interestingly, in some of the CBRDP beneficiary localities researched, Government Appointees were found to be either constituency members or local executives of the then ruling political party, the New Political Party (NPP). Referred to as 'foot–soldiers'[16] in the media,

13. A dreaded local deity
14. 16,000
15. Ahwoi (2010) explains that because the Constitutional Instrument 10 contradicted Article 49 (1) of the 1992 Constitution, which requires all public elections to be by secret ballot, it was never implemented.
16. All political parties in Ghana have 'foot soldiers'. 'Foot-soldiers' supposedly are the men and women who work hard for their political party at the grassroots level to win elections. There are always stories in the local media on the threats disgruntled 'foot-soldiers' issue to their National Party Executive if their demands are met. They are able to seize government properties or even demand the dismissal of Ministers of State and Members of Parliament (see *http://elections.peacefmonline.com/politics; http://www.moderng-hana.com/news* retrieved November 25, 2011).

the Government Appointees and other political party faithful tended to hijack the CBRDP: literally demanding the sole right to supply project materials, thus compromising the tender process and in some cases inflating the prices of the project materials. As one Unit Committee Member put it:

> We were elected for nothing. Government Appointees, many of who are staunch members of the NPP government, control virtually everything in the Area Council. It looks like we are only ceremonial officials. It is very frustrating when the Constitution, which spells out our roles, is set aside for partisan politics machinations.

Some Unit Committee Members were also disappointed that, while the role is demanding, they received no salary. Some explained that, because they were in public life, people perceived them as receiving some salary or making a lot of money from implementing projects. This perception, they contended, brought pressure on them as people flooded them with requests for financial assistance. These requests were complicated by the condition that if they did not meet these needs they would not receive constituents' votes at the next elections. Many of these Unit Committee Members, who were either petty traders or unemployed, had hoped that the role would come with respect and some financial benefits. When they realised that the role did not meet their expectations and would even be a drain on their limited resources, many became disillusioned and retreated from the position.

Some Unit Committee Members did not know what the role entailed, although they had received the constituents' votes. Some had contested the position because their friends and families had asked them to do so; others stood because there was not much competition. When asked what their roles entailed, some of these Unit Committee Members managed to state that their essential responsibility was to assist the Assembly Member. Apparently ignorant of their roles when elected, and realising how demanding were the tasks, many would not resign, but gave excuses for non-performance. Almost 90% of Assembly Members interviewed explained that their Unit Committee Members were inactive, thus giving no support in organising local initiatives. Interestingly, because Local Government Act 462 does not bind Unit Committee Members with any oath to remain active, it is easy for them to relinquish their roles without fear of any consequence.

The only Unit Committee Member who appeared to be enjoying the role was a 40 year old lady from the Volta Region. "Action Woman", as she was popularly called in the locality, considered herself the future Assembly Member of her Electoral Area. Thus, while supporting her Assembly Member who did not reside in the locality, the lady regarded the role as a marketing strategy for her political ambition. Asked if she was not bothered about the sacrificial nature of the job, "Action Woman" remarked that "no sweat no gain ... those who take up this role must be aware of the consequences."

During the fieldwork, we observed that because "Action Woman" and her colleague Unit Committees Members were comparatively active, efforts were being made to maintain the Community-Based Rural Development Projects (CBRDP); however, not without challenges. The Assembly Member of the Electoral Area remarked: "Because I'm do not reside here ... most of the time my Unit Committee Members do the job in my absence and send me verbal reports and feedback." Apart from this Assembly Member, the others described their Unit Committees Members variously as being 'dormant, useless, lazy, unhelpful and betrayers'.

IV Relating to Traditional Chiefs

Ghana's local government system is such that Assembly Members would not succeed if they were not in league with the Traditional Chiefs of the Electoral Areas they serve. The influence of Ghanaian Traditional Chiefs and how this influence impacted on the outcomes of the CBRDP has been extensively discussed elsewhere (see Adusei-Asante & Hancock 2013). Analysis of the two case studies presented in the paper shows that, because Ghanaian Traditional Chiefs are constitutionally recognised as the custodians of all lands in the country, they tend to demand right of control over development projects that fall within their traditional areas. Many of the Traditional Chiefs interviewed asserted, "The Assembly Member does not own the gong-gong of this village … I do!" This meant that as long as the Assembly Member did not submit to the Chiefs' whims, they could not organise anything successfully in the locality.

Relative to the CBRDP, some Traditional Chiefs in the localities researched felt sidelined and clashed with Assembly Members, resulting in protracted legal battles and abandonment of the projects. This happened because those who designed the CBRDP failed to inform the chiefs clearly about the project's intention to strengthen the local government structures – Assembly Members and Area Councils. Frustrated by having to act in accordance with the bidding of Traditional Chiefs, some Assembly Members indicated that they were voluntarily stepping down and would not encourage others to challenge for the position.

Discussion and conclusion

This paper set out to examine the factors that impact on the operations of Assembly Members, key facilitators of development and local governance in Ghana. It was found that Assembly Members are challenged by non-payment of salaries, working with partisan DCEs, weak Unit Committees and Traditional Chiefs. The paper revealed that while they do not receive any salaries, Assembly Members are constitutionally required to initiate and take part in communal and development activities, maintain frequent liaison with their electorates, some in distant localities, while representing same in the Municipal/District Assembly. The paper also revealed that the work of Assembly Members is hampered by the politicisation of Ghana's local government system, which by default subjects them to the whims of DCEs. The situation was blamed on the constitutional provision that allows the President to appoint DCEs instead of their being elected by popular votes. Additionally, the operation of Assembly Members is hampered by weak Unit Committees, whom the paper portrayed to be challenged by non-payment of salaries, partisan politics and conflicts with Traditional Chiefs.

There are two points for discussion. First, the case of Ghanaian Assembly Members presented in this paper has revealed the extent to which constitutional provisions can impact on the efficiency of local government structures. Although there are constitutional provisions for the establishment of local governance in Ghana, the same statutes appear to promote certain centralising tendencies, which frustrate the realisation of true decentralisation. Thus, while the office of Assembly Members are catered for in the Local Government Act, 1993, Act 462, the constitution of the country grants so much power to DCEs that the former can only pander to the caprices of the latter to succeed. While Assembly Members have found "ways" to handle DCEs, the seeming constitutional asymmetries appear to breed corruption and impede the progress of Ghana's decentralisation process. As appointees of the President, DCEs also take advantage of the situation to advance their personal political ambitions and the agendas of their political parties. Given this evidence, it is crucial that constitutional provisions that establish local governance are properly aligned to ensure balance of power within the system. Relative to Ghana, the time may be right for the country to consider making the position of DCEs electable by popular vote, reducing their powers and making them ineligible to contest parliamentary elections while in office. This may considerably reduce the politicisation of the local government system.

Second, the paper has underscored the complex factors that impact on the achievement of an effective decentralisation system. It has emerged that financial reward for local government officials would motivate them to give of their best, rather than working as volunteers. Furthermore, civic education of prospective local government representatives (Assembly Members and Unit Committees) and the community is crucial for a better understanding of how local government systems work. Although decentralisation ultimately aims to promote democracy at the grassroots, it has emerged that some local government representatives, members of their communities and Traditional Chiefs appear not to appreciate the demands and sacrificial realities inherent in local government systems. The paper has shown that where such education on decentralisation is lacking: 1) Local government workers become frustrated and abdicate their posts; 2) The community tends to make unrealistic demands from their local government representatives; and 3) Traditional Chiefs tend to regard the system as a challenge to their authority, leading to tensions between themselves and local government officials. Since all these convoluted factors do impact on the efficient running of local government systems, it is crucial that civic education becomes an integral part of local government systems.

In sum, the paper has underscored the complex factors that influence the workings of local government systems at the grassroots. It has been argued that constitutional provisions, financial motivations, cultural expectations and traditional institutions inherently influence the efficiency of local government systems. Given this evidence, development stakeholders may have to continue supporting local institutions of developing countries to address the complex factors outlined above. This may be effective than the tendency to label some developing countries (such as Ghana) as 'development celebrities', although the empirical basis for such an accolade is lacking.

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Principal leadership and its impact on student discipline in Kenyan secondary schools: a case of Koibatek district

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This paper attempts to establish the relationship between leadership approach and students' discipline in secondary schools. A descriptive survey design was adopted to obtain data allowing the accurate description of situations or relationships in schools in Koibatek District. The study targeted principals, teachers and students in the schools; the results are presented in form of descriptive statistical techniques. The study found that principals frequently or sometimes involve other stakeholders, particularly teachers, students and to some extent parents, in the management of their schools They communicate clearly to students but frequently retain the final authority over most issues. The study found the existence of a significant relationship between leadership approach and student discipline. It is recommended that principals embrace democratic leadership in their capacities as school leaders by involving teachers, students and other stakeholders in decision making processes.

Key words: Leadership style, discipline, secondary schools, Koibatek District, Kenya

Introduction

All over the world, people are rejecting poor leadership and demanding more participatory and democratic approaches. A case at hand is the recent United States of America presidential elections, where people chose President Obama who was perceived to be charismatic and democratic in his style of leadership, coupled with his slogan of "change: yes we can" (Juma 2009). According to World Bank report as cited by Standard (2009), school leadership is central in improving the efficiency and quality of schooling as it motivates teachers to work.

In the African context, Salim (2002) admitted that the continent is littered with failed institutions, mostly due to bad leadership. Devastating conflicts have been provoked and sustained by leadership factors. As we move on in the new century and Africa faces up to its challenges, it is important that the leadership factor be given due attention.

The school situation in Kenya demand that the head teacher be effective in maintaining discipline by emphasizing goal oriented, relevant, immediate and consistent types of disciplined behaviour. Unqualified school managers are likely to be the major cause of many of the management related crises (Ndiku 2004). The primary role of school leadership is to maintain an efficient and transparent administration system to enhance instructional quality and discipline and develop links with the local community (Leithwood *et al*. 2004). Leadership at work in educational institutions is a dynamic process involving group tasks, collaboration and commitment in achieving goals in a particular context as stated by Cole (2002). Leadership recognizes the need for effective discipline in schools as it examines tasks to be accomplished and the individuals to execute them. This is achieved by the inclusion of greater reinforcement characteristics like recognition, conditions of service and morale building and remuneration (Day 2000). Whereas school leadership is well articulated by these authors, its correlation with leadership style cannot be underestimated.

Okumbe (1998) wrote that leadership style refers to a particular behaviour applied by the leader to motivate his or her subordinates to achieve the objectives of the organization. The styles are usually identified as points on a continuum and includes; autocratic, known as authoritative; democratic, also referred to as participative; *laissez faire* or free-rein; bureaucratic and transactional styles. Leadership in school organizations is important because it is responsible for providing direction, support to members of staff, students and parents. Okumbe (1998) outlines how leadership style plays out in organizational dynamics and fills many of the voids left by conventional organization designs. He observes that an effective leadership style allows for greater organizational flexibility and responsiveness to environmental changes providing a way to coordinate the efforts of diverse groups within the institutions and facilitating membership and personal satisfaction.

The principal determines the active managerial climate, and the amount of teacher and parent input, in academic social spheres in a school setting (Morrison and McIntyre 1973). The principal plays a critical role in determining the

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stakeholders' contributions and effective implementation of policies in the school set-up. The extent to which the principal can bring the staff, students and parents on board depends on the attitude he/she holds towards them. If the principal believes that they are crucial partners, he/she will devolve power and widen their action space in the formulation and implementation of policies (Mcmanus 1989). D'souza (1994) affirms that if the leader has a negative attitude towards the stakeholders, he/she is likely to adopt an exclusive management approach, but if the attitude is positive, the leader is likely to apply an all inclusive style to attain organizational goals. The way the leader approaches the task and people's needs within a given situation is commonly referred to as a leadership style (Cole 2002). One of the crucial areas where leadership is called for in a school is in achieving, maintaining and restoring student discipline.

Discipline is defined as the process of training or controlling, often using a system of punishment, aimed at the causing the recipients to obey rules (Sushila 2004). It is the most important component of running an educational institution and is manifested when the school becomes a harmonious, respectable and secure place where students behave responsibly, are aware of their actions and the consequences of these actions. According to Kiprop (2007) discipline in school is a function of the administration and therefore the principal as a leader must have a clear policy of what he/she wants for the school to ensure successful management of the school.

Nyabisi (2008) asserted that discipline should not be a way to control students, but a process of education to improve and perfect behaviour, aimed at obedience to rules based on self-control and self-discipline: discipline can be assessed by the degree of academic achievement or students' behaviour. Academic discipline may mean handing in homework on time, being attentive in class, preparing fully for examinations and other activities related to academic pursuits. Behavioural discipline, however, is different and should be dealt with differently. The school code of conduct normally spells out the ways a student is expected to behave while in school.

