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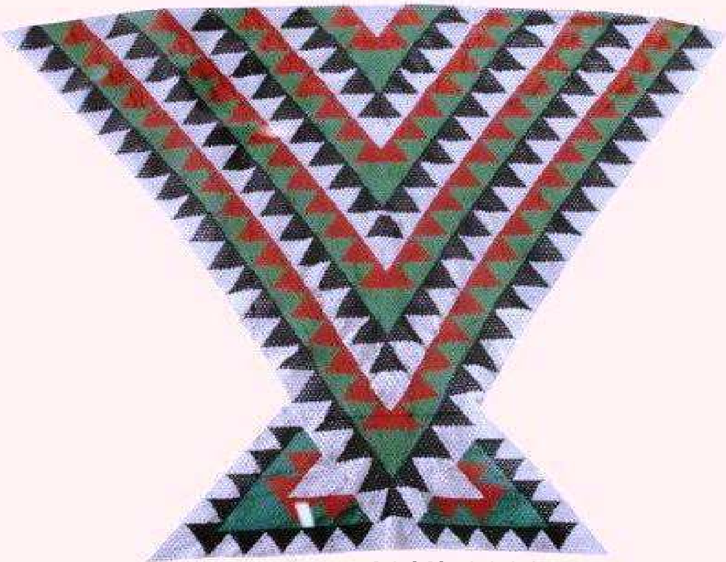

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Short communication

EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* readers,

I would like to welcome you to *Inkanyiso* Vol 12(1) with eight research articles and one short communication. The range of subjects includes politics and law, digital technology and the digital divide, governance and administration, indigenous knowledge, business management, linguistics, education, psychology and counselling.

There have been several criticisms of Kwasi Wiredu's works. The first article 'Democracy and Consensus in traditional Africa: A critique of Kwasi Wiredu' is by Victor Olusola Olanipekun from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. He recognizes Wiredu's assertion that consensual democracy is a better alternative means of decision-making in traditional African life and governance than a majoritarian democracy. He argues that at a certain level of discussion, Wiredu's idea of consensus (consensual democracy) has some similarities and also faces similar challenges to (majoritarian) democracy, concluding that democracy and consensus are not mutually exclusive. In the next paper, Theodora Dame Adjin-Tettey from Rhodes University, South Africa writes on the 'digital divide', with a paper titled 'Can 'digital natives' be 'strangers' to digital technologies? An Analytical Reflection', counter-argues that a considerable group of young people cannot be designated as 'digital natives'. Theodora explains that the concept could be dichotomous – being 'native' based on the period in which one was born and being 'native' as an expression of competence – in this case in the use of digital technologies – and concludes that the real 'digital natives' are the ones who are competent in the use of digital technologies, no matter what period they were born in.

The COVID-19 pandemic has been extremely disruptive globally and has seriously affected the health and livelihood of many people in the world, in fact to an unimaginable extent. In the third article, 'COVID-19 Lockdown and higher education – Time to look at disaster preparedness as a governance issue', More Panganayi from Africa University, Zimbabwe, traces the origin and spread of COVID-19 and its effect on education. The finding is that the lockdown approach was adopted and implemented without adaptation, and the author proposes scaling up distance education based on mixed technologies, a paradigm shift in perceptions of digital education and the resuscitation of postal services.

Following this article, indigenous knowledge comes to the fore, a subject that has been marginalised but is currrently drawing significant attention due to the benefits that come with the knowledge. The article, 'Child development through Ndebele taboos: Motivation to blend the indigenous and the exotic', is by Sambulo Ndlovu from the Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe. Sambulo seeks to identify the gap between modernity and Ndebele taboos, and suggests possible solutions to fill the gap and apply taboos in modern societies such as urban settlements. The study recognises the unpopularity and out-datedness of some taboos as they conflict with human rights discourses as well as being incompatible with modern institutions such as formal schooling and science. He recognises that the blending of indigenous and exotic cultures has already occurred in society and that there is a need to align modern culture so that the taboos can be fully utilised for child development. This study is important to policy-making regarding child development and care, such as pedagogy, social work, children's rights and the family. The fifth article has the title '*The* perceived effect of staff development on organizational performance in selected First Banks in Lagos State, Nigeria'. Akeem Olalekan Shonubi from McPherson University in Nigeria argues that most organisations have realised that employees are their most valuable assets; that they require development in order to improve their loyalty and motivate them, hence increasing productivity, to achieve their organisational vision. The study recognises the importance of staff development and suggests how it can be improved. It implies that a well-trained staff will have a positive impact on organisational performance, as it will bring additional effectiveness and efficiency to their output and in turn improve the organisational performance. Focusing on Linguistics, an article titled 'Money talks: a multimodal ethnographic study of Ghana's currency' co-authored by Cosmas Rai Amenorvi and Gertrude Yidanpoa Grumah from the University of Energy and Natural Resources, Ghana, has the purpose of unearthing the hidden messages communicated by Ghana's currency – the Ghana cedi coins and banknotes – outside their monetary value as indicated by the numbers appearing on them. The study found that the modes of communication employed by Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes are their shape, colour, national symbols, depicting national buildings, national cash crops and minerals, national heroes and heroines, and the national monument. They conclude that beside the monetary value of Ghana's currency, and by extension the currencies of the world, there is valuable information communicated, to which attention must be paid. The next article, focusing on aspects of law, is 'The myth of "Judicial customary law': Reflections from Anglophone Cameroon'. Emmanuel Mikano Kiye from the University of Buea, Cameroon, unravels the origins of the concept 'judicial customary law', a variant of customary law, acknowledged and recognized in some common law jurisdictions of sub-Saharan Africa and acknowledges the conceptual feasibility of judicial customary law in the territory, as opposed to its practical applicability. The article *What is the relationship among pre-retirement guidance, social support and psychological wellbeing on retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State*? is by Olufemi Onijuni Olatomide from Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria. The study investigates the level of retirement adjustment and guidance of teacher retirees in Osun State, Nigeria and found that the majority of the respondents experience moderate retirement adjustment. The study suggests that pre-retirement guidance should be given legal and policy backing to motivate employers of labour to prepare their workers for effective living in retirement.

The last article is a short communication by Berrington Ntombela, University of Zululand, 'Teaching philosophy and the making of an intellectual: A personal reflection'. Berrington argues that academic institutions are regarded as centres of intellectual moulding involving both students and lecturers. He advocates critical pedagogy as a means of developing intellectuals from students as part of effecting change in societies and communities, but admits that ideological change is very evasive. Ultimately, institutions of higher learning can remain trapped in ideologies and practices of former times simply because there is not enough intellectual development within them. Adopting critical pedagogy, he concludes, is therefore one way of responding to the changes we must see in our societies, communities and universities.
Enjoy the reading at *www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za*

Dennis N. Ocholla
Editor-in-Chief
Inkanyiso, JHSS

Democracy and consensus in traditional Africa: a critique of Kwasi Wiredu

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Abstract

This article examines Kwasi Wiredu's arguments on democracy and consensus. In Cultural Universals and Particulars, *Wiredu presented consensual democracy as a better means of decision-making process than majoritarian democracy in traditional African life and governance. He defended this claim with two main arguments: (i) that consensus takes care of the interests of the minority, and (ii) that consensual democracy permits substantive representations. Contrary to Wiredu's claim, this article argues that the implication or challenges of majoritarian democracy identified by Wiredu do not necessarily (i) undermine majoritarian democracy, and (ii) make Wiredu's suggested decision by consensus a workable means of decision-making in present African society. Our aim in this paper is not to defend majoritarian democracy as a plausible position; rather, the bulk of the paper is devoted to a critical assessment of Wiredu's defense of consensual democracy. The paper argues that at a certain level of discussion, Wiredu's idea of consensus (consensual democracy) shares some similarities and also faces similar challenges to (majoritarian) democracy. The paper concludes that, logically speaking, democracy and consensus are not mutually exclusive.*

Keywords: Democracy, consensus, minority interests, traditional African life, African politics

Introduction

The article seeks to examine and assess Kwasi Wiredu's view on consensual democracy with its majoritarian democracy counterpart, particularly as it affects the issues of minority interests and better representation. Kwame Wiredu is one of the outstanding African scholars who have contributed immensely in the area of social and political philosophy in the continent. One of his outstanding publications is *Cultural Universals and Particulars*. Given the enormity of the problems that confront contemporary African politics and political life, the search for a suitable system of governance propelled Wiredu to come up with a proposal. In Chapter Fourteen of *Cultural Universals and Particulars*, Wiredu emphasises the incompatibility of democracy (majoritarian democracy) as a means of decision-making and governance with the nature of traditional African life. Instead, for him, a better alternative for decision-making in traditional African life and governance is consensus (consensual democracy). Wiredu argues that despite the complexities of contemporary African life, consensual non-party precedents of traditional African politics are still usable and indispensable. What does this suggest? For something to be indispensable, it implies that such a thing is so good or important that you could not manage without it. One quick important question that comes to mind is: how indispensable is this consensual democracy? This paper examines and challenges Wiredu's view on democracy and consensus. Wiredu's argument is that consensus or consensual democracy which was practised

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in traditional African society takes better care of some fundamental moral problems in Africa than the majoritarian democracy which is in vogue in modern African society. Some of the problems identified are the problem of minority interests/rights, as well as the problem of better representation. How tenable is the above claim? Essentially, this view has become controversial among African scholars in the sense that while some scholars have supported Wiredu's claim, others rejected the claim with contrary arguments.

Arising from the above, what is the state of the existing literatures on the subject matter? Among the scholars who have reacted to Wiredu's submission is Emmanuel Eze. What exactly was Eze's position? Eze's criticised Wiredu on two main grounds. These criticisms are the following.

First, Wiredu indulges in misleading romanticism and an excessive rationalism in his normative accounts of pre-colonial Akan society. Second, Wiredu's arguments in favour of the pre-colonial Akan non-party style of politics can function just as well to defend the single-party platforms of the early nationalists whose monopoly on political power required the rigid suppression of democratic freedom (Eze 1999:213).

Eze's criticism appeared to be an acceptable view despite Wiredu's disclaimer of presenting an exaggeration of unbroken harmony in African society (Wiredu 1995:53,1995:182). Meanwhile, Bernard Matolino responded to Emmanuel Eze's critique of Wiredu with the argument that consensual democracy has more appeal than Eze is prepared to concede (Matolino 2005:34). However, after juxtaposing Eze's and Wiredu's views, Helen Lauer submitted that the respective concerns of Wiredu and Eze appear to be compatible, on a careful reading (Lauer 2019:41-59). What exactly is the point of Lauer's view above? Her argument tends towards the fact that there is no factual disagreement between Wiredu and Eze on the subject matter. Recently, in an attempt to reinforce Wiredu's claim, Barry Halen also suggested that consensual democracy should be re-examined as a possibly more suitable and sensible alternative for sub-Saharan Africa given the prevalent challenges in the continent (Halen 2019:2).

Arising from the above literature, our concern in this paper is not to repeat what these scholars have done. Instead, we make bold attempts to consider a certain issue that is yet to be properly addressed by some of these scholars, which has created a research gap that this paper intends to fill. The problem is really whether the practice of consensus (consensual democracy) really escapes the problems that have bedevilled (majoritarian) democracy. Are democracy and consensus mutually exclusive? An answer is provided in the paper, which will also consider how the issue of conceptual crisis undermines Wiredu's consensual democracy.

The paper has three main sections. The first considers conceptual clarifications of the two major concepts in this paper, democracy and consensus. The second section focuses on Wiredu's defence of government by consensus or consensual democracy. The third section focuses on an assessment of Wiredu's arguments. In the final analysis, the paper concludes that democracy and consensus are not mutually exclusive.

Democracy and consensus: conceptual analysis

To start a paper of this nature requires consideration and clarification of the two important working concepts in the paper, democracy and consensus.

Democracy

The question to be addressed here is: what is democracy? Democracy as we understand it from subject literature is a complex concept with different meanings and interpretations by scholars in different epochs. The reality of the existence of varieties or different versions of democracy also makes it difficult to come up with a singular acceptable definition that will capture all the varieties of the concept. As it is being practised, democracy could be described as direct, representative or participatory. There is majoritarian democracy as well as consensual democracy. Given the definitional crisis, is the definition of the concept "democracy" elusive? Maybe not. The reason for this answer is that most of the definitions given to democracy contain certain features or elements of what democracy is all about. One thing that scholars have agreed on is that etymologically, the concept is coined from two Greek words, *demos* meaning "people", and *kratos* which means "to govern or to rule". Thus, democracy is often defined literally as the government of the people or majority. Abraham Lincoln, for instance, defines democracy as "The government of the people, for the people, and by the people."[1]

George Orwell rightly remarks:

> *A word like democracy not only [has] ... no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides. It is almost universally felt that when we call a country democratic, we are praising it: consequently, the defender of every kind of regime claims that it is a democracy and fears that they might have to stop using the word if it were tied down to any one meaning (Orwell,1968: 32).*

The point about Orwell's view is that democracy now appears to be the standard way of governing any society in the world in such a way that those countries that are not democratic in nature still try to appear so to the rest of the world. One factor that may be responsible for the general acceptability of democracy could be due to the notion of legitimacy that is attached to it. In Wiredu's conception, given the complex nature of the interpretation of the concept, democracy could be understood either as a majoritarian democracy or as a consensual democracy. Majoritarian democracy is the form of government tbased on the majority principle. Meanwhile, Consensual democracy could be defined as a form of democracy in which government is effected by consent and subject to the control of the people as expressed through their representatives (Wiredu 1995: 58-59).

More importantly, in Teffo's analysis, one can find what could be described as the minimum package or requirement for democracy. According to Teffo, "Logically, democracy has to be representative, accountable, and participatory" (Teffo 1995:140). Given the array of definitions above, one important factor that is common to all is hat democracy as a system of government is people-centred. Regardless of whichever form it takes, people's interests are always the focus. With this background on democracy as a concept, let us now move to the next concept, consensus.

Consensus and conceptual crisis

What is consensus? Over time "consensus" has carried very different meanings. According to Martin Benjamin, "A consensus is, most generally, an agreement or collective unanimous opinion among a number of persons" (Martin 1995:241). This definition is unique because it involves total agreement. That is, everyone is involved. In the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, consensus is defined as the judgement arrived at by most of those concerned.[2] The point of emphasis of this definition is that it involves the agreement of 'most' of the people concerned and not total agreement. Consensus decision-making is also described as a creative and dynamic way of reaching agreement between all members of a group. In fact, Brian William in his own conception identified different accounts of consensus. According to him,

> *By "consensus levels" I simply mean levels of agreement achieved among government representatives within state legislatures. So, for example, a "simple majority" consensus level would be fifty percent plus one vote, while a unanimous consensus level would be when everybody agrees (William 2012:559).*

1. Abraham Lincoln's definition is considered one of the most cited definitions of democracy. That does not mean that the definition captures everything about democracy.
2. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary.*

One helpful deduction from William's account of consensus is that it (consensual democracy) is not really different from majoritarian democracy because consensus can be reached either through majority agreement or by total agreement.

In the same spirit, Christoph Haug identifies four different classifications of consensus in his analysis of consensus decision-making. These are:

- Imposed consensus,
- Acclaimed consensus,
- Basic consensus, and
- Deliberative consensus (Haug 2015:556).

As a rider, Haug explains that in an *imposed consensus*, it is simply claimed (e.g. by the meeting's chair) that consensus has been reached with no opportunity for the participants to oppose this claim (Haug 2015:556). In an *acclaimed consensus*, in contrast, there is an explicit opportunity for participants to express their views, but its official purpose is not to express dissent but consent (Haug 2015:556). In a *basic consensus* participants are explicitly asked if there is anyone who disagrees, and a stretch of substantial silence passes before the consensual decision is confirmed (Haug 2015:556). *Deliberative consensus*, finally, not only gives participants the opportunity to express dissent, but actively encourages that dissent is articulated in order to ensure that no one is silenced (Haug 2015:556). Arising from the above view, one important point that must be made is that Haug's fourth conception, as presented in this paper captures Wiredu's point. Those holding minority views can accept consensual agreements reached, despite continued disagreement, by virtue of having, in some meaningful way, a rational and even practical investments when the talking has stopped and decision has been made. The import of the above view is that Wiredu's concern for the minority in basically the process of practical outcome of a rational deliberation.

From the above explanation, it appears that deliberative consensus is far better than other forms of consensus. Why? It is in the deliberative consensus that the main aim of taking care of the interests of everybody can be achieved. This does not mean that I agree with Wiredu; there is a way in which majoritarian democracy could also accommodate deliberations. Further explanation shall be done later. Just like Wiredu, Nelson Mandela of South Africa is another African thinker whose view suggests that consensual democracy is suitable for African society. According to Mandela, "Democracy meant all men were to be heard, and a decision was taken together as a people. Majority rule was a foreign notion" (Mandela 1994:29). From the above quotation, it is evident that Mandela is interested in consensus that is borne out of total agreement. From the above view, there is a sense in which one could argue that Mandela had consensual democracy in mind in line with Wiredu. This became evident when he brought in the idea of majority rule (majoritarian democracy) as a contrast. Mandela's notion of democracy involves equality, equal consideration and general participation. With all these features, it is not clear whether the interests of the minority were ever denied at any point in time, even in the traditional African societies. I shall return to this under the assessment so as not to jump the gun.

Moreover, there is also another form of consensus that is attributed to a renowned social and political philosopher, namely John Rawls. This version of consensus is termed an overlapping consensus. Rawls conceives an overlapping consensus as

> *a consensus in which it is affirmed by the opposing religious, philosophical and moral doctrines likely to thrive over generations in a more or less just constitutional democracy, where the criterion of justice is that political conception itself (Rawls 1987:20).*

Following John Rawls's interpretation of consensus, he characterises agreement on basic principles of justice among individuals embracing a plurality of different, occasionally conflicting, comprehensive moral, religious, and philosophical outlooks (Rawls 1996:385). Evidently, it could be inferred that Rawls's overlapping consensus could be interpreted as a form of deliberative consensus. Thus, this kind of consensus is not inconsistent with Wiredu's view. Also, the view that consensus and democracy are not mutually exclusive was reinforced by Joe Teffo, who underscores the argument that the principle of consensus is a feature of democracy (Teffo 2004:445). Not only does this view support the position maintained in this paper; it also serves as a critique to Wiredu who defended a contrary opinion.

Now, what do we make out of the above analysis? What should be our concern next is that, given that consensus can be described, practised and achieved in different ways, we need to examine the sense in which Wiredu used the term "consensus". Wiredu himself did not tell us expressly the sense in which he employed the word. But in the first page of Chapter Fourteen of his *Cultural Universals and Particulars*, it could be inferred that Wiredu appeals to a kind of consensus that is born of total agreement though rational deliberation. For him, consensus is reached through rational deliberation (Wiredu 1996: 185). One question is: is Wiredu consistent with this version of consensus? In my view, the problem of inconsistency is present in this case. Now, how does this inconsistency undermine his defence of consensual democracy? We shall return to these under the topic assessment. Meanwhile, let us consider next Wiredu's defence of consensual democracy.

Wiredu's defence of consensual democracy

Argument 1

The argument here is that consensual democracy takes care of the interests of the minority. According to Wiredu, the pursuit of consensus or consensual democracy was a deliberate effort to go beyond decision by majority … majority opinion in itself is not a good enough basis for decision-making, for it deprives the minority of the right to have their will reflected (Wiredu 1996:186).

The argument can be summarised thus:

P.1. Any system of government that takes care of the interests of the minority is better

P.2. Consensual Democracy takes better care of the interests of the minority than majoritarian democracy

Therefore, consensual democracy is better than majoritarian democracy.

I will come back to this in the next section.

Argument 2

According to Wiredu, consensus is not just an optional bonus, it is essential for securing substantive, or what might be called decisional, representation for representatives and through them for citizens at large (Wiredu 1996:189). Similarly, on another page, Wiredu repeats the view that consensual democracy is better than majoritarian democracy because for him, it offers what he calls a substantive representation over and above the former representation (Matolino 2012:112). The question here is whether substantive representation is a true reflection of fundamental human rights in a democratic setting. One thing that Wiredu has taken for granted is that one person is elected to represent a group or community does not necessarily mean that such a person will truly represent their will or interests when he/she gets there. Example abound in African politics where representatives of the people end up representing their own personal interests through their corrupt practices. For instance, in 1995, Tom Lodge wrote extensively on the widespread political corruption in South Africa (Lodge 1995:157). Similarly, in *African Leaders and Corruption* Khalil Timamy also exposes how African democratic leaders in quasi-democratic regimes (Bongo's Gabon, Biya's Cameroon, Chiluba's Zambia, Muluzi's Malawi, Moi's Kenya, Mugabe's Zimbabwe, etc.) have used their political position, as the representatives of their people, to embezzle the economic resources of those nations (Timamy 2005:383). These political leaders were supposed to be the representatives of their people, but they ended up fighting for their private purses.

One question that calls for critical reflection is whether majoritarian democracy necessarily eschews the idea of substantive representation. We return a negative answer. I shall come back to revisit this under the heading assessment.

Then there is this important question, raised by Harry Lloyd: does consensus democracy improve the quality of government? (Lloyd 2016:1) This question is important to this paper as we need to understand whether adoption of consensual democracy in present-day African politics will remove the prevalent socio-political challenges such as corruption, poverty, and the marginalisation of the interests of the minority. Our view in this paper is that it is not clear whether it has succeeded in these areas. The reason behind this sceptical attitude is that if it has succeeded in the past, why change the winning formula? Let us now turn to the next section for more elaborate explanation and a critical assessment of Wiredu's view.

Assessment of Wiredu's argument

This section engages the existing view presented in the literature review. It also points out what is problematic about Wiredu's claim, in accordance with our earlier statement of the research problem.

Argument concerning the problem of coerced agreement

In the previous section, I discussed Wiredu's argument in defence of consensual democracy in traditional African society. In **Argument 1**, Wiredu argues that consensual democracy is better than majoritarian democracy simply because he feels that the former takes care of the interests of the minority. However, there are objections against this view. On the one hand, it is not proved whether the interests of the minority have been denied at any point in time due to the incidence of inter/intra-ethnic crises and conflicts even in traditional African society. Given human nature, a clash of interests is inevitable in any human society. According to Richard Sandbrook, inter/intra-ethnic crises have been proved to be the basis for fierce rivalry for economic resources and political power in traditional Africa society (Sandbrook 1972:106-107). I agree with Sandbrook for the fact that, on several occasions, a clash of interests (economic or political) between the majority and minority groups is always the cause of inter/intra-ethnic conflicts in any human society.

Arising from the above development, it should be noted that Wiredu, in his explanation, did not make provision for the possibility of clashes of interests or irresolvable differences between the majority and the minority in a traditional African society, even in relation to the decision-making process. My worry is that in case of irreconcilable differences due to a clash of interests, how will consensus be reached? And if consensus is not reached, how will the interests of the minority be protected in the face of unsolvabe differences between the majority and the minority? These are vital issues, worth ruminating over. As a matter of fact, this may be the reason Eze accused Wiredu of porttraying an exaggerated harmony in traditional African society (Eze 1999:213).

On the other hand, contrary to Wiredu's submission, a majority can even be dominated by the minority. In other words, it is not impossible for the interests of the minority to dominate the interests of the majority, even in the so-called democratic settings. The argument is that it is not practically impossible for the minority to dominate the majority by coercing them to agree with their proposal in order to reach consensus. For instance, in traditional African society that Wiredu talked about, there were sages or so-called wise, powerful and respected people more confident than others, good at speaking, and with a good command of language. This set of people, though always in the minority, often dominate discussions when decisions are to be made. Odera Oruka describes these kinds of people as

> *... men and women (sages) many of whom have not had the benefit of modern education. But they are, nevertheless, critical, independent thinkers who guide their thoughts and judgments by the power of reason and inborn insight rather than by the authority of the communal consensus. They are capable of taking a problem or a concept and offering a rigorous philosophical analysis of it, making clear rationally where they accept or reject the established or communal judgment on the matter (Oruka 1991: 11).*

What does this suggest? These people with superior arguments, though in the minority, have what it takes to manipulate the majority. Thus, these people (the 'loudest voices' in the society) can coerce the remaining majority to agree with them in order to reach consensus since they have the charisma and sugar-quoted mouths to convince the majority. The implication of this is that the so-called consensual democracy will end up jettisoning the interests of the majority. This is due to the fact that the minority who can use their wisdom, or power of oration, to their own advantage in order to coerce the majority into reaching consensus. In addition, social pressure and fear could deter some people in the majority from speaking against the view of the "loudest voices" in the society in a decision-making process and thus to be forced to remain silent, which will be counted as consent in order to reach coerced consensus. The point we are making is that, philosophically speaking, silence may not necessarily mean consent in all cases. More importantly, one problematic question that comes to mind is whether complete consensus really exists in Africa or anywhere in the world? The answer to this question is controversial.

Similarly, despite the fact that scholars including Wiredu often discuss consensus alongside the idea of equality and human rights in traditional Africa, the truth remains that traditional African society was not a classless society in practice. This view is in contrast with Nyerere's view that traditional African socialist society was a classless society (Nyerere 1968: 11). My point, in line with Eze, is that the kind of equality that Wiredu and Nyerere claim was exaggerated. Consequently, following Karl Marx's dominant ideology thesis, Marx argues that "the ruling class in every epoch has the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (Marx 1974:64). What this suggests is that in every society there are always dominant views, and the dominant view is always the view of the dominant class. Essentially, I do not think that the case is different in traditional African society.

Majoritarian democracy and majoritarian consensus

Is consensual democracy really antithetical to majoritarian democracy? I return a negative answer. My argument here is that majoritarian democracy that Wiredu rejected is not necessarily antithetical to consensual democracy. There are different types of consensus such as an imposed consensus, an acclaimed consensus, and a basic consensus, which are compatible with majoritarian democracy. Let us start our analysis from the first type of consensus. In an imposed consensus, for instance, we have a claim (e.g. by the chairperson that presides over a particular meeting) that consensus has been reached with no opportunity for the meeting participants to oppose this claim. This is not different from a majoritarian democracy where the majority wins. Also, in an acclaimed consensus, there is an explicit opportunity for participants to express their views, but its official purpose is not to express dissent but consent. The question is, how is this form of consensus different from majoritarian democracy? Furthermore, in basic consensus, participants are explicitly asked if there is anyone who disagrees, and a stretch of "audible silence" passes before the consensual decision is confirmed. In fact, I consider this to be a dubious way of reaching consensus. The reason for this is that the idea that silence means consent could be a fraud. Silence may not mean consent in all cases. The fact that people are silent over a decision does not necessarily mean that they have agreed or consented. They may be indifferent.

Thus, so long as imposed, acclaimed and basic consensus are versions of consensual democracy, they are not really antithetical to majoritarian democracy. This view actually leads us to what I have called **majoritarian consensus**[1]. Wiredu's idea of consensus is not too far removed from what we call majoritarian democracy, because Wiredu himself admitted that "consensus does not in general entail total agreement" (Wiredu 1996:183). Thus, if "total agreement" is interpreted to mean complete, full or entire agreement, then what follows is that the same sentence could be read as: Wiredu's kind of consensus does not in general entail complete, full or entire agreement. To illustrate this, let us assume that there is a particular society called society X with a population of three million people. In this society, decision is to be made through rational deliberation and two million, seven hundred thousand people agreed or consented to the outcome of the deliberation while three hundred thousand people disagreed. Now, going by my interpretation of Wiredu's claim that consensus does not in general entail total agreement, it actually means that consensus was reached in society X even though it was not a product of total agreement but a product of majority agreement. Now, the point I am driving at is that from empirical assessment, Wiredu's notion of consensus or consensual democracy is not different from what I called majoritarian consensus. As the name suggests, this is a kind of consensus that is reached by the decision-making process of the majority. The argument in essence is that, in a careful reading, the gap between consensual democracy and majoritarian democracy is not as wide as Wiredu has suggested. In other words, majoritarian democracy is not incompatible with consensual democracy.

Majoritarian democracy and substantive representations

In **Argument 2** above, Wiredu argues that consensual democracy is better than majoritarian democracy because for him it offers what he calls a substantive representation over and above formal representative (Wiredu 1996: 185, Matolino 2012:112). The question is: what is this substantive representation? And how do we measure substantive representation in traditional African society? In *The Concept of Representation*, Anna Pitkin defines substantive representation as a process of "acting in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them" (Pitkin, 1967:209). In view of the above definition, it is obvious that some African political leaders and politicians do not really act in the interests of the people they represent. Similarly, Karen Celis and Sarah Child also define substantive representation as a kind of representation that captures a relationship between the represented and representative in which the represented are 'logically prior', whereby the representatives must be responsive to the represented and not the other way around (Karen, 1998:100). In *The Concept of Representation* mentioned earlier, Pitkin basically identified four main type or categories of representation, namely: formal, descriptive, symbolic, and substantive representation (Pitkin, 1967). Wiredu's preference for substantive representation above formal representation actually finds support in Pitkin's work; Pitkin also defended the view that substantive representation yields better results than the other three. Now, the question is whether substantive representative is achievable under majoritarian democracy. Going by the above definitions, my answer is that it is achievable. In a majoritarian democracy where an election is held and someone with the highest number of votes emerges as a winner in order to represent his people, such elected representative is actually expected to represent the interest of the represented in a responsive manner. Thus, Wiredu's claim that consensual democracy is essential for securing substantive representation for the people does not necessarily undermine majoritarian democracy. The reason is that majoritarian

1. Majoritarian consensus will be a form of consensus by the majority of the people, that is, consensus that is reached by the decision-making process of the majority. This is in line with Brian William's analysis and notion of 'simple majority' consensus as opposed to unanimous consensus. "Simple majority" consensus level would be fifty percent plus one vote, while a unanimous consensus level would be when everybody agrees.

democracy also permits substantive representation for the representatives. In other words, the idea that substantive representation is mainly achievable under consensual democracy as portrayed by Wiredu could be contested.

Possible objection and response

One possible objection that could easily be raised against the above position in this paper is whether African traditional life is still in existence or whether the whole discussion has merit at all.

This is a valid observation. However, the relevance of this discussion is tied to the valuable insight it offered the inevitable problem which Africa has, to sooner rather than later consider given the way democracy is being practised within the continent in comparison with the Western world. Now, the rejoinder to the question of whether African traditional life is still in existence is not really a threat to the view that I maintain in this paper. Instead, as a matter of fact, it poses a further threat to Wiredu's argument that the method of governance used in traditional Africa could also be effective in modern Africa society. In essence, the above observation and response further reveal possible weaknesses of Wiredu's argument.

Conclusion

The article has sought to analyse and juxtapose consensual democracy with its majoritarian democracy counterpart, particularly as it affects the issues of minority interests and better representation. Are consensual democracy and majoritarian democracy mutually exclusive? My answer in this paper is that they are not. This article has argued that the implications and challenges of majoritarian democracy identified by Wiredu do not necessarily undermine majoritarian democracy, neither do they make his suggested decision by consensus a workable decision-making process in contemporary African society. Furthermore, this article has not claimed that majoritarian democracy is a defensible position; rather, our claim is that at certain levels of discussion, Wiredu's idea of consensus (consensual democracy) has some similarities and also faces similar challenges to those that (majoritarian) democracy faces.

