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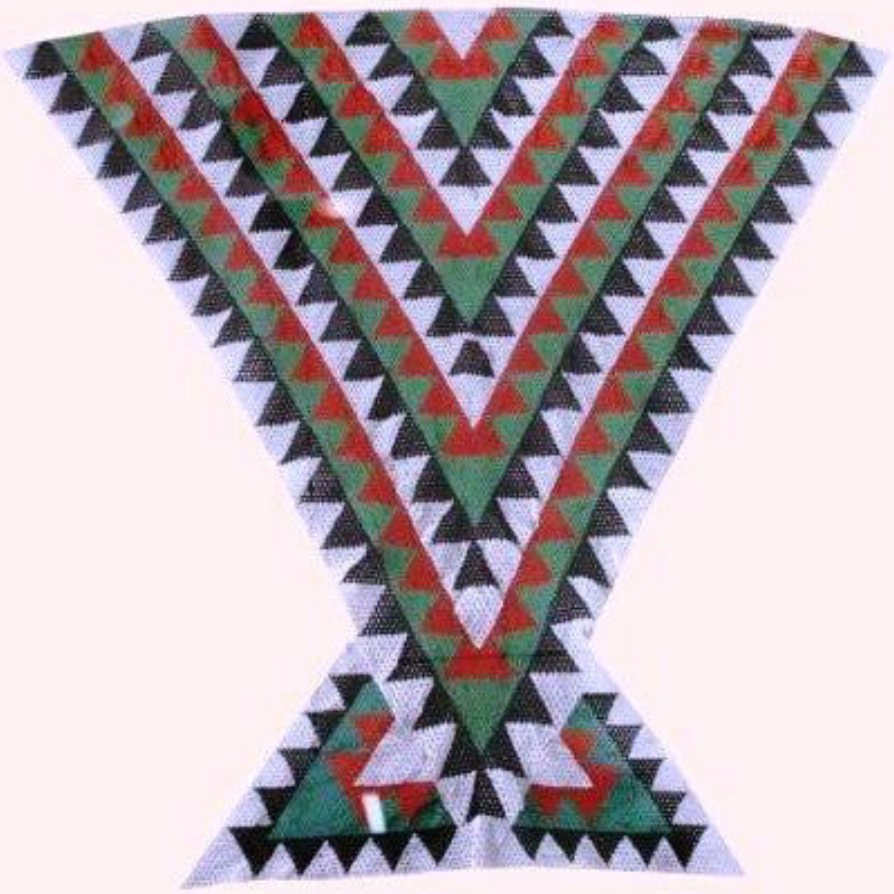
The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences



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EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* readers,

It is my pleasure to present the first issue of *Inkanyiso. JHSS* Vol 4 No. 1, 2012, that covers a wide range of interesting themes including literature and ethno-linguistics, political science and public administration, recreation and tourism. Please note that Inkanyiso is an open access scholarly journal; therefore, articles can be accessed easily on the journal's website - *http://www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za* - through the search engines AJOL, EBSCO host, SABINET and DOAR, among others.

The first article in this issue, entitled "Caritas and Habitus in Dan Jacobson's 'The Zulu and the Zeide'", is written by Myrtle Hooper from the University of Zululand. Myrtle explores the embodiment of caritas in the story, the spatialisation that reflects the boundaries (and the crossing of boundaries) of the apartheid world , the micropolitics of power between the characters within the complex of relationships that develops between them, and the ethics of our reading of the story. In the second paper, "Naming practices in colonial and post-colonial Malawi", Themba Moyo from the University of Zululand declares that in African societies naming practices invariably reflect an important rite of passage as a cultural practice, which is always in sync with each society's ordinary citizens' socio-cultural and historical conditions. He also discusses the influence of colonialism in Malawi on naming practices and current changes in place. Themba gives Malawi as an example, but cautions that this could be applied to the entire Southern African region which shares the same kind of history. Brain drain and brain gain has become increasingly popular in socio-economic and political research. In the third article, "Reversing Brain Drain in Africa by Engaging the Diaspora: Contending Issues", co-authored by Idahosa Osaretin and Akpomera Eddy from University of Benin, Benin City, the authors discuss the impact of the brain drain in Africa and argue for an increased involvement of the African Diaspora in the debate. Reading by children raises diversified research and often controversial debate in children literature and learning. The fourth article, by Jerry Agalo from Moi University, entitled "The Emerging Role of Media as the Language Art in Children's Literature in Kenya", uses Kenya as an example to discuss and illustrate the diffusion of media in contemporary society, how media affects children's learning processes and offers various representation strategies for children's literature.

There are several multidisciplinary studies on the Niger Delta in Nigeria, which abounds in mismanaged natural resources. In the fifth article, entitled "Spoils politics and environmental struggle in post-amnesty Niger delta" and co-authored by Daniel Towne and Iro Aghedo from the University of Benin, Benin City, and Godwin Uyi Ojo from King's College London, the three authors examine the protracted conflict among Niger Delta communities with a view to understanding the nature of these resource conflicts. The authors investigate the conflicts using the greed and grievance framework and conclude that, contrary to the literature, grievance may transform into greed in a mutually reinforcing pattern. The sixth paper is co-authored by five authors, Judith Buhle Dlamini, Vijay Rugbeer, Gedala Mulliah Naidoo, Marathane Reggy Metso and Padhma Moodley, all from the University of Zululand. In their article, "The effects of alcohol consumption on student life at a rural campus", they argue that universities ought to provide students with an enriching, joyful and wholesome learning experience that is free from alcohol abuse. In the process of the argument they examine the risks of alcohol as part of the student culture, the harmful effects of drinking and the consequences of peer pressure on students at a rural campus. The seventh article, which is on ethno-linguistics, is entitled "The stuttering implementation of language policies in the South African education system" and is written by Elliot Mncwango from the University of Zululand. Elliot decries the current status of indigenous African languages in South Africa and focuses his article on the role which schools can play in promoting and developing indigenous African languages. Our last article in this issue is on recreation and tourism, is entitled "Rural tourism development: a viable formula for poverty alleviation in Bergville", and is authored by Mzikayifani Mthembu from the Department of Education, KwaZulu-Natal. He argues that rural tourism and community development need to focus on poverty alleviation and economic modernisation. Mzikayifani analyses the direct and indirect livelihood impacts of tourism development and their implications for poverty alleviation in Bergville and recommends that local tourism planners adopt both the advocacy paradigm and the cautionary paradigm in developing rural tourism.

Enjoy your reading

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

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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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(i) It is our policy to encourage and support novice and established authors. However, in order to improve on the quality of publications, manuscripts that are unanimously recommended by at least two reviewers for substantive revision or rejection may not be published.

