

Inkanyiso

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Dear *Inkanyiso* readers,

I wish to present to you: *Inkanyiso*, JHSS, Vol.3, No. 2, an open access peer-refereed journal that publishes articles on psychology, gender studies, philosophy, political science and public administration, knowledge management, information studies, publishing and education.

Our first article, entitled “Neurophysiologic, phenomenological, cultural, social and spiritual correlates of empathy experiences: Integral psychological and person centered perspectives”, is written by thirteen authors – the largest number of authors that have ever written a single article in our journal, which includes Steve Edwards, Emeritus Professor at the University of Zululand, and Duncan Cramer, Professor of Psychological Health at the University of Loughborough, among several University of Zululand co-authors. The authors explore this topic within the context of Wilber’s Integral approach and Person Centered theory and practice. Participant consensus was that the neurophysiologic and other correlates corresponded favourably with typical empathic moments, insights and/or peak experiences, which are associated with effective therapeutic change in traditional and contemporary healing contexts. The second article, written by Nigatu Regassa (Hawasa University), focused on gender studies. In the article “Intimate partners violence in Southern Ethiopia: Examining the prevalence and risk factors in the Sidama Zone”, Nigatu argues that the high level of Intimate Partners’ Violence (IPV) against women in many population groups in Ethiopia and the risk factors associated with the practice is not well understood among scholars and decision makers. The study revealed that its prevalence is high in the study population, with physical violence accounting for the largest share of the overall abusive acts and socio-cultural practices and attitudes of the community largely influencing such behavior. In the third article “‘We versus them’ divide in Nigeria: re-thinking traditional epistemologies”, Cyril-Mary Pius Olatunji (Adekunle Ajasin University) uses philosophical discourse to explain that ethnicity, religion and politics are undisputedly the root of major problems in many African states and examines the epistemological foundations of sustained ‘schism’ in Nigeria.

In some communities, internet access and use is increasingly blamed for its negative influence on the youth. In Michael Kunnuji’s (University of Lagos) article, on “Risk-bearing sexuality within the context of internet use among young people in Lagos metropolis”, he cites modeling theorists and uses empirical data gathered from Lagos to conclude that online sexual activities (OSAs) are associated with involvement in risk-bearing sexual behaviours. In the fifth article, on publishing, Daniel Rotich’s (Moi University) article “The present and future growth of scholarly publishing in Africa” contends that scholarly publishing in Africa has made significant progress, as more universities in Africa are involved in scholarly publishing through the web and institutional repositories for increased information access and visibility. The sixth article, on knowledge management, entitled “Applying Knowledge Management Strategies to Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa” by Edwin-Michael Cortez and Piper Mullins (University of Tennessee) and Johannes Britz (University of Wisconsin Milwaukee and the University of Pretoria), examines economic development as one aspect of sustainability, with a focus on knowledge management as an economic development strategy by largely using Grey’s categories of knowledge management. Investment in ICTs and literacy are strongly recommended for future development in the region. The seventh article focuses on political science and public administration. Danniell Esemé Gberebie’s (Covenant University), article, entitled “Leadership, the Financial Sector and Development in Nigeria”, discusses ethical issues affecting the financial sector in the country and recommends, among others, the introduction of formal education in ethics as a way of ensuring that staff members internalise ethical practice as a precaution against abuse of office.

The last article is co-authored by James Sang and Hillary Sang from Moi University. In their article, entitled “Decentralization of School Management to Boards of Governors in Secondary Schools in Kenya: A Case of Trans-ngoia County”, the two authors show the origin of the concept of decentralization of school management to Boards of Governors in Kenya and its adoption by the Teachers Service Commission, in an attempt to infuse community participation in the administration of schools. The merits and demerits of this arrangement are discussed and professionalisation of the composition of the boards is recommended.

I would like to thank all the contributors to our two issues this year as well as appreciate the generous contributions and valuable comments made by the reviewers.

Enjoy your reading

Dennis N. Ocholla

Editor-in-Chief, *Inkanyiso*

December, 2011.

Inkanyiso

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The Journal's objectives are to publish papers of broad interest in the humanities and the social sciences.

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

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Wallin, Nils L, Merker, Björn, and Brown, Steven (eds). 2000. *The origins of music*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

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Neurophysiologic, phenomenological, cultural, social and spiritual correlates of empathy experiences: integral psychological and person centered perspectives

Steve Edwards¹, Duncan Cramer², Dimitri Kelaiditis³, David Edwards⁴, Nira Naidoo⁵, Dale Davidson⁶, Jabu Thwala⁷, Buyi Mbele⁸, Vusi Siyaya⁹, Ashmin Singh¹⁰, Pumelela Tshabalala¹¹, Sumeshni Govender¹² and Dumisani Nzima¹³

The main objective of this research was to explore neurophysiologic, phenomenological, cultural and social correlates of recipients' experiences of empathy within the context of Wilber's Integral approach and Person Centered theory and practice. Thirteen psychologists participated as co-researchers in a triangulated, within subjects' post-test experimental design in which empathy data were compared with data from control conditions of factual information processing and rest. A consistent pattern emerged from data gathered. Empathy experiences were associated with an unexpected, statistically significant increase in alpha activity, with some associated increasing trends in theta and beta activity. Expected findings were significant decreases in delta activity accompanied by decreasing trends in gamma wave activity, muscle tension, heart and respiration rate. Individual experiences generally reflected an affective, interpersonal, cultural, social and spiritual state of normal waking consciousness. Participant consensus was that the neurophysiologic and other correlates corresponded truthfully with typical empathic moments, insights and/or peak experiences, which are associated with effective therapeutic change in traditional and contemporary healing contexts.

Key words: Neurophysiologic, phenomenological, cultural, social, spiritual, correlates, empathy experiences, integral psychology, person centered psychotherapy

Introduction

From a holistic, integral perspective, beneficial psychotherapeutic change will inevitably imply more than any sum of, or interaction among, therapeutic variables (Edwards, 2010). Probabilistically such change will be related to individual, multifactor functions of many interacting personal, interpersonal, contextual and non-specified variables. Person-centered psychotherapeutic theory and empirical research have been directed towards individual and interacting variables related to the helper, helpee, relationship and wider context with special reference to such facilitating factors as empathy, congruence and respect. The least amount of attention has been given to the actual experience of the helpee, the most logically necessary variable in the mix (Cramer, 1990). Similarly, although there has been research into the neurophysiologic correlates of empathy as experienced by the empathiser (Ivey, Ivey & Zalaquett, 2010), to the best of our knowledge, no study has investigated such neurophysiologic correlates of empathy as apprehended or experienced by the empathised person(s), or recipients of such empathy. Such knowledge will be valuable in understanding, describing, explicating, explaining and/or predicting therapeutic change for all concerned psychological health care stakeholders, not least the relatively neglected helpee(s). Consequently the aim of the present investigation was to explore neurophysiologic and other related interpersonal, cultural, social and spiritual correlates of empathy experiences from an integral psychological, person centered perspective.

Although various forms of health promotion, subjective well-being and empathy have long been recognised by traditional healers (Edwards, 1985; Katz, 1982, Katz & Wexler, 1989; Ngubane, 1977), research by Rogers and others

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such as Gendlin, Truax and Carkhuff was instrumental in the growth of modern scientific and professional psychotherapy through the development of scales that enabled the accurate measurement of such therapeutic variables (Carkhuff, 1969; Cramer, 2004, Cramer & Jowet, 2010; Clarke, 2004; Gendlin, 1962, 1996; Kirschenbaum, 2004; Rogers, 1957; 1980; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). For example, the Carkhuff (1969) scales present five facilitative levels for such variables as empathy, respect, genuineness, self-disclosure, concreteness, confrontation, immediacy and helpee self-exploration. Facilitative characteristics range from level one, where helper expressions are typically unhelpful or destructive, through level three, which constitutes the minimum level of facilitative communication, to level five, where helper communications are very effective and creative. For example, in the case of empathic understanding, level five involves helper responses that add significantly to the feeling and meaning of helpee expressions, firstly so as to accurately communicate feelings below what the helpee is able to express and, secondly, to be fully with the helpee in the event of ongoing deep self-exploration. Such operational definitions and empirical precision enabled Carkhuff (1969) to provide convincing evidence that if helpers are functioning at a high level with regard to such important facilitative conditions, constructive changes will take place in helpees.

Over his extraordinarily productive life, Rogers explicated various definitions and perspectives on empathy. Earlier views were more concerned with offering rigorous operational definitions of a state like variable. Later views gave more emphasis to empathy as an experiential process of assisting helpee's to more accurately attune to and successively articulate what Gendlin (1962) had illuminated as the 'felt sense' and 'felt meaning' of those deep, visceral promptings in the ongoing flow of organismic consciousness. Comprehensive insight into such healing moments in turn facilitated the apprehension of deeper meanings of empathy as a core ingredient in the ongoing flow of the therapeutic micro-process. This enabled Rogers (1980) to conclude that an empathic climate enables openness to new facets of experience, which become part of a more accurately based self-concept and that such a climate may become a way of being (Rogers, 1980).

In addition to person centered theory, Wilber's integral psychological approach to consciousness was chosen as a convenient theoretical framework to inform the design, methodology and findings of the present investigation as it has the inbuilt facility and structure to include personal and transpersonal, subjective and objective, individual and collective perspectives on any empathy experience. In this approach AQAL, which is shorthand for all quadrants all levels, refers to a comprehensive system that integrates quadrants, levels, lines, states, types and realms of consciousness. The AQAL model postulates ongoing processes of evolution and involution, in an essentially spiritual universe or kosmos, fundamentally composed of holons, which are always both whole parts and part wholes, with interior and exterior, individual and collective perspectives that tetra-evolve in the form of four quadrants; intentional/phenomenological, behavioral, cultural and social; in concentric spheres of inter-being, transcending and including waves of consciousness, historically experienced as matter, body, mind, soul and spirit (Wilber, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2007). In the present study, the empathy experience is investigated from individual and collective, subjective and objective perspectives, with intersecting validity claims including representational truth (upper right quadrant), subjective truthfulness (upper left quadrant), inter-subjective cultural truths (lower left quadrant) and inter-objective, systemic functional fit (lower right quadrant).

The central quantitative research question related to whether there would be any significant statistical pattern in relation to empathy experiences and various neurophysiologic data as recorded during such experiences. In view of typical parasympathetic shift changes that occur during the psychotherapeutic micro-process (Corsini & Wedding, 1989; Ivey et al., 2010; Rogers, 1980), it was predicted that the empathic experience would be associated with general decreases in electroencephalographic activity, muscle tension, heart and respiration rates. Qualitative research questions were concerned with the related phenomenological, cultural, social and spiritual nature of such empathy experiences.

Method

Approach

The AQAL model provides a convenient and flexible triangulation framework for differentiating various research designs, methods and techniques (Reynolds, 2006; Wilber, 1997, 2000). As indicated above, the model distinguishes between individual phenomenological and behavioral quadrants, and collective cultural and social quadrants. In the present study design, subjective, objective, inter-subjective and inter-objective perspectives on empathy experiences represented these quadrants. Within this broader framework, a Person Centered investigation was conducted into the empathy experiences and neurophysiologic correlates of a convenience sample of psychologists. It was decided to limit the investigation to psychologists, as these persons had specific knowledge, training and/or teaching experiences in empathy and related qualitative and quantitative research methods, criteria and implications of this study. In addition, the sample was specifically chosen for their knowledge, experience, insight, commitment and willingness to explore, articulate, explicate, quantify and share their empathy experiences (Bryman & Cramer, 2008; Terblanche, Durheim & Painter, 2006).

Participants

The 13 psychologists in the present research had all completed at least master degrees in psychology and were in academic or professional practice. The home language of eight participants was English and five had isiZulu as their home language. Four were university professors. Eight held doctoral degrees. There were 5 women and 8 men. Ages ranged from 31 to 62 years, with a mean age of 43.69 years and standard deviation of 11.15 years. The range of empathic situations experienced had occurred from within the last month to twenty years previously, with a mean average of 87 months and standard deviation of 80 months. All empathy experiences were quantified at a score of 8 or more out of ten on a ten point scale where 1 was equivalent to minimal empathy and 10 equivalent to optimal empathy,

Design

A triangulated, within subjects' post-test design was used with two control conditions and one experimental condition. The control conditions consisted of a 5 minute rest period and a 5 minute factual information processing period during which participants were requested to process factual information as may typically occur in any interview. During the 10 minute experimental condition, participants were requested to explore empathy they had experienced in relation to particular empathisers and situations. Following an initial pilot study with one co-researcher, the following standardised instructions were put to all subsequent co-researchers:

- a. Rest condition: Please rest for five minutes. You may keep your eyes open or closed, so long as you remain still and maintain a steady posture.
- b. Factual condition: Please think of a factual situation, such as a standardised initial assessment, counseling or therapy interview, involving typical factual questions, for example, related to mental status, feelings, thoughts, experiences, behavior and relationships.
- c. Please explore your most meaningful empathy experience. Feel free to explore any feeling, thought, person, relationship or context in relation to your past and/or present experience of empathy. Please try to experience or apprehend this moment, event or situation as immediately, directly, fully and deeply as possible.

After individual assessment, collective cultural and social perspectives were explored, where responses to the following cultural and social questions were respectively recorded. (a) What is our shared empathy experience? (b) What is the relationship between such experiences of empathy and other facilitative variables and therapeutic approaches? This information was recorded by the principal researcher and subsequently revised and edited by co-researchers until consensus was reached.

Procedure

All investigations took place in quiet and convenient conditions. In all cases, the rest period control condition, used to record baseline neurophysiologic data was followed by either the factual information control condition or the empathy experience experimental condition, which were presented in counterbalanced order. All participants provided brief subjective reports on their empathy experiences and quantified these on the above-mentioned scale from 1 to 10, before engaging in discussion on shared subjective and objective perspectives of their empathy experiences.

Apparatus

An Infiniti Thought Technology neurophysiologic feedback apparatus was used to monitor and simultaneously record basic electroencephalographic (EEG) data in relation to delta, theta, alpha, beta and gamma activity; as well as electromyography (EMG), for muscle tension/relaxation; levels of blood volume pulse (BVP) for changes in heart-rate; and respiratory activity for changes in breath pattern, respectively.

Ethical matters

All participants were thoroughly informed with regard to all aspects of the study. There was appropriate ethical clearance and informed consent.

Data analysis

Data analysis continued until consensus was reached by all co-researchers with regard to Wilber's (1997) four quadrant validity claims, which include correspondence, truthfulness, cultural validation and functional fit. Quantitative data were analysed with ANOVA for repeated measures (Bryman & Cramer, 2008). The limited amount of qualitative data lent itself readily to thematic content analysis (Terblanche *et al.*, 2006).

Results

Subjective Qualitative Findings

Individual Profiles

Subject S1. For both conditions I thought about my wife's response to me when talking about my depression one evening about nine months ago. For a number of years I have had bouts of depression and anxiety, which lasted for about four months each time. I thought it was important that I tell my wife how I felt as she ~~may~~ have noticed I was behaving differently although generally I don't think she notices these kinds of changes. I couldn't remember any specific things she said to me but I tried to imagine the way she would generally behave. I did not feel confused about my feelings but thought it might be helpful to me to talk about how I felt. In general my wife behaves in a relaxed and sympathetic way and tends to give her opinion about what should be done. So there is no attempt to explore the way I am feeling which is not what I wanted anyway. In the empathy condition I tended to think of my wife listening to me while in the factual condition I tended to think about her talking to me and asking me questions.

Subject S2. I was able to experience deeper levels of empathy in relation to my wife and various friends and colleagues who I know at times have been with me or even beyond me in deeper experiential moments and levels of self - exploration. Although my focus was on the felt sense of empathy, various situations came to mind, with the most prominent ones related to the death of my parents, some fifteen years ago. Empathy was experienced in interpersonal, social and transpersonal forms as biased by an article I have written in this regard. The most powerful immediate experience was of God being with me. This I experience as a Presence greater than my ordinary self. I typically experience this in meditation and prayer and although this ~~may~~ indicate personal bias, which biofeedback data ~~may~~ reflect, this is my most essential and/or purest empathic experience. In the factual situation, I tried to ask myself typical sorts of mental status questions as one would do an initial interview with a client.

Subject S3. Basically a close friend of my mother provided the empathy experience. We had a discussion after my mother had passed away. Although I had chatted to other people about losing my mom, I felt she really understood what I was going through and more so than other people. It felt like unconditional love and complete understanding. Because it felt like real understanding on her part, it confirmed that what I was experiencing was true and acceptable. She confirmed my experience as real and connected the jumbled up thoughts into a coherent pattern. During the factual experience I was trying to work out the empathy experience in terms of date, place and what was said in the conversation. All this information was factually processed.

Subject S4. My empathy experience was in relation to an operation, which I underwent six years ago. I remember lying in the hospital and having my biological father holding my hand and God the Father watching over me. This deep empathy experience was that of love and how much parents watch over, support and care for their children and the pain which they go through when one of their children is unwell. This experience has left a lasting impression on my life and will always be embedded in my memory. For me it encompassed the highest level of empathy, which is truly experiencing what someone else is going through and being with them through the highs and the lows. It was a privilege and I wish everyone could experience this level of love and feel what it means to receive deep empathy. During the factual experience my thoughts were occupied by a typical clinical intake and mental status examination, which I undertake with clients during the initial assessment.

Subject S5. My experience of receiving empathy goes back two years. After being highjacked, one of the first people I contacted was my aunt. She listened and said: "You need my car more than me. I will bring it to you." This provided relief at that time. When I think about it now, it almost makes me tearful to know that somebody so fully understood my pressing needs and could put my needs before hers. Empathy is perhaps expressed culturally and socially differently from the way it is in a professional counselling context. For me the experience of receiving empathy from family and friends involved the act of sharing or doing. A colleague, who is a psychologist, came to my home after work on that Monday, addressed all my fears, calmed me and offered to take me around. There was relief as well as fear for her safety putting herself at risk every time she came to fetch me because I consider my home a high risk area. I continued working, but she would identify times at work when I would space out and bring me back in touch with feelings I was denying. Her empathic understanding made me feel supported and empowered to continue functioning at work. The empathy experience was not as relaxing as I expected, as in reliving it, I experience a bit of guilt at having deprived my aunt of her car. During the factual condition, I tried to recall all the names of the different offices that service education.

Subject S6: I was 18 in matric when I received a phone call and found out my girlfriend was pregnant. There was a feeling of horror and panic. I went to the home of a friend whom I had known since I was five or six and related what had happened. I was sitting on the floor. He hugged me. I felt physically and emotionally hugged with unconditional support. That whole process I have never forgotten. That was a very significant moment that bonded us. Even without that he would have still remained a friend. That was what I tried to re-experience during this experiment. I went on then to think of parental support – I stayed on that scenario of continued parental and friend support – just feeling the bond with family and friends if I needed support – a warm sense, not only tactile, but warm enclosed contained feeling where one is never alone essentially. During the factual condition, I sensed being hooked up to this machine, curious what it will mean, reflecting on life, mental status, carrying some stressors, but calm, relaxed and in a good place, going through these sort of feelings with awareness.

Subject S7: It was a very, focused, warm kind of feeling, in the family, environmental context of our backyard, where we dug soil. Friendly people came in to put up a retaining wall in a humbling experience, getting ideas and building a double, not single wall. It felt like the space as such already had warmth, provided warmth and these people came in with a wonderful humble spirit. It is almost complete. They are not rushing. We may finish Friday, Saturday, Sunday or Monday. Their commitment adds a sense of warmth, of giving, of appreciation for what they received for the wall, a sense of justice that they were satisfied. I imagined myself standing at the back door and felt a gift coming from heaven in a sense one cannot buy, a sense of warmth as if receiving from my parents – the husband and wife who are doing the work and the son of eighteen, so symbolic of one who wants to learn and contribute to seeing people being happy. They would work as a team, they loved what they were doing, put their hearts into it, the stable soil, the solid structure. Their approach was we can economise to what you have. What we have given to you we want to give to others, to advertise in every experience or trial sharing ideas in a very genuine spirit. I was actually receiving from them with all their support. In the factual situation, there was a scenario where I was presenting something using a laptop and checking to see if the audience was processing and understanding the information. I was looking at the audience all the time, so I would know which areas to emphasise and speaking more from experience. In the end I found the audience really focused and knew they understood.

Subject S8: In early 2009, I was staying alone and was so scared after a burglary. I phoned my friend and husband. My friend was at work and could not get home but reassured me. My husband just said “I am coming”, came and was so supportive. By my voice, he had known I was scared, was comforting, stayed over and gave full support. During the factual information condition, I simple counted back from one hundred till zero. Then I thought about what we were discussing in class.

Subject S9: I believe in Jesus. My girlfriend became pregnant and I had a sense of guilt. I went to a pastor who gave understanding and guidance through the word of God. This gave me some relief and the guilt went down. He opened the scriptures, told me where to go from there and what I should do. Three pastors at different times showed empathy for me supported me and asked me how far I had gone with their recommendations. Friends supported me, told me I was now mature, should be getting married and that love was good. So I have started a process of paying *lobola* dowry and we are going forward. The child is now six months old and accepted. We are planning to marry next June. There is no pressure. We are moving at our own pace. During the factual information session, I imagined interviewing a client and went through a typical mental status situation.

Subject S10: About six years ago, I experienced a whole flood of emotions, like in a ball taken up in a tornado alley. Receiving empathy was like being brought gently back to the ground. It was calming to be contained, to have my outburst of emotion held, not to be judged as such. I was able to openly experience the emotions, without judgment or negativity towards what I was expressing. This is an emotional kind of account. The person who was empathetic was completely calm. The torrent of emotions came to a halt. I had a platform to express them and the intensity was reduced. During the factual situation, there was absolutely no emotion involved. I focused on my plans in terms of a list I needed to do, keeping aware of the time and the sequential order, basically trying to get as much information from the person as possible.

Subject S11: I felt very relaxed and a person listening to me who understood and accepted without judging, a person who understood where I came from, someone who listened with understanding, without judging, one who understands my problems. I was also just thinking of a situation where you have feedback from a patient. I was focused on this feeling and

again I was taken back to when we were doing our masters programme, the way you were motivating us in a situation where you are encouraged all the time by another person who knows and feels when you are anxious, who might say, "it's not the end of the world, try again," and I did and I made it, someone who encourages you when you are about to give up, a person who always trusts that you will definitely make it. During the factual condition, I was observing behaviour during an actual interview, describing a person who is happy, can make eye contact, asks questions, a relaxed person watching mood changes.

Subject S12: The most recent incident/situation where I experienced empathy was with another professional that I consulted so I spent time thinking about how that consultation session made me feel. The unconditional acceptance and non-judgmental attitude of my colleague was such a relief. It made me feel less guilt and more free than I have ever felt before. It was a very liberating feeling and also reassuring. It allowed me to move ahead with more confidence. I was initially second guessing the choices I was making, but after the consultation I knew what choice was right for me. I have never experienced empathy so completely. During the factual situation I did a bit of math and repeated first year psych questions.

Subject S13: During empathy, I became more relaxed and a bit sad, remembering almost all those hardships I have been through in the past: The loss of the brothers and sisters in the 1990's, my parents in the late 1990's, and mid 2000's and my wife and daughter in 2005. This has been a wonderful moment to come to terms with what happened, how I reacted to the situations, how people supported and sympathised with me throughout. I had to re-live all these experiences and sometimes shed tears internally. I felt connected with the deceased even though I could see them live. During the factual situation, I recalled where I was born, my number of siblings, years of schooling, education etc.

Collective Profile

After repeated reading and content analysis of the individual profiles, the following themes emerged. Participant numbers in which the themes appear are indicated in brackets.

The empathy experiences reported by the participants of the study depended largely on the meanings the participants attached to different events and or situations in their lives. Caring, interpersonal relationship situations (all 13) are re-experienced (all 13) in waking consciousness (all 13), involving feelings, thoughts (all 13), direction and meaning (all 13). Various situations are described involving family (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 13), crises (3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 13) and loss of loved one(s) (2, 3 and 13). Other experiences include spirituality (2, 4, 7, 9 and 13), understanding (3, 5, 7, 9, and 11), relaxation (1, 6, 11 and 13), acceptance (3, 9, 11 and 12), sympathy (5) and warmth (6, 7). The empathic experience occurs in various contexts: interpersonal only (S10, S11, S12), couple/marital (S1, S2, S8, S9), family (S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S8, S9 and S13), cultural (S7, S9), occupational (S5, S11, S12), professional, (S5, S11, S12), social (S2, S5, S6, S7, S9, 13) and spiritual (2, 4, 7, 9 and 13).

Objective quantitative findings

Table 1 Means and standard deviations for baseline, factual and empathy conditions (N= 13)

Neurophysiology	Baseline	Factual	Empathy
BVP	71.62 (10.31)	71.45 (10.67)	70.89 (11.12)
EMG	3.38 (2.19)	3.11(1.93)	2.68 (1.41)
Respiration	15.54 (1.47)	16.10 (1.83)	14.29 (3.50)
Delta	14.20 (2.78)	13.80 (3.16)	11.31 (3.07)
Theta	10.59 (1.99)	10.72(2.35)	11.07 (3.73)
Alpha	8.32 (1.75)	8.79 (2.72)	11.16 (4.51)
Beta	6.88 (1.01)	7.05 (1.22)	7.10 (1.79)
Gamma	2.68 (.92)	2.60 (.49)	2.41 (.76)

ANOVA with repeated measures on the eight dependent variables indicated significant differences for delta, $F(2, 24) = 4.40, p < .024, \eta^2 = .29$, and alpha, $F(2, 24) = 5.38, p < .012, \eta^2 = .31$. Delta in the empathy condition ($M = 11.31, SD = 3.07$) was significantly lower than in both the rest ($M = 14.20, SD = 2.78$), $t(12) = 2.51, p < .027$, and the factual conditions ($M = 13.81, SD = 3.16$), $t(12) = 3.12, p < .009$. Alpha in the empathy condition ($M = 11.16, SD = 4.51$) was

significantly higher than in both the rest ($M = 8.32, SD = 1.74$), $t(12) = 2.42, p < .032$, and the factual conditions ($M = 8.79, SD = 2.72$), $t(12) = 2.83, p < .015$.

Inter-subjective qualitative findings

As psychologists, we shared our empathy experiences at various levels ranging from our immediate fresh, individual apprehensions of the phenomenon through familial, cultural experiences to academic supervision of student projects and theses. This included similar personal experiences, such as loss of loved ones, theoretical and conceptual understandings revealed through our personal research as well as the body of Person Centered literature appearing in scientific articles, books and conference proceedings. These experiences included emphases on interpersonal, empirical validation of person centered therapy as well as explication of social and transpersonal factors. We agreed that these experiences reflected both similar and different personal, spiritual, cultural, and geographical contexts in which we have lived our lives. Discussion among University of Zululand staff corroborated and consolidated many years of academic and professional research, teaching and general discussions on the context, theory and practice of empathy.

Inter-objective qualitative findings

Discussion revolved around empathy received as distinct from empathy transmitted as well as other core facilitative variables of congruence or genuineness and unconditional positive regard, and less researched variables such as immediacy and concreteness. Discussion also focused on hard empirical evidence for effectiveness of facilitative variables, the need for meta-analytic studies and statistical investigations such as multiple regression and factor analysis in order to explore the relative, weighted contribution of known person centered facilitative variables as well as many other non-specific variables, ranging from physical substances through to spiritual orientations.

Person centered therapy was regarded as a foundational counseling and therapeutic approach ideal for teaching of beginner counselors and therapists owing to its established, evidence based, empirical body of research and its clear operational definitions of various levels of therapeutic micro-skills, ranging from basic listening, reflection and clarification to more advanced techniques such as interpretation and confrontation. Participants found much value in Person centered therapy owing to its established philosophical underpinnings, with emphasis on fully functioning human beings, living responsible, meaningful, growth orientated and socially self-realised lives. The approach was viewed as universally applicable whatever the context; African, Asian, European, American or other.

It was also considered that Person Centered therapy was compatible with all other helping and healing approaches owing to its coherent underlying historical roots and geographical contexts, phenomenological philosophy, essentially human relationship orientation and continuing focus on the present reality revealed in the ongoing life process, moment to moment, here and now.