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Can 'digital natives' be 'strangers' to digital technologies? An analytical reflection

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Abstract

Although a plethora of extant literature categorises them as natives in the digital world, it has been counter-argued that a considerable group of young people cannot be designated as 'digital natives'. This argument stems from the evidence for non-enthusiasm, non-exposure as well as non-adeptness to digital/new media technologies among certain groups of young people. Through a scoping review of relevant literature and a thematic content analysis, this article explores digital inequalities suffered by 'digital natives' which render them 'strangers' in the digital technological world, although they have been born at a time of an abundance of digital communication technologies. It was found that the concept of 'digital natives' could be dichotomous – being native based on a period in which one was born and being native through expression of competency in the use of digital technologies. It was also found, among other things, that 'digital natives' could be 'strangers' in the digital world as a result of disinterest, illiteracy, economic constraints, poor network connectivity, lack of electric power and inadequate practical accessibility. The article concludes that the real 'digital natives' are the ones who use and express competency in the use of digital technologies, no matter which limited physical contacts exist as a result of a global outbreak of disease. There is a need for greater efforts in bridging the digital disparity gap among all generational cohorts as work, business, teaching and learning shift online. One such is to include languages of digitally marginalised groups – digital strangers – (as a result of illiteracy) during programming of digital technologies. This can afford them the opportunity to use the voice optimisation features of digital devices in their local languages or be able to translate text on devices into their local languages in order to effectively deploy them.

Key words: 'digital natives'; digital strangers; icts; digital technologies; literature review; new media technologies; scoping review; knowledge synthesis; literature review; systematic review

Introduction: 'Digital natives' defined

The term 'digital natives' was introduced in communications technology discussions and made popular by Prensky (2001a) when he described such people as having been born into a period of proliferation of digital communications technologies and who have thus mastered the use of such technologies. Prensky (2001a) indicates that young people give credence to their 'digital nativeness' through news headlines of young hackers breaking national security codes, teenage entrepreneurs getting rich through E-Bay and successes such as Google, Facebook and YouTube, which were originated by young people (digital natives). Carr (2010) describes digital natives as being born and raised during the digital age, whereas the older generation is classified as digital immigrants who were born at a time of no digital communications technologies and

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have, as it were, immigrated into a time of the prevalence of digital communications/new media technologies. Prensky (2001a, b) observes that it is the demanding nature of the computer that makes many parents 'digital immigrants' in the information age which is populated by their digital native children.

Digital natives are considered members of the 'net generation' (Oblinger & Oblinger 2005; Tapscott 2009), as their lives are woven around the use of the internet. They are part of the leading generation to grow up digital (Tapscott 2009; Wesner & Miller 2008). Tapscott (2009) argues that the net generation is increasingly involved in multitasking with digital communications technologies and daily activities, employing digital communication technologies to interact, work and socialise, as well as transforming democracy with the use of the same technologies. Digital natives are typically young and expert users of digital technologies. Their heavy use of digital/new media technologies is also a common distinctive feature shared by the majority, if not all. Bolton *et al*. say such a skilled user 'actively contributes, shares, searches for and consumes content – plus works and plays – on social media platforms' (Bolton *et al*. 2013: 245-246). Not only are they heavy participants in and consumers of social media content, they also rely heavily on social media to be entertained and to shed loneliness, find self-esteem and belongingness through the engagement and consumption of videos, music and games accessible on social media.

Digital technologies are "products or services that are either embodied in information and communication technologies or enabled by them" (Lyytinen, Yoo, & Boland 2016: 49). Personal digital devices are typically light, compact, faster and versatile and can store huge amounts of information locally or remotely and be moved around almost immediately (Goodman 2020). The digital/new media technologies that this article refers to are electronic devices, platforms and resources that aid in the generation, storage or processing of data. Examples of digital technologies include personal computers, online games, social media, smart phones, mobile phones and tablet computers. The digital revolution started in the 1980s when the millennials were born. The millennial generation is said to be those who were born from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s, with the early 2000s ending the birth years. However, 1981 to 1996 is widely accepted as the defining range for the millennial generation (Rauch 2018). Millennials precede the Generation Z (Gen Z) who are said to have been born between 1997 and 2012. So, where millennials end, Generation Z begins. Thus, the meaningful cut-off between millennials and Gen Z, also known as the iGeneration, Google generation (Helsper and Enyon 2010) and Generation Y (Perillo nd.) is 1996 (Dimock 2019).

By Prensky's definition, digital natives are people who were born during or after the digital era (Ch'ng 2019). Digital natives accordingly comprise the millennial generation (although it is often said not all of them are) and all post-millennial generations. Such persons have grown up with digital technologies; learn to use them informally and get to the university already familiar with computers. Digital natives either learn or teach themselves how to use digital technologies mostly through social networks such as family and friends – rather than needing to be taught (Prensky 2001a, b), which is not likely to be the case with earlier generations. Unlike their 'dinosaur' parents (Livingstone 2008), who have been inhibited by the demands of the computer interface and other digital communication technologies, Ito *et al*. (2008) argue that young people (digital natives) tend to be earlier adopters of digital or new media technologies than their dinosaur or 'digital immigrant' counterparts. Digital natives, even as teenagers, often have authoring, programming or coding capabilities. Their experiences and interactions with digital technologies get more complex as they use and appropriate these technologies.

In this article, new media and digital technologies are used interchangeably because they are used to refer to the same technologies. This is because most new media technologies started off as a conversion of old media while others started off purely digital. The digital nature of new media technologies allows for easy circulation, accessibility and consumption of content

(University of Minnesota nd.). It is the digitisation of communications technologies that made new media technologies possible. The term 'new' is used to indicate the evolving nature of digital technologies as the technologies are constantly being upgraded. The working definition of the term 'digital natives' in this article is people who have been born into digital technologies and new media technologies. These people are likely to have better knowledge, control and a positive attitude towards digital or new media technologies. They are also likely to exhibit proficiency in the use of same. They range from children through to teens and adults who are possibly in their 40s. There is no specific region of the world in which they are located. The purpose of this paper was to explore the trends in literature concerning digital inequalities suffered by 'digital natives' and to look into causes of the inequalities.

As a generation considered to have been born into the digital era, growing up (or having grown) exposed to the continuous flow of digital information and being a generation of whose lives the Internet are natural components (Dingli & Seychell 2015), it becomes important to study if the digital native generational cohorts are able to access the technologies that make them be categorised as digital natives, and if not, why? In a time when the world is engulfed by the outbreak of the deadly COVID-19 virus, a lot of daily activities, including business, work and education (teaching and learning), have been moved online. Digital natives are therefore expected to be at ease with this new norm, having been born into these technologies. However, exposure to digital technology does not guarantee the ability to use it as 'not all young people are tech-savvy or have an interest to learn more' (ECDL Foundation 2014: 2). With this claim, and the unique circumstances the world is faced with, it necessitates the exploration of digital natives' ability to access digital technologies among others, which (will) allow(s) them to take advantage of these technologies.

In this article, I dwell on the various themes that emanate from previous literature in the area of digital inequalities suffered by 'digital natives' that render them 'strangers to the digital world and what factors account for the inequalities. Greenhoot and Dowsett (2012) assert that secondary data analysis allows for thorough exploration of or investigations into developmental questions. The research questions that guided the study were: what are the nuances or dynamics of the 'digital native' concept?; what are the digital inequalities experienced by 'digital natives' that render them 'strangers to the digital world'? and: what accounts for the digital inequalities digital natives experience?

Methods

Resorting to secondary data analysis has a powerful prospect to allow for longitudinal designs that thoroughly investigate developmental questions with well-established techniques to prevent possible shortcomings (Greenhoot & Dowsett 2012:16). Secondary data is also useful in addressing relevant research questions, such as how 'native' digital natives are in their use of digital technologies, as postulated by Prensky and other scholars. It is also useful in view of the enormous amounts of data, regarding digital technology use by digital natives, that are being generated, documented, disseminated and archived by researchers (Andrews, Higgins, Andrews & Lalor 2012; Rudestam & Newton 2014 and Smith *et al.* 2011).

A scoping literature review was conducted, and dominant themes determined through a qualitative content analysis. A scoping review is a form of research synthesis that has the objective to 'map the literature on a particular topic or research area and provide an opportunity to identify key concepts or gaps in the field; and types and sources of evidence to inform practice, policymaking, and research' (Daudt, van Mossel & Scott 2013: 8). Conducting this type of literature review was considered an appropriate approach to establish facts about the digital inequalities that exist among 'digital natives'.

The data used were mainly online journal articles, retrieved using the Google Scholar search engine. In terms of eligibility criteria, the researcher adopted two broad screening approaches – one was to establish the relevance of the study to the research objectives; the other was to use only articles published in the English language. In a few instances when the same data were reported in more than one publication or source, only the article reporting the most complete data set was used. There were no restrictions on the date of publication of the articles (although the researcher consciously made it a point to analyse more contemporary studies); nether were there any restrictions on the settings in which the studies were conducted. It was, however, realised that because the study looked at digital inequalities, a lot of the literature retrieved was from research conducted in settings/places where there was evidence of digital inequalities. This must have resulted from the search queries used. Some of the keywords used to search for relevant articles were: 'digital natives'; digital technologies, digital inequalities, digital divide, and new media technologies. Overall, about 35 relevant research items were retrieved for analysis. An initial reading of abstracts of articles was done to ensure their relevance to the study before critical reading and analysis of content, which enabled the generation of themes. Other resources such as books written on the subject matter formed part of the data used for thematic analysis.

I start off with an overview of the dominant themes emerging from conversations or discussions about 'digital natives' and the 'digital natives' concept. Following that is a discussion of various inequalities faced by 'digital natives'.

Discussions

The discussions cover the nuances of the 'digital natives' concept; the digital inequalities experienced by 'digital natives' that render them 'strangers to the digital world and; what accounts for the digital inequalities that 'digital natives' experience.

Are there real 'digital natives'?

Although young people have been portrayed as being expert users of digital/new media technologies, some scholars are hesitant in making such a generalisation, asserting that within this group there exist different tendencies and aptitudes in digital/new media technology usage. Weber and Dixon (2007: 4), for instance, assert that not every child is 'born into new technologies' to a similar degree. They cite North America, which is supposed to have a lot of its population enjoying access to and being knowledgeable in the use of digital technologies, as still having homes deprived of computers and the Internet, with few teens having access to a video gaming console or cell phone at the time of their study. A study by Facer and Furlong (2001) found that there was a relationship between computer access at home and income levels and other factors like non-existent family culture and experience of placing economic, educational and cultural value on the computer and everyday family usage.

Worthy of note, they found that even though some children did not have access to computers, they exhibited competency with other portable new media entertainment technologies. This means that although a group of people may be exposed to the same technologies, each person takes on different technologies due to factors such as family culture and affordability. In a period when access to and use of digital technologies have nearly become a digital right to survive in the digital economy, this study is important for knowing the digital inequalities that exist among a group of users considered to be born into digital technologies which have been reported over the years. This will enable the mapping out of interventions to bridge that gap.

Facer and Furlong (2001) agreed that it is erroneous to see every youth as a 'cyber kid'. This, they deduced, could have counterproductive consequences for young people and their education. This is because, without appreciating the fact that there are digitally-marginalised young people, schools, for instance, may not find it obligatory to provide the necessary resources like time and space for students to gain confidence and expertise with computers and other new media technologies on the assumption that they have a 'natural ability' with the technologies.

They also declared that the term 'digital native' could be offensive in certain contexts. For instance in South Africa the word 'native' brings to mind the regrettable colonial and apartheid era which suggested backwardness, and the 'immigrants' suggestive of civilisation. This casts a rather derisive insinuation about the digitally marginalised groups in Africa. In another view, Brown and Czerniewicz (2010) contended that the range of skills across generations should send signals that there cannot be one core group of people who exhibit aptitude for new media technologies, and another group who exhibit the opposite. For this reason, they identified a sub-group in the so-called digital native group called the 'Digital strangers'. This group, they said, is made up of more women with difficult and very poor access to digital technologies and ICTs generally and who typically use public facilities to access the digital world. These digital strangers also rate their ICT skills as poor and average, come from low socioeconomic backgrounds and are mostly non-English speakers.

The table below provides a summary of the dominant themes that emerged during data analysis. There is a discussion of the themes subsequently.

Table 1 Dominant themes derived from data analysis

Digital technologies used among 'digital natives'	Nuances/dynamics of the 'digital natives'	Digital Inequalities Identified
Mobile/smart phones Internet Social Media PCs Laptops Tablets Gaming consoles	Born during/after the digital revolution; Pervasive usage of digital technologies; Adeptness in using digital technologies; Dependency on digital technologies for a lot of tasks.	Social factors including no or minimal home culture; Socio-economic circumstances; No or minimal institutional access; Illiteracy; Restrictions/disenfranchisement; Conscientious objection Lack of enthusiasm; Connectivity lapses; Lack of or inadequate practical accessibility; Electric power supply

Digital inequalities among 'digital natives'

With the technical demands of digital technologies, it is not surprising that illiteracy has been accounted for as affecting the smooth uptake of new media technologies in African countries. The use of new media technologies requires that users have some level of formal education, in order to read manuals or follow directions which are mainly written (and even worse: in a non-native language). For this reason, those without formal education, even though they may be categorised as 'digital natives' because of the period in which they were born, may not have the abilities which 'true' 'digital natives' (must) exhibit. Therefore, being born into something as a criterion for determining who one is, and which cannot be altered, is considered tricky (Brown & Czerniewicz 2010).

Illiteracy rates have been found to be prevalent among those from low socioeconomic backgrounds. So, such people are saddled with the double agony of not being able to afford digital technologies and not having the skills set to use the technologies easily. Significantly, Madden *et al.* (2013) found that, even in developed countries such as the United States, in terms of overall Internet usage, teens aged 12-17 who were living in lower-income and lower-education households, to a certain degree, were unlikely to use the Internet in any capacity, be it wired or mobile. Where some form of accessibility existed among lower socioeconomic groups, they were more likely than those from higher income and highly educated households to use their cell phones as a principal point of access. Uche and Obiora (2016) also identified factors limiting the use of social media in Nigeria to include: inadequate electricity supply, poverty and inconsistent network signal, *w*hich provides evidence for inequalities in the use of new media technologies.

Mention should be made that, although there may be traces of the 'digital stranger' due to some of the factors mentioned above, digital marginalisation or inequalities are also being eroded through mobile technology in many parts of the world, especially in Ghana and other African countries (James 2016; Aker & Mbiti 2010; Madden *et al.* 2013; Kreutzer 2009; Chigona *et al*. 2009; Bosch 2008; Deliotte 2013; Hilbert 2010). Nonetheless, the underscoring fact is that there are groups of users of digital/new media technologies who dominate in the use of the technologies while others do not. Again, certain limitations make some groups of digital/new media technology users less exposed to the technologies, even if they have an interest in using them. These account for the disputation about the term 'digital natives' which is used to describe particular generation(s). It is, therefore, important to acknowledge sub-groups in each core category of users who demonstrate dissimilar inclinations and/or characteristics. These existing inequalities also demand a redefinition of the term or that the term be redirected and context-driven.

Boyd (2007) also advances along the lines of the digital inequality argument – two categories of non-participants of social networking sites – disenfranchised teens and conscientious objectors. He describes disenfranchised teens as consisting of 'those without Internet access, those whose parents succeed in banning them from participation, and online teens who primarily access the Internet through school and other public venues where social networking sites are banned' (Boyd 2007: 3). Conscientious objectors were described as being obedient teens who have agreed with their parents' safety or moral anxieties and teens who have been marginalised and have the impression that social network sites are for the 'cool kids' which they do not consider themselves to be and teens who feel that they are 'too cool' for these sites.

Again, although research indicates that young people ('digital natives') have been exposed to new media technologies all their lives, Livingstone (2011) believes that both children and adults (digital immigrants/dinosaurs) may tussle with becoming proficient at using new media technologies. She argues that not all children or young people have the same enthusiasm for such technologies:

> *For some, the Internet is an increasingly rich, diverse, engaging and stimulating resource of growing importance in their lives. For others, it remains a narrow and relatively unengaging if occasionally useful resource (Livingstone 2011: 2).*

Similarly, Brown and Czerniewicz (2010: 1) share this position and call attention to the point that categorizing a group of people as 'digital immigrants' and another as 'digital natives' only brings about 'polarisation'. 'Polarisation' makes the concept less flexible and more determinist in that it implies that if a person falls into one category, they ‘cannot exhibit characteristics of the other category’. It is in acknowledgement of this that I call attention to various categories of digital inequalities suffered by ‘digital natives’ which can render them ‘strangers’ in the digital world even in a time when access to and skills in using such technologies have become very indispensable.

These arguments are worth giving thought to and provide the opportunity to investigate the nuances in the use of digital technologies among ‘digital natives’, rather than suggesting and sticking to broad categories.

Factors accounting for digital inequalities amongst ‘digital natives’

Several factors, some of which have been mentioned earlier, account for digital inequality or a digital divide. Grounded in literature, critical observation/assessment and reflection, factors identified as accounting for digital inequalities among ‘digital natives’ are discussed below:

Illiteracy: Illiteracy has been blamed in several studies for impeding the uptake of certain technologies. This is because, most of the time, technology use requires applying academic intellect to effectively operate them, even though some communications technologies are easier to operate than others, for instance, television and radio. These can be relatively easier to use as one simply needs to know how to switch them on and off as well as change channels, a process which does not require much academic intellect. If the programme being aired pricks the interest of the audience, they leave their dial on the particular channel or station.

Yet, certain new media technologies like the computer and the Internet require the user to apply more intellectual effort in order to operate them effectively and to obtain their full benefit. One needs to have a reasonable appreciation of how they works, what they can do and reasonable details about how to operate them to be able to effectively use them for one’s benefit. Early manufactured computers required even more from the user. The operating system, Microsoft Dos was such that one had to memorise certain text-based commands, since there was no graphical user interface. In contemporary times, in order to go to the Internet, one must have some level of formal education. This is because one would have to type in the Internet browser and search engines, a task which requires some level of formal education. Besides, the convergence technology of ICTs and new media technologies are mostly self-instructional, with their program and applications directing users how to use them. This makes it necessary to have formal education in order to read and understand, effectively navigate and use the technologies.

Voice search optimisation could erode this cause of digital inequality or marginalisation but where one’s language is not programmed in the device it will be of no effect. This entrenches digital inequality perpetuated by illiteracy.

Economic constraint*:* A relationship has been established between illiteracy and economic constraint. This is because literature reveals that illiteracy is endemic among those from low socioeconomic backgrounds and in places where poverty is prevalent. Essentially, non-affordability of formal education partly accounts for illiteracy. The ability to afford digital/new media technologies would most likely mean that one would be able to purchase the technologies and use them frequently. Frequency of use of the technologies makes users gain proficiency in the use of the technologies as well. If potential users are not able to acquire new media technologies because of economic constraints, exposure to and usage of the technologies will equally be low. There will also be a situation where there will be digital strangers among the ‘digital native’ category resulting from the fact that some may not have experienced new media technologies at all, making them ‘strangers’ to the digital world. Thus, even though such technologies could be of potential benefit to users and users have the propensity to have a flair for the technologies, non-exposure and infrequency of use will render them less adept, consequently rendering them strangers to the technologies.

Connectivity lapses: Interruptions in network connectivity do not allow for productive time with digital technologies. Digital technology users who may be enthusiastic about the use of the technologies and who can potentially be skilled at using them may not get the maximum opportunity to exploit the technologies to be considered 'native' users. Inconsistent network signals, lack of network accessibility and absence of electrical power give examples of inequalities in the use of new media technologies. This is because users are not able to access Internet-enabled technologies for days, weeks or months, making them have less time with the technologies, consequently leading to less familiarity with them.

Lack of/unstable electric power: Also related to connectivity lapses is the lack of electric power. Connectivity can also be affected when there is no, or disruptions in, electricity supply. This is because most new media technologies are powered by electricity. Residents in rural/peri urban areas and villages that are not connected to an electricity grid become disadvantaged because all digital technologies require electrical power to work, be it directly or indirectly.

Non-existent or inadequate practical accessibility: Sometimes, the technology, network and systems are available but potential users have limited avenues to use technologies outside the officially allocated times. In this case, the technologies are publicly available and accessible to users but not available and accessible to them privately. On top of that, users do not get technologies to use, outside official places for accessing the technologies, such as schools or Internet cafes. This results in users spending limited time to practise with technologies or not accessing them at all.

Restrictions from the use of digital technologies/Disenfranchised enthusiasts: Restrictions in the use of digital technologies do not allow thorough exploration, operation and appreciation of the technologies. Users become disenfranchised as a result. For this reason, the level to which 'digital natives' could use the technologies is curtailed even though they may have the zeal and potential to exhibit great expertise in the use of the technologies.

Non-enthusiasm: The non-enthusiasts do not have any affinity whatsoever towards new media technologies. This group of 'digital strangers' has been referred to as 'conscientious objectors' in some literature. As a result, not only do they hardly use the technologies, they also do not have proficiency when they do.

Social factors: There those who may be counted as digital strangers because their social and cultural settings do not offer them the opportunity to actively use and familiarise themselves with digital technologies. The result of this is that they are not confident enough about their ability to use digital technologies, making them not attempt to use the technologies at all, although they may be available. The general attitude of this group is that they are hesitant and not confident about trying new things.

Deductions from thematic content analysis

'Digital natives', defined by the period in which they were born, could be strangers to new media technologies because of factors discussed above. However, 'digital natives' defined by the extent of digital technology usage can be considered the real natives. I argue that 'digital natives' should be defined by the extent of usage and adeptness at using digital technologies, not by the period they were born in. Whether young or old, one needs the same flair to be able to use the computer (Buckingham 2006) and by extension digital/new media technologies. The fact that young people and their older counterparts are appropriating digital/new media technologies differently cannot be denied, with the younger generation having a greater propensity to highly appropriate new media technologies and showing expertise in their use. However, if the older generation (who are not part of the age criterion of 'digital natives') are able to appropriate the technologies, as well as exhibit similar competencies, they must also be considered 'digital natives', since they also exhibit the flair the younger ones demonstrate. In this case, being a 'digital native' will reflect in the extent and the flair with which one uses digital/new media technologies, akin to naturalisation by which a foreigner can become a citizen of another country.

Further, it must be underscored that mobile technology is bridging the digital inequality gap. This is because where access to new media technologies, such as PCs or Laptops, is lacking due to non-affordability, mobile technologies are making up for it. More so, with the constant upgrading of new media technologies, the smartphone class of mobile phones have the same features and abilities as the computer. This is because of their stronger hardware capabilities coupled with their extensive operating systems, which support web browsing and multimedia, beside the voice and text functionality. Smartphones serve as able substitutes for the computers and can be used no matter the time or place. They are also relatively affordable compared to laptop or tablet computers.

Nevertheless, it is also important to note that as we move work, learning and business online, it will cause the deepening of digital strangers' marginalisation and the widening of the digital divide. Illiteracy, which has been identified as partly accounting for the prevailing divide, will likely prevent a lot of people from adequately deploying digital technologies to remain competitive in business and benefit from online learning. It will be difficult for people with little knowhow of the utility of digital technologies and the means to afford them to effectively move their businesses online. Besides, where economic constraints and network connectivity hamper people from access to digital technologies, such people can easily be deprived of online education which is gradually becoming a part of the educational infrastructure.

This study has shown that although there are digital strangers in a time of abundance of digital technologies, minimal studies have been done on them in contemporary times, calling for considerable attention to studying digital marginalisation to reflect current trends. Several recent studies done in relation to digital technology usage have typically looked at the dynamics of digital media usage, including usage patterns, gratifications sought and the effects of the technologies on users (e.g. Košir *et al*. 2016; Adjin-Tettey 2019; Alharahsheh & Obeidat 2019; Santhi & Rajesh 2020; Fidan 2019; Liu *et al.* 2020).

It must be noted that, although there is a seemingly increasing uptake of digital technologies, digital inequalities still exist, even in contexts perceived to have robust digital technological infrastructure (Weidmann 2016). In a time when humans have had to make significant changes in their lifestyles because of the Covid-19 pandemic, it is imperative to ensure the much-needed empirical gap is filled. It necessitates studies that could inform an appreciation of the digital inequalities that exist which could potentially work against bringing about "liberation" through technology access (Chen 2016), which can impact democracy, beside the economic and social implications of usage.

Conclusion

Through the scoping review of relevant literature, this article explored digital inequalities suffered by 'digital natives' which render them 'strangers' in the digital technological world, although they have been born at a time of an abundance of digital communications technologies. The article discussed the nuances of the digital native concept – being native based on a period in which one was born and being native through competence in the use of digital technologies. It was also found that, among other things, 'digital natives' could be 'strangers' in the digital world as a result of non-enthusiasm, illiteracy, economic constraints, poor network connectivity, lack of electric power and inadequate practical accessibility. It can therefore be argued that real 'digital natives' are the ones who use and express competence in the use of digital technologies, no matter which period they were born in.

The study has established that this period, marked by limited physical contacts, demands great efforts in bridging the digital disparity gap among all generational cohorts. This is because the shift of work, business, teaching and learning online is likely to be the new norm or a good part of daily lifestyles. These major activities of our lives cut across all generational groupings. It becomes imperative that everyone has access, resources, infrastructure and skills to effectively use digital technologies. Anyone left out will likely suffer dire consequences as the economy intrinsically demands digital/new media technology accessibility and skills to be able to thrive. In places where illiteracy is prevalent and is preventing the effective uptake of digital technologies, there should be a way of localising or customising these technologies so they can be effectively deployed for important transactions, among other things. There should therefore be customised applications to suit the needs of the digitally marginalised, especially those rendered strangers as a result of illiteracy. One way is to include the languages of digitally marginalised groups when programming digital technologies, so such users can have the option of setting their devices to their local languages. This can afford them the opportunity to use the voice optimisation features of the devices in their local languages or be able to translate text on devices into their local languages in order to effectively deploy the technologies.

This study has equally shed light on the need for researching the digitally marginalised groups, especially in a time when the importance of digital technologies has become heightened. In order to avoid the technology bias suffered by digital strangers, it is important for researchers to turn their attention to studying the digitally marginalised or digital strangers to understand their needs and other pertinent questions about it, including socio-cultural, economic and political, that pertain to their unique contexts and other implications. This will help inform the development of government policies and call for state and industry support for technological infrastructure and the promotion of digital skills among members of digitally marginalised communities. Studies on non-enthusiasts and conscientious objectors could also shed light on the other forces that hamper the uptake of digital technologies for appropriate measures and actions to be taken by relevant bodies, agencies or institutions.

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COVID-19 Lockdown and higher education. Time to look at disaster-preparedness as a governance issue?

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Abstract

When COVID-19 broke out in Wuhan in 2019, the world looked at it as a 'Chinese' disease and no international efforts were made to assist China. Countries that supported China just offered solidarity messages. China adopted a raft of measures that included prescribing a lockdown on Wuhan and construction of infrastructure such as hospitals. In 2020, COVID-19 extended its tentacles across the globe. A majority of countries adopted the lockdown as a mitigatory measure. The lockdown activated an extraordinary instant emergency in the education sector as schools, colleges and universities shut down. What worsened the situation was that no solution was in sight as the medical researchers dithered from one suggestion to the other. This paper examines possible ways to deal with the emergency in the education sector by suggesting alternative learning solutions. The major argument of this paper is that countries should not simply copy and paste solutions that are not in sync with their local settings. Using the multistage designs sampling technique, three universities from a target of eighteen were selected. Convenience sampling was used to select the three universities and analytic rubrics were used to analyse clarity of policy and disaster preparedness by universities in Zimbabwe. For comparative purposes, four international webinars on education and COVID-19 were selected. This paper contributes towards addressing the lacunae created by global lockdown and subsequent shutdown of learning institutions due to COVID-19. The findings were that the lockdown approach was adopted and implemented without adaptation. Learning institutions were closed indefinitely despite the economic environment, the digital divide and the rural-urban divide militating against lockdown's entire adoption. Key proposals to deal with the lockdown include scaling up distance education based on mixed technologies, a paradigm shift on perceptions on digital education and resuscitation of postal services.

Keywords: COVID-19, lockdown, distance education, governance, disaster preparedness

Introduction

The whole world is desperate for a solution to the COVID-19 pandemic that has been wreaking havoc. Every facet of life has been affected and there has been massive loss of life. Education, one of the determinants of human development and socialisation, has not been spared either. Despite the adoption of various strategies against COVID-19, the spread of the disease in sub-Saharan Africa might be just beginning, hence learners should be expecting a long haul (King 2020). In a bid to mitigate COVID-19's ramifications, schools, colleges and universities in the global north came up with mitigatory measures that included online curriculum platforms and new

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courses for higher education institutions (Winthrop 2020). What motivated this paper is whether sub-Saharan Africa and other countries in the global south will be able to do what their counterparts in the global north have done. Globally, inequality, marginalisation and social isolation have continued to dominate relations at student level and this is largely influenced by the penchant of global south governors to adopt solutions performed in the global north, where the education sector has adopted total lockdowns that have seen schools, colleges and universities shutting their physical doors. To mitigate the negative effects, they have gone on to activate virtual classes.

Unfortunately, because of their penchant of adopting measures implemented in the global north without contextualising them, countries in the global south have also embraced lockdowns. This paper examines the possible ways to deal with the emergency in the education sector by suggesting alternative learning solutions. The major argument of this paper is that countries should not just copy and paste solutions that are not in sync with their local settings. In exploring the challenges posed by wholesome adoption without adaptation, questions that emerge include: what are the implications of university closure where students have signed agreements with sponsors and employers? How can it be possible to ensure that an education system facing severe and sustained disruption functions properly? (King 2020). Can the widespread use of remote schooling be a feasible panacea, especially when it comes to maximisation of learning and mitigation of the impact of disruption witnessed on the most vulnerable members of society? What can best guide the university in choosing remote forms to use? What has made us put emphasis on these questions is that the majority of global south countries have opted for lockdown as a response to the ravaging COVID-19. Apart from that, the universities and schools face a dilemma when it comes to selecting the appropriate remote schooling method. The dilemma comes since there are no universally accepted standards on what ‘quality’ means (King 2020). Furthermore, there are no clear guidelines on what would make one option more preferable to the others. It is therefore imperative that we come up with policy proposals for future implementation. Using the multistage designs and convenience sampling techniques, three universities from a target of eighteen were selected. Analytic rubrics were used to analyse clarity of policy and disaster preparedness by these universities. For comparative purposes, four international webinars on education and COVID-19 were selected using snowballing sampling technique. This paper contributes towards addressing the voids that emerged as a result of the global lockdown and the consequent closure of learning institutions due to COVID-19. From the analysis of the institutions’ disaster preparedness, it emerged that considerable productive learning time was lost as universities were not prepared. The situation was worsened by the adoption of the lockdown approach without adapting it to the local context. The local context where total lockdowns were enacted did not have a matching macroeconomic environment, neither was the digital divide or the rural-urban divide favourable. The conclusion drawn was that the wholesome adoption of foreign interventions did not work in the global south. Key proposals to mitigate the ramifications of the lockdown include improving distance education based on using mixed technologies, a paradigm shift on perceptions about digital education and revival of post office services.

This paper focuses on COVID-19 as a global pandemic, the disaster-preparedness of the education sector for this global pandemic and the international response by the education sector to this pandemic. The paper adopts a case study of how the Zimbabwean education sector handles the pandemic and the ramifications of the adopted approach. Finally, the paper recommends the strategies that the education sector has to adopt so that students are not disadvantaged further by COVID-19.