Between June and August 2008, there was a wave of strikes that saw many secondary schools in Kenya losing a lot of property and forcing closure of some schools. Koibatek District Schools were also affected by the skirmishes which the District Education Officer (DEO) linked to student indiscipline. The District Quality Assurance Officer (QASO) confirmed that the problem existed and adduced evidence of 14 schools in the District that were involved in strikes during the period. Interestingly, the officer brought up the fact that some of the schools also experienced a change of headship frequently, noting that some principals had to be persuaded to step down from their position of leadership in schools. This raised the question whether school leadership style was responsible for the upsurge in student strikes.

The objectives of the current study were to establish the leadership styles used by the principals and how they affect the discipline of students. We attempt to investigate if principals of secondary schools are to be blamed for poor leadership and hence justify the relationship between leadership style and students' discipline in secondary schools.

Methodology

The study was carried out in secondary schools in the Koibatek District of Baringo County. Koibatek District has a total of 40 secondary schools with a population of about 8492 students. The breakdown of the 40 schools is as follows; 4 boys', 7 girls' and 29 mixed schools. The study targeted the principals, teachers and students in the schools. Given the diverse and large number of schools, the research stratified the schools into three groups using student gender. Secondary schools in the district were classified as either boys', girls' or mixed schools. Stratified proportionate sampling procedure was then used to select 20 secondary schools that participated in the study, as the method enabled both quantitative and qualitative processes of research to be undertaken (Cohen *et al*. 2003). This formed 50% of the total number of secondary schools in the District. The advantage in stratified proportionate random sampling is that it ensures inclusion of the sample subgroups. All the principals (20) from the selected schools automatically qualified for inclusion in the study. Simple random sampling was used to select 10% of students in the selected schools. We also selected a total of 60 teachers from the selected schools using simple random sampling in which three teachers were selected from each school participating in this study.

Tables 1 and 2 below show the explanation given above.

Table 1 Selection of schools and respondents to the sample frame

School category	Total no. of schools	schools selected	H/T	Teachers	Total
Boys	4	2	2	6	8
Girls	7	3	3	9	12
Mixed	29	15	15	45	60
Total	**40**	**20**	**20**	**60**	**80**

Several methods of data collection were used during the study. This included primary and secondary sources. In the category of primary data, key informant interviews were instrumental where in-depth interviews were conducted. The key informants were the district education officer, the staff in the district education office, school principals and teachers.

Questionnaires supplemented the interviews and were also administered to students to identify their experiences with varied leadership styles. The questionnaires were based on factors that are deemed significant in leadership, challenges encountered and lessons learnt in order to improve school management and reduce or eliminate cases of indiscipline. Secondary sources of information used included examination of academic publications on the subject.

The data obtained from the questionnaire was coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques as described by Mugenda and Mugenda (1999).

Data presentation and discussion of findings

Leadership approach

The null hypothesis that leadership approach by principals has no effect on teachers and student behavior will be tested in the current study. Teachers and students from the various schools perceived the principal's leadership approach in various ways. Their responses were as shown in Table 2, 3 and 4.

Table 2 Teachers' perception of leadership styles applied by principals in their schools

Responses on Principal	Never	Rare	Sometimes	Frequently	Very frequently
	%	%	%	%	%
Exercises final authority	5.3	10.5	21.1	42.1	21.1
Consults other staff	0	0	15.8	31.6	52.6
Encourages voting on key decisions	31.6	5.3	31.6	15.8	15.8
Favours majority decision	0	5.3	10.5	52.6	31.6
Calls a meeting to deliberate issues	0	0	21.1	68.4	10.5
H/T creates an environment where members of staff take ownership of school project	0	0	5.3	47.4	47.4
Delegates authority to staff members	5.3	0	31.6	21.1	42.1
Incase differences in role expectation, H/T works with staff	0	0	15.8	42.1	42.1
H/T does not consider suggestions made, have no time for them	47.4	42.1	10.5	0	0
H/T uses letters , memos, emails, notice boards & assemblies	42.1	31.6	21.1	5.3	0
When something goes wrong H/T tells staff the procedure is not working	10.5	31.6	10.5	36.8	10.5
Members of staff must be directed or threatened with punishments to get them to achieve school goals	36.8	26.3	36.8	0	0

Table 2 shows that 63.2% (36) of the teachers believed that their principal frequently and very frequently retains the final authority in the school. Another 21.1% (12) were of the view that their principal sometimes retains the final authority over a decision in school. A small proportion 5.3% (3), however, stated that principals never retain the final decision making authority in school, but involves teachers.

It was also found that the majority of the teachers (84.2% (48) find their principals trying as frequently as possible to include one or two members of staff in making decisions, whereas 15.8% (6) said the principals sometimes try to include one or two members of staff before taking a decision on a matter. This means that although the teachers are involved in decision making the principals can overrule them and their decision is final. They said that this sometimes led to principals arriving at unpopular decisions, raising tension among teachers and students. This was supported by Mcmanus (1989) who asserted that the principal is the policy maker and the executor and by influence the leader as an educational manager. Everything relies on him or her in the school in this regard, therefore the principal plays a critical role in determining how effective the school is by giving staff, students and parents the opportunity to participate in the implementation of policies. However, the extent to which the principal would bring the staff, students and parents on board depends on the attitude he/she holds towards them. If the principal believes that they are crucial partners he/she will devolve power and give them more space in the formulation and implementation of policies. However, if they elect to act alone or disregard advice from other stakeholders, there is a potential of stoking conflict.

Further, Table 2 shows that 31.6% (18) of the teachers stated that principals and their staff frequently vote whenever a major decision is to be taken, while 31.6% (18) and 5.3% (3) stated that principals and staff sometimes and rarely vote wherever major decision is to be made. Another 31.6% (18) said that principals and staff members never vote to make major decisions. It is also indicated that 84.2% (48) of the teachers stated that frequently, for major decisions to pass concerning student discipline, it must be approved by each individual or the majority while 10.5 %(6) stated that sometimes for major decisions to pass, it must have the approval of each individual or the majority. Only 5.3% stated that rarely do major decisions get approved by each individual or majority for it to pass. Table 2 also indicated that 78.9% (45) believe that the principal frequently calls for a meeting to get teachers' advice when things go wrong, while another 21.1% (12) stated that principals sometimes call for a meeting to get teachers' advice.

It is further revealed that 94.8% (54) of teachers believed that principals frequently and very frequently create an environment where the members of teaching staff take ownership of the school project, whereas 5.3% (3) indicated that principals sometimes create an environment where members of staff take ownership of school project. Another 63.2% (36) of teachers stated that Principals frequently and very frequently delegate authority to members of staff. The remaining 5.3% (3) were adamant that principals never allow members of staff to set students' discipline measures with his or her guidance. Another 84.2% (48) stated that principals frequently work with members of staff to resolve differences in role expectations, while 15.8% (9) contend that he/she sometimes works with them.

Table 2 indicates 47.4% (27) of the teachers asserted that Principals do not consider suggestions made by members of staff as he/she does not have time for them. There were 42.1% (24) and 10.5% (6) who stated that principals rarely and sometimes he/she listens to them respectively and considers suggestions made by members of staff. Also 42.1% (24) asserted that principals never use letters, memos, e-mails, notice boards and assemblies to pass information. There were 31.6% (18) who stated that principals rarely and 21.1% (12) sometimes use letters to pass information. Only 5.3% (3) of the teachers stated that principals frequently use letters to pass information. When something goes wrong, the principal rarely (31.6%) tells members of staff that a procedure is not working correctly and therefore goes ahead to establish a new approach alone. Another 47.3% of the teachers stated that the principal frequently told staff that a procedure is not working. This implied that on most occasions about 50% of principals tell members of staff when a procedure is not working.

Table 2 indicates further that 36.8% (21) of the teachers reported that principals do not direct or threaten members with punishments in order for them to work; the same number 36.8% (21) stated that Principals sometimes threaten members of staff with punishment for them to perform work and 26.3% (15) said that principal rarely threaten members of staff with punishment. Teachers' views on the leadership styles commonly used by their principals are provided in Table 3.

Table 3 Leadership approaches used by principals in management of school affairs

Response	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Delegation and supervision	3	5.3
Democratic	33	57.9
Semi democratic	18	31.6
None in particular	3	5.3
Total	57	100

As shown in Table 3, the majority (57.9%) of the teachers stated that their principals commonly use a democratic leadership approach. According to Weihrich and Koontz (2005), a democratic leader derives power from his/her followers, although the final decision remains with the leader. The groundwork of leading to the decision might have been done by a team of people and not necessarily the leader. The democratic or participatory leader consults with subordinates and encourages their participation. Another 31.6 % (18) stated that their principals use a semi-democratic leadership style. This implies that the principals apply authoritarian and democratic leadership styles depending on the situation at hand. It should be noted that 5.3% of the teachers are of the view that their principals use delegation, supervision and sometimes a wide range of leadership approaches.

The students' responses on leadership styles used by school principals is indicated in Table 4.

Table 4 Students responses on aspects of principals' leadership approaches

Responses	Never		Rarely		Sometime		Frequently		Very frequently		TOTAL	
	f	%	F	%	f	%	F	%	f	%	F	%
Principal involves prefects	15	6.3	25	10.4	62	25.8	76	31.7	62	25.8	240	100
Principal encourages use of open forum	34	14.2	28	11.7	68	28.3	63	26.3	47	19.6	240	100
Principal allows students to elect leaders	18	7.5	10	4.2	37	15.4	87	36.3	88	36.7	240	100
Principal encourages students/teachers Baraza	32	13.3	38	15.8	55	22.9	45	18.8	70	29.2	240	100
Principal devotes his time to be in school to attends to students/ teachers	3	1.3	38	15.8	42	17.5	75	31.3	82	34.2	240	100
Principal communicates clearly	21	8.8	28	11.7	30	12.5	59	24.6	102	42.5	240	100

It is instructive to note that 56.5% (138) of the students indicated that principals frequently and very frequently involve prefects in decision making, whereas 25.8% (62) and 10.4% (25) stated that principals, sometimes and rarely respectively, involve prefects in decision making, but a small proportion of 6.3% (15) observed that principals never involve students in decision making. This implied that principals involved students in decision making as proposed by Day (2000) who reported that leadership does not only examine tasks to be accomplished and the individuals to execute them, but also seeks to include greater reinforcement characteristics like recognition, conditions of service, morale building, coercion and remuneration.

Further, 45.9% (110) of the students asserted that principals frequently and very frequently encourage the use of open forums in solving students' problems. There were 28.3% (68) and 11.7% (28) who said that principals sometimes, and rarely, respectively, encourage the use of an open forum in solving students' problems. However, 14.2% (34) stated that principals encourage, but not most frequently, the use of an open forum in solving students' problems.

Table 4 shows that 73% (175) of the students believed that principals frequently and very frequently allow them to elect their leaders, while 15.4% (37) and 4.2% (10) stated that principals sometimes and rarely allow students to elect leaders respectively. The remaining 7.5% (18) said that principals never allow students to elect leaders. It is also indicated that 48% (115) of the students asserted that principals frequently encourage students' and teachers' Baraza to discuss matters of concern. A further 22.9% (55) thought that principals sometimes encourage students and teachers to Baraza (open discussion forums) whereas 15.8% (38) and 13.3% (32) said that principals rarely and never, respectively encourage students and teachers' Baraza. This implies that the majority of the principals do not frequently encourage students and teachers Baraza to discuss matters of concern. This then implies a lot about the school and is a pointer to the kind of leadership in place. A democratic leader would encourage an open forum where students are not afraid to air their views for fear of victimization. This would instil a sense of responsibility in students since they would feel part of the decision making process, reducing cases of rebellion and strikes.

Table 4 further shows that the majority (65.5%) of students who participated in this study indicated that principals frequently and very frequently devote much of their time to be in the school and readily attend to students and teachers. The rest, 17.5% (42), 15.8% (38) and 1.3% (3), stated that principals, sometimes, rarely and never, respectively devote much of their time to be in the school to readily attend to students and teachers. Further, 67.1% (161) of the students stated that principals frequently communicate clearly to students while 17.5% (42) and 15.8% (38) of the students believe that the principal sometimes and rarely communicates clearly to students respectively. Only 8.8% (21) stated that principals never clearly communicate to students.