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

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

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

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

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

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Works cited

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

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

Gumbi, Rachel Vuyiswa. 2009. Personal communication on January 16, 2009. **[*INTERVIEW*]**

Jacobs, D. 2001. A bibliometric study of the publication patterns of scientists in South Africa 1992-96, with special reference to gender difference. In: M. Davis & C.S. Wilson(Eds.). Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Scientometrics and Informetrics, Sydney, 16-20th July 2001, Vol.2, 275-285 **[CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS]**

Mason, B L. 1994. The psychological effects of violence on children: An exploration of a sample of black primary school children from the Natal Midlands. Unpublished masters thesis. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal. **[*THESIS*]**

Oosterlinck, A. nd. Knowledge management in post-secondary education: Universities. Accessed online on September 8, 2008, at: *http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/46/21/2074921.pdf.[**NO DATE**]*

Schiesari, Juliana. 1992. *The gendering of melancholia: Feminism, psychoanalysis, and the symbolics of loss in Renaissance literature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

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Taft, R. 1981. The role and personality of the mediator. In Bochner, S (ed). *The mediating person: Bridges between cultures*. Cambridge: Schenkman. 53-88.

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Contents

Caritas and Habitus in Dan Jacobson's 'The Zulu and the Zeide'

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Dan Jacobson is a prolific writer whose oeuvre spans some 65 years, and includes a range of different texts. He has lived in Britain for most of his adult life, but his roots are South African, and he set much of his early work in this country. It has however fallen into relative critical obscurity. His 1959 story 'The Zulu and the Zeide'has been widely anthologised, but deserves more serious and more specific critical attention that it has recently received, because it evinces at an elemental level the ways in which, and the extent to which, human caring was able to challenge, arrest and undermine the public proscriptions set up to define and control interaction between people in our country during the apartheid years. This essay explores the embodiment of caritas in the story, the spatialisation that reflects the boundaries (and the crossing of boundaries) of the apartheid world he depicts, the micropolitics of power between the characters in the story and within the complex of relationships that develop between them, and the ethics of our reading of the story.

Keywords: Caritas, embodiment, spatialisation, apartheid, micropolitics of power, ethics of reading

A striking television advertisement has been screening on South African channels for the past couple of years. It flashes up retrospective episodes that take place , one by one, in the life of a woman in the back seat of a large vehicle. We see her first old and grey and alone; then middle-aged, journeying to the hospital with a stricken husband; then as a young mother nursing a child; then as a teenager making out with a boyfriend; then as a ten-year-old in bunny ears on her way to a ballet performance. The narrative ends with her as a baby decked out in bonnet and bootees, crying. The car has been hijacked – a common event in our society at this time. A uniformed man reaches in through the open door to lift her out. The man is black. The child is white. He cradles her small head as he holds her close. She clutches his arms with both chubby hands. The by-line goes: she may not remember him, but he has given her a lifetime of memories to come (Joe Public 2010).

Caritas is defined in the Concise Oxford as 'love of mankind; humanity'. One of the reasons the advertisement described above is so arresting, I think, is because it embodies *caritas*: it renders the immediate physical response of one human being to the needs of another. This rendition is intensified because the social context of South Africa continues to be structured by a heritage of *apartheid* binaries. The imagery of the advertisement invokes, and crosses, boundaries: the gender boundary of a man performing the nurturant role of holding a baby; the racial boundary of a black man's hand holding a white child's head, her chubby hands gripping his strong arms. How *caritas* is embodied – and especially how it is embodied in Dan Jacobson's story 'The Zulu and the Zeide' – is one of the issues I wish to explore in this essay, because it evinces at an elemental level the ways in which, and the extent to which, human caring was able to challenge, arrest and undermine the public proscriptions set up to define and control interaction between people in our country during the *apartheid* years.

In a 2002 article published in *Narrative*, Genie Babb argues that narrative theories of character have in recent times neglected the body. Her article seeks to remedy this by insisting on its importance; by 'unearthing' the body in narrative. Drawing on Husserl, and after him Merleau-Ponty, she distinguishes between two interrelated aspects of embodiment: '*Körper*', the physical, objectified body studied by science; and '*Leib*', the lived sensation of embodiment. Two of the concepts she uses to explain these aspects are particularly relevant to my essay, namely 'motility' (the movement through space which is 'enabled by the intertwining perceptions of environment, kinesthesia, internal sensation, and control'), and 'habitus' ('the automatic, habitual nature of embodied practice repeated over time, which does not occupy conscious thought … those habit-forming processes that are instituted by social arrangements, such as the way spaces are delineated and used within domestic and public buildings [or] the way roads demarcate the cultural and political terrain', 205). Babb's interest is in the role of embodiment in representations of character. Mine is too, but I wish also to explore the light it can shed on the relationships in Jacobson's story, and on the spatialisation that reflects the boundaries (and the crossing of boundaries) of the *apartheid* world he depicts.

Dan Jacobson is a prolific writer whose *oeuvre* spans some 65 years, and includes writing in a range of different genres: fantasy, historical fiction, memoir, critical essays, travel writing, translations, and, of course, stories. Although he has lived in Britain for most of his adult life, his roots are South African: he was born in Johannesburg in 1929, and set his early work in our country. He is one of a number of South African Jewish writers who have shaped our literature (Sarah

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Gertrude Millin, Sydney Clouts, Ruth Miller, Nadine Gordimer, Lionel Abrahams, Albie Sachs, Barney Simon, Gillian Slovo, Rose Zwi are some others, Lenta 2001:92). *Encyclopaedia Judaica* describes this early work as 'contemporary in setting, realistic in mode, and liberal in political outlook', revealing 'an intense awareness of the currents of social and race conflict in South Africa'. Margaret Lenta traces the roots of this awareness to 'an intellectual and, even more, a critical tradition embodied in the relationships within [his] family' (2001:96). She cites Jacobson's 'rueful' remarks about the difference between his parents and the people of English descent in his home town, Kimberley:

> It was not just that [the Pallings] celebrated Christmas and Easter, while we celebrated Passover and *Yom Kippur*. My parents spoke with a foreign accent; the Palling parents did not. Mr Palling was in employment as the chartered secretary of the local branch of a building society; my father managed his own business. The Palling parents called each other 'Mother' and 'Father'; mine did not. Mr Palling went every Sunday morning in a white shirt, white flannel trousers, and a blazer, to play bowls at the local club; my father did not. The Pallings' house was clean and orderly; ours was not. My parents discussed politics endlessly – local politics, Zionist politics, the war in Europe; the Palling parents never did. Our house was full of books and newspapers, and we were constantly going to the town library; the Pallings' house was altogether bare of reading matter. I and my brothers did well at school; the Palling boys did not. We argued with our parents; the Pallings did not (Jacobson 1964:76-77).