COVID-19 Global pandemic

The genesis of COVID-19 can be traced to the Chinese city of Wuhan, the capital of Hubei Province. The siege on Wuhan was announced on 9 January 2020 (Le Maris 2020). Due to its origins, some mainstream media started to call it the ‘Chinese Flu’ or ‘Chinese disease’. The World Health Organisation (WHO) declared COVID-19 an International Public Health Emergency on 30 January 2020 (Le Maris 2020). Globally, 70 countries (including 12 in Africa) have declared an official emergency, placing more than 3.9 billion people on lockdown (Seyhan 2020). COVID-19 presents a triple threat, namely the virus itself (threatening life), economic consequences of lockdown (loss of production hours) and state repression (police brutality and abuse of human rights during the enforcement of lockdown). The economic consequences are linked to the notion that COVID-19 follows global commercial networks. African countries cannot simply copy rich countries’ responses to COVID-19 (Strohm 2020; De Waal 2020). Strategies of containment adopted by the global north included an uncontrolled spread (letting the virus spread rapidly so as to build the immunity of the population, adopted in Sweden) (Strohm 2020). This strategy was based on Darwinism that promotes survival of the fittest. The other strategy was testing and containment. This strategy was adopted by Taiwan and Singapore but it demanded a strong public health system (De Waal 2020; Strohm 2020). The last option was the lockdown, either without income replacement as in the US or with income replacement as in Denmark and Canada (Strohm 2020). The lockdown involved prohibiting people to leave their homes. For Africa, uncontrolled spread and testing and containment were not viable options since they would destroy the already overburdened public health system. The only option that seemed available was the adoption of lockdown. However, lockdowns are not sustainable and issues of social distancing will only be adhered to if the basic needs are met. African countries went into lockdown without consultations with the grassroots. The populace was not given a chance to propose locally-suitable versions of transmission, control, and monitoring strategies (De Waal 2020). The lockdowns that were adopted as standardised sets of intervention strategies were alien, as they were copied from East Asia, Europe and North America (De Waal 2020) (Le Maris 2020). This was despite the differences in context, especially when it comes to ensuring social distancing and voluntary compliance. This difference was likely to lead to confrontations between the police and the general populace. Apart from different contexts, the rationale for lockdown is to flatten the curve of infections in populated urban areas, yet in Africa these lockdowns were adopted at the beginning of the infections. In addition, more that 56% of the African population live in the rural areas; one wonders how that would flatten the curve. In the end, the failure to consult saw the executive leaders giving orders that suspended social services like education. This had far-reaching ramifications globally, as 1.6 billion of 1.91 billion learners found themselves out of school (UNESCO 2020; Gyamerah 2020; King 2020; Rose 2020). These measures were taken without even considering the consequences of such actions, especially considering the nature of infrastructure in a majority of global south countries. The following section looks at the disaster preparedness of the education sector worldwide for the COVID-19 pandemic.

Disaster preparedness of the education sector

When COVID-19 struck the world, lockdowns were embraced by many global south countries despite their different contexts from the countries in the global north. Globally, 1.6 billion of 1.91 billion learners are negatively affected by school, colleges and university closures (UNESCO 2020; Gyamerah 2020) and this translates to 91% of the enrolled learners worldwide. The learners who are affected are in 188 countries that have closed schools (Rose 2020) as a containment strategy. Thus, governments have temporarily closed education institutions as a way of containing the spread of COVID-19 (Gyamerah 2020). Due to the different contexts and somewhat alien solutions, many activities were disrupted. In some instances, life came to a standstill and it is anticipated that in education, governments have to change their way of doing business and their governance after COVID-19. In 1918 during the Spanish flu pandemic, 40 US cities closed their schools, while after World War II, 1 million children dropped out of school in the UK (Winthrop 2020b). After World War II, the world embraced multilateralism in the form of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the United Nations (UN) (Amaglo-Mensah 2020). In addition, after the 2008 financial crisis, there were improved and synchronised financial regulations. Even though this is not the first pandemic, there are neither adequate evidence nor tried and tested coping strategies by education institutions when pandemics strike. History fails us as it does not offer us straight forward precedents (King, 2020).

New initiatives are crucial to dealing with reality affecting the global village, and there is no room for the traditional way of doing things (Amaglo-Mensah 2020). As a global crisis, COVID-19 should alter the way people view society as the other global crises did. If no alternative interventions emerge and are adopted, the ripple effects include sub-par delivery (Amaglo-Mensah, 2020) where limited time is used to cover many topics. Though a lot of countries have adopted reactionary measures such as distance learning, there are quite an array of questions outstanding. These questions focus on the implications of university closure to students that have signed agreements with sponsors and employers. The universities are in a quandary, uncertain how to deal with the change in programme timeframes. Universities are also not sure how to improve their service delivery in the light of the heavy blow dealt by COVID-19 that has resulted in severe and sustained disruption to the normal functions (King 2020). In cases where universities have embraced remote forms of teaching and learning, the universities and schools face a dilemma when it comes to selecting the appropriate remote schooling method. The dilemma comes since there are no universally accepted standards on what ‘quality’ means (King 2020). In addition, can the widespread use of remote schooling be a feasible panacea, especially when it comes to the maximisation of learning and mitigation of the impact of disruption witnessed on the most vulnerable members of society? What can best guide the university in choosing remote forms to use? What has made us put emphasis on these questions is that the majority of countries in the global south experience this phenomenon. Apart from that, the attachment to traditional methods of teaching and learning also negatively affects the use of remote schooling methods. This exhibits itself in the form of fatigue that militates against maintain learner engagement. Learning institutions find themselves facing hurdles when it comes to building interaction, either remotely or through "drip feeding" (King 2020). Other questions include those that focus on examinations when colleges and universities are closed. These are pertinent questions since the interruption of examinations has far-reaching negative repercussions. These include delaying decisions on student progress and graduation, thereby militating against their contribution to the socio-economic wellbeing of their societies (UNESCO 2020). The following section takes a bird’s eye view of how the international community responded to the disruptions in the education sector as a result of measures that were taken to contain COVID-19.

International response to COVID-19 disruptions in the education sector

Globally, COVID-19 has triggered an unprecedented immediate education emergency (Srivastava 2020) and anxiety has gripped the world (Winthrop 2020). In order to deal with this emergency, the provision of alternative learning solutions (Atchoarena 2020) became a priority. In response, the World Bank established a US$14 billion education task force (Gyamerah 2020) because government-mandated quarantine made the traditional approach untenable (Winthrop 2020). Worldwide, staff, students and international partners have been arm-twisted and forced to adapt quickly (Rose 2020) to deal with COVID-19. For those schools, colleges and universities in countries that have adopted lockdown as a containment strategy, UNESCO has come up with mitigatory measures. These include the adoption of relevant technologies (Rose 2020). For example, among other strategies, Ministries of Education in Kenya and Liberia have rolled out radio programmes. In China, more than 20 online curriculum platforms and 24000 courses for higher education institutions emerged (Winthrop 2020). Other real-time distance education programmes might be difficult to access because they demand access to the Internet, electricity and digital devices (Gyamerah 2020).

Quite a number of countries adopted national lockdown, while others opted for localised lockdown. Those that adopted total lockdown greatly affected their learners, especially those that were in their final semester and therefore about to take their final examinations. Of the 84 countries surveyed, 58 had postponed their examinations, while 23 introduced alternative methods that were home-based testing (UNESCO 2020). In addition, 22 maintained examinations, while 11 countries completely cancelled (UNESCO 2020). These countries found themselves in this unenviable position largely because they felt that using alternative assessments was neither feasible nor would it compromise the quality of the graduates. Though lockdowns have been implemented, it should be pointed out that working at home on your own might create a feeling of helplessness (Rose 2020). There is a danger of the school closures entrenching gender gaps in education, culminating the in increased risk of sexual exploitation and forced marriages for the girls (Giannini 2020). Transactional sex between girls and peers or older men might also spike. Looking at the preceding discussion, one can safely argue that the measures that were taken by countries in the global north seemed to yield positive results. These countries seemed prepared for the pandemic, especially in the education sector as they quickly switched to remote methods of teaching and learning. The following section zeroes down on the case of Zimbabwe, mainly focusing on how COVID-19 was generally treated, as well as how the social services industry, education included, dealt with the pandemic.

COVID-19 in Zimbabwe

Like any other country, Zimbabwe launched a US$26 million COVID-19 Preparedness Plan (Mugabe 2020), and it was designed to shape a cohesive and synchronised approach to prevent the spread of COVID-19 and mitigate its effects. This plan was overseen by the Ministry of Health and Child Care in conjunction with World Health Organisation (WHO). Its major thrust was planning, communication, containment and case management. The major weakness of the plan was that it did not include universities, yet these had innovative hubs that were supposed to be part of the solution. Even though they were left out and asked to close, largely because they did not offer essential services, universities created partnerships with the private sector and manufactured sanitisers (Zinyuke 2020) and ventilators (Mudzingwa 2020). Even though universities tried to contribute in terms of their social responsibility, no one bothered to look at what the learners benefitted from the whole setup. This becomes a serious governance issue that needs to be examined for the learners might be short-changed without any recourse. The following section looks at the methodology that was used in this paper.

Methodology

The major focus of this paper is to examine possible ways global south countries can employ to deal with the emergency that emerges in the education sector as a result of the adoption of wholesome lockdown strategies by government. These ways include evaluating the feasibility of possible alternative learning solutions that universities can embrace. The major argument proffered in this paper is that countries should not simply copy and paste solutions that are not in sync with their local settings. This paper contributes to addressing the voids that emerged as a result of the global lockdown and the consequent closure of learning institutions due to COVID-19. The target population for this study are both state and private universities in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is chosen first for convenience and largely because of her history and the importance she has attached to the development of education which has seen her leading even in SADC. Using the multistage designs that first groups the universities into their categories as either public or private, convenience sampling techniques are used to choose three universities. Two are public universities selected from 11 universities, while one chosen from seven universities is private. Analytic rubrics were used to analyse the clarity of policy on disaster preparedness and document analysis on how these universities managed their institutions after the declaration of lockdowns by the government. For comparative purposes, four international webinars on education and COVID-19 were selected using snowballing sampling technique. What emerged from the document analysis was juxtaposed against the recommendations from the deliberations of the four webinars that we attended. The following section provides the findings of this study and the subsequent discussions of the findings including the recommendations that were proffered.

Results and discussions

This section provides an insight into what universities did, including what mechanisms they had to put in place, how the students took it, what challenges the students faced as well as how the examinations were handled by formerly conventional institutions when they were confronted with the lockdown. The results presented in this section were from three universities (University A is private-owned while University B & C are government-owned), the major focus being how they coped with the lacunae created by their sudden closure as a result of the lockdown while the semester was in progress. Before the lockdown, all three universities were using the traditional conventional face-to face methods to deliver their lectures. Since universities were just ordered to close, the traditional-face-to-face methods could no longer be used. All three universities had enrolled students from all over the country, including some of the marginalised and remote areas like Binga, Chilonga, Mudzi and Gokwe. Among the students enrolled there were also international students.

What the universities did and challenges faced by students

All the universities complied with the Presidential directive to close and release students by the 25th of March 2020 (Public Health (COVID-19 Prevention, Containment and Treatment) Regulations 2020; Shonhai 2020). All the universities had e-learning platforms but a majority of their students were not using them as indicated in Table 1. This meant that none of the three universities were using their platforms for teaching and learning purposes. These platforms were maintained just as a requirement demanded by Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education (ZIMCHE). According to the memo sent to students, the private university's continuing education platform was still down since the process of revamping the whole university website had started about nine months before the lockdown (Registrar 2020). This militated against the embracing of e-learning. For example, University C chose Google Classroom but poor uptake by the learners forced some of the lecturers to dump it and adopt WhatsApp groups. As indicated in Table 1, after adopting the WhatsApp platform for teaching and learning, the uptake by the students increased. Even though it increased, uptake was not 100%, largely because there were students who come from remote parts of the country where there is either intermittent or no Internet connection. Some of the students could not afford the data bundles, which the telecommunication companies hiked tenfold at the beginning of the lockdown. In one of the conversations, one student said "*kwandiri kusango*" (meaning I stay in a very remote place) while another said "*Sir, ndokumbiravo kutumira zvandisina kuita kwandaiva kwakusina network*" (meaning, Sir can I please send my assignments now, where I was there was no Internet network). There was also a group of students that did not possess smartphones or laptops. One student confirmed that "*Ndakazokumbira kusenderwa kuemail Sir*" (meaning he could not find a computer and therefore had to ask others to submit for him through email). At University C a total of 7 out of 67 students faced this challenge. Overall, the lack of laptops or smartphones, inability to purchase data bundles, intermittent or lack of Internet connectivity and lack of electricity were among the majority of explanations given by the students that failed to join the e-learning platforms and the WhatsApp group classes.

What mechanisms did universities put in place and what was the reaction of students?

There was a general feeling that the lockdown had caught the institutions unaware and unprepared. In an email directed to lecturers, University C only sent the guidelines to be used when giving students assignments on 13 July when the university's teaching period was ending on 19 July (ITS Director 2020). The guidelines were posted on YouTube[1] .Even though the intervention was a bit late, what was encouraging was the creation of a subscription YouTube channel containing more video tutorials (I.T S Director 2020).

Table 1 Students' Uptake of university e-learning and WhatsApp platforms

University	Online platform chosen	Course	Students access (e-learning platform)	Student access with WhatsApp	Total enrolled students
A	e-Learning Management System (Moodle)	PHR500	7	37	40
		PHR501	6	35	38
		PHR502	8	30	37
B	e-Learning Management System (Moodle)	MIR502	4	25	27
		MIR503	6	23	28
		MIR505	6	31	28
C	Google Classroom	HISH231	3	28	28
		HISH414	5	31	33
		HISH411	6	32	34

Source: classroom.google.com/u/3/h

University A had to appoint an Acting Director-Online Learning. In a memo from the Registrar addressed to the University Community, they appointed an Acting Director with effect from 22 June 2020 (Registrar 2020). This appointment came long after first semester was over and long after the university had rolled out its teaching and learning to online platforms. At other universities, they maintained the Director ICT and that might explain why adopting e-learning became a challenge.

How universities handled their examinations

As shown by Table 2, in a memo from the Examinations Office, students were to enrol on Moodle for all their registered courses (The Examinations Office 2020). The universities' response was sloppy since by the end of the first 21-day lockdown period, no university had activated its remote learning system for the benefit of its students. University A placed the emphasis on

1. https://youtu.be/kqMUeU_iUX4.

curtailing academic dishonesty and plagiarism in their examinations. Other universities did not emphasise that to their students. In the coursework, University C faced a lot of academic dishonesty and plagiarism. Of the 95 assignments submitted by students taking HISH411 and HISH414, 23 had a similarity index of between 75 and 90%. As a result of this similarity index in the red zone, 30 students had to resubmit the assignments, while 5 had to redo their resubmissions (Panganayi 2020). This greatly compromised the quality of their passes. As indicated in Table 2, those universities especially University B and C that failed to adjust quickly to the new normal had their examinations interrupted in July by the new spike of COVID-19 positive cases.

Table 2 How universities handled their examinations

University	Person in charge	Examinations	How they were handled
A	Director E-learning	Changed from venue-based to competence based	Written on the university's learning management system (Moodle). Students were given 48 hours to submit their answers. Zero tolerance was given to academic dishonesty
B	Director ICT	Remained venue-based	Students were invited to campus and their examinations remained conventional.
C	Director ITS	Remained venue-based	In batches, students had to travel from all over the country to the campus. The university remained conventional.

The conclusions drawn were that the rural-urban divide affected some of the students when it came to e-learning. The institutions were caught unaware and unprepared by the lockdown and were not proactive in their mitigation measures.

What were the key suggestions from the webinars?

Following the conclusions above, key suggestions were drawn from recommendations from four webinars attended to help deal with the lockdown. The themes covered by the webinars were the COVID-19 and Doing Virtual Fieldwork (Lupton 2020), Research Ethics and Right to Health in COVID-19 (Wangari & Simiyu 2020), Interactive Discussions on the Impact of COVID-19 on Universities (Zeleza 2020) and Surviving and Thriving During the COVID-19 Lockdown Crisis (Nkala 2020). To deal with the rural-urban divide it is suggested that universities adopt distance education spiced with mixed technologies (Zeleza 2020), adopt a paradigm shift on discernments about digital education (Lupton 2020; Wangari & Simiyu 2020) and revive postal services (Nkala 2020). In Zimbabwe, there is a need to introduce or scale up distance education modalities based on different mixes of technology (Chang & Yano 2020; Lupton 2020). This should include Internet, online platforms for continued learning. These devices should be used to either deliver live lessons or record massive open online course (MOOC) styled lessons. The country should endeavour to promote the provision of quality remote schooling (King 2020). Live online teaching and learning facilitate real-time co-presence and interactivity through such applications as WhatsApp, Skype, Zoom or Textchat (Lupton 2020). These applications enable the lecturers and students to utilise both audio-visual interactivity and textual synchronicity. In cases where the learners and lecturers have access to these online platforms, they could also utilise the recording capabilities for easy transcription later. Access to the Internet, computers and other gadgets like smartphones will increase the opportunities to learn (Marshall & Moore 2020). Though embracing educational technology might be the right approach, there is a need to decide on which remote schooling methods and tools to use. Why this decision is of utmost importance is because the learners in Zimbabwe are of a mixed bag nature. They have an array and diversified background when it comes to technological, economic and social needs. For instance, access to the Internet and the skills needed to use it (Marshall & Moore 2020) are not evenly distributed, therefore learners from affluent families are more likely to have access (Chang & Yano 2020). In addition, the rural-urban divide also matters when it comes to access to Internet and electricity (Chang & Yano 2020; Marshall & Moore 2020). These challenges suggest that equity in access is a major concern. As suggested and adopted by other countries, there is a need for user-friendly, accessible and cost-effective low-tech approaches in order to sustain the delivery of education (Amaglo-Mensah 2020; Zeleza 2020). Television, radio broadcasting and SMS on mobile phones can be used (King 2020; Lupton 2020). Use of education technology will aid a majority of the learners, but what will happen to the minority who are on the other side of the digital divide? The mixed bag nature of Zimbabwean learners creates serious logistical challenges. The negative consequences of these logistical challenges can be lessened if partnerships are signed with Internet service providers (Chang & Yano 2020; Nkala 2020). These partnerships might see learners having access to subsidised computers, data packages and smartphones. Hotlines could also be created for the lecturers so that they offer real-time assistance. As suggested by King, there is a grave danger that focusing on educational technology risks perverse consequences that might widen educational inequalities (King 2020).

There is a need for adjustment by the learners to digital education (Amaglo-Mensah 2020; Wangari & Simiyu 2020) and creative ways to maintain learner engagement (King 2020; Zeleza 2020) can also be factored into the teaching and learning scenario. It should be noted that getting content to the learners might be achievable, but how to maintain interest and momentum might be a big issue as fatigue easily creeps in. In order to deal with fatigue, there is a need to use SMS, peer role models and influential community members in the teaching and learning process. In addition, the post office could be resuscitated for those who do not have Internet access so that worksheets are delivered to their homes (Chang & Yano 2020; Nkala 2020). For those in the rural areas that have intermittent Internet access, submission of assignments could be by email, though it becomes an asynchronous way of learning. The following section concludes this paper by highlighting the key takeouts.

Conclusion

This paper looked at ways in which educational institutions can continue to offer services to the learners during emergencies like the global crisis of 2020 that was triggered by COVID-19. The pandemic owed its genesis from Wuhan, hence the use of the moniker 'Chinese flu'. When Wuhan was hit, China responded by enacting a successful lockdown of the city that seemed to tame the pandemic. Partial success in China created the impression that lockdowns are the real solution. When Africa was hit, quite a number of countries, Zimbabwe included, adopted lockdowns as the solution. What the Zimbabwean government failed to realise was that their context was completely different from the Chinese context. Above everything else, they failed to realise they did not have resources to sustain the lockdown. Among services negatively affected by the lockdown were learning institutions that were forced to shut their doors. In the process, a lot of production hours were lost, learners who were supposed to join the industry found themselves locked up in their houses. The major argument of this paper is that African countries should not adopt solutions that are not home-grown since their context is completely different from the global context. Africa is dogged by serious rifts when it comes to digital development, Internet connectivity and the gap between the rich and the poor. These are the factors that largely militate against disaster preparedness by the education sector and even other sectors that contribute to human development.

Recommendations

One of the key proposals for the universities in the global south is that they should have private-public partnerships with network service providers. They have to strike deals with service providers so that on admission at college their students get an option to get a device that can be used to connect to the university website. This arrangement will cater for those students who cannot afford either laptops or smartphones. Apart from that, the university might also plan with network providers to have subsidised data rates for their students, or their content can be carried at subsidised rates. This will go a long way in mitigating the exorbitant data bundle charges for the students. Another option will be having a partnership with ZimPost for courier services so that in extreme circumstances either compact disks or memory sticks loaded with learning materials might be delivered to learners in extremely remote areas. In some instances, universities have to consider adopting social networking platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and Duo instead of just sticking to the traditional learning platforms like Moodle and Google Classroom. All these suggestions will go a long way in entrenching equity along the rural-urban divide.

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Child development through Ndebele taboos: Motivation to blend the indigenous and the exotic

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Abstract

In the context of this paper, child development is upbringing, incorporating the care, education and protection of children. The traditional Ndebele way of child upbringing ensures that the child develops responsibly and especially out of danger. This paper thus seeks to identify the gap between modernity and Ndebele taboos and suggests possible solutions to address the gap and apply taboos in modern societies such as urban settlements. The social, physical and environmental regulatory institutions of the Ndebele people have always relied on the supernatural for enforcement. This study seeks to demonstrate, using interviews and focus group discussions, how traditional Ndebele taboos need to be blended into the modern culture if they are to be relevant. The research is an interpretivist descriptive survey of Nkayi rural and Nkayi urban centre (in Zimbabwe) with the aim of getting parents and secondary school children's views on Ndebele taboos and child development. The study established that there are some traditional concepts used in some Ndebele taboos which are no longer popular and children do not know them. It also established that there are some Ndebele taboos that have been overtaken by human rights discourses, while some are no longer compatible with modern institutions such as formal schooling and science. There are new taboos built to counter ills of modern society. The modern environment has modern dangers and problems that require a re-visiting of Ndebele taboos so that more modern taboos can be developed. The study demonstrates that blending the indigenous and the exotic (cultures) in taboo formulation and application ensures that today's children benefit from taboos. The blending of indigenous and exotic cultures has already occurred in society and there is a need to align the modern culture to taboo tenets so that the taboos can be fully utilised for child development. The blending involves changing some metaphoric vehicles in some traditional Ndebele taboos to include concepts from modern culture, and in some cases there is a need to 'de-taboo' for child development. Conclusions of the study are important for policy makers in domains of child development and care such as pedagogy, social work, children's rights and the family. The findings also imply connections between taboos and legal theories on rights and these can be explored further.

Key words: Taboos, child development, Ndebele people (Zimbabwe), modernity, indigenous knowledge, Ndebele culture

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1. Introduction and background

Child development is the upbringing of children in a manner that protects and develops them into good citizens of a society (Ivanov 1998). The process of child development does not and cannot have a single defined method, because conditions differ and society changes. However, the aims of child upbringing are common across all human societies. Children learn a culture through the process of upbringing (Macionis and Marie 2011). Taboos are pointers to cultural norms children learn from (Colding and Folke, 2001); however, globalisation and modernity have changed many cultural landscapes, creating new taboos and taboo vehicles (Putnam 2006). The study focused on Nkayi urban centre and its surrounding rural areas. Nkayi centre is a sprawling urban centre servicing the surrounding rural areas; it has a high density settlement with all urban amenities of running water, electricity, sewer system (Hewitt 1989), and is close to both Bulawayo and Kwekwe, which are bigger towns. The centre also has a boarding school which has a high population of students from other big towns like Bulawayo. The surrounding rural areas are typical rural settlements without electricity or tarred roads, and the homes are communal settlements under traditional leaders; the lifestyle is still basically rural. Rural children are not very much exposed to television, busy streets, traffic lights and electrical appliances; they are accustomed to subsistence farming, herding domestic animals and living far from towns.

The aim of the study was to investigate the relevance of old Ndebele taboos in bringing up modern children and whether the taboos are being innovated to be compliant with modernity and its attendant rights and freedoms. The study was motivated by the fact that society has evolved and some elements regulated by Ndebele taboos are no longer taboo, yet some concepts used in older taboos are no longer as common and children are not familiar with them. The objectives of the study were to test for knowledge and familiarity of older Ndebele elements in taboos, and to collect newer taboos and check those taboos that today violate certain rights and freedoms. Data analysis is done thematically according to the research questions. These are the research questions:

1. Do children in both urban and rural settings know the traditional concepts used in Ndebele taboos? (Awareness)
2. Are there Ndebele taboos which discriminate against people or violate individual rights and freedoms?
3. What are the modern fears and challenges to the girl and the boy child, and do Ndebele taboos address these?

2. Literature review and theory

Taboos are part of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) used by human communities to regulate human behaviour and conserve natural resources; this makes them part of culture. This section reviews literature on child development, culture, taboos, IKS, urbanity, and Afrocentricity. These topics are important in the understanding of the taboo institution and its function in Ndebele and other African societies.

2.1 Child development

There are various methods of child upbringing in different societies. Blaga (2016) opines that there is no single formula, opinion, theory or truth to child upbringing. He further notes that the raising of children is a continuous challenge because of the constantly changing public perceptions, requirements and attitudes towards social phenomena. There is no singular and specific domain for child development and upbringing but several research domains converge on the topic and these include but are not limited to: pedagogy, psychology, sociology, law and religion. Ivanov (1998) avers that child upbringing is a process of influence determined by the strategies in content, contact and logic in the family and society. The school and other trend-setting platforms such as television are party to the social contract on child upbringing. The state and society support and assist families in child development and the development involves raising, educating, supporting, guiding, protecting and safeguarding the child.

Taboos combine cultural knowledge, religion and psychology to protect and groom children. Howes *et al.* (1992:449) have noted that 'relationships between child care quality and children's social and cognitive development are well established'. In Ndebele culture, spirits are involved in bringing up children; this is a psychological emphasis in child development. Bjorklund and Pellegrini (2000:1688) concur, adding that 'evolutionary psychologists have proposed that psychological mechanisms are the missing link in the evolution of human behaviour'. Ndebele taboos are one such psychological mechanism that has been seen to be missing in Western methods of child and human development. Gwaravanda, Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2014:31) observe that girl child taboos in Ndebele and Shona cultures teach, groom and protect the girl child. African Indigenous Knowledge Systems may help the world create a better and holistic method of child development. However, some Ndebele taboos such as; *ungahamba nyovane unyoko uzangena esigxingini* (If you walk backwards your mother will get into a small traditional water container), are expressed using old concepts (*isigxingi*) and children do not know these, while some Ndebele taboos now violate modern norms such as human rights.

Child development is a matter of human rights to the Western way of thinking (Blaga 2016). However, the Ndebele have always placed it above rights issues on the spiritual obligations of adults to children. Nyathi (2001:04) avers that: 'It becomes very difficult, in fact, impossible, to isolate religion from other aspects of Ndebele culture. Child development in the African context is a spiritual process due to the centrality of children in perpetuating the African civilisation and existence. In Ndebele culture and indeed other African cultures, child development involves; protection, training, grooming, and the spiritual growth of children. Mangena and Ndlovu (2014:660) argue that, 'An exploration of proverbs in both Shona and Ndebele cultures demonstrates that these people had ways of recognising the importance of children and ways of ensuring that they are protected from various forms of abuse'.

2.2 Culture, modernity and the urban-rural dichotomy

Central to child upbringing is the concept of culture and its attendant norms and values, in which the taboo system operates. Velkley (2002) views culture as encompassing social behaviour and norms in human aggregates based on knowledge, beliefs, arts, law, customs, capabilities and habits. Cultural norms codify acceptable conduct in a society. Macionis and Marie (2011) describe culture as a range of phenomena transmitted through social learning in society. They further identify cultural universals present in all human societies such as expressive forms of culture, material and immaterial forms. Expressive culture includes a people's music, art, literature, philosophy, mythology, heritage and religion, while material culture includes clothing, tools, architecture, food and materials. Culture is constantly changing and the norms also shift according to changes in society. Taboos operate at the realm of social culture, employing religion and mythology to control society. Changes in society amount to changes in the taboo system. The effectiveness of the taboo system is based on the character of African cultures. There is an explicit culture which is also referred to as verbalised culture, and implicit culture which is inferable from behaviour. Taboos belong to both classes. Herskovitz (1955:153) alludes to these classes of culture when he argues that, 'culture may be thought of as a kind of psychological iceberg of whose totality only but a small portion appears above the level of consciousness'.

The nature of Ndebele culture made it possible for the taboo system to be implemented because religion was part of all aspects of life; however, the global nature of society today has tampered with African cultures, and Ndlovu and Mangena (2019:257) allude to the secularisation of African taboos in the modern age. Triandis (1994:2) argues that there is a unique way in which people in different cultures view their social environment, and he introduces the concept of subjective culture. Triandis classifies the types of cultural attitudes that make societies culturally unique; among these are individualism and collectivism. Mbiti (1969:1) argues that in Africa; ‘religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it’. African culture and religion are collectively practised and taboos are implemented in the context of religion. Curtin *et al*. (1995: 469) aver that, ‘based on orality […] religion, education, science, or ideology were all part and parcel of every type of activity’, while Ndlovu *et al*. (1995:194-195) note that Ndebele taboos regulate health, sexuality and religion.

Modernity especially through colonialism created urban centres and urban culture in Zimbabwe. The urban environment has different cultural materials and a different cultural landscape which creates disharmony for some Ndebele taboos created based on a past rural lifestyle. Williams, Brunn and Darden (1983: 5) define urbanisation as a:

> *Process involving two phases or aspects: i) the movement of people from rural to urban places where they engage primarily in non-rural functions or occupations; and ii) the change in life style from rural to urban with its associated values, attitudes and behaviours. The important variables in the former are population density and economic functions; the important variables of the latter depend on social, psychological and behavioural factors. The two aspects are mutually supportive.*

Suffice it to note that people also move from urban to rural environments and the movements are circular (Hurst 2017). Hewitt (1989) states that rural life is not a single category but a complex continuum. Rural life exists along a continuum which has ranges of *ruralness* from more rural to less rural, and varies extensively based on the following factors: 1) proximity to a central place, 2) community size, 3) population density, 4) total population, and 5) economic/ socio-economic factors. The degrees of *urbanness* and *ruralness* are important concepts in this study, as they pose different conditions for Ndebele children.

2.3 Taboos

Taboos are implicit prohibitions on speech or behaviour based on the repulsiveness or sacredness of some elements. Taboos operate in all human societies to regulate human interactions and their interactions with the environment. Chigidi (2009:177) analyses taboos by arguing that, ‘in its form, the avoidance rule is made up of two parts: the first part is a kind of prohibition –‘thou shall not do this’ – and the second part consists of a statement expressing the consequence of violating an interdiction. The statement expressing the consequence comes in the form of, at least to the one who gives the avoidance rule, a necessary lie.’ Gutierrez and Giner-Sorolla (2007:857) use the term taboo to refer to norms whose violation has repercussions, and Bozongwana (1983:08) exemplifies the operation of totemic taboos in Ndebele culture to regulate incest and to conserve animals, as people do not marry within the same totem or eat their totem animal.

Colding and Folke (2001) classify taboos into different typologies using characteristics such as: who is prohibited, when and for how long? They identify segment taboos which are those that prohibit certain segments of society based on aspects such as sex, age and social status; temporal taboos whereby everyone in a society is denied access to a resource or practice for a stipulated time. They further identify methods taboos, those that prohibit certain methods of accessing resources, and life history taboos where society is prohibited from using certain vulnerable stages of a species, for example age, sex, size and reproductive status. Common taboos in most if not all human aggregates regulate people’s dietary choices; these are dietary rules governing particular phases of human life and events (Meyer-Rochow, 2009). Child development taboos in Ndebele have similar characteristics and they emphasise the aspects of age and sex.

The prohibitions that aid child upbringing include prohibiting children access to some adult content and practices such as sex, some foodstuffs and exposure to strangers. Changes in society have ushered into Ndebele cosmology foreign and global trends; these have come with new challenges to child development. In some cases, rights discourses affect Ndebele taboos directly. Putnam (2006) asserts that contemporary Western multicultural society has new taboos against ethnocentrism and prejudice, where tribalism, nationalism, racism, sexism and religious extremism are taboo. These new trends have not spared Ndebele taboos, as the interaction between modernity and Ndebele taboos has created some dissonance which requires innovation on the part of Ndebele taboos.