Relationship between leadership styles and student discipline

The study sought to establish the relationship between leadership styles and student discipline in the various secondary schools in the District. The hypothesis was tested and $\chi^2 = 30.173$ df=16 and sig = 0.017 was found. This implies that a significant ($P<0.05$) relationship between the principal's leadership and students' discipline in secondary schools existed. In situations where the principal involves both the teaching members of staff, students, parents and other stakeholders in the affairs of the institution, the chances are high that harmony and better learning environment will prevail.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the principals frequently or sometimes involve other stakeholders, particularly the teachers, students and to some extent parents, in the management of secondary schools at Koibatek District. The study reports that principals used democratic or semi-democratic approaches with both teachers and prefects to handle various pertinent issues and used open communication channels to pass information to the rest of the student body. This resulted in the high level of discipline found and reported in the current study. Current trends in the education sector in Kenya encourage a participatory approach to issues. The students have appreciated the new approach more readily than the teachers, who are used to hard-line handling of students by both themselves and the principal. Teachers also develop the feeling that the principal is seeking more appreciation from students when involved in decision making.

The study found a positive relationship between leadership style and student discipline, hence a need to strengthen school leadership. Principals should be encouraged to embrace democratic leadership in their capacities as school leaders by involving teachers, students and other stakeholders in decision making processes. This would have a positive impact on the overall management of the school and deter students from engaging in costly skirmishes that also disrupt school programmes.

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Educational publishing and provision of quality primary school textbooks in Kenya

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The aim of the study was to establish the views of teachers and pupils on the quality of primary school textbooks within the Kesses Division, Uasin Gishu County in Kenya, and to make recommendations on issues that need to be addressed by stakeholders in the textbook publication industry. Forty four (44) public primary schools within the Kesses Division were sampled for the study. Questionnaires were used to collect data from subject teachers and a cross section of pupils. Also, interview schedules were used to collect data from Ministry of Education officers. The findings revealed that there was disjointed communication between the Kenyan Ministry of Education and textbook publishers and users. The study also established that the evaluation and vetting process of primary school textbooks was not transparent respect of the appointment of panel members. Important recommendations include: the establishment of feedback mechanisms by the Ministry of Education to enable response to complaints presented by textbook users, establishing open and transparent guidelines on the appointment of members to the evaluation panel and that vetting committee members and educational publishers be given adequate time to develop textbooks for primary schools.

Keywords: Education publishing, primary school textbooks, Kenya

1 Introduction

Educational publishers serve the Ministry of Education by developing teaching materials that reflect the goals and targets of education by promoting new teaching and learning materials (Bgoya *et al.* 1997).

Globally, education is fundamental in the development of economic prosperity, social values, peace, human rights, and democracy. At its 28th session (Paris 1995), UNESCO adopted 28/C/Resolution 5.42, Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, which expresses the view that textbook and curriculum design and review can play an important role in the long-term strategy to develop a culture of peace and should be acknowledged as a high priority. Education was declared a human right at the international conference on education convened by UNESCO, in Geneva at its 39th session in October 1984. In the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), achievement of universal primary education is the second goal. This indicates that education is fundamental in the peaceful development of a country. Textbooks are among important educational inputs that reflect basic ideas, transmit knowledge, and seek to anchor the political and social norms of a society (UNESCO, 2004). They reflect the goals and targets of education by following curriculum development and examination systems and promoting new teaching and learning methodologies (Bgoya *et al.* 1997).

The quality of primary school textbooks

Sursock(2001) defines the quality of a textbook as 'its fitness for purpose', i.e. the ability of the textbook to support the pupil and teacher in attaining the goals of education.

According to UNESCO (1993), the quality of a textbook can be determined by the following eight variables:

1. **Content coverage (scope and depth):** The scope and depth deals with how much information should be given to a pupil at a particular stage in primary school.
2. **Appropriateness of language:** Language plays a crucial role in communication. Language should be appropriate for the different levels of the target group. It should be simplified to suit the level of the pupil.
3. **Sequencing of material:** For any subject or concept to be easily understood, there is a need for a logical sequence of the material. Topics should be arranged in a manner that helps the readers to understand the concepts being explained by the author.

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4. **Methodology:** These are various methods of teaching to be used. Teaching methodology emphasizes pupil centred activities, a balance between theory and activity, utilization of the social, physical and cultural surrounding environment and the use of local examples for easy understanding of concepts.
5. **Emerging issues:** Examples of emerging issues include: gender (eg. how are the roles of males and female portrayed, is the book gender neutral or biased?), ethnicity and race (eg. are all ethnic groups and races portrayed as equals?), religious beliefs (does the book accommodate people belonging to different religious groups?), human rights (does the book promote the respect of individual rights?), environmental conservation (how are the readers encouraged to look after the natural heritage?) and many others.
6. **Variety:** A monotonous book makes reading boring. There should be a variety in methodology, illustrations, exercises, and examples.
7. **Exercises and testing:** These are used to assess the students' understanding of the concepts. They should be relevant and adequate to the target readers and should reinforce knowledge, skills, and concepts learnt.
8. **Artwork/Illustration:** Effective illustrations match the content and are relevant to the target readership. Illustrations such as maps, graphs and charts should be accurate and correctly convey the content.

Purpose of the study

The aim of the study was to establish the views of teachers and pupils on the quality of primary school textbooks within the Kesses Division, Uasin Gishu County in Kenya, and to make recommendations on issues that need to be addressed by stakeholders in the textbook publication industry to ensure provision of suitable primary school textbooks.

Thus, the specific objectives of the study were to establish:

1. Publishers' views on the textbook evaluation and vetting process.
2. Teachers' and pupils' views on primary school textbooks and how they affect the learning process.
3. The challenges faced by educational publishers, teachers and pupils in developing and using primary school textbooks, and
4. Recommendations to address the challenges identified by the study.

2 Educational publishing in Kenya

Educational publishing in Kenya can be traced back to 1894, when the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) set up a printing press for printing gospel materials at Rabai station on the coast in the 1880s . The chief aim of the press was printing translated hymn books and Bible scriptures into local languages. Another purpose of the press was to print school books since, for the effective spread of the gospel, missionaries had to educate the new converts to be able to read the Bible and other spiritual materials. The publishing industry has since grown from a multinational controlled to majority indigenous controlled publishing firms. The majority of the publishers operating in Kenya are members of the Kenya Publishers Association (KPA). There are a number of publishers like the Kwani Trust,[4] who publish only general books, but the majority of publishing houses deal with textbooks, since that is where the money is in the Kenyan publishing industry. As a result, there are over 40 publishing houses that deal with educational (textbook) publishing in Kenya. Needless to say, the textbook market in Kenya can be described as lucrative and well developed (Chakava 1996).

This stands in stark contrast to other African countries such as South Africa where the market for textbooks is highly concentrated with only a handful of players who operate with any real margins of profitability. Maskew Miller Longman is the dominant player, followed by Nasou Via Africa, Heinemann and Oxford University Press (Rens and Kahn 2009:189). In Kenya, apart from the old and well established publishers like East African Educational Publishers (EAEP), Oxford University Press (OUP) Eastern Africa, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation (JKF), Kenya Literature Bureau, Moran Publishers (formerly Macmillan), Longhorn, there are other new entrants to the market. The new entrants are: Target Publications, Mountain Top Publishers, Marimba Publications, Story Moja Publishers, and Single Education & Publishers, among others. Apart from publishing textbooks, Kenyan publishers also produce supplementary textbooks and novels mostly categorized as supplementary books. Most of the Kenyan publishing houses have grouped their novels into series for the purposes of marketing and easy identification by their customers. Among the major publishing houses that have series in their list are: Oxford University Press (OUP), East African Educational Publishers (EAEP), Kenya Literature Bureau (KLB) and Moran Publishers. EAEP have the following reader series: Sunrise, Sunbird, Junior and others[5]. Needless to say, every educational publisher in Kenya hopes to enter the market for primary and secondary textbooks through the approval of their titles by the Ministry of Education.

4. *(http://www.kwani.org/)*
5. *(http://www.eastafricanpublishers.com/)*.

In terms of quality assurance, the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), which will be changed to the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD) after the enactment of a bill before Parliament, has been the body in charge of the development of educational curriculum and support materials (Simam & Rotich 2011). According to the Kenyan Government (2012), through the Ministry of Education, when the bill will be enacted into law KICD will perform the functions of evaluation, vetting and approval of curriculum support materials to be applied in Kenya from nursery to technical and vocational education levels. The institute will also develop, disseminate and transmit programmes and curriculum support materials through mass media, electronic learning, distance learning and any other mode of delivering education. This could potentially present direct conflict with publishers who have been warming up to the idea of electronic publishing of textbooks to support e-learning in schools in Kenya. For a long time, KIE has been e developing print and electronic curriculum support materials to be used by schools and publishers.

According to Bgoya *et al.* (1997), publishing organizations have three major departments: editorial, production, and marketing. The editorial department is responsible for the development of textbooks and includes functions such as editing, designing, and illustrating. The department commissions writers and other authors needed for the preparation of manuscripts, and actively collaborates with them on a day-to-day basis. The editorial department may also be divided into subject sections, so that one section is responsible for sciences and the other is responsible of languages and art based subjects. The marketing department is responsible for informing customers about available books, together with organizing sales and distribution, while the production department takes care of the technical process of publishing.

The Kesses Division

The Kesses Division, the administrative unit involved in this study, is located in the Eldoret South constituency in the Rift Valley province of Kenya. It is approximately 30 kilometres from Eldoret town. Its headquarters is in Kesses trading centre which is located 5 kms away from Moi University's main campus. It has 15 administrative locations and 22 sub-locations. The main economic activity in the division is farming. The total number of public primary schools is 85, with a total number of 29 268 pupils/learners (0.003% of the total number of pupils enrolled in public primary schools). The division has a total number of 703 (0.3% of the total number of teachers in public primary schools) Teacher Service Commission (TSC) teachers. According to the Ministry of Education (2012), enrolment in public primary education has grown from 892 000 pupils/learners in 1963 to about 9.4 million pupils/learners in 2011; the increase has been accelerated by the growth of population and the introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003. In the same year, the number of public primary school teachers was 221 296.

3 Related studies

A study conducted by Swanepoel (2010: 149) on the assessment of the quality of science education textbooks, revealed that the availability of textbook evaluation instruments were not suitable for the evaluation of physical science textbooks in South Africa. The study recommended that an instrument be developed that focused on science education textbooks that prescribed the criteria, evaluation procedure and rating scheme that could ensure justifiable, transparent, reliable and valid results. This suggests that each subject category should have its own instrument of vetting and evaluation which is different from Kenya's, where a common instrument is used to vet all categories of primary school textbooks.

Horsely *et al.* (2011) conducted a research study based on the opinion of students, judging the quality of educational materials, that showed that students' opinions on the quality of educational materials used for teaching and learning purposes in classrooms were not taken into consideration in the research into educational materials. The study found that there was a significant difference between the views of students and publishers as to what constitutes quality teaching and learning materials and that students interpret the quality of materials by associating materials with their own prior knowledge.

Mbengei and Galloway (2009), in their study on the impact of policy changes in the education sector on the development of the book publishing industry in Kenya, cited approval of allegedly low quality textbooks as one of the challenges facing free primary education in Kenya. The study indicated that corruption and lobbying between multinational publishers and officials in the Ministry of Education had led to the approval of textbooks that do not meet all the KIE's approval requirements. Furthermore, another report (Government's Summative Evaluation of the Primary and Secondary School Education Curriculum 2010) also alleged that publishers were producing school textbooks with factual and editorial errors; the Kenya Publishing Association (KPA) reacted to the report by accusing KIE of 'sleeping on the job'. This significantly indicates that there are substandard books being produced by educational publishers for the school market, while the concerned authorities are at loggerheads with one another.

Under normal circumstances, textbook evaluation must always be done using acceptable international standards in addition to other country requirements. Such standards include: description, general structure, philosophy, content analysis, support of the learning process, assessment of student's acquisition, strengthening and supporting the learning environment, and graphic design and production of the textbook[6]. The quality of textbooks in Kenya is not a unique problem. It has also been a contentious issue in several other African countries such as Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Montagnes 2001:7, 24). According to Mahmood (2010:18), evaluation and approval of both supplementary instructional materials and a complete series of instructional programmes is the key to the success of any instructional activity; this demands an analysis of the textbook development and approval processes as well as the textbooks themselves.