Despite this profile, he has fallen, at least in our country, into relative obscurity. My reading of his work dates back to mounting an honours course in South African literature during the 1980s, which included two novellas, 'The Trap' (1955) and 'A Dance in the Sun' (1956). Both variations on the *plaasroman* theme, they reveal acute insight into the dynamics of relationships in the *apartheid* state. Yet the survey I undertook in preparing for this present essay produced relatively little recent criticism, and that focused on his status as expatriate (Gready 1994a, 1994b), his autobiographical narrative (King, 2004), his travel writing (Klopper 2005). There was none at all that dealt specifically with his early fiction. Perhaps his attributes as white and male and the liberal vision that imbues this early work have made it seem unfashionable.

As too, perhaps, has his writing development away from South African concerns. In a 1985 review of Sheila Roberts and Bernth Lindfors's TWAYNE study of Jacobson, Michael Wade refers to the trajectory of Jacobson's career: 'For a long time he continued to write about South Africa, until 'one day' he began locating his fictions elsewhere in time and place' (1994:601). In 1994, Paul Gready locates this shift within the context of models of literature of exile and counter-exile proposed by Claudio Guillén and Andrew Gurr. (The former is 'writing in which exile becomes its own subject matter' and the latter 'that in which exile is the condition but not the visible cause of an imaginative response often characterised by a tendency towards integration, increasingly broad vistas or universalism', 1994a, 18). Gurr, says Gready, identifies a pattern among exiled colonial writers who 'initially painstakingly reconstruct a vision of home in realistic prose fiction', and only 'if the vision is achieved and the therapy works, does the writer emerge, truly detached, homeless and historyless … in Naipaul's gnomic phrase, 'in a free state'" (1994a:18). Gready argues, however, that Jacobson is 'definitively not detached, or in a free state' (1994a:21). Rather, South Africa has 'profoundly influenced the worlds made available to Jacobson as a writer, and is a primary world transposed back onto these other worlds. Nowhere is this more relevant than in Jacobson's insight into the workings of power' (1994a:21-22).

This insight, amongst other things, makes his early writing worthy of reconsideration, since in the 21st century it remains current here only in anthologies of South African stories. The story I wish to examine in this essay has featured in several of the short-story collections taught at first-year university level since the 1990s. In the classroom – mine is a classroom of black, second-language English speakers – it continues to elicit intense response. And, as suggested above, it is amenable to theoretical considerations of spatialisation and of embodiment; features of narrative that shape character and the power relations between them, and hence the ethics of our reading of the story. Its ethical complexity at least distinguishes the story as warranting more serious and more specific critical attention than it has recently received.

'The Zulu and the Zeide' is possibly Jacobson's most famous story (in Hirson & Trump 1994:165-177. All further references are to this text.). Published first in 1959, it has been widely anthologised since then, and was staged as a musical entitled 'The Zulu and the Zayda' on Broadway in 1965 (where it ran for 179 performances and featured Louis Gossett junior as the Zulu, Joe Silver as Harry, and Menasha Skulnik as the Zeide, with music by Harold Rome. A compact disc of this musical was released in December 2010). The story deals in interesting ways with issues of transnationality, border crossings and multiculturality, because its central characters are, on the one hand, Jewish immigrants who have settled in Johannesburg in the Fifties; and, on the other, Zulu men with roots in the rural areas; 'Jim comes to Jo'burg' figures who are employed in the household of the immigrant Harry Grossman. In particular, the story presents a striking instance of the family drama, by inverting the common expectations readers might have about the relations between fathers and sons and by examining the micropolitics of linguistic, spatial and bodily power. The reaction it stimulates in class is partly due to its textual surprises: debates on it demonstrate marked differences between students who, like the

characters, are either sophisticated, urban and westernised, and hence sympathetic to a son facing the consuming demands of family, or deeply rural, and disapproving of Harry's abjuring what they see as his natural responsibilities towards his father. (Its surprises are made more intense by Jacobson's restrained style: Wade refers to its 'plainness' (601); King to the 'tentative and tactful approach he takes to the past and to the life of his grandfather' in *Heshel's Kingdom* (201); and Gready cites Jacobson's own comment from *Time and Time Again* that, 'Less and less … do I find that that which really matters in imaginative literature emerges from the level of consciously held opinion or belief in the author or speaker, to that level in the reader' (1994a:20-21).)

In a 2004 study entitled 'Structures of Autobiographical Narrative: Lisa Appignanesi, Dan Jacobson, W. G. Sebald', Nicola King considers texts she categorises as 'family memoir', in which 'the writers set out to excavate and narrate the stories – partially lost or obscured by the rupture of the Nazi Holocaust – of a parent or a grandparent' (2004:265). Jacobson's *Heshel's Kingdom* deals with a grandfather who died before he was born. In it, he 'acknowledges that his motive for exploring his grandfather's life is in part to work through his own tendency to blame his grandfather for having made a decision which, with hindsight, could well have meant the destruction of his family and the non-existence of Jacobson himself' (2004:265). King draws, for her analysis of these narratives, on work by Michael Andre Bernstein and Gary Saul Morson, and specifically on the distinctions they draw between foreshadowing, backshadowing, and, intriguingly, sideshadowing: 'a narrative position which respects the moment in which decisions were made: it is, as described by Bernstein, "a gesturing to the side, to a present dense with multiple, and mutually exclusive, possibilities for what is to come"' (2004:167). Since this is a feature of Jacobson's 1998 memoir, we do not expect to find it in his early third-person short story, but, allowing ourselves hindsight, we might nonetheless bring to our reading of this *Zeide* (or grandfather), an awareness of Jacobson's subsequent treatment of his own grandfather as figuring possibilities that were not and never could be actualised.

Unlike his absent grandfather, Jacobson writes old man Grossman as an absentee: he is impulsive and irresponsible, and has spent much of his life running away from the ordinary obligations of providing for his family. Sent from Lithuania to make his fortune in South Africa, he gets side-tracked *en route* by 'some other Jews' who are going to South America. 'Why are you going to South Africa?' they ask him. 'It's a wild country, the blacks there will eat you. Come to South America and you'll make a fortune.' He joins them, but finds life there intolerable. Six months of silence later, he gets a friend to write and tell his wife that 'he's dying in the Argentine, the Spaniards are killing him … he must come home' (166). He is shipped back at his brother-in-law's expense. The family then emigrates as a whole to South Africa, where he takes up and loses many jobs. Once it is clear that his son will be able support the family, Grossman becomes suddenly, dramatically, so short-sighted as to be almost blind. His son buys him glasses, which he persistently loses or breaks, until it is 'made clear to him that he [is] no longer expected to do any work' (167). At the start of the story he is widowed and retired, and lives with his son's family in a large masculine house in the suburbs.