2.4 Afrocentricity and Indigenous Knowledge Systems

The study is framed on Afrocentricity as a theory that seeks the African-centered approach to problem solving and development. Child development has been managed using scripts from the global centres of the West and the Americas. Dei (1994:4) avers that; 'there is a long history of Euro-American dominance of what constitutes valid knowledge and how such knowledge should be produced and disseminated internally and internationally'. However, there is a need to re-focus on the African systems by moving the centre back to Africa. In the words of Wa Thiongo (1993:2), Africans should assert their right to define themselves and their relationship to the universe from their own centres in Africa. The study also uses IKS as an African-centred sub-theory to discuss the relevance of Ndebele taboos in child development today.

Gakuru (1998:9) defines IKS as:

> *The sum total of the knowledge and skills which people in a particular geographic area possess and which enable theum to get the most out of their environment. Most of this knowledge and these skills have been passed from earlier generations but individual men and women in each new generation adapt and add to this body of knowledge in a constant adjustment to changing circumstances and environmental conditions. They in turn pass on the body of knowledge intact to the next generation, in an effort to provide them with survival strategies.*

The changing global cultures influence changes in Ndebele taboos, and such innovations are characteristic of all IKS. Battiste (2005:2) argues that, 'Indigenous scholars discovered that indigenous knowledge is far more than the binary opposite of Western knowledge. As a concept indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory, its methodology, evidence, and conclusions re-conceptualises the resilience and self-reliance of indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes'. Muyambo and Maposa (2014:26) demonstrate the value of IKS by showing how the Ndau people of Zimbabwe conserve water resources through taboos by making some pools sacred for bathing and fishing. Hens (2006:25) observes that, 'Maintenance of rules based on tradition is stronger and more community owned than government rules'. The Legal Resources Foundation (2014:5) notes that there are survival and development rights for children and that; 'under this cluster of rights, children have a right to the resources, skills and contributions necessary for their survival and full development'. The taboo system as an IKS contributes to the skills and resources necessary for child development.

Over reliance on the Western way of life in Africa was created through the colonial process which alienated Africans from their ways, including child development systems Asante (1988:08) says, 'If we have lost anything, it is our cultural centeredness; that is, we have been moved from our own platforms. This means that we cannot truly be ourselves or know our potential since we exist in a borrowed space'. In distorting African civilisations, colonialism developed some African technologies and culture outside African culture. Afrika (1993:21) says that, 'Ancient African holistic health science produced many healing instruments. These instruments required the usage of higher developed psychic and spiritual energy for their proper use. The names of the instruments have been distorted and acculturated by Europeans'. After stripping Africa of its development potential, Western science became the standard for the world. Briggs (2005:102) avers that 'Western science is seen to be open, systematic and objective, dependent very much on being a detached centre of rationality and intelligence, whereas indigenous knowledge is seen to be closed, parochial, un-intellectual, primitive and emotional'. However, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005:9) observe that, 'actions currently being taken by indigenous people in communities throughout the world clearly demonstrate that a significant "paradigm shift" is underway in which indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing are recognised as complex knowledge systems with an adaptive integrity of their own'.

It is imperative for African IKS including Ndebele taboos to adapt to the modern society so that they reclaim their lost space and time in the developmental agenda; this has happened and continues to happen, as Pfukwa (2001:29) points out that taboos in Zimbabwe were used to discipline soldiers during the war of liberation. Mapara (2009:140) argues that the use of proverbs, for example, is another case of ethno-knowledge that has been used in both judicial and governance matters today. Hens (2006:22) describes the contribution of IKS in biodiversity conservation and management in Ghana and identifies a taboo system operating across whole communities to regulate hunting, fishing, lumbering and excessive soil erosion. He further notes that coastal ethnic groups know they do not fish on Tuesdays and Fridays. Ndlovu and Hove (2015:103) demonstrate how Ndebele and Shona indigenous counselling have been adapted into modern counselling, while Ndlovu (2017:42) shows how Ndebele *joyina* or contract games are used today for child development and to protect children from danger and disease. To adapt to modern times Ndebele taboos have to incorporate the prevailing social environment and consider de-tabooing in some instances to comply with global trends.

3. Methodology

The research used the qualitative method (Holloway, 1997; Blanche and Durrheim, 1999) as it offers rich descriptive reports of the individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings as well as the meanings and interpretations given to events and experiences. It was also grounded in the lived experiences of the participants in the study. The research also used Fraenkel and Wallen's (1990) content analysis to analyse taboos within the framework of Afrocentricity and IKS. It was undertaken under the World Vision IGATE programme research on culture and access to education by girl children.

The research is framed on the interpretive paradigm as it interrogates culture and its changes in society. Rehman and Alharthi (2016:55) have argued that in interpretive research, no single interpretation can be chosen to be correct and others wrong, but there is acceptance of different types of knowledge. Guba and Lincoln (2005:204) note that interpretivism 'refuses to adopt any permanent, unvarying standards by which truth can be universally known'. Interpretivists believe in socially constructed multiple realities to which Rehman and Alharthi (2016:55) argue that, 'truth and reality are created, not discovered. It is not possible to know reality as it is because it is always mediated by our senses. Interpretive epistemology is subjective'. Researchers bring their own worldviews and backgrounds to research. Grix (2004:83) notes that, 'researchers are inextricably part of the social reality being researched, i.e. they are not "detached" from the subject they are studying'. Blaikie (2000:120) advises that 'social researchers collect data from some point of view, and this point of view is influenced by their language, culture, discipline-based knowledge and past experiences'. The researcher in this case is part of Ndebele culture and has lived and studied Ndebele taboos and brings this intuition and knowledge into the research. However, the researcher understood taboos through the experiences of the participants as Cohen, Manion and Morisson (2007:21) posit that; 'interpretive methodology requires that social phenomena be understood through the eyes of the participants rather than of the researcher'. Rehman and Alharthi (2016:55) advise that 'the goal of interpretive research is not to discover universal, context and value free knowledge and truth but to try to understand the interpretation of individuals about the social phenomena they interact with'.

The study adopted a descriptive survey as it seeks to identify characteristics, trends and categories in Ndebele taboos as they operate in a changed society. The research seeks to describe and answer the "what" questions on taboos, urbanity and rights. Borg and Gall (1989) posit that descriptive studies are aimed at finding out "what is"; as a result, observations and surveys are generally used to collect descriptive data. Descriptive research designs use both qualitative and quantitative data, and this research uses limited quantitative data as it is predominantly qualitative. The descriptive survey becomes normative as it relates taboos to the modern norm of new threats and rights. Characteristics of urban and rural populations are described as they relate to taboo phenomena. The research used focus group discussions and semi-structured open interviews. Rehman and Alharthi (2016:56) note that, 'interpretive researchers employ methods that generate qualitative data, and data collecting methods that yield qualitative data include open ended interviews in their various structures, observations, field notes documents and discussions'. The interview guides and discussion topics were guided by the research questions.

The research site was Nkayi district and the focus areas were secondary school students (form four level), parents and traditional leaders. Level four students at secondary school are in the age range that is mostly affected by social ills that affect children such as sexual, behavioural, and cultural concerns. Nkayi was chosen because it is an Ndebele monolingual society without much influence from other cultures in Zimbabwe apart from English. The research employed purposive sampling of students, parents and traditional leaders guided by the research questions and discussion topics. Three rural secondary schools were sampled; these are/were Mpumelelo, Tohwe and Mdengelele. Two secondary schools in Nkayi centre were chosen to represent the urban sample; these are Hlangabeza High School, where only boarders coming from Bulawayo city were sampled, and secondly Nkayi High school, where only students who resided in Nkayi centre were chosen. In each school a total of 10 students, 5 boys and 5 girls, were FGD discussants. This was a manageable group yet representative enough, and their age ranges were 16-18 years. Parent discussants were organised in 3 rural villages of Mathetshaneni (3 female and 2 male), Zinyangeni (3 female and 3 male) and Tohwe (3 female and 1 male). Urban parents were gathered from Belleview suburb in Nkayi centre (4 female and 1 male); the age range for parents was 37-71 years. The rural samples are almost homogeneous with slight variations based on exposure to urbanity, hence the three groups. The urban sample is also quite homogeneous as far as the research was concerned, hence the sample of five suffices. One parent in each group was chosen for an open interview, and three more interviews were conducted with traditional leaders, being 1 Headman and 2 village heads. Only Ndebele mother-tongue speakers were identified for the research, and a grand total of 73 people made up the sample. All research instruments were in Ndebele.

4. Results

The results of the study are here presented thematically according to the research questions.

4.1 Quantitative findings on taboo vehicle familiarity in students

To answer the question on children's knowledge of traditional concepts, six traditional concepts were extracted from Ndebele taboos, and these were juxtaposed to modern equivalents in the urban environment. Students were requested to identify concepts they have seen/used to show they were familiar with the concepts. The six traditional concepts are; ***iqhaga*** (container made from dried melon-like crop with a hard outer shell), ***inkezo*** (elongated cup made from a long melon with a hard shell; the elongated part functions as the handle), ***ingiga*** (wooden mortar),

ithumba (boil), ***iziko*** (fire place for cooking, usually outside or in the traditional kitchen), ***isiziba*** (deep pool along a river). These were compared to the following modern concepts respectively; ***ijeki*** (jug), ***isipunu*** (spoon), ***ibredibhini*** (bread bin), ***ikhensa*** (cancer), ***isitofu*** (stove), ***iswimingiphulu*** (swimming pool). Table 1 below displays the familiarity results among school children, it represents scores.

Table 1 Student familiarity with traditional and modern concepts

School	iqhaga	Jug	inkezo	Spoon	ingiga	bread bin	ithumba	cancer	Iziko	stove	isiziba	swimming pool
URBAN												
Hlangabeza	3	10	0	10	6	10	7	10	6	10	7	10
Nkayi High	5	10	2	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
RURAL												
Mdengelele	6	10	3	10	10	2	10	10	10	10	10	6
Tohwe	8	10	6	10	10	4	10	10	10	10	10	10
Mpumelelo	8	10	4	10	10	7	10	10	10	10	10	10

Schools are in the horizontal bar and concepts vertically (Y axis)

4.2 Qualitative findings on taboos and rights, new taboos, social ills and repercussions

There are Ndebele taboos that violate girl child and boy child rights. The following were identified as new threats to child development: drug abuse, alcohol abuse, tobacco, sugar daddies/ mummies, premarital sex, pornography, getting lifts from strangers, crossing red robots, not exercising, wearing revealing clothes and spending too much time on social media.

4.2.1 Findings on discrimination and violation of some rights in Ndebele taboos

Discussants and interviewees identified some taboos that cannot be fully enforced in the modern era. The following taboos were identified: it is taboo to talk about sex and sexuality, especially with children, homosexuality is taboo, cross dressing is taboo (this included women putting on trousers and track bottoms), it is taboo for men to witness childbirth, it is taboo for women to lead men, it is taboo for children to attend funerals, it is taboo for girls on their period to be in public, and it is taboo for children to eat eggs. Below are excerpts from data on views regarding the above taboos:

d *Singekela ukubafundisa ngezocansi lezitho zensitha bebancane bakhula beyizithutha bangenelisisi ukuzivikela*. (If we do not teach children about sex and sexuality from an early age they will be easy targets for abusers) – parent Nkayi centre.

Okwereproduction saqala ukukufunda kucontent eprimary vele. (We started learning reproductive health in primary school) – student Mpumelelo.

e *Ubunkotshane bubi kodwa abantwana kumele sibatshele ngobubi babo, kodwa nanko sizwa kuthiwa eGoli okusebenza khona ubaba uyabotshwa ungasola inkotshani.* (Homosexuality is bad, but we should tell children about its ills. However, we hear in South Africa where my husband works that you are arrested if you condemn homosexuality) – parent Zinyangeni.

f *Khona kuyazila ukuthi umama agqoke ibhulugwe lapha emakhaya, abantu basuka bacabange ukuthi kawuziphathanga kodwa kuya kuphela ngoba abanye ngabamaspotsi ngeke udlale ngerogwe.* (It is indeed taboo for a woman to put on a trouser in rural areas, people will think you are a woman of loose morals. However, the taboo is fading away since some women play sport and you cannot play in your skirts) – parent Tohwe.

g *Mina nginje ngibelethiswe ngunurse ongubaba eNkayi khonapha. Njalo kuhle ukuthi obaba babone ubunzima bokubeletha ukuze bagcine abantwana labomama.* (My midwife was a man here in Nkayi Hospital. Men should know about the pain of giving birth so that they can take care of women and children) – parent Nkayi centre.

h *Kwakunjalo kodwa sikhuluma nje silabosobhuku besifazana esiqintini sikababa uHeadman.* (Long back women could not lead men, but as we speak, today we have women village heads here in our Headman's area) – parent Mathetshaneni.

i *Ngeke sihambe izimfa zemalayinini, kodwa nxa kungakithi kumele sivallelise isihlobo sethu. Ngokwakudala lokhuyana ukuthi siyasiswa emalayinini nxa kufiwe ngakithi.* (While we cannot attend funerals in other families we need to bid farewell to our relatives. The custom of taking us children to another home if there is a funeral at home is outdated) – student Mdengelele.

j *Lokho akumelanga kuvimbele inkululeko lempilo yamankazana, kunjenje silama NGO apha amankazana amapads kakuzili lutho lokho.* (Periods should not stop girls' freedom and life, we now have NGOs which give sanitary ware to girls, it is not a taboo at all for girls to continue normally during their periods) – Headman.

k *Ngakithi sidle sonke etafuleni labazali ngeke bangifihlele amaqanda.* (I eat at the same table with my parents and they cannot hide eggs from me) – student Hlangabeza.

4.2.2 Findings on new threats and taboos for the girl child

The modern environment poses new threats to the lives of girls. Interviews and discussions indicated that the new threats to girls include: rape, other sexual violations and kidnapping. Measures taken by the community to reduce these include taboos of looking at strangers, greeting strangers, walking alone, accepting food and favours from people and getting free rides in people's cars. The following excerpts from data indicate new taboos to address the new threats:

a *Amankazana ayaretshwa ngobhinya kodwa lokhu okuseprimary ungathi lingahambilikhangela abantu lizaba yiziphofu kuyalalela.* (Girls are raped by criminals; however, those in primary school believe when you tell them that if they look strangers in the face they will get blind) – parent Tohwe.

b *Amabele amiyo bayawathanda osisi kabafuni athintwe ngoba azakuwa.* (Girls love pointed breast and they do not want them to be touched as this will make them fall) – parent Zinyangeni.

c *Njengoba ubona kuligusu ngeke amankazana ahambe wodwa, abancane siyazama ukuthi nxa befuna ukuphuhla bangahambi bodwa kodwa abesecondary vele* *sebehamba labafana labo.* (As you can, see it is a thicket here and girls cannot walk alone from school. With young girls we tell them that if they walk alone they will not develop breasts, but the secondary school girls do not walk alone anymore because they walk with boys) – parent Mathetshaneni.

d *Bekulisiko ukubingelela kodwa khathesi akumelanga bahambe bebingelela nje abantu sebegangile phandle lapha.* (It was our culture to greet people but now children should not greet, strangers/people are now evil) – village head Tohwe.

e *Njengemota sibatshela ukuthi ingama libaleke ngoba sokulabosidzura.* (We tell them to run away when a car stops for them because there are kidnappers out there) – parent Zinyangeni.

f *Umntwana udla ngakibo, angahamba esidla nje uyakhukhumala isisu vele.* (A child eats at home, if they get food from strangers their stomach will expand) – parent Nkayi centre.

g *Impahla yangaphansi kayitshengiswa abafana iyanyamalala khonapho nje.* (Girls should not show their underwear to boys as it will disappear the moment they do that) – parent Mthetshaneni.

4.2.3 Findings on new threats and taboos for the boy child and men

Some taboos were identified as having deterrent effects on boys and men as far as abusing girls is concerned, and some are aimed at making sure boys take care of their sisters. Participants gave new taboos aimed at encouraging responsible boys and men and some of these views are represented below:

a *Ungalala lesihlobo uzazala izilima.* (If you have sex with your relative you will have disabled children) – student Mpumelelo.

b *Amadoda asekwazi ukuthi ukukhombisa iuniform nje lijele loba ungenzanga lutho.* (Men now know that proposing to a girl in school uniform means prison even if they do not go further than that) – parent Zinyangeni.

c *Ungalunguza amankazana siyakubona ngeshowera.* (If you peep under girls' skirts we will see you by an abscess on your eyelids) – student Nkayi High.

d *Mina umama wangitshela ukuthi ngingatshiya usisi emuva uzantshontshwa, njalo izigebenga zamakhombi ziyantshontsha abantu ziqume amakhanda ziyethengisa eGoli.* (My mother told me that if I leave my sister behind she will be stolen, and it is true these kombi people cut off people's heads and sell them in South Africa) – student Mdengelele.

e *Sizwa kuthiwa singabamba amabele amankazana sizacina singasazali.* (We are told that if we touch girls' breasts we will end up infertile) – student Nkayi High.

4.2.4 Findings on modern children's general fears

The creation of taboo exploits fear and students were engaged in discussions on their modern fears. The main fears had to do with uncertainties of the future such as employment, expulsion from school and work, failure and poverty. They also highlighted the fear of sexually transmitted diseases, accidents, horror movies and ideas incorporating vampires and Satanism. Girls indicated that they were worried about physical deformities to their bodies due to aging or health problems. Below are some of the fears highlighted by students:

a *Ukuswela umsebenzi sengidlalise isikhathi ngifunda ngingayi eGoli kuyethusa, kumbe ngiwuthole besengixotshwa. Ukudubeka lendlala kubuhlungu phela.* (It is scary not to get a job after all this time in school; imagine, I could have opted to go to South Africa! I also fear getting a job and then getting fired. I also think poverty and hunger are painful experiences) – student Mdengelele.

b *Mina ngesaba ukuxotshwa eskolo lokufeyila ngoba ukuphinda kubuhlungu.* (I fear being expelled from school and failing because repeating is painful) – student Tohwe.

c *Thina njengamankazana sihlezi sisesaba ukubayizidudla, amaspots ebusweni, amastretch marks, ukutshwabhana kanye lokuphela inwele ziqamuka kumbe ihair line.* (As girls we are always afraid of getting fat/obese, having facial spots, stretch marks, wrinkles, breaking hair and reclining hairline) – student Hlangabeza.

d *Ukungazali lokungabilemizwa kubi emadodeni nxa ngibona.* (I think infertility and impotence are stressful in men) – student Nkayi High.

e *Ama STI le HIV lezo keziyethusa ubusufaka lengozi zemota.* (STIs and HIV are really scary, I also fear car accidents) – student Mpumelelo.

f *Mina ngethuswa ngama horror movies, Halloween, amavampire lamasatanist ngingakubona vele ngeke ngilale.* (I am scared of horror movies, Halloween, vampires and Satanists, if I watch these I cannot sleep) – student Hlangabeza.

5. Discussion

The discussion of findings is also themed according to the research questions. It starts by discussing taboo vehicles and the need to adapt urbanity in Ndebele taboo vehicles. It then moves on to discuss Ndebele taboos and their interaction with modern rights and freedoms. The last part discusses new Ndebele taboos and modern fears.

Adapting urbanity into Ndebele taboos

Ndebele taboos are laden with elements of the material and social culture; some of these belong to the past, before the advent of urbanisation and the modern environment. Vehicles used to formulate Ndebele taboos were taken from a pre-colonial Ndebele civilisation, yet today Ndebele culture has changed to embrace a more Western material culture. The elements from the past or rural life are fast becoming less popular compared to their urban equivalents; this is a motivation for Ndebele taboos to accommodate urbanity if they are to be effective in child development. It cannot be over-emphasised that Ndebele taboos develop a holistic child and groom the child to be a better citizen, but there is a need to use what the child understands for effective taboo communication.

Knowledge and memory are important in the performance of culture. McCarthy (1998:158) opines that, 'culture is to society what memory is to individuals'. Culture is the collective memory of a people and it is through it that they remember their identity. While identity can be shaped by cultural memory, there are individual elements of the culture that can be forgotten over time. Ndlovu (2010:78) avers that, 'It is obvious that the Ndebele way of life has changed; they do not use the same tools, utensils and weapons as did the Ndebele of earlier times. Their clothing, communication and work have changed'. The change in culture should amount to a change in concepts used to express taboo maxims. Some Ndebele taboos have concepts that are difficult to be understood by urban children, and as a result urban children are left out in the IKS of child development found in the Ndebele taboo system. Some of these taboos highlighted by parents for example are; '*ungahamba nyovane unyoko uzangena **eqhageni*** (If you walk backwards your mother will get into a calabash), *kuyazila ukudlela **enkezweni*** (It is taboo to eat from a traditional dishing spoon), *ungahlala phezu kwe**ngiga** uzafelwa ngumkakho* (If you sit on a mortar your spouse will die when you marry), *ungahlala endleleni uzamila **amathumba*** (If you sit on the road you will grow boils), *ungachamela **eziko** uzachama igazi* (If you urinate on the fireplace you will urinate blood), *ungachamela **esizibeni** uzachama igazi* (If you urinate into a pool of water you will urinate blood). Some of the vehicles used in the formulation of these taboos are from the past and many children do not know them and this creates the impression that taboos belong to the past, yet they are still applicable to child development today.

Traditional concepts were given their urban equivalents and both were tested on Nkayi urban and rural youth for familiarity. Table 2 below, an extract from Table 1, gives the familiarity test results that were recorded between Hlangabeza High school representing urban children and Mdengelele Secondary school representing rural children.

Table 2 Traditional Ndebele taboo concepts and their urban equivalents: familiarity tests on Nkayi urban and rural youth

Traditional Ndebele concept	Urban related concept	Traditional concept familiarity – Mdengelele	Urban equivalent familiarity – Mdengelele	Traditional concept familiarity – Hlangabeza	Urban equivalent familiarity – Hlangabeza
iqhaga	Jug	6	10	3	10
inkezo	Spoon	3	10	0	10
ingiga	bread bin	10	2	6	10
ithumba	cancer	10	10	7	10
Iziko	stove	10	10	6	10
Isiziba	swimming pool	10	6	7	10

It is evident from the student respondents that some concepts are losing popularity even in rural areas, because people no longer use some of these traditional concepts. While the youth in both urban and rural Nkayi believed in the power of taboos in their development, some were not familiar with some concepts used in the taboos. Parents also concurred in section 4 that some of the traditional concepts in taboos were no longer used even in rural areas, and there is a need to revise some taboos to cater for urban youth so that there is effective child development in urban areas too through Ndebele taboos. Traditional concepts such as *iqhaga* and *inkezo* are not common anymore and there is a need to adapt to the modern social environment so that children can understand taboos and benefit from their child development potential. Bielawski (1990:8) avers that, 'Indigenous knowledge is not static, an unchanging artefact of a former life-way. It has been adapting to the contemporary world since contact with "others" began, and it will continue to change. Western science in the north is also beginning to change in response to contact with indigenous knowledge'. Ndebele people as represented by Nkayi youth and parents have started to appreciate the need to adapt Ndebele taboos to the modern times so that children of the modern times can benefit from Ndebele taboos. Urban utensils, tools and gadgets need to be included in Ndebele taboos in a way that does not do away with the traditional ones, creating urban equivalents for the benefit of urban and some rural children.

Motivation to de-taboo for contemporary child development

The taboo system has been subjected to criticism especially in the West as a system that employs fear in a world where people seek to be freed from fear. However, contrary to the claims that taboos are intimidating and instil fear, they are in fact a mechanism of controlling and developing human behaviour. Wrongs and dangerous behaviour have their punishments in law and even the dominant Christian religion in Africa has serious taboos that are punishable by future burning in some cases. It is important, however, to realise that the world has developed institutions and social concepts that conflict with some Ndebele taboos and there is a need for a system whereby Ndebele taboos accommodate these modern concepts in child development. This paper introduces the concept of de-tabooing (to remove the taboo associated with a topic) as part of an adaptation to modernity in the child development agenda. Society has changed and most of the change has been taking place while aspects of African tradition such as taboos were sidelined by Western ways; they had no time to adjust to the modern environment. There is a need to blend them into the new social order.

There are some Ndebele taboos that need to be adapted by elimination to give way to conflicting concepts. The key conflicting concepts are education, health education, child abuse, human and gender equality discourses. Modern society has taken the character of the West and dangers to children have increased. Individualism also reduces the number of adults responsible for children in today's society. In modern society children are in more danger from humans than non-human things. The Legal Resources Foundation (2014:6) reveals that children have protection rights and have to be protected from all forms of abuse, neglect, exploitation and cruelty. In the majority of cases children have to be protected from harm by human beings. One of the conflicting concepts is modern human rights. Garner (2011:361) defines human rights as; 'the freedoms, immunities, and benefits that, according to modern values all human beings should be able to claim as a matter of right in the society in which they live'. Modern values have created a rift between rights and some Ndebele taboos and there is need to de-taboo so that the system is in sync with modern values. Taboos as IKS should not be divorced from people's experiences. Agrawal (1995:4) has argued that 'if Western science is to be condemned for being non-responsive to local demands, and divorced from people's lives, then centralised storage and management of indigenous knowledge lays itself open to the same criticism'. Ndebele taboos cannot be managed outside other social movements and transformations. Table 3 below gives some Ndebele taboos from data that need to be de-tabooed so as to fit into modern transformations.

Table 3 Some Ndebele taboos that conflict modern social transformations in child development

Ndebele taboo	**Conflicting modern transformations**
Children should not talk about sex	If children do not talk about sex they are prone to sexual abuse. They are taught about sex and sexuality at school or anywhere.
Homosexuality is taboo	It is now a matter of human rights; tabooing it is a form of segregation.
It is taboo to wear clothes of the opposite sex	In modern times women for example wear men's clothes for sports and other jobs. Men also wear dress-like gowns for tasks such as priesthood and graduation.
It is taboo for a man to witness childbirth	Today there are male midwives. Some couples prefer to be together during childbirth and modernity condones this.
It is taboo for a woman to lead men	Modern people believe in equal rights. Many women are today in leadership positions, in churches, organisations and even as presidents of states.
It is taboo for children to attend funerals.	It is the child's right to pay last respects to departed loved ones.
It is taboo for a girl in her monthly period to be in public.	Today there is sanitarywear that enables this. It is gender segregation to do so. They cannot be absent from school.
It is taboo for children to eat eggs	It violates children's rights and nutrition.

Society has transformed to include human rights, women's rights, children's rights, reproductive health education, and schooling. Some Ndebele taboos find themselves contradicting these modern transformations in society, and there is need to de-taboo them. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005:9) argue that, 'Indigenous people throughout the world have sustained their unique worldviews and associated knowledge systems for millennia, even when undergoing major social upheavals as a result of transformative forces beyond their control'. Mangena and Ndlovu (2014:661) have averred that, 'in African culture, children are not normally viewed as autonomous beings'. However, children's rights advocates create situations that almost treat children as autonomous beings with rights and responsibilities. There is nothing wrong in encouraging children not to eat eggs as they have health risks for children and when children eat tasty foods like eggs they may not like to eat other foods that are good for their physical development. Chakona and Shackleton (2019) allude to the dangers of obesity from eating too much protein by children and pregnant women. Parents indicated in the data that many children tend to steal eggs, so if they do not know how eggs taste they cannot be tempted to steal them and they develop characterwise in the process. Homosexuality is a contested concept in Zimbabwe, but it has been identified as a matter of human rights in the world and to develop the social tolerance in children such a taboo is best de-tabooed.

Sex and sexuality are tabooed elements in Ndebele culture and children are expected to desist from engaging in sexual activity and sex talk. Terms for reproductive organs and processes are taboo words, yet modern society has created situations where these are unavoidable. Thody (1997:07) observes, 'Even on the British Broadcasting Corporation, it would be very difficult to find an 8-year-old child in the United States or in the United Kingdom who had not been exposed to discussions in the media about adultery, AIDS, contraception, homosexuality, lesbianism, menstruation, oral sex, the sexual abuse of children and venereal disease'. All these topics are taboo in Ndebele culture but there is a need to expose children to such topics, for developmental and education purposes. Children's rights are there to protect children just like taboos, but rights rely on the power of information. In the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child Part 1 Article 2 of September 2 1990, a child is entitled to special care and assistance, the child by reason of physical and mental immaturity needs special safeguards, and taboos offer these.

Gender equality is a modern value that should be included in child development. Taboos that discriminate between boys and girls need to be de-tabooed to allow equal social development. While discussants were of the opinion that it is taboo for boys to cook and girls to herd cattle in Ndebele culture, today for example, many chefs in restaurants are male. Boys need to be psychologically trained to accept this from an early stage. The information age demands that children be given information for their development and protection, and this includes information on sex and sexuality. Mangena and Ndlovu (2014:665) have explained that children have the right to know that which violates them and this includes their sexual rights. Education, advancements in technology and disease information demands that children be exposed to sex knowledge and sexual talk; taboos can regulate their exposure to sex information but they may not bar it altogether.

Motivation for new taboos to bridge the modern child development gap

Individualism, globalisation, rights, education and other social transformations in society today have complicated Ndebele life especially in urban centres. The transformations have created new and more dangers to child development than were regulated by traditional Ndebele taboos. There is a need to be innovative and transformative with Ndebele taboos; Ndebele society has done this as a response to social upheavals. The communal Ndebele society was a closed one that operated almost as a family unit; all adults in the community were entrusted with child development and protection as a matter of religious duty. However, modern Ndebele society typifies Western individualism and children are left with few people to care for them. This increases the risk of physical and psychological danger. Data from interviews and discussions in Section 4.2 indicate that the Ndebele taboo system has already started to incorporate new problems and fears in formulating new taboos, a sign that IKS is not a static former life structure but a dependable science in modern child development.

While some elements of culture have been passed on from past Ndebele culture there are some concepts that belong to modernity; the taboo system has to moderate these as well. McCarthy (1998:156) avers that, ‘culture may be defined in various ways, depending on the purpose of the analysis and the problem. The unifying interest of anthropology as a whole is in the transmission of social culture (institutions and ritual), material culture (artefacts and skills) and mental culture (mentifacts and conventions) from one generation to another.’ Taboos are part of the mentifacts that have to be passed on in a manner that enables them to function in a transformed culture. Parents in Nkayi noted with concern that modern ways are not working in the ultimate character development of the child. They noted for example that children are told that to avoid sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy they can use condoms, but this encourages them to engage in sex prematurely. The parents identified modern problems that need new taboos for regulation as, among others: drug abuse, alcohol abuse, tobacco, sugar daddies/mummies, premarital sex, pornography, getting lifts from strangers, crossing red robots, not exercising, wearing revealing clothes and spending too much time on social media. Children today are in more danger from the identified social ills than from jumping fire and walking backwards. There is a need for new Ndebele taboos that prohibit such behaviour and have modern taboo repercussions for violating them. Parents also indicated in the data that rural children develop better than their urban counterparts due to the function of the taboo system, and they believe that if the social welfare department used taboos it could give better child care and development to children. Parents also use the withdrawal of privileges in cases of misbehaviour by children, for example telling a child that no toys will be bought if they misbehave. This is some form of modern taboo.

Taboos are a part of oral literature which has been changing over time, especially as affected and influenced by the colonial culture. Nyembezi (1963:1) notes a similar trend in Zulu proverbs, ‘The proverbs in use are not confined, however, to the old expressions, because we may clearly discern some proverbs which must have come into the language in fairly recent times, for instance, the expression, *wahambis’okwejuba likaNoah* (he went like Noah’s dove)’. Just like the new proverbs, there are new taboos that the researcher got from Nkayi parents and students that have been formulated to be compliant with modern demands of girl child development. Table 4 below gives some of the new taboos for girl child development from the data.

Table 4 New Ndebele taboos for girl child development

No	New taboo for girl child development
1.	If you look at the face of a stranger you will become blind – this encourages girls to shun tempting situations with male strangers.
2.	If a man touches your breasts they will fall down – this helps girls to remain chaste and resist sexual advances.
3.	If you walk alone in the bush you will not grow breasts – this is to protect especially rural girls from abuse in the bushes.
4.	If you greet everyone on your way you will get lost – greeting creates a platform for dialogue that can lead to luring girls to abuse.