One of the goals of the Kenya Vision 2030 document (2007) is raising the quality of education in order to improve the productivity and competence of Kenya's human resource pool. It states that all students will be provided with a better learning environment, including improved teaching skills and more textbooks. This, according to the document, will provide learners with opportunities to utilise their potential to the fullest. One of the ways of achieving this goal is, among others, to reduce the textbook to pupil ratio from 1:3 to 1:1. The document indicates that this will be achieved byincreasing the textbook grant to schools. Textbook provision and quality are therefore important in the attainment of Kenya Vision 2030. It is estimated that the government spends KShs2 billion (US$23.5 million) or approximately KShs1 056 (US$12.40) and KShs3 600 (US$42.35) per student in primary and secondary schools, respectively, for the purchase of learning materials, including textbooks annually (Standard Newspapers 2011). This amount is not sufficient to purchase all the textbooks required for students in school to achieve the target ratios of the government. Each child requires a minimum of five different textbooks in primary school and approximately seven in secondary school, depending on the subjects chosen in a school. The prices of textbooks are likely to increase as from 2013 if the government implements a policy of introducing value added tax (VAT) on textbooks. This will make textbooks more expensive and will strain school budgets even more.

4 Research methodology

The study applied both a qualitative and quantitative approach. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) define quantitative research as research that includes designs, techniques and measures that produce discrete, numerical, or quantifiable data. In this study, qualitative data was generated from teachers and key informants, while data obtained from pupils was largely quantitative. Saunder (2007) indicates that qualitative data is in the form of words rather than numbers and those words are often grouped into categories.

The study population of this research comprised public primary schools in the Kesses Division, Uasin Gishu County and key informants from the Ministry of Education and textbook publishers. Key informants in the educational publishing firms included: publishing managers, subject editors and production managers. The total number of primary schools in Kesses Division was 85. The total number of TSC teachers was 703 and the total number of pupils was 29 268.

A list of all public schools in the Kesses Division was collected from the District Education Office and used as a sampling frame. Primary schools were selected using a stratified sampling technique. Kesses Division has 22 sub-locations. Random sampling was used to draw a sample of two schools from each sub-location, giving 44 schools. A cross section of pupils was randomly selected from the class list. Five pupils represented each class ranging from class six to class eight. In total, the pupils sampled were 660. Two subject teachers were randomly selected from the 44 schools making a sample of 88 subject teachers. Purposive sampling was used to select key informants.

The study used self-administered questionnaires to collect data from pupils and subject teachers. A total of 660 questionnaires were administered to 44 primary schools within the Kesses Division, where 15 were distributed to each school targeting a cross section of pupils from class six to eight. At the end of the exercise, 480 (72.7%) questionnaires were received.

A sample size of 88 subject teachers in primary schools within the Kesses Division were given questionnaires. At the end of the exercise, 75 (85.2%) of them were filled and returned. We targeted subject teachers because they are the subject specialists responsible for identifying textbooks, from the approved list, for use in their schools.

Face to face interviews were conducted with key informants, who included the vetting coordinator at KIE. Interviews were also conducted with six educational publishers targeting publishing managers, subject editors and production managers. The aim was to receive information from textbook developers on the textbook developing process.

6. *(http://www.unesco.org/new/en/iraq-office/about-this-office/single-view/news/unesco_presents_the_findings_of_textbooks_evaluation_to_minister_of_education/*

Data was classified into categories of different themes and these categories were identified using objectives. After categories were identified, data was analysed to determine respondent's views on primary school textbooks.

5 Findings of the study

5.1 Publishers views on textbook evaluation and vetting

- **Transparency**

Six publishing managers were asked for their views regarding the evaluation and vetting process carried out by the Ministry of Education. Four indicated that the vetting process was not transparent. This is because of intense lobbying by publishers with the Ministry's officials and the evaluation panel to have their books approved. This finding is in agreement with Mbengei and Galloway's (2009) study on the impact of policy changes in the education sector on the development of the book publishing industry in Kenya. It established that there was corruption and lobbying between multinational publishers and officials in the Ministry of Education for the approval of textbooks.

The other two publishing managers felt that the Ministry of Education was not transparent in the appointment of evaluation panel members. They indicated that there were no clear guidelines in the appointment of panel members and they were not subjected to a competitive process to get the best evaluators.

- **Technical specification**

Five of the six production managers felt that the book evaluation and vetting process was inappropriate because of its emphasis on technical specifications, which has led to the disqualification of books with good content. KIE maintains that textbooks should be reused for four (4) years by school children, therefore, technical specifications save on the cost of having to buy textbooks every now and then to replace damaged copies.

- **Submission fee**

All six publishers asserted that the process of textbook evaluation and vetting was expensive for publishers. This is because a publisher has to pay huge amounts of money as submission and documentation fees. This is difficult for upcoming publishers who do not have enough capital to launch into the textbook market, which concurs with a study by Simam and Rotich (2011). For any publisher to be eligible for submission of titles to KIE for evaluation, the publisher should show financial capability by submitting audited financial accounts for at least two years and should have business premises.

Quality during textbook production

The study sought to find out how publishers ensure quality during textbook production. It established that publishers carry out research to establish what the market wants. They do this by visiting schools and giving teachers the opportunity to give feedback on textbooks. They commission authors who are experts in their field of study to produce the manuscripts in accordance with the syllabus. However, not all of these experts are experienced teachers and authors. They also undertake research on the content of the manuscript by sending the manuscript to reviewers/experts for assessment. Some of the issues looked at by the experts include: accuracy, plagiarism, organization of material, how ideas flow, omissions or additions and conformity to the syllabus.

Evaluation and vetting of primary school textbooks

According to the officer in charge of the evaluation and vetting of primary school textbooks at KIE, the process of textbook evaluation and vetting started in 2004 and was designed in terms of universally acceptable principles.

- **Evaluating committee**

Interested teachers who would like to be evaluators apply via the KIE. It is from this database of applications that KIE selects the evaluators, a list of which are then sent to the Ministerial Course Vetting Committee (MCVC) for approval.

- **Criteria**

As indicated, KIE officials, teachers, and publishers collectively develop criteria for the evaluation and vetting of school textbooks. The development of such a criteria is universally accepted, which has been confirmed by Vosloo (2004:148) who states that it will enable the evaluation to be done in a methodical and principled way. Guidelines (bid documents) are developed by KIE (after the agreement) that indicate all the areas to be evaluated in a textbook and the categories of books to be evaluated. Publishers buy these bid documents from KIE and submit books according to the documents.

- **Confidential process**

The evaluation of school textbooks is a confidential process that is carried out in a secluded place. This ensures privacy and maximum concentration of evaluation and avoids lobbying and corruption by publishers. Normally, the location is not revealed and the evaluators are not allowed to communicate with publishers. The workshop is held during school holidays when teachers are free from teaching. The syllabus plays a vital role in the evaluation process since the publishers

and their authors must interpret it correctly. They use a score sheet to award marks, i.e. if a book does not achieve a certain score, it is disqualified. A comprehensive report is written on all titles that have met the criteria and this is presented to the Director of Quality Assurance and Standards at the Ministry of Education.

The Ministerial Vetting Committee receives the report from the Evaluation Committee and checks whether books were evaluated using the required tools. The Committee generates an official list of textbooks to be included in the *Approved List of Primary and Secondary Textbooks and Other Instructional Materials* book. KIE receives the PDF copy to print the book. The approved list is released in January so that schools can buy the approved books.

5.2 Teachers' views on textbook development

- **Participation in the process of textbook development**

Seventy (93.3%) of the subject teachers sampled felt that textbook development had been left to a special group of people who did not give a complete picture of the needs of textbook users. The other five (6.7%) were not conversant with the process of textbook development. They indicated that the majority of teachers, especially those in the rural areas, were not consulted during the process. The blame has been put on the Ministry of Education for not seeking views and opinions of all stakeholders in the textbook development process. Seventy three (97%) subject teachers further indicated that the process was not inclusive of their opinions and indicated that they were not aware of what criteria the Ministry of Education uses to appoint the Evaluation Committee.

- **Authorship**

Sixty two (82.7%) of the subject teachers felt that there were a minority of authors who had established themselves in the textbook market and whose books had won the trust of teachers and pupils. Eight (10.7%) felt that there were new authors in the field who were genuine, while 5 (6.7%) felt that there were authors who committed plagiarism by copying and pasting paragraphs from other textbooks in their works.

- **Textbook errors**

On the issue of editing, most subject teachers indicated that despite the editorial process, grammatical, spelling and factual errors were still present in the books they purchased. In response to the content of textbooks, they felt that the content was relevant and according to the syllabus; however, some textbooks had shallow discussions of the subject while others gave a complete discussion of issues presented.

- **Examination orientation**

Subject teachers were asked of their views on the purpose of textbook development. Forty five (60%) of them indicated that school textbooks were examination oriented, while 23 (30.7%) indicated that textbooks were developed for commercial purposes and did not consider the needs of the learner. Seven (9.3%) indicated that textbooks were relevant and met the needs of the pupils.

- **Channels of communication**

From the data collected, subject teachers have channels through which they pass information to the Ministry of Education, though they are not effective as the Ministry of Education does not give feedback to the schools. These channels include: Chairman of SIMSC, who will write to KIE indicating problems they encountered with textbooks; and the head teachers' office, who will forward grievances to the District Educational Officer for onward transmission to the head office.

Criteria for selecting approved textbooks for primary schools

- According to data collected, subject teachers are guided by the approved list of textbooks for primary and secondary books. This guide gives the comprehensive list of textbooks and other instructional materials that have been approved by the Ministry of Education (MoE), for use in primary and secondary schools covering all subjects and other areas in the curriculum. Each primary school in Kenya is supplied with a free copy of the approved list through their respective DEOs. A school can order any textbook or other instructional material that may be needed for any class and in any subject, as long as these titles are contained in the approved list. Each primary school is expected to form a School Instructional Materials Selection Committee (SIMSC) that is made up of 14 members as follows:

- Class teachers (8 in number)
- Head teacher
- Chairman of SIMSC
- Two parents' representatives
- Church (Sponsor representative)
- Representative of persons with disability.

The Ministry of Education allocates funds to schools for the purchase of instructional materials. The funds provided cover the cost of textbooks for each pupil at a cost of approximately Kshs130 (less than US$2). Once the funds are in the school, the head teacher informs the committee on textbook selection and a meeting is held to decide which instructional materials are needed. The committee depends heavily on subject teachers to guide them in the identification of books that they need for their specific subjects, in terms of the number of books needed. Subject teachers are responsible for identifying books from the approved list and are guided by the content and scope of the textbooks.

Subject teachers indicated that they select books according to the age and class of the pupils. During the procurement process, they ensure the books they select for their schools have many exercises and illustrations to engage the pupils and cover the syllabus. They also look at the quality of the cover page and ensure that the book has strong binding. The cost of the textbook is also a major issue that they look into. Subject teachers also consider the popularity of the publisher and author.

According to the Ministry of Education, schools are expected to select all their books from the list of approved textbooks and ensure that they examine the recommended books before they make their choices. The criteria and procedure for selecting instructional materials, stated by the Ministry, in the approved list are as follow:

- **Syllabus coverage:** The content of the book should fully cover the syllabus in the said subject and meet the objectives of the syllabus.
- **Content of books:** The book should have appropriate vocabulary and general language level. The presentation of topics should be clear and easy to understand. The content and activities should be relevant to the children's needs and interests. The teachers' guide should also fit the needs of your teachers and provide good ideas that can be easily introduced in classes.
- **Illustrations and layout:** Illustrations should be clear, appropriate and attractive. They should contribute to learning and the page should be attractively laid out. The printing should be clear and the size of the book appropriate. (E.g. large size textbooks are sometimes difficult if a school does not have enough desks and chairs for students to use.)
- **Exercises and activities:** Exercises and activities should be clear. They should contribute to the learning process as well as include sufficient problem solving activities that are appropriate and relevant. Exercises and activities should be interesting and motivating to encourage the development of different skills and attitudes. The exercises/activities should encourage children to work both on their own and in groups.
- **Price** The price of the book should be reasonable.
- **Durability:** The binding, paper and cover should be strong.
- **Overall assessment:** The selection committee should also consider the book's strong points and weak points. They should compare the selected books with other books on the approved list.

Subject teachers indicated that they decide on a supplier who has enough books and offers competitive discounts. They also look for a supplier who can offer a transport facility.

5.3 Pupils'/learners' views on primary school textbooks and how they affect the learning process

The study established that pupils have a positive attitude towards textbooks as compared to subject teachers who felt that textbooks are not well developed to meet users' needs.

The study also established that the majority of pupils use textbooks in the classroom as well as at home. It also indicated that textbooks engage pupils with exercises and activities which help them; at home, pupils are able to practise what the teachers have taught them in class. It was also established that the language, illustrations and examples used in the textbook are easy to understand.