Discussion

Research decisions as to a saturation point in data collection need justification. Although sample size was relatively small, it was decided to write up this article owing to a consistent pattern that had emerged from all the data gathered; subjective, objective, individual and collective. This pattern involved unexpected statistically significant alpha increases with associated increasing trends in theta and beta activity; expected delta decreases with associated decreasing trends in gamma activity, muscle tension, heart and respiration rate; in a state of consciousness where deep feelings and thoughts provided meaningful direction in life; through individual and inter-subjective apprehension of a form of interpersonal care, which was consistent with inter-objective scientific literature on empathy and related psychotherapeutic variables, systems and findings. The pattern is explicated in greater detail as follows:

The statistically significant patterns of delta decrease and alpha increase in the empathy condition as compared to both baseline and factual conditions provided clear evidence for primarily waking state, cortical, neurological correlates for experienced empathy. When aligned with previous research evidence on the positive correlation between alpha and heightened parasympathetic nervous activity, stress reduction and creativity as originally pioneered by Joe Kamiya (Abarbanel, 1997; Doxey, 1974; Ivey et al. 2010), the corresponding physiological evidence of decreasing trends in pulse rate, muscle tension and respiration, point to experienced empathy as a state of consciousness that is neither too relaxed (theta) nor too alert (beta), but focused, affective and effective. Participant descriptions reflect those typical, empathic, therapeutic moments, insights and peak experiences, recognised by traditional healers as well as modern health care practitioners, who work from phenomenological, person centered and other psychotherapeutic orientations, as crucial precipitants in effecting healing changes (Corsini & Wedding, 1989; Ivey, Andrea, Ivey & Simek Morgan, 2002; Gumede, 1990; Katz, 1982; Ngubane, 1977; Wilber, 1977; 2000; 2007).

Other practical implications of an integral psychological, person centered approach to empathy are the correlated and cumulative effect of any change in pre-personal, personal and transpersonal variables involved in the mix. It can thus be

hypothesised that increases in alpha and to a lesser extent, theta and beta activity, will be associated with improved apprehension and reception of empathy, and corresponding individual, cultural, and social therapeutic insight and change, and vice versa. Similarly, decreases in delta and to a lesser extent, lower physiological arousal, should be associated with improved apprehension and reception of empathy, and corresponding individual, cultural and social therapeutic insight and change, and vice versa. Further research is needed to test these hypotheses and establish optimal parameters in these relationships. For example, it is possible that a more pronounced alpha- theta response, which is known to be associated with advanced meditation, may develop with longer exposure to empathic experience (Egner & Gruzelier, 2004). Further research with additional sophisticated equipment is also needed to investigate the role of such biochemical and neurophysiologic factors as neurotransmitters and mirror neurons in greater depth (Gutsell, 2009; Ivey et al. 2010; Lewis, 2010).

In Wilber's (1997, 2000, 2007) integral model such neurophysiologic correlates only exist in relation to individual phenomenology, collective culture, social system and its immanent and transcendent spiritual context. Intersecting validity claims ensure greater truth through third person, objective correspondence and functional fit (neurophysiologic correlates and individual empathy ratings in relation to person centered and other relationship orientated therapeutic approaches), second person, mutual understanding and cultural context (psychologists' agreement as to their empathy experiences) and manifest subjective truthfulness of individual descriptions. In addition to their unique phenomenology, the individual descriptions are particularly instructive in this regard. For example, experiences and cultural contexts of Subject 6 and Subject 9 in relation to unexpected pregnancy are both similar and different. Subject 7 describes warm, social empathy experiences elicited by a family who were working for him. Subject 5 and Subject 11 describe empathy received from other professionals in occupational contexts. Subjects 4 and Subject 3 describe immanent and transcendent spirituality experiences in relation to family situations.

The cultural, social and spiritual dimensions of the empathic experience of Subject 7 are particularly instructive. The repeated use of the term "warm" evoke empathic experiences, variously described as kinesthetic (Parviainen 2003; Stein, 1917) organismic (Rogers, 1980) and felt sense (Gendlin, 1996). Such an holistic organic-emotive-interpersonal-communal-spiritual nature of empathy has long been recognised by San healers who physically experience empathy in the form of a lower abdominal "gut feeling" called *gebesi*, which is critical to the experience of *!kia* (altered consciousness) as they unwind in the dance, open themselves (*hxabe*) and *twe* or pull the sickness out (Katz, 1982). This *gebesi* experience is similar to that described as *umbellini* by Nguni people and *kundalini* amongst certain yogic practitioners. San healers also describe an experience known as *kowhedili*, which refers to an aspect of *!kia* where there is much pain experienced as they expel sickness from themselves (Katz, 1982). Personal observations of such a dance attest to the dramatic intensity and lived healing experience so carefully researched and described by Katz and others (Katz, 1982; Katz & Wexler, 1989). These deep empathic, transpersonal connections are inextricably related to the drumming sound of energy (*num*) in a mutually facilitative pattern of healing, which thus becomes a shared ecological resource for all members of the group as sensed through nerves, guts, bones and ancestral, spiritual community.

The relationship of empathy experiences to health and in particular, subjective well-being is noteworthy. Terms such as calming, disarming, relaxation, confidence, assurance, warm, acceptance, liberating, understanding that participants used to describe their empathy experiences are all related to subjective well-being. Such findings provide some foundations for training to achieve appropriate subjective well-being through experience of empathy. The inter-subjective and inter-objective findings also corroborated many earlier University of Zululand empathy related studies (Edwards, 1985, 1986, 2002, 2010; Edwards, Makunga, Ngcobo & Dhlomo, 2004). Such research was essentially concerned with the African roots of contemporary humanity (Jobling, Hurles, & Tyler-Smith, 2004), and the inferential implication as to the ultimate African origin of all forms of healing and patterns of empathy. For example, the San describe themselves as "first people" and rock paintings provide evidence for healing dances since earliest times (Edwards, 2010). Countless generations of Southern African Nguni people have also recognised the holistic organic-emotive-interpersonal-communal-spiritual nature of empathy in the everyday practice of "*ubuntu*." Etymologically and broadly translatable in *isiZulu* as "humanity", *ubuntu* is the abstract form of the terms *umuntu* (a human being) and *abantu* (people), derived from the root *-ntu*, (Dent & Nyambezi, 1969). *Ubuntu* has very deep and rich connotations when for example expressed in the saying *umuntu umuntu ngabantu*, which literally means "a person is a person through others," "I only become an I through you", and "I am because we are". As implied by Subject 7 and Subject 9, the everyday practice of *ubuntu* constitutes the essence of deep empathic, inter-human, interpersonal, social and spiritual relationships. It promotes consensual cultural dialogue, illness prevention and healing and provides the essential context for indigenous diviners and faith healers, who often use a *vumisa* approach to interviewing, diagnosis and healing through communication with ancestral shades, while empathically honing in on problem areas as consensually validated through the degree of expressed agreement by afflicted and relatives (Edwards, 1986; Edwards et al. 2004; Gumede, 1990; Ngubane, 1977).

Subsequent history provides evidence that the term empathy was used in Europe as a translation of *empathie*, a German term literally conveying the experience of “feeling into” a particular situation, phenomenon or life-world (Hackney, 1978). Edmund Husserl’s (1900) phenomenological investigations revealed *empathie* as a primary mode of awareness of the experience of other people and the concept became his chief philosophical tool for investigating the subjectivity of others as well as a foundation for his student Edith Stein’s doctoral thesis. Carl Rogers (1964) was later to philosophically ground his pioneering empirical research in a North American version of this phenomenological tradition and validate empathy, and related variables, such as congruence and respect, as necessary and sufficient for effecting beneficial therapeutic change (Carkhuff, 1969; Clarke, 2004; Gendlin, 1962, 1996; Kirschenbaum, 2004; Rogers, 1957; 1980; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Such an approach underlies much modern professional psychological counseling practice as explicated by Subject 5 and Subject 11, whose experiences with other professionals provided unconditional acceptance, reassurance and sense of relief typically associated with alpha wave activity (Ivey et al. 2010).

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore neurophysiologic, phenomenological, cultural, social and spiritual correlates of empathy experiences using Wilber’s Integral approach and Person Centered theory to inform the design, methodology and findings of the investigation. A consistent pattern emerged from data gathered. Empathy experiences were related to statistically significant increased alpha activity, with associated theta and beta trends and corresponding delta decreases with associated muscle tension, heart and respiration rate trends. Individual experiences corresponded with an affective, interpersonal, cultural, social and spiritual state of normal waking consciousness, which was inter-subjectively and inter-objectively validated as consistent with scientific literature on empathy and related psychotherapeutic variables, systems and findings in various historical and geographical contexts. It was agreed that findings reflected typical empathic, therapeutic moments, recognised by traditional healers as well as modern health care practitioners, who work from person centered and other psychotherapeutic orientations, as crucial precipitants in effecting healing changes.

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Intimate partners' violence in Southern Ethiopia: Examining the prevalence and risk factors in the Sidama Zone

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The high level of intimate partner violence (IPV) against women in many population groups in Ethiopia and the risk factors associated with the practice is not well understood among scholars and decision makers. This study examined the prevalence and risk factors associated with intimate partner violence in Sidama, a populous zone in Southern Ethiopia. A combination of simple random and multistage sampling techniques were used to select 1094 households, comprising women and men participants, for the field study. Quantitative and qualitative data were obtained using structured questionnaire and focus group discussions. Household, women and husband characteristics were used as explanatory variables while intimate partner violence served as the dependent variable. The study revealed that the prevalence of intimate partners' violence is high in the study population (ranging from 14.7 to 61.2%) with physical violence (beating, causing physical damage and slapping) accounting for the largest share of the overall abusive acts. The predicted probability, using logistic regression, shows that literate women living with alcoholic husbands, women engaged in gainful income generating activities and women living in food insecure households were more susceptible to intimate partner violence. The study concluded that while the main determinants are generally embedded in the socio-cultural practices and attitudes of the community, there are certain individual and household level variables which significantly affect its likely occurrence.

Key words: Intimate Partner, Violence, Sidama Zone, Southern Ethiopia.

Background

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), violence is "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation"(WHO, 2002). This definition actually capitalizes on physical violence, which may have far reaching consequences on the victims.

A common form of violence, domestic violence, also known as domestic abuse, spousal abuse, family violence and intimate partner violence (IPV), is generally understood as a pattern of abusive behavior by one or both partners in an intimate relationship such as marriage, dating, family, friendship or cohabitation (Garcia-Moreno, 2006). Domestic violence manifests largely as violence against women (VAW) and is often performed by a husband or an intimate male partner.

IPV occurs in many countries, irrespective of social, economic, religious or cultural group. In 48 population-based surveys from around the world, between 10% and 69% of women reported being physically assaulted by an intimate male partner at some point in their lives.(Heise, Ellsberg, Gottemoeller, 1999). The percentage of women who had been assaulted by a partner in the previous 12 months varied from 3% or less among women in Australia, Canada and the United States to 27% of ever-partnered women (that is, women who have ever had an ongoing sexual partnership) in León, Nicaragua, 38% of currently married women in the Republic of Korea, and 52% of currently married Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Heise, Ellsberg, Gottemoeller, 1999).

A study by WHO estimated that the most common act of violence experienced by women was being slapped by their partner, ranging from 9% in Japan to 52% in provincial Peru. Furthermore, this was followed by being struck with a fist, for which these two settings again represented the extremes (2% and 42%, respectively). The percentage of ever-partnered women experiencing severe physical violence, according to the WHO report, ranged from 4% of women in Japan to 49% in provincial Peru, with most countries falling between 13% and 26%. The exceptions were urban Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Namibia, and Samoa where more women reported severe violence in the past 12 months (WHO, 2001). Another study indicated that one in three women are physically assaulted, sexually coerced or otherwise abused in their lifetime, in most cases by an intimate partner (IFPP, 2007).

The prevalence of intimate partner violence toward women varies greatly across settings, according to a 15-site study conducted in 10 countries: Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Japan, Namibia, Peru, Samoa, Serbia and Montenegro, Thailand and Tanzania (Garcia-Moreno *et al*, 2006). The proportion of ever-partnered women who reported ever having experienced either sexual or physical violence, or both, ranged from 15% in a Japanese city to 71% in an Ethiopian

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province. Sexual violence tended to be less prevalent than physical violence, but in most sites, between 30% and 56% of ever-partnered women had experienced both kinds of partner violence. Similarly, the lowest prevalence of sexual violence in the past 12 months was reported in Japan, Serbia and Montenegro (1%), while the highest current prevalence (44%) was in rural Ethiopia (Garcia-Moreno *et al.*, 2006). Studies in Africa have reported that about half of all ever-married women in Zambia, 46% in Uganda, 60% in Tanzanian, 42% in Kenya, and a high of 81% in Nigeria have experienced some form of violence in their lives (Kishor and Johnson 2004).

The above few national level studies indicate that Ethiopia ranks as one of the topmost with regard to domestic violence. To the best of the author's knowledge, there are no population based attempts to estimate the prevalence of intimate violence on a cultural or ethnic group or small population level. Most of our knowledge of domestic violence is dependent on the national level reports by the Demographic and Health Surveys of 2000, 2005 and 2010, which normally do not present the statistics for each ethnic and cultural group. Also, most studies estimate or analyze the prevalence of violence and its risk factors solely based on the affirmative responses of the women respondents on lifetime occurrence or absence of an abusive event. This study has tried to overcome some of these weaknesses and aimed at estimating the magnitude of occurrence of intimate partner violence – violence perpetrated against a woman by her husband – in one of the most populous zones (one ethnic group) of Southern Ethiopia, the Sidama. The present study is limited to answer three important questions: *What is the magnitude of intimate partner violence in Sidama zone? What most common abusive acts occur at household level? What are the most important risk factors for the likelihood of violence to occur?*

Data source and methodology of the study

The study setting

The study is conducted in Sidama Zone, one of the most populous district of Southern Ethiopia (SNNPR). Sidama is located in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). The Sidama zone is bordered in the south by the Oromia Region except for a short stretch in the middle where it shares a border with Gedeo, on the west by the Bilate River which separates it from Wolayita, and on the north and east by the Oromia Region. The administrative center for Sidama is Hawassa town. According to the recent census (CSA, 2007), the total population of the zone was 2 954 136, of which 1 491 248 are men and 1 462 888 women; with an area of 6 538.17 square kilometers. Sidama has a population density of 451.83. While 162 632 or 5.51% are urban inhabitants, a further 5 438 or 0.18% are pastoralists. The total households enumerated in 2007 was 592 539, which resulted in an average household size of 4.99 persons. (CSA 2007). A substantial area of the Sidama land produces coffee, which is the major cash crop in the region, and the bulk of the population of the area are known to depend heavily on 'enset' (*enset ventricosum*) as a major source of survival. It is the single most important root crop grown in the study.

Sampling

The 1 094 households were selected from two agro-climatic zones; areas representing the high land and low land of Sidama zone of Southern Ethiopia using appropriate probability sampling. The sample size determination formula adopted for this study is given by Woodward, 1992,

$$n = \frac{\frac{Z^2 p(1-p)}{d^2}}{1 + \frac{1}{N} \left(\frac{Z^2 p(1-p)}{d^2} - 1 \right)}$$

where Z is the upper $\alpha/2$ points of standard normal distribution with $\alpha=0.05$ significance level, which is $Z=1.96$, d is the degree of precisions (0.04), p is the proportion of wives facing violence (which is taken as 0.5 or 50%). The estimated sample size, using the above formula yields 600, weighted by 1.5 to get a total size of 900, with a 20% contingency added.

Then, probability sampling in a form of simple random and two-stage sampling method was employed for selecting the required size from the study areas. Since the two sub-districts (the low and high land) were decided in advance, the first stage of the sampling started by selecting five kebeles (small villages) from the list of the two sub-districts using simple random sampling. At the second stage, a random sample of households was selected from the available list, giving a total of 1 094 households. The selection of two focus group discussion participants (one for male and one for female groups) followed purposive sampling techniques.

Data collection

The data for this study were generated through a well structured interview schedule. Prior to the data collection, the checklists/schedules underwent intensive review and pre-testing on 15 subjects from all categories of respondents, and the final instrument was duplicated once some adjustments were made following the pre-test. During the interview, the enumerators went through all the items with the wife and husband separately.

The most important data forming the main response variable, intimate partner violence, was cautiously framed using standard and universally accepted tools. An attempt was made to develop measurement of domestic violence consistent with WHO guidelines. The information on the dependent variable was collected using five sets of questions asked for both the husband and wife independently. The nature of the questions call for responses on the occurrence/absence of selected violence related events (such as beating, insulting, chasing, causing physical assault and slapping) during a reference period of twelve months prior to the survey date.

Based on the recommendation of WHO (2001), safety and ethical considerations in the collection of violence data were observed. For instance, an attempt was made to conduct the interviewing of the women in a private setting, administering the questionnaire on only one woman per household to keep the secrecy of the responses given by the women. In addition to the quantitative data, two focus group discussions (one for males and one for females) were held in both selected areas.

Data processing and analysis

The data processing and analysis started with computing the percentages agreed and disagreed by the couple on the violence indicators mentioned above. The dependent variable was framed by taking the proportion of couple who agreed on all the five violence indicators.

Both bivariate and multivariate analyses were employed to identify the risk factors for intimate partner violence. In the bivariate analysis, Pearson's chi-square test of independence was used to test the existence of significant association between categories of violence status and selected risk factors. The fact that the chi-square bivariate analysis indicated effects or associations of variables without controlling the confounding effects, the net effects of each independent variable was further examined using multivariate (logistic regression) analysis. The logistic regression model is given by the formula:

$$p/(1-p) = \exp(a + Bx + c)$$

Where: P is the probability that the event y occurs, at $p(y=1)$;

$p/(1-p)$ is the "odds ratio";

In this case, p would be the probability of facing violence by women, where as $1-p$ would be probability of not facing violence, a the constant term, and B the logistic coefficient and $\exp(B)$ the factor by which odds change when the independent variable is increased by one unit.

The analyses rest on two partner violence outcomes; whether a woman faced violence by her partner or not. Since the interest is in identifying women at risk of facing violence, the dependent variables are coded as 1 if the woman faced violence and 0 if not. A woman was counted as facing violence if she gave affirmative responses to all five violence indicators (beating, slapping, insulting, physical or sexual abuse, chasing by partner) and the husband agreed on their occurrence during the reference period.

The odds ratio, which is determined from the logistic regression coefficients, tells us the increased or decreased chance of violence occurrence given a set level of the independent variable while controlling for the effects of the other variables in the model. Estimates of odds greater than 1.0 indicate that the risk of violence is greater than that for the reference category. Estimates less than 1.0 indicate that the risk of violence is less than that for the reference category of each variable.

Results

Table 1 presents the background characteristics of respondents. The age distribution of the women showed that a large proportion of them (47.7%) were in early adulthood (age 25-34) followed by those in the age group 15-24 (39.4%). With regard to the number of children born by women, larger proportions of women gave birth to 1-3 (46.3%) and 4-7 children (35.5%). Protestant Christians accounted for the highest proportion in the religious distribution (73.5%) followed by Catholic and Muslim (10.8 and 9.4% respectively), while the remaining religious groups contributed a small proportion of the respondents. As expected, the large majority of the respondents (60.6%) came from households with

4-7 members and still 22.1 percent had more than 7 members. The average household size for the study population was 5.87. The analysis shows that 15.3 percent of the women were engaged in polygamous marriage arrangements (i.e. the husbands were reported to have two or more wives during the survey), which is slightly above the national average (i.e. the DHS 2005 reported 11 percent for the country).

The distribution of the respondents by educational status revealed that the majority of the women respondents were illiterate (56.3%) followed by elementary school level (27.9%), while the remaining respondents accounted for a smaller proportion of the respondents. The majority (47.1%) of the respondents were farmers, 39.9 percent were self-employed while the remaining employment categories contributed a smaller proportion of the respondents. Land ownership by households in the study area was quite small and fragmented. It is seen from Table I that about 95 percent of the households owned a land less than one hectare in size.

Table I Percentage distribution of respondents by selected background characteristics, Sidama Zone, 2011 (n= 1094)

Characteristics	Number (n= 1 094)	Percent
Age of women		
15-24	431	39.4
25-34	489	44.7
35-49	174	15.9
Number of children born		
None	50	4.6
1-3 children	506	46.3
4-6 children	388	35.5
7-10 children	150	13.7
Religion		
Orthodox Christian	118	10.8
Catholic	804	73.5
Protestant	103	9.4
Muslim	25	2.3
Traditional	16	1.5
Household size		
0-3 persons	189	17.3
4-7 persons	663	60.6
greater than 7 persons	242	22.1
Marital form		
Polygamous	166	15.2
Monogamous	928	84.8
Educational status		
Illiterate	616	56.3
Elementary (1-6)	305	27.9
Junior secondary (7-8)	69	6.3
Secondary (9-12)	44	4.0
College diploma	14	1.3
Others	46	4.2
Usual occupation		
Self employment	437	39.9
Civil servant	13	1.2
Farmer	515	47.1
Petty trader	60	5.5
Others	69	6.3

Land size owned by the household		
Landless	31	2.8
< 0.5 hectare	459	42.0
0.5-1 hectare	579	52.9
> 1 hectare	25	2.3

Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of respondents (both husband and wife) by reported violence acts during the past 12 months prior to the survey date. Husband insulting the wife is the highest rate reported and agreed by 61.2 percent of the couple, followed by beating (34 %); slapping (32.9%); chasing the wife out from home for short or longer period (25.4 %); and the least agreed act of violence is causing serious physical damage to the wife (14.7 %).

Table 2 Percentage distribution of husband and wife by reported agreement on each type of violence indicators, Sidama Zone, 2011 (n = 1094)

Type of abusive acts	% agreed by the partners	% not agreed by the partners
Beating of wife	34.0	66.0
Wife slapped by husband	32.9	67.1
Wife insulted by husband	61.2	38.8
Wife chased from home	25.4	74.6
Faces serious physical damage by the husband	14.7	85.3

Looking at the summary statistics done on Table 3, one finds couples significantly disagreeing on most of the violent acts i.e. either the husband or the wife denied the occurrence of the event during the reference period. The percentage of the respondents agreeing on none of the violence indicators accounts for 12.2 percent. In a more strict sense, there are still quite a large proportion of the respondents (32.7%) agreeing on the occurrence of all five abusive acts during the reference period. The 32.7 percent prevalence is taken to frame the dependent variable in the logistic regression analysis.

Table 3 Summary on the percentage distribution of partners' agreement by type of violence indicators, Sidama Zone, 2011. (n = 1094)

Violence indicators	Number	Percent
Not agreed by any of the indicators	134	12.2
Agree on one violence indicator	73	6.7
Agree on two of the violence indicators	129	11.8
Agree on three violence indicators	138	12.6
Agree on four violence indicators	262	23.9
Agree on all five violence indicators	358	32.7
Total	1094	100.0

Once the prevalence of intimate partner violence is estimated, the second objective of this small scale study is to examine the risk factors for violence to take place. Table 4 presents the association between categories of violence status and selected background variables using the Pearson's Chi-square test of independence. The result suggests that six of the ten variables have significant association with intimate partner violence at different p values.

Because the chi-square bivariate analysis indicates effects or associations of an independent variable and that of the outcome variable without controlling the confounding effects, the net effects of each independent variable were further examined using multivariate analysis. The logistic regression analysis results given in Table 5 included 10 independent variables to regress against the dependent variable of interest. Of the total variables entered into the model, five were significantly associated with the dependent variable, namely literacy status of the women, participation in income generating activities, household size, alcohol intake and food security status at different p value.

Table 4 Results of bivariate analysis for associations between intimate partners' violence and selected explanatory variables, Sidama Zone, 2011 (n = 1094).

Variable	Category	Violence status			Chi-square test χ^2
		Faced violence	Not faced violence	Total	
Age of the women	age 15-24	14.1	25.3	39.4	6.14*** (.046)
	age 25-34	14.6	30.1	44.7	
	age 35-49	4.0	11.9	15.9	
Household size	0-3 persons	32.7	67.3	100.0	8.463* (.015)
	4-7 persons	7.1	10.1	17.3	
	greater than 7 persons	19.3	41.3	60.6	
Participation in decision making	Yes	6.3	15.8	22.1	6.949*** (.008)
	No	25.9	48.2	74.0	
		6.9	19.1	26.0	
Age of household head	age 15-24	32.7	67.3	100.0	2.904 (.407)
	age 25-50	4.8	8.7	13.4	
	Above age 50	23.1	46.6	69.7	
	Not reported	.7	2.7	3.4	
Litracy status of the women	Literate	4.1	9.3	13.4	6.13* (.013)
	Illiterate	13.2	21.9	35.1	
		19.6	45.3	64.9	
Participation in income generation	Yes	32.7	67.3	100.0	2.179 (.140)
	No	7.4	18.0	25.4	
		25.3	49.3	74.6	
Religion	Orthodox Christian	32.7	67.3	100.0	14.668* (.012)
	Catholic	.6	1.9	2.6	
	Protestant	4.4	6.4	10.8	
	Muslim	23.2	50.3	73.5	
	Traditional	2.6	6.9	9.4	
	Others	1.4	.9	2.3	
Educational status of the husband	Others	.5	.9	1.5	1.045 (.959)
	Illiterate	9.4	19.9	29.3	
	Elementary (1-6)	12.7	26.3	39.0	
	Junior secondary (7-8)	5.5	12.0	17.5	
	secondary (9-12)	3.3	5.9	9.1	
Marital form	college diploma	.5	1.0	1.6	.356 (.551)
	Illiterate	1.3	2.2	3.5	
		32.7	67.3	100.0	
Age difference between husband and wife	Polygamous	4.7	10.5	15.2	1.193 (.275)
	Monogamous	28.1	56.8	84.8	
		32.7	67.3	100.0	
Alcohol taking	Less than five years	26.1	55.6	81.7	7.840* (.005)
	5-10 years	6.6	11.7	18.3	
		32.7	67.3	100.0	
Alcohol taking	Yes	3.0	10.3	13.3	7.840* (.005)
	No	29.7	56.9	86.7	
		32.7	67.3	100.0	

NB: *= $p < 0.05$, **= $p < 0.01$, ***= $p < 0.001$

Table 5 Results of logistic regression for associations between intimate partners' violence and selected explanatory variables, Sidama Zone, 2011 (n= 1094) .

Variables	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Age of women				
Age 15-24 (RC)	-	-	.-	-
Age 25-34	-.350	.224	.118	.705
Age 35-49	-.332	.211	.116	.718
Religion				
Orthodox Christian(RC)	-	-	-	-
Catholic	.461	.706	.514	1.586
Protestant	-.426	.578	.461	.653
Muslim	.215	.548	.695	1.240
Traditional	.247	.589	.674	1.281
Others	-1.278	.694	.066	.279
Marital form				
Polygamous (RC)	-	-	-	-
Monogamous	.150	.191	.434	1.162
Literacy status				
Literate (RC)	-	-	--	-
Illiterate	-.280	.144	.050	.756*
Participation in income generating activities				
Yes (RC)	-	-	-	-
No	.274	.152	.017	1.315*
Household Size				
0-3 persons (RC)	--	-	-	-
4-7 persons	-.577	.231	.012	.561*
greater than 7 persons	-.171	.178	.033	.843*
Educational status of the husband				
Illiterate (RC)	-	-	-	-
Elementary (1-6)	.154	.369	.676	1.167
Junior secondary (7-8)	.185	.366	.613	1.204
secondary (9-12)	.350	.388	.367	1.419
college diploma	.104	.414	.802	1.110
Others	.371	.633	.557	1.449
Alcohol intake by the partner				
Yes (RC)	--	-	-	-
No	-.585	.223	.009	.795*
Age difference between husband and wife				
No difference (RC)	-	-	-	-
Up to 10 years difference	.195	.175	.267	1.215
Food security status				
Insecure (RC)	-	-	-	-
Secured	-.590	.169	.000	.554***
Constant	.802	.680	.238	2.230

RC-Reference category, -2log likelihood = 1321.68; Number of cases = 1094 * Significant at .05; ** Significant at .01; *** Significant at .001

Source: Field survey, 2011

It is seen that illiterate women were 24.4 percent times less likely to face violence compared to the literate ones (OR=.756 and $p = 0.05$). Women who were not participating in gainful income generating activities were 1.32 times more likely to face violence compared to the reference category (OR=.1315 and $p = 0.017$). Households with size of 4-7 and 7+ were 43.9 and 15.7 percent less likely to be exposed to violence compared to the reference category. Women living with non-alcohol drinking husbands were 20.5 less likely to face violence compared to the reference category (OR=.795 and $p = 0.009$). Finally, food secured households (which is used as a proxy of economic status) were 44.6 percent less likely to face violence compared to the food insecure households (OR=0.554 and $p = 0.000$).

Discussion

The study examined the magnitude of IPV based on a representative sample of 1094 households taken from the Sidama Zone. It is understood from the analysis that quite a good proportion of women had faced the full scale of domestic violence by their partner during the past twelve months. Among the list of violence indicators used to collect the data, being insulted and beaten by the husband accounted for the highest rate, 61.2 and 34 percents respectively. Slapping was very commonly practiced in the study area accounting for about 32.9 percent. If one looks at the different rates given for beating (beating by stick, leg, stone, or any other material) slapping and physical damages reported and agreed by the couple (see table 2), this gives a clear understanding of how women in the study were living in abusive environments. It is also noteworthy that many of the physical abusive acts generally ranged from moderate to severe categories per the WHO's definition. According to WHO, the severity of a physically violent act is ranked according to its likelihood of causing physical injuries: Being slapped, pushed or shoved is defined as moderate physical violence: Being hit with a fist, kicked, dragged, threatened with a weapon, or having a weapon used against one is defined as severe physical violence (WHO, 2002).