5.	If you get a lift from unknown people in cars you will be beheaded – this is to protect children from being kidnapped.
6.	If you eat food from strangers your stomach will grow big – food is commonly used as bait for young girls who are later abused.
7.	If you show your underpants to boys they will get torn – this grooms girls and keeps boys and men away from temptation.

In the new taboos girls are groomed to be ladies and respect their bodies and sexuality. They are also groomed to be responsible women who do not seek to expose themselves to danger or be a temptation to other people. There are some new taboos that seek to develop boy children that were given by the Nkayi community in the data and some of these are actually directed to adults who may want to exploit children. Table 5 below gives some of the new taboos for the development of boy children from the data.

Table 5 New Ndebele taboos for boy child development

No	New Ndebele taboo for boy child development
1.	If you have sex with your relative your child will be crippled – this discourages boys from having sex with relatives, especially now that many families live with orphaned children.
2.	If you proposition a schoolgirl you will die in jail – this is a threat that is directed at adult men and it protects schoolgirls from sexual abuse.
3.	If you peep in a girl's skirt you will have sore eyes – this is to discourage boys from naughty behaviour that may motivate them to abuse girls.
4.	If you leave your sister behind she will be stolen – this encourages boys to take care of their sisters especially after school as girls are more vulnerable than boys.
5.	If you touch a girl's breasts you will be impotent – by discouraging boys in this way they are kept away from pre-marital sex.

Both boys and girls are supposed to be cared for in a way that makes them develop into good citizens for the good of society and Ndebele taboos create a platform for this development. While the West and its colonisation agenda created new problems for the Ndebele, they are adapting to the new social order by creating new taboos for the new dangers and social ills. Hansen and Van Fleet (2003:03) concur with the adaptive nature of IKS when they define it as, 'Information that people in a given community, based on experience and adaptation to a local culture and environment, have developed over time, and continue to develop. This knowledge is used to sustain the community and its culture and to maintain genetic resources necessary for the continued survival of the community'. The Ndebele community is already being sustained by the new Ndebele child development taboos, and other cultures the world over can benefit from this IKS.

The taboo system relies on the religious beliefs of the community. Most Ndebele communities are now into Christianity, which like Ndebele traditional religion, employs fear of the unknown to regulate society. As observed, the new taboos use new dangers and fears to deter children from engaging in behaviour that compromises their development. Society today has new fears which can be harnessed to create new taboos. The modern era has more fears that can be used to create new taboos for the benefit of especially urban children. Table 6 below gives lists of traditional fears in Ndebele taboos and modern fears indicated by Nkayi students. These modern fears can be utilised to produce a new set of taboos.

Table 6 Comparison of traditional fears and modern fears from Nkayi students

Ndebele taboo repercussions	Possible modern repercussions
death, barrenness, death of spouse, death of loved ones, boils, cracked feet, urinating blood, lightning	Unemployment, expulsion from school/work, arrest, failure at school, repeating a year at school, poverty, stretch marks, facial spots, wrinkles, loss of hair, low libido, HIV/AIDS, road accidents, Halloween, vampires, devil

Physical and mental threats are used the world over to control human behaviour; the taboo system is built on these threats. In the olden days and in some rural areas today children are cared for and developed using physiological and supernatural threats which they adhere to and develop out of danger. The dangers have changed in modern society and it is prudent for Ndebele taboos to transform and incorporate these new threats and fears so that children can be regulated by what they know. Urban children for example will be aware of the danger of stretch marks more than the one of urinating blood or lightning and for that reason meaningful urban child development through Ndebele taboos should include new fears.

6. Conclusion and recommendations

African communities have always given special care to child development; institutions of educating and grooming children were sacred. The gods worked together with men to develop children in a way that pleased the community and the gods. The taboo system is one element of Ndebele IKS that was and continues to be used in child development, yet society has changed from one that was regulated by the old Ndebele taboos. It is the concern of IKS and the Afrocentric agenda to ensure that African IKS is brought to the centre of development and adapted to the new environment. Ndebele taboos are not a diabolic system that violates any rights; they are a demonised system, yet they can be of great use in child development today. Christianity itself employs the fear of the devil and hell as repercussions to moderate society, and this quality can be explored to create more Traditional African religion and Christianity-inclined Ndebele taboos. There are some taboos that contain older concepts, yet children are familiar with later developments. In such cases there is a need to incorporate the new developments in the script of Ndebele taboos to cater for urban children. There are some Ndebele taboos that have been overtaken by the Westernisation of society, such that they may be seen to contradict prevailing social values. In such cases there is ra eason to de- taboo affected Ndebele taboos so that they are modernity compliant. The Nkayi community exhibited IKS transformation by coming up with new taboos for child protection and development. There are several modern fears that can be adapted into the Ndebele taboo system to regulate urbanites and develop children to be better global citizens. The findings of the study are important for policy makers on child upbringing and care such as educators, social workers, psychologists, rights activists, parents and religious organisations. There is a need to situate taboos within modern discourses on child development and care so that they are aligned to modernity yet still retain their IKS value. The study established dissonance between Ndebele taboos and some modern rights, so there is a need for further research into the implications and effects of modern rights on African taboos. Realising that the majority of Africans, especially in Zimbabwe are now Christian, it is also recommended that research be done on African taboos and Christianity as the base religion.

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The perceived effect of staff development on organisational performance in selected First Banks in Lagos State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Most organisations have realised that employees are their most valuable assets which require development in order to improve their loyalty and motivate them and hence increase productivity to achieve their vision. It is in this light that this study investigated the effect of staff development on organisational performance in selected banks in Lagos State, Nigeria. This study adopted a descriptive survey research design through the use of questionnaires. The population of the study comprised 7,616 staff members of First Bank of Nigeria PLC, which was further reduced to 380 personnel as the sample size through the use of a formula derived by Taro Yamanne. Proportional sampling technique was used to select the staff from ten selected branches in Lagos State. The data was analysed using a statistical tool of Regression Analysis with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 23.0) at 5% level of significance. Descriptive Statistics was also used to analyse the relevant data. Findings revealed that there staff development has a significant effect on organisational performance. The study concluded that staff development should be held consistently in order for employees to have career advancement and for increased loyalty in the organisation, which in turn increases their job performance. The aggregate performance will increase the organisational performance. The implication is that a well-trained staff will have a positive impact on organisational performance as it will add more effectiveness and efficiency to their output and will in turn improve the organisational performance.

Keywords: Staff development, education, training, mentoring, organisational performance.

Introduction

The Nigerian banking business operates nationally, with an active customer base of over 10 million, and employs over 7,000 staff. First Bank of Nigeria, founded in 1894 as Bank of British West Africa, was later renamed in 1979 as First Bank of Nigeria, sometimes referred to as First Bank. It is a Nigerian multinational bank and financial services company headquartered in Lagos. It is the biggest bank in Nigeria by total deposits and gross earnings. It operates a network of over 750 business locations across Africa, the United Kingdom and has representative offices in Abu Dhabi, Beijing and Johannesburg to capture trade-related business between regions. The bank specialises in retail banking and has the largest retail client base in Nigeria. In 2015, *The Asian Banker* awarded First Bank the award for the Best Retail Bank in Nigeria for the fifth consecutive year.[2]

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2. www.firstbanknigeria.com

Many businesses including financial institutions, and First Bank is no exception, are now starting to see the importance of investing in their staff through training. However, training should not be a one-off exception but a regular necessity to help fill skills gaps and keep the organisation moving forward successfully. In Nigeria, staff development has brought an effective management of business in many ways (Fajana, 2002). Research findings have shown that staff training and development have a direct benefit to organisational productivity (Fajana, 2002). The effectiveness and success of an organisation relies on the people who form and work within the organisation (Olaniyan & Ojo, 2008). Fajana (2002) submitted that the provision of secondary and technical schools, vocational training institutes and colleges, professional and tertiary institutions, as well as the educational reforms currently taking place in the country, are all geared towards the acquisition of skills and knowledge to ensure effectiveness and efficiency in our workplaces.

Champion and Kolawole (2017) opine that low quality employee education is one of the reasons for the reduced performance of the employee and poor productivity of the organisation. He further stated the causes behind the unfortunate state and quality of education as being unstable or poor curriculum design, lack of good teacher's welfare, inadequate teaching aids, indiscipline, and corruption which has brought about the drawbacks in the educational sector. Despite the fact that an organisation recognises the importance of developing an employee through training (on-the-job training or classroom training), the presence of an ineffective training program for new employees will result in poor orientation, motivation and productivity, thus limiting the operation of the organisation (Dixon, Reed, Belisle & Jackson 2015).

Surji (2013) has submitted that the organisation may experience issues like high turnover of employees, especially qualified and skilled ones, an aspect that will increase the cost of management due to continuous recruitment, thus affecting the productivity of employees and the organisation at large due to ineffective training of new appointees. Frost (2019) has said that companies that do not offer quality training to employees should expect poor and worsening performance, lack of employee development, diminished industry standing and legal consequences which will lead to poor performance of the organisation.

Through mentoring, companies can help close the skills gap and enable their people to pass on knowledge to mentees, build valuable bonds and encourage professional development (Everwise 2018), but research has shown that a mentor imposing his own values, attitudes and logic to take precedence over the protégé's can be perceived as a form of mistreatment at work and associated with negative effect experienced by the protégé, including disillusionment, annoyance, a stifled career and feelings of isolation (Everwise 2018), and hence lead to poor organisational performance. Despite the staff development dimensions of education, training, and mentoring, poor internal attitudes are developed by the employee or job dissatisfaction results from the career constraints provided by the employer to employee development, resulting in a decrease in employee engagement, performance and retention, thereby affecting the organisational effectiveness as a whole (Alex, Zakari & Patrick 2015). It is in view of this that this study was carried out to achieve the following specific objectives:

1.1 Research objectives

- To evaluate the effect of quality education on organisational performance
- To examine the effect of training on organisational performance
- To assess the effect of mentoring on organisational performance

1.2 Research hypotheses

Ho$_1$: There is no significant effect of education on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc.

Ho$_2$: Training does not have a significant effect on organisational performance.

Ho_3: Mentoring has no significant effect on organisational performance.

Theoretical perspective and literature review

This covers the relevant existing publications on the subject matter, which include the theoretical review, conceptual review, empirical review, issues, gaps and implications of the reviewed content.

Theory and literature review

The study was anchored on Human Capital Theory, which rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and necessary to improve the productive capacity of a population. Proponents of human capital theory argue that an educated population is productive. Human capital theory emphasises how education increases the productivity and efficiency of workers by increasing the level of cognitive stock of economically productive human capability, which is a product of abilities and investments innate in human beings. The provision of formal education is seen as an investment in human capital, which proponents of the theory have considered as equally or even more worthwhile than that of physical capital (Eldor & Harpaz 2016). It is for this reason that this study was anchored on this theory.

The concept of staff development

Ramandeep (2015) observes that training and development foster the initiative and creativity of employees and help prevent manpower obsolescence, which may be due to age, attitude or the inability of a person to adapt him- or herself to technological changes. Ogbu and Osanaiye (2017) emphasise that training focuses on present jobs while development prepares employees for possible future jobs. Basically, the objective of training and development is to contribute to the organisation's overall goal. Ramandeep (2015) submits that development can encompass a wide range of activities, including coaching and more formal educational commitments and experiences; it is generally used to encompass a wider scope than 'learning' or 'training' – which may, in fact, be included in the concept of development.

For Amir (2019) development is a practical exercise of studying and development by which managerial staff acquire and employ knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights to handle their work effectively and efficiently. It is essential for the managerial staff as an effort to cope with the complexity of organisation and technological changes. The development also helps them recognise their social and public responsibilities. Ramandeep (2015) explains that development can increase employees' self-fulfilment: their capability at work can be rejuvenated and they will be better able to absorb and prepare for more obstacles. So, the combination of training and development is an endless process to make sure the employees keep improving.

The concept of education

Education refers to the development of knowledge required for various activities rather than for only one single activity. It brings about an inherent and permanent change in a person's thinking and capacity to do things. Education is training people to do different jobs. It is often given to people who have been identified as being promotable, being considered for a new job either laterally or upward, or to increase their potential. Unlike training, which can be fully evaluated immediately upon the learner's returning to work, education can only be completely evaluated when the learners move on to their future jobs or tasks. We can test them on what they have learned while in training, but we cannot be fully satisfied with the evaluation until we see how well they perform their new jobs. Employee education is as important as the air we breathe and it is vital to the success of an organisation (Proctor 2014). It bolsters the value of the staff and develops their self-esteem so that they are able to contribute in a more meaningful way.

A well-designed professional development contributes to employee motivation, engagement, and loyalty. Education can be defined as a process of acquiring knowledge through study or imparting knowledge by way of instructions or some other practical procedures. It is the main thing that helps us distinguish between right and wrong, because in the absence of education we cannot do what we need or we cannot achieve our goal. Therefore, we can say that education is the passage to progress. Education is fundamentally learning abilities and ideas that can make us increasingly innovative and issue solvers. Through education the knowledge of society, country, and of the world is passed on from generation to generation.

The concept of training

Ogbu and Osanaiye (2017) have defined training as a process that provides employees with skills, information and understanding of the organisation and its goals. Through training, the employees are enlightened on how to perform their current jobs and at the same time acquire the skills and knowledge needed to carry out company tasks and it has helped employees to meet the organisational goals effectively. An effective training program has yielded positive results in both the trainee (staff) and the organisation. Through the training programs, the skills, knowledge, understanding and attitude imparted to the trainee thus improve the quality of work produced by the employee. This eliminates obsolesence in skills, technologies, methods, products, capital management, etc. and the end result of these training programs is to generally achieve the corporate goals of the organisation, which is profitability. According to Ramandeep (2015), effective training programs help employees advance themselves with new technology and at the same time gain full command of the skills and competencies necessary to carry out a specific task and avoid mistakes on the job.

The concept of mentoring

Allen (2007) states that mentorship is a system of semi-structured guidance where one person or a group of people share their knowledge, skills and experience to assist others to progress in their own lives and careers. The term "mentoring" is usually confused with coaching, although the terms are distinctively different: their definitions are based on the specific activity that is taking place and the role of the players (Brockbank & McGill 2006). Coaching is largely used when a person or organisation is working towards some change in growth and development, and improving performance (Ritchie & Genoni 2002) while mentoring is often associated with induction, career and personal development and personal change (Cameron 2007). Mentoring is a practice where a more experienced educator (the mentor) offers support, guidance, advice and encouragement to someone who is a beginner or less experienced educator (the mentee) with the intended purpose of enhancing teaching and learning (Barrera, Braley & Slate 2010; Hudson 2010). According to Bressman, Winter and Efron (2018) mentoring teachers during the induction years has long been recognised as a powerful means to support and acclimatise new teachers to the profession. This can also be replicated in the service industry to improve the organisational performance.

Staff development and organisational performance

Ishola, Adeleye & Tanimola (2018) produced a study titled “Impact of educational, professional qualification and years of experience on Accountants Job performance” on First Generation University in Southwest Nigeria. The researcher got information from 81 respondents through questionnaires. Results showed that bursaried staff with professional qualification showed better job performance than non-certified staff. Bursaried staff with higher tertiary qualifications performed better in accounting tasks than those with lower qualifications. Kasika (2015) in his study titled “The effect of educational qualification on job performance: A case study of Social

Security Commission in Namibia (SSC)” used a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative methods, mainly descriptive. The study found that educational qualification has a significant effect on job performance. The educated workers tend to be more responsive in receiving instructions and performing new tasks and easily adopt to technology which increases their ability to innovate and improve job performance. Bhargava and Anbazhagan (2014) in their study titled “Education and work experience relating to an influence of performance: A case study of Chittoor Sugar Factory” found that the two variables have a direct effect on the performance of the workers, to varying degrees. Workers in the medium range of educational qualification performed better than those in the extremes, and the same holds good in the case of work experience.

Janes (2018) in his study “Impact of employee training on organisatonal performance. A case study of Drilling companies in Geita" made use of a 219 sample size. Purposive and simple random technique was used. Data was collected through questionnaires. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics and results were presented using tables. The study found that employee training has a significant effect on the performance of drilling companies. However, results found a lack of effective training and development policies in drilling companies. The study recommended that there is a need for drilling companies to develop proper and effective training and development policies, which will guide their training procedures and help in the implementation of training strategies.

Engetou (2017) in his study “The impact of training and development on organisational performance: A case study of National Financial Credit Bank, Kumba” used primary sources of data through combined methods, namely questionnaires, observation and interviews, with applied statistical methods and results represented in tables. It was found that training and development are a necessity in every organisation, particularly for the unskilled or less experienced employees. Other studies done by other scholars (Ndibe, 2014, Ogbu & Osanaiye, 2017; Raja, Furqan & Muhammad, 2011) also attest to the findings.

Muzaffar, Abdul & Mohd (2016), in their study “Mentoring and Organisational Performance”, found that mentoring has a positive impact on business performance. The result also holds significant decision-making suggestions for SMEs; improved business performance can be achieved through mentoring programs. They state that those mentoring programs will benefit employees as well as the organisation. Mentoring programs not only increase the value of employees but also the effectiveness of the business. Adewuyi and Makinde (2018), in their study “Mentoring programs and years of experience as predictors of job performance of cataloguers in a workplace: A case study of Nigerian libraries”, made use of a self-developed, pre-tested and validated questionnaire. It was found that there was a significant relationship between mentoring practices and the job performance of cataloguers in NigerianlLibraries. Other scholars who worked on similar topics had similar findings (Allen, 2007; Everwise, 2018).

Methodology

This study adopted descriptive a survey research design using questionnaires. The population of the study comprised 7,616 staff members of First Bank of Nigeria PLC, which was reduced to 380 staff as the sample size using a formula derived by Taro Yamanne. The researcher used the sampling technique as similar studies used it (Nabunya, Mukwenda & Kyaligonza, 2019; Rashid, Asad, & Ashraf, 2011). A proportional sampling technique was used to select the staff from 10 selected branches in Lagos State. The data was analysed using a statistical tool of Regression Analysis with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 23.0) at 5% level of significance. Descriptive statistics was also used to analyse the relevant data.

Table 1 Data presentation of response rate		
Response	Respondents	Percentage (%)
Returned	361	95
Not returned	19	05
Total Distributed	380	100

The number of questionnaires administered to all the respondents was 380; 361 questionnaires were returned. This gave a response rate of 95%. 19 questionnaires were not returned, which represented 05% of the total questionnaires distributed. Therefore, information from all the questionnaires was used for analysis. The response rate for the questionnaires is presented in Table 1 above.

4.0 Analysis of results

The data generated through the administered questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23.0. The descriptive analyses of responses on demographic data as well as for each item as regards the formation of the data generated on the impact of staff development on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc. were obtained.

Test of hypothesis one

Ho$_1$: There is no significant effect of education on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc.

Table 2 Descriptive analysis on education						
Variables	**Strongly Agree**	**Agree**	**Undecided**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**	**Total**
Education has helped in carrying out duties efficiently in my organisation	133	227	1	0	0	361
	36.84%	62.88%	0.28%	0%	0%	100.0%
Formal education prepares an employee to perform functionally in the organisation.	174	183	0	4	0	361
	48.20%	50.69%	0.0%	1.11%	0%	100.0%
Education has given the employee values and norms that result in a positive character towards work.	276	71	0	9	5	361
	76.45%	19.67%	0%	2.49%	1.39%	100.0%
The level of educational professionalism attained by an employee brings about the success of the organisational goals.	96	171	0	51	43	361
	26.59%	47.37%	0%	14.13%	11,91%	100.0%

Table 2 shows the descriptive analysis of respondents' responses as regards the effect of education on organisational performance. By combining responses under 'strongly agree' and 'agree', 360 (99.72%) of the respondents agreed that education has helped in carrying out duties efficiently in their organisation. 357 (98.89%) of the respondents accepted that formal education prepares an employee to perform functionally in the organisation. 347 (96.12%) agreed that education has given the employee values and norms that result in a positive character towards their work. 267 (76.96%) agreed that the level of educational professionalism attained by an employee brings about the success of the organisational goals. This implies that the majority of the respondents agreed to the descriptive variables regarding education as a key to staff development.

Table 3 Descriptive analysis of staff development on organisational performance

Variables	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Undecided**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**	**Total**
Staff development has brought about an increase in sales of our company's products.	103	221	2	29	6	361
	28.53%	61.22%	0.55%	8.03%	1.66%	100.0%
The development of staffs has brought about an increase in the profitability of the organisation.	111	233	1	6	11	361
	30.75%	64.54%	0.28%	1.66%	3.05%	100.0%
The development of staff has increased our company's market share	101	257	0	3	0	361
	27.98%	71.19%	0%	0.83%	0%	100.0%
Staff development has helped us to retain our customers and expand our customer base.	191	137	0	22	11	361
	52.91%	37.50%	0%	6.09%	3.05%	100.0%

Table 3 shows the descriptive analysis of respondents' responses as regards staff development and organisational performance. Combining the responses under 'strongly agree' and 'agree', 324 (89.50%) of the respondents agreed that staff development has brought about an increase in sales of their company's products. 344 (95.29%) of the respondents accepted that the development of staffs had brought about an increase in the profitability of the organisation., 358 (99.17%) agreed that the development of staff had increased the company's market share. 328 (90.86%) respondents accepted that staff development had helped them to retain customers and expand the customer base.

Restatement of Hypothesis One (H_{01}): There is no effect of education on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc.

In order to test hypothesis one, standard simple regression analysis was used. Data of education on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc. were obtained by adding the items under each of the variables. The results of the test of the hypothesis are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 The overall significance

ModelSummary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.404	.166	.132	.101329

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.080	1	6.507	6.507	.015
	Residual	.383	374	.023		
	Total	.449	319			

a. Dependent Variable: Education

b. Predictors: (Constant), Organisational performance

Table 5 Regression coefficients

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	.465	.160		3.078	.004	10.114	12.117
	Education	.486	.199	.404	2.551	.015	.177	.286

a. Dependent Variable: Organisational performance

Source: Field Survey 2019

The results presented in Table 4 show that the effect that education had on organisational performance was significant (F = 6.507, p < 0.05). From the table, 15% of the variation in organisational performance was explained by variation in education (R square =.166, p < 0.05). It was also statistically significant (= 0.486, t= 2.551, p < 0.05). Overall, regression results presented in Table 5 indicate that education has a positive effect on organisational performance.

The hypothesis that education impacts organisational performance was therefore confirmed for organisational performance indicators. As education increases, organisational performance increases in First Bank Nigeria Plc.

OP = .465 + .486E + $\mathcal{E}$………………………………………………………. (Eqn.1)

Where:

OP = Organisational performance

E = Education

$\mathcal{E}$ = Error term

Restatement of hypothesis two

Ho_2: Training does not have a significant effect on organisational performance.

Table 6 Descriptive analysis on training

Variables	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Training programs have improved the performance of employee and given employee job satisfaction.	174	183	0	4	0	361
	48.20%	50.69%	0.0%	1.11%	0%	100%
Training brings about effective time management to achieve organisational targets.	276	71	0	9	5	361
	76.45%	19.67%	0%	2.49%	1.39%	100%
Trained employees adapt to new development that improves performance in an organisation.	111	233	1	6	11	361
	30.75%	64.54%	0.28%	1.66%	3.05%	100.0%
Training brings about new knowledge.	101	257	0	3	0	361
	27.98%	71.19%	0%	0.83%	0%	100.0%

Table 6 shows the descriptive analysis of respondents' responses on training and organisational perfomance. Combining the responses under 'strongly agree' and 'agree', 357(98.89%) of the respondents agreed that training programs have improved the performance of employees and given employees job satisfaction. 347 (96.12%) of the respondents accepted that training brings about effective time management to achieve organisational targets. 344(95.29%) agreed that trained employees adapt to new developments that improve performance in an organisation. 358 (99.17%) agreed that training brings new knowledge. It implies that most respondents agreed to the variables on training.

Table 7 Descriptive analysis on organisational performance

Variables	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Staff development has brought about an increase in sales of our company's products.	103	221	2	29	6	361
	28.53%	61.22%	0.55%	8.03%	1.66%	100.0%
The development of staffs has brought about an increase in the profitability of the organisation.	111	233	1	6	11	361
	30.75%	64.54%	0.28%	1.66%	3.05%	100.0%
The development of staff has increased our company's market share	101	257	0	3	0	361
	27.98%	71.19%	0%	0.83%	0%	100.0%
Staff development has helped us to retain our customers and expand our customer base.	191	137	0	22	11	361
	52.91%	37.50%	0%	6.09%	3.05%	100.0%

Table 7 shows the descriptive analysis of respondents' responses as regards staff development and organisational performance. Combining the responses under 'strongly agree' and 'agree', 324 (89.50%) of the respondents agreed that staff development has brought about an increase in sales of their company's products. 344 (95.29%) of the respondents accepted that the development of staff had brought about an increase in the profitability of the organisation. 358 (99.17%) agreed that the development of staff had increased the company's market share. 328 (90.86%) of the respondents accepted that staff development had helped them retain customers and expand the customer base.

Table 8 The overall significance					
ModelSummary					
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	
1	.350	.172	.129	.101329	

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.092	1	7.345	6.545	.015
	Residual	.374	374	.018		
	Total	.526	319			

a. Dependent Variable: Training

b. Predictors: (Constant), Training

Table 9 Regression coefficients								
Coefficients[a]								
Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	.467	.147		3.151	.004	11.148	14.284
	Training	.474	.185	.350	2.382	.015	.177	.264

a. Dependent Variable: Organisational performance

The results presented in Table 8 show the effect that training has on organisational performance: it was significant ($F = 7.345$, $p < 0.05$). From the table, 15% of the variation in organisational performance was explained by variations in training (R square =.172, $p < 0.05$). was also statistically significant (= 0.474, t= 2.382, $p < 0.05$). Overall, regression results presented in Table 9 indicate that training has a positive effect on organisational performance.

The hypothesis that training affects organisational performance was therefore confirmed for organisational performance indicators. As training increases, organisational performance increases in First Bank Nigeria Plc.

$OP = .467 + .474T + \varepsilon$ .... (Eqn. 2)

Where:

OP = Organisational Performance

T = Training

ε = Error term

Restatement of Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three: Mentoring has no significant effect on organisational performance

Table 10 Descriptive analysis on mentoring and organisational performance

Variables	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Mentoring improves the organisational performance.	276	71	0	9	5	361
	76.45%	19.67%	0%	2.49%	1.39%	100.0%
Mentoring new employees will make them feel less engaged within an organisation	96	171	0	51	43	361
	26.59%	47.37%	0%	14.13%	11,91%	100.0%
Mentoring improves commitment of both mentor and mentee in organisation.	158	121	0	16	10	361
	51.80%	39.67%	0.0%	5.25%	3.28%	100.0%
Mentoring has affected my attitude or performance positively towards achieving the organisational goals.	133	227	1	0	0	361
	36.84%	62.88%	0.28%	0%	0%	100.0%

Table 10 shows the descriptive analysis of respondents' responses as regards mentoring and organisational performance. By combining responses under 'strongly agree' and 'agree', 347 (96.12%) of the respondents agreed that mentoring improves the organisational performance, 267 (73.96%) of the respondents accepted that mentoring new employees will make them feel less engaged within an organisation, 279 (77.29%) agreed that mentoring improves the commitment of both mentor and mentee in an organisation. 360 (99.72%) agreed that mentoring has affected their attitude or performance.

Restatement of Hypothesis Three (H_{03}): Mentoring has no significant effect on organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc. Hypothesis three was tested using simple regression.

Table 11 The overall significance

ModelSummary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.570	.323	. 240	.094088

ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	Regression	.122	3	.047	3.755	.024
	Residual	.234	38	.022		
1	Total	.334	41			

a. Dependent Variable: Mentoring

b. Predictors: (Constant), Organisational performance

Table 12 Regression coefficients

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower bound	Upper bound
	(Constant)	438	.190		2.417	.037	11.153	13.162
1	Mentoring	.473	.227	.504	2.164	.054	.131	.235

a. Dependent Variable: Organisational performance

The results presented in Table 11 show that the effect that mentoring has on organisational performance was significant (R Square = 323, F = 3.755, $p < 0.05$). From the table, 15% of the variation in organisational performance was explained by variation in mentoring (R square =.323, $p < 0.05$). was also statistically significant (= 0.438, t= 0.473, $p < 0.05$). Overall, regression results presented in Table 12 indicate that mentoring has positive effect on organisational performance. The hypothesis that mentoring affect organisational performance was therefore confirmed for organisational performance indicators. As mentoring increases organisational performance in First Bank Nigeria Plc also increases.

OP = .438 + .473M+ …………………………………………………… (Eqn. 3)

Where:

OP = Organisational performance

M = Mentoring

$\mathcal{E}$ = Error term

Discussions

The regression equation 1 indicates that the parameter estimates complied with *a priori* expectation, which explains that education will increase organisational performance of First Bank

Nigeria Plc. The constant (k) 0.465 implies that if education is zero (0), organisational performance would be 0.486. The coefficient of education is 0.486, which indicates that a 1-unit increase in education is associated with a 0.486 units increase in organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. This implies that an increase in education will subsequently increase the performance of an organisation. The result of hypothesis 1 demonstrates that education of First Bank Nigeria Plc. staff has a significant effect on performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. The result of this study supported existing studies of the variable in question, as evidenced by the research of various authors such as Ishola, Adeleye & Tanimola (2018); Kasika (2015); Bhargava and Anbazhagan (2014). This outcome supported the opinion formed by the researcher on the effect of education on organisational performance.

The regression equation 2 indicates that the parameter estimates complied with *a priori* expectation which explains that training will increase the organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. The constant (k) is 0.467, that implies that if training is zero, organisational performance would be 0.474. The coefficient of training is 0.467, which indicates that a 1-unit increase in training is associated with a 0.474 units increase in the organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. This implies that an increase in training will subsequently increase organisational performance. The result of hypothesis 2 demonstrates that training of First Bank Nigeria Plc. staff has a significant effect on organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. The outcome attests to the results of the existing studies on the subject matter by other scholars (Engetou 2017; Janes 2018; Ndibe 2014; Ogbu & Osanaiye 2017; Raja, Furqan & Muhammad 2011). Training as indicated in the findings of both the researcher and existing literature has proved to be an important indicator in staff development in an organisation.

The regression equation 3 indicates that the parameter estimates complied with *a priori* expectation, which explains that mentoring will increase the organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. The constant (k) is 0.438, that implies that if mentoring is zero (0), organisational performance would be 0.473. The coefficient of mentoring is 0.438 which indicates that a 1-unit increase in mentoring is associated with a 0.473 units increase in the organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. This implies that an increase in mentoring will subsequently increase organisational performance of mentoring. The result of hypothesis 3 demonstrates that mentoring of employees has a significant effect on the organisational performance of First Bank Nigeria Plc. Scholars such as Adewuyi and Makinde (2018); Allen, (2007); Everwise (2018); Muzaffar, Abdul and Mohd (2016) also corroborate the findings shown above. A proper and effective monitoring will advance the course of any given organisation as it was shown by the findings of both the author and extant literature.

Conclusion and recommendations

The significance of the perceived effect of staff development on organisational performance cannot be overemphasised, as many organisations deem it to be the way forward to effective and efficient organisational advancement. This has led the researcher to inquire into this study as many organisations who have failed to take their staff development seriously pay dearly for such neglect. Based on the results of the study, it was concluded that developed staff members have acquired new knowledge, are satisfied with their jobs, improved their performance and with the skills and knowledge gained have resulted in increased sales, gained customers' loyalty, increased the company's market share and profitability, hence led to overall organisational productivity. It is in view of this that the study gives the following recommendations: that management should consistently engage in staff development programs for employees to advance in their careers in order to reduce staff turnover and increase job performance; organisations should not stop at developing the new staff but also enhance the skills and knowledge of the existing staff to cope with the dynamic business environment within which they operate; mentoring should also be encouraged to pave the way for the development of future leaders who must have known the organisational culture to be well equipped for future assignments. The implication is that a well trained staff will have a positive impact on organisational performance and add more efficiency and effectiveness to their output and will in turn improve the organisational performance. Further research can be conducted in other sectors such as education, agriculture, and health, to mention a few. The study can also include other financial institutions in Lagos State or be extended to others in other geographical locations.