Grossman's son, Harry, is presented first in contrast to the old man. He is typecast as middle-aged and middle-class; a successful businessman, a responsible son, husband and father. By his hard work and dedication he has redeemed the debts incurred by his father, and thus secured a successful relocation for the family from old Europe to the new country, South Africa. He has a wife and children who respect him, and commands admiration within the community for his commitment, and sympathy for the troubles he has had to endure. He is in the habit of eliciting this sympathy by telling and re-telling the story of the old man's past. His 'reward' comes when his audience responds, 'at least you're being as dutiful to him as anyone can be' (165). Although he 'refuses' this reward, their comment hits the keynote to his character. The narrator remarks, 'Dutifulness had been his habit of life; it had had to be, having the sort of father he had, and the strain of duty had made him abrupt and begrudging' (166). The extent of his dutifulness is indexed by his refusal to send his father to an old age home. He doesn't like the idea, he says, because it would make his father unhappy. 'We'll look after him as long as we can. It's a job. It's something you've got to do' (166). His lack of imagination is both a strength and a limitation: he does what has to be done for him but he cannot understand his father. And his desire for sympathy for his own suffering shows both selfishness and a fixation on the past. In contrast to his father's spryness and escapism he is presented as solid and stolid, locked into the world he has created around him and the ways of thinking that have helped him create it.

Although the narrative begins with Harry's point of view, and seems sympathetic to it, there is a telling and ironic similarity between him and the old man. This has to do with their bodies. Harry is 'a thick-set, bunch-faced man, with large bones, and short, jabbing gestures'. He is 'in the prime of life' (166). His father, by contrast, is old and has grown thin. Yet we are told that Harry has inherited his strength from his father, 'on whom the largeness of bone showed now only as so much extra leanness that the clothing had to cover' (166). This physical connection operates at the level of what Babb, following Husserl, terms *Körper*, that is, the body described, the body as object perceived from outside (2004:202). This connection forms an essential part of the ethical framework of embodiment which serves to deepen and

to complicate their relationship of inverse dependency. Later in the story it becomes evident how hard Harry finds it to touch his father, and this failed physical contact sharpens the poignancy of the old man's death in due course.

The physical link between the two is contrasted with their occupation of and relation to space. In reflecting on the role of *Leib* in characterisation, Babb considers both conscious aspects of bodily experience and aspects that are beyond conscious awareness or control. Of the former, she notes that 'motility' involves 'exteroception' (that is, 'awareness and experience of external stimuli via the surface organs of the body'), 'interoception' ('internal sensations, originating in the viscera, that are available to conscious awareness'), and 'proprioception' (which refers to 'the double sense of one's own body as a possession and a position. This sense of ownership and spatial orientation is invoked implicitly any time a character moves volitionally', 2002:205). Of the latter aspects, she mentions 'viscerality' (vegetative processes such as respiration, digestion and circulation), and, more importantly, 'habitus' (the sense of bodily being in the world that is 'largely unconscious, habitual, taken for granted, [constituting] the lived sense of differentiation among individuals and among groups', 2002:207).

The issue of space is most strongly focused on the old man because, having spent his past life metaphorically escaping his family, he now does so literally. As I will go on to show, Harry is critically inhibited in regard to the spaces he will enter, especially within his own home. The old man, by contrast, is free-floating and venturesome and this presents an acute problem to his son. In good health, 'quite spry', able to 'walk far', and 'jump and duck' if he has to, he is 'worse than a nuisance', a 'menace', a 'butt and a jest' to the whole neighbourhood – because he keeps running away. It is impossible to keep him in the house because he takes any opportunity to slip out: 'a door left open meant that he was on the streets, a window unlatched was a challenge to his agility, a walk in the park was as much a game of hide-and-seek as a walk' (165). He has a passion for freedom that Harry cannot grasp or share. Rather, Harry's response is gnomic, categorical, historical: 'He's always been like this. He's my father, and I know what he's like. He gave my mother enough grey hairs before her time. All he knew was to run away' (166). Harry's fixation on the past as shaping the present is clear in this judgement, this claim to the warranted authority to define his father. The tension with which the story opens, then, is a spatial one: between Harry's conservative attempt to contain his father, and his father's anarchic, usually successful, efforts to escape.

Of course, the problem does not just belong to Harry. His father is old, even senile, and so he becomes physically and mentally disoriented. Although he will generally wait to be found, and is frequently brought back home (by large young policemen who wink at Harry as they return him), his disorientation causes him distress, and when, towards the end of the story, Harry finds him weeping he is reminded of his father's tears on the occasions when he got lost and had to be found.

To Harry's credit he resists pressures put on him to solve the problem by institutionalising his father. His wife, who does not like the old man, has found a home for aged Jews, a place 'which had impressed her most favourably with its glass and yellow brick, the noiseless rubber tiles in its corridors, its secluded grassed grounds, and the uniforms worn by the attendants to the establishment' (167). Harry refuses to incarcerate his father, however, insisting that he wouldn't like it, he'd be unhappy. This said, the house in which they live is not unlike a prison. It is big and single-storeyed, with a 'corrugated iron roof above and a wide stoep all around'. It looks old-fashioned: it is 'solid and prosperous', with furniture made of 'the heaviest African woods, dark, and built to last', passages 'lined with bare linoleum', and pictures on its walls that are 'brown and grey mezzotints in heavy frames' (168). The house belongs to Harry, and by association helps to characterise him. More importantly, it seems to be the imprisoning solidity of this house, its unhomeliness, that old man Grossman seeks continually to escape. (Space does not permit a detailed investigation here, but Freud's concept of the *unheimlich* (1919) might help explain the old man's constant desire to escape.)

Ironically, while he resists belonging to the house he also disputes his son's ownership of it. Being senile he sometimes recognises his son and at other times does not. On those occasions, he challenges him, 'Who are you?', 'What do you want in my house?', and threatens, 'Out of my house!' The pathos of his fury is emphasised by Harry's patronising smile and his mean-spirited teasing, 'Your house? Do you call this your house?' (167). This recurrent contest for ownership indirectly emphasises his (chosen) displacement out of the household and out of his role within the family.