There were various reasons/pretexts used by husbands for beating or physically abusing their wife in the study areas. The informal discussions held with some FGD participants suggested that most commonly cited reasons for husbands were issues related to child care and food while other reasons can also be used in other times such as, arguing back or responding back to the man, not obeying rules; nagging the man for money, visiting relatives or going somewhere without the husband knowledge and consent, infidelity and the like. But above all, there was a general understanding among the community members that "a husband should discipline his wife through any mechanisms he feels appropriate". This thinking seems to be imbedded in the social, cultural and religious practices in most localities in the study area.

The study found out that the factors associated with IPV were related to either the women's characteristics or household socio-economic status, or husband's characteristics. The two most women's characteristics predicting the likelihood of violence occurrence were literacy and participation in income generating activities. Contrary to the literature, education (measured in terms of literacy status) negatively affected the chance of facing intimate partner violence among the study population. Women who were illiterate were 24.4 percent less likely to experience intimate partner violence compared to their counterparts, literate women, suggesting that modest increase in educational status of women does not bring significant changes in the reduction of violence. From a feminist perspective, this finding could be valid. Women with more education tend to be more assertive, and thus will not settle for less in their gender relationships. Their male partners consequently feel that their power and control are being threatened, leading to violence. This has been corroborated by similar studies in Ghana by Ami (2008). Garcíá-Moreno (2002), in a cross-cultural study, also noted that women with very poor education were less likely to be abused, but those with higher and enough education to challenge the status quo are at the greatest risk of IPV. In contrast, other studies conducted in low-income countries by Morales and Reichenheim (2002) and Koenig *et al.* (2003) found that women who have low educational attainment were more likely to experience violence.

This study also documented that women who take active part in income generating activities outside their home are more susceptible to partners' violence compared to those not participating. It is understood that women whose income is a substantial contribution to their household behave more assertively and gain better bargaining power which threatens men's sense of control and superiority due to possible shift in the balance of power relationship. It can also be argued that income generating women are assumed to enjoy better freedom of movement, and hence, become far from the usual control of their husbands which again threatens the power relationship in the family. This result is consistent with the finding of Roger (2007) who found wives working outside the home are 1.04 times more likely to be abused by their husbands than wives not currently working. Similarly, a study in Bangladesh supported this hypothesis (Lisa *et al.*, 2004).

The study has also documented that food security status and IPV were strongly associated (p value of 0.000). This variable is used as a proxy to measure the household income or economic status. It is measured by using standard and universally accepted tools developed by the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project (FANTA). The project has developed a set of questions (Household Food Insecurity Access Scale Generic Questions) that have been used in several

countries and appear to distinguish the food secure from the insecure households across different cultural contexts. The set of questions are used to assign households along a continuum of severity, from secure to severely insecure (Coats et al., 2007). The logistic regression result revealed that women living in food secure households are by far less likely to be exposed to violence by partners compared to those living in food insecure households. Studies from a wide range of settings show that, while physical violence against partners cuts across all socioeconomic groups, women living in poverty are disproportionately affected (Hindin 2003; Jewkes 2002). The low income in itself may not directly breed violence. However, it may operate through different mechanisms such as instilling fear in men and promote hopelessness, stress, frustration and a sense of inadequacy among men for having failed to live up to their culturally expected role as providers. In situations, where men lack the resources associated with their assumed dominant role of a male breadwinner, they are more likely to express their frustration through violence. In a similar fashion, it has been observed that if women have little access to resources, or if they have greater access to resources than their partners, thereby eroding the traditional position of men, they are placed at a higher risk of victimization by their male partners (Hindin 2003; Jewkes 2002; Brinkerhoff et al. 1992).

In relation to the husbands' characteristics, alcohol has become an important risk marker for partner violence that appears especially consistent across different settings (Walton et al 2005; Sharps et al. 2003; Moreno, 1999; McCauley, 1995). Many of the studies that examined alcohol use or excessive drinking as a risk factor for partner violence found a significant association, with correlation coefficients ranging from $r = 0.21$ to $r = 0.57$. Population based surveys from Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, India, Indonesia, Nicaragua, South Africa, Spain and Venezuela also found a link between a woman's risk of suffering violence and her partner's drinking habits (Ellsberg, 2000). Many researchers believe that alcohol operates as a situational factor, increasing the likelihood of violence by reducing inhibitions, clouding judgment and impairing an individual's ability to interpret cues. Consistent with this finding, a national level analysis reported a positive correlation between men's problem drinking and domestic violence, a relationship that has been found in high-income countries and other social classes as well (Jewkes et al. 2002; Koenig et al, 2003).

The data collected for this study have overcome some of the inherent limitations of most national level surveys. Most previous studies (Abramsky et al. 2011; Michelle et al. 2011) for instance, did not collect the violence related information from the husband, and the analysis solely depend on women's responses; the instruments usually miss some important abusive acts; a woman is counted as experiencing violence if she gives affirmative responses to one or few of the violence indicators. This study on the contrary has tried to overcome many of these weaknesses during the course of data collection and analysis.

There are also some limitations worth mentioning. The study provides a single/snapshot look at the study population, hence it may not be a sound base for studying the underlying causes and mechanisms related to domestic violence. Thus, until longitudinal data collection is possible, this study can only be used to understand the risk factors (not causal relationship) of intimate partners' violence. In addition, the timing of episode of violence cannot be established through such cross-sectional study, i.e women were asked to report if they have ever experienced violence in a reference period prior to the survey date. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the current study did not compare violence by rural-urban residence since the data were collected from rural districts, and comparison in violence acts was not made between husband and wife as most of abusive acts occurs on women in the study areas. Despite these weaknesses, it is believed that this small piece of work contributes to our understanding of the depth and width of intimate partners violence in Sidama zone, Southern Ethiopia.

Conclusion and policy implications

The study has shown that IPV is very high in the study area, and that there are certain risk factors aggravating its occurrence. While the main determinants are generally embedded in the socio-cultural practices and attitudes of the community, there are certain individual and household level variables which significantly affect its likely occurrence. The first and foremost call of this study is the prevention of the occurrence of domestic violence by all machineries at both national and local levels. At the national level, priorities include improving the status of women, establishing appropriate norms, policies and laws on abuse, and creating a social environment that is conducive to non-violent relationships. The most common reforms involve criminalizing physical, sexual and psychological abuse by intimate partners. There is a need for public education on IPV and its criminality using intensive behavioral change strategies.

At local level, in addition to strictly implementing laws at grassroots levels where abusive acts are presumed to be higher, efforts should be made to customize the experiences of more developed countries on human right (more specifically women's right and protection) such as by introducing special domestic violence courts or sessions in the court system, training police and court officials and prosecution lawyers, and setting in special and free of cost consultation/

advises to victim women at local areas. Equally important is provision of peer education at household and community level, use of communication campaigns, integrating the issue of violence into other events and other community friendly strategies can be used. Such attempts to raise awareness and behavioral change endeavor, however, should also take into account men, informal community leaders and young community members.

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Risk-bearing sexuality within the context of internet use among young people in Lagos metropolis

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As internet penetration surges in different parts of the world, access to a wide range of subjects rises also. Matters of sexuality are no exceptions. While there is ample empirical evidence that youths seek knowledge about sexuality, and get involved in sexually stimulating and/or gratifying activities on the internet, the relationship between involvement in these online sexual activities (OSAs) and real life sexual behaviour remains a matter of polemic. Modelling theorists contend that exposure to sexuality related information propels acting out such information. Catharsis on the other hand holds the view that exposure to such information serves as safety valves for the peaceful release of imperfectly sublimated antisocial sexual drives. Using data gathered from young internet users involved in OSAs as well as those not involved within the city of Lagos, this study concludes that OSA is associated with involvement in risk-bearing sexual behaviours.

Keywords: Adolescence, sexuality, cybersex, modelling, catharsis, University of Lagos, Nigeria

Background of the study

The internet has featured frequently in the literature on adolescent sexuality in the recent past. Several studies have shown that adolescents use the internet for activities relating to gaining sexual knowledge and seeking and obtaining sexual satisfaction (Finkelhor, Mitchell and Wolak 2000; Longo, Brown, and Orcut, 2002; Wolak, Mitchell and Finkelhor, 2007). A particular study shows that 25 percent of adolescent internet users had been exposed to web-based pornography, even when they were not planning to do so and 20 percent had received sexual solicitation online (Finkelhor *et al.*, 2000). This suggests, in very clear terms, that internet sexuality does not depend solely on proficiency in the use of the internet or intent to access sexuality related information. In addition, an adolescent's interest in Online Sexual Activities (OSAs) may be kindled by mails from peers or adults who perceive them as easy preys since their parents hardly ever explore the internet with them (Wolak *et al.*, 2008). Some researchers have argued that prolongation of adolescence (as a result of longer years of formal education and prolonged economic dependence on parents and early physiological maturity) is one reason for involvement in OSAs (Arnett, 2000; Hedgepeth and Helmich, 1996; Denman, 2004). Other studies reveal that adolescents' preoccupation with self definition and management of negative feelings predispose them to OSAs (Freeman-Long, 2000; Longo *et al.*, 2002).

Beyond these factors that may predispose adolescents and young people generally to OSAs, studies have sought to identify specific factors that are associated with the behaviour. An exploration of exposure to internet pornography among young people in the United States reveals that males are more likely to seek sexually explicit materials online (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2005) and older adolescents are more likely to seek same than those in early adolescence (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2005; Wolak, Mitchell and Finkelhor, 2007). The study further shows that young people who report poor emotional bond with their caregivers are more likely to report online-seeking of pornography. Wolak *et al.* (2008) show through a study of young persons within the age bracket of 10 to 17 years that youth involvement in online sexual activities often leads to real life sex crimes in which the young people are abused. According to the findings of the research, most internet-initiated sex crimes involve adult men who meet adolescents online and seduce them into sexual encounters. The researchers argue further that although a new medium (the internet) is involved, this manner of non-forcible sex crime that predominates as a type of offense against young people is not particularly new (See Boyd and Alice, 2009 also). The researchers also hold the view that while adolescent immaturity may play a role in internet-initiated sex crimes, the victims cannot be considered unaware of the social complexities and the risks of internet use. Rather, as adolescents develop, they willingly opt for more complex and interactive internet use, the result being greater vulnerability to internet-initiated sex crime. A study by Barbovski (2009) documents the transfer of online initiated romantic encounters to real life instances, identifying the use of instant messaging, time spent online and positive social self concept as predictors.

In Nigeria, researchers have shown that adult care givers either fail to discuss matters sexuality with wards, or young people prefer not to discuss such issues with adult caregivers. Cultural norms prevent sex from being discussed publicly and the discussion of sexuality matters with children is often characterised by feelings of embarrassment and timidity

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(Ladipo, Ankomah, Anyanti and Omoregie, 2003; Bankole *et al*, 2007). It can be inferred that the restrictions faced by young persons in terms of access to information about sexuality related matters may make them seek such information on the internet. A study by Nwagwu (2007) explores the role played by the internet as a source of information on sexuality related issues among female adolescents. The study shows that there is preference for the internet as a source of information on reproductive health matters because of the privacy it offers, the relevance of the information, freedom of access, lack of alternatives, the variety of information and the ease of use. Another study shows that the majority of internet users in Nigeria access the internet from cafés, away from the prying eyes of adults (Kunnuji, 2010). Researchers have also argued that the general social context of internet use and the place of access in particular, have implications for how the internet is used (Slevin, 2000; Murdock and Golding, 2005).

On the real life sexual activities of adolescents, a national survey in Nigeria shows that about 41 percent and 84 percent of young females within the age brackets of 15 – 19 years and 20 – 24 years had had sex. Among boys within the 15 – 19 and 20 – 24 year age brackets, 20 percent and 63 had had sex, while among sexually experienced girls within the 15 – 19 and 20 – 24 age groups, 35 percent and 73 percent had had premarital sex in the last 12 months preceding the study. Furthermore, 15 percent of boys within the 15 – 19 age group had had sex in the last 12 months and 53 percent of young men within the age bracket of 20 – 24 years had had sex in the last 12 months. The study shows further that among sexually experienced youths (15 – 19 years, eight percent had contracted STIs in the last 12 months preceding the survey. For the 20 – 24 age group, one in ten had contracted an STI (Federal Ministry of Health [Nigeria], 2006). Studies have also shown that risky sexual activities such as multiple sexual partnerships and unprotected sex are not uncommon within this population (WHO, 2001; Sunmola, 2002). The puzzle this study seeks to unravel is to establish whether there is a relationship between involvement in OSAs and real life risky sexual behaviour among adolescents and young adults in Lagos metropolis. Put differently, the question may be asked whether young people involved in OSAs differ significantly from those not involved in OSAs in real life sexual practices with emphasis on risk-bearing sexual practices.

Theoretical underpinnings: Modelling versus Catharsis

We may want to ask: Are exposure to sexuality related information and involvement in OSA on one hand, and the real life sexual behaviour associated in any way? If they are, in what way are they related? Addressing these questions are two polemic explanations – the catharsis and modelling theories. It should be pointed out that these theories often treat pornography along side violence. This is justifiable against the premise that libidinal energy and aggression (or *eros* and *thanatos*) have a common origin (Marcuse, 1966) and are often found being manifested in similar ways. Secondly, in the media, pornography and violence/aggression are often presented together. It is important to present this as a caveat since many theorists have adopted this methodology which does not adequately distinguish between violence and pornography. The catharsis theory has its roots in the works of Freud, even though Freud never used the term catharsis (McCormack, 1978). The explanation: “temptations are merely increased by constant frustration, whereas an occasional satisfaction of them causes them to diminish, at least for the time being” (Freud, 1961 p.73) appears to be the basis for the catharsis perspective. According to the theory, “fantasy, dreams and jokes reveal our tabooed wishes which are, in turn, based on instincts sublimated for the sake of peace and social order” (McCormack, 1978 p. 545). Thus, pornography, like art, literature, religion and ideologies constitute a safety valve, an outlet which reduces the tension created by the imperfectly sublimated anti-social forces in the psyche (McCormack, 1978; Kelly, 2004). Put differently, exposure to sexually explicit materials (off- or online) prevents unconventional/socially inappropriate sexual behaviour by releasing sexual tension in the viewer. In explaining further the logic of the catharsis theory, it is argued that by defusing the volatile libidinal forces, pornography averts the possible destructive outcomes, and through the viewer’s projected fantasies or those presented him/her through the media, the delicate balance of his/her “inner psychic economy” is maintained and at the level of the society, social order is maintained as the sources of subversion are dissipated or displaced (McCormack, 1978). In summary, the catharsis theory posits that exposure to sexuality related information and involvement in OSA act as a means of releasing sexual urge rather than an impetus for acting out viewed sexual practices. A careful study of the catharsis theory reveals certain underpinning assumptions such as: (i) anti-social behaviour has its origin in human nature; (ii) the reduction of one’s drives is socially desirable; (iii) and men have a different sexual nature from women and that in men, sex and aggression are linked, and men have more difficulty than women in controlling their sexual and aggressive drives. Thus, nature, which makes women both powerless and sexually passive, spares them the need to cope with hostile impulses or erotic energies too great to be satisfied. Thus, there is emphasis on the sexuality of men by the theory of catharsis (McCormack, 1978).

Other scholars have maintained a mid-point by arguing that although exposure to sexually explicit materials may not have positive effects on the sexuality of viewers, they do not have negative effects. Exposure to pornography, the theorists argue, creates a mild, short lived erotic response (Byrne and Lamberth, 1970; Kelly, 2004). Further, it is argued

that the sexual acts portrayed in pornography are seldom imitated, and repeated exposure to erotic stimuli results in satiation rather than increased demand for sexual activity (Mann, Berkowitz, Sidman, Starr, and West, 1974). Giving credence to this position are reports showing that an antisocial sexual behaviour like rape is not higher in countries where pornographic materials are widely available. It may therefore, be argued from this point of view, that pornography merely reinforces already existing sexual beliefs and values (Kelly, 2004).

A sharply different theoretical position on the effect of exposure to sexually explicit materials is the modelling theory which asserts that when people are exposed to pornography, there is a great likelihood that they will imitate what they see (Kelly, 2004). In some of the works of Bandura and his associates, it has been shown that children learn through imitation (Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1961; 1963). Using an experimental design, Bandura *et al.* (1961) argue that children imitate aggressive behaviour of models, particularly models with which they can identify. This goes to show that the use of movie stars, musicians and sportsmen in sexually explicit materials online can be too compelling for adolescents to contain, the result being the imitation of these “celebrities”. Bandura *et al.* (1963) argue that human beings learn antisocial behaviours in the media just the way they learn social behaviours. These behaviours/acts are absorbed into their permanent repertoire of responses and they can be activated without apparent cause or obvious provocation, just by the presence of subtle cues in a situation (McCormack, 1978). This negates the assumption by catharsis theory, that there are innate antisocial urges in man looking for outlet.

In modern society, acts of younger members of society are modelled after family members, members of the larger society and characters seen in the media. It is particularly worthy to note that deviant sexual acts are presented as rewarding in the media in general and online in particular (Siegel, 1995). When “celebrities” (many of whom are perceived as models by adolescent internet users) are featured in sexually explicit materials, adolescents tend to act out what they see the models do since some rewards (pleasure) are shown to be attached to the acts depicted online. In this vein, Pardun, L’Engle and Brown (2005), and Brown and L’Engle (2009) concluded based on the findings of different studies that adolescents exposed to pornography on the internet are more likely to be sexually active, report intentions to be sexually active and report permissive sexual attitudes than those with little or no exposure to pornography. A careful consideration of the studies will reveal that very little has been done in Africa and Nigeria in particular in terms of documenting adolescent online sexual behaviour. In addition, it is desirable to establish the extent to which online sexual activities associate with involvement in real life sexual practices in the study population.

Methods

Sample

Data for this study come from a larger survey of 648 adolescent users and 472 non-users of the internet within the city of Lagos, Nigeria. For the purpose of this analysis, only users of the internet are included. The respondents were selected through a multi-stage sampling exercise in which five Local Government Areas (LGAs) were randomly selected out of 16 LGAs. From each selected LGA, streets were listed and sampled randomly while households were systematically selected before eligible respondents were randomly drawn. Informed consent was sought and obtained from adolescents 18 years and above while parental consent was obtained for adolescents below the age of 18 years before interviews were conducted. All interviews were conducted outside hearing distance of third parties and only successful interviews (i.e interviews in which reliable information were obtained on the core concerns of the study) were processed for analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences, Version 10. For ethical reasons, the study design and research instruments were subjected to institutional review at two levels. The first is a departmental postgraduate board of studies comprising sociologists, demographers and social research methodologists, while the second is a university postgraduate board of studies comprising 25 researchers/faculty members from the faculties of social sciences, law and education.

In addition to the data obtained from the survey, two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted, one with six purposively selected female adolescent internet users and the other with six purposively selected male adolescent internet users. Facilitators and note-takers were adolescents of the same sex as the participants with which they interacted. Excerpts from the discussions are employed in the discussion of the survey findings.

Procedure

A standardized interview schedule containing questions on respondents’ background information, access to and use of the internet, recent exposure to sexuality related information, recent involvement in online sexual activities and real life sexual activities was administered to all the respondents in face to face interviews. Only respondents who supplied usable answers to key questions were processed for analysis.

Measures

Two binary measures of real life sexual behaviour were used. The first is early initiation of sexual intercourse. Initiation of sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years is early onset of sexual activity in this study. Initiation of sexual intercourse after the age of 16 years was coded 0, while early onset of sex was coded 1 to make the measure suitable for logistic regression analysis. Another indicator of sexual behaviour used is multiple sexual partnerships in the last 12 months preceding the study. This measure is also in binary form, having persons with single sexual partners in one category coded "0" and those with multiple sexual partners in the other category coded "1". The analysis employs these two indicators of the dependent variable. The primary independent variable of interest – involvement in OSA – is measured in a binary categorical form. This creates two groups of adolescents who had used the internet for sexual gratification/stimulation or sexual knowledge. This was computed from several questions and persons categorised as those involved in OSA are those who had taken part in any of the activities. Exposure to sexually related was also measured. This is a more universal set involving adolescents who had been involved in OSAs and those who had been exposed to sexuality related information online without seeking such information.

Analysis

The simple frequency and percentage analysis is used in the description of the respondents, their exposure and involvement to sexuality related information online while the logistic regression is used in explaining the likelihood of real life risk bearing sexual behaviour of adolescents. This makes room for a multivariate analysis. The "B" represents the coefficient of the independent variable in the model and shows whether the likelihood of the occurrence of the dependent variable increases or decreases as the independent variable changes from the first category to higher categories (Agresti and Franklin, 2009). "SE", the standard error gives the margin of error while the odds ratio tells how many times more or less a typical subject within a category of the independent variable is likely to report a given occurrence on the dependent variable in relation to a subject that falls within the reference category.

Results

The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 1. The study included adolescents within the age bracket of 10 to 24 years, many (68 percent) of whom were holders of Senior Secondary Certificate. The study population cuts across adolescents within the age bracket of 10 to 19 years and young adults within the age bracket of 20 to 24 years. The sample represents a cross-section of adolescents resident in Lagos metropolis which include those from low and high income families, in-school and out-of-school adolescents, from different ethnic backgrounds including Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and other minority ethnic groups in Nigeria.

The study shows the degrees of exposure to sexuality related information in Table 2. In addition, the table documents wilful participation in OSA such as discussion of sexuality related matters online, visiting sites with sexual contents, involvement in sexually stimulating and gratifying acts online (i.e cybering). A little above 46 percent of the respondents had been involved in one or more of such activities with males recording a significantly higher rate of involvement than female adolescent/young adult internet users. The study further shows greater sexual activity/penetrative sexual experience among persons involved in OSA than among those not involved in OSA (See Table 3). While 80.3 percent of those involved in at least one OSA were sexually active at the time of the survey, just 52.6 percent of adolescent/young adults not involved in OSA were sexually active. For all internet users, 65.4 percent were sexually active at the time of the survey. It can be argued that involvement in online sexual activities is associated with real life sexual activity.

Furthermore, a typical adolescent/young adult in the study population is torn between compliance with the sexual norm of premarital chastity and contradictory information from diverse sources as shown in the remarks of a male adolescent/young adult internet user during the FGD. He argues that:

The society says don't practice premarital sex...If it is against the norms and values of our society, why are they selling condoms... Why are they bringing in pornographic mags [magazines]? Why are we having pornographic materials on the internet and electronic media systems? (Male adolescent internet user).

While it may be difficult to ascertain causality, the study has shown an association between online and real life sexual activities. The study also shows that in addition to its association with sexual activity, OSA is also associated with multiple sexual partnerships among sexually active adolescent/young adult internet users (See Table 4). To avoid a spurious confirmation of a relationship, the test suppresses nonusers of the internet and persons not sexually active. Of the 241 sexually active adolescent/young adults who were involved in OSAs, 83 percent had histories of multiple sexual partnership while of the 183 sexually active adolescents/young adults not involved in OSAs, 61.2 percent had histories of multiple sexual partnerships. For the entire sample of sexually active internet users, 73.6 percent had histories of multiple sexual partnerships. This goes to show that beyond the fact that adolescents/young adults involved in OSAs are more likely to be sexually active than those not involved, among the sexually active, there is greater sexual permissiveness in the

group of online sexually active adolescent/young adult internet users than there is among those not involved in online sexual activities. Persons involved in multiple sexual partnerships run greater risks of contracting STIs, it should be noted.

Table 1 Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Socio-demographic variables		Frequency (%)
Sex distribution	Male	368 (56.8)
	Female	280 (43.2)
	Total	648 (100.0)
Age distribution (in years)	10 – 14	18 (2.8)
	15 – 19	226 (34.9)
	20 – 24	404 (62.3)
	Total	648 (100.0)
Religion	Christianity	488 (75.3)
	Islam	154 (23.8)
	Afr. Trad. Rel.	4 (0.6)
	Others	2 (0.3)
	Total	648 (100.0)
Ethnic origin	Hausa	11 (1.7)
	Ibo	161 (24.8)
	Yoruba	384 (59.3)
	Southern minority groups	62 (9.6)
	Northern minority groups	20 (3.1)
	No response	10 (1.5)
	Total	648 (100)
Educational qual.	None	1 (0.2)
	Primary	11 (1.7)
	Junior Secondary	79 (12.2)
	Senior Secondary	441 (68.1)
	OND/NCE	87 (13.4)
	BSc/HND	27 (4.2)
	Postgraduate	1 (0.2)
	Others	1 (0.2)
	Total	648 (100)
Occupational status	Student	373 (57.6)
	Apprentice	22 (3.4)
	Employed	95 (14.7)
	Not employed	158 (24.4)
	Total	648 (100)
Marital status	Single	631 (97.4)
	Married	17 (2.6)
	Total	648 (100)

Table 2 Online exposure to sexuality related information and involvement in OSA

% saying yes	Female	Male	All users
	n = 280	n = 368	n = 648
Ever received e-mail in which sexual activities were discussed?	38.9	46.7	43.4
Ever received e-mail with pictures suggestive of sexual activity?	38.9	48.9	44.6
Ever received e-mail linking to website with sexual content?	34.6	50.3	43.5
Ever been asked for sexual intimacy through e-mail?	38.6	33.2	35.5
Ever sent an e-mail with sexual content to anyone?	17.1	18.8	18.1
Ever come across icons suggestive of sexual activity?	41.8	51.9	47.5
Ever got to a site with sexual contents without intending to do so?	39.6	46.7	43.7
Ever visited sites with sexual contents?	21.4	38.9	31.3
Do you discuss matters relating to sexual activity online?	20.7	25.8	23.6
Ever been involved in any sexually stimulating act online?	8.6	17.1	13.4
Ever satisfied sexual urge online?	3.9	4.6	4.3
Ever involved in at least one Online Sexual Activity	39.3	51.6	46.3

Table 3 Frequency and percentage distribution of sexual activity by involvement in OSA

Real life sexual activity?	Sexually active online (%)	Not sexually active online (%)	Total (%)
Sexually active	241 (80.3)	183 (52.6)	424 (65.4)
Not sexually active	59 (19.7)	165 (47.4)	224 (34.6)
Total	300 (100)	348 (100)	648 (100)

Table 4 Frequency and percentage distribution of sexual partnership by involvement in OSA

Sexual partnership?	Sexually active online (%)	Not sexually active online (%)	Total (%)
Single	41 (17.0)	71 (38.8)	112 (26.4)
Multiple	200 (83.0)	112 (61.2)	312 (73.6)
Total	241 (100)	183 (100)	424 (100)

Table 5 Frequency and percentage distribution of involvement in group sex by OSA

Group sex?	Sexually active online (%)	Not sexually active online (%)	Total (%)
Ever involved	39 (16.2)	7 (3.8)	46 (10.9)
Never involved	202 (83.8)	175 (96.2)	377 (89.1)
Total	241 (100)	182 (100)	423 (100)

Table 6 Propriety of pre-marital heterosexual intercourse by involvement in OSA

	Sexually active online (%)	Not sexually active online (%)	Total (%)
Never proper	109 (36.3)	208 (59.8)	317 (48.9)
Sometimes proper	104 (34.7)	95 (27.3)	199 (30.7)
Always proper	63 (21.0)	22 (6.3)	85 (13.1)
Don't know	24 (8.0)	23 (6.6)	47 (7.3)
Total	300 (100)	348 (100)	648 (100)

Table 7 Logistic regression predicting the likelihood of initiating sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years among adolescent internet users

Variables	B	S.E	Odds ratio
Sex			
Male (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Female	-0.306	0.163	0.737
Age			
10 – 14 years (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
15 – 19 years	-1.199	5.090	0.302
20 – 24 years	-2.899	5.903	0.055
Access to wealth (Monthly income)			
None (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Less than 10,000.00	-0.006	0.238	0.994
N 10,000.00 and above	-0.300	0.238	0.741
Highest educational qualification			
Prv/Junior secondary education (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Senior secondary education	-0.691	0.227	0.501**
Tertiary education	-0.352	0.282	0.703
Main source of information on sexuality			
Parents (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Peers	-0.097	0.253	0.908
School	0.246	0.368	1.279
The internet and other media	0.715	0.318	2.044*
Religious and other institutions	-0.449	0.484	0.638
Parent-child communication			
Parents discuss sexuality (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Parents do not discuss sexuality	0.163	0.164	1.177
Intensity of internet use			
Frequent users (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Occasional/Light users	0.499	0.162	1.646**
Involvement in OSA			
Involved in OSA	-	-	1.0
Not involved in OSA	-0.488	0.166	0.614**

Furthermore, there is a very sharp disparity between the level of involvement in group sex by those involved in OSA and those not involved. This is highly instructive on the role of OSA in the shaping of adolescent/young adult sexuality. It suggests that adolescents/young adults are very likely to experiment with what they see online. The argument could also be that adolescents who are sexually active and participate in risk-bearing sexual activities are more likely to be involved in online sexual activities. The former argument appears more plausible, however. Quite a high proportion (16.2 percent) of adolescent/young adults involved in OSA had taken part in group sex (See Table 5). For Adolescent/young adult internet users not involved in OSA, just 3.8 percent had ever taken part in group sex.