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Money talks: a multimodal ethnographic study of Ghana's currency

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to unearth the hidden messages communicated on Ghana's currency – the Ghana cedi's coins and banknotes – outside their monetary value spelled by the number on them. The study employed the theoretical frameworks of ethnography of communication and multimodality, with the aim of unearthing the different modes of communication used on Ghana's currency outside their monetary value,as well as the hidden messages behind these modes of communication. The study employed a purposive sampling of Ghana's cedi in current use, thereby making the study synchronic, as opposed to a diachronic one. Findings reveal that the modes of communication employed on Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes are shape, colour, national symbols, national buildings, national cash crops and minerals, national heroes and heroines and national monuments. Behind these modes are the messages of Ghana's history such as her struggle for independence, her culture such as espoused in music, her economy as espoused in her cash crops such as cocoa and coffee, and in her minerals such as gold, diamonds, and bauxite among others. Homage is also paid to national heroes and heroines such as The Big Six and Yaa Asantewa on Ghana's cedi. National monuments such as The Independence Arch and the Kwame Nkrumah mausoleum remind Ghanaians and others of the nation's struggle for independence and the struggle's leader Kwame Nkrumah. This study shows that beside the monetary value of Ghana's currency, and by extension the currencies of the world, valuable information is communicated.

Keywords: communication; culture; currency; ethnography of communication; Ghana; identity; multimodality

Introduction

Interpersonal communication is multifaceted, as it displays much sophistication which might be taken for granted when looked at *prima facie*. Viewed more critically, however, we would acknowledge that communication has been at the centre of language study because of the complexity that it displays as a human phenomenon. Communication is generally defined as the act of conveying meanings from one entity or group to another through the use of mutually understood signs, symbols, and semiotic rules. Humans, therefore, have employed various

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mutually understood modes of communication such as vocal or verbal, non-vocal or nonverbal, sign language, pictures, videos, audios, symbols and so on in exchanging thoughts among one another. According to Yang (2020), people continue to give and receive non-verbal messages through gestures and other non-verbal channels. He submits that in the centre of communication, we find the role of culture to be very crucial. Other scholars such as Baldwin *et al.* (2014) and Weng (2015) express similar views. Weng (2015:623) submits that "major aspects of culture, such as values, beliefs, world views, and communication systems, are built within various social systems, which constitute a social context where cultural and IC (intercultural communication) occurs". For example, in Ghana, mourners usually clothe themselves in red or black or both colours during the funeral rites of a departed person, thereby making these colours a symbol of sadness in the Ghanaian community. In the light of that no one needs any explanation if someone is seen wearing these colours, particularly during funerals. It is also common knowledge that currencies in the world employ more than numerical figures that show their value. Both coins and banknotes have other features apart from the numerical values. The researchers believe that these other non-verbal features on currencies are similarly other non-verbal channels of communication that must be investigated.

In Hymes's (1962) ethnography of communication, which encompasses all forms or modes of communication, attention is given to the role of eight components that underlie the act of communication, namely setting, participants, ends, act sequence, key, instrumentalities, norms and genre. Settings encompasses the time and place of the communication. Participants are the ones who take part in the act of communication as well as their respective roles such as speaker, writer, listener, reader and so on. Act sequence reveals the acts that make up the communications. Key has to do with the tone or manner of performance as regards such issues as formality, familiarity and the like, while instrumentalities involves the channel or the medium via which communication is carried such as writing, symbols, pictures and so on. The norm component encompasses the cultural acceptability for producing an act of communication within which an act of communication can be interpreted. The final component, *genre*, refers to the particular type of communication: whether it is folklore, traditional music, a literary piece and the like. Hymes's (1962) framework has really contributed to the analysis of communication across cultures and has revealed that the act of communication is intrinsically complex and warrants a critical analysis. Cameron (2001) and other linguists like Carbaugh & BoromiszaHabashi (2015) and Johnstone & Marcellino (2010) caution that the framework should be applied with flexibility since communication itself may not possess every component of Hymes's framework. It follows that the Hymes (1962) framework can be applied to different modes of communication.

One major source of communication that has not been given linguistic or literary attention is that regarding communication by money. Money is defined generally as any item or record that is accepted as payment for goods and services. While we would not go into the history of money, it is clear that contemporary money across the globe is *fiat* money which is inconvertible coin or paper money made legal tender by a government decree.

The focus of this study is Ghana's currency – the cedi. The word cedi is of Akan origin which means cowrie shell, which was formerly used as currency in Ghana. It is obvious that money made legal tender in various countries and territories in the world have stories to tell; they communicate various information apart from the values attached to them. That is why money in the forms of coins or banknotes have more than the number depicting their value on them. Apart from the numbers on these monetary coins or notes a lot of information is presented in various modes other than verbal or textual. After a thorough search in literature on communication through money, the researchers have found that there is no known linguistic or literary study on Ghana's currency and, at large, on many other currencies of the world.

Purpose of the study

The present paper seeks to fill this gap by presenting a multimodal ethnographic study of Ghana's cedi coins and notes. The focus would, however, not be diachronic but synchronic, in that attention would be given to the cedi in current use. The study would consider all the coin denominations from the smallest to the highest unit. The same is true for the bank notes. Ghana's cedi coins range from 1 pesewa to two cedis; one hundred pesewa units is equivalent to one cedi, while the banknotes range from one cedi to two hundred Ghana cedis. This paper seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

- What different modes and components of communication are employed on Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes?
- What messages do these modes and components convey on Ghana's cedi coins and notes?

Literature review

This section discusses some related literature that serves as the conceptual spine of this paper as regards ethnography of communication and multimodality.

3.1 Ethnography of communication

The theory of ethnography of communication (EC) has been employed in many linguistic studies because of its dynamism as a theoretical too. Saville-Troike (2008:2) discusses EC as follows:

> *The focus of the ethnography of communication is the speech community, the way communication within it is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events, and the ways in which these interact with all other systems of culture. A primary aim of this approach is to guide the collection and analysis of descriptive data about the ways in which social meaning is conveyed.*

Saville-Troike (2008) articulates specific points that EC encompasses. He mentions that the speech community is the focus of EC. A speech community encompasses shared community membership and shared linguistic means of communication – language. We can say that the present paper's speech community is, first, Ghanaians, and any person who uses the Ghana cedi to buy or sell or to transact business. One thing to note is that Ghana is not a monolingual country but a multilingual one. That notwithstanding, the modes and components of communication employed on Ghana's cedi coins and notes directed towards the users of the currency binds all these users into a speech community.

Saville-Troike (2008) further mentions as part of EC "patterned and organised systems". It follows that a speech community is able to decode patterns and organisations in communication of any form directed to it. The Ghana cedi notes and coins under study have information presented in patterns or organised ways that have something salient for the users. A Ghanaian or anyone who has in-depth knowledge about Ghana, her people and culture can decode the hidden information that is communicated behind these patterns. These will be elaborated on under Findings and discussion.

Saville-Troike (2008) also mentions culture as the core thrust of EC. This is definitely the case, since culture universally serves as the tool via which humans unveil information as communicated by the use of language of multiple modes. In that vein, knowledge of the Ghanaian culture would easily enable any user of the Ghana cedi notes and coins to comprehend any communication besides value presented thereon. For example, it would be easy to decode Ghanaian national symbols and the meanings they project if one is conversant with the Ghanaian culture as regards her national symbols. Regarding the EC approach, Saville-Troike (2008:2) further submits that it is a "collection and analysis of descriptive data about the way social meaning is conveyed". The data at hand, Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes, encompasses different modes and components of communication, is altogether descriptive. Modes such as colour, shape, national symbols, monuments, buildings, and pictures are all descriptive and convey meanings to the Ghanaian monetary speech community, as we have noted earlier.

Some scholars have employed the EC framework in a number of contexts. Duff (2002, 1995), for example, has employed the framework in the classroom setting. Suter (2000:1) applied EC within a focused group and urged linguists "to step outside their traditional methodological practices, when necessary, and integrate other methods into their research protocol". Traditionally, EC concerns how language is employed following the components of communication as are espoused in the SPEAKING acronym. Of course, this acronym need not be followed rigidly for one to qualify to employ it because communication goes beyond speech to involve such things as are captured in multimodality, namely pictures, symbols, videos, and so on. The data for the present study, all the denominations of Ghana's cedi notes and coins in current use, goes beyond speech. It involves colour, pictures, symbols, monuments, buildings, all loaded with meaning. It is in the light of this that this study employs multimodality as a framework in conjunction with EC.

3.2 Multimodality

This paper employs the framework of multimodality in conjunction with EC. Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) is one of the contemporary frameworks in vogue in linguistic studies. Satti (2018:116) defines multimodality in descriptive terms thus:

> *If you are watching a TV news programme, where a presenter discusses some events backed up by textual overlays and recorded smartphone videos from the scene of those events, then you are interacting with a multimodal medium. If you are reading a book with diagrams and text, photographs and graphs, then you are also interacting with a multimodal medium. If you are talking to someone in a cafeteria, exchanging verbal utterances accompanied by facial expressions, gestures and variations in intonation, then you are, again, interacting in a multimodal medium. If you talk to a friend on WhatsApp and reply with an image instead of writing something, or when you draw or insert emojis on your Snapchat video, then you are, once again, communicating multimodally.*

From this graphic definition, we note that the concept of multimodality as suggested by its name is very broad and deep. Multimodality, therefore, captures such textual overlays as videos, diagrams, texts, photographs, symbols, facial expressions, gestures, and so on. It follows that in order to arrive at a holistic understanding of what is communicated by texts and other modes, multimodality is the approach most appropriate to such an investigation, more particularly for data that involves fewer words than the other modes, such as one for this study. MMDA is therefore the most appropriate approach to investigate the modes of communication as employed on Ghana's cedi coins and notes.

To demonstrate the effectiveness of MMDA, we would review several studies that have relied on MMDA as a framework and how effective is has been in these studies. Amenorvi (2019a, 2019b, 2019c) employed multimodality in investigating the themes of exodus, confrontation and survival in Bob Marley's *Exodus, Confrontation* and *Survival* albums. Attention was paid not only to the lyrics but also such modes as album cover design, song titles as well as the order of arrangement of the songs on the albums. Findings reveal that everything, namely, the modes just mentioned, play significant roles in contributing to the overall theme of each album. This shows that both texts and other modes work hand in hand in projecting the full meaning of a discourse piece. The discourse piece of this paper is perhaps more multimodal and encompasses more modes of communication than Bob Marley's albums studied by Amenorvi (2019a, 2019b, 2019c). Investigating the underlying communication behind the multiple modes employed on Ghana's cedi notes and coins would unearth information that would otherwise be left covered if attention is paid only to the value and words on the cedi notes and coins. The blend of these semiotic resources certainly has something salient to tell.

Not only has multimodality contributed to meaning-making in terms of language interpretation. It has also been used as a tool for language learning and teaching with significant results. Gilakjani, Ismail and Ahmadi (2011) investigated the effect of multimodal learning models on language teaching and learning. They submit that "learners have a preferred modality, namely visual, aural, read/write or kinaesthetic, while many learners are multimodal (use a combination of these modalities)" (Gilakjani, Ismail and Ahmadi, 2011:1322). We note that while linguistic texts are valuable resources of language teaching and learning, they are not adequate for desired results. Visuals such as pictures, videos and audios blend as an effective tool of language teaching and learning.

One of the principles of multimodal language teaching and learning is that words and pictures are better than words alone. This is because pictures are more indelibly captured by the human mind than words and if the two complement each other the better in that language teaching and learning does not only become less difficult but also an interesting enterprise. Gilakjani, Ismail and Ahmadi (2011:1326), therefore, concluded thus:

> *The research agenda calls for studies to evaluate the principles of multimodal learning and the electronic multimedia designs as they affect the acquisition of reading, writing, speaking and listening in various EFL contexts ...The quick pace of change from print-based to more visually oriented presentations of information involves a quick response from language teachers and educators to take advantage of multimodality to engage learners in meaningful cognitive, critical understandings.*

The foregoing clearly spells the significance of employing multimodality in language teaching and learning as this method enhances the quality of teaching and learning materials and fosters productive language learning. If multimodality is good for language teaching and learning regarding its versatility, it must be good also for language interpretation, particularly if a discourse piece under study itself is multimodal. Once a discourse piece involves modes other than words, multimodality will be one of the most appropriate tools to use in analysing it. The present paper therefore blends MMDA and EC as frameworks to analyse the information other than words and figures as presented on Ghana's currency in current use. The choice of multimodality is warranted by the variety of the modes of communication found on the data at hand. The choice of ethnography of communication is to address the cultural values of the various components of communication employed on Ghana's cedi notes and coins.

4. Methodology

The paper employs multimodality in combination with ethnography of communication as the analytical tool for the analysis of Ghana's cedi coins and notes. Halliday and Hasan (1985) emphasise the diversity as well as the interrelatedness of a set of systems of meaning as espoused in language. Their focus was a set of systems or a system of different modes that combine to project interrelatedness in meaning; this diversity of systems is what multimodality encompasses. O'Halloran (2011:1) submits that multimodal analysis involves "language and other resources which integrate to create meaning in "multimodal" (or "multisemiotic") phenomena (e.g. print materials, videos, websites, three-dimensional objects and day-to-day events) …" Just like multimodality, ethnography of communication also involves more than one component that defines acts of commutation with the role of culture as its core thrust since language is interpreted through its culture. A multimodal analytical approach and ethnography of communication is an appropriate method for the present study because the Ghana cedi coins and banknotes under study comprise modes or components such as colour, portraits of important personalities of Ghana, traditional symbols, monumental buildings, artefacts, size, shape, space and texture. With all these in consideration, a combination of multimodality and ethnography of communication is deemed most appropriate for this paper. As a synchronic study, purposive sampling procedure was adopted to sample all of Ghana's cedi coins and bank notes in current use for the study. The cedi coins range from one pesewa to two cedis while the banknotes range from one cedi to two hundred cedis.

Findings and discussions

This section addresses the research questions one after the other. The first research question seeks to establish the different modes and communication components employed on Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes. The thrust of the second question is to unearth the hidden messages behind these modes and communication components on Ghana's coins and banknotes. We would first proceed to discuss the modes and communication components as well as the messages behind them on Ghana's coins, after which we discuss those of the banknotes.

5.1 Ghana's coins

Ghana's coins range from one pesewa to two cedi coin. In all, the coins in current use are 1 pesewa, 5 pesewas, 10 pesewas, 20 pesewas, 50 pesewas, 1 cedi and 2 cedis; seven denominations in all for the coins. The most outstanding mode of communication that meets the eye as regards the one pesewa coin is its colour of copper, its size of 17mm in diameter and its weight of 1.82 grams. It is the smallest of Ghana's coins in current use; it is also the one of least value. One hundred of the one-pesewa units is equivalent to one cedi. What information is behind these modes other than the value of the one pesewa coin?

First, the choice of the colour copper is deliberate, even as it evokes setting as outlined in Hymes's ethnography of communication, the setting of the one pesewa coin is definitely Ghana and the employment of the copper colour for the coin is a point of education for both Ghanaians and all who use the Ghana cedi. The employment of the copper colour is educational to users of the coin as regards one of Ghana's mineral deposits. It is common knowledge among Ghanaians and visitors to the country that copper is one of the minerals in her soil (Koranteng Addo *et al.* 2011). The employment of this colour no doubt is a communication or reminder to Ghanaian of the nation's riches. Moreover, investors can acquire this knowledge and therefore direct their investments to the country.

Let us move on to discuss the two faces communicating features of the one pesewa coin. On the obverse is Ghana's coat of arms, state title and year of production (2007). We would agree that all these are definite ways of communication. Through the spectacles of EC, we note that the end or purpose of these communicative symbols is to educate users of the Ghanaian cedi about the country. Regarding the act of sequence, we note that Ghana's coat of arms is placed at the obverse of the pesewa coin, revealing the value placed on the nation's coat of arms.

Ghana's coat of arms may be a drawing and a symbol, but it is one loaded with meaning. And placing it on a coin in use is not an arbitrary act but a conscious effort to communicate, because the nation's coat of arms represents in symbol the length and breadth of Ghana. Everything on the coat of arms has a story to tell. Here is a brief summary. The black star on the coat of arms represents the pride of Africa as spearheaded by such freedom fighters as Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah. On the crest of the coat of arms, we see a sword and staff which represent the traditional authority of Ghana. The castle tells the story of the Trans-Atlantic slavery. The cocoa tree draws attention to Ghana's chief cash crop, while the gold mine tells the story of Ghana's minerals. The lion on the crest tells the story of the lionlike bravery displayed by the founding fathers in their fight for independence from colonialism. This is just the obverse part of the one-pesewa coin.

On the reverse of the one-pesewa coin we see the Adomi Bridge and a palm tree. What story are these telling, focusing on the norm or the culture of the country? The Adomi Bridge, completed in 1957, is one of Ghana's oldest bridges and a very symbolic one.

Since the Adomi Bridge is as old as the nation of Ghana itself, it is regarded as one major monument of Ghana's independence. By the side of the Adomi Bridge on the one pesewa coin is a palm tree, one of the symbolic trees of Ghana. Ghanaians place a lot of value on the palm tree because of its many uses towards the livelihood of the people of Ghana. From the palm tree Ghana derives the palm kernel oil which is used as food and for medicinal purposes. Another edible oil from the palm tree is the ubiquitous palm oil in Ghana. Besides, Ghana derives palm wine from the palm tree, we derive firewood for cooking, brooms for sweeping, hand fans, baskets, furniture and many more. The presence of the palm tree on the pesewa coin truly communicates a great deal of information, since the palm tree is a multipurpose plant of significance among the people of Ghana.

We now turn our attention to the five-pesewa coin. The modes of communication employed on the five-pesewa coin are colour, size, weight, shape. The colour of that five-pesewa coin is nickel, which speaks to one of the Ghana's chief minerals – silver. The five-pesewa coin is 18mm in diameter, weighs 2.5 grams and is round. In comparison with the one pesewa coin, the five-pesewa coin is bigger and heavier, as it is in value. Let us move on to the communication conveyed on the five-pesewa coin. On the obverse side of the five-pesewa coin we see a traditional man blowing a horn. What is this communicating? We acknowledge that one of the main thrusts of the theory of ethnography of communication is culture. In that regard, culture plays a great role in understanding the symbols employed on the coins under discussion.

In the Ghanaian culture, the horn was both a musical instrument and a tool used for blowing alarms during wars. This musical instrument is usually used during ceremonies that involve royals. This showcasing of the traditional home may be calling attention to Ghana's diverse traditional music. And since the horn is also used to sound the alarm during wars, its presence is to draw attention to the nation's courage or bravery. Like the one pesewa coin, the five pesewa coin has Ghana's coat of arms on its reverse side. We have already explained the communication behind Ghana's coat of arms.

Let us now focus our attention on the next denomination: ten pesewas. The ten pesewa coin has the nickel colour that the five pesewa coin also possesses, drawing attention to Ghana's silver. On the obverse ride of the ten pesewa coin is an open book with a map of Ghana on the verso page; on the recto page of the book is a diamond drawn by an unheld erect pen. On the top of the book is a star. What is being communicated by these modes? The open book obviously reveals the place of education in the lives of Ghanaians. Ghana places great value on her citizens' education as education would contribute to national growth. This is clear from the fact that the entire verso page of the book in question is filled with the map of Ghana. That means that the development of Ghana should be the most important preoccupation of the Ghanaian as he/she seeks to acquire education. On the recto page, we see the precious mineral diamond. The communication here is that education is as priceless as a diamond as it is one of the only major ways of nation building. We can see how loaded with meaning the information on Ghana's cedi coins and notes are.

Ghana's twenty pesewa coin shares the same colour with the five and ten-pesewa coin. It also shares the country's coat of arms in its reserve side. On the obverse side of the twenty pesewa coin is Ghana's number one cash crop, cocoa. An open cocoa pod with exposed beans lies horizontally with a full pod standing vertically in an L-formation. The two pods are as loaded with communication as they are loaded with beans. Anyone, Ghanaian or foreign, would learn that Ghana is an agrarian economy and that cocoa is her chief export product. Currently, Ghana and La Cote D'Ivoire are the top two exporters of cocoa beans in the world. All this information is hidden behind a conscious artwork of a picture, revealing that communicative modes such as pictures sometimes carry far more information than words do.

We move on to the next higher denomination of the fifty pesewa coin, which shares the same colour and coat of arms symbol with the previous three. On the obverse side of the fifty pesewa coin is a Ghanaian woman wearing a headgear. What is the communication behind this image? The first is that the role of the Ghanaian woman towards nation building is acknowledged. Second, this is also another display of the Ghanaian culture, with specific reference to dressing and grooming. On the first point, women have played great roles in nation building, in that traditionally, women stay at home and take care of children. They also support their husbands in the day-to-day running of the family as the family is the basic unit of nation building. The second point is that wearing a headgear is part of the traditional Ghanaian woman's dressing. Headgears come in different shapes and sizes and each has an associated meaning attached to it. It is therefore common to see a number of Ghanaian women wearing headgears during traditional gatherings of any sort. The fifty pesewa coin is therefore paying homage to the Ghanaian woman for her role in nation building as well as her role as a preserver of culture.

The one cedi coin looks very different from all the coins discussed so far. The one cedi coin is bimetallic – it has a brass centre in a nickel-steel ring. It weighs 7.3 grams and has a diameter of 2.798mm. We have already discussed the significance of the use of nickel for Ghana's coins. The brass used on the one cedi coin is another revelation of Ghana's natural resources, specifically brass. It follows that if one considers Ghana's one pesewa coin all the way to the one cedi coin, one would be exposed to a number of minerals that Ghana possesses. In that regard, apart from being legal tender for the transaction of business, these coins are also advertising or educating people on Ghana's natural resources.

The one-cedi coin also bears Ghana's coat of arms on its reverse side. On the obverse, we note a scale of justice, resting on two olive branches tied in the middle. What are these modes communicating? The scale of justice points to the nation's motto as captured on her coat of arms – freedom and justice. The scale of justice universally symbolises the presence of justice and an olive branch is considered a symbol of peace. It is no wonder that the scale of justice is resting on two olive branches tied together. Through the one-cedi coin, therefore, Ghana is projecting her profound advocacy for justice for all, for both citizens and foreign investors. If justice is served, there would be peace for all. These assuring words behind the arts on the one cedi coin would project Ghana as a place to do business to many investors as the presence of justice is peace and true peace means justice.

The final focus of our discussion on Ghana's cedi coins is the newly introduced two cedi coin, issued in 2019. It follows that from 2007 to 2018 there was no two cedi coin. The new two-cedi coin is markedly different in shape and design from all the other coins. Unlike the one cedi coin, the two cedi coin is a golden decagon ring with a nickel-steel nested into it. It is directly opposite in appearance to the one cedi coin. Regarding the golden colour, it is without doubt that attention is drawn to Ghana's gold. Ghana before independence was called the Gold Coast because of her gold deposits. The golden part of the two cedi coin is shaped in a decagon – a symbolic ten. In Ghana, the number ten symbolizes wholeness, purity and perfection. Capturing the golden part of the coin in a decagon is unequivocally clear – Ghana's gold is pure, whole and perfect; it is of the best quality. The symbolic communication also serves as a source of education to anyone who comes in contact with the two cedi coin and seeks to learn what these symbols mean.

Like all the other coin denominations, the two cedi has the nation's coat of arms on its reverse side. On the obverse, however, is the Jubilee House, which serves as the presidential seat of the country. The Jubilee House is a monument built to commemorate Ghana's fiftieth year of independence, and projecting it on the two cedi coin communicates how far the nation had travelled from colonialism to her present state. By sight, this is just artwork. However, a lot of communication is going on behind the artwork. The Jubilee House in built in the shape of a traditional stool used by royals. This is symbolic. Since the Jubilee House serves as the presidential palace, Ghana's president is symbolically regarded as the head traditional ruler of Ghanaians and therefore sits on the traditional stool of authority. The stool design is for the propagation of the Ghanaian culture as regards chieftaincy.

We have seen the employment of the different modes of communication employed on Ghana's cedi coins. We have also noted that these modes convey a lot of meaning within the cultural parameters of Ghana, and serve as a source of education for anyone who uses these coins and seeks to understand the communication behind these artworks on the coins. Let us now turn our attention to the banknotes.

5.2 Ghana's cedi banknotes

Ghana's cedi banknotes range from one cedi to two hundred cedis. Within this range are the two cedi note, five cedi note, ten cedi note, twenty cedi note, fifty cedi note and hundred cedi note; eight banknotes in all. This section, like the one before it, would address the different modes and components of communication employed in order to unearth the information behind these modes and components of communication.

Before we get into discussing the one cedi note, we would like to acknowledge that some features run through all the cedi notes. These features are on the front part of the notes. These are six distinguished men who led the struggle for Ghana's independence. They are popularly referred to in Ghana as the "Big Six". They are Kwame Nkrumah, Emmanuel Obetsebi Lamptey, William Ofori Atta, Edward Akuffo Addo, Ebenezer Ako Adjei and Joseph Boakye Danquah. Also on the front ride side is the Independence Arch, the symbol of Ghana's political independence. No doubt, the presence or absence of these features would not in any way affect the legal value of the cedi notes. Their presence, therefore, articulates clearly that these features communicate more than monetary value.

On the back of the one-cedi note is the main source of electricity in Ghana, the Akosombo Dam. What is communicated by this monument of Ghana on the one-cedi note? There is no denying that the Akosombo Dam is one of Ghana's achievements worth advertising. However, its presence seems to be a message to visitors or investors that they can make Ghana their destination. Investors are usually interested in a good source of energy or power for their industry, and showcasing Ghana's Akosombo Dam is an answer to any question regarding power.

The next banknote for discussion is the two cedi note, which was first issued in May 2010. Its main modes of communication are the colour beige. The main features on its obverse, a portrait of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's main figure of the struggle for the political independence. Nkrumah's place in the political history of Africa is famous and homage is paid to him on the two cedi note. On the reverse of the two cedi note is Ghana's Parliament House, a symbol of Ghana's rule of law, a reminder to both Ghanaians and foreigners about Ghana's emphasis on the rule of law and that they are welcome to live in the country without fear. Without a doubt, all these communications are more valuable and deeper than the one held by the number 2 on the two cedi note.

The main modes of communication on the five cedi note are its blue colour, the features of the obverse, the Big Six and Independence Arch, already discussed at the outset of this section. What is the colour blue projecting on the five cedi note? One of Ghana's national assets is the Gulf of Guinea, on which the country has a harbour to support her economy. The sea is universally captured in colour blue and the choice of the colour blue suggests reference to the sea. On the reverse of the five cedi note is the nation's first university, the University of Ghana and its Balme Library. The point of communication here is not far-fetched; this is a drawing of attention to the value that Ghana places on education, as also captured on the ten pesewa coin discussed earlier. By the five cedi note, Ghana is, therefore, projecting the image of the nation's love for education to the local and international community.

It is now the turn of the ten cedi note, which is green, a symbol of Ghana's agrarian culture. Like the other notes, on the obverse side are the Big Six and the Independence Arch. On the reverse is the Bank of Ghana. Of all the notes, it is only the ten cedi one that has the Bank of Ghana featured on it. Of course, all the coins and notes have the lettering "Bank of Ghana" on them, but only the ten cedi note has the building itself. This building on the ten cedi note only points to the autonomy of the Government of Ghana over her currency.

The twenty cedi note shares the same features of the obverse side with the rest of the notes discussed so far. On the reverse, however, is the depiction of Ghana's supreme Court. What is the significance of the presence of the Supreme Court on a banknote? Like the Parliament House in the case of the five cedi note, the Supreme Court is projecting Ghana's love for the rule of law as it is held by the highest court of the nation. Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians should therefore have the assurance that the Supreme Court of the nation would protect and defend their rights.

Before December 2019, the fifty note had been the highest denomination of Ghana's cedi since July 2007. It is brown in colour and shares similar features with all the notes, but for the two cedi note as regards the obverse side. The colour brown may be the symbolism of the earth as it is seen at mine sites, indirectly referring to Ghana's minerals such as gold, bauxite, copper, diamond as found in the earth. On the reverse of the fifty-cedi note is the historical monument of the Christiansburg Castle. The capture of the Christiansburg Castle, one of the oldest castles in Ghana, on until now Ghana's highest denomination of her cedi is the projection of Ghana's journey through the vistas of time from colonialism to date. The Castle has a long history, dating back to when it was built in 1661, close to four centuries now. By just this building, a lot of stories can be learned by the inquisitive mind as to what it communicates. The Christiansburg Castle, like other castles in Ghana such as the Cape Coast and Elmina Castles, are the physical remains of the infamous Trans-Atlantic slave trade from whose ashes Ghana has risen as a country. This history cannot be forgotten and homage is paid to the many lives lost in this historical nightmare. Moreover, this is a reminder to the Ghanaians to work hard and contribute to the growth of the country in order to make the sacrifices made by victims of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade worthy of remembrance.

The hundred and the two-hundred cedi notes are the newest and highest of Ghana's currency. They have been available since December 2019. They also maintain the Big Six and the Independence Arch on the obverse side. On the reverse side of the hundred Ghana cedis is the interior of the nation's Parliament House, the communicative significance of which is discussed earlier. On the reverse side of the two-hundred cedi note, however, is the Jubilee House. What is its communicative significance? The Jubilee House, formerly the Flagstaff House, serves as the residence and office of the president of Ghana. The Jubilee House symbolises the nation's sovereignty and freedom from colonialism. Ghana's independence from colonial rule in 1957 is past both the golden and silver jubilees. The Jubilee House is a physical voice to this achievement of the country.

Conclusions

This paper set out to unearth the modes and components of communication employed on Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes as well as the messages behind these modes and components of communication. Through the analytical tools of multimodality and ethnography of communication, findings reveal that the various modes of communication on Ghana's coins and banknotes are shape, colour, national buildings, national symbols, national cash crops and minerals, national monuments and the nation's human resources in her past heroes and heroines. These modes and components of communication on Ghana's currency are loaded with meaning. Through the ethnography of communication, it emerged that the setting and the participants of these modes of communication on Ghana's currency are the country and those who transact business with her by means of the cedi. The end or purpose shows that these modes communicate more than monetary value. The instrument via which these messages are delivered is clearly Ghana's currency, while the norms reveal that to be able to decode the messages behind these modes, one needs to be conversant with Ghana's culture and history. In all, these modes communicate Ghana's struggle for independence, her culture as espoused in music, her economy symbolised by her cash crops, namely, cocoa and coffee, and her minerals such as gold, diamond and bauxite. Homage is also paid to national heroes and heroines such as The Big Six and Yaa Asantewa. The Independence Arch and Kwame Nkrumah mausoleum remind Ghanaians of the works of Nkrumah in achieving political independence for the country. The implication of this study is that communication abounds in all the length and breadth of the linguistic world, particularly in areas where much attention had not been given to, such as the world's currencies. Moreover, this study adds to the voice that there is more to a text than just words, and that multimodality should be given the necessary attention it deserves in discourse analysis. The study also reveals that one of the ways to learn about a nation or a people is through that nation's currency by decoding the information presented on these currencies outside their monetary value. The case of Ghana has proved this. A question that arises from this study is whether other countries of the world also communicate vital information via their currencies, and if so through what modes and components of communication? Further studies can be conducted on other currencies of the world to answer that question.