The introduction into the household of the third significant character in the story brings a solution to the problem of his persistent absconding – but also a complication of the delineation of space according to the micropolitics of *apartheid*. Paulus is the 'Zulu' of the title. Like Harry and the old man he is characterised in terms of physical strength. His body is huge. He is 'a muscular, moustached and bearded African' who wears a pair of khaki shorts that are too small for him, and a shirt with no buttons: 'buttons would in any case have been of no use for the shirt could never have closed over his chest'. He swells 'magnificently' out of his clothing. Despite his strength he is shy: as Harry speaks to him, he looks to the side of Harry's head, and stands 'with his hands behind his back and his bare knees bent a little forward, as if to show how little he [is] asserting himself, no matter what his 'brother' might have been saying about him'. His 'brother' Johannes presents him to Harry as 'a good boy, come straight from the kraal'. He is 'strong, he is a hard worker, he is clean', and he

can be 'as gentle as a woman' (168-169). Paulus's body is significant in several ways. In the first place his physical strength links him with Harry and the old man, and so hints at the triangular relationship that will develop between them. In the second place, it equips him to do the job he is given, which involves caring physically for the old man, including lifting and carrying him when necessary. In the third place, it lends irony to the self-deprecation that is necessary if he is to gain admittance into the household. *Apartheid* categories diminish Paulus: his manliness, his manhood, must be effaced if he is to become the 'boy' who is employable, the 'good boy' whose services his friend Johannes will vouchsafe. And yet through the shifts from 'man' to 'boy' to 'woman' Jacobson is, I think, challenging these categories. Their spuriousness becomes especially evident when, at the end of the story, Paulus's stature is restored with the emergence of his roles as husband and father, and the narrative recognition given to them.

Harry's attempt to control his father takes the form of verbal definition. Likewise, Paulus's employment contract is meticulously spelt out: he is given a room, a uniform, food three times a day and a bar of soap once a week, cast-off clothing at odd intervals, the sum of one pound five shillings and one afternoon off per week. The verbal power that defines this contract is evident also in Harry's construction of Paulus's employment as 'something in the nature of a joke – almost a joke against his father' (169). The crux of the joke is that neither speaks English. Despite the working relationship that develops between them, Harry persists in regarding it as a joke, and the more the arrangement succeeds the more determined he is to turn it into a joke not only against his father but also against Paulus. What he most mocks are their names for each other, which refer, incidentally, to bodily attributes:

> 'Baas *Zeide*! That's what *der schwarzer* calls him – have you ever heard the like of it? And you should see the two of them, walking about in the streets hand-in-hand like two schoolgirls. Two clever ones, *der schwarzer* and my father going for a promenade, and between them I tell you you wouldn't be able to find out what day of the week or what time of day is it' (172).

His father never learns Paulus's name, calling him always, '*Der schwarzer*', the black one. Paulus follows traditional patterns of courtesy in response to age: he adopts the grandchildren's name for the old man, prefacing it with the Afrikaans term of respect, 'Baas *Zeide*' (172).

Paulus's geographic roots help to define him. He is introduced as a 'raw boy' because he comes from the rural areas and his lack of sophistication carries with it moral innocence because he has not been tainted by the city. He is 'not one of these town boys, these street loafers: he [is] a good boy, come straight from the kraal. He [is] not a thief or a drinker' (169). Johannes's opinions are confirmed by Paulus's shyness and by the fact that he sets aside two-thirds of his income as savings. Johannes also volunteers a spatial solution if his employment goes awry: if Paulus fails in any respect, then he, Johannes, will deserve to be chased away, will voluntarily leave.

Significantly, Paulus is also given a room 'in the servants' quarters in the backyard, into which he brought a tin trunk painted red and black, a roll of blankets, and a guitar with a picture of a cowboy on the back', and in which he is 'allowed to entertain not more than two friends at any one time' (168). He is given space in the household, but only at its margins, in its back rooms. Peripheral as it is, this space will later function crucially in the relationship between Harry and his father, because the old man is able to enter it and Harry will not. In *apartheid* terms it is delineated as black space prohibited to a (conservative) white person – even the owner of the house.

As Harry derisively indicates, the relationship that emerges between his father and Paulus is a physical more than a linguistic one. Because the old man speaks only Yiddish, he is isolated even within the family home. Harry's wife puts up with the old man, she does not talk to him, and the grandchildren have nothing to do with their grandfather ('they were busy at school, playing rugby and cricket, they could hardly speak Yiddish, and they were embarrassed by him in front of their friends; when the grandfather did take notice of them it was only to call them Boers and *goyim* and *shkolzim* in sudden quavering rages which did not disturb them at all', 168). Even Harry does not talk to the old man so much as talk about him to others. And yet once Paulus and the old man get beyond initial suspicion and hostility, they find ways of communicating with each other. They speak in their own languages and they use physical gestures that refer to the spaces they share: 'they both commented on or complained to each other of the things they saw around them, and often they agreed with one another, smiling and nodding their heads and explaining again with their hands what each happened to be talking about' (171).

The rapport they achieve comes after a long and slow process of physical habituation. Because Paulus is new to the city, and speaks no English, it takes him some time to work out a *modus operandi*. He has to conquer 'not only his own shyness and strangeness in the new house filled with strange people – let alone the city, which, since taking occupation of his room, he [has] hardly dared to enter – but also the hostility of old man Grossman, who [takes] immediate fright at Paulus and [redoubles] his efforts to get away from the house upon Paulus' entry into it.' The old man's persistence is matched by Paulus's quiet determination, however; 'a willingness of spirit' that the old man cannot 'vanquish' but can only 'teach' (170). After a few days of bewilderment Paulus finds his way, and that is simply to go along with the old man.

Initially he follows him at a distance, because he knows he is not trusted, but by degrees he gets closer, walking side by side with him, and even, when the traffic is particularly heavy, crossing the street with him hand-in-hand. Whereas Harry's solution to the problem of his father is to lock him in, or to take him out on a leash, what Paulus does, effectively, is enter and share the habitus of the old man. This is something Harry is unable to do, despite his verbal protestations and avowals. There is more than character involved here: public space is socially as well as politically demarcated, and Harry's role as respectable *pater familias*, his role as provider not minder, debars him from accompanying his father into the world he constantly explores and inhabits.

This is not the case for Paulus. Despite the boundaries of race and of age that exist between him and the *Zeid*e, he is free to accompany him on his ventures. And the image of two innocents wandering in wonderland is emphasised by their reactions to their environment, and by its reaction to them. They walk together in the streets of the town that is strange to them both, looking over fences and into foyers, standing on pavements and watching cars and trucks, walking in the parks, and resting together when the old man is tired (170). Yet Harry's mockery of their relationship is echoed in the reactions of the people around them, the hostility of the habitus they are moving in. Public space is socially and politically demarcated and the old man's perambulations are disruptive to the spatial order. The opening paragraph couched him as a nuisance not only to his family but to others: 'he was a menace to himself and to the passing motorists into whose path he would step, to the children in the streets whose games he would break up, sending them flying, to the householders who at night would approach him with clubs in their hands, fearing him a burglar; he was a butt and a jest to the African servants who would tease him on street corners' (165). Paulus's company brings protection and support to the old man, but it exposes Paulus to the ridicule the old man triggers in others. When lost Paulus asks for help and generally receives it, but he also gets teased for his 'rawness' and for holding the sort of job he does. And there are people who avert their eyes from the sight of the old man's 'degradation, which could come upon a man when he was senile and dependent' (171). Their environment, too, is structured in ways that are antithetic to their growing closeness. When the old man gets tired, Paulus finds him a park bench to sit on, but since only whites are allowed to sit on the benches, he himself must squat at the old man's feet.