The study also considers the relationship between involvement in OSA and opinion on the propriety of premarital heterosexual intercourse as shown in Table 6. Forty nine percent of internet users perceived premarital heterosexual intercourse as never appropriate, 30.7 percent perceived it as sometimes proper, 13.1 percent said it is always proper while 7.3 percent gave non decisive responses to the question. For those involved in OSA, just 36.3 percent saw premarital heterosexual intercourse as never proper while 59.8 percent of those not involved in OSA saw it as never proper. Among internet users involved in OSA, 34.7 percent perceived premarital heterosexual intercourse as sometimes proper while 27.3 percent of those not involved in OSA saw it as sometimes proper. Furthermore, 21 percent of internet users involved in OSA saw premarital heterosexual intercourse as always proper while 6.3 percent of those never

involved saw it as always proper. A larger proportion of those involved in OSA (8 percent) were undecided and could not respond to the question on the propriety of premarital heterosexual intercourse, compared with 6.6 percent of internet users not involved in OSA who could not respond to the question on the propriety of premarital heterosexual intercourse.

From the discussion, it is shown that the sexual mores of young internet users involved in OSA are different from those not involved in OSA. An explanation that can be given to this is that those involved in OSA have had their values shaped by the information to which they are exposed. The multivariate test also shows that involvement in OSA is a predictor of early onset of sexual intercourse and a history of multiple sexual partnerships (See Tables 7 & 8).

Gender, age, access to wealth and parent-child communication are not significant predictors of the initiation of sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years. Adolescent/young adults with secondary education were found, to be less likely to commence sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years than those with primary or junior secondary education. This was found to be significant at a significance level of 0.01. Adolescent/young adults with tertiary education were also found to be less likely to experience the onset of sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years than those with primary or junior secondary education, although this was not found to be significant at 0.05 level of significance. Similar to what was observed for the entire sample, adolescent/young adult internet users who mentioned the internet and other media as their main source of information on sexuality related issues were two times more likely to have initiated sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years than those who mentioned parents as their main source of information on matters of sexuality. Those who mentioned other sources such as peers, schools and religious institutions were not significantly more or less likely to have had their first sexual experience before the age of 16 years than those who mentioned parents.

Quite revealing is the part of the multivariate test that shows that occasional users of the internet were found to be more likely to have had their first sexual intercourse before the age of 16 years than frequent users. This relationship was found to be significant at 0.01 level of significance. This suggests that intensity of use may not necessarily be a factor in predicting early commencement of sexual intercourse. Rather, the nature of internet use is of greater importance as shown in Table 7. Those not involved in any OSA were found to be less likely to have had their sexual debut before the age of 16 years than those involved in OSAs. This was found to be significant at 0.01 level of significance.

Table 8 Logistic regression predicting likelihood of multiple sexual partnerships (in the last 12 months) among sexually active adolescent internet users

Variables	B	S.E	Odds ratio
Sex			
Male (ref. cat.)	-		1.0
Female	-0.558	0.115	0.572***
Age			
10 – 14 years (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
15 – 19 years	1.068	3.106	2.909
20 – 24 years	1.522	3.104	4.583
Level of autonomy			
Living alone (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Not living alone	-0.057	0.156	0.945
Parent-child communication			
Parents discuss sexuality (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Parents do not discuss sexuality	0.060	0.122	1.062
Intensity of internet use			
Heavy users (ref. cat.)	-	-	1.0
Light users	-2.068	3.105	0.895
Involvement in OSA			
Involved in OSA	-	-	1.0
Not involved in OSA	-0.358	0.110	0.669**

➔ - $P < 0.05$; ** - $P < 0.01$; *** - $P < 0.001$; ref. cat. – Reference category.

In addition to this observation, female internet users were found to be less likely to have multiple sexual partners than their male counterparts (Table 8). Adolescents'/young adults' level of autonomy (whether they stay alone or with parents and/or other adult care givers) has no significant effect on multiple sexual partnerships. Similarly, parent-child communication, age and intensity of internet use were found to have no significant effect on having multiple sexual partners. The study shows, however, that adolescent/young adult internet users who took part in at least one OSA were more likely to have multiple sexual partners than those not involved in OSAs. This was found to be significant at 0.01 level of significance. This finding goes to show that in addition to being associated with early sexual debut, OSAs also correlate with having multiple sexual partners, and on these two grounds adolescents/young adults involved in OSAs become more involved in risky sexual practices than those not involved in OSAs.

Discussion

This research exercise set out primarily to explore the relationship between involvement in OSAs and the real life sexual behaviour of adolescent/young adults in Lagos metropolis with emphasis on involvement in risky sexual activities. Based on findings from tests both at the bivariate and multivariate levels, the study concludes that involvement in OSAs in the study population is associated with involvement in risky sexual activities. This can be interpreted to mean that young people's sexual risk taking propels them to be involved in online sexual activities. It is also possible to interpret this to mean that young people's sexual mores are shaped by the information to which they are exposed when they get involved in online sexual activities. Finally, there could be a third variable, not considered by this study, that affects online sexual activities and sexual risk taking, the implication being that when the third variable is controlled for, the relationship between online sexual activities and sexual risk taking in real life will cease to exist. To follow the first probable argument requires demonstrating that as young people become more sexually active and more involved in sexual risk taking, they seek, naturally, to explore sexuality related information on the internet. Their search for sexuality related information and involvement in online sexual activities may arise out of the desire to learn new ways of doing what they do in real life. It may also arise from the failure of real life sexual experiences to meet their urges which may increase as they become more sexually active.

On the other hand, it could be argued that when young persons are exposed to sexuality related information on the internet and/or involved in online sexual activities, their sexual mores are shaped by the information to which they have been exposed. The third hypothetical interpretation that can be conjectured from the observed association is that a completely different variable (religious inclinations for instance) may be responsible for adolescents' and young adult's online sexual activities and real life risk taking sexual behaviour simultaneously. The religious inclinations of an individual may be responsible for the nature of online activities involved in. On the other hand, this variable may influence the degree of sexual experimentation among young people in real life situations. It might be possible, for instance, that adolescents who are very religious are less likely to be involved in OSAs. Their adherence to/conformity with religious teachings may also reduce the likelihood that they will take part in online sexual activities. Under this kind of hypothetical situation, controlling for adherence to religious teachings may reveal that there is no relationship between online and real life sexual activities.

There is insufficient evidence to conclude either way from the findings of this study. The study has shown, however, that the two variables are associated and reproductive health care givers and clinicians may benefit from having this knowledge about the relationship between online and real life sexual behaviour of adolescents and young persons in metropolitan Lagos. It further reveals that there is an association between OSAs and the sexual mores of adolescents. As shown in Table 6, adolescents and young adults involved in OSAs are more likely to consider pre-marital heterosexual intercourse as sometimes or always proper than those not involved in OSAs. This will help care-givers better understand the nature of the reproductive health needs of this population. The study also shows an emerging dimension of adolescent sexual behaviour in urban parts of Nigeria with the rise of internet penetration in many cities in the country. This contribution to knowledge also underscores the need for further studies on the nature of the relationship between online and real life sexual activities. It shows the need for studies designed to examine whether there is a causal relationship between online and real life sexual activities or not.

Limitations

A major limitation of this study is its reliance on self reports. Although the participants were persuaded to give only honest responses, the possibility that some of them were not honest cannot be ruled out particularly because of the nature of the subject matter. It is perceived that adolescents may respond to questions to create the impression that they are not deviants. In addition, male adolescents may have over-reported their involvement in sexual activity since some perceive this as an indicator of masculinity while female adolescents may have underreported it. Using other means of

validating the sexual activities of adolescents may, however, raise other ethical questions and it is for this reason that the study limited itself to self reports. Also, the study focused on metropolitan Lagos and it may not be appropriate to generalize the findings to non-metropolitan parts of Nigeria. Finally, the study design lacks the capacity to establish a causal relationship between the variables of interest, leaving the researcher with the option of merely showing the plausible implication of the association established between the variables.

Conclusion

There is an empirically established association between involvement in OSA and real life sexual behaviour of adolescents in Lagos metropolis. Adolescents involved in OSAs are more likely to report that they are involved in early onset of sexual intercourse and multiple sexual partnerships. While this does not translate into causation, it provides a guide to clinicians, reproductive health care personnel and adult care givers who seek to help young people with their sexuality on a major predictor of risky sexual behaviour. The study suggests that adolescents who are involved in OSAs have greater involvement in risk bearing sexual activities in real life, when early onset of sexual activities and multiple sexual partnerships are considered as indicators of sexual risk taking.

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The 'we versus them' divide in Nigeria: rethinking traditional epistemologies

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Ethnicity, religion and politics are undisputedly the root of major problems in many African states. Clear examples of this can be found in Nigeria. Some scholars have argued that politicians use ethnicity and religious differences in order to create unnecessary rivalries and to settle political scores and fuel ethnic and religious violence in Nigeria. Others are of the view that religious and ethnic differences are responsible for political instability in the country. While some scholars suggest that the country should be divided along ethnic or religious lines, others argue that the size and diversity of Nigeria would guarantee enhanced competitiveness for the nation. Without necessarily taking sides in any of these arguments, the author examines the epistemological foundations of sustained 'schism' in Nigeria.

Keywords: Nigeria, we versus them divide, conflicts, traditional epistemology.

Introduction

Ethnicity, religion and politics are undisputedly the root of major problems in many African states (Megalommatis, 2010; Dada, 2010:1-19). Clear examples of this can be found in Nigeria (Salawu, 2010:345-52; Degne, 2006:1-14). Perhaps more than most other African states, the Nigerian case is further complicated by other social class differentiations such as rich/poor, male/female, employed/unemployed, rulers/common people, young/old and numerous other indices. Scholars and practitioners in various fields who themselves are Nigerians, and even non-Nigerian sympathisers, have spoken and written about this problem, describing it as the problem of social schism and blatant lack of cooperation (Joseph, 1995:115-154).

The problem manifests itself in war, bloody violence, apathy, social schism, mutual distrust, and lack of social cooperation as identified by Diamond (1998:2-7). This paper is a reaction to some of the previous explanations of the problem as well as a personal reflection on it. I react in what follows to explanations given by scholars who have debated the reasons as to why Nigeria is in its present state of social and political crisis. Some scholars (e.g. Agunlana, 2006:255-63) are of the view that the problems are caused by politicians who employ schism as a scheme for 'divide and rule' in order to perpetuate their hold on political power, or by leadership failure (Achebe and Mekusi). Others like Diallo (2006:12-22) believe that they result from some external intrusions into the politics of Nigeria. What comes across in these two schools of thought is that none of them has identified any fault with Nigerian civil society (the ordinary Nigerian). Furthermore, the two groups of scholars see themselves as experts who must detach themselves from Nigeria and stay aloof in order to be able to examine the country from without.

While the suggestions of both groups are of importance in analysing Nigeria's political crisis, neither can be adequately analysed in a single paper. I am therefore going to touch more on the latter in my analysis of the epistemic foundation of Nigeria's predicament. Consequently, the intention is not to examine the situation of Nigeria or of Nigerians like an expert wishing to prescribe solutions to clients, or as a technician employed to fix a mechanical fault. Nor is it to empathise with Nigerians like a priest prescribing some acts of contrition to a devotee. Rather, the intention of this paper is to examine the situation I have found myself in as a Nigerian. It is to react to the sort of explanations provided thus far by scholars to the crisis of Nigeria within the context of postcolonial Africa.

This study is significant because it helps to reveal the black spots of previous explanations, and serves as a turning point in the manner in which scholars have portrayed the situation of Nigerians, and by extension, of Africans. As mentioned above, some scholars (Suberu, 1999:63, 66, 77-83; Agunlana, 2006:255-63) have argued that it is postcolonial politicians who have fuelled violence in Nigeria. It is argued that the politicians, in the process of their power struggle, use ethnicity and religious differences as a means to create unnecessary rivalries and settle political scores. Others contend that religious creeds, religious leaders and ethnic leaders are responsible for political instability in the country (Mantzikos, 2010:57-62). Some even blame the phenomenon on the modern state system which, according to the holders of this view, originates from the colonial balkanisation² of the geographical space of Nigeria by the erstwhile colonial masters who also introduced their various religious ideologies (Diallo, 2006:12-22; Busia, 1971:37). However, while some

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2. Balkanization is used to mean the arbitrarily imposed artificial boundaries and state frontiers, which pull apart folks who had earlier lived as people of the same biological stock (Busia, 1971:37).

scholars suggest that the country be divided along ethnic or religious lines, others argue that the size and diversity of Nigeria would guarantee enhanced competitiveness for the nation (Joseph, 1995:115-4). In other words, scholars are divided between two groups of opinion: those who argue that the social schism in Nigeria is caused by colonial factors, and those who believe that postcolonial Nigerian leaders are the root of the problem (Oke, 2005:332-43).

We and the divide in Nigeria

In 1999, there was a motor accident in the neighbourhood of a certain village around Lokoja, an ancient Nigerian city at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue. As the people who went to rescue the accident victims were returning, one of them was asked in the pidgin English language, often referred to as 'broken', "Hao many iple mort for de moto accident" ("how many people died in the motor accident")? He replied: "Person no die, na only wan mala" ("no person died, only one Malam [Hausa] died"). Although the answer given by the witness of the accident may not have been a deliberate attempt to regard the Hausa or other ethnic citizens as non-human beings, it might have erupted from the realm of the subconscious, or from habit. It might have resulted from cultural arrogance, which makes people look down on others as inferior. In that case, the statement "no person except one Hausa man" represents a deep-rooted tribal hostility, ethnic arrogance, lack of social cooperation and possibility of violence. All these problems add up to up to the 'we and them divide', to use Mazrui's (1990:1-9) term.

Nigeria is a very complex country and these divides exist in very complex and multidimensional patterns. For instance, religion in Nigeria ranges from Christianity to Islam and traditional worship. All religious groups in question have sects and denominations. There are over a hundred distinct tribes and over three hundred competing languages (Library of Congress, 2008; Ekanola, 2006:279-93). Two of the three dominant religions (Christianity and Islam) were imported or originated from outside Nigeria. Many Nigerians practise foreign religions publicly and supplement them with the secret practice of traditional religions. In essence, the psychological orientation of Nigerians is formed and informed by both foreign and local elements.

In "*Cultural forces in World politics*", Mazrui (2005:1) identifies some forms of social schism. He talks about the east/west, north/south, developed/developing, Christian/Muslim, black/white, rich/poor divides in world politics. In "*The State of the Nation*", a publication of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU, 2002:22-23), the dons identify similar polarities within Nigeria. To begin with, postcolonial Nigeria began its self-rule in the 1960s with a civil war referred to as the Biafra war. It was a war fuelled by rivalries and schisms between three main ethnic groups but that ended with strife between the Igbo and the rest of Nigeria. The membership and status of Nigeria in the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) has been the source of conflicts for decades. Land disputes have seen to the death of hundreds of people every year (Odiegwu, 2010:11). Scholars have even wondered whether the oil resources are a curse to Nigeria (Lartey, 2010:8). There have perhaps been more military coups in Nigeria than in most countries within its fifty years of independence (more than seven to date) [Ehiabhi, 2006:92-103]. Ehiabhi explains how the civil war was succeeded by coup d'états, one of which resulted in some parts of northern Nigeria being expelled from the country for some hours.

Every year is greeted with violent clashes between religious groups, ethnic groups and political parties. In spite of ecumenical institutions such as the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), the Christian community is no more united among themselves than between the Christians and the Moslems. Moslem fundamentalists and traditional Moslems look askance at one another. The national character policy and the presidential candidacy zoning systems attempted and insinuated at various quarters in the political arena in Nigeria (Nnodim, 2010) are all expressions of ethnic and tribal rivalries. It seems as though all local, state and national elections in Nigeria are accompanied by violence and bloody clashes (Briefing Paper, 2009). In Nigeria, inter-ethnic, inter-tribal, inter-community, inter-trade-union, and political violence have become recurrent events and a normal way of life (Lartey, 2010:8). Political thuggery, politically motivated killings (Rotimi, 2005:79-98) and kidnapping are expressions of lack of social cooperation. In recent times, the wave and incidence of terrorism, nicknamed 'boko haram' (Olukoya & Olowonro, 2011:4), is itself the peak of social weakness. The 'we versus them' social problem manifests itself in several ways other than bloody clashes between people. The gap between the rich and the poor, the elite and the masses, the literate and the illiterate, seems beyond bridging. In addition, the vandalising of government properties like petroleum pipelines (Fred, 2010), refineries (*Daily Trust*, 2010), and electricity (*World News Head Lines*, 2010), to name a few, are not only expressions of protest against the government, but also against the rich and the ruling class. They are all symptoms of the social demarcationist orientation that midwives the 'we versus them' orientation. In Nigeria, soon after an election, the elected representatives move to the state and federal capitals, far beyond the reach of those who elected them.

There are places in Nigeria where the language spoken by females differs from the one spoken by the males. There are also townships with more than one king and language. In Ajowa Akoko, for instance, there are about five kings and five different languages. It should also be added that in many parts of Nigeria, football has become a source of hostility

rather than a source that unites people in many other parts of the world. In some parts of the country, fans of Manchester United cannot watch a match between Manchester United and Liverpool under the same roof, let alone on the same television screen.

It is tempting to conclude, as some scholars and opinion holders have done (Alli, 2011:1-4; Akowe, 2011:2), that Nigeria's political leaders are the root of the problem. It is equally tempting to accept that the problem is an effect of colonialism. It may even appear safer, at first sight, to argue that both corrupt leaders and the colonial enemy have caused the Nigerian crisis. These three alternatives, however, are merely simplistic approaches to the problem. On the one hand, they prevent further investigation into the possible root of the problem. On the other hand, since some of the scholars who have explained the problem appear to be unquestionable experts and custodians of knowledge on social issues, questioning their models of explanation may at first sight appear like an unscholarly speculation.

Over the years, scholars have employed these types of causal explanations, perhaps because these explanations project the image of the scholars as experts and give them the popular scientific label. Before explaining the black spots in these explanations of the Nigerian problem or making any suggestions on its dynamics, I shall explain the link between epistemological orientation and the tendency to behave in certain ways.

Traditional epistemologies

The relationship between thought and action can be explained in two ways. Explaining how a person's thoughts affect society is often assumed to be a job for the psychologist (Henriques, 2004:1207-1221; Viney, 2004:1275-1278). Having to examine the basic beliefs and mental schemes that produce the thought contents and thinking patterns of an individual actor, on the other hand, is an investigation within the domain of epistemology (Fumerton, 2006:53, 75, 117). However, an investigation that uses both these fields (philosophical epistemology and psychology) could produce better results because the combination allows for a more holistic synergy.

The sharp demarcation made by scholars between the two realms is extremely arbitrary. For the most part, the two are about the same undivided person. Perhaps this demarcation results from the epistemological fashion of the day which sees the intellectual community thoroughly and arbitrarily chunked into independent units, making interdisciplinary research difficult in universities and research institutes, especially in African universities (Moabi, 2010). This paper does not intend to delve into the entire problem of interdisciplinary demarcation in the twenty-first century. However, it provides some insight and perhaps hindsight into part of the problem. It touches on how the intellectual habit of arbitrary demarcation between two points, objects, qualities, ideas, theoretical positions or concepts characteristic of academics and general society in contemporary times relates to the social situation in Nigeria. Recently, phenomenology has attempted to bridge the gap between philosophical epistemology and psychology. However, phenomenology, from its transcendental formulation from Edmund Husserl under the influence of Franz Brentano to its existentialist formulations by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Albert Camus, is largely reductionist in approach (Omogbe, 2003:29,81). While Husserl endorses a fleshless ontology in search of the essence of being, Merleau-Ponty rejects the 'inner man' of St Augustine (Omogbe, 2003:29) and commits himself to the Aristotelian scholasticism of the incarnate being (Omogbe, 2003:81-83). In essence, instead of reconciling the inner-outer demarcation initiated by medieval philosophers, Merleau-Ponty simply opts for a secular presentation of the 'incarnate being' adopted by Aquinas from Aristotelian scholasticism. Hence in addition to the split between the traditions of phenomenology, phenomenologists have further distanced phenomenology itself from its initial aim to reconcile epistemology (Lechte, 2008:25-58).

In the history of thought, epistemology is traditionally a search for knowledge. It begins with claims to knowledge against sceptical objections. It therefore centres around the argument that knowledge is possible and that one cannot claim to know unless one can say how he or she knows. That is, for instance, p does not know that s exists unless p is able to tell in a manner beyond any doubt, how p knows or may know.

Traditional epistemology therefore accommodates the sceptical objection. Given the provision for scepticism in traditional epistemology, there are two original groups within the history of traditional theoretical epistemology. There are those who claim that knowledge is possible and there are those who object to the possibility of knowledge, usually referred to as the sceptic school of thought. Each epistemological group is further subdivided into factions that depend heavily on the levels of their emphasis. Roughly, those who believe in the possibility of knowledge are subdivided into rationalists and empiricists, and the empiricist school is further divided into other units. Regarding the criteria for knowing, the non-sceptic group are distributed between the foundationalist, coherentist and contextualist theses.

There is yet another epistemological project that has to do with the question of where to locate knowledge (O'Hear, 2003:29-37; Fumerton, 2006:54-55), and scholars remain as divided as in other previous projects. The rationalists, for instance, believe that knowledge can be located within the realm of pure reason. Descartes, Malebranche and Spinoza

represent the rationalist school. Locke, Berkeley and Hume represent the empiricist school of thought, which believes that the best knowledge we can ever have is knowledge acquired through the senses (Bewaji, 2007 63:152-157).

Within the history of philosophy as an intellectual discipline, epistemology is presumably as old as human reasoning. Others would say that it dates back to the earliest Greek philosophers in the Western history of philosophy. Within the Western tradition, however, René Descartes represents a landmark in the history of epistemology. Descartes is popular for instituting dualism in relation to the body-spirit demarcation. He did this by demarcating between the solid and incorrigible foundation and the structure of knowledge built thereon. The root of the object-subject demarcation of the realist tradition is also traceable to Descartes.

Since Descartes, epistemology has taken a completely new turn. With the initiatives of other philosophers, particularly in the modern and postmodern era and tradition, philosophy has evolved into something markedly different (Habermas, 2005:109-129). Of note is the ascendance of the contextualist approach to thinking, thought and issues, often referred to as contextualism or socialised epistemology. Socialised epistemology came up as a reaction to Descartes' foundationalist approach to the justification of knowledge claims. This is because post-medieval scholarship went hand in hand with the growth of science when scholars were opened up to greater freedom of thought and action, not only because of the reduced power of the Church, but also because of the spread of social enlightenment which leaned towards the undermining of authoritarian leadership.

From the foregoing, the influence of epistemology on society is evident, as is the influence of an individual philosopher like Descartes on epistemology. The influence of the dominant epistemological fashions and traditions on society in general is often ignored in intellectual explanations of social behaviour. For example, suppose in a first-year undergraduate class a student says, "I know that the world is spherical because my geography teacher taught me so during an elementary class." A professor could take this statement to mean that the student knows at that stage that the world is spherical. If, on the other hand, the same person asks a third-year or postgraduate student the same question in an examination, he or she may not be willing to mention the schoolteacher in their answer. Ironically, another professor might overlook the different circumstances and take the answer to be true and correct in both cases. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the two professors conceive knowledge differently. The former sees knowledge as context dependent, while the latter sees it as universal and perhaps, incorrigible.

Thus what we hold to be true, and the extent to which we believe that things are exactly the way we see them, depends on our conception of truth and knowledge. The Cartesian dualist and perhaps polarist orientation has marked a turning point in epistemology. As noted earlier, this orientation marks the legitimization of the mind/body demarcation and consequently of the physical/mental, subject/object, subjectivity/objectivity dichotomy. The dichotomous (demarcationist) orientation (Dupré, 1993; Galison & Stump, 1996; Parsons, 2003; Popper, 1963) has been the hallmark of traditional academic philosophy since Descartes. Given the position of philosophy as the mother of all other intellectual fields, the dichotomist outlook of philosophical epistemology expects to influence the foundation and outlooks of all other disciplines, albeit in academics and the intellectual world in general.

The methodological principle initiated by the object/subject demarcation is that of causal explanation (Outhwaite, 1917:5-7). The principle in question finds its way into the methodology of mainstream social sciences through the rise of empiricism in the seventeenth century and the dominance of realism, especially in political science, sociology and international relations in the twenty-first century (Outhwaite, 1917:6-10). This explains why it is sometimes referred to as causal realism, because the problem of perception is the problem of empiricism and the demarcation supports the realist thesis of the empiricists (Chisholm, 1972:2). Realism in general is the belief that the physical existent object is real, but can only be known through the mental image. That is, we cannot have direct contact with the physical world.

In the natural sciences, the dualist stance forms the very foundation of Newtonian physics where objects are subdivided into smaller units and where the action in one is seen as a reaction to the force from another. In politics and political science, it forms the basis for representative democracy and gives rise to the sharp demarcation between rulers and the ordinary citizen. The dichotomist (demarcationist) epistemology thus gives rise not only to the proliferation of academic disciplines and fields of study since the beginning of the 20th century, but also to the proliferation of schools of thought and the general epistemological crisis of the 21st century.

By implication, the social orientation offered by the epistemological traditions of the Western world is dualist, pluralist and dichotomist. Perhaps this partly explains why some scholars of African studies have accused colonialism of importing ideologies that support excessive individualism, discord and chaos into Africa (Wiredu, 2000:186-204; 1992:59-70). However, their position could be completely true *only if* it is found that precolonial Africa was innocent of any such dichotomist principle. Thus it becomes necessary to make an epistemological enquiry into the traditional epistemic scheme of the precolonial African system.

There is no point in trying to oppose the view of scholars who argue that the worldview of many African cultures is monistic (Bamikole, 2004:97-111). That is, it promotes a unified or a mono-dimensional worldview or that it opposes diversity and perhaps, freedom of thought. They may be correct, but only to a certain extent. Within the lofty appearance of monism, however, there lies a subtle picture of dualism and pluralism. The underlying principles of African cultural systems have provided a world view with no less a dichotomist orientation than that of Cartesian dualism.

To begin with, a good number of scholars agree that the African worldview is communitarian (Wiredu, 2008:332-39; Gbadegesin, 2000:149-68; Wiredu, 2000:374-82; Sogolo, 2000:177-85; Koenane, 2010; Onyiam-Osigwe, 2005). Nyerere (1995) paints a classic picture of communitarianism in his description of African polity. According to his description, elders converge under the shade of a big tree and discuss an issue until they reach an agreement. Given the constraints of the transport system available in precolonial Africa when the 'under the tree' system was popular, and given the fact that agreement by consensus could be a very difficult task without some sort of manipulation (Wiredu, 2000:374-82), one would expect that such a provision would only work for a small community. It also suggests that African communitarianism was an intra-community arrangement. The implication is that the sort of communitarian system practised in Africa did not regulate the relationship among African communities. In fact, when each community was united against the other, the result was war. If the scholars of indigenous African social and political systems are correct regarding African precolonial communitarianism, then the system was not as good as they have portrayed it. It would imply that either there was a socio-political landscape in Africa that was different and superior to the theoretical insinuation of these scholars, or that the scholars were correct and African communitarianism meant inter-community conflicts.

The underlying polarity in the intra-community communitarianism does not necessarily imply that there were originally no inter-community relationships in Africa. Perhaps originally, in the three leading ethnic groups (Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani and Igbo), as in many African societies, there were two kinds of political arrangements. One was an age-based hierarchical system, while the other was monarchical (Salami, 2006:67-78). For example, the generally held view is that the monarchical system has been in the Hausa communities from time immemorial. There can be no argument until the origins of the monarchical leadership among the Hausa are investigated and it is proven otherwise. Among the Yoruba however, the monarchical system came later with the arrival of Oduduwa, who only united people to establish the Yoruba kingdom. Among the Igbo, expressions such as "Igbo enwe eze" ("the Igbo have no king") and "Onye obula bu eze nebu ya" (everyone is a king in his compound) suggest that kingship was a later development, and that each community was an independent state or nation (Nwala, 1985:163-74). The other system, especially among the Igbo and the Yoruba and perhaps in some Hausa/Fulani communities, appears to be more original and behaves as a family-centred nation-state organised in a hierarchy based on age (Nwala, 1985:167). In this latter system, the oldest man in the community is automatically the head. Fortunately both systems, although widely different, are democratic in their own right because at least they were able to ensure social cooperation and individual freedom, which are the more important elements of democracy. There are indications, however, that the monarchical system came as a result of the corruption of what is described as the traditional republican system of rulership.