Reading textbooks

Pupils were asked to indicate whether they enjoyed reading textbooks. 295 (61%) indicated that they enjoyed reading, while 185 (39%) showed that they did not enjoy reading textbooks. Those who said yes gave the following reasons:

- Textbooks give pupils information about their life and the world
- They offer interesting stories that help pupils build their creativity and therefore write better compositions
- They help pupils improve their English
- They help pupils pass examinations
- They assist pupils with writing good compositions
- Pupils enjoy reading textbooks because they teach good morals and how to interact with other people
- They have examples to help the pupils understand better
- They have interesting pictures and illustrations
- They enhance spelling and develop vocabulary.

Difficulties in using textbooks

Learners were asked to indicate any difficulties they came across when using textbooks. 235 (49%) of the learners indicated that they had difficulties when using textbooks, while 245 (51%) indicated that they had no difficulties when using textbooks. Those who found difficulties cited the following reasons:

- Examples that are difficult to comprehend
- Some textbooks give contradicting information
- Vocabulary that is hard to understand, therefore more explanation is necessary from teachers
- Text that has printing errors.

Exercises and activities

Learners were asked to indicate whether textbooks engaged them in exercises and activities. 430 (89.6%) indicated that textbooks engaged them in exercises and activities, while 50 (10.4%) of the learners indicated that textbooks did not engage them in exercises and activities.

Language used to explain issues in the textbook

The study sought to establish the suitability of the language used to explain issues in textbooks. Learners were therefore asked to specify if the language used was hard to understand or simple. 384 (80%) of the learners indicated that the language was simple to understand, and 98 (20%) of the pupils felt that the language used in textbooks was difficult to understand.

Use of illustrations and examples in textbooks

The learners were asked to indicate their views on illustrations and exercises in textbooks.

42 (60%) of the pupils found illustrations and examples interesting, while 7 (10%) indicated that the illustrations and examples used in textbooks were hard to understand. Learners therefore found textbooks useful in terms of illustrations and examples used to explain facts. They also indicated that illustrations and examples help simplify information/topics in the textbook.

5.4 Challenges that educational publishers encounter when developing primary school textbooks

Editorial challenges include:

- **Syllabus interpretation and coverage:** According to the editors, the syllabus indicates what topics are to be covered in a particular subject and how detailed the content should be for the levels concerned. It indicates how much information should be given to pupils at each level. The editor, when editing, usually finds that the author was not keen to follow the syllabus guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education and has left out some topics that need to be covered in the school syllabus; at times, the author has given information that is not suitable for that level.
- **Poor authorship:** Editors indicated that they end up rewriting the manuscript due to poor authorship. They noted that there was a shortage of qualified textbook writers. Publishers try to identify and commission authors that have mastered the subject. Some authors are not willing to be guided by an editor, yet they are good authors. Publishers noted that authorship is increasingly becoming a group activity because several authors working together tend to produce better manuscripts than individual authors. According to the editors, long-serving teachers can be good authors because they have the experience of working with pupils in class.
- **Limited time frame:** To prepare books for vetting.
- **Lack of complete and well researched manuscripts:** Pre-testing of manuscripts is rarely done by publishers. This is due to financial constraints and limited time for producing school textbooks. It is expensive because pre-testing has to cover schools in different geographical areas to be representative. Publishers also depend on the Ministry of Education for syllabus interpretation and guidelines; therefore market research on textbooks is not a priority.

Technical challenges include:

- Limited variety of printing paper
- Expense of printing full colour books
- Increasing prices of paper
- Duration it takes to print in full colour.

5.5 Challenges that subject teachers face when using textbooks in class

The study sought to establish the challenges faced by subject teachers when using textbooks in class. The challenges cited by the teachers were as follows:

- Textbooks missing some printed pages or having blank pages
- Poor book binding which has led to textbooks getting torn within a short period
- Textbooks with spelling errors and incorrect sentence construction
- Textbooks with incorrect answers to the exercises
- Some teachers indicated that some lower primary textbooks use font types (serif types) that confuse the pupil
- Some textbooks use technical language that confuses learners
- Duplication of ideas and repetition from other books.

Conclusion

Textbooks are important instructional materials that pupils and teachers depend on for the learning process. From the study, it was evident that subject teachers are not satisfied with the textbook development process because they indicated that they were not included in the curriculum development and textbook development process. Their views and complaints are taken for granted and they are not given feedback from the Ministry of Education. The study established that learners, unlike subject teachers, favour textbooks because they aid them in revision, doing their homework and during class sessions. Pupils enjoy the illustrations and find the exercises and activities enjoyable and creative. Learners therefore have a positive attitude towards textbooks. Another concern is that there are no guidelines on the appointment of evaluation panel members. This means that a friend can be nominated. Also, subject teachers still purchase textbooks containing errors, despite guidelines from the Ministry of Education. This shows that subject teachers are also not keen in ensuring the quality of textbooks that they purchase for use in their schools.

Recommendations

The aim of the study was to establish the views of teachers and pupils on the quality of primary school textbooks within the Kesses Division, Uasin Gishu County, and to make recommendations on issues that need to be addressed by stakeholders in the textbook industry, in order to ensure the provision of up to standard primary school textbooks.

The study therefore came up with the following recommendations:

- **Clear guidelines on the appointment of panel members to the vetting committee**

Data collected revealed that there are no clear guidelines on the appointment of panel members. It is stated that the panel members are recommended by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) and are approved by the Ministerial Course Materials Vetting Committee. They are carefully scrutinised to ensure that there are no conflicts of interest. These guidelines do not indicate how panel members are identified, scrutinised and appointed. This leaves room for speculation on conflicts of interest and nepotism in the Ministry of Education. It should be a competitive process where evaluators apply and are interviewed by an accredited panel.

- **Give publishers ample time to develop books**

From the study, it is evident that educational publishers work under pressure so as to meet deadlines given by the Ministry of Education. This has contributed to substandard books on the market. Publishers need to be informed by the Kenya Institute of Education early enough on whether there would be curriculum revision or change. This will aid them in readjusting their schedule in preparation for the new syllabus. This will ease the tension that comes with the preparation of books for a new curriculum. The Ministry of Education needs to learn from educational publishers what period is needed to start and finish titles for schools. This problem of inadequate time given to publishers to prepare textbooks is also common to South African publishers; this has lead to small publishing houses not getting a share of the market (Rens and Kahn 2009:190). Publishers have to identify authors and work with them throughout the publishing process. Editors need ample time to thoroughly edit the manuscripts in order to come up with appropriate books.

- **Establish feedback mechanisms where the Ministry of Education can respond to complaints presented by textbook users**

The study established that there was a breakdown in communication between textbook users and the Ministry of Education, i.e. there was lack of feedback in the communication process. KIE should therefore come up with effective communication channels to ensure effective communication. This can be achieved by taking advantage of technology through the use of the Internet. The Ministry of Education should manage its website by ensuring that it is active and up to date, which will guarantee simple and fast communication. This will also ensure that complaints from pupils and teachers are addressed and the Ministry will benefit because they will be able to communicate to teachers on any changes that affect them. When it comes to collecting views from teachers concerning the curriculum, it will be easy to send questionnaires to as many schools as possible through the website.

- **Revise the approved list of primary and secondary schools textbooks and other instructional materials to include a summary of content**

The study established that among the many challenges faced by subject teachers when using textbooks in class is the issue of books with less content.

The evaluation and vetting committee should revise the approved list of primary and secondary textbooks and other instructional materials to include course content to enable subject teachers to identify books that meet their needs. Currently, the book lists include the ordering code, class of pupil, title, authors, publishers and prices. This information is not sufficient to make a subject teacher make a decision on what the best book is, in terms of content, illustrations, and exercises. Teachers are advised to select all their books from the approved list and ensure that they examine the recommended books before they make their choices. The criteria and procedures are given in the School Textbook Management Handbook. The handbook gives instructions on how to identify books for schools, but the teacher has to look for the book and peruse it thoroughly before purchase.

- **Workshop and exhibition for publishers to display their approved books so that teachers can peruse the books**

After the vetting process, the Kenya Institute of Education (vetting section) should organize a workshop or exhibition for subject teachers and publishers to provide a forum for subject teachers to identify the approved books and even peruse the books in order to familiarise themselves with the books they are purchasing for their schools. This will help in ensuring that teachers are fully responsible for the books they purchase for the school and that they will not point an accusing finger at the Ministry of Education.

Usually, the Ministry of Education does not accept any responsibility for marketing approved titles. It is up to the publisher to organize workshops and exhibitions, but approval must be granted by the DEO. This is an expensive venture that most publishers do not undertake as a way of promoting their books. By organizing an exhibition for all publishers whose books have been selected, an equal playground will be provided for all publishers when promoting their books and it will also help upcoming publishers in terms of promotion. It is effective as it will provide correct information on books that have been selected and those that have been recommended.

- **Training for authors**

The study established that editors often rewrite manuscripts because of poor authorship. Publishers should identify established and potential authors and train them on the publishing process, thereby placing more emphasis on writing textbook manuscripts. This will enhance authors' skills and, at the same time give editors ample time to concentrate on editorial issues and not the rewriting of manuscripts.

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The role of trust, innovation and knowledge management in entrepreneurial survival strategies: a study of selected cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs in Ibadan, Nigeria

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The field of Information communication technology (ICT) is very young in research terms, especially in developing economies. The business aspect of ICT is developing fast, but the challenge of stifling completion has made it imperative for the micro-entrepreneur to adopt various strategies to keep afloat. Therefore this paper examines how the concepts of trust, innovation and knowledge management have aided the cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs through a case study. The study reveals the uniqueness of the micro-entrepreneurs to effectively develop trust, use knowledge management strategies and innovation in advancing their entrepreneurial outfits.

Key words: Knowledge management, innovation, entrepreneurship, trust, cybercafé, Nigeria, Ibadan

Introduction

Contemporary global trends and the attendant global recession demand full participation of the citizenry in economic growth. One of the ways through which individuals could contribute to economic development is through entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship frees the investment savvy individual from total dependence on government in job creation and wealth generation. In fact, it unlocks the potentials in individuals for innovation in business development (McQuaid, Smith-Doerr, & Monti 2010; Robinson, Blockson, & Robinson 2007; Wennekers, Van Stel, Thurik, & Reynolds 2005). The entrepreneur's ability to pursue opportunity has led to the notion that an entrepreneur develops different knowledge frameworks, and that the knowledge gained from interaction with customers and markets influences his/her ability to recognise and exploit its worldview (Shane 2000).

According to Westhead, Ucbasaran and Wright (2004), entrepreneurs that have the tendency to search for variations in experiences tend to develop specific cognitive mindsets that influence their ability to effectively process and evaluate new information, and thus enable them to facilitate the development of entrepreneurial knowledge. Accordingly, as much as their potential creativity and innovation portend possible positive impact in entrepreneurial development, it is important to harness these potentials through effective knowledge management (Earl 2001; Fiore 2007). As Nonaka (1994) notes, the only sure source of lasting competitive advantage in an economy where the only certainty is uncertainty, is improved knowledge management. But can this be applicable to a micro-enterprise?

Studies have shown that many micro-businesses, with few or no employees, suffer extremely from a 'liability of smallness' including poor access to various resources (Aldrich & Auster 1986; Ellis,2010). Researchers such as Baldwin, Gray, Johnson, Proctor, Rafiquzzaman and Sabourin (1997) and St-Jean and Audet (2012) show that lack of experience and competence have been identified as triggering business failure, which is evidenced in lack of vision. Consequently, the use of others' ideas has been suggested as an antidote that gives the entrepreneur the opportunity to reflect on her own and others' experiences and competences to maintain and run a successful business (Bergh, Thorgren, & Wincent 2011; Florén 2005; Moensted 2007; Provan, Fish, & Sydow 2007). Conley and Zheng (2009) identify management and leadership support and organizational culture and structure as some of the contextual factors that are germane to successful knowledge management. These identified factors will help provide different expert opinions and viewpoints that foster increased knowledge (Florén, 2003) as the current study is geared at understanding the surviving strategies of the budding ICT entrepreneurs. This paper is therefore designed to examine how trust, innovation and knowledge management aid the business survival and sustenance of cybercafé entrepreneurs in the ICT sector.

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Literature review

Several studies have shown the relevance of trust in developing long-term relationships (Bejou & Palmer 1998; Kang, Jeon, Lee, & Lee 2005; Park 2011) as trust promotes collective benefits from information flows, supply structures and skills (Keeble, Lawson, Moore, & Wilkinson 1999). Trust has also been identified as a critical factor for successful relationships in the service sector (Parasuraman, Zeithaml & Berry 1985). In other words, for a meaningful relationship to exist between the business owner and his/her employee, a feeling of trust in sharing confidential information must be seen to be in place. Positive relationships not only turn the relationship into a stable one over time, but also provide a platform for knowledge sharing and implementation. Trust is however defined as the willingness to trust the other party in an exchange and also to believe in their integrity and good faith (Prause, Mendez, & Garcia-Agreda 2011). The risk involved in trust (Zins 2001; Salavou 2010) may lead a small enterprise owner to be apprehensive and worry about the risk of exposing sensitive and unique business concepts to even his/her employees. Despite this anxiety, studies suggest that building trust in order to gain experience and exchange knowledge is essential (Ariño, Torre, & Ring 2001; Welter & Kautonen 2005) for knowledge management. This is because when trust is high, the individuals are more prone to participate in knowledge exchange, resulting in knowledge creation (Nahapiet & Ghoshal 1998).