Paulus's care of the old man involves a sensitivity to and management of his physical needs. He is able to recognise and respond to the range of sensations the old man has that would otherwise remain interoceptive. He paces their walks and includes periods of rest to prevent the old man from becoming exhausted. This is very different from Harry's verbal interpretation of his father's physical state, and makes particularly unfair the accusation Harry levels against him later when he feels excluded from their closeness: 'The *oubaas* was tired tonight,' he accuses. 'Where did you take him? What did you do with him? … What did you do with him that he looked so tired?' (174). Paulus reacts physically to the accusation, but Harry continues to use language to denigrate and demean him:

> The sight of Paulus's puzzled and guilty face before him filled him with a lust to see this man, this nurse with the face and figure of a warrior, look more puzzled and guilty yet; and Harry knew that it could so easily be done, it could be done simply by talking to him in the language he could not understand. 'You're a fool,' Harry said. 'You're like a child. You understand nothing, and it's just as well for you that you need nothing. You'll always be where you are, running to do what the white baas tells you to do. Look how you stand! Do you think I understood English when I came here?' Then with contempt, using one of the few Zulu words he knew: '*Hamba*! Go! Do you think I want to see you?' (174)

Harry's power lies in words which he uses to give vent to his own intense emotions which are reflected here as sadistic 'lust' and 'contempt', though they have their roots in jealousy and frustration at being excluded from the intimate nurturance and care that Paulus gives his father. Here Harry threatens Paulus directly by categorising Paulus's locatedness as fixity and limitation, by emphasising the linguistic demands of the place in which they both find themselves, by contrasting his own development in response to it with Paulus's linguistic stultification, and by dismissing him with a peremptory and insulting command.

Yet Paulus's physical presence and absence retains crucial significance in the story. For one thing, it reveals how the demarcation of the public space of the neighbourhood is echoed within the private spaces of Harry's household, because, although Harry owns the house, there are spaces in it that he will not enter. In a key conversation with his father later, he threatens jokingly to send Paulus away. His father does not believe him, and goes straight to Paulus and sits in his room with him, in the 'servant's quarters in the backyard' (169). In doing so, he finds a refuge from his son because Harry 'would never have gone into any of his servant's rooms, least of all that of Paulus' (173). Paulus's room is demarcated as 'black' space, demeaning for a white person to enter. It is the old man's senile innocence that frees him from the hysteresis of spatialised race relations and enables him to go where Harry cannot and will not. All his son can do is bluster, 'Another time he won't be there' (173). Ironically, he is right. As we will see in due course, Paulus's absence at a critical moment brings the old man distress, bewilderment and ultimately death.

Harry is also excluded from the two spaces within the household of greatest physical intimacy between Paulus and his father. Because Paulus quite rapidly takes on the role of manservant, even nurse, he gains entry into areas of privacy from which his race would otherwise debar him. He has to do so because the old man cannot – or will not – take adequate care of himself. Paulus dresses him, bathes him, trims his beard, and attends to him at night when he wets himself. Harry is drawn by this physical closeness. Night after night he comes to the bedroom where Paulus is dressing or undressing the old man, or to the 'steamy, untidy bathroom' where the old man is being bathed. Although Paulus's smile encourages him to draw forward he does not do so; rather he stands 'dourly and silently … in his powerful, begrudging stance'. Paulus accompanies his actions with a running commentary to the old man, 'in a soft continuous flow of Zulu', to encourage and to praise him. And when the old man is particularly tired, he stoops low and picks him up to carry him easily down the passage to his bedroom (173). Harry is left to watch the door close behind them.

Harry has threatened his father, 'Another time he won't be there' (173). Having brought safety to the old man by his presence, Paulus's absence at a crucial point leads him into danger. Although Harry mocks the linguistic disparities between the two, it is the physicality of their relationship that so unsettles him, because it is so intimate. To him, as we have seen, caring for his father is a duty: 'It's a job. It's something you've got to do' (166). This means he cannot fill in for Paulus when he is away. One day Harry returns home to find his father wandering around the house, shouting for *der schwarzer*. His wife has told the old man repeatedly that Paulus has the afternoon off, but it does not help. The old man goes from room to room, ignoring Harry, until he reaches his 'own bare bedroom', and then confronts Harry, demanding over and over, 'I want *der schwarzer*'. Harry offers himself instead:

> He threw his arms towards his father, but the gesture was abrupt, almost as though he were thrusting him away. 'Why can't you ask me? You can ask me – haven't I done enough for you already? Do you want to go for a walk? – I'll take you for a walk. What do you want? Do you want – do you want – ?' Harry could not think what his father might want. 'I'll do it,' he said. 'You don't need *der schwarzer*' (175).

His reaction is cerebral and verbal, and not surprisingly his offer is rejected. Perhaps his earlier threats help explain the old man's bewilderment and dismay. His father turns his back on him, and Harry sees that he is weeping. Harry does not reach forward to comfort him, to respond to his father's need, to breach the physical barriers that define their relationship. Rather he thinks of himself: the tears remind him of all the times in the past his father failed him, all the times he lost yet another job. He sees his father's body as object, as *Körper*, and what most defeats him is the inscription of Paulus's care upon it: 'he could not look at his father's back, at his hollowed neck, on which the hairs that Paulus had clipped glistened above the pale brown discolorations of age – Harry could not look at the neck turned stiffly away from him while he had to try to promise the return of the Zulu. He dropped his hands and walked out of the room' (176). Although Paulus is absent, the traces of his presence are powerful enough to alienate Harry from his father. Correspondingly, his father has become so fixated upon Paulus that he cannot allow his son to minister to him. The old man has never learned Paulus's name, but his racial term for him has become emblematic: it has become shorthand for the *caritas* he receives from Paulus.

Paulus's absence, on this occasion, leads the old man again to run away, and his end comes fast. No one sees him get out of the house and through the front gate and onto the road. He is struck down by a man on a bicycle, and dies a few days later.