Whether this view is correct or not, most Nigerian communities of today, including some of the Igbo communities who had earlier taken pride in the fact that they had no kings, now practise the monarchical system, conceivably in order to attract some recognition and benefits from the federal and state governments (Nwala, 1985:163-75). The monarch by nature (whether democratic or otherwise) would want to ensure that his kingdom was protected against external invasion. The kingdom would also become predatory over surrounding smaller kingdoms and communities. Power tussles between the vassal states and the kingdom, between the king and the chiefs or even among the chiefs were not uncommon (Wiredu, 2000:374-82). This in itself is a practically dichotomous (demarcationist) system.

There is also a saying among the Yoruba, "t'ibi t'ire la da'le aye", loosely translated as "there is both good and evil in the universe and they are both from the author of the universe". The good/evil, good/bad, divine/human, creator/creation, cause/effect dualities are all implied in this statement. The statement originates from the ancient precolonial 'Ifa' literary corpus (Yoruba oral tradition) and is attributed to 'Orunmila' as often used for divination (Oke, 2007:1-19; Akinawonu, 2004:59-66). In traditional medicine, healers often consult the oracles to verify the cause of an ailment (Makinde, 1998). This is common practice in all the major and minor cultural groups in Nigeria. In the Yoruba setting, the diviner usually attributes the source of an ailment to 'Olodumare' (the Creator), 'Aje' (witches),³ 'Ori' (literally translated

3. Though 'Aje' does not translate exactly as 'witch' in the English language, there seems to be no exact translation for the concept in the Western tradition. The same goes for other concepts such as 'Esu', often translated as the devil, and 'Olodumare', which is translated as God.

as the inner-head) or to 'enemies' within or outside of the family of the sick person (Makinde, 1985:53-69 and Lawal, 1985:91-103).

Given the fact therefore that polarism and pluralism are found in both the Western and the African conceptual systems that make up Nigerian society, and consequently the Nigerian person, is it justifiable to say that some leaders have caused Nigerians to always demarcate or distinguish between one tribe and the other? On the contrary, is it not more appropriate to think that the leaders themselves are able to see these differences because they are also members of the 'demarcative' or 'dichotomist' society?

Traditional epistemologies on Nigerians and in previous explanations

As noted earlier, scholars are divided on the issue of social schism in Nigeria. Some scholars have argued that it is a result of the colonial past that Nigerians have a deep-rooted hatred for one another along various socio-economic and cultural lines. Others blame postcolonial political, tribal or ethnic leaders for the problem (Kasfir, 1987:54-60). Academics and other experts in the field of social studies only add to the confusion. The scholars stand aloof, offering ready-made solutions to problems like conventional priests. Many of the experts in question are Africans and Nigerians, which ironically does not motivate them to think of themselves as part of the problems they are solving. They passionately demarcate between themselves (the supposed 'reservoirs of knowledge') and the rest of Nigerian society (the supposed public 'ignoramus'). This demarcationist inclination explains why some scholars and leaders (Joseph, 1995:115-117) have prescribed the division of Nigeria along ethnic or religious lines. These opinions have stemmed from a shallow understanding of the people and their problems, and have further entrenched the delusion among the people that their problems are merely the effect of insurmountable causes and circumstances, such that unless the present Nigeria ceases to exist, the problem will remain insoluble.

Having linked the behaviour in Nigerian society to the two epistemological orientations (the colonial and the postcolonial), usually assumed to be opposed to each other, it is tempting to conclude that either or both of these epistemological influences have caused the social schism we find in Nigeria. Such a conclusion would be premature. This notion requires further clarification. If Nigeria had never been colonised, would that mean that the problem of social schism and tribal rivalries would not have existed? A country where the problem is as critical as in Nigeria is Ethiopia, but Ethiopia was hardly ever colonised. How then has a combination of colonial and postcolonial factors produced the problem? I do not think that the blame lies solely on the shoulders of these factors, because other places within and outside Africa have inherited similar traditions, but mutual distrust and schism in those places are not as deep, and do not always manifest in terrorism, wars and violent conflicts as is common in Nigeria. Examples are India, South Africa, Botswana and Egypt. In these places, the collective efforts and pressure of the civil societies are felt more positively.

A society's behaviour may be influenced by the dominant epistemological fashions because every society is a combination of individuals. The quality and quantity of individuals and their interaction and relationships determine the nature, problems and characteristics of a society. Nigerian society is no exception. An influence on an individual is indirectly an influence on the society to which the individual belongs.

The influence of Western epistemology on Nigerian society is brought about through formal education in different fashions and degrees (Bewaji, 2007:383-403). Nigeria, like many African states, is a place where being educated is almost synonymous with being literate and schooled in Western systems and languages. The Nigerian society of today has inherited the polarist epistemologies of traditional Western philosophy through other avenues like religion, the legal system, the economic system, technology (Olatunji, 2006:73-78), medicine and political formats (Mosley, 2009). The learner/teacher, divine/human, representative/people and natural/artificial divides are examples of polarism.

However, the mistakes of previous explanations of the Nigerian problem lie not only in their dichotomist (demarcationist) approach, but fundamentally in mistaking influence for cause. The influence of colonialism and its underlying epistemological tradition on the Nigerian people is not in any doubt. Colonialism has become part of their history, which they cannot now undo. The influence of the pre-contact cultures of the Nigerian ethnic and tribal groups and their underlying epistemological orientations are also not in question, because it forms part of the social gene⁴ that is passed from generation to generation, albeit unnoticed. The possibility of conflict between the two rival epistemologies in one person and in one society is therefore undeniable. However, all these are half truths, because possibilities are mere possibilities; they are not necessarily actualities. They are sometimes contingent upon other more intimate factors. The other side of the story is that every society has had to combat influxes of rival epistemological orientations in every generation. It hinges on the problem of identity. Even the Europeans who colonised Africa have had to battle with this

4. Social gene means transmitted patterns of behaviour common to a certain people, but which has more to do with the people's socio-psychological experiences than with their biological make up (Fanon, 1993).

problem. After all, in the process of colonisation, the oppressor becomes the oppressed and the oppressed becomes the oppressor, and both of these groups lose their identity (Freire, 2006:40-73).

Given the above, the problem of social schism in Nigeria is not caused by colonialism, postcolonial African leaders or allegedly conflicting epistemologies because one of the attributes of a cause is that it is always succeeded by an effect (Faure, 2009:77-108. Maxwell, 2004, 3-11). That is whatever the cause, there must be an effect. It also means that people are effects of causes, and consequently have no contribution to the trajectory of their own history. Like a Trojan horse that carries within itself death and decay, the causal explanation seems like an exoneration of the people from being blamed for being responsible for a problem, but carries within itself fatalism and the death of civil society. The argument is that because people are not responsible for the problem because there was nothing they could do to avoid it, there is consequently nothing they can do to stop or survive it on their own.

In the case of Nigeria, this means that the people are at the mercy of their leaders or colonial agents for change to happen. It also means that Nigerians can go to sleep while depending on the benevolence of the causal agents for their fate in life. Although this paper is not so much about cause and effect, nevertheless an average Nigerian feels that he has some duties, obligations and contributions to the trajectory of the personal and national history. Hence, the causal explanations are derogatory to the Nigerian personality and misleading the Nigerian people, particularly the civil society on whose shoulders rest the hope of the nation in this milieu and beyond.

The problems therefore exist, not because of challenges such as corrupt leaders, colonialism or the more intimate factor of two distinct epistemological orientations. An explanation that detaches people from a problem simply detaches the people from the solution as well. If colonialism - the postcolonial leaders of the influx of epistemological strands - are responsible for the problems, it would mean that even if Nigerians try to find solutions, the incorrigible causal forces could still thwart their efforts by doing as they had done before.

What has been missing in these previous explanations is that no one seems to talk about the inability of Nigerians to effectively reject the influence of some epistemological strands or to effectively harmonise the various strands. First, the Nigerian society has not been able to realise that the two epistemological traditions are not as opposed as they might think. However, people cannot be motivated equally by opposing factors at the same time; the Nigerian person assumes that he or she has to suppress one of the two allegedly opposing epistemological traditions whenever a choice of action is to be made. Hence, knowingly or unknowingly, the Nigerian person allows himself or herself to be divided and perpetually switching between two imaginary worlds (de la Ceuz-Guzman, 1994: 75-88). On the other hand, his/her inability to reconcile himself/herself with his/her own world, conditions the Nigerian person to seeing conflict and differences in the world - between unity and diversity, monism and plurality, ultimate truth and divergence, the individual and society, colonial and traditional, white and black, good and bad, and me and others.

The co-switching itself is not the main predicament. The core crisis is the underlying assumption that one implies the negation of the other. That is, if the white is true and good, then the black must necessarily be false and bad. This unusual mental scheme prevents the Nigerian person from being able to look beyond the seeming differences and diversities to see unity. The Nigerian individual is consequently alienated from the real self. He sees many trees, but cannot see the forest. He focuses on the drops of water while the sea evades 'his' sight. For example, phenomenology as a philosophical tradition was imported to the Nigeria educational system as a new system of foreign origin, when in fact a system more coherent than and superior to the alleged phenomenology attributed to the Western tradition could have naturally developed from him. This mental attitude manifests itself in various other practical ways. This explains why Nigerians would import things that the country has in abundance.

A society, however, is a combination of individuals. The quality and personality type of individuals determine so many characteristics of a society. Given the situation of Nigerian society where there is an unmitigated but unharmonised adoption of plural, allegedly conflicting conceptual schemes and world views, the effect of these internalised conflicts cannot go unnoticed. It may not be strange, therefore, to find that people may be different in public from what they are in private. It may also not be strange to find that people switch between their traditional beliefs and Christianity or Islam. This is because the Nigerian individual assumes that the two are necessarily opposed stances, and that one implies the negation of the other. However since the choice of one mental scheme has to be made in every public situation, the Nigerian person feels compelled to choose the behaviour and mental scheme that has a wider acceptance for public situations, while the other has to be condemned to secrecy. Consequently, Nigerians find themselves making conflicting and naive choices while fluctuating and oscillating between conceivably incompatible mental schemes in public and in private situations. Many people become inconsistent, and the great country consequently becomes a sign of negative contradiction and deception, even to itself.

Conclusion

The discourse has offered a reflection on the social schisms that exist in Nigeria. The paper acknowledges the fact that some scholars have tried to find the causes of the schisms manifesting in the form of anti-government antagonism, inter-tribal conflicts and bloody riots, among others, in Nigeria. Without taking sides with any of the rival explanations, this paper has examined some crucial features of the social woes of Nigeria, explaining some germane epistemological factors often ignored by scholars in their explanations of Nigerian social situations. Specifically, scholars have misled the Nigerian person to think that he or she is not responsible for his or her condition and therefore cannot proffer any reliable solution. The scholars' explanations could further entrench ignorance if naively taken as infallible truths. Expectedly, the ignorance in question is a culpable one, and so it could be surmounted. This paper explains the conditions under which the factors previously identified by scholars are able to produce social schism in a society, and specifically in Nigeria, i.e. if and only if Nigerians are truly like objects that are incapable of making choices, review their choices, review and change renew their live situations. It should be noted that even the proposals to further split Nigeria could be a futile exercise if the underlying conditions are not properly addressed.

Aspects such as the implications of schism on the performance of civil society in Nigeria on war against corruption, environmental degradation, and education have not been discussed in much detail and rigour in this paper. Although these aspects are relevant to the discussion, especially with the wave of political revolutions that are imminent in other parts of the world, they are better discussed in further detail in separate papers.

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The present and future growth of scholarly publishing in Africa

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Scholarly publishing in Africa, though still struggling to keep pace with the rest of the world, has made major progress. Many universities in Africa are seriously engaged in scholarly publishing, both in print and electronic formats. The outputs of research are constantly disseminated in universities, at conferences and during seminars; the same are then published as proceedings or in refereed journals. The various initiatives by African universities provide opportunities to researchers to present their findings for discussion before submission for publication in various scholarly journals published by universities or those collaborating with publishing houses. The journals provide an avenue for disseminating research findings from Africa, hence adding to the already existing body of knowledge by researchers from other parts of the world. The advent of electronic publishing has widened the space and opportunity for African researchers to publish their work. Most African universities maintain some sections on their websites for uploading research findings. The uploaded materials, whether proceedings or already published work elsewhere, contribute to the visibility of African research in the world. Scholarly journal publishing, therefore, has the potential to encourage research in Africa.

Key Words: Scholarly Publishing, Africa, Universities, Scholarly Journals

Introduction

The world is in the information era. This knowledge society is the result of a swift change from a labour-driven economy to a knowledge-driven economy. However, scholarly publishing in Africa is still struggling to keep pace with the rest of the world. This is an obvious threat to the growth of Africa's economies. The scholarly journal has, for many years, been a means of disseminating and communicating information and knowledge. Scholarly publishing in Africa, although struggling, has (in certain countries on the continent) made great strides in production and distribution in the field. This is evident in the number of conferences they organise, number of scholarly journals published, presence on the internet and the number of academic books published annually. The spirit of this paper is to challenge universities and scholars in Africa to think about how they can improve their scholarly visibility in the academic world. It will provoke those who are entrusted with development of policies and infrastructure, both in national and institutional level, to act and improve the modes and funding portfolios in universities for research activities in Africa.

Scholarly publishing in Africa

In this paper, scholarly publishing will be looked by considering the number of published articles and cited in various journals, the number of journals listed in African Journal Online (AJOL) and Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ). Scholarly publishing in Africa can best be described by comparing publications of articles in scholarly journals in various countries of the continent. (see Table 1)

The table below shows that most publications captured are likely to be the visible ones and may not include all the publications in the countries represented. The publications from the southern African region account for 61.8 percent and South Africa, alone, has publications accounting for over half of the total publications. In actual fact, South Africa's publications are 56.1 per cent of the total. This could be attributed to their management of their scholarly journals and incentives given through payment of subsidy, by the South African government, to the scholars. Journals published in South Africa and not appearing in some identified international indices and meet the minimum criteria for subsidy are listed in approved list of journals by the Department of Education of South Africa (Ministry of Education, 2003). Publications in the listed journals and those indexed in ISI/WoS and International Bibliographical of Social Sciences receive generous government research subsidy for the institutions of the authors affiliation who share the subsidy, sometimes again generously, with the author(s). For example, at the time of writing, one unit (eg.one publication/article) is rewarded by ZAR 120000/USD 15000. The eastern African region contributed publications that represent 18.4 percent from the selected six countries. This is an indication that visibility of publications from this part of Africa, in the global stage, is minimal. West African countries contributed 19.8 percent of the total publications, as shown in the above table. As mentioned earlier, it may not reflect the true picture, but it is an indication that visibility of publication in Africa is poor.

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Table I Scholarly publications in some selected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2000-2007

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
South Africa	4609	4732	5049	4974	5394	5657	6305	1077	37797
Nigeria	884	746	854	855	926	1223	1269	204	6961
Kenya	578	597	666	694	662	684	843	159	4883
Tanzania	253	235	271	316	322	370	473	80	2320
Cameroon	209	216	263	292	332	344	425	69	2150
Ethiopia	244	216	275	300	312	302	333	58	2140
Uganda	191	203	188	244	310	304	382	119	1941
Zimbabwe	263	256	269	251	216	242	234	44	1775
Ghana	198	194	208	206	239	261	305	53	1664
Senegal	202	182	176	239	209	247	224	40	1519
Eritrea	142	147	155	146	153	148	156	35	1082
Benin	134	110	135	126	156	168	216	38	1083
Botswana	129	128	156	135	143	148	186	29	1054
Malawi	132	124	132	132	143	148	167	30	1008

Source: Thompson Scientific, May 2007

This poor visibility of scholarly publishing in Africa can also be seen from the number of scholarly journals that are posted on the directory of open access journals. The number of journals from African countries is very minimal as indicated in the table below.

DOAJ

Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) aims at increasing visibility and ease of use of open access scientific and scholarly journals. It accepts all open access scientific and scholarly journals that use quality control system to guarantee the content. The publishers of the journals must allow users to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search or link to the full texts of these articles without any charge.

The lack of visibility of scholarly works by African scholars is due to poor sustainability, irregular publication and management and poor distribution of their journals. This is evident by the number of journals from Africa that are listed in various directories and citation indexes. The table above indicates the number of journals listed in the directory of open access journals from North America, United Kingdom and main land Europe, and some countries in Africa. Analysis indicated that the majority of the journals are from the United States of America, with a representation of 18.2 percent, followed by the United Kingdom, a representation of 7.2 per cent of the total listed journals. The whole continent of Africa has journals listed representing 3.2 percent. The majority of journals posted in the directory from Africa are from research institutions and a limited number are from universities who are supposed to be contributing more research papers.

In the 21st century, scholarly publishing should promote knowledge dissemination. Ondari Okemwa (2007) states that scholarly publishing should support knowledge capacity development. He notes that low scholarly publication in Africa limits knowledge generation and diffusion. However, publishers in Africa are so much engaged in publishing textbooks. In other words, publishing in Africa is largely devoted to supporting basic and secondary education. More of the same books covering the same subjects are published annually in Africa. Publishers have ignored key questions that face Africa (Adebowale, 2001).

Table 2 Journal contribution of selected country to DOAJ

Country	Total number of journals in DOAJ										Per %
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	
United States	19	221	309	402	463	569	777	952	1140	1344	18.2
United Kingdom	5	112	156	197	237	269	301	358	484	529	7.2
Spain	0	6	26	89	139	166	228	258	335	401	5.4
Germany	2	14	34	70	97	128	155	178	214	242	3.3
Canada	0	25	37	48	65	80	105	135	181	225	3.1
Italy	0	4	13	31	47	59	71	100	147	195	2.6
Turkey	0	4	11	32	42	54	77	100	136	181	2.4
Egypt	0	0	1	2	4	5	5	6	17	133	1.8
Switzerland	1	9	13	21	24	26	44	58	79	103	1.4
Portugal	0	1	2	2	9	15	24	38	47	57	0.8
Netherlands	1	6	8	13	18	21	27	36	41	51	0.7
Sweden	1	7	9	10	14	14	21	22	35	51	0.7
South Africa	0	3	6	7	8	9	13	18	35	43	0.6
Austria	0	1	1	18	20	24	30	32	34	38	0.5
Finland	0	3	4	7	8	17	21	21	31	38	0.5
Greece	0	2	2	4	7	9	15	20	25	37	0.5
Denmark	0	1	3	5	10	11	13	14	20	31	0.4
Norway	0	2	3	4	5	7	12	14	23	26	0.4
Nigeria	0	1	5	6	6	14	16	16	22	23	0.3
Belgium	0	1	4	4	5	8	10	12	16	23	0.3
Ireland	0	1	2	3	3	5	6	6	9	9	0.1
Tunisia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	9	9	0.1
Kenya	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	3	6	7	0.1
Morocco	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	4	5	0.1
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	5	0.1
Uganda	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	4	4	4	0
Tanzania	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	3	3	0
Ghana	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	0
Mauritius	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0
Libya	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	0
Senegal	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Madagascar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Algeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Sierra Leone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Source: <http://www.doaj.org/doaj?func=byCountry&uiLanguage=en> accessed on 9/1/2012

Table 3 Number of journals per country

Country	No. of Journals		
	Total	Open Access	LIS
Algeria	2	0	1
Benin	2	1	0
Botswana	3	1	0
Burkina Faso	2	0	0
Cameroon	7	2	0
Congo DR	1	0	0
Cote D'ivoire	4	3	0
Egypt	13	5	0
Eritrea	1	1	0
Ethiopia	19	7	0
Ghana	19	4	1
Kenya	24	9	0
Lesotho	1	0	0
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	1	1	0
Madagascar	1	1	0
Malawi	3	1	0
Mauritius	2	2	0
Nigeria	179	25	6
Rwanda	1	0	0
Senegal	6	4	0
Siera Leone	1	1	0
South Africa	75	9	2
Sudan	3	0	0
Swaziland	3	0	0
Tanzania	16	1	1
Togo	1	0	0
Tunisia	2	2	0
Uganda	11	4	0
Zambia	2	1	0
Zimbabwe	11	0	0

Source: African Journal OnLine (AJOL) -2012 January: <http://ajol.info>

African Journal Online (AJOL)

Due to realisation that scholarly works from African researchers were mostly difficult to access leading to under utilisation, being under-valued and under-cited in the international and African research arena, African Journal Online (AJOL) was established to address those challenges. As part of its mission to increase visibility, access and use of African published research output in support of quality African research and higher education, it had hosted over 400 peer-reviewed journals by January 2012.

By 2010, AJOL had 396 journals in various subjects published across the continent that had risen to 417 journals in 2011 (AJOL 2012). Over 6363 issues have been published. However, some of the 417 journals are not up to date in publication; thus, frequency of publication is a challenge. In 2011, AJOL had hosted over 417 African-published, peer-

reviewed journals from 30 countries, accessed by over 150,000 researchers from all over the world, therefore enabling it to accomplish its aim of increasing scholarly communication within the African continent and the rest of the world. There were 69,105 abstracts and 59,222 available in AJOL website for access.

AJOL's policy for journal listing is that the journals must meet the following criteria: be scholarly in content, and contain original research; peer-reviewed and quality controlled; guarantee permission from authors to allow AJOL to operate a document delivery; and journals are published within Africa continent where management of publishing strategy, business development and production operation are all run from African country. Although South Africa leads in scholarly publishing in Africa, it has shied away from uploading its journals on AJOL. This has denied many African scholars the opportunity of accessing research findings and scholarly inputs from South Africa, however, researchers can also access premier South African scholarly journals in SABINET through subscription (see Table 3 above).

The 417 journals from Africa in the AJOL list are distributed, as follows, in regional blocks: West Africa has 212, representing 53.5 percent; Eastern Africa has 69, representing 17.4 percent; Northern Africa has 18, representing 4.5 percent; Central Africa has 3, accounting for 0.8 percent; while Southern Africa has 93, accounting for 23.5 percent. The majority of the listed journals are published in the English language, however, publications in other languages are also accepted and some are listed by AJOL.

Research in Kenyan universities

Higher institutions of learning are still largely dependent on print resources in accessing knowledge resources. In 2009, during UNESCO's 29th World Conference on Higher Education, the (then) South African Minister for Higher Education and Training, Dr. Nzimande, said that African universities are essentially consumers of knowledge produced in developed countries. The former are the producers and the latter are the consumers of knowledge, which seriously undermines the fostering of the multicultural nature of Higher Education, as virtually all partnerships are one-sided. This demonstrates that universities in Africa are contributing an insignificant amount of scholarly writing in comparison to developing countries. The number of journals and books produced annually by African researchers are still very low. There are seven public universities in Kenya namely; Egerton University, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kenyatta University, Maseno University, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Moi University and University of Nairobi. Research funding in public universities in Kenya is largely through internal generated resources. A small percentage is received from the government through National Council of Science and Technology (NCST). NCST is a government statutory body charged with the responsibility of making available to the government advice upon all matters relating to scientific and technological activities, and coordinating research and experimental developments in the country. The council invites proposals from postgraduate students and other researchers on annual basis of selected themes that are considered to be national research priority areas.

George Magoha, the vice chancellor of the University of Nairobi, said research output is regarded as an important yardstick for measuring the success of academic institutions. It is hard for Kenyan universities to support research work because most of them are severely constrained by lack of funds, making most research activities dependent on donor support. However, Kenyan universities are making progress by increasing allocation to their research kitty using internally generated funds. The University of Nairobi has, in particular, intensified collaboration with local and international partners, which has resulted in a substantial increase in available research grants.

Moi University also has research units that collaborate with researchers within and without the University. The Moi University Act gives the University the mandate to carry out research, with the Research Projects expected to: maintain strong relationships with communities, conform to the broad National objectives, supplement teaching and solve problems of the rural communities.

The University sets aside funds under its research grant, which is awarded on a competitive basis. The fund, however, fails to satisfy demand, which forces researchers in the university to seek support from other sources. The research results are disseminated through field days organized by the Projects, at stakeholders meetings, at symposia and during the Moi University Annual International Conference. All the research activities at the University are coordinated, monitored and evaluated by the University Research Committee, under the office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research and Extension). Between 2005 and 2010, the university has organised eight international conferences and symposia that resulted in research findings being presented and published in various journals or conference proceedings.

The university has ten scholarly journals that are published in Schools. They are in the following Schools: Arts and Social Science, Business and Economics, Education (2), Environmental Studies, Human Resources Development, Information Sciences, Law, Medicine, and Natural Resource Management. Though the said journals suffer from visibility syndrome, as most African universities' journals have been made to attract papers from researchers outside Moi University and have not been very successful in doing so. These journals have also been listed on the university website so

as to improve their visibility. Frequency is also another major problem that faces the publication of these journals. This problem has occurred due to the insufficient funds allocated to schools for the publication of journals.

Efforts have been made by the university to set aside funds for research purposes. The university allocates 3 percent of its tuition collection, from the Privately Sponsored Students Programme (PSSP), to research. This type of fund is meant to cover all research activities including: annual international conferences, symposia, journal publication, research grants and conference attendance. From this fund, Schools are allocated KShs 500,000 (approximately US\$6,250 – exchange rate KShs 80 to one dollar) to be competitively awarded to researchers in a School on an annual basis. Another one off amount of KShs 250,000 (approximately US\$3,125) is given to Schools as seed money to start scholarly journals. Such seed money is to start the journal, market it and hopefully to sustain it after the first volume of the first issue. A further KShs 100,000 (approximately US\$1,250) is allocated to Schools for international conference attendance on an annual basis. The amount mentioned above is assumed to be sufficient to cover the travel expenses for about ten or more scholars in a school per year, though it may not even be enough to fund one scholar for a return trip to Uganda or Tanzania, the neighbouring countries of Kenya.

In Maseno University, its research activities are co-ordinated by the office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Planning, Research and Extension Services (DVC-PRES). The university has established a centre within the office of DVC (PRES), the Centre for Research and Technology Development whose main role is to enhance the capacity to undertake research and technology development and be the unit to handle research activities. The university also organises conferences, seminars and workshops where research findings are presented. Also, the university is one of the focal institutions for the implementation of the Kampala based Inter-University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) research programme on the Lake Victoria Region (VicRes).

Research activities at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology are administered by the office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Research, Production and Extension. The university has a host of scholarly journals listed by AJOL. The university has demonstrated the ability to attract a substantial amount of research funds from outside the university through collaborations.

Challenges facing scholarly publishing in Africa

There are many challenges facing scholarly publishing in Africa, including: low literacy levels, poverty, technology and national policies, especially those on information dissemination and financial allocation.

Low literacy levels and poverty

Scholarly publishing in Africa is hindered by low literacy levels. In some countries, literacy levels are as low as 10%. Poverty is, perhaps, a much more serious factor, as most of the people live below the poverty line. Even the minority that live above the poverty line use most of their income to purchase the basic needs of life – food, shelter, clothing and basic education. Consequently, the market for scholarly works is very small. The literacy rate in Kenya has since increased to 87% mostly due to increased primary school enrolment as from 2003 after the introduction of free primary education. However, most Kenyans have low incomes as well as having a low reading culture. These factors are not supportive of a market for scholarly works. Those who are expected to consume scholarly journals are overburdened by the needs of their relatives who are in poverty, hence they may not have enough time to produce and purchase scholarly works.

Technology

The most pressing problem is the need to maintain the technology of traditional printing in scholarly publishing, while (at the same time) investing in and developing a new system that relies on digital creation, transmission, and distribution. The costs of simultaneously doing both things are enormous, both to scholarly publishers and to research libraries. The presence of the internet in sub-Saharan Africa is extremely low. This has made Africa lag behind in terms of scholastic publishing. There is also the need to build a capacity of editors and designers. Access to ICT facilities is a pressing need for most publishing institutions. The cost of internet connectivity is still slightly high and slow in most African countries, hence the low content generated in Africa on the World Wide Web. Though fibre optic connection is now in Kenya, the cost of connectivity is still high and connections to universities are very unstable.

Marketing and distribution

Available scholarly works in Africa are poorly distributed, barely marketed and hardly accessible. For example, it is easier for a librarian in Africa to find out what books have been published, on a given topic in Britain, than it is to locate relevant titles published in the African continent. Bibliographic resources have not been developed well to enable access to African materials. Scholarly materials published in the University Presses of African Universities are hardly marketed beyond their parent institutions. This has contributed to the poor visibility of such publication, hence the inaccessibility of scholarly

work in Africa. The contributing factor to this is the poor funding and prioritisation of University Presses when allocating funds within the university.

Development of permanent and sustainable local capacity is needed for publishing of scholastic works to succeed. The publishers in the continent should improve their marketing strategies for scholarly works, in order to increase the market for their products. There is also an urgent need to improve and expand technological infrastructure so that publishers can utilize the Online Access System to publish and publicize their publications. Through such efforts, Africa will no longer be scholarly marginalized in the globe. According to Ocholla (2011) Institutional repositories (IRs) act as the mirror that allows the world to interact with our stories or content and enable the sharing of knowledge and creation of better understanding. He further states that enabling knowledge sharing should be our (information science's) primary activity. For this reason, publication from theses and dissertations should be encouraged and supported, at least through IRs. Ocholla (2011) has suggested that there is need to create regular and relevant platforms for conferences, seminars and workshops and support participation in such scholarly gatherings by bringing conferences closer to those who cannot afford far-off locations.