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Appendix

Ghana's cedi coins and banknotes

GHANA
One Cedi
Five Cedis
Ten Cedis
Twenty Cedis
Fifty Cedis

GHANA
One Hundred Cedis
Two Hundred Cedis

The myth of 'Judicial customary law': Reflections from Anglophone Cameroon

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Abstract

This paper unravels the origins of the concept of 'judicial customary law', a variant of customary law, acknowledged and recognised in some common law jurisdictions of sub-Saharan Africa. It adopts qualitative research methodology based on doctrinal and content analyses of primary and secondary data. It documents some of the arguments underlying the emergence of judicial customary law as the inadvertent product of state courts in the exercise of the crucial prerogative of judicial establishment of customary law. The paper argues that the notion of judicial customary law, as divorced from social practices of the people, represents a controversial affront to our traditional understanding of customary law, which is associated with the aspirations of the community. Through a critical evaluation of the laws in force, and complemented by the jurisprudence of state courts of Anglophone Cameroon in the administration of the twin processes of judicial establishment, as complemented by the process of adjudging the equitability of customary law, the paper acknowledges the conceptual feasibility of judicial customary law in the territory, as opposed to its practical applicability. The absence of professionalisation in the delivery of customary justice and the essentialist articulation of customary law are factors, among others, that forcefully militate against the realistic existence of this notion in Anglophone Cameroon.

Keywords: Anglophone Cameroon, customary law, judicial customary law, judicial establishment.

Introduction

Customary law plays an important, albeit negligible, role in the Cameroonian legal system. Unlike other legislative sources, it is basically unwritten and presents a herculean task to proof to a party who wishes to rely upon it in judicial proceedings in state courts. Admissibility of a customary rule does not depend on its self-sufficiency as a norm recognised by the community. Rather, it is dependent on the norm not only of being notorious to state courts but also equitable, the latter criterion often being adjudged on parameters which, in most instances, are extraneous to customary law itself (Kiye 2015a: 92). There is the contention that the processes employed to determine the notoriety of customary law in state courts in some common law jurisdictions, and perhaps beyond, have led to the fragmentation of the substance of customary law, and have thus created a new version whose origins are divorced from social practices (Woodman 1985: 153-156; 1988: 181-220; 1994: 673; and 1995:145-169).

Customary law is a system of rules developed in traditional societies of sub-Saharan Africa prior to Western penetration, as a mechanism to regulate inter-personal relations. As informal rules that developed within the primitive agrarian economy, their validity rests on the assent of the people. This is a fundamental characteristic of customary law that sets it off from other

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legislative sources. Indeed, unlike our contemporary understanding of Western-inspired laws as emanating from a constituted authority, customary law evolves unconsciously in society from practices observed by the people and generally acknowledged to be binding on them (Anyangwe 1987: 139-140; Ngwafor 1993: 7-9).

The association of customary law with the aspirations of society is being challenged by legislative endeavours, as complemented by practices that obtain in state courts, in some common law jurisdictions. It has been argued by Woodman (1985:148) that these practices, although based on convenience, have inadvertently divorced the substance of customary law from social practices and have, instead, led to the creation of a new version of norms that are fundamentally different from those that regulate social relations. This bastardised version of customary law, the so-called creation of state courts, is referred to variously as "official customary law" (Diala 2017: 144), "lawyer's customary law"[1] or "judicial customary law".[2] Like elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, the administration of customary law by state courts of Anglophone Cameroon poses numerous challenges. Some intractable problems include its unwritten nature, and the conflict between some of its values and those of received laws.[3] Because of these, and other, challenges, the legislature has enacted peculiar rules for the admissibility of customary law in Anglophone Cameroon, the province of sections 14(1) and (2) of the Evidence Ordinance, 1958, and section 27(1) of the Southern Cameroons High Court Law, 1955, the former provision often being blamed for its bastardisation in the state legal system.

This assumption, which has been documented in the common law jurisdictions of Ghana and Nigeria (Woodman 1985; 1988), fails to reflect the status quo in Anglophone Cameroon. Evidently, state courts of Anglophone Cameroon are not mandated to create customary law and, in the process of administering it, have not, even inadvertently, achieved that object as reflected in their emerging jurisprudence. Consequently, the notion of judicial customary law, though a reality in some jurisdictions, is a conceptual illusion in Anglophone Cameroon. This paper, while acknowledging the existence of the notion of judicial customary law in some common law jurisdictions, questions its practical applicability in Anglophone Cameroon. The paper consists of two parts. Part 1 discusses the notion of customary law in Anglophone Cameroon and unravels the close relationship it fosters with the society. It documents some of the arguments supportive of the existence of judicial customary law, and, by extension, the creative role of state courts, in the exercise of the function of judicial establishment.[4] Part 2 provides a critical reflection of the status quo that obtains in Anglophone Cameroon and asserts that the variations that have occurred in the substance of customary law in other common law jurisdictions is yet to materialise in Anglophone Cameroon. It concludes that, in the absence of judicial activism in the administration of customary law in state courts, the notion of judicial customary law will remain an unsubstantiated myth in Anglophone Cameroon.

1. Woodman (1985: 145, 1988: 181) uses this terminology to refer to customary law which is recognised by state courts and which may not correspond to existing social practices of the society. The terminology is used in contrast to "Sociologists' customary law" or "Living Customary Law" (Diala 2017: 144), which are norms recognised as customary law in society which are often different from the substance of "lawyer's customary law".
2. This is the terminology of choice of this author which, like 'lawyer's customary law' insinuates customary law developed by the court, the main arm of the judiciary, in its application of custom.
3. The administration of customary law, be it in most of sub-Saharan Africa or in the small island states of the South Pacific, has generated tensions in the legal systems due to the conflict it fosters with values of other legislative sources including human rights. This tension is evident in jurisdictions where the constitutional and legal frameworks have, at best, been ambiguous in outlining a concise relationship between customary law and human rights leading, on occasion to the exoneration of customary law from constitutional and human rights scrutiny. See, among others, Care 1999: 251; Bigge & Von Briesen 2000: 289-313; Kariuki 2005.
4. Judicial establishment is defined, within the context of this paper, as a process whereby state courts are able to incorporate rules of customary law into the state legal system by converting them into case law precedents which are then made available for use by other state courts. Judicial establishment restates customary law in a formal judicial pronouncement, upon the norm becoming notorious to the court. The process upgrades customary law to a status akin to common law.

Customary law: product of social relations and or creation of state courts?

Customary law exhibits unique features that distinguish it from other normative norms. These features are essential to its conceptualisation (Kiye 2007: 96-122); their negation liable to alter its substance forever. Amongst the features is the undetachable relationship that the law fosters with the aspirations of the people of the community. Customary law therefore represents a mirror of local usages of the community which have been repeatedly practised by the people and have acquired binding force. Notwithstanding this view, some authors, including Woodman (1985, 1988, 1995) argue that, based on practices by state courts in some common law jurisdictions, a variant of customary law has arisen, a creation of state courts, that is different from, and detached from, social practices.

Customary law as a mirror of communal practices

The foundational base of customary law is the society, a characteristic feature that sets it off from other legislative sources in Anglophone Cameroon.[1] African customary law developed in pre-colonial societies (Anyangwe 1987: 9; Woodman 1989: 274; Ngwafor 1993: 7-8), facilitated by the absence of organised state structures amid the prevailing agrarian economy, with its resultant practices. These local practices, customs, and usages mirror acceptable behaviours in the various communities, their repeated observance leading to standardised patterns of conduct that were eventually given legal force by the people. The absence of formal education in the pre-colonial era ensured that the developing values, as practised by the people, were undocumented and were ingrained in their consciousness. There was therefore a huge reliance on oral recollection for the transmission of customs from one generation to another, and this medium of transmission still obtains in contemporary Cameroonian society (Kiye 2007). There is no gainsaying that, as a living source of law, customary law, as distinct from other legislative sources, revolves essentially around the people: it originates from unconscious social practices of the people of the community; it regulates all conceivable relationships amongst the people; and it is only amended or repealed at the behest of the people upon a new practice superseding the old. In this connection, the foundation of customary law is based on societal consensus (Kiye 2007: 87; Anyangwe 1987: 139-140; Ngwafor 1993: 7-9).

The perception that customary law emanates from a consensus of views in the community should not be taken at face value. It has been extensively documented that dominant representations of custom in traditional African societies are rarely unanimously endorsed (Chanock 1995: 175; Snyder 1981: 49-90), as they are often challenged and contested. Contemporary customary law is said to be reflexive of power relations and it should always be understood as a matter of current politics, a way of making demands and mapping out political positions, rather than simply embodying cultural history (Benda-Beckman 1992: 307-324; Nyamu 2000: 405-406; Zorzi 2001).

Nonetheless, the importance of associating customary law with the mores of the community, rather than with a body or an institution of the state, is aptly illustrated by developments in Anglophone Cameroon where the legislature and the state courts have failed not only to influence the development of customary law but also to repeal specific provisions of it said to be anathema to the national consciousness. Customary practices that have been proscribed by legislation, and further declared to be ill-founded by the courts, have, nonetheless, been applicable in society in total disregard of the law and the jurisprudence of the courts. Despite the criminalisation of the practice of female genital mutilation under section 277-1 of the

1. In addition to customary law, the common law, civil law, international law, and a developing body of harmonised laws emanating from the national legislature are applicable in Cameroon.

Penal Code, 1967, and repeated disavowal of the custom of patriarchy by state courts, these practices are still rife in society because the basis of their legitimacy rests on the consent of the people and not on imposition from above. It should be surmised that, in view of the close relationship that customary law fosters with the society, attempts at addressing the rigours of customary law should include engaging with the people, otherwise changes dictated from above are liable to be circumvented as they may not reflect the prevailing ethos of the community. Unsurprisingly, customary law has demonstrated resilience to changes imposed from above (Kiye 2015b: 94).

A new era in the discourse of customary law came to fruition during colonialism. It is contended that colonialism destroyed the fabric of traditional societies and with it emerged a new order characterised, among others, by the transition from an agrarian to a capitalist-oriented economy and the institutionalisation of customary law in the colonies. Because of its peculiarities, including its differences from colonially received laws, legislative measures were adopted, among which the principle of judicial establishment, to govern the admissibility within the state legal system of customary law. There is the view that the process of admissibility of customary law, as dictated by the colonial state in some common law jurisdictions, are based on a series of measures that eventually detached customary law from the ethos of society. In other words, these measures might not have transformed the substance of customary law as a product of society. Rather, they led to the formulation of new norms, attributed the appellation (official, judicial or lawyer's) customary law, which are creations of state courts and are fundamentally different in character from norms that are socially recognised. These measures that characterise the process of judicial establishment of customary law are said to account for the origins of judicial customary law, the crux of the next section.

Revisiting judicial customary law: some arguments in support of the concept

Judicial customary law is said to be an inadvertent creation of state courts during the process of judicial establishment of customary law, a requirement under section 14(1) of the Evidence Ordinance, 1958, for its incorporation into the state justice system. A definitive hierarchy of norms exist in most legal systems, not least Cameroon. This hierarchy is embedded in constitutional and legal provisions that define the relationship between norms and, specifically, the relationship customary law fosters with colonially received laws. Articles 1(2) and 45 of the 1996 Constitution, (law no. 96-06 of 18 January 1996), complemented by section 27(1) of the Southern Cameroons High Court Law, 1955, (hereinafter referred to as SCHL), and section 31(1) of the Magistrate's Court (Southern Cameroons) Law, 1955, reinforced the inferiority of customary law among the corpus of legislative sources. The provision of the SCHL, among others, subjects customary law to duality tests as measures to ascertain its equitability prior to it being absorbed into the state justice system (Kiye 2015a). Ideally, as a prelude to it being adjudged to be equitable, the norm must be proved to exist as a matter of fact through, for example, the recollection of expert witnesses in the initial stage of judicial establishment.

The processes of determining the equitability of a norm and the subsequent restatement of it in an authoritative pronouncement by the courts are two sides of the same coin; a symbiotic relationship. Generally, in Anglophone Cameroon, before a customary norm is recorded and documented to be well founded through the process of judicial establishment, it must pass the dual tests of repugnancy and incompatibility. Conversely, if the custom has not been documented to be well established or notorious, it may still be applicable provided it is equitable, a precursor to its subsequent establishment in the state courts. The processes as outlined, especially the former, are blamed for fragmenting the substance of customary law or, better still, for creating a variant of customary law that is fundamentally different from social practices. Woodman (1985, 1988) is among the proponents of this view and couched his arguments on various premises with specific reference to the common law jurisdictions of Ghana and Nigeria. The principle of judicial establishment is stated under Section 14(1) and (2) of the Evidence Ordinance, Cap. 68 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1958, thus:

1. A custom may be adopted as part of the law governing a particular set of circumstances if it can be noticed judicially or can be proved to exist by evidence; the burden of proving a custom shall lie upon the person alleging its existence.
2. A custom may be judicially noticed by the court if it has been acted upon by a court of superior or co-ordinate jurisdiction in the same area to an extent which justifies the court asked to apply it in assuming that the persons or the class of persons concerned in that area look upon the same as binding in relation to circumstances similar to those under consideration.

The principle was confirmed in the Nigeria case of *Liadi Giwa v. Bisiriyu Erinmilokun,* (1961), where Taylor F.J. said:

> *It is a well-established principle of law that native law and custom is a matter of evidence to be decided on the facts presented before the court in each particular case, unless it is of such notoriety and has been so frequently followed by the courts that judicial notice would be taken of it without evidence required in proof* (cited by Anyangwe 1987: 241).

The principle was also emphatically stated by the Privy Council in the celebrated case of *Angu v. Attah* (1916) thus:

> *'[A rule of customary law] has to be proved in the first instance by calling witnesses acquainted with the native customs until the particular customs have, by frequent proof in the courts, become so notorious that the courts will take judicial notice of them'* (cited by Woodman 1985:147; 1996: 40; Essien 1994: 174; Palmer & Poulter 1972: 110; Leon 2000: 381).

According to section 14(1) of the Evidence Ordinance, 1958, for customary law to be restated or established, it must be subjected to two qualifications: firstly, the factual existence of the custom must be proved; and secondly, the court has to take judicial notice of it after it has been frequently proved – that is, it has become notorious in the eyes of the court. The first part of the test requires substantive proof as to the existence of a custom. Modes of proof of customary law include, amongst others, calling expert witnesses, the use of authoritative textbooks, personal knowledge of the judges, use of expert assessors, and opinions of native courts. The second part of the rule, the province of Section 14(2) of the Evidence Ordinance, 1958, states that the custom should be notorious to the court and this requirement is fulfilled after the custom has been frequently proved to exist as a fact to the knowledge of the court.

Woodman (1985, 1988) argues that these qualifications are fulfilled through the employment of measures that are liable to alter the substance of customary law, creating a divergence between customary social norms in practice (which he refers to as "sociologists' customary law"), and norms enforced by state courts under the name of customary law (which he refers to as "lawyer's customary law"). He opines that each of these qualifications is liable to produce divergence in customary law. The first qualification to the rule may produce divergence in the following ways: divergence may arise from mistaken findings on the content of sociologists' customary law; further, even if such mistakes do occur, courts sometimes have to reach conclusions on the content of customary law when sociologists' customary law is in the mode of change. Furthermore, divergence occurs because of the very nature of state courts – they have a peculiar character, which demands in every case an answer to a question which sociologists' customary law has never had to answer and cannot answer. Therefore, sociologists' customary law never answers the question before the court, and hence lawyers' customary law which does, must have a different meaning.

Woodman (1985, 1988) further argues that the second qualification of the rule is liable to produce another divergence between the court's customary law and society's customary law. He states that there have been instances where controversial points of law were settled by referring to one or few decided cases that were in turn based on weak evidence. Moreover, because previous decisions may be treated as binding authority, there is a further possibility that the courts might disregard local variations in customary practice. Further, once a rule has been judicially recognised, it is liable to be applied to ethnic groups other than those whose customs were in issue in the decisive cases. To justify this argument, he states that the Nigerian courts have sometimes held themselves bound by Ghanaian decisions on customary law, although there is no significant ethnic group common to both countries (Woodman 1995:156).

Woodman (1995: 156) further blames the legislator for also creating divergence between the court's customary law and society's customary law. Citing the situation in parts of Ghana and Nigeria, he asserts that machinery has been established for the authoritative declaration or modification of customary law. When such a declaration or modification is made, it is binding on the courts which are thereafter required to treat it as part of the customary law, whether it is in accordance with customary practice or not. He thus concludes that the divergence between lawyers' customary law and sociologists' customary law must be seen not as a consequence of unfortunate, remediable defects in the process of establishing lawyers' customary law, but as a necessary, irremovable phenomenon in the enforcement of customary law by state courts. It follows that it is erroneous to regret or criticise the divergence (Woodman 1985:156).

These arguments, in support of the creative role of state courts, are based on experiences in the common law jurisdictions of Ghana and Nigeria and founded on strong theoretical and conceptual grounds, some of which are supported by empirical evidence. Indeed, the crux of the argument is that, in applying customary law, state courts inadvertently create a variant of the law, judicial or lawyer's customary law, which does not correspond with social practices in the community. In Woodman's own words:

> *'The state courts' remedies and procedures are such that they cannot reproduce the circumstances in which social norms operate and by which they are enforced and consequently they cannot simply "apply" those norms. The legal systems of necessity exercise a creative function: when they appear to apply customary law, they in reality create a new type of "customary law". An alternative formulation is to say that customary law is institutionalised by the state legal system. However, "institutionalisation" should not be taken to imply that the product is not substantially new'* (Woodman 1988:181).

These developments that are validated in some jurisdictions have, regrettably, put state courts at the center of the evolution of customary law, competing for legitimacy with the society, the latter often regarded as the foundational base of customary law (Anyangwe 1987: 9; Ngwafor 1993: 7-8). In view of the strength of these arguments, one may be mistaken to give credence to their validity in Anglophone Cameroon since the entity was subjected to similar colonial experiences as Ghana and Nigeria. Nonetheless, evidence within the jurisdiction, as documented in the subsequent section, suggests that judicial customary law is of theoretical, rather than of practical, feasibility in Anglophone Cameroon.

The reality of judicial customary law: Anglophone Cameroon in perspective

Anglophone Cameroon is the portion of Cameroon that came under British administration following the capitulation of Germany during World War 1 and the subsequent partition of Cameroon between the victorious powers of France and Britain. Like Ghana and Nigeria, Anglophone Cameroon is essentially part of the common law heritage. Arguably, customary law is subjected to almost similar experiences as in those jurisdictions. In addition to determining its equitability prior to admissibility, state courts of Anglophone Cameroon equally have the mandate to convert customary law to case law precedent upon it being declared notorious and established. Logically therefore, similar experiences in Ghana and Nigeria are predicated to occur in Anglophone Cameroon. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that the territory has been insulated from some of these developments and there are no indications that a variant of customary law has emerged from the jurisprudence of state courts, as I will now document.

Judicial customary law: an illusion in Anglophone Cameroon

Records suggest that state courts of Anglophone Cameroon, unlike their counterparts in Ghana and Nigeria, are yet to create a rich and compelling jurisprudence on customary law, especially pertaining to its establishment. And although the legislation in force mandates them to recognise, without further proof, customary law that is said to be well-founded and notorious to the court, the distinctive composition of these courts, among others, makes it less likely for them to engage in the restatement of customary law. Cameroon has a unified court system in which most of the ordinary state courts are not precluded from applying customary law, provided it is not repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience. The lack of professionalisation in the administration of customary law in these courts is worrisome. Indeed, the composition of the courts, of judges with no customary pedigree, except, arguably, for customary courts, ensures they struggle to engage with customary issues appearing before them. The requirements of judgeship in these courts are weighted in favour of proven knowledge in colonially received laws as opposed to customary law. Indeed, at the inception of their legal training at the university on to their professional training at the School of Magistracy, Yaoundé, fondly referred to in its French acronym as ENAM, judges are schooled in the principles of Western-oriented laws with little attention paid to customary law education.

The situation is not any different at the specialised division of the Court of Appeal, the Customary Division of the Court of Appeal, where the absence of professionalisation in the delivery of customary justice is more troubling. To mitigate this defect, customary assessors are appointed to serve in the court, who are persons deemed to be knowledgeable in customs. These assessors are expected to guide the court on the substance of the prevailing customary law within the immediate jurisdiction of the court. Unfortunately, the assessors themselves, in some instances, are not only ill-qualified to guide the court on customs prevailing outside their own tribal groups, but are also, for lack of motivation, rarely present in court for good measure. Since assessors are often local officials appointed from within the area of jurisdiction of the court, they are usually unhelpful to a court grappling with the intricacies of a customary rule originating beyond the jurisdiction of the court, of which they have little or no knowledge. Consequently, under the circumstances, neither the input of the judges (who are not trained in customary law), nor the assessors (who, in most instances, are not fully versed with the custom under consideration), is felt in the adjudication process, the logical outcome being a porous decision of the court liable to be rejected on appeal.

At the lower judicial level of customary courts, the quality of justice is also suspect, as these courts are often blamed for applying customs deemed to be repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience, and their decisions are liable to be overturned on appeal at the superior state courts. Customary judges, although knowledgeable in customary law, are unfortunately not skilled in received laws, which are often employed to test the equitability of customary law prior to its admissibility. Thus, the absence of professionalisation in the delivery of customary justice throughout the courts system defeats the rare possibility for superior courts to declare a custom well-founded and notorious, prelude to it being established. Since variations in customary law often occur during the process of establishment, in the unlikely occurrence of this process, the divergence will certainly not arise. This shortcoming in professionalisation is replicated in all state courts of Cameroon, including the Supreme Court.

Inasmuch as this development frustrates the ability of state courts of Anglophone Cameroon to establish customary law by converting it to precedent, in the rare occasions where this phenomenon has successfully occurred, there have not been any noticeable variations between the jurisprudence of the court and existing social practices. Rather, the emerging jurisprudence is often couched, and reflected, in social practices of the people. In other words, the court has merely applied the customary law as dictated by the ethos of the community, an outcome that justifies the sanctity of associating customary law with society. A practical illustration of a customary rule that has, exceptionally, met the criterion of notoriety before our state courts, and perhaps been converted into case law precedent, is reflected in the authoritative pronouncement by state courts that the chief or traditional ruler holds communal land in trust for the entire community and cannot therefore claim private ownership over it. This is a long-established customary rule which is almost unanimously endorsed and applicable by most of the ethnic groups in Anglophone Cameroon. According to the rule, although native lands are held by the chief or traditional ruler on behalf of the community, real ownership lies with the people of the community and the chief plays only the role of a trustee. As a supervisory authority, the chief cannot claim ownership over communal land, save the portion allocated to him. This rule has been reiterated in a number of cases, among which are *Chief Thompson Ewone v. Attorney-General and Director of Lands and Survey* (cited by Anyangwe 1984: 271) and *Presbyterian Church Moderator v. D.C Johny* (cited by Anyangwe 1984). In both cases, the traditional rulers of the various communities acted in a manner suggestive that ownership of communal land was vested in them, as custodians of tradition, and not in the people and they could alienate it to whomever they choose without seeking the consent of the community. Rejecting these claims, the courts, rather than creating a variant of customary law divorced from social practices, endorsed a social practice that governs communal land ownership in Anglophone Cameroon and which is generally observed in society, a proposition that upholds the sanctity of society's customary law.

In his exposition on 'lawyer's customary law', Woodman (1988) asserts that state courts are likely to reach conclusions on customary law when the social practice is in the process of change and are liable to record outdated social practice as customary law, which may not reflect the evolved practice. This is a conceptually feasible argument, even in Anglophone Cameroon, given that records indicate that state courts often take several years to adjudicate a dispute creating the opportunity of the social practice evolving to a new form whilst still under consideration before the courts. In this connection, state courts may be deliberating on an outdated customary practice that does no longer find its expression in contemporary social practices or does no longer resonate with the people. In practice, this is only a probability in Anglophone Cameroon, albeit an unlikely one, because of the perception to which custom is viewed in this society. Custom is an evolutionary concept which, unfortunately, is still regarded with an essentialist flavour in Anglophone Cameroon, portrayed as a cultural package handed down through generations and devoid of any outside influences. Therefore, attempts at ushering changes in custom is often resisted by conservatist forces as this will necessitate a departure from the ways of the past.

Even though the chances of change in custom are surely real, and may even occur unconsciously in society, unsurprisingly, the perception of custom in Anglophone Cameroon is stacked against generalising this development. Thus, since achieving independence in 1960, it is difficult to ascertain with precision and certainty the substance of any custom, as distinct from unenforceable social practices, that is recorded as having mutated in Anglophone Cameroon. In view of the conservative articulation of customary values, it is not surprising that Cameroon has found it intractably difficult to suppress so-called 'barbaric' customs through legislative and judicial endeavours (Kiye 2015b: 94). Practical illustrations of this conundrum are the circumvention of selected provisions of the Civil Status Registration Ordinance, 1981, (as amended), and the Penal Code, 1967, that frowns at and criminalises respectively certain customary values. Indeed, section 72 of the Civil Status Registration Ordinance outlawed some of the consequences associated with the payment of dowry under customary law, frequently adjudged to be repugnant by state courts. On its part, in addition to outlawing some of the consequences associated with the payment of dowry, Section 77(2) of the same law also outlaws the practice of levirate. Early marriages and female genital mutilation are criminalised by the Penal Code, 1967. Irrespective of these bold initiatives, premised on the object of provoking changes in custom, these outlawed practices are still being vibrantly observed in society, evidence of the remarkable resilience of customary law and its unresponsiveness to change dictated from above. Although such changes emanating from society are less likely to be resisted, generally speaking, Cameroonian customary law has, arguably, not responded positively to change since the inception of statehood in 1960. It therefore calls to reason that the rigidity of Cameroonian customary law militates against its evolution in society, not least the norm evolving during its consideration before state courts.

To emphasise, there is also the argument that judicial customary law may arise because previous decisions on customary law may be treated as binding authority, leading to the further possibility that the courts might disregard local variations in customary practice. This view suggests that when the court has established a customary precedent, that precedent may be regarded as being binding on all ethnic groups and therefore may be applied even to groups whose custom on the said subject does not reflect the precedent. Although this is also a probability, the likelihood of its practical occurrence in Anglophone Cameroon is also in doubt. In Cameroon, it is trite and settled law for customary courts to state the custom upon which their decisions are based, (paragraph 2 of law no. 79/04 of 29th June 1979), failure to comply will result in the nullity of the decision as was the situation in the case of *Obi Francis Mbeng v. Florence Bessem Obi* (suit no. CASWP/CC/78/95: unreported). In this case, the judgment of the Buea Customary Court granting divorce in a polygamous marriage was declared a nullity for the failure of the court to declare the custom to which its decision was founded; more so, as each party to the divorce had a different custom.

By extension, superior ordinary courts entertaining customary issues are by implication not precluded from stating the reasons underlying their decisions, and in the case of customary issues, also mentioning the customs they apply. By authoritatively enjoining courts to state the custom on which their judgments are founded is testament to the fact that state courts are only to associate precedent with a particular ethnic group or groups whose customs led to its development, and not with ethnic groups whose customs are unassociated with it. In other words, the fragmentary nature of Cameroonian customary law, with a plurality of ethnic groups, ensures that precedents are not of general, but of specific, application, and are situated within the rules of an identifiable ethnic group. In this context, precedents created from custom of one ethnic group will be binding only to cases involving the same ethnic group, an occurrence that forestalls variations in customary practice and defeats Woodman’s assertion.

Evidently, in view of some of the arguments advanced, the process of the judicial establishment of customary law is rarely taken seriously in state courts of Anglophone Cameroon. Giving credence to this observation, few customs, if any at all, have been documented as having attained the status of ‘notoriety’, for purpose of it being absorbed as case law precedents in the state justice system, the logical stimulus, according to Woodman (1985, 1988), for creating variations in customary law. Instead, Anglophone Cameroonian courts have been more engaging with another process, the other side of the same coin, which entails adjudging the equitability of customary law, an important precursor to judicial establishment. Yet, even in the exercise of this prerogative, no divergence has been recorded to have occurred in customary law.

Adjudging the equitability of customary law through duality tests: unlikely to lead to divergence

The area where state courts of Anglophone Cameroon have been notoriously engaged in judicial activism on customary law is in the sphere of ascertaining its equitability, a process which is intertwined and walks hand in glove with judicial establishment. The process of adjudging the equitability of customary law, in other words the judicial regulation of customary law, refers, in this context, to the process of admissibility of customary law by state courts provided it passes the duality tests of repugnancy and incompatibility. The process is a symbiosis to the establishment of customary law in state courts: the equitability of a norm may, upon its notoriety, leads to its establishment; and, contrarily, in the absence of establishment, the norm may still be enforced provided it is equitable. The processes, although closely related and entangled, are separate and one could be forgiven for erroneously fusing them together.

In addition to section 14(3) of the Evidence Ordinance, Cap. 62 of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1956, the court's responsibility to pronounce on the equitability of a custom finds its legislative endorsement in article 1(2) of the 1996 Constitution, as complemented by, among others, section 27(1) of SCHL, 1955. The latter provision dictates the use of duality tests of repugnancy and incompatibility to ascertain the sanity of customary values prior to admissibility as evidence in any judicial proceedings (Kiye 2015a: 85-106). Since state courts are more engaged in this process, it is relevant to further verify whether, in exercising this function, state courts have created a new version of customary law.

There is no record in support of this contention, even though the courts have successfully articulated a powerful and compelling jurisprudence implicitly embedded in human rights consciousness. In this context, they have vociferously invalidated several customary values deemed to affront national consciousness (Kiye, 2015b:75-100). The emancipatory rhetoric coming from state courts has been varied and touches on numerous subjects including the rejection, among others, of discriminatory customs against women, levirate marriage and some of the harsh consequences associated with the payment of dowry under customary law. In those major decisions, state courts have challenged customary values, and refused to recognise and enforce them as genuine expressions of customary law. The court's salutary, yet uncompromising, position towards these customs, implicated in the discrimination of women, has failed to prevent their continuous observance in society in blatant disregard of the court (Kiye, 2015b: 94). In this connection, the divergence of views on custom between the court and the society is apparent, with the former articulating a perspective in tune with human rights values contrary to the position of the former.

In subjecting customary law to the duality tests, the court's mandate is limited to either recognising or rejecting the admissibility of the custom. The court does not have the mandate to reject a repugnant custom and create a milder version of it in replacement and in tune with its own aspirations. Therefore, the rejection of the custom brings to a definitive end the role of the court, a role that may have continued to the final phase of establishment, provided the court had arrived at a different conclusion on the equitability of the custom. The limited role of the court inhibits the prospects of divergence occurring in the substance of customary law between the court's version, which, in this scenario, is non-existent, and society's version, which continues to operate despite objections from the court. Indeed, the choice of either accepting or rejecting a custom by the court is incapable of creating variations in customary law.

Conclusions

Judicial customary law is an emerging and, arguably, an uncontested notion in scholarly discourses on customary law, and the experiences in some common law jurisdictions of sub-Saharan Africa give credence and validity to the notion. State courts have inadvertently created a divergence in customary law during the process of establishment, a development that has divorced the court's customary law from the version applicable in society. Such an occurrence in customary law has not come to fruition in Anglophone Cameroon, which offers a stark assessment of the phenomenon and, in turn, questions the practical ability of state courts to create a variance in customary law. Although state courts of Anglophone Cameroon, like their counterparts in Ghana and Nigeria, are engaged in the process of adjudging the equitability of customary law prior to its establishment, they are yet to be accused of creating customary law. Rather, on rare occasions of the courts establishing precedents, the precedents have corresponded with social practices. Indeed, the court's precedent is often replicated in existing social practices.

In the sphere of adjudging the equitability of customary law, where state courts of Anglophone Cameroon have been vigorously engaged, records also suggest the impracticability of the process leading to divergence in customary law. By restricting its competence to either recording its assent or dissent to the admissibility of a custom, without the mandate to make changes to it, state courts are reduced to an organ for delivering opinions, which may not be acceptable to the people, a situation that regularly prevails.