To Lee and Choi (2003), trust is considered an important predictor of knowledge creation as interpersonal trust is empirically and positively linked to knowledge acquisition (Politis 2003). Researchers, such as Fleig-Palmer and Schoorman (2011), Janowicz-Panjaitan and Noorderhaven (2009) and Mehta (2005) observe that trust and knowledge transfer from superiors to subordinates/contemporaries are critical factors in knowledge management. In their study, Lopez *et al*. (2004) stress that an atmosphere of trust and security is essential to encourage innovation and risk taking in order to develop new knowledge and use the existing knowledge. Entrepreneurs (cyber café entrepreneurs) are more often faced with challenging situations and stiff competition that may threaten their business survival. They must therefore continually innovate in order to sustain their businesses.

As the literature indicates, knowledge plays a crucial role in determining a firm's innovation capability, in addition it enhances the quality of knowledge workers (Corso, Martini, Pellegrini, & Paolucci 2002). Knowledge is aptly created, shared, transferred and applied through people rather than information technology-based mechanisms within small to medium sized enterprises (Zhou, Tan, & Uhlaner 2007). Knowledge and knowledge driven capabilities are the raw materials that nurture innovation to stem from the creative application of knowledge (Yusuf 2009). Thus, innovation signifies the utilisation of knowledge in order to create something new (Zhou *et al*. 2007). Similarly, Liao, Welsch and Stoica (2003) claim that internal sharing facilitates the speed and effectiveness of the innovation process. March (1991) suggests that there are two fundamentally different modes of innovation, namely exploration and exploitation. Exploitative innovation builds on or extends the existing knowledge, while exploratory innovation requires knowledge and capabilities that are new to the organization.

Knowledge management is a process through which an enterprise gathers, organizes, shares, and analyses its knowledge in terms of resources, documents, and people skills (Cappellin 2007; Peters & Besley 2008). Babalola (2007) views knowledge management as relating to an attempt at using the right knowledge at the right time in the right way and at the right cost. Knowledge management is considered as not only concerned with the notions of knowledge transfer and knowledge sharing, but with the entire knowledge acquisition and utilization process, beginning with locating and capturing knowledge but followed by the enabling of that knowledge within the firm (Choo & Bontis 2002; Takeuchi & Nonaka 2004; Uhlaner & Van Santen 2007). In their study, Christensen, Bukh and Bang (2008), identify two perspectives in knowledge management, the artefact oriented and the process oriented. The artefact oriented approach is said to focus on project memory (Kärreman, Alvesson, & Blom 2004) and manual for organizational processes (Malone, Crowston, Lee, Pentland 1993); while the process oriented one is based on the procedure in which knowledge is created and not on the documents or the rules; that is, 'the continuous and dynamic adaptation to real life' (Christensen *et al*. 2008: 4). It is considered as a continuous process where knowledge is transformed between tacit and explicit knowledge and between people and technology.

The common characteristic in these two perspectives is that knowledge is an important factor, which is structured in ways that ensure the applicability of knowledge (Christensen *et al*. 2008) to suit the user. In a word, knowledge management is essential for improving the utilisation of core capabilities and in reducing development time (Oshri, Pan, & Newell 2005). In today's economy that knowledge is recognised as one of the most competitive resources for creating a dynamic business environment (Sharif, Zakaria, Ching & Fung 2005); as knowledge is gained through experience and associated tacit and the explicit learning of specific individuals in a small business (Carson & Gilmore 2001; Wong & Radcliffe 2000). In addition, Wiklund and Shepherd (2003) suggest that small and medium enterprise highly rely on individual know-how, especially that of the entrepreneur and manager in the firm. It is crucial for every would be

successful business enterprise to have, in addition to a good understanding of the potential customer's requirements, also knowledge of the target market and how to reach it efficiently (Arntzen & Worasinchai 2007).

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has stimulated an information revolution world wide while Nigeria keyed in to it from year 2000 with the advent of the Internet that was popularized by cybercafés. The Internet has revolutionized access to global electronic and virtual resources across the globe. Cybercafés are generally considered to be similar to any other small commercial venture in an urban setting. Haseloff (2005:54) defines cybercafé as a business centre for:

> profit facilities, open to the general public to access the Internet, other network facilities and/or a variety of information technology tools on a temporary contract basis (pay per use) without the necessity for users to own hardware or software themselves.

At the early stage of the introduction of the Internet in Nigeria, a very privileged few had access to it. Many Internet users thus had to depend on cybercafé operators and this consequently led to the rapid spread of cybercafés round the country (Adomi, Okiy, Ruteyan 2003; Alao & Folorunsho 2008; Mutula 2003). Similar conditions seem to operate in most emerging countries as Rangaswamy (2008) reports that with low penetration of personal computers, and high costs of hardware, Internet cafés/cybercafés readily became high-tech access nodes.

With increasing individual access to the Internet and stiff competition among cybercafé operators, many cybercafés have collapsed. As most middle class Internet users access the Internet at their offices or through subscription to the services of mobile phone operators, there is a limited customer base and profit accruing to the operators (Alao & Folorunsho 2008). Notwithstanding the very dicey business environment, some cybercafés are still able to survive and become profitable.

Methodology

This study focused on two-cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs who agreed to be studied as a special case study. A case study approach offers the prospect of observing in a flexible manner and describing complex research in a way that permits a logical conclusion of the observations (Eisenhardt 1989; Tsoukas 1989). A micro-enterprise is defined as a commercial enterprise that has 10 or fewer employees (Ajibefun & Daramola 2003; EUROPA 2003; USAID 2002). Getting this category of entrepreneurs' willingness to disclose their innovative and knowledge management strategies was difficult due to stiff competition among them. The two-cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs that agreed to be studied were university graduates and they also have their cybercafés located within the University of Ibadan. The value of knowledge advancement within the university environment must have contributed to their participation in the study. Thus, pseudonyms are adopted to protect their identities.

The cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs are Mrs Tae and Mr Ade. Mrs Tae is a 50-year-old trained typist/secretary. She also has a diploma in industrial relations from the University of Ibadan with work experience in both public and private bureaucracies. Her cybercafé is located at a student hostel at the university. The café has 17 computers with Internet facility, two photocopying machines, a scanner, printer, and spiral binding machine. Mr Ade is a 31year-old, has B.A. and M.Sc. degrees from the University of Ibadan. He manages a collection of cybercafés located in and around the university environment. One is located at the Agbowo, just a short distance from the University of Ibadan, while two cybercafés are located at the university. Each of Mr Ade's cybercafés has about 18 computers with Internet facility, photocopying machines, scanners, printers and spiral binding machines. Data for the study were collected through observation and oral interviews. Non-confidential records were also accessed. The data generated were subjected to content analysis.

Findings

Case 1: Mrs Tae

The two-cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs studied gave insights into the innovations they have brought into their businesses. Both entrepreneurs have also consolidated their investments and businesses over the years. Mrs Tae started investing in the acquisition of an electric typewriter in the early 1990s when many commercial typists carried on with manual typewriters. This gave her an edge over other commercial typists as electric typewriters produce better and neater prints. From this modest beginning, Mrs Tae invested in setting up a business centre when personal computers became the preferred word processing machines in the early 2000s. By 2005, she had shifted her focus into cybercafé entrepreneurship. She describes her most effective innovation so far as having good and cordial relationship with both staff and customers, as one is selling ones services and what one believes in.

Moreover, as much as personal computers are almost ubiquitous in urban cities, not all customers are expert in everyday use of the computer. She thus lends support bearing on her training and experience as a certificated typist/ secretary. Of course, the secretarial services she provides to customers who are unable to use the computer come at a fee and this further enhances the earnings of the cybercafé. Thus, she ensures all her staff has some training in secretarial and word-processing skills.

Cybercafés usually sell Internet access to customers in limited bits of between 30 and 60 minutes, although an extension could be sought for up to five hours for access by special arrangement. Special software, which cuts off Internet access, is usually installed in computers. A customer who has exhausted his or her time is by rule expected to purchase more time (at least 30 minutes) in order to finish ongoing transactions even within a few minutes of completion; this is taken to be pure business. Mrs Tae has however innovated by devising a means whereby customers would not have to pay more for short access to complete an on-going transaction. She calls this "clients' management". Through the system of clients' management, Mrs Tae allocates about 20 minutes of Internet access to each staff member. Each employee could transfer between 2 to 5 minutes to a customer needing short additional time at no extra cost. This saves the customer funds that could have been spent to purchase an extra 30 minutes, which may not be exhausted and thereafter lost. She says: "I believe it is exploitation to ask customers to purchase 30 minute access for a job that would not last more than 5 minutes". Mrs Tae also allocates up to one hour of "clients' management" to herself daily. This is meant to compensate customers who could not accomplish their tasks on the Internet due to slow Internet speed, which happens occasionally.

Aside from Internet service, Mrs Tae also provides other services such as printing, photocopying, scanning and spiral binding. On the cost of printing, which is usually NGN20 ($0.13) within the University campus, Mrs Tae gives a special rate of NGN5 ($0.03) for students who form the greater proportion of her clientele. The relative cheapness of printing service at her cybercafé attracts student-customers desirous of saving cost. She recently added bulk messaging to the services she provides at her cybercafé. Mrs Tae disclosed she got the idea from some of her customers who appreciate her disposition to clients. She further stated that she buys bulk-messaging packages ranging between 100 units to 500 units from banks and other outlets that sell such packages and resell to customers. She organises conference meetings with her employees on a monthly basis; during this period, they review activities within the month, provide training where need be and take contributions from everyone present. This arrangement allows services to proceed even when she is absent.

In terms of employee management, Mrs Tae tries to build trust and make the employees realise that she is interested in their welfare. She gives a weekly specific amount of money for the running of the cybercafé and when an employee spends their personal funds when the money left with them is exhausted, she reimburses them immediately. Hence, even in her absence, shortage of funds does not stall the functionality of the cybercafé. Any time the cybercafé makes extra income, she shares the extra profit with employees. She says she does this so that her employees will realise she is not the "eat it all" type, and also to prevent stealing from the business fund.

Mrs Tae has also educated her employees on basic accounting skills, which allows them to run the business and keep the accounts in her absence. She, however, technically monitors the business proceedings (the resources used and profit made daily) through the basic accounting elements installed in the ICT equipment to forestall mismanagement and embezzlement. Her computers are equipped with special software that monitors Internet access purchased and utilised by customers while the printers and photocopiers have counters that record the volume of prints or photocopies. This system has helped her in allowing her employee to run the cybercafé freely, monitor them and also relieves her work associated stress and tension coming from employees' unethical behaviour.

Case 2: Mr Ade

Mr Ade commenced his ICT business career in 2004. He started with web designing and subsequently diversified into cybercafé entrepreneurship in 2009. Mr Ade disclosed he ventured into ICT business and cybercafé entrepreneurship in particular due to the dicey nature of job opportunities in Nigeria. This is because having credentials alone is not sufficient for securing a job. Jobs are hard to secure because the economy is at a low and receding tide. Mr Ade has uniquely ventured into the management of a consortium of cybercafés. He established his first cybercafé in the Agbowo area of Ibadan. This is quite strategic as Agbowo is a community just opposite the University of Ibadan that attracts a huge youthful population as a community where many students reside and which they patronise. From Agbowo, Ade extended his reach into the university premises. His initial strategy is partnering with units within the institution with available spaces that could be converted to cybercafés. With the partnership Mr Ade provides all necessary equipment and manages the cybercafé on agreed terms with the unit. He has been able to secure such spaces at a location within faculty and student hostel buildings. He has a staff strength of 10 employees.

A major impediment to the success of cybercafés in Nigeria is poor and irregular signals from Internet Service Providers (ISPs), which has resulted in the collapse of many cybercafés. To overcome this, Mr Ade subscribes to three ISPs with relatively cheaper charges, thus, when one ISP's signals are not forthcoming, he switches to the back-up ISPs. Consequently, at every point in time, his cybercafés are open and functional. According to Mr Ade, the expensive ISPs charge as much as NGN600 000 ($4 000) monthly; notwithstanding the huge cost, the signals also fluctuate. He opted for ISPs where he pays NGN20 000 ($133) only for each ISP, which put the cost of the entire three ISPs at a total sum of NGN60 000 only ($399). Mr Ade hence receives signals from 3 different ISPs at a little below 10% of the cost of the expensive one. Since Mr Ade subscribes to the cheaper ISPs, he is also able to offer relatively cheaper Internet access (NGN80 [$0.5]) than other cybercafés' charge of NGN120 ($0.8), all stated as per-hour usage.