According to INASP (2006), the geographical distribution of document delivery orders of AJOL articles shows that the majority were sent to the less developed countries in Africa, Asia, and Central and South America. This is a clear indication that African published scholarly materials have market outside Africa, if only their visibility is improved through electronic publishing.

Information policies

Most African countries have no policies on managing information, whether in print or in electronic format. Most government agencies are still operating in a paper based environment and these countries, too, are still struggling to even make the policy decision to move to an electronic environment. It is only recently that Kenya, through a Kenya Communication (Amendment) Act 2008, recognised electronic communications through the mobile, such as emails and short messaging, as binding contracts or as official communication.

Financial constraints in libraries

Higher education institutions in Africa have been cutting down fund allocations for their libraries, especially those for book and periodical subscriptions. Rosenberg (2007), as cited in Ifeanyi (2010), argues that journal publications in Africa and their acquisition has been disrupted by: subscription price increase, currency fluctuation, local economic troubles and general underfunding of education and research in Africa. This trend has affected most areas of library operations, including: acquisition, preservation and maintenance of scholarly information materials. Another casualty of this reduction in allocation of funds to Libraries has been training of library personnel, so as to remain informed and knowledgeable of new technologies developments within the library world.

In addition, most African people have very limited disposable income. It is not uncommon that in Africa even academicians/university lecturers/scholars, who rank near the top of the income scale, have difficulty in purchasing scholarly books and journals. A sizeable amount of their income is devoted to meeting other pressing personal and social needs within their extended family circles.

Changes in scholarly communication

According to Ondari-Okemwa (2007), communication of scholarly findings are done through attendance of conferences that are organised by institutions, of higher learning, in the region and scholars should do everything possible to attend such conferences. Attendance of such conferences allows scholars to understand the current paradigms in their various areas of research. The lack of understanding about the changes in the communication of scholarly publication is a big challenge. There is a growing sense of urgency about the need to promote a better understanding about the emerging communication systems and also embracing them. This would promote a shared vision of the future about what scholarly publishing entails today and what changes are needed for its success in the future.

The future of scholarly publishing

In Africa, scholarly publishing should be encouraged by universities and governments, taking keen interest on research and the dissemination of research findings. The global ranking of universities has consistently shown that African universities are ranked at the bottom. Though such results may be disputed, it indicates that output of research in Africa is not disseminated or African scholars never engage in research. There is a need to disseminate research findings to a global audience in a visible medium. African universities have not explored the potential of maximising visibility through e-publishing either through Open Access (OA) or development of Institutional Repositories (IRs). According to Ocholla (2011) the development of IRs in Africa is weak: only 11 of the 53 independent African countries have established 42 IRs, which account for approximately 3% of the world's total. As pointed out by Ifeanyi (2010), journal publishing is a critical

determinant of scholarly output (in any place) in the global academic environment. The measure of that output is the visibility of what a country, university or a scholar has published within a given period of time.

Universities in Africa and more so in Kenya, must increase funds allocated to research and improve the mode of the dissemination of its findings. The funds allocated should not only fund the activity of researching, but should also promote activities that are used to disseminate the findings. The attendance of conferences, seminars and symposia, in some African universities, is viewed as a waste of time and money, hence regarded as a low priority area to allocated funds. There is a need to change and look at such as an opportunity by African universities to increase their visibility in the global stage, as regards to their contribution of scholarly work.

Universities should allocate more money for the purpose of organising conferences, seminars and other forums where research findings are shared. Such meetings should not only target researchers within a particular country, but should be international. In this information age, universities can use limited resources at their disposal and advertise their conferences through postings on their websites. Also, the proceedings of such conferences should be published and disseminated to the widest audience possible.

Published scholarly materials from African scholars have been largely invisible to the global audience, except from works emanating from South African Universities. Though some universities produce large quantities of research materials (in terms of theses and dissertations), there is no evidence (in terms of visibility outside the gates of those universities). There is a need to post most of the research findings on the websites of universities and also encourage the extracting of the major findings and present them in conferences or send them for publication in journals published in other countries, other than where the research was done.

To further increase the visibility, there is need to improve internet connectivity in African Universities. A deliberate effort should be made to increase internet connectivity, with high bandwidth, in universities in Africa and upload published works to increase visibility. The use of internet postings will reduce the amount of money required for the dissemination of research findings. A number of conferences that have been organised by various universities, especially Kenyan, have published their proceedings in hard copy with limited circulation, with web publishing; it will reach more audiences, hence increasing visibility. This should also apply to the publication of scholarly journals that have limited visibility. As indicated earlier in this paper, some African universities publish their journals (that are not even known to some scholars) within the same university. It is, therefore, important that such journals should be listed and their abstracts be posted on the website. It is also important that their frequency be maintained. For this to happen, more articles should be attracted from scholars outside the university, however, this can only happen if the visibility of the journal is addressed.

Universities in Africa should strive to utilise University Presses where there is one existing in a university. Where there is no University Press, there should be an establishment of a publishing office within the library section. According to Bonn (2007), the University of Michigan became involved with scholarly publishing in 2001 so as to develop lower cost publications, scalable mechanisms for publishing online and distributing the journals and other digital scholarly material. This enabled the university to produce 40 publications (as of 2007), most of which were open access. If African universities adopt the same method, they will produce publications at lower costs, more so if their in-house publishing, production and distribution are by electronic format. This would enable them to reach a wider audience.

Conclusion

The growth of scholarly publishing in Africa largely depends on the production of research output from universities and other research institutions. There are all indications that research is being carried out in Africa, however, the visibility of these research outputs needs to be increased through electronic publishing. The invisibility of research output from Africa has imbedded their use, citing and access in the African and international research arena. The development of IRs, posting journals in DOAJ will increase visibility of research outputs. It will only be meaningful if institutions in Africa, especially universities will establish IRs and make them OA, otherwise the materials deposited will still be not accessible. It has been observed in this paper that progress has been made in some African countries in posting their scholarly journals in a number of website like DOAJ, SABINET and AJOL hence increasing visibility of research output in the international arena. It has also been noted that funding of research in Africa especially in Kenya is still a problem. There is need for most of African countries to borrow a leaf from the South African government of the subsidy format so as to encourage research to publish their research outputs in international cited journals.

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Applying knowledge management strategies to economic development in sub-Saharan Africa

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Sustainability looks to achieve best outcomes for human and natural environments both now and in the indefinite future. It relates to the continuity of economic, social, institutional and environmental aspects of human society, as well as the non-human environment. This paper examines economic development as one aspect of sustainability, with a focus on knowledge management as an economic development strategy. Using Grey's categories of knowledge management, the authors address sustainable economic development in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Production capability is no longer completely dependent on capital and equipment; information and knowledge assets are increasingly important. In this information economy, success comes from harnessing the information and knowledge of a community. Such "indigenous knowledge," local and often tacit, exists in every community, every region and every country. This knowledge is useful in identifying new entrepreneurial opportunities, as well as for sustaining and advancing local businesses. Sub-Saharan Africa provides an excellent case study. No other region of the world is in more dire need of development. The 700 million people in this area face tremendous challenges, including the world's highest incidence of HIV/AIDS, deep poverty, unemployment, political instability, and a host of related problems. Key factors for using knowledge management as an economic development strategy in the region will include ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) literacy; uncovering and developing local intellectual assets; capturing tacit knowledge; internal and external knowledge sharing; and managing political, social and technological barriers. Other specific recommendations include promoting ICT literacy through training programs; leveraging internet and email technologies for community building; investing financial resources in R & D; and developing metrics for outcome assessment.

Keywords: Knowledge management, economic development, sub-Saharan Africa.

Introduction

Unless developing countries improve their productivity and shift to the production of goods – both of which involve acquiring new knowledge – they will face declining standards of living relative to the rest of the world. This is even more true within the context of the current global economic downturn (Stiglitz, 2011). These nations must move up the value-added chain to produce goods that typically require and embody higher levels of technology. To do this they must not just close the knowledge gap; they must also create knowledge and increase their capacity for using it (Friedman, 2005).

Economic development is furthermore one aspect of sustainability and is necessary for the creation of economic wealth for all citizens within the diverse and complex layers of society. The focus of this paper is to examine economic development as one aspect of sustainability, with a focus on knowledge management as an economic development strategy. Using Grey's categories of knowledge management, the authors address sustainable economic development in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Economic development and sustainability issues in sub-Saharan Africa will be discussed in the first section of the paper. The second section will be framed in terms of the four areas outlined below, which have been harnessed from Grey's knowledge management compendium. The third part of the paper includes a general discussion of what knowledge is needed in the sub-Saharan Africa region and how it might best be managed. The final section of the paper contains a summary and conclusion that contextualize this discussion and provide recommendations for knowledge management practices in sub-Saharan Africa

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Knowledge management practices offer guidance to establish practical application strategies. An overview of these practices can be found in Denham Grey's compendium of knowledge management methods, tools, and resources (Grey, 1999). In this paper we highlight four areas from the compendium:

1. **Knowledge Discovery:** Mining transactional and sensing data for useful patterns.
2. **Knowledge Sharing:** Assisting with building shared meaning; improving understanding and increasing learning; emphasizing feedback and social negotiation; affording greater and faster information access; and supporting storage, search and publication.
3. **Knowledge Innovation:** Cultivating, nourishing and protecting the wellspring of information; building community, collaboration and trust to increase idea exchange and learning; improving access to new and improved data sources; advancing ways to store, search, display and distribute information.
4. **Knowledge Structuring:** Providing a framework to access and navigate knowledge stores, capture experiences (best practices & lessons learned) and facilitate learning; collaborative co-design; looking at relationships and reward structures to support information use; choosing the most effective process and representation for effective storage, search, and retrieval of information.

This paper will address how to adapt Grey's practices for the benefit of economic development in sub-Saharan Africa. The overarching presumptions are 1) that the creation and discovery of "relevant" knowledge fosters economic development and 2) that effective knowledge management is the mechanism by which to gain a competitive economic advantage. Along with these assumptions, knowledge management applications come with several challenges:

- Understand that knowledge is not an abstract concept, but rather actionable information with a demonstrated worth.
- Recognize that building an arsenal of knowledge without devising mechanisms for its effective flow and sharing is an act in futility.
- Comprehend that knowledge is not knowledge if it is absent of human thought and reflection.
- Understand that a substantial aim of knowledge management is to create a negotiated shared context between users of knowledge.
- Acknowledge that different types of knowledge require different management strategies.
- Understand that metrics for outcome assessment should be part of the overall knowledge management strategy.

Sustainable economic development

Sustainable development is not a new concept, but one with many applications and issues. Agriculture practices apply the sustainability concept to land and forest management (Sturtevant *et al.*, 2007; Ochola and Kerkides, 2004) and environmental activities (Janssen *et al.*, 2009). Policy makers use sustainable development to guide their planning frameworks for education (Wheeler, Burn, & Deri, 2003), information technology progress (Ahmed, 2009; Badamas, 2009), economic growth (Mohand-Said 2009; Ramaswami, Zimmerman, & Mihelcic, 2007), and rural development (Bruckmeier & Tovey, 2008). In the last few years, sustainable development has received renewed attention due to the growing awareness of global warming, as well as of the negative impact of development on both humans and the environment (Edwards, 2005; Friedman, 2009).

Furthermore, sustainable development is an ambiguous notion defined from many angles and viewpoints. The most basic, and one can add 'idealistic,' description is that of the ability to co-exist with another system indefinitely, without damage to either system. It is doubtful, however, whether nature and culture are sustainable forever, as the theoretical description of sustainability suggests. Based on our human history, cultures do not prevail indefinitely. In defining sustainability, we opt therefore to define the term rather as a process of moving towards sustainability, or of becoming more sustainable. This implies a long term commitment by all main stake holders not only to make resources necessary for sustainable growth available, but also to commit morally to what we produce and how we consume. In the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the sustainable development issue includes not only economics, but also values, value judgments and accountability for the human race and nature (Gustafson, 1995). Poor sustainability is most likely to happen in those societies in which there is no moral accountability for the agendas for development and economic growth (Sen, 1993).

Global sustainable economic development issues

If we then talk about sustainable development in Africa we need to start with a much larger issue, namely: Is there still room for more economic growth in this world? Asia, which represents more than two-thirds of the world's population, is experiencing massive economic growth. From an environmental perspective it can indeed be stated that the future of the earth is at stake if such growth is not managed well. Sachs (2005) makes the point that many poor nations, in particular

sub-Saharan Africa, work towards accelerated wealth creation, while the rich nations are still fully committed to their own growth agendas.

The aspirations of the poor nations in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the possible consequences that this will have on the global eco-system, certainly cannot be ignored. It is our prediction that economic growth in Africa will continue on its current track and that the living conditions in Africa will improve. The challenge will be how to manage the sustainability of this growth and how to develop economic strategies that can accommodate for both growth and sustainability. Most economic strategies dealing with sustainable development are in agreement that the mere increase in the production of goods and in the export of raw materials is simply not a viable option for sustainable economic growth (Stiglitz, 2003). Technology is also not the panacea. Although modern ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies) are powerful tools for communicating information, they cannot solve the underlying socio-economic and political problems associated with development processes (Servaes, 2008: 206).

Bossel (1999) and Servaes (2008) have correctly demonstrated that, due to the complex nature of human societies, there is no universal 'one size fits all' developmental model for successful sustainability. Although sustainable development is relative in nature, it shares one key indicator: human capacity building. There can be no sustainable development without human development and economic growth built on a critical mass of knowledge workers with entrepreneurial and managerial capabilities (Servaes, 2008: 142). The reality is that Africa, as part of the global knowledge economy, operates in a totally new and fundamentally different global environment. In this setting, knowledge has become the key economic commodity within which development and sustainable growth occur (Friedman, 2005). Knowledge has become the critical success factor for sustainable development, and a well-developed, maintained and affordable information infrastructure supported by an investment in human capital has become the core ingredient of sustainable development.

We are therefore of the opinion that economic strategies for sustainable development in Africa should start with a massive investment in its own people – in other words, human capacity building. If Africa does not succeed in building human capacity or developing a strong and competitive knowledge sector, it will become even more marginalized and irrelevant in the global knowledge economy. This marginalization will grow further disconnected from the global knowledge networks. Africa's wealth creation will be limited to the export of its raw materials. The continent needs to make a substantial investment in research and development (R&D) activities. As Sachs illustrates, more interdisciplinary science and more universities are needed to address the challenges associated with sustainable economic development in Africa (2005: 13).

Furthermore, such a sustainable knowledge economy presupposes successful knowledge management principles. Clark argues that Africa must "...recognize and incorporate the new reality and focus on achieving knowledge-intensive development." (2003: 1). Knowledge-intensive development includes those practices related to the discovery and sharing of knowledge, as well as the ability to create new knowledge and to structure and disseminate it in an effective manner.

Challenges to sustainable development for sub-Saharan businesses

Successful investment in human capacity building in Africa and the achievement of knowledge intensive development, based on the principles of knowledge management, are seriously affected by a number of challenges. One challenge is the low level of literacy on the continent, particularly among the adult population. According to a report published in 2006 by the OECD, more than 60% of all adults living in Africa are illiterate. Another challenge is education, which is fundamental to human capacity building. Although more than 90% of primary school children attend schools in Africa, many of them end up working on farms, mainly due to a lack of opportunity to attend university or to find a job in the knowledge sector (African Economic Outlook, 2006). It is also important to note that although many African countries do allocate a substantial percentage of their GDP to education⁴, the dollar amount is still significantly lower than those in the developed world. In 2005 more than 40 million children have never attended school in Africa and there was a shortage of 3 million teachers; however the continent has made progress in primary education in recent years and can still be regarded as knowledge poor (Commission for Africa Report, 2005; OECD, 2009; Mason, 2011). This investment will prepare the next generation in Africa to become not only users of knowledge, but also effective knowledge creators who will foster sustainable economic growth and development (Economist, 2011).

This educational issue leads us inevitably to the next challenge: What is the current status of R&D and of knowledge production in Africa? Who are the knowledge creators on the continent, and to what extent can Africa address and solve its own developmental problems by means of locally generated knowledge? On the one hand, Africa has some excellent R&D facilities – for example, the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the African Economics

4. [In 2007 South Africa allocated 5,7% of its GDP towards education, Lesotho 10%, Namibia 7,9% and Kenya 6,2%. (Economist, 2007 Pocket World in Figures)]

Research Consortium, the Bio Sciences Facility for Central and Eastern Africa, and the Community and Individual Development Association (CIDA) City Campus in South Africa (Commission for Africa Report 2005, 138). There are however some serious concerns. In 2004/5 the spending on R&D was less than 0.1% of the continent's GDP, about 60% of all R&D activities are centred in South Africa, and in the greater Congo Basin there is virtually "no science at all." (Commission for Africa Report, 2005: 138). In the Executive Summary of the African Innovation Outlook 2010, it is furthermore reported that only 3 countries on the African continent currently spend more than 1% of their GDP on R & D activities. These are Malawi, Uganda and South Africa.

Nonetheless, it is encouraging that African leaders are not only aware of these knowledge production concerns; they also clearly understand the need for an indigenous base for science and technology that can foster sustainable development on the continent.

There are two significant sustainable development initiatives to mention in this regard. The first initiative is the commitment by the African Union (AU) to increase its spending on R&D to about 1% of the continent's GDP. This will compare more favourably with the European Union's 1.93% spending, and the 2% R&D spending of Japan and the USA (Science and Development Network, 2003; IISD report, 2007). The second initiative is the establishment of the African Ministerial Council on Science and Technology (AMCOST) in November 2003. This has been done under the auspices of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and of the AU. The main purpose of AMCOST is to support sustainable economic growth on the continent by providing political support and leadership for the implementation of Africa's Science and Technology Consolidated Plan of Action (CPA). The CPA '...articulates Africa's common objectives and commitment to collective actions to develop and use science and technology for the socio-economic transformation of the continent and its integration into the world economy.' (AfDevInfo, 2007). It is clear that with these initiatives, Africa is actively trying to find answers for Africa from Africa. The question is where to find African researchers and financial resources to serve this mission.

This leads us to the next challenge: the brain drain from Africa. Many of Africa's well educated people are permanently leaving the continent at an alarming rate. According to the World Bank (2002), the monetary value of people leaving Africa now exceeds the total value of development aid that Africa receives. The World Market Research Center (2002) further estimates that it costs Africa more than \$4 billion annually to replace these losses in human skills. African countries have introduced a number of initiatives aimed to allow those countries to benefit from their citizens in diaspora. These are the Intellectual Diaspora Networks (Meyer, Kaplan & Charum, 2001), the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Networks (TOTKEN Program, 2006) and the South African Network of Skills Abroad (S.A. National Research Foundation, 2002). The goal of these initiatives is to maximize the use of the knowledge and expertise of expatriates in such a way that contributes to Africa's development.

For Africa to successfully apply knowledge management practices in support of sustainable economic development, the continent will first need to successfully address the aforementioned issues: literacy, education funding, R&D, and the brain drain from Africa (Mulder, 2008; Mason, 2011). In the next sections, we define knowledge management, discuss these knowledge management strategies, and provide examples as to how their application can benefit sustainable development in Africa.

Knowledge and knowledge management

Knowledge can be the most valuable resource in any society. It empowers us to think, evaluate, analyze and act. Without knowledge development, the potential for progress is greatly limited. People must therefore be innovative in creating and sharing knowledge with one another, through knowledge management practices that recognize the value of knowledge in various forms. Knowledge is also key to economic development and sustainability (Rooney *et al.*, 2008).

What is knowledge management? Although it is a fairly new concept, it is an age-old practice. People have always shared knowledge with one another and applied it in an economic context. With the development and the introduction of the knowledge economy, knowledge management has become an important scientific concept in organization and management theory, and many disciplines have laid some claims to it. For instance, the re-discovery of knowledge as a means for gaining a competitive economic advantage in business has been evident mostly in commerce and industry.

The knowledge management trend has developed into a discipline with many applications, including the areas of sustainability and economic development. As such, it is considered in terms of both a business practice and a theoretical field of study (McInerney, 2000: 1009). Both the theory and the practical applications are still in the development stage, with many different descriptions and working definitions of knowledge management (Dalkir, 2005). According to the authors, McInerney provides the best working definition of knowledge management:

“Knowledge management is an effort to increase useful knowledge within the organization. Ways to do this include encouraging communication, offer[ing] opportunities to learn, and promoting the sharing of appropriate knowledge artifacts” (2000: 1014)

Based on this working definition, it is possible to demarcate the following main variables within knowledge management discourse and analysis:

- The use of knowledge within a business environment
- The application of knowledge to gain economic advantages
- The importance of creating and sharing knowledge to increase organizational effectiveness and efficiency.

Defining knowledge

In order to apply knowledge management, it is furthermore important to understand the notion of knowledge. McInerney (2000: 1009) defines it as “... the awareness of what one know[s] through study, reasoning, experience or association or through various other types of learning”. Since knowledge is bound to human nature, it is active, subject to change, and dynamic. Prusak and Davenport (1998: 2-20) describe this active nature of knowledge as a person’s experience, truth, judgment and rule of thumb. As such, knowledge is used to make decisions, overcome obstacles, and solve problems. From an organizational perspective O’Dell and Hubert (2011) argues that knowledge management is a systematic effort to enable information and knowledge to flow more effectively and to add value in decision making thereby helping organizations to achieve their goals.

According to McInerney’s definition, knowledge is not a static concept. It embodies a constant process of learning and acquiring new knowledge that is internalized and applied. If knowledge is not dynamic, it cannot be transferred or shared, a condition which would inhibit the creation of new knowledge. Effective knowledge management therefore presupposes knowers (McInerney, 2000: 1010) who must have the ability and capability to internalize what they learn. This internalization is mainly accomplished through listening, observing, reading and gaining life experiences.

The philosopher Michael Polanyi popularized another important distinction between tacit and explicit knowledge concepts (1968), and indigenous knowledge. He differentiates between tacit knowledge, which is unspoken, hidden, and un-documented, and explicit knowledge, which is documented or shared tacit knowledge. If tacit knowledge is not made explicit, it might be of less value and can result in lost opportunities. At times, the term competitive intelligence refers to this change of tacit knowledge to implicit knowledge. Competitive intelligence is intuitive knowledge that is captured and shared within a specific organization or culture. It is also the type of “indigenous knowledge” (IK) critical for economic development. The World Bank (2002) describes IK as being local in that it is rooted in a particular community and situated within broader cultural traditions. It is also tacit and therefore un-codified, and it is transmitted orally. IK tends to be used to explore and experiment by local people and has no theoretical underpinnings. It is constantly changing, being produced, discovered as well as lost; though it is often perceived by external observers as being somewhat static. However, IK is unique to every culture and is the basis for local-level decision making in agriculture, health care, food preparation, education, natural-resource management, and a host of other activities in communities. IK provides problem-solving strategies for communities and is embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals. In the African context, IK can play a vital role in knowledge management.

In addition to the use of tacit and explicit knowledge, another important distinction is between ‘organizational knowledge’ and ‘individual knowledge.’ Individual knowledge is held by an individual, while organizational knowledge pertains to the body of collective knowledge held by an organization. Collective knowledge is shared amongst an organization’s members (Baumard, 2001), mainly via so-called communities of practice” (Dalkir and Liebowitz, 2011; Nonaka, 2002). Successful sharing is based on certain levels of trust amongst these members.

Although knowledge management is important in all societies, the creation and sharing of knowledge is especially imperative for developing communities and countries. If there is not an efficient transfer and use of knowledge among people in developing countries, they will not be empowered and the knowledge gap between the ‘knows’ and the ‘know-nots’ will only widen. There is no choice: developing communities will have to change and adapt to the new challenges of the knowledge economy, specifically the use of information and communication technologies. These communities will have to learn to become knowledge communities that create knowledge and share it effectively, for such knowledge is pivotal to these societies’ own survival and development. An awareness of the value of knowledge in its various forms has evolved into the discourse of knowledge management, outlined above.

Challenges to small business development in Africa

There is no doubt that technology and communications today form a corner-stone in knowledge management. In order for small businesses in Africa to succeed in implementing sound development plans based on knowledge management concepts such as followed by the Southern Eastern Cooperative Initiative, recognizes that knowledge assets, business

technologies and telecommunications are central to effective development. The following section outlines the infrastructure for information and communication technologies (ICT) and addresses specific knowledge management challenges for African small businesses.

Many new information and communication technologies, such as the mobile telephone and e-mail via the Internet, have been introduced in Africa. Much of the literature evaluating telecommunications infrastructure in Africa reports that many governmental projects and privatized projects extend telecommunications in the main cities and in rural areas. These ICT technologies provide the infrastructure for small businesses in Africa to share their knowledge more effectively than ever. This knowledge sharing is accomplished through discussion groups, mailing groups, interactive websites and live chats. As Nath (2000: 3) states: "...ICT breaks all the natural, social, cultural and hierarchical barriers to knowledge-sharing in an unprecedented manner". In addition to providing a vehicle for social and cultural change, another related aspect of ICT for African businesses is that most of the information communicated via the Internet is freely available for those with ICT access. This openly available information can give small businesses access to foreign markets, such as Asia.

Information and communication technologies are indeed tools for catalyzing economic change. Although they bring with them new opportunities, they also present new challenges. These challenges are two-fold. One challenge relates to the accessibility and use of information and communication technologies. Another challenge relates to the understanding the value of knowledge as it relates to establishing best practices and codifying that which is known. It is for this reason that Powell and Snellman (2004) argues that businesses need to realize the importance of the role of knowledge. It will not only enhance business operations but will also provide a competitive edge in the global marketplace. African businesses should for example consider appointing Chief Knowledge Managers, invest heavily in the development of an effective technology infrastructure and develop new measures of corporate performance based on knowledge

ICT implementation and literacy

These communication tools are to a certain extent available in Africa but businesses require more tools and training to effectively use it. Africa needs a greater penetration of information and communication technologies in specific small businesses. This is seen as an imperative for these businesses to become competitive in the market. However, the importance of such technologies is currently not very well understood by many local business people in Africa, and by implication is underused by local businesses in Africa. Robin and Webster argue that people must learn how to utilize information and communication technologies (1999). Currently, local business people in Africa lack the strong information literacy skills needed for using information and communication technologies effectively (Mason, 2011; OECD, 2009).

Information and communication technologies indeed contribute in many respects to improving knowledge sharing, but knowledge is still intimately human. The dynamic nature of knowledge still means that humans and their direct intervention is a prerequisite for successfully implementing knowledge management. Although information and communication technologies do create better possibilities for sharing knowledge, local businesses in Africa must also bear in mind that the implementation and use of information and communication technologies alone will not guarantee success. It is still the innovative creation and effective knowledge sharing that counts.

Businesses as learning organizations

For knowledge management to be applied effectively in small businesses in Africa, it is imperative for these businesses to become learning organizations (Skryme and Amidon, 2002). There must be a continuous process of knowledge creation and sharing which ensures that these businesses stay innovative and healthy. This requires a commitment to creating opportunities for knowledge sharing, as well as a commitment to fostering a culture of open communication. People must learn to become learners and work together. Learning organizations must furthermore be able to adapt to change and be resilient enough to weather socio-political and economic uncertainties. Without such a commitment to adaptation and learning, knowledge management cannot be successfully implemented.

It is against this knowledge management background that the authors of this article address the following question: How can small businesses in Africa become 'knowledge businesses' that understand the value and sharing of knowledge to gain a competitive advantage in their market? Two observations underlie this question: 1) Most small African businesses possess a wealth of local and indigenous knowledge, but that this is not effectively used in the market place. 2) Information and communication technologies, although introduced in Africa, are not nearly used to their full capacity to enable the effective sharing of knowledge. As Nath (2000) characterizes Africa: "Billions of people still live[] in poverty[,] as the tools of catalyzing social and economic change [information and communication technologies] lie unused and little understood."

Conclusion

As the continent moves forward with development initiatives to compete in the global marketplace, sustainable economic development presents strategies and challenges that must be addressed. Given that there is no universal model for sustainability, Africa's sustainable development strategies require human capacity building through research and development activities. Challenges for human capacity building in Africa include: a low investment in education, low literacy rates, underdeveloped research and development activities, and a brain drain from Africa. The growing discipline of knowledge management, which McInerney defines as increasing useful knowledge within an organization, provides strategies to address these challenges and encourage sustainable economic development in Africa.

Knowledge management as a set of practices offer a framework for small businesses in Africa to develop competitive development strategies. One application of knowledge management in Africa is to capture and share indigenous knowledge. That is, small businesses can capture and share knowledge that is local to the community, tacit, and oral. Grey's four categories for knowledge management provide a framework for developing effective practices in an African context. The initial phase of knowledge discovery mines data for useful patterns, such as indigenous knowledge. The knowledge sharing phase builds shared meaning through learning activities, including publishing and increasing access to publications. The next phase, knowledge innovation, builds community and collaboration and further increases access to information sources. Finally, the knowledge structuring phase provides a formal framework to support information use and choose the most effective process for information search and retrieval activities.