The impracticability of judicial customary law in Anglophone Cameroon does not suggest that a variant of customary law unrelated to social practices may not exist in the territory. This is a documented phenomenon, the product of historical and political considerations, that was influenced by colonial and post-colonial processes. The argument often advanced in literature is that some Africans were able to press for and establish state recognition of certain vital social and economic aims which were not 'customary'. These new African aspirations nourished by the emerging elites were accorded 'customary' recognition by the colonisers since it was in their interests to exclude Africans from the machinations of colonial state power and redirect them instead outside the confines of official power (Chanock 1995:175; Snyder 1981:49-90). Even in contemporary Cameroon, there are indications to suggest that a variant of customary law, specifically in the domain of succession to the throne, has been created, and is a reality, in several customary practices, the consequence of a political and administrative process (Kiye 2007: 135-137). In all these instances, rules have been adopted as "customary rules" which do not reflect the mores of the society but rather the selfish desires of a few powerful individuals. Such developments have led to the institutionalisation of alternative norms as customary laws which unfortunately over time have replaced expressions of customary law rooted in social practices. The variation in customary law, which is not the product of state courts, is mostly reflexive of political and administrative processes.

Based on this assessment, it is evident that judicial customary law remains only a conceptual possibility in Anglophone Cameroon. It may become a reality, albeit regrettably, should state courts and the legislature address the inherent flaws in the delivery of customary justice in the territory. In the current nascent state of judicial non-activity in the sphere of establishment of customary law, the notion of judicial customary law will continue to remain an illusion, and a myth, for years to come in Anglophone Cameroon.

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What is the relationship among pre-retirement guidance, social support and psychological wellbeing on retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State?

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Abstract

The study investigated the level of retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State, Nigeria. It also explored the extent to which pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing could individually and collectively predict retirement adjustment. Survey research design was used, with a sample size of 161 drawn through a multi-stage sampling method from a population of primary and secondary schools' retirees in the study area. Four research questions and two hypotheses guided the study. Two adapted and one adopted standardised scales were used for data collection. Data collected were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Results showed that the majority (75.0%) of the respondents experience moderate retirement adjustment. The results further revealed that social support has a significant contribution ($t = 6.90$, beta weight = .445, $p<.000$); psychological wellbeing has significant contribution ($t = 6.16$, beta weight = .39, $p<.000$), while pre-retirement guidance has no significant contribution ($t = -1.54$, beta weight = -.093, $p>.125$). Finally, additional results showed that pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing combine to significantly predict retirement adjustment ($R = .676$, $R^2 = .457$, $p< 0.05$). It is suggested, among others, that pre-retirement guidance should be given legal and policy backing to motivate employers to prepare their workers for effective living in retirement.

Keywords: retirement adjustment, pre-retirement guidance, social support, psychological wellbeing, retirees, Nigeria.

Introduction

Pre-retirement guidance is the totality of information, sensitisation, and training made available or accessed by prospective retirees to assist their effective preparation for retirement, transition into retirement and enhance their retirement adjustment subsequently (Olatomide & Akomolafe 2012). Pre-retirement guidance is also called pre-retirement orientation, pre-retirement education or retirement education. Through it, prospective retirees are exposed to requisite coping skills, positive attitudes, values and behaviours to facilitate their wellbeing (Noone, Stephens & Alpaas 2009; Olatomide 2017). Employees could be exposed to pre-retirement guidance through a variety of ways such as employer-organised pre-retirement guidance, employee's consultation with retirement counsellors, and employee's learning about the basics of retirement planning through reading brooks on preparation for retirement, which include sourcing for online materials on the subject matter (Olatomide 2014). Of the aforementioned sources, employer-organised pre-retirement education remains the most effective (Akinade 2011; Clark 2012).

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In Nigeria, however, employer-organised pre-retirement guidance has not received acceptance by Nigerian employers of labour (Eyitayo, Lucy & Obadofin 2008), which has mostly contributed to Nigerian prospective retirees' low level of attendance of pre-retirement orientation (Olatomide 2017). Apart from pre-retirement guidance, its availability or otherwise, social support could influence an individual's adjustment to retirement.

Social support describes the function and standard of social relationships such as perceived existing help, or support practically received (Schwarzer & Knoll 2007). It is the help provided by significant others, either in the form of coping aid, giving or receiving resources, or embedded in personality traits. A number of types of social support exist, such as tangible or instrumental (help to solve a problem, offer of goods), informational (advice giving), and emotional (giving assurance, empathic listening) (Schwarzer, Knoll & Rieckmann 2004). Notably, there is a disparity between offered and received support, on the one hand, and perceived existing support (prospective support) and support practically received (retrospect support), on the other hand. A related construct is social integration, which is the structure and standard of social relationships such as the proportion and extent of social networks and frequency of interaction (Schwarzer & Knoll 2007).

Social support has been researched extensively and found to promote mental health, and to weaken the negative effects of stressful life events (Dollete & Phillips 2004), while its absence reveals significant negative relationships between it and psychological disorder such as depression and stress (Bukhari & Afzal 2017). These findings receive support from the studies of Camara and Padilla (2017) and Isubale, Stein, Webster and Wadman (2019) who found that social support is positively related to individuals' mental health and their quality of life by helping them to feel valued. Social support is also linked to social connectivity, which is related to decreasing mental health problems, and protection against depression. Even among students, social support was found by Glozah (2013) to weaken academic stress explained as frustrations, pressures, changes, and self-imposition upon their psychological wellbeing. It also decreases the risks of depressive symptoms in students, and increases their quality of life (Bukhari & Afzal 2017; Isubale, Stain, Webster & Wadman 2019). Also, social support enhances desirable functioning relationship (Knoll, Burkert & Schwarzer 2006), and facilitates successful adaptation during stressful situations (Schwarzer & Knoll 2007). Besides social support, psychological wellbeing may also influence retirement adjustment among retired people.

Although there appears to be disagreement among researchers about a consensus definition of psychological wellbeing, one of the earliest definitions of psychological wellbeing was offered by Ryff (1989), who described it as the degree to which individuals feel that they have meaningful control over their lives and activities. Taking the view of Ryff (1989), psychological wellbeing has six cores, namely self-acceptance (positive feelings about oneself), positive relations with other people (warm and trusting relationships with others), autonomy (ability to be independent and cope with social pressures), environmental mastery (ability to adapt, modify or create one's environment in tune with one's needs through physical and mental activities), purposefulness (having objectives and life goals, including being goal-oriented), and personal growth (continuously growing and developing oneself). Because of individual differences regarding peoples' psychological wellbeing, and the subjective nature of the concept, the World Health Organisation (1995) defined it as an individual's perception of his/her standing in life in the context of the culture and value systems where s/he lives, and in connection to his/her goals, expectations, standards, and concerns. Other synonyms of psychological wellbeing are quality of life and flourishing.

Although individuals are not expected to feel good always, as painful emotions such as failure, grief, and disappointment are essential parts of life, the ability to manage undesirable or painful emotions is required for long-term wellbeing. This explains why psychological wellbeing is combining feeling good and functioning effectively (Huppert, 2009). Psychological wellbeing is strongly linked to positive emotions, considered to be beneficial for health and survival (Huppert & Whittington 2003); it is positively associated with flexible and creative thinking, quality physical health, and pro-social behaviour (Huppert 2009). Psychological wellbeing has been found to be influenced by demographics such as the present and future expectation of financial status of household heads, sex, marital status, having children, educational qualifications, and having a stable job (Oskrochi, Mani-Mustafa & Oskrochi 2018). Relatedly, Ibitoye, Sanuade, Adebowale and Ayeni (2014) as well as Gureje, Kola, Afolabi and Olley (2008) found that demographics such as age, educational attainment, financial assistance from children, place of residence, current working and economic status are determinants of the quality of life of the elderly in Nigeria.

Given that old age naturally brings about health challenges and waning functional capacity that may negatively affect the feelings of individuals' wellbeing (Gureje *et al*. 2008), most retirees who retire at the age of 60 could be described as aged, and consequently experience poor retirement adjustment occasioned by the absence of, or inadequate pre-retirement orientation, support offered and received from significant others and their views of living, in connection with their life goals. In addition, retirees in Nigeria are yet to be enjoying the best of life in retirement due to the absence of social security provisions, often aggravated by delay in the payment of their retirement entitlements.

Research questions

- What is the level of retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State?
- What is the frequency of Osun State's teacher retirees' attendance of pre-retirement guidance before retirement?
- What is the level of social support enjoyed by teacher retirees in Osun State?
- What is the level of psychological wellbeing of teacher retirees in Osun State?

Hypotheses

There is no significant relative contribution of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing in the prediction of teacher retirees' adjustment.

A combination of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing will not significantly predict teacher retirees' adjustment.

Methodology

The research design adopted for the study is descriptive survey. The population comprised teacher retirees from primary and secondary schools in Osun State. The actual population of the retirees could not be ascertained due to poor record-keeping, death of members, and irregular attendance of meetings allegedly common to retirees, as revealed by the executives of the retirees in their meeting venues. The sample for the study is 165, selected through multi-stage sampling. Firstly, three Local Government Areas (LGAs) were selected using convenience sampling. Secondly, in each LGA, the meeting venues, one each for primary and secondary school teacher retirees were selected purposively. Thirdly, intact sampling was used to select the retirees present in the meeting venues visited, as they were available and ready to participate in the study.

Measures

An instrument titled "Teacher Retirees' Adjustment Questionnaire" (TRAQ) was used for data collection. It is a single instrument that has three subscales. While Section A collected information on the respondents' demographics, Section B explored their retirement adjustment, Section C garnered information on the availability of social support for the respondents, and Section D explored their psychological wellbeing.

Retirement Adjustment Scale (RAS)

The Retirement Adjustment Scale (RAS) was adopted and used to explore the retirement adjustment status of the respondents. The RAS was developed by Adeyemo and Olatomide (2017). It has 21 items of Likert-type response options of Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree, scored 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively. The negatively worded items received reversed scoring. The items explored the adjustment of retirees in areas such as family support, finance, health, leisure, and engagement, among others. One of the items in the scale reads: "My extended family members give me needed support in my retirement". Higher scores on RAS indicate higher adjustment to retirement while lower scores indicate lower retirement adjustment. The overall reliability of RAS was 0.78; the construct validity of the instrument yielded six factors explaining a total of 60.11% of the variance for the total set of variables, while the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.70. When used for this study, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.73.

Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS)

Participants' experiences of receiving social support were assessed using the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) by Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet and Farley (1988). The MSPSS is a 12-item questionnaire rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from Very Strongly Disagree (1) to Very Strongly Agree (7). It comprises three factors of social support being received from family members (an example of the item is: I get the emotional help and support I need from my family); friends (An example of an item on this is: I can talk about my problems with my friends), and significant others (An example of item on this is: There is a special person in my life who cares about my feelings). Higher and lower scores on the scale indicate a greater and lower extent of receiving social support. The overall internal consistency of the instrument ranges from 0.80 to 0.95. In the present study, the response options were modified to only four, namely Strongly Agree (4), Agree (3), Disagree (2), and Strongly Disagree (1). The modification was to erase what appeared confusing to the respondents after the initial pilot testing on the instrument. The Cronbach's alpha of the adapted instrument was 0.71.

The Psychological WellBeing (PWB) scale

The Psychological WellBeing (PWB) scale was developed by Ryff (1989). The PWB has six subscales ranging from autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose of life, and self-acceptance. The PWB is a 42-item questionnaire rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Agree (7) to Strongly Disagree (1). Items include "I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality" and "In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live". Higher scores indicate greater wellbeing, while lower scores show lower wellbeing. The psychometric properties of the six subscales of the PWB range from 0.86 to 0.93, while the test-retest reliability ranges from 0.81 to 0.88. As used in this study, the PWB was adapted with the 42 items used, but with the Likert-type response options modified to Strongly Agree (4), Agree (3), Disagree (2), and Strongly Disagree (1). The modification became necessary to reduce the confusion in the response options presented by the original 7-point response options, as demonstrated by the respondents used in the pilot study. In the modified instrument, the Cronbach's alpha was 0.75 for the entire scale

Before administration of the instrument on the respondents, the researcher sought interaction with the retirees' executives (Chairman or Secretary or both) in each meeting venue, intimated them with the purpose of the study, and sought their permission to visit their meeting venues to administer copies of the questionnaire. The request was granted. The method of data collection was through face-to-face interaction with the respondents. As permitted, the researcher interacted with the respondents, introduced himself and the purpose of the study in order to obtain their consent. They were informed that it was just for research purpose, and every item of information they revealed would be kept confidential. In addition, they were told that anyone who was not interested was free to not collect the copy of the questionnaire. The meeting executives pleaded that the copies of the questionnaire be left with the respondents so they could take them home, fill them in, and return them at the next meeting. After the administration, the executives subsequently provided one of their members to collect the completed copies of the questionnaire from their members, handed them over to the Chairman or the Secretary from whom the researcher collected the filled out questionnaire. In all, it took five months (August to December, 2019) to collect the data. The data collected was analysed, using both descriptive and inferential statistics. The demographics of the respondents are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Respondents' demographics

Variable	**Levels**	**Frequency (f)**	**Percentage (%)**
Sex	Female	45	27.3
	Male	120	72.7
	Total	165	100.0
No of children	Between 1&3	33	20.0
	Between 4&6	102	61.8
	7& above	30	18.2
	Total	165	100.0
Institution of service before retirement	Primary school	86	52.1
	Secondary school	79	47.9
	Total	165	100.0
Highest educational qualification before retirement	PSLC	6	3.6
	WAEC/Tech	13	7.9
	NCE/OND	87	52.7
	HND/Degree	56	33.9
	PGDE/Masters/PhD	3	1.8
	Total	165	100.0
Number of pre-retirement workshops/seminars attended 5 years before retirement	None	74	44.8
	1&3	44	26.7
	4&6	31	18.8
	7&above	16	9.7
	Total	165	100.0
Number of years already spent in retirement	Between 1&3	26	15.8
	Between 4&6	33	20.0
	Between 7&9	10	6.1
	From 10 & above	96	58.2
	Total	165	100.0

Table 1 presents the respondents' demographics, namely sex, number of children, educational level of service before retirement, attained educational qualifications, records of pre-retirement guidance before transition into retirement, and number of years already spent in retirement.

Results

Research Question 1: What is the level of retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State?

Table 2 Level of retirement adjustment of teacher retirees in Osun State

Level of retirement adjustment	Score Range	Frequency (f)	Percent (%)
Low	21-42	-	-
Moderate	43-63	124	75.2
High	64-84	41	24.8
Total		161	100.0

Table 2 shows that none of the respondents reported low retirement adjustment, while close to one-quarter experienced high adjustment to retirement, and over three-quarters of them reported a moderate level of retirement adjustment. This result suggests that the majority of the teacher retirees in Osun State experienced a moderate level of retirement adjustment.

Research Question 2: What is the frequency of Osun State teacher retirees' attendance of pre-retirement guidance before retirement?

Table 3 Frequency of pre-retirement guidance of teacher retirees in Osun State

Items	Response	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Have you ever participated in pre-retirement guidance prior to your retirement period?	No	74	44.8
	Yes	91	55.2
	Total	165	100.0
If yes, how many times have you attended pre-retirement workshops/ seminars in the last five years towards your actual retirement?	Between 1&3	44	48.4
	Between 4&6	31	34.0
	7&above	16	17.6
	Total	91	100.0
How many years have you spent in retirement?	Between 1&3	26	15.8
	Between 4&6	33	20.0
	Between 7&9	10	6.0
	10&above	96	58.2
	Total	165	100.0

In Table 3, before their transition into retirement, a little over half of the respondents had ever participated in pre-retirement guidance while less than half reported no participation at all. Of the participants that had taken part in pre-retirement guidance, about one-quarter participated between once and three times, a little above one-quarter reported between four and six participations, while far less than one-quarter reported seven and above attendances. It can be concluded that the frequency of the respondents' attendance of pre-retirement education prior to entering retirement is low.

Research Question 3: What is the level of social support of teacher retirees in Osun State?

Table 4 Level of social support of teacher retirees in Osun State			
Social support	**Score range**	**Frequency (f)**	**Percent (%)**
Low	12-24	24	14.5
Moderate	25-36	94	57.0
High	37-48	47	28.5
Total		165	100.0

In Table 4, far below one-quarter of the respondents reported a low level of social support; while over half of them enjoyed a moderate level, a little over one-quarter reported high levels of social support. From this result, the majority of the teacher retirees enjoy a moderate level of social support.

Research Question 4: What is the level of psychological wellbeing of teacher retirees in Osun State?

Table 5 Level of psychological wellbeing of teacher retirees in Osun State			
Psychological well-being	**Score range**	**Frequency (f)**	**Percent (%)**
Low	42-84	-	-
Moderate	85-126	96	58.2
High	127-168	69	41.8
Total		165	100.0

In Table 5, over half of the respondents reported moderate psychological wellbeing, less than half indicated high, while none of them reported low psychological wellbeing. Thus, in this result, in terms of psychological wellbeing, the teacher retirees are faring moderately well.

Research Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relative contribution of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing in the prediction of teacher retirees' adjustment.

Table 6 Relative contribution of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing to teacher retirees' adjustment in Osun State					
Model	Unstandardised coefficients		Standardised coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. error	Beta		
(Constant)	19.342	4.122		4.692	.000
Pre-retirement guidance	-1.230	.797	-.093	-1.543	.125
Social support	.415	.060	.445	6.902	.000
Psychological wellbeing	.221	.036	.385	6.160	.000

Table 6 shows the relative contribution of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing in predicting teacher retirees' adjustment. As shown, pre-retirement guidance and social support had t-values of -1.54 and 6.90, and the values of the beta weights are -.093 and .445 respectively. The t-value and beta weight for psychological well-being are 6.16 and .39. Of these variables, social support and psychological wellbeing made significant contributions to the prediction of retirees' retirement adjustment, while pre-retirement guidance did not, at 0.05 level of confidence. From the values of beta weights and t-ratio for each independent variable, social support had the highest contribution in the prediction of retirees' retirement adjustment, followed by retirees' psychological wellbeing, while pre-retirement guidance had the lowest contribution in the prediction of the dependent variable.

***Research Hypothesis 2*:** A combination of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing will not significantly predict teacher retirees' adjustment.

Table 7 Model summary of multiple regression analysis of the combined predictive ability of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing on teacher retirees' adjustment

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. error of the estimate	F	p
Pre-retirement guidance Social support Psychological wellbeing	.676[a]	.457	.447	4.88758	45.247	.000

From Table 7, the combined predictive ability of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing on teacher retirees' adjustment yield a coefficient of multiple regression (R) of .676 and a multiple correlation square (R^2) of .457. These values are statistically significant at a 0.05 probability level. This implies that the combination of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing could adequately predict teacher retirees' adjustment. These variables accounted for 45.7% of the observed variance in the teacher retirees' adjustment. Therefore, it can be concluded that a combination of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing will significantly predict teacher retirees' adjustment.

Discussion

As found in the study, the majority of the teacher retirees experienced a moderate level of retirement adjustment. Given that they are expected to report a high level of retirement adjustment, this finding may be due to the harsh economic reality in the country, joblessness of graduates that many of the retirees must have produced, and delay in the payment of their retirement entitlements. The finding on low frequency of pre-retirement education by the retirees before transition into retirement may be explained by Eyitayo, Lucy and Obadofin's (2008) assertion that employers of labour have not prioritised the provision of pre-retirement education to prospective retirees prior to their retirement. The finding is also consistent with Olatomide (2017) who found a low level of attendance of pre-retirement orientation by retirees before transition into retirement. Similarly, it was found that the retirees enjoyed a moderate level of social support, and they are faring moderately in terms of psychological wellbeing. What may likely be responsible for these findings is that the modern society's use of mobile phones and Information Communication Technology (ICT) appears to be severing the physical social relationship that the elderly might prefer, and substituting it with mobile phone calls, chats and exchanges of messages, particularly from significant others.

On the relative contributions of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing to the prediction of retirees' adjustment, social support had the highest contribution followed by psychological wellbeing, while pre-retirement guidance had the lowest contribution. Although attendance of pre-retirement guidance is believed to promote recipients' wellbeing (Noone, Stephens & Alpaas 2009; Olatomide 2017), it appears that whatever inadequacy the respondents' non-attendance of pre-retirement guidance would have caused in their overall adjustment had been mediated by the social support received by the respondents. Noting that the time of retirement is usually a stressful period for Nigerian retirees arising from a delay in payment of retirement entitlements, the unemployment of many graduates produced by many retirees, health challenges, among others, the finding on the contribution of social support to the retirement adjustment of the retirees receives support from the findings of Dollete and Phillips (2004), including Schwarzer and Knoll (2007) who found that social support enhances mental health, undermines negative effects of stressful life events, and enhances successful adaptation during stressful life situations. Similarly, the finding is consistent with Isubale, Stein, Webster, and Wadman (2019) who found that social support positively relates to people's mental health and their quality of life by assisting them to feel valued in interpersonal relationships, thus buffering mental health problems and protecting against depression.

On the contribution of psychological wellbeing to the prediction of the respondents' retirement adjustment, this is consistent with the findings of Huppert and Whittington (2003), who established that psychological wellbeing strongly associates with positive emotions, and such desirable emotions contribute positively toward health and survival. And because retirees need to have the strong will to live against all adversities, the finding aligns with Huppert (2009) who found that psychological wellbeing positively associates with flexible and creative thinking, quality physical health, and desirable social behaviour. Relatedly, because the findings of Gureje Kola, Afolabi and Olley (2008), as well as Ibitoye, Sanuade, Adebowale and Ayeni (2014) found that demographic variables such as age, educational attainment, financial assistance from children, place of residence, current working and economic status are determinants of the quality of life of the elderly in Nigeria, some of the respondents' demographics such as the number of children, high educational attainment, educational level of service before retirement, and the number of years spent in retirement may have contributed to their psychological wellbeing. Finally, not unmindful that pre-retirement guidance contributes the least to the respondents' retirement adjustment, further findings reveal that a combination of pre-retirement guidance, social support, and psychological wellbeing will significantly predict retirees' adjustment.

Conclusion and recommendations

It can be concluded from the findings of the study that the majority of the retirees in the study area are moderately adjusting to retirement, have low attendance of pre-retirement guidance prior to transition into retirement, receive moderate social support, and their psychological wellbeing is just average. On the basis of the findings and conclusion, it is recommended that pre-retirement guidance be institutionalised in the workplace by employers of labour. For the introduction of the pre-retirement guidance to be provided by employers to be effective, government should provide legal backing for pre-retirement guidance for all workers where they would be properly prepared for adequate management of life after paid work has ceased. Also, in order to make the contents of the pre-retirement education comprehensive and properly delivered, it should be handled by resource persons in retirement phenomena from tertiary institutions and those in non-school settings rather than by laymen**.** Similarly, retirement education resource persons should emphasise the relevance of would-be-retirees building their social support and psychological wellbeing because of the constructs' contribution to retirement adjustment.

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Teaching philosophy and the making of an intellectual: A personal reflection

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Academic institutions are regarded as centres of intellectual moulding. At the centre are students who through consultations or class attendance interact with lecturers or professors in intellectual exchanges. In the same vein, lecturers and professors are viewed as custodians of the intellect, to whom students must pay obeisance and glean on the crumbs that fall off their lofty intellectual tables. Perhaps, these are the images that aspiring students have when they apply for spaces in academic institutions. Notwithstanding such a glorious picture, academic institutions are workplaces where fellow colleagues meet in corridors for the exchange of either hastily or meticulously composed emails; attend departmental or institutional meetings; support and or degrade others; like and dislike certain activities, etc.

One of the core businesses of academic institutions is teaching and learning, where students must be placed at the centre as beneficiaries, and lecturers and professors are benefactors. Naturally, it is envisaged that the focus must be on students, but reality sometimes points in the opposite direction. That is, instead of placing students as chief players, they are reduced to being beggars who must survive at the mercy of lecturers and professors. Unfortunately, such a state affects indiscriminately those whose concerns lean on the side of students. Such lineages are explainable in pedagogic and paradigmatic orientations. I therefore take a subjective perspective and expose my personal lineages that explain why I carry myself in front of my students the way I do.

I am an English language specialist. I have worked in various departments of English in the Middle-East and South Africa. It is a truism that English came to South Africa (and many other former colonies) not on a liberating mission, but that of perpetuating the imperialistic colonisation agenda. To be a specialist in a colonial language is, therefore, understandably easy to associate with collusion in the oppression of the colonised. With these realities, I am inclined not to take a defensive stance on English, but to interrogate the tenets of the education carried by and through the English language. My approach to teaching is, therefore, influenced largely by critical pedagogy (Canagarajah 1999; Phillipson 2009).

Critical pedagogy seeks to bring the student to the centre by, *inter alia,* exposing the hidden curriculum that, in many instances, undermines the oppressive reality of students as a people and their contexts as historically situated. I, therefore, see my role as that of emancipating students from the educational indoctrination that seeks to keep or mould them into certain beings that serve the ends of the elite. Students must therefore remain critical of the whole educational system, i.e. the content and the administration, for these tend to have a disjuncture with their natural societal norms. This is even more crucial in Africa, where there is an increasing need to Africanise knowledge and education (Botha 2010). This is where the critical teacher and lecturer come in.

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Adopting a critical approach in teaching has made me see nuances in the education system and in my own teaching. For instance, following Scrivener's (2005) axiom that teaching does not equal learning, I continuously remain critical of my own teaching; not unduly blaming students when success seems to evade them. Also, whilst I realise the need for my students to be proficient in the target language, I do not do so simply to propagate mimicry (Ashcroft *et al*. 2004) and the adoption of Anglo-Saxon patterns of thought (Salomone 2015). My students must be taught to be critical of the target language, especially in its historicity as a colonial language. This will ensure that they are emancipated from the clutches of colonial and neo-colonial bondage.

Placing students at the centre also means that the teacher or lecturer must relegate some of his/her traditional power and share it with students. For instance, many of my students have challenged me both inside and outside of class about addressing them in their mother tongue. That act of challenging me seems to reflect an application of what we learn in class when studying the novel *Coconut* (Matlwa 2007), which, among other themes, interrogates the negative perceptions associated with African languages. Some have even dubbed me 'coconut' because of my exclusive use of English when teaching or addressing them in and outside of class. I have often explained to myself that my deliberate use of English in these circumstances is meant to arm my students with the same tools of speaking back to the 'empire'. I also emphasise that you cannot remain critical of a system if you do not know its entire operation – their proficiency in English, therefore, should not just serve as an elitist tag, but should, most importantly, allow them to unmask the cultural imperatives of English that seek to obliterate the local ones. But I must at the same time admit that their criticism is not without substance or intelligence. They seem to be demonstrating a critical awareness of a disjuncture between what I say and what I do. They rightly observe that whilst I seem to favour the promotion of African languages as viable intellectual tools comparable to dominant colonial languages, I fall short of demonstrating that utility, which to them should amount to hypocrisy. This excites me because I can see the making of intellectuals out of my students' engagement with the content of learning and the realities surrounding that learning.

Being critical also entails realising the realities that militate against the very project of emancipation. Frère (1970) realised the oppression that the education system can perpetrate when approached from the angle of reproduction, and thus proposed that learners should be critical about such oppression. Notwithstanding that, it should be noted that higher education, in particular, remains largely elitist in its assumption of developing skills on individuals. Individualism remains predominantly the Western cultural milieu, which is usually at odds with the communal intellectual ethos that characterises the East and Africa (Meyer 2014). This means that the establishment of higher education is underpinned on the notion of exclusivity. Realising the limitations of such an approach, contemporary educational thinkers argue for inclusive education that would cater for masses that have been left in the lurch. The result is the massification of education (White Paper for Post School Education and Training 2013). Though massification has noble objectives, it only expands the intake of students without addressing the intellectual culture of higher education, which is individualism (Gombrich 2000). For instance, many professional bodies, *inter alia*, consider student–lecturer ratios when determining the quality and effectiveness of a programme which, if not balanced, leads to de-accreditation. It also means that the massive class forces the lecturer to resort to teacher-centred approaches which obviously do not take into account different learning styles. Unfortunately, many students fall through the cracks and drop out. It still remains the teacher's or lecturer's responsibility to expose these contradictions to students. In English Language Teaching (ELT), there is an assumed class size (say maximum twenty five) in the teaching methodologies that are considered effective. For instance, the emphasis is on active learning where students learn the language by using it – meaning a typical lesson should create opportunities where students would use the language either with the teacher, with each other in pairs, or in small groups – with the teacher monitoring and giving feedback (Scrivener 2005; Harmer 2006). Such opportunities collapse in a big class, say of more than a hundred – the teacher finds himself/herself lecturing. In fact, lecturing is the traditional university mode of teaching based on the regard for the lecturer as an expert from whom students must glean knowledge. The probability of students not benefiting from such an approach is dismissed on the same notion that those who made it to the university must, by their exclusive privilege, cope with the university culture of knowledge dissemination, production and reproduction. Those who require a different style are simply regarded as incapable and should not have been admitted to university. This is the critical perspective I consider to be my mission in passing to students.

That said, I should also admit that my stance could be easily misinterpreted as being methodologically naïve. My adoption of the critical perspective is that I have my students' interests at heart which, in many cases, require that I become eclectic in my choice of methodologies. In other words, I remain sensitive to the context of operation which say, when it calls for a teacher-centred approach due to un-viability of a learner-centred one, in my case caused by extremely large classes, I am ready to give my best shot. I am also equally ready to employ the most effective approach in a given context. In fact, the very choice of what methodology to employ in a given context is what constitutes criticality.

Being critical, therefore, is not meant to massage my own intellectual slant, but is largely projected towards the betterment of my students. This means employing both traditional and contemporary methodologies without succumbing to the common mistake of throwing the baby out with the bathwater (Wight 2006).

What then does it mean to mould a student into an intellectual being? There are probably as many answers as there are many sub-questions linked to this one. In the context of a university, it is an intellectual that begets intellectuals. By an intellectual here I will borrow from Seepe (2019) who argues that it should be someone who is able to think critically, self-reflect critically, and be able to critically discuss and challenge ideologies and practices. Admittedly, universities are not automatically made of intellectuals although they should be centres of intellectual production. Similarly, adopting a critical approach to knowledge engagement is not an easy choice to make or an easy route to take. The challenge it entails is that one must be prepared to shed some of the disciplinary foundations and positional privileges in order to remain at the cutting edge of criticality. But the absence of such a choice means that the status quo, which often works against the intellectual development of students in the context of a university, remains intact. In other words, my refusal to be challenged by my students on my practices despite my self-justifications, or the rejection of the labels they give me based on their reading of the content and its application to the immediate environment and context would simply mean that I am undermining their intellectual abilities, or, at worst, I am stifling their intellectual growth. Modiri (2016) is on point in asserting that "[s]omething must be seriously wrong with one's psychological and intellectual comportment when university professors go to embarrassing lengths to prove that they are smarter than 20-year-old students". However, when I acknowledge that there is accuracy and legitimacy in how they read the world, thereby allowing them to speak critically to the practices they see in me, I am allowing them to develop a critical engagement with issues they constantly face in society. This is crucial because such critical engagement precedes change that must ultimately happen.

The ultimate goal, therefore, of my choice of critical pedagogy as a means of developing intellectuals out of my students is solely based on the need for change. Ideological change which is ultimately reflected in how societies and entities operate is very evasive. Institutions of higher learning arguably remain trapped in ideologies and practices of yore simply because there is not enough intellectual development, if there is any at all. Students that are produced do not appear to have the intellectual tools needed to respond to the intellectual ills that plague our societies and communities. They unfortunately reflect the pot from which they have come. Adopting critical pedagogy for me therefore is one way of responding to the changes we must see in our societies, communities and universities.

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