Harry's response to his father's death undergoes an interesting physical transition. The tears that the old man shed before his son are reprised in the tears of most of those who are left behind. 'Harry's wife wept, even the grandsons wept; Paulus wept.' But Harry does not weep: he is 'stony, and his bunched, protuberant features' are immovable, they seem 'locked upon the bones of his face' (176). The passive construction 'locked' suppresses agency and tantalises our interpretation. Is this a conscious attempt on Harry's part not to break down, to suppress the internal emotions he feels? Or is it a visceral reaction of which he is unaware? In his conversation with Paulus after his father's death, Harry is not initially angry. He says to the other servant Johannes, 'Tell him he must go. His work is finished.' Paulus waits, however, to collect the savings he has left with Harry. As in their first encounter, he will not meet Harry's eyes. Harry understands that this is not out of fear or shyness, 'but out of courtesy for his master's grief' (176). Yet the sight of Paulus's body 'in the mockery and simplicity of his houseboy's clothing' angers Harry, and he feeds his anger by asking, snidely, what Paulus has been saving for, what he will do with the 'fortune' he has made. Paulus's innocent reply triggers Harry's breakdown. Johannes translates: 'He says, baas, that he is saving to bring his wife and children from Zululand to Johannesburg. He is saving, baas,' Johannes said, for Harry had not seemed to understand, 'to bring his family to this town also.' The two Zulus are bewildered, then, by his reaction. His 'clenched, fist-like features' fall from one another, he stares with guilt and despair at Paulus, and he cries, 'What else could I have done? I did my best!' before the first tears come (177).

Harry's physical expression of grief is perhaps triggered by remorse; by guilt and shame at his failings as a son, compared to the care that Paulus has managed to give his father, compared to the 'son' that Paulus has become. But

Paulus's containment in the role of 'boy' has broken down, and his status been restored to him of man, of husband, of father. Thus Harry's grief is also triggered, I suggest, by his confrontation with the care Paulus shows his own family. Harry feels envy because he sees the father in Paulus that he himself has never had.

In the classroom, I have, over the years, been puzzled about how to read this story, what balance of theory and pedagogy to bring to it. We must, of course, acknowledge the shaping influence of the formulaic master-servant relationship. My students' response tends to highlight the variations of the father-son bond that complicate this relationship. Other ways of reading might recognise something of an oedipal tension between the son growing up and replacing the father in his role within the family. Perhaps in Paulus's intuitive, natural response we could see Jacobson representing the organic unity of the primitive, and challenging with it Harry's civilised repression. Or we might argue that Paulus's relaxed occupation of space and the natural decency he brings to the meanness of this household are enabled because he's not constrained by language. It seems unlikely, for example, that Johannes, who does speak English, would manage the same grace of affection Paulus lets himself feel for the old man, who is both a job and a person to him. A politically minded critic might emphasise the limitations of Jacobson's moral vision: realistic in mode and liberal in outlook, his enlightenment is necessarily constrained. He does not advance in this story, or in his other South African fiction, broadscale solutions to the divisiveness of the *apartheid* system. The age of the father and the jealousy and rage of the son are set up in opposition to the closeness that emerges between the Zulu and the *Zeide*, rendering this relationship necessarily transient. Their closeness does not destabilise social structures, nor bring about significant social change. Rather, as Wade notes of *The Price of Diamonds*, Jacobson seems to suggest that 'heroism is individual, not political or related to ideologies or plans of action' (1985:603). Hence the story's ending follows from the internal logic written into it. It is also true that when we read, we look back and see differences between ourselves in the 21st century and characters so contained by the excrescences of *apartheid* (it causes a jolt, for example, to read in class the racial terms used by Harry in his conversations with his servants, and with his friends about them).

This essay has focused on spatialisation and embodiment. In concluding I would like to recur to the concept of *caritas*, defined variantly in the Concise Oxford as 'Christian love of humankind; charity'. Is this an arbitrary choice for a story about Jewish people and rural Zulus? Might it have been more apt to use the term *Ubuntu* promulgated by our previous president in keeping with the African renaissance, and expressed in several Bantu languages as, 'a person is a person because of other people'? Might this better explain why many of my students who come from rural backgrounds find it hard to understand that Harry cannot care, simply and naturally, for his father, when my more westernised students have a stronger sense of why he needs to employ someone else to do so for him, and of how aggrieved he is that his father did not fulfil a nuclear father's role? It is true that writing in 1959 Jacobson presents a story of interaction across the colour bar that makes certain general points about human closeness and human difference. But to me, the concept of *caritas* is able better to explain the very individual relationship that develops between the Zulu and the *Zeide*, its surprising nature that turns the general upside down. To me, Jacobson's story is not 'of its time', rather it has an enduring, transcendent appeal that lends it fleeting greatness as literature, because he captures something unique that arrests us, that engages us ethically with his characters and their relationships. And I would argue that this has to do with the language of the body; of the embodiment, in this story, of habitus and of caritas.

Physical particulars make the relationships among the characters unique and moving. I would like to illustrate this by considering the several references to hands that occur in the story, because they qualify and supplement and sometimes substitute for verbal communication. Harry is an intense and an intensely repressed person, and his jabbing gestures, his tight hold on his wrists with elbows supporting his waist, his arms that seem to thrust away in the very act of reaching towards his father show his physical unease in relation to others. Paulus, when he first meets Harry, keeps his hands behind his back, but quite soon after this he is holding the old man's hand to cross a street, and both he and the old man use their hands to explain what they are talking about in their own languages. When Paulus is flustered at being castigated by Harry, 'his hands beat in the air, but with care, so that he would not touch his baas'. Unable to communicate with him in English, 'he brought both hands to his mouth, closing it forcibly', and then, remembering that Johannes can interpret for him, he flings his hands away. Stopped short from calling him, however, he can only 'open his hands in a gesture to show that he understood neither the words Harry used, nor in what way he had been remiss that Harry should have spoken in such angry tones to him' (174).

It is in the bathroom scene that the care he gives the old man is most strikingly rendered. In the running commentary that Paulus keeps up, in Zulu, he encourages the old man and exhorts him to be helpful, and expresses his pleasure in how well the work is going. Earlier I indicated how Harry's breakdown is presented from the point of view of the two Zulu men watching him. Intriguingly, given Harry's lack of patience with black people, but fittingly, given how verbal he is, we must infer here that the meaning of Paulus's commentary is translated for us by Harry. It is a delicate touch that gives his character depth and lends poignancy to his later loss of his father. As Harry watches, he sees that, 'The backs of Paulus's

hands were smooth and hairless, they were paler on the palms and at the fingernails, and they worked deftly about the body of the old man, who was submissive under their ministrations' (173). The old man, to Paulus, is work, but he is also a person, and it is in the grace that combines this recognition of him, this regard for him, that *caritas* is embodied.