Likewise, because of irregular and unpredictable national grid supplies of electricity for power in Nigeria (the university campus inclusive), Mr Ade supplements this with electrical generators to ensure an uninterrupted electricity power supply in his cybercafé. Because his cybercafés depend on personal generation of electricity most of the time, he has to provide other services (such as printing, photocopying, binding, cybercafé management and ICT consultancies) to help augment the extra cost of electricity power generation. Each of Mr Ade's cybercafés offers scanning and printing services at cheaper rates, with printing at the rate of NGN5 ($0.03) per page as against NGN20 ($0.13) and NGN30 ($0.2) per page by most other business centres. Furthermore, in order to attract news savvy customers, Mr Ade puts at least a national newspaper in each of his cybercafés. The newspaper attracts readers, many who subsequently patronise the cybercafé.

Unlike many cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs, Mr Ade has registered with the National Communications Commission, Nigeria's ICT regulatory body, making him the only private cybercafé entrepreneur within the university environments that is officially registered. This gives him an edge over other cybercafé entrepreneurs in dealing with formal institutions. The formal registration seemingly insulates Mr Ade's cybercafés from cyber criminality, for which many cybercafés in Nigeria are noted, especially while dealing with formal organisations. Besides, Mr Ade consults with weekly bulletins of ICT related organizations that include the Information Technology Association of Nigeria Weekly Bulletin, Computer Society of Nigeria Weekly Bulletin and Computer Professional Association of Nigeria Weekly Bulletin. With these publications, the employees are educated more on the latest developments within the industries.

In addition, Mr Ade pays higher remuneration to his employees, with a monthly pay of between NGN8 000 ($53) and NGN10 000 ($66,) whereas others pay an average of NGN6 000 ($40). He does this in order to retain their loyalty as they consider their pay as a privilege compared to what obtains in other places. Mr Ade has also indicated that he carries his employees along as much as possible by building trust. This he does by allowing his employees to handle the cybercafé account while he supervises. By so doing, he somewhat internalises in them the value of trust. He, however, does not entrust the accounts to one employee, as he makes sure that every employee has some basic accounting skills. Thus, accounting responsibility alternates among employees at scheduled intervals (usually on a daily basis). Similarly, irrespective of their primary skill, Mr Ade trains everyone on basic computer management and repair skills so that the cybercafés are kept running optimally, especially if faults detected in the machines are minimal, and are what their basic repair skills can handle. As much as Ade strives to entrust cybercafé accounts to the employee and transfer basic ICT repair skills to them, he insists on discipline, without which the organization could collapse. He hence affirmed that whereas he may give verbal sanction for late coming, any employee nabbed committing fraud is instantly fired. Mr Ade affirms that he maintains a relatively large employee size so that the enterprise can still function even if an employee is found wanting and is consequently sacked.

Finally, Mr Ade places himself on a salary; without mentioning the exact amount, he says it is within the range of NGN20 000 ($133). For him not to encroach on the running cost and extra profit made, he has separated his personal account from the business account. He also endeavours to limit his monthly expenses to his stipulated salary, irrespective of extra profits. Mr Ade tries to diversify has much as possible within the ICT sector and accommodates some of the diversity in his cybercafé business.

Discussion and conclusion

The case study showed that the two micro-entrepreneurs adopted the principle of "asset parsimony" which according to Hambrick and MacMillan (1984) is the skill of deploying minimum assets needed to achieve the desired business results through gradual acquisition of assets over a certain period of time. Through their activities, it could be deduced that none of them has full financial and material resources to start their micro-enterprise, but must have used their cash flows to step-up their business expansion. Similarly, their behaviour could be linked to what MacMillan (1986) described as having had many an opportunity to attempt a business and recognize opportunity, which has afforded them to build on their past experiences in arriving on their current state of enterprise. First Mrs Tae started as a commercial typist with manual

typewriters until 2005 when she began to invest in cybercafé entrepreneurship. Likewise, Mr Ade started with web designing and subsequently diversified into cybercafé entrepreneurship in 2009. He is able to lean on the 'use of social capital' (Starr and MacMillan 1990) by forming a partnership with Units within the University on agreed terms for his business operation. This case study also confirmed previous studies of entrepreneurial learning, that entrepreneurs seem to develop knowledge either by utilising their previous knowledge in new projects or by developing new knowledge in the ventures they are involved in (Minniti & Bygrave2001; Rae & Carswell, 2001; Sullivan 2000).

The development processes in this study are built around the micro-entrepreneurs' unique knowledge resources, in a way that may make it difficult for competitors to adopt or follow whole-heartedly. Thus, the exhibited behaviour in the case study could be regarded as innovative if Hall, Clark, Sulaiman, Sivamohan, and Yoganand (2003) and Spielman's (2005) definition is taking into consideration, in that innovation is regarded as the continuous process of upgrading, using new knowledge or the new combination of existing knowledge, which is new to the local environment. For instance, Mr Ade's alternating accounting responsibility on a regular basis among employees and also using three ISPs to cut costs and solve the problem of Internet failure which is common in an emerging economy. Just as Mrs Tae also introduced customer friendly additional timing and assistance to customers that are having problems with completion of their work on the computer; while her interaction with the customers brought about the introduction of bulk messaging, thus confirming Shane's (2000) idea that relationships with customers could lead to business recognition and exploitation. This also confirmed Ellis's (2010) assertion that local knowledge may be a vital part of business development, which might be picked up through face-to-face interaction with the locals in the area.

The introduction of extra business activities such as provision of printing, cybercafé management and ICT consultancies by each of the micro-entrepreneurs amounts to the use of knowledge as a competitive force in stabilising their enterprises. Equally, providing their employees with the basic training in account management and repairing minor computer system faults can be classified as factors that are appropriate to knowledge management (Conley & Zheng 2009). The use of account control and administrative systems encourages the gathering, analysing and subsequent disseminating of formalized knowledge. The fact that informal knowledge sharing taking place daily on a "face-to-face" contact between the micro-entrepreneurs and employees is of the greatest strategic importance. This type of activity could be of great benefit as it might serve as a source for routine solutions where explicit knowledge can be reused (Markus 2001).

The micro-entrepreneurs made knowledge available to their employees and customers through the provision of magazines and journal articles (explicit knowledge) in their workplace and also through internal weekly assessment and discussions on problems and issues (tacit knowledge) encountered during the week. Belonging to a professional association by an entrepreneur according to Gray (2003) is a driver for networking, exchange of business and technical knowledge, as well as social interactions among smaller firms. The constant interaction between the micro-entrepreneurs with their employees must have enabled them to personalise and tailor-make services that contribute to an atmosphere of trust in running their enterprises. Borrowing from Feld's (1981) terminology, trust must have provided focus for both the employees and their employer to become 'interpersonally tied'.

A careful analysis of the styles of operations of the micro-entrepreneurs showed the use of trust, knowledge transfer through mentoring and good relationships with employees and customers. It also affirmed that trust building is important for the entrepreneurial development, most especially a micro-enterprise. According to Lopez, Peon and Ordas (2004), once employees' loyalty is secured, knowledge transfer through mentoring, technology and diversification could be rightly harnessed for optimal results in entrepreneurial development. Likewise, by ensuring customer trust in the organisation (in this case, the cybercafé), customer patronage is retained. Thus, when innovations are introduced, both employee and customers potentially trust the entrepreneur's ingenuity at delivering good services.

The micro-entrepreneurs used a combination of push and pull strategy in implementing knowledge sharing across the organizations. Push strategy makes a decision on what information is to be allocated to whom and automatically alerts users of changes, while pull strategy is based on user requests and needs (Davenport & Prussak 1997). For instance, through physical meetings, the micro-entrepreneurs attempted to internalise knowledge to more persons so that through this process, the employees' experiences become transformed into useable knowledge within the organisation. Damodaran and Olphert (2000) as well as Edwards, Shaw and Collier (2005) have argued that in general a push-strategy, that is, when information and knowledge are 'pushed' through to the potential users, is less effective than a pull-strategy, which is based on creating a basic organizational culture and context, which encourages organizational learning – and where the employees have access to knowledge when needed.

In summary, it can be said that the micro-entrepreneurs had the right attitude, built on their skills and aptitudes, created the right organizational culture and provided direction using their leadership as micro-entrepreneurs to work towards their enterprises' growth. In addition, the experientially acquired knowledge over time seemed to provide each

of the micro-entrepreneurs with knowledge that improved their ability. This paper thus concluded that as much as innovation is essential for entrepreneurial success, knowledge management is particularly germane to the success and development of entrepreneurial organizations. With these cybercafé micro-entrepreneurs, this paper identified contextual factors of employee welfare, self-discipline, customer relations, knowledge transfer, diversification and technology in not only building trust, but to enhance knowledge management and innovation. Hence, this paper concluded that trust building is imperative in innovation and knowledge management, especially as regards the entrepreneurs studied.

Limitations and recommendation

There is no doubt that this study has some limitations; notwithstanding, it serves as a springboard to understand the working challenges and strengths of micro-entrepreneurs in an emerging economy. Future studies should encourage multiple respondents so as to give a different and more accurate picture of the situation and also combine both qualitative and quantitative measurement to strengthen and enrich future findings.

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Games, tradition and 'Being Human' in Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Healers*

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In the era of transnationalism and globalisation it is easy to be drawn into totalising paradigms about what it means to be human which erase alternative ways of thought. It is therefore instructive to revisit Ayi Kwei Armah's postcolonial critique in order to question our assumptions about human activities such as the Olympic Games and general health practices. Armah reveals ways of thinking in precolonial times which may have been forgotten and which could assist the West in finding a balance in the way we live and treat our environment.

Keywords: Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Healers*, humanity, games, sports, healing practices, culture, linguistics

Introduction

The question 'what makes us human?' can be looked at in a number of different ways. I am going to focus on the activity of 'playing games' and ask whether that is something that makes us human. Secondly, I would like question the assumption that playing competitive games is a universal human activity. I will do this by seeking a different paradigm within which to describe this human activity; in particular I will be looking at the novel *The Healers* to illustrate an example of a writer who points towards an alternative African tradition of games.

Play and competition

Joseph Meeker points out that, 'playing' is not something that is exclusive to humans. He sees humans as simply another species of mammal: 'We mammals, along with the birds, have been playing and living comic lives for two hundred million years. There is no need to learn how to play, for that knowledge is deeply embedded in our bones and genes' (Meeker 1997: 104).

Play takes different forms in the animal world. It is sometimes merely playful, for example, where otters take turns sliding down a mud bank into a pool. 'It is a sign of normalcy and health in many young animals, and several species, including our own, are capable of lifelong play' (Meeker 1997:10). However, 'play' can take the form of a contest where animals fight to obtain dominance in a territory. Young animals practise this 'mock-fighting' until at the adult stage they are able to fight seriously and win or lose a contest.

Playing games in the human world has also followed this pattern. It has increasingly become a serious activity. Meeker writes that many humans have lost the ability to play because in Western culture the tragic tradition has to some extent crushed the impulse to play. The Protestant work ethic also sees 'play' as something to be banished in order to prosper and this has diminished the spontaneity of play (Meeker 1997: 105).

Playing games has become formalised in cultural traditions such as the Olympic Games, which originated in the pre-Christian era in Greece, where the idea of competition is paramount. With regard to human culture, Meeker notes that 'Play is a universal human language that can cross cultural and linguistic boundaries' (1997:10). This is certainly evident at the Olympic Games today, where nationalistic rivalries and individual prowess are dominant.

African traditional games

Each culture has its particular tradition of games; I will look briefly at a few of the African traditions. Looking back in time we see that there is a strong tradition of Board games. According to Anouk Zylma (2012), 'Board games have been played in Africa for thousands of years ... One of the oldest known board games in the world is *Senet* from Egypt ... *Mancala* is an African board game that is played worldwide (it is also known as *bao, oware, ayo, omweso, enkeshui* or *aweet)*. There are in fact more than 200 versions of this "count and capture" game, played throughout Africa (Zylma 2012). These games traditionally used materials from nature such as seeds and stones, but now the sets of board games can be obtained through *Amazon,* a significant indication of globalisation and transnationality. Board games, however, fall into a different category to games where a number of competitors take part in an event, especially one involving different nationalities.