Knowledge management will vary depending on the goals of individual small businesses. However, harnessing the information and communication technologies infrastructure in conjunction with knowledge management practices provide a roadmap for economic development. To improve the implementation of such strategies in sub-Saharan Africa, the authors provide the following suggestions:

1. Promote ICT literacy through training programs that teach people to locate and evaluate the quality of information, store and retrieve information, make effective use and ethical use of inform and apply information to create and communicate knowledge (UNESCO, 2008). For example, InfoLit, a South African initiative, helps to promote IL to key regional players and recommends one-time and continued user education programs (Lau *et al.*, 2007).
2. Utilize Internet and e-mail technologies to foster community and communication via discussion groups, mailing lists, interactive websites and live chats
3. Invest more financial resources in R & D activities, which would positively diversify Africa's wealth creation beyond the export of its raw materials
4. Develop metrics for outcome assessment of knowledge management practices Sample measurement tools include the British Standards Institution approach (BSI, 2003), Sveiby's Intangible Assets Monitor (2002), and the KM Reference Model (Botha and Fouché, 2002).

We conclude that Africa's most underused and untapped resource is indeed its wealth of knowledge the value of this paper is to address specific knowledge management needs in Africa for sustainable small business development. Implementing sustainable economic development practices will aid the continent in gaining a competitive advantage in the global marketplace and position small businesses to compete in the 21st-century knowledge economy.

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Leadership, the financial sector and development in Nigeria

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Studies have shown that leadership is a vital factor for the realization of organizational goals in the public and private sector of any economy. This article therefore examines leadership, the financial sector and development in Nigeria. The financial sector represented by banks in this article is so crucial to the Nigerian economy in terms of its contribution to the nation's Gross Domestic Product, and in addition to being a vital source of employment. To appreciate the role of leadership in an organization vis-à-vis the financial sector and development in Nigeria, the paper focused on the challenge in some Nigerian banks in 2009, which borders on unethical practice of certain bank executives. This development almost led to the collapse of some notable banks in Nigeria resulting from their inability to meet financial obligations to customers. With the use of secondary data, the paper identified leadership failure of unethical practice (corruption in terms of granting unsecured loans to family members and personal companies to the detriment of bank depositors and shareholders) as the greatest problems militating against banks' roles as facilitator of development in Nigeria. The study recommends among others the introduction of formal education in ethics as a way of making sure that staff members imbibe ethical practice as a check against abuse of office.

Key Words: Leadership, ethical practice, development, financial sector, Nigeria

Introduction

Nigeria gained her independence from Britain on October 1st, 1960. As a young nation, development became the major priority of her leaders with a view to enhancing the living standard of the people (Asia, 2000:14-15). However, one major problem that has consistently hindered the noble goals of development in different sectors of the Nigerian economy since her attainment of nationhood is that of leadership (Asia, 2000). Poor leadership has been cited as responsible for poor management of resources, which in turn results in widespread poverty among citizens and deprivation of the basic necessities of life (Agweda, 2007:176-179). In addition, studies in Nigeria have shown that the financial institutions (banks) are also major facilitators of development in terms of projects financing. Ebong (2006:1-9) observes that the banking sector promotes economic growth through its role of mediating between the economic units that have surplus funds and those that require such funds to support their investment. He points out that "By pooling together such savings, banks are able to achieve economies of scale with beneficial effects for their borrowing customers" (Ebong, 2006).

Furthermore, the banking sector plays vital roles in bringing about development of the economy in terms of its contribution to the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which stood at 5.51 percent between 2005 and 2008 (Central Bank of Nigeria - CBN, 2008). In addition, the sector serves as a useful source for employment of labour (Oloyede and Adeyeye, 2006: 1-19; Gberevbíe, 2010:61-74). And to further support the unique role of banks as facilitator of development, Khan (2010:27) posits that by the policy of the CBN to give banks an incentive to lend, and altering their perceptions of the likely risks involved in such lending, the real economy and employment growth stand to benefit significantly.

However, for the Nigerian banking sector to play its vital roles of development in the economy, the need for effective leadership that subscribes to proper business ethics is fundamental. According to the UNDP (2001:1), there is now a greater awareness of the need for ethics, accountability and transparency in public life because the impact of unethical practices in the public sector is unsupportable in the development of nations, resulting in a loss of confidence in public institutions. Furthermore, it has also been realized that good governance and sound public administration devoid of unethical practices underpin the sustainable development of any nation (UNDP 2001). On his part, Olayiwola (2009) posits that in the Nigerian banking sector, for instance, poor corporate governance (unethical practices) is identified as one of the major factors in virtually all known instances of a financial institution's distress in the country. This implies that a lack of proper ethical standards in public or private sector organizations is detrimental to development of a nation.

The main argument in this article is that effective leadership that subscribes to proper ethical practice is more likely to bring about proper management of the financial institutions and hence facilitate the role of banks in the developmental drive of the Nigerian economy. We adopted secondary data obtained from relevant books, journals, annual bank reports,

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internet, magazines and newspapers to accomplish the work. The paper is structured into five sections. Section one serves as the introduction, section two looks at the theoretical perspective of leadership, ethical practice and development, section three examines the origin of the Nigerian banking sector, section four discusses the banking sector reforms, leadership and organizational development, and section five looks at conclusion and the way forward.

Leadership, ethical practice and development: a theoretical perspective

Various leadership theories abound in literature. These range from the trait theories that emphasize certain personal qualities and characteristics as basis for successful leadership; style theories that put emphasis essentially on a leader's behaviour at work; contingency theories that emphasize settings which include characteristics of the employees, the nature of the task they perform, and characteristics of the organization; to the theory of distributed leadership, which emphasizes what one does and not who one is, as the basis for successful leadership. The theories argue that leadership at all levels matters and must be drawn from, not just be added to individuals and groups in organizations (Serrat, 2009; Spillane, 2006; Johns and Saks, 2005:272-306; Okoh, 1998:263-300).

Serrat (2009) posits that distributing leadership for organizational performance has to do with trust and accountability at individual and group level. These various leadership theories have one thing in common – achievement of set goals. These goals could be to satisfy the needs of an individual, organization or even a nation. The distributed leadership theory is relevant to this study in the sense that leadership which recognizes the worth of a group or network of interacting individuals' contribution to the growth of an organization as basis for recognition and reward is more likely to bring about development in the Nigerian banking sector than personalized leadership based on a 'dictatorial' and 'all knowing' Chief Executive Officer.

The concept of leadership has generated divergent views from scholars and practitioners alike over the years. The reason for this may not be unconnected with the fact that different people see leadership from different perspectives. Boone and Kurtz (1987:396) see leadership as the act of motivating or causing people to perform certain tasks intended to achieve specified objectives. On his part, Okoh (1998) sees leadership as the ability to induce or persuade by any legitimate means, all subordinates or followers to contribute willingly to organizational objectives in accordance with their maximum capacity. According to Ulrich, Zenger and Smallwood (1999:7), "leaders build not only individual but also organizational capacity." And "organizational capacity refers to the processes, practices, and activities that create value for the organization" (Ulrich Zenger and Smallwood, 1999:7).

However, a leader that lacks individual capacity in terms of adherence to ethical practice is not likely to build capabilities in others and the organization to bring about development. Studies have shown that "firms with leadership depth were much more profitable than those without it" (Ulrich Zenger and Smallwood, 1999:7). The implication of this finding on development is that organizations that desire to achieve set goals of profit maximization – higher dividends to its shareholders and improved service delivery for the enhancement of the living standard of the people – must consider the issue of effective leadership with utmost importance.

Emphasizing the importance of effective leadership for development, Thompson (2001:25-38) posits that "a fundamental element of leadership is change management in which a leader assumes a dual task from one paradigm to another, and the more daunting responsibility of bringing followers along in the process ..." On their part, Okafor and Ejere (2003:29-46) observe that without a leader's control, workers may have little direction, and lack of control will result in inefficiency, particularly where workers lack self-discipline.

Ethical practice refers to adherence to a code of morality which deals with human duties and objectives (Institute of Leadership and Management, 2006:43; Nnabuife, 2010:25-41). Studies have shown different reasons for unethical practices in organizations. Hegarty and Sims (1979:331-338) posit that people with strong economic values are more likely to behave unethically than those with weaker economic values. This could be interpreted to mean that leaders who strongly consider the acquisition of wealth at all cost without bothering about the consequences are more likely to engage in unethical practices in the organization. According to Nnabuife (2010:25-41), "leaders have the crucial responsibility of ensuring that their institutions are ethically guided."

Studies have shown that adherence to ethical practice is more likely to enhance the survival and growth of organizations. Henry (2004:429) posits that data from the private sector appear to support the notion that good ethical practices are good business, furthermore, data from the public sector buttress the conclusion that practicing ethical behaviour makes organizations more effective. A survey of 1,000 graduates of the top public administration programmes in the USA found that maintaining ethical standards was ranked as the single most important skill for achieving success out of thirteen possibilities (Henry, 2004:427).

Johns and Saks (2005:274) point out that "effective leadership exerts influence in a way that achieves organizational goals by enhancing the productivity, innovation, satisfaction, and commitment of the workforce." On his part, Maxwell

(2005:4) observes that “the true measure of leadership is influence – nothing more, nothing less.” This assumption may however be considered valid to the extent that the person in the leadership position has what it takes to influence others positively to achieve set goals, or else the outcome could generate bad follower-ship. And bad follower-ship is more likely to hinder organizations from achieving their set goals, particularly where ethical values are eroded.

A study by Johns and Saks (2005:394-5) shows that “people with a high need for personal power might be prone to make unethical decisions, using this to further self-interest rather than for the good of the organization as a whole.” Another reason for unethical practice is a lack of formal education of the organizational workforce about the benefits of ethical values and the negative effects of unethical practice on the organization in terms of loss of good image/reputation, and that of low patronage from customers. A study by Weber (1990:183-190) shows that formal education in ethical practice does have a positive impact on ethical attitudes, which in turn leads to the enhanced performance of organizational workforce. In the same vein, a study of large American organizations by Weaver, Trevino and Cochran (1999:41-57) shows that the presence of strong internal structures to monitor and maintain ethical practice enhances the performance of employees. The above studies show that organizations that emphasize ethical practice are more likely to build confidence in customers about their products and services for enhanced patronage than organizations that have little or no regard for it.

The implication of the above for development is that where leadership of an organization takes the issue of ethical practice with all seriousness in pursuance of its assignments, the outcome is more likely to be that of development than where the neglect of ethical practice is the norm. Todaro (1985:108) sees development to be a multidimensional process involving the re-organization and re-orientation of the entire economic and social system, which involves the improvement of income and output, radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes, customs and beliefs.

Gberevbie (2009:165-191) points out that development is a process that entails growth, and growth is more likely to be attained in an organization where effective leadership that emphasizes ethical practice is the norm. Therefore, an organization headed by leadership that is characterized by unethical practice or corruption is not likely to experience development. This is so because while skills, capacity and vision that may make for good leadership can be acquired and enhanced at work for organizational performance, this would be almost impossible without proper ethical practices in the organization. In other words, proper ethical practice without skills and other such variables can keep an organization going, but skills and other such variables without proper ethical practices cannot sustain the organization to achieve development. From the foregoing, it could be concluded that there is a relationship between effective leadership, ethical practice and development in an organization or state.

Origin of the banking sector in Nigeria

The origin of the Nigerian banking sector could be traced back to 1892 with the establishment of Africa Banking Corporation in Lagos by Elder Dempster and Co., a Liverpool shipping firm (Adeyemi, 2002:54). The early 19th Century witnessed the influx of Arab and European trading concerns. It was the trade influx and the advent of British rule that led to the creation of a standard monetary mechanism and payment system in 1912, known as the West African Currency Board to replace the initial commodity money which was in use at that time (Adeyemi, 2002:53). The introduction of the standard money by the British Colonial Government was “a decisive step that laid the foundation for development of the Nigerian banking and financial system” (Adeyemi, 2002:54).

During the period between 1917 and 1952, different banks were established in Nigeria, which were mainly dominated by expatriate ownership. Studies have shown that within three decades leading to 1952, over 26 indigenous commercial banks were established, but could not survive due to management inexperience and numerous internal control problems (Ndekwa, 1994). The indigenous banks could not withstand competition from the better managed expatriate banks, and as a result more than 73 percent of the registered indigenous banks collapsed. In 1954 alone, 15 banks collapsed due to among other things, “insider abuse and mismanagement by the non-professionals who headed the indigenous banks’ management teams” (Adeyemi, 2002).

According to Kolawole (2007:208-209), the massive failure of commercial banks in Nigeria in the 1950s prompted the need for a regulatory and supervisory framework (banks’ reforms) to be put in place to strengthen the banking sector. Since the 1950s, various reforms have taken place in the banking sector to the most recent one tagged – Banks Re-capitalization Reforms of 2005 (Ige, 2006:5-19). According to Ige (2006), the re-capitalization reforms of banks stipulates that within 18 months, “from January 1st 2006, the shareholders’ worth of any commercial bank in Nigeria must not be less than NGN 25 billion (about USD188 million)” It is important to note that before the 2005 reforms, there were 89 existing banks in the country. And due to some banks’ inability to meet the NGN 25 billion specified re-capitalization

funds by the CBN for commercial banks to remain in business, some were compelled to merge and others were bought out by the bigger ones. At the end of the exercise, only 25 banks emerged (Aliagan, 2008:89-90).

The 2005 reforms of shareholders' fund of NGN 25 billion (about USD188 million) of the CBN was a radical shift in policy from the initial shareholders' fund of NGN 2 billion (about USD15.04 million) – an increase of 1,250 percent, required of commercial banks to stay in business before the reform (NGN133 to USD1 in 2005) (Aliagan, 2008:89-90). While the banks' reforms of 1952 pegged shareholders fund at 200,000 pounds sterling for foreign owned, the indigenous banks on the other hand were expected to provide 12,500 pounds sterling. One major underlying factor about these reforms was the need to enhance the capacity of banks to play their roles effectively as facilitators of development in the nation's economy and major player in the global financial system (Adeyemi, 2002; Ebong, 2006; Kolawole, 2007).

Banks occupy critical positions and play strategic roles in promoting growth and economic development in any nation. They are expected to manage their funds in such a way as to be able to meet depositors' withdrawals, make reasonable profit for their shareholders in the form of improved dividends, improved working conditions for their staff, and generate enhanced company tax to the government (Oloyede and Adeyeye, 2006). According to Ugubunka (2009:33-36), banks play distinct and unique roles in the economy as financial intermediaries, important and necessary agents in the transformation of national economies on the path of growth and development. These developmental roles of banks require effective leadership with sound business ethics devoid of corruption. According to Hopkins (2001:120-129), "both ethical and unethical behaviours in organization affect corporate culture and employee commitment to the organization." This implies that where leadership of an organization is committed to ethical practices, the effect is more likely to permeate to the entire organizational workforce, and the outcome is more likely to be that of improved productivity. Therefore, for organizations to achieve their set goals, those saddled with the responsibility to lead must imbibe sound ethical values.

Solimon (2001:6) and Dogon-Daji (2003:16-31) observe that weak leadership and poor business practices arising from an inexperienced workforce leads to poor credit policy and inadequate internal controls, which are the major reasons why Nigerian banks faced distressed challenge. And the effect of weak leadership in a profit-making organization is business failure. Distressed in a financial sense refers to those banks that can no longer serve or meet their obligations to the customers and banking public as they mature. And this occurs when banks are insolvent and find it difficult to meet their contractual obligations to their customers (Dogon-Daji, 2003). Mismanagement of a bank's funds by corrupt leadership is more likely to lead to distress in the banking sector. One of the most likely consequences of bank distress on customers is a loss of confidence in patronage; for the shareholders it is loss of dividend; for the government loss of revenue; and for the employees the loss of jobs. Together, these have negative implications for the overall development of any state. Good banking habits such as compliance with banking laws, rules, regulations and guidelines are imperative for their survival, growth and success (Ogubunka, 2009).

Survival and growth in any bank is a function of the ability of its leadership to properly direct and control its workforce towards the achievement of its set goals. The earning power of banks depends on the management's decision regarding the allocation of bank funds. Where a bank's funds are misappropriated by its leadership, it is bound to face distress challenge (Oloyede and Adeyeye, 2006). According to Ojo (2006:1-79):

... people aspire to develop and enjoy the benefits derivable from sustained growth. But the speed and stage of development attainable ... will depend not only on the available factors of production, but mainly on the quality of the human resources in skillfully combining the factors ... and leadership ...

The foregoing shows that there is a relationship between effective leadership that imbibes ethical practice, enhanced organizational performance and development in the economy. This implies that where corrupt leadership that lacks ethical values exists, the banking sector is not likely to perform its roles as a facilitator of development.

Nigerian banking sector reforms, leadership and organizational development

In 2005, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) undertook reforms in the banking sector, which made it mandatory for banks in the country to have NGN 25 billion (about USD188 million) as shareholders' fund, against the NGN 2 billion (about USD15.04 million) required before the reform. At the end of the exercise in 2007, only 25 banks emerged from the existing 89 banks in the country. The leadership of the 25 mega banks that emerged from the reforms then settled for business, with a view to improving on shareholders' dividends, employees' conditions of service and enhanced company tax payable to government.

The reforms, however, brought fresh leadership challenges in the area of corporate governance and management of shareholders' funds that jumped from NGN 2 billion in 2005 to NGN 25 billion in 2007. The reforms failed in the area of

not equipping the leadership of the 25 mega banks with new skills and techniques required to manage a business worth NGN 25 billion (Olayiwola, 2009).

In order to ascertain the viability of Nigerian banks as major players in the global financial markets, the CBN in 2009 carried out an investigation of banks in the country. The investigation showed that nearly all 25 mega banks defaulted in granting non-performing (unsecured) loans to customers, particularly family members and personal companies. Of all the banks in the country, five were major defaulters, which included: Union Bank, Oceanic Bank, Fin Bank, Afribank and Intercontinental Bank (Alli, 2009:1-2; Ogienagbon, 2009:1-2)

Table 1 Amount of unsecured loans granted by banks up to 2009

S/n.	Banks	Unsecured Loans (NGN billion)	Unsecured Loans (in USD)
1.	Intercontinental	210.9	1.41 billion
2.	Union Bank	73.6	493.33 million
3.	Oceanic Bank	278.2	1.85 billion
4.	Afribank	141	940 million
5.	Fin Bank	42.4	280 million

Source: (Eni, 2009:41) Note: NGN150 to USD1 (2008-2009)

Table 1 above shows the amount of unsecured loans granted by Intercontinental, Union, Oceanic, Afribank and Fin Banks to the tune of NGN 210.9 billion (USD1.41 billion), NGN 73.6 billion (USD493.33 million), NGN 278.2 billion (USD1.85 billion), NGN 141 billion (USD940 million) and NGN 42.4 billion (USD280 million) respectively. The five banks listed above granted a total sum of NGN 746.1 billion unsecured loans to individuals, personal companies, friends and relatives (Eni, 2009).

The negative effect of this development on banks' inability to meet their obligations to customers led the CBN to inject the sum of NGN 620 billion (about USD4.1 billion) (NGN155 to USD1 in late 2009) into the ailing banks to help stabilize their operations and prevent distress in the banking sector. According to the CBN Governor, Sanusi Lamido, "Some of these banks are quite large institutions and they have been mismanaged, so we had to move in to send a strong signal that such recklessness on the part of the bank executives will no longer be tolerated" (Eni, 2009; Africa News online, 2009). The CBN Governor argues further that by the involvement of the bank executives in unethical practices, they have jeopardized the interests of their depositors and creditors through poor corporate governance practices, poor credit administration and risk management practices (Eni, 2009).

In the course of the investigation, EFCC discovered how some of the ex-bank chiefs used unethical practices of self enrichment to acquire properties worth billions of naira to the detriment of shareholders and bank depositors. The tables below show some of the seized properties belonging to the former CEOs of Intercontinental Bank, Erastus Akingbola and that of Oceanic Bank, Cecilia Ibru by the EFCC.

Table 2 Seized Properties of ex-Intercontinental Bank CEO, Erastus Akingbola

S/n.	Some Seized Properties	Address
1.	Property	No. 12, Ruxton Road, Ikoyi – Lagos
2.	Property	Milverton Road, Ikoyi – Lagos
3.	Amazing Grace Plaza	Ligali Ayorinde Street, Victoria – Island, Lagos
4.	Property	No. 2, Bedwell Road, Ikoyi – Lagos
5.	Property	No. 26, Chester Terrace, London – England, NW 14 ND
6.	Property	No. 65, Gove-End, London.
7.	Property	No. 8, Connaught Street, London.

Source: EFCC Report 2009 (cited in Odunlami, 2010:32-34).

Table 2 above shows some seized properties of ex-CEO of intercontinental Bank, Erastus Akingbola by the EFCC, which have market value of NGN 15 billion (about USD96.7 million). In addition, the EFCC investigation also led to the discovery of NGN 10 billion illegally transferred funds from Intercontinental Bank's account to three different banks in

Nigeria for personal use by the ex-CEO. Furthermore, the EFCC have also frozen eight bank accounts totaling NGN 346.1 billion (about USD2.23 billion) belonging to Erastus Akingbola (Odunlami, 2009). Data presented above gave insight as to why the bank was unable to meet its obligations to customers. The above goes to show how unethical practice of leadership could hinder development of an organization and negatively affect the interest of the employees, shareholders and government in terms of job loss, lack of improved dividends and lack of enhanced company tax to government respectively.

Table 3 Some seized properties of ex-Oceanic Bank CEO, Cecilia Ibru

S/n.	Seized Properties	Address
1.	Property	Good Shepherd House, IPM Avenue – Alausa, Ikeja, Lagos (Registered in the name of Ogekpo Estate Managers)
2.	Residential Block with 19 Apartments	No. 34, Bourdillon Road, Ikoyi, Lagos (Registered in the name of Dilivent International Limited).
3.	Property	No. 57, Bourdillon Road, Ikoyi, Lagos
4.	Property	No. 5A, George Street, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
5.	Property	No. 5B, George Street, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
6.	Property	No. 4A, Ibru Close, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
7.	Property	No. 4B, Ibru Close, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
8.	Property	No. 16, Glover Road, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
9.	Property	No. 35, Cooper Road, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Michaelangelo Properties Limited).
10.	Property	No. 3, Okotie-Eboh, South-West, Ikoyi, Lagos
11.	Property	No. 35B, Isale Eko Avenue, Dolphin Estate, Ikoyi, Lagos
12.	Property	No. 38A, Isale Eko Avenue, Dolphin Estate, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Meeky Enterprises Limited).
13.	Property	No. 38B, Isale Eko Avenue, Dolphin Estate, Ikoyi (Registered in the name of Aleksander Stankov).
14.	Property	No. 4141 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD441,790 (Registered in the name of Cecilia Ibru).
15.	Property	No. 4143 Chariot Way, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD439,362 (Registered in the name of Cecilia Ibru).
16.	Property	No. 14605 Hawley Lane, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD399,990 (Registered in the name of Janet Ibru).
17.	Property	No. 14630 Hawley Lane, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD460,703 (Registered in the name of Janet Ibru).
18.	Property	No. 14721 Argos Place, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD457,950 (Registered in the name of Janet Ibru).
19.	Property	No. 14719 Argos Place, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA, Purchased for the sum of USD451,840 (Registered in the name of Janet Ibru).

Source: EFCC Report 2009 (cited in Odunlami, 2010:34 & 46-48).

Table 3 above shows some seized properties of ex-CEO of Oceanic Bank, Cecilia Ibru by the EFCC. The seized properties in Nigeria alone valued NGN 35 billion (about USD225.8 million), while the properties in the United States of America were purchased for a total sum of USD\$2.7 million. In addition, the EFCC investigation also led to the discovery of NGN 500 billion (about USD3.23 billion) in Cecilia Ibru's bank accounts (Odunlami, 2009).

Data presented above revealed that mass looting of bank's money took place during the tenure of Cecilia Ibru as the CEO of Oceanic Bank. It is also a good example of leadership failure, devoid of ethical practice. The negative reports from the CBN on banks clearly show that the affected bank CEOs lacked the effective leadership skills to manage large organizations as mega banks. The poor leadership ability of the ex-CEO of Oceanic Bank also manifested in the granting

of unsecured loans to Aero Airline (family business) – a domestic Airline in Nigeria, to the tune of USD200 million for the purchase of new Boeing 737 airplanes (Ayodele 2010:4).

After the removal of the ex-CEO of Oceanic bank from office in August 2009, the new management took a drastic measure to recover the loans, which led to the grounding of the airplanes. According to the new management of Oceanic Bank “while the bank remains committed to supporting Aero Airline, the absence of a valid contractual loan agreement will put depositor’s funds at risk” (Moses-Ashile, 2010:13). The negative implications of the above development included loss of revenue to the Airline and jobs to its employees.

Also, the unethical practice of some bank executives in Nigeria created an army of unemployed people in terms of staff retrenchment following their inability to meet financial obligations to their customers and shareholders. The table below shows the breakdown of the number of sacked employees and the affected banks.

Table 4 Number of Sacked Staff and the affected Banks

S/n.	Banks	Number of Staff Sacked	Total Workforce	% of Staff Sacked
1.	Oceanic Bank	2,000	11,907	16.79
2.	Intercontinental Bank	1,346	10,261	13.12
3.	Union Bank	137	7,746	1.77
4.	Stambic IBTC Bank	300	6,025	4.98
5.	Fin Bank	700	6,501	10.77
6.	Spring Bank	200	6,115	3.27
7.	Wema Bank	500	7,200	6.94

Source: (Anaro, 2010:59).

Table 4 above shows the total number of staff sacked by seven banks between December 2009 and March 2010. Out of the total workforce of 55,755 of the seven banks listed above, 5,183 (middle-manpower – senior staff, excluding top management) or 9.29 percent of the total workforce of the affected banks were relieved of their jobs in Nigeria between December 2009 and March 2010. This is a high figure of retrenched staff in one sector of the Nigerian economy alone (Anaro 2010:59). The foregoing shows that unethical practice by leadership of an organization is more likely to affect the fortunes of an organization negatively .

The consequences of unethical practice in the banking sector manifested, among others, public embarrassment in the arrest and prosecution of bank CEOs by the EFCC, seizure of their assets in terms of money, investments and properties, and negative perception of corruption on the bank chiefs and their family members in society.

The assessment of the performance of banks in Nigeria between 2007-2009 was based on the report by internationally recognized credit risk-rating agencies such as Fitch, Augusto & Co., Global Credit Rating, and Standard and Poor’s. The international credit ratings by the recognized International Credit Rating Agencies are significant as they indicate the alignment of a bank’s practices with world-class standards, expected to facilitate seamless integration into the international financial markets (UBAGARFS, 2008; Fitch Inc online, 2010).

Also, the ratings provide an opinion on the relative ability of an entity to meet financial commitments, such as interest, preferred dividend, and repayment of principal, insurance claims or counterparty obligations. The use of credit ratings by international credit rating agencies is therefore a means by which investors are assured of the likelihood of receiving their money back in accordance with the terms on which they invested (UBAGARFS, 2008; Fitch Inc online, 2010).

Internationally recognized credit rating agencies’ criteria for measuring the relative stability of banks’ credit under Fitch Inc range from “AAA” to “B” i.e. highest credit quality to highly speculative stage, “CCC” to “C” refers to a substantial credit risk – default is a real possibility to exceptionally high levels of credit risk – default is imminent or inevitable, “D” means bankrupt stage and “F” refers to a bank that has either defaulted or would have defaulted if it had not received external support (Fitch Inc online, 2010).

On its part, Standard and Poor’s credit stability rating ranges from “AAA” to “A” i.e. extremely strong capacity to meet financial commitments – highest ratings to strong capacity to meet financial commitment but somewhat susceptible to adverse economic conditions and changes in circumstances, “BBB” to “B” i.e. adequate capacity to meet financial commitments, but more subject to adverse economic conditions and changes in circumstances to more vulnerable adverse business, financial and economic conditions, “CCC” to “C” i.e. currently vulnerable and dependent on favourable business, financial and economic conditions to meet financial commitments to currently highly vulnerable obligations and

other defined circumstances, while “D” means payment default on financial commitments. We are to note that rating “AA” to “CCC” may be modified by the additional of a plus (+) or minus (–) sign to show relative standing within the major rating categories (Standard & Poor’s online, 2010).

Agusto & Co credit stability rating criteria range from “Aaa” to “A” and “Bbb” to “B.” i.e. a financial institution of impeccable financial condition and overwhelming capacity to meet obligations as and when due, to a financial institution of good financial condition and strong capacity to meet its obligations. “CCC” refers to a financial condition that is weak. “D” means a state of default. “A+” (plus) or – (minus) may be added to a rating. A plus added to a rating indicates that the rating may be raised. A minus means that the rating may be lowered (Agusto & Co online, 2010).

Also, Global credit Rating Company’s criteria ranges from “A1+” to “A1-” i.e. highest certainty of timely payment to high certainty of timely payment. Liquidity factors are strong and supported by good fundamental protection factors, “A2” – “A3” indicates good certainty of timely payment to satisfactory liquidity and other protection factors quality issues as to investment grade. Under investment grade, “AAA” to “A-” refers to highest credit quality to high credit quality, “BBB” to “B-” refers to adequate protection factors and considered sufficient for prudent investment to below investment grade and possessing risk that obligations will not be met as and when due, “CCC” means well below investment grade securities and “DD” refers to a state of defaulted debt obligations (Global Credit Rating online, 2010).

In the 2007/2008 financial year, Zenith Bank was rated by Standard and Poor’s at “BB-” for both long and short term credit stable outlook, Fitch Rating Agency rated the bank at “AA-” for both long and short term credit stable outlook and Agusto & Co rated the bank at “Aaa” for both long and short term credit stable outlook. (ZBAGAR, 2008:2).

UBA was rated by Fitch Agency at “B+” and “B” for long and short term credit stable outlook respectively, Global Credit Rating Company Limited rated the bank at “BB-” and “A1+” for long and short term credit stable outlook respectively, and Agusto & Co rated the “Aa” and “Aa+” for long and short term credit stable outlook in the 2007/2008 financial year (UBAGARFS, 2008:74).

On the other hand, Intercontinental Bank did not obtain credit rating from any of the internationally recognized rating agencies discussed such as Fitch Inc, Standard and Poor’s, Agusto & Co and the Global Credit Rating in the 2007/2008 financial year (IBARA 2008). Union Bank on its part got Fitch ratings of “A+” and “F1” respectively in the short and long term credit stable outlook in the 2007/2008 financial year (UBARA, 2008:16).

In the same vein, Oceanic Bank got Fitch ratings of “B” for longer term Issuer Default Rating with a stable outlook in the 2007/2008 financial year (OBARA, 2008:23). On its part, Afribank did not obtain credit rating from any of the internationally recognized rating agencies discussed, which include Fitch, Standard and Poor’s, Agusto & Co, and the Global Credit Rating the 2007/2008 financial year (AARA, 2008).

The implication of the above low level ratings of some Nigerian banks in 2007/2008 by international financial rating institutions on performance shows that unethical management practices by some CEOs of banks was the norm. This is particular so with the high level of unsecured loans granted and corrupt self enrichment of some CEOs of banks in the country as presented in Tables 1 – 3 above. This has contributed to the underdevelopment of the Nigerian economy in the sense that while healthy banks provided stability in the area of sustained tax to government and regular dividend to shareholders; the poorly managed banks on the other hand, generated a state of instability in terms possible bank distress, prevention of customers from gaining access to their savings, job loss for employees, loss of dividend by shareholders and loss of tax by the government.

Therefore the low level ratings by the international financial rating institutions of Afribank, Oceanic and Intercontinental Banks in the 2007/2008 financial year and the subsequent discovery in 2009 by the CBN of unethical practice of massive corruption by the leadership of these banks indicate that there is a positive relationship between the rating outcomes of financial institutions by the international financial rating agencies and proper management of banks for development of a nation’s economy.

Conclusion and way forward

The paper examines the place of leadership for development in an organization. The importance of leadership as a major factor for the realization of organizational goals cannot be overemphasized. However, for leadership to play its unique role of leading and controlling organizational workforce for performance, there is a need for sound ethical practice to be emphasized and as a culture to be imbibed and practiced by leadership and the entire organizational workforce.

Where leadership of an organization takes the issue of ethical values with all seriousness in pursuance of its assignments, the outcome is more likely to be development in the organization than where the neglect of ethical standards is the norm. Therefore, an organization headed by leadership that is largely characterized by unethical practice or corrupt self-enrichment is not likely to experience development and the negative implications will include loss of jobs

for the employees, lack of improved revenue for the organization and shareholders, and loss of enhanced tax for the government.

Way forward

The bank ratings discussed above indicate that First Bank, Zenith Bank and UBA were better managed to have earned international recognition than Intercontinental, Union, Oceanic and Afribanks. To overcome the problem, poor performance and distress in the nation's banking sector, the following measures are suggested as a way forward.

First, the Federal Government of Nigeria should as a matter of urgency put in place a policy through the CBN to make it mandatory for top bank officials to declare their assets in terms of cash and landed properties before and after assuming office. The idea is to ascertain the level of assets acquired by these officials while in office. Any bank official found guilty of misappropriation of embezzlement of public funds should be sentenced to a defined jail term without an option of a fine to serve as a deterrent to others in the future. However, this author is not unaware of the fact that some people could act as a 'front' for the bank officials while in office. As a result, stiffer punishment in terms of jail term without an option of fine should be reserved for those that will want to 'front' for others.

Second, the CBN should make it mandatory for employees of banks, particularly the middle and top management levels, to acquire formal education in ethics as a way of imbibing ethical standards to put them in check against abuse of their position. In addition, the CBN should organize regular training for top bank executives in Nigeria for the acquisition of modern management techniques and skills required to manage large business interest necessitated by the 2005 banks' reforms.

Third, the CBN should mandate banks to create internal structures specifically devoted to monitoring high level compliance with ethical practices in their operations. This should be in addition to the regular auditing of banks' activities by the CBN. These structures are to be manned by people of proven integrity. The presence of strong internal structures to monitor and maintain ethical standards is more likely to enhance the performance of employees and the organizations.

Finally, the tenure of top bank executives in Nigeria should be regulated by the CBN. A system whereby top bank executives remain in office perpetually should be done away with. A tenure of not more than three years in the first instance and renewable only once, is hereby recommended for bank CEOs. In addition, remuneration of bank executives should be regulated to reflect the general earnings in the country. A situation where the national minimum wage is only NGN 7,500 a month for the least paid worker in the country (about USD50), while bank executives earn as much as NGN 3 million (about USD20,000) should be totally discontinued. This will help to moderate the appetite for a luxury life style of Nigeria's top bank officials.

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Decentralization of school management to boards of governors in secondary schools in Kenya: a case of Trans-Nzoia County

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The concept of decentralization of school management to Boards of Governors was adopted by the Teachers Service Commission in an attempt to infuse community participation in the administration of schools. It has also been proposed as the solution to challenges facing the education sector including eliminating government bureaucracy, increasing efficiency and accountability, and improving the quality and relevance of education. In this study we attempt to explore the impact of decentralization of educational services to Boards of Governors on the management of secondary schools in Kenya. The study utilized qualitative data collected from twenty public secondary schools in Trans-Nzoia County, where the views and experiences of school principals on school management by boards were sought. This article reports that while decentralization has many positive aspects, it also has numerous demerits that need to be remedied. It particularly recommends the genuine professionalization of the composition of the boards. The implications of the findings are considered within the wider context of management of education in Kenya.

Keywords: Educational management; decentralized management; school management; boards of governors, Trans-nzoia County - Kenya, secondary schools–Kenya, Kenya

Introduction

Education is important for the socio-political, economic and cultural development of any nation. In this regard, management of educational institutions must be based on professional management practices. Okumbe (1999) observes that several countries have developed systems and policies to meet their educational needs. In the case of developing countries, such policies are mainly geared towards attaining parity in standards with their developed counterparts. Community participation in decentralized educational systems has become increasingly important in these reform efforts. In Kenya, one such approach is the integration of the community in school management through boards of governors.

Management of education in Kenya

The Education Act (1964) defines a manager as any person or body of persons responsible for the management and conduct of a school, and includes a Board. In addition to the Act, the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) Act, Cap. 212, confers extensive powers on the Minister of Education (MOE) over the management and regulation of education in Kenya. The two acts mandate the minister to delegate his powers to local authorities, district education boards or Boards of Governors.

Board of Governors (BOG) Management

The Education Act Cap. 211 (1968) mandated the establishment of boards of governors (BOGs), comprising parents and other members of the community. BOGs play a central role in the administration of schools and have been given authority to influence and control important issues, such as school budget, discipline, and appointment and promotion of teaching and administrative staff. In a nutshell the mandate of school BOGs is to delegate management of schools more so decision-making authority from ministry and district offices to individual schools. It fosters principals, teachers, students, and parents to have greater control over the education process by giving them responsibility for decisions about the budget, personnel, and ensuring the curriculum is implemented. Through the involvement of parents, and other community members in these key decisions, BOG can lead to more effective learning environment for students. The core components of BOG are decentralization of administration, participation by staff, parents and the community in the school set-up. Hence, delegation of power and authority is considered to be a significant factor in BOG that leads to commitment, trust, and a sense of ownership.

It is clear that the role of BOGs is central in the attainment of school goals. The importance of an effective, efficient and co-operative school management structure cannot be underestimated. The figure below shows the position of BOG in the hierarchy of school management in Kenya.

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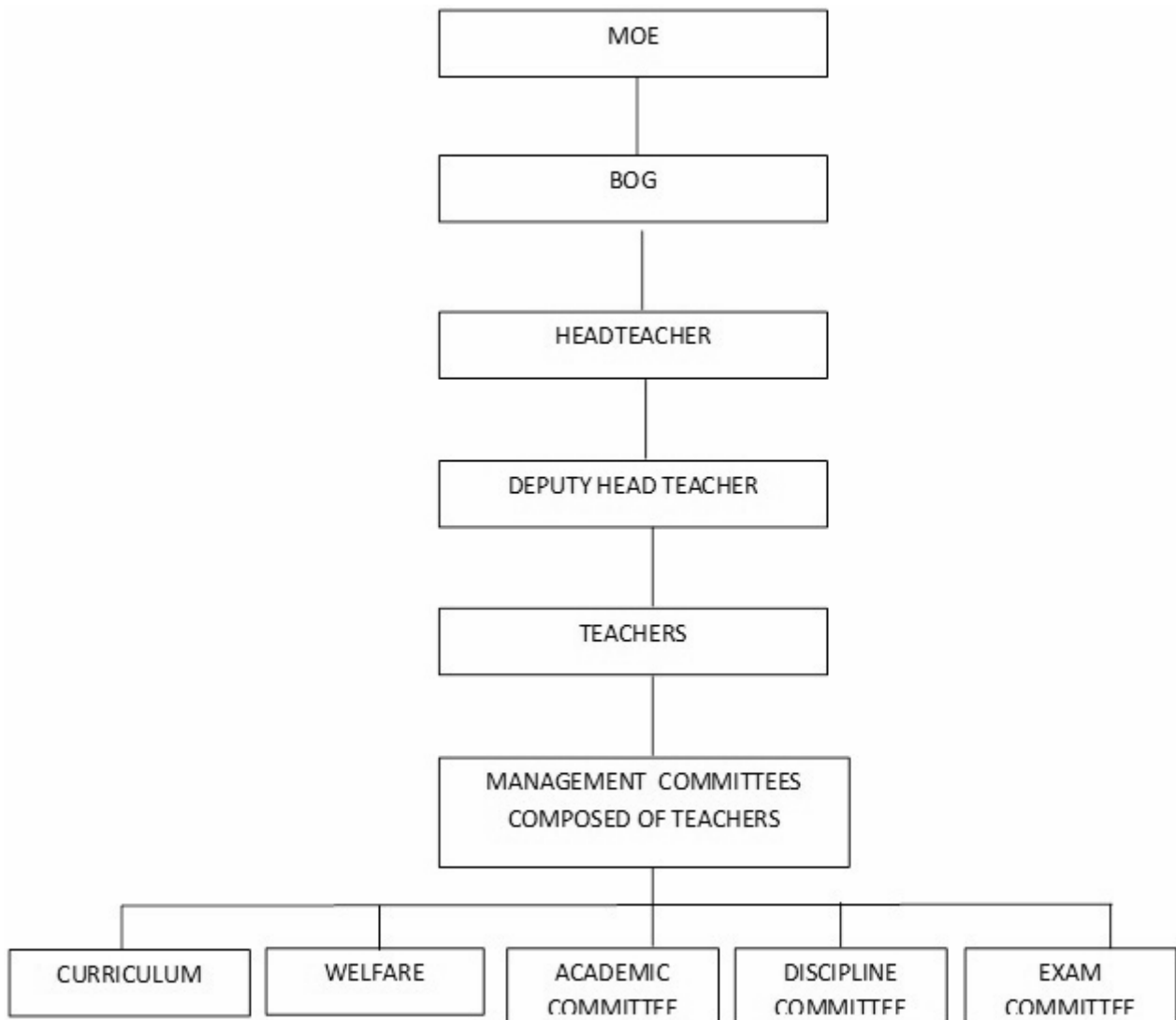


Figure 1 Secondary School organizational structure showing the position of BOG

Source: Osure (1996)

Purpose

In this study we attempt to explore the impact of decentralization of educational services to Boards of Governors on the management of secondary schools in Kenya. We report on the findings of a case study conducted in Trans-Nzoia County that set out to address the following objectives:

1. To find out school principals' experiences and perceptions on decentralization of school management to BOGs.
2. To establish the merits and demerits of management by boards of governors in secondary schools in Kenya.

Literature Review

In this section we present the theoretical framework that informs this study and briefly review the four primary structures of decentralization gleaned from the literature, and then discuss some of the elements of decentralization.

Theoretical model

The decentralization of decision making advocated by the ministry of education in Kenya rests on the BOGs appointed to run individual schools. BOG system is based on collaboration between the community, principals and teachers in dealing with management related issues in schools.

Pushpanadham (2006) proposes a model, School Based Management (SBM), which seeks to improve the quality of education by relocating significant decision making authority from the central government and district education offices to

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individual schools. This model augurs well for the present study since its main components are decentralization of administration, participation by staff, parents and the community in the school.

The following figure explains the concept of school based management.

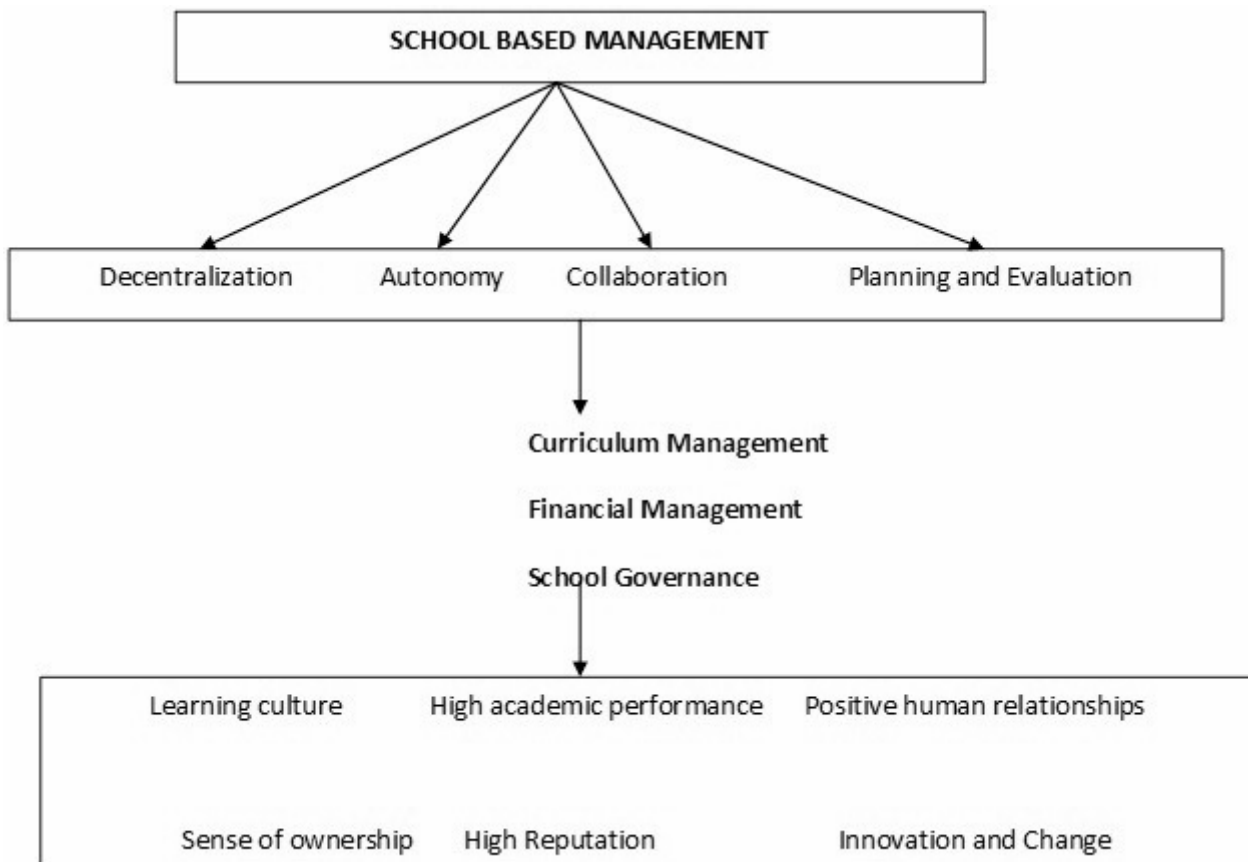


Figure 2 School Based Model (SBM)

Source: Pushpanadham (2006)

In the model shown above, decentralization of authority is considered to be a significant approach that leads to commitment, trust, and a sense of ownership. This reflects the purpose of BOG management which is to create an efficient school system by building structures that improve the standards of education by taking on board all stakeholders. The ultimate objective according to Pushpanadham (2006) of the SBM model is to establishing high academic standards, maintaining positive human relations, developing a sense of ownership, fostering high reputation in the society and accepting innovation and change. These are the features that are at the core of the BOG management framework in Kenya.

Sharma (1982) emphasizes that the “effective decentralization of management largely depends on efficient leadership”. Leadership can only be effective in the Kenyan context if principals work seamlessly with BOGs in school management. Pushpanadham (2006) proposes the following expectations of management at the school level:

- Involvement of staff in decisions about programs and organization;
- Involvement of parents and others in the community in the school;
- Efficient and effective allocation of resources, based on a school budget;
- Strong instructional leadership and a focus on educational concerns;
- An environment supportive of professional growth and collaboration;
- Long term academic improvement;
- Positive attitudes toward, and support for the school demonstrated by staff, students, parents, and the community; positive behavior, modeled by the staff;
- The school should be successful and effective in meeting its goals.

Schools in Kenya are run through a collaboration of various interests and stakeholders performing varied functions that are aimed at achieving set goals. The minister appoints the BOG from persons nominated by a panel consisting of the principal, provincial education officers and district education officers.

Literature on school management revealed four primary structures in the management of schools. These structures are discussed briefly below:

1. Centralized management

Complete centralization of the school system provides the government with total control over almost all administrative and curriculum decisions. There are several strengths of this approach. Vuchic (2008) observes that the government has the ability to ensure equity in both the financing and the quality of education. It is also able to provide consistent curriculum and assessment throughout the country, and it can enforce that a bare minimum level of educational support is provided to all of its citizens.

This approach is often criticized because government bureaucracy is perceived as wasteful and inefficient. It is difficult for schools and communities to give feedback about their needs to the government. Further, centralization of management suggests that policies meant to help urban schools are also effective for rural schools.

2. Centralized financing and decentralized management

In this model, centralizing financing while decentralizing management allows government to control equitable financial distribution based on revenues while giving municipalities more control over how that money is spent and how the schools and curricula are run.

This type of system as observed by Vuchic (2008) works well for some areas, especially affluent ones, because it gives them more freedom to govern their schools around local needs and issues. However, it is sometimes very difficult for poorer areas to take advantage of decentralized management because they neither have the qualified personnel nor the resources to handle the responsibility of school management, and they often need to rely on the government for the planning and management of any school system.

3. Decentralized financing and centralized management

Decentralized financing obligates communities to raise funding for schools on a neighborhood level. Whereas this could definitely be advantageous for affluent neighborhoods, poor neighborhoods will tend to lag behind due to financial inadequacies. This means that the government has to avail support so as to ensure equity in funding. Unfortunately, the problem of economic inequality between different regions which is particularly prevalent in African countries makes this type of decentralization ineffectual. It has been observed that decentralized financing creates the biggest increase on inequalities in education.

4. Decentralizing financing and decentralizing management

Finally, decentralization of financing and management, described as full decentralization is achieved by delegating exclusive authority to local communities managing educational matters in the community. The major problem encountered by this system is that confers the burden of raising funds on the local communities meaning that low income areas suffer due to inadequacies in funding while affluent areas thrive. This results in inequities in education both in terms of quality and access of education by disadvantaged children.

Countries which have gone the decentralization way adopt one or the other of these approaches. However it is possible to administer them in an amalgamated manner, for example, rather than completely decentralizing the financing or administration to communities, some countries like the U.S. and Australia tend to delegate only certain aspects of management from federal to the state level so that states manage financing and budgets along with the communities or districts themselves.

The Kenyan situation can best be described in this way since considerable managerial authority has been delegated to Boards of Governors (BOGs) but the ministry of education retains an oversight role to ensure some level of redistribution and economies of scale for management. The ministry of education provides financial support from to both lower and high income communities but lack of expertise in school management by BOGs is a problem to these schools.

In summary, there are many different ways to centralize or decentralize various aspects of the provision of education. In some cases decentralization of certain areas may make sense and work for some communities. However, in other cases it can greatly increase inequality, while only improving education for a few select groups or communities.

Research design

The study employed a descriptive survey design. The intention was to collect data on the principals' experiences and relationships with their boards of governors. Kothari (2005) observes that a descriptive design provides an accurate

description of prevailing conditions, practices and attitudes. The design was effective for our study since it describes the experiences and perceptions of school principals on decentralization of school management to BOGs.

The study covered 20 public secondary schools in Trans-Nzoia County. The choice of schools was done purposively based on “availability, accessibility and theoretical interest” (Schwandt, 1997). The principals of each of these schools were interviewed so as to get facts on the subject under study. The intention of the study was to present an in depth perspective of principals’ views on the subject of BOGs.

The first step of data collection was the administration of questionnaires to the school principals. Data from questionnaires was corroborated with interviews with the principals. The questionnaires involved open-ended questions to elicit honest, personal comments from respondents (Cohen *et al.*, 2000:255). These questions probed principal’s experiences and perceptions of the management capabilities of BOG members in managing the school.

Semi-structured interviews were used to draw in-depth probing and extended responses. These questions focused on how respondents experienced and perceived BOG management, probing strengths and weaknesses in particular. The respondents were encouraged to narrate their experiences freely and at length.

Findings and discussion

Despite the apparent embrace of decentralization of school management to BOGs in Kenya, there are still serious challenges faced by school managers. We present the merits and demerits of BOG management as revealed by school principals and how it affects the day to day running of schools. In presenting findings, we wish to reiterate that only principals’ responses are discussed. Quantitative and qualitative data drawn from questionnaires and interviews are presented under the following subheadings:

- The merits of school board management
- The demerits of BOGs

Merits of BOGs

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate, in order of importance, the merits of decentralization of educational services to BOGs. The suggested merits were:

1. Developing a sense of ownership of the school – 30% of the principals supported the notion that BOGs enhance “infuse community participation in the administration of schools”. The fact that BOGs are composed of members from the community such as parents and religious leaders brought about a sense of ownership. This was enhanced by the involvement of staff, parents and others in the community in decisions about programs and organization of school affairs.
2. Maintaining positive relations with the community – 28% of responses from school principals felt BOGs fostered high reputation of their schools in the society and were key in enhancing positive participation by parents, and other community members in school affairs.
3. Improving academic standards – 17% of principals said that the long term academic improvement, and support for the school demonstrated by staff, students, parents, and the community were responsible for their school being successful and effective in meeting their academic goals.

During follow-up interviews, we enquired from the respondents whether BOG management led to:

1. 1. Efficient and effective allocation of resources based on the school budget – 10% of the interviewed principals felt that board members stuck to their budgets and ensured quick allocation of resources. This was attributable to their commitment to the overall success of the school.
2. Creation of an environment supportive of professional growth and collaboration – A paltry 8% of respondents supported the idea that the presence of BOGs was professionally enriching since some of them comprised experienced personnel and professionals in areas such as educational leadership and financial management. This question prompted most principals to voice the need for professionals appointed to school boards.
3. Relieve pressures on the principal – some (7%) principals acknowledged that efficient board members assisted them tremendously especially in cases of handling students (in)discipline, prudent financial and other resource utilization and organization chairing of Annual General Meetings.

Table 1 Principals' perceptions on the merits of BOGs

Merits	Frequency (N=20)	Percentage of positive responses
Developing a sense of ownership of the school	7	35
Maintaining positive relations with the community	6	30
Improving academic standards	3	15
Efficient and effective allocation of resources	2	10
Creation of an environment supportive of professional growth and collaboration	1	5
Relieve pressures on the principal.	1	5
Total	20	100

Demerits of BOGs

1. Lack of managerial competency - school boards composed of members who, according to 41% of respondents (Table 2), do not possess managerial skills. This impacted negatively not only in the management of school affairs but also meant that the BOGs provided less professional support for principals and teachers.

2. Abuse of power by BOGs - cases of nepotism, favouritism and bribery ranked highly (24%) among respondents who cited teacher recruitment exercises and tendering of school provisions as the most abused processes.

3. Conflict between BOGs and principals - we deduced that there was a concern in terms of complimentary working relationships between principals and BOGs. Numerous cases of conflict between principals and BOG in management of school affairs were raised. For example, one principle accused "an illiterate board member" of "bulldozing decisions that were absolutely absurd and backward". Most of these cases were largely attributable to lack of clarity in the definition of respective roles and duties. Principals complained that some board members encroached on their 'professional roles' and felt that BOGs should be completely delinked from running academic affairs which according to them was their preserve since they were professionally trained teachers.

4. Difference in priorities between principals and board members - another factor of conflict is difference in priorities between principals and board members. An example cited by most principals is the emphasis of BOGs on physical development of school facilities at the expense of improving performance. One principal recalled how in the face of declining performances by his school he requested the board to set aside funds for purchase of more books but instead the members prioritized building of a block of classes to facilitate enrolment of more students.

Table 2 Principals' perception of the demerits of BOGs

Demerits	Frequency (N=20)	Percentage of responses
Lack of managerial skills by board members	8	41
Abuse of power e.g. corruption, favouritism	5	24
Conflict between principals and BOG	4	22
Difference in priorities between principals and board members	3	13
Total	20	100

The overriding aim of TSC was to foster community participation in the administration of schools. This was easily achieved by simply incorporating community leaders and parents in the boards. However, this only served to present a façade of community participation since their effectiveness and basic conversance with administrative functions were overlooked. Sang (2005: 55) in a study on the role of BOGs in teacher requirement found that the level of education of board members was poor. He reveals that only 42.9% of members had attained secondary school and above level of education with the rest having primary school education or being illiterate.

We observed that principals looked down upon BOG members based on their educational qualifications. They were clearly at a loss on whether illiterate members were expected to grasp the basic school management principles "when they had never been to such schools themselves." This created friction as BOG members felt sidelined in management decisions, in fact a few of them we spoke to informally claimed that principals arrogated themselves "executive authority" over management of schools by making unilateral decisions.

The theoretical framework that guided this study (Pushpanadham, 2006) proposes the SBM model which seems to lend support to the principals' argument that boards should comprise members conversant with management practices. The model provides managerial roles of boards as being: curriculum management, financial management, school governance and human resources management. These are salient skills that require formal training which clearly lack among the ranks of board members. This is the only way BOG system can lead to the achievement of a positive learning culture, high academic performance, good human relationships, and sense of ownership, reputation, innovation and change.

The responses from school principals show that merits of boards outweigh their demerits. What is clear is that there is need to address a number of shortcomings identified by the principals. It is instructive to note that school principals did not advocate for the disbandment of boards but felt that the appointing authority could address issues that encumber the efficiency of BOGs. In view of the responses presented in this section, the researchers propose a number of recommendations outlined the following section to improve effectiveness of BOGs.

Conclusion

We conclude that whereas there are merits in school management by boards of governors, most notably the involvement of local communities hence instilling a strong sense of ownership, there is a need for genuine professionalization of the composition of the boards. The significance of professional leadership in ensuring the success of the decentralized management of education at all levels cannot be over emphasized. It calls for the sourcing of professional personnel be it within the local community or alternatively the training of board members and principals on modern management practices. This would ensure that capacity is built at every level of the decentralized structure, encompassing all stake holders to make the management of schools efficient and successful. The role of the ministry of education should be at the level of monitoring so as to ensure the desired management practices are achieved.

Recommendations

Improving the effectiveness of BOGs

Ideally, management by boards should be strengthened by defining its structures, process and personnel for creating an efficient school system where learning is considered as a priority. There is a dire need, therefore, to develop a training curriculum for board members that include new subjects which will equip them with basic working knowledge in accounting, planning, financial management and project management.

The Ministry of Education should also develop a criterion for the appointment of members of boards of governors and create a common pool of managers of all public schools. It is important for the government, parents, school managers and educationists to review the current system of managing public institutions to attract more professionals and allow full and equitable participation by all the stakeholders.

Results further suggested that co-operative administrative practices between principals and the BOGs are key in dividing the responsibilities of school governance. This would to a large extent resolve the stand-off between certain principals and their boards to ensure effective management of schools.

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