There are many other traditional African games, such as stick-fighting and jumping or skipping games, but it is not my object to give a comprehensive picture of these games here. My main focus it a literary one, and it is based on the novel mentioned above.

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All Africa games

The African counterpart to the Olympic Games is the All Africa Games, which was first held in Congo Brazzaville in 1965 (Chikaforafrica 2011). In an essay entitled 'Waiting for the Ubuntu Games' we read, 'It is an established fact that international games create a shared feeling of oneness among participants, enabling them to forge a common bond in the face of weightier political or economic issues (Chikaforafrica 2011:1) According to this writer, the European colonists opposed the idea of a Pan African Games when it was first discussed in 1928 as they saw it as a precursor to African Independence Movements. His argument is that although the All Africa Games now take place every four years, it is not a distinctively African event: 'there is nothing intrinsically African in the nature of the sports competed for in the All Africa Games' (Chikaforafrica 2011:2) Sports such as football, volleyball, basketball and athletics are 'residues of the European colonial heritage'(Chikaforafrica 2011:2). The official languages spoken at these games are French and English, further emphasising the neo-colonial dependence on Europe. This writer deplores the lack of authentic African traditions in these Games.

Chinua Achebe and games

In an attempt to explore this question further, I now turn to African writers, as my essential focus in this paper is a literary one. The first writer is the famous Nigerian author, Chinua Achebe (Achebe 1953) in his novel, *Things Fall Apart*. Here we see that wrestling was a common sport in pre-colonial Nigeria. We remember Okonkwo, the hero, being a champion wrestler as he even threw 'The Cat', someone who obtained this nickname because opponents could never get his back to touch the ground. Prowess in wrestling was one of the things that made Okonkwo famous. He was a respected leader in his community. Achebe therefore seems to affirm the value of wrestling matches in that society.

Ayi Kwei Armah and games

However, a more complex attitude towards wrestling and competitive games in general is exhibited by Ayi Kwei Armah from Ghana. His novel also begins with a wrestling match which is part of the games that are held every year in the community of Esuano. Armah describes each wrestler in detail. One of the more terrifying characters is a giantlike person, Buntui. His limbs are enormous and heavy, his skin is an unattractive light reddish colour and his neck seems to be broader than his head. His muscles 'pushed hard against the skin, as if the covering it provided were not sufficient ... As the giant stood now, his body seemed near to exploding. Every muscle bulged with some huge, uncontrollable tension' (Armah 1978:9) The different components of Buntui's body seem to be at war with each other as a result of the tension inside him.

In contrast, Armah describes his main character in the novel, Densu. The difference in tension seems to be the most striking feature of this man. He is described as being full of grace: 'His build was slender. His skin was black, with a suggestion of depth and coolness in its blackness. The youth stood perfectly straight, without any effort to do so. There was no tension in any part of his body. When he moved, no matter how small the motion, it seemed to start somewhere deep in his being, and to involve the rest of his body, all of it, in a gentle, hardly perceptible wave of energy' (Armah 1978:10). There is a sense of harmony in his movements which also give the impression of effortless motion.

Before the wrestling starts, the judge explains that the sign of defeat is to raise an arm, index finger pointing upward. The opponent would then have to release him as he had won the round. Before they even begin, Densu raises his arm. The judge is astounded, hardly believing that he concedes defeat before even beginning. But Densu confirms that he doesn't wish to fight. He does it in a very relaxed, calm way – 'beyond both humility and arrogance' (Armah 1978:11). When he is questioned about his withdrawal he simply says 'I don't like fighting for no reason' (Armah 1978:13). However, we see that when he sees a reason to fight, he wins easily. This happens when his friend Anan fights the giant. Even when Anan gives the signal of defeat, the giant doesn't let him go and continues to strangle him. The judge cannot stop him, but Densu springs up and strikes the giant (Buntui) on the neck so that he releases his victim and then wrestles with him to immobilise him. His friend points out that Buntui could have won without killing him, and Densu replies: 'I doubt it,' ... 'Buntui has a huge body, and such a tiny brain to control it' (Armah 1978:17).

Thus Armah values a balance between mind and body; a balance which brings it into a unity of action. He also points out the dangers inherent in martial-type sports. They imitate fighting to the death and sometimes the competitors forget that it is a game. However, the writer does also give a positive reason to take part in wrestling matches. This is provided through Densu's friend Anan. He says that he was happy when he had to fight Buntui because of his curiosity: 'the thing that makes me happiest is getting to know something I didn't know before' (Armah 1978:18). He wanted to know whether he could deal with all the strength that Buntui had. It is important to note that Anan's motive is not related to winning or losing as such, but rather to knowledge.

As in the Olympics, there were running races as well at Esuano. Densu came second in all the short races, following the prince, Appia who 'ran with a firm explosive power of movement' (Armah 1978:34). Densu won the long races as his running 'also had power in it' but it had 'had a natural, unhurried smoothness that was a pleasure merely to look at' (Armah 1978:34). His movements seem to be 'a joy to him'. An interesting thing about the way Armah describes Densu is that he shows a relationship between Densu and his environment; between the human and the nonhuman: 'Densu ran as if air and earth both listened to him, and were happy to help him pass' (Armah 1978:35). This suggests that he is entirely in harmony with the natural environment.

Similarly, when it comes to the swimming races, Densu's movements contrast markedly with those of his competitor: 'Appia thrashed the river with undiminished power; Densu's limbs barely broke the surface as they left and re-entered the water, drawing it back for the smoothly gliding body to slip through' (Armah, 1978:40, 41). The difference is that Densu does not battle against the river but seems to become part of it. During the longest race we read: 'one form glided forward and away from the others in a series of long, smooth, sliding thrusts, as if some force beneath, subtle but strong, were buoying it up and easing it forward ahead of everyone. The form was Densu's' (Armah 1978:42) There seems to be a partnership between Densu and the water; a sense of co-operation with the natural environment which the other swimmers lack. It is suggested that this is because Densu is swimming for the joy of feeling the water around him, not in order to win the competition.

The climax of the competition is when the three best competitors have to shoot live pigeons in order to decide on the winner of the Games. Densu deliberately misses the bird and shoots the string that traps the bird so that it can go free. Symbolically, he frees the captive pigeon at the cost of gaining a victory for himself and a chance to wield power in society.

Thus Armah constructs a criticism of competitive sports through the medium of Densu. Even though he takes part in the sports, he is ambivalent about them. He had watched them from the time when he was a child and knew he would at some stage take part in them, but is disturbed by their meaning, which is not clear to him. He tries to find out how they originated by asking some of the old people.

The first reason for the games in the old days was to celebrate the struggles of the people. They had wandered around for a long time looking for a place to make their home and after a difficult period had reached their destination.

The second reason was to keep people together. 'They were not so much celebrations as invocations of wholeness' (Armah 1978:4). However, things had changed and the meaning of the games had become blurred as disunity crept into the community.

Densu felt the need for certain rituals. Young people, he felt, needed to be prepared for adult life. However, 'he felt no need to compete with those of his age. He felt no need to compete with anyone at all. He did not hate the games and the rituals. But he wished he had found rituals, and games that could satisfy the yearning inside him would have to be ceremonies, rituals, and games of co-operation, not of competition. The present games made him uneasy. Nothing they offered gave an answer to his soul.' (Armah 1978:39)

In opposition to the position taken up by Densu we have Ababio, his guardian. Ababio's presence is like a sinister undercurrent during the games. He tries to manipulate Densu to take part in the wrestling match and all the other events as he wants him to win the games. The reason for this is a power struggle. Ababio has a 'hidden agenda'. He wants to seize power from Appia, who is next in line in the succession of the king of Esuano, and put Densu in his place, as his puppet. He connects the games with the power to rule Esuano. Also, he plans to betray his people and to side with the whites who he sees as more powerful than the indigenous people of the land. In his opinion, it is better to align yourself with the most powerful side. We see that Ababio is playing a much bigger game than the sports which are taking place. In this game the prize is the control over the whole of Ghana.

Games and colonialism

Here a quick aside on the history of Ghana may be necessary. There was an ancient kingdom of Ghana which was far to the north-west of present-day Ghana, where this narrative is set. European powers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danish took turns in building forts and so obtaining a stronghold in the coastal town of Cape Coast. This used to be called the Gold Coast and trade was lucrative. Later the British took control of the coast and then systematically went to war with the Asante in order to control the inland area as well. There were five Asante wars before the Asante were eventually defeated. Much of the conquest was due to internal divisions between the different indigenous groups in Ghana. It was this lack of unity that led to the colonial domination of the British (Shillington 1989). Ababio in this novel is the epitome of this division.

However, Armah also constructs a positive force for unity in the novel, whose power lies in healing: Damfo. He lives in the forest and his ideas and way of life inspire Densu. [Armah divides his characters into two camps: the manipulators and

the Inspirers.] The inspirers allow people to make up their own minds if they want to be led by them and the manipulators trick people into following them. They never try to persuade them openly.

Healing and unity

Damfo's philosophy on healing is based on unity. He says: 'Healing an individual person – what is that but restoring a lost unity to that individual's body and spirit?' (Armah, 1978:82). He sees health and unity as being the same thing: 'there's health when everything that should work together works together. Take the single person. If body and soul are working together the mind thinks: I should do this; the will decides: I will do it; the muscle tenses itself to help the will; and the hand does what the mind has thought. Everything works together.' This is the type of health that Densu exemplifies in his movements and actions during the games. It is therefore natural that he is drawn to Damfo in the hope that he might learn from him about healing and help him in his work.

Damfo's healing work is not confined to the healing of the individual, however. Ultimately his aim is the unity of the black people in the land: 'The ending of all unnatural rifts is healing work. When different groups within what should be a natural community clash against each other, that also is disease. That is why healers say that our people, the way we are now divided into petty nations, are suffering from a terrible disease' (Armah 1978:83) The plotting of Ababio to divide the community is directly in conflict with Damfo's healing work.

The competitiveness of the games is seen as the first step towards division in the community. This is partly because the people who are not playing become passive spectators. Densu's view is that being a passive spectator is reducing one's humanity. He would prefer to see everyone joining in and participating in the activity:

> In his imagination he could see different rituals. In them it was not necessary to set apart a few active ones to run against each other, and to reduce the whole community to spectators. There would be no competitors, only participants. There would be a community whose members would be free to work together in the cool of the morning; they would be free to run, swim, jump, play, to celebrate health and strength in the late afternoon; they would dance to their own songs in the quiet of evenings. These things were good. Why should any of them be turned into competitions? What sense was there in excluding the whole community from the centre of the field, leaving only a few grim battlers? Why should everything have to end in a senseless victory for one isolated individual? What meaning could such a ritual give the community, turning it as it did into a defeated mass, all worshipping a lone victor?' (Armah 1978:39)

Games and power

The last part of this quotation, 'turning [the community] into 'a defeated mass, all worshipping a lone victor' is an inherently unstable configuration because a 'defeated mass' is liable to be manipulated by whoever is placed at the apex of the hierarchy: the lone victor. Being worshipped by the mass, he would have great power and therefore he would be able to manipulate the masses for his own purposes. Instead, a situation where everyone participates in the games results in a more balanced configuration: one that is stable and 'healthy' as they would not be held in the thrall of a 'lone victor.' A different kind of play would result in a different paradigm for the functioning of society.

Conclusion

Armah's contrasting views about play and games can be related to those of Joseph Meeker. He uses the terms finite and infinite play, referring to another writer, Carse: "A finite game is played for the purpose of winning, an infinite game for the purpose of continuing the play." Finite games, in other words, are those played for the purpose of ending the game with a victory or a defeat. These are contests, and are familiar to us in the form of wars, most sporting events, politics as usual, business dealings, and the ordinary competitiveness of daily life (Meeker 1997:17). On the other hand, in an infinite game, 'the only purpose of the game is to prevent it from coming to an end, and to keep everyone in play' (Meeker 1997:17). Meeker points out that 'most games are not playful' and that 'play exists for its own sake, and seeks no goals and objectives beyond itself' (Meeker 1997:18).

The negative effects of competitive games are ruled out by play, according to Meeker: 'During play, all players are equal. If there are inequities of power, weight, agility, or age, they must be offset by handicapping the stronger player ... There are no playful tyrants, and no tyrannical players' (Meeker 1997:18).

The notion of non-competitive 'play' proposed by Armah is therefore endorsed by Meeker, who sees 'play' as one of the highest forms of behaviour, which functions as a mode of survival.

In conclusion, we may return to the questions raised at the beginning of this essay about the All African Games. Armah does not give the answers to the questions posed by the writer who called for distinctively African games. Instead, Armah goes much further by questioning the paradigm of competitive sport as a whole.

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