Caritas, here, is transgression of *habitus*. Whereas Harry is prevented by habitual restraint from physically caring for, or even touching his father, the relationship between Paulus and the old man crosses the boundaries that ordinarily structure interaction between blacks and whites, between masters and servants, between men and men. And it is Harry's eye that registers this; Harry's tongue that renders it. In the Tracker advertisement with which I prefaced this essay, I noted the hands of the man that cradle the baby's head, and the hands of the child that clutch his arms. In this story, the hand that Paulus gives the old man embodies care; in his hands, the old man's humanity is secured.

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Naming practices in colonial and post-colonial Malawi

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In African societies naming practices invariably reflected an important rite of passage as a cultural practice, which was always in sync with each society's ordinary citizens' socio-cultural and historical conditions. These were ideological conceptions inherent in each society, reflected as a powerful force in naming practices, either of individuals or places. However, naming practices have been in contact with colonialism in Malawi and the rest of Southern Africa, with the result that this has affected the socio-cultural ideologies which were traditionally embedded with naming practices. They have had to change with the times. The result is that such names bestowed on individuals or places changed with the historical times. At times they remained indigenous, were Westernised or fused indigenous and other African names. This changing pattern has thus had to change with socio-cultural, economic, education and political influences prevailing at each time.

The discussion indicates that social issues, which traditionally indicated physical and social environment, beliefs of a given sub-culture, were essentially a barometer of meanings and moral codes of a society. However, this tended to change with the attitude and prevailing conditions at specific historical epochs, of how such names were conceived and assigned. Malawi is given as an example, but this could be applied to the entire Southern African region which has been affected by the advent of colonialism and post-colonialism.

Keywords: Naming practices, Malawi, anomastics, ethno-linguistics

Introduction

The sub-fields of linguistics onomastics and ethno-linguistic normally feature research into naming in southern Africa. This article explores change from colonial times to post-independent Malawi, following a number of cultural historical and political influences. Largely, this has been a result of contact Black Africans have had with colonialism, Christianity and Western education in the early part of 20th C. (Dube *et al.* 2007).

The linguistic practices of ordinary citizens have had to change with the times, where language has had to express historical epochs, cultural, religious and political freedoms. Citizens have responded to these aspects (De Klerk and Bosch 1995, Lubisi 2002, Moyo 1996). For example, in Malawi children that were born after Malawi had attained its independence from Britain on 6 July 1964 are popularly referred to as 'born free'. We can see that language practice and naming practices tend to reflect the historical ideology of the times and have tended to play a symbolic function of meanings that they carried.

The paper, therefore, concentrates on the sociolinguistic aspects of personal and place names at each time. Personal names, in particular, could be humorous, idiosyncratic and at times nonsensical to native speakers of English and weird to most people, e.g. *Spoon*, *Hinges*, *Bywell, Goodness, Loveness, Whisky, Advocate, Gift,* etc. However, they may tend to be consistent with social and linguistic formations of New Englishes (see Kachru 1988).

Background and ethno-linguistic profile of Malawi

In order to situate the analysis of naming in Malawi, a brief history of Malawi is presented. A linguistic profile of languages of communication will be provided. The land now referred to as Malawi, which became a British protectorate in 1891, attained its independence on 6 July 1964 and changed its name from Nyasaland to Malawi. Malawi is the modern spelling of 'Maravi' the name that was used in ancient times, not only geographically to denote a large area in Central Africa, but also sociologically to describe the widespread group of closely associated Bantu peoples whose domain it was. This area included all that used to be Nyasaland, together with present day Zambia to the East and Mozambique. Etymologically, the word Malawi is associated with the general meaning of reflected light or bright haze, which is an appropriate name of a dawn that is reflected and sprawled on the lake which is to the East of the country (Pike 1968).

The country Malawi has an area of 45,747 square miles, of which one quarter is water. Lake Malawi as a whole covers an area of 11, 650 square miles, while waters belonging to Malawi cover an area of 9,250 square miles. The main religions are Protestant, Roman Catholic and Islam. The formal education system consists of seven years of primary education and five years of secondary education and then three (diploma) or four to five degrees of higher education.

Archaeological evidence indicates that it was occupied by people of succeeding Stone Age cultures from about 50,000 B.C. in the Northern part of Malawi and from considerably later elsewhere. The earliest settlement by Bantu-speaking

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peoples appears to have been about the first century and there was a further influx of these people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Apart from the odd mention of the region in early Arab writing, the first written records of Malawi come from the Portuguese's journals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is also indicated on several early maps.

Malawi's early history is said to have been with the visit of David Livingstone to Lake Nyasa in September 1859. British interest in the area was sustained by missionary work and the work of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), which was Anglican, from 1861; the Free Church of Scotland from 1875, and the established Church of Scotland from 1876 respectively. During these years, however, the country was disturbed by warlike invaders, who comprised Arab and Portuguese slave dealers, who took advantage of the confusion to involve warring parties in slave trade. The missionary pioneers were followed by traders, hunters and planters. British interests steadily grew and began to demand support from the home government. This resulted in in the first step which was taken in 1833, when the British consul was established in Blantyre, who was then accredited to the Kings Chiefs of Central Africa.[2]

A lot of administrative work was accomplished, with the result that the establishment of Nyasaland (now Malawi), as a British Protectorate was declared on the 15th of May 1891. The areas that were still affected by wars and slave trading were pacified. Later on, the Consul-General, Sir Alfred Sharp, was succeeded by Sir Harry Johnstone.

Language profile

The languages of Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, have changed their status from colonial times (Nyasaland) to independence (Malawi), just as the country has changed its names. Owing to the colonisation of indirect rule adopted by Britain, which allowed space for indigenous languages to flourish, Nyasaland had three official and functional languages, viz: ciNyanja in the southern and central provinces and ciTumbuka as the lingua franca in the entire Northern province, where five other languages are spoken (Moyo 1995). English, however, has enjoyed the most prestigious official role since colonial times to date. CiYao, a melodious indigenous language which is spoken in central and southern regions, would have been the third language, but was abandoned since the Scottish missionaries viewed it as a hindrance to their proselytising and civilising efforts (see Kishindo 19989). English has, however, enjoyed a prestigious official role as a result of colonisation, particularly in education and in mass communication. However, the orthographies that missionaries and colonists created of indigenous languages were markedly different from what the people spoke. The colonised were trained by missionaries in the orthographies which were introduced to them. This often led to the distortion, disturbance and fragmentation of existing power structures of the various languages and dialects (Cluver 1992, Chiuye and Moyo 2008).

With the dawn of independence, ciTumbuka survived from 1964 to 1968 as the lingua franca in the Northern province. However, Dr Banda, Malawi's first president of the independent Malawi (1964-1994), dictatorially debased ciTumbuka and stripped it of its official role as a medium of instruction in the north and replaced it with his minority dialect of ciCewa, which he subsequently promoted to a national language, even where learners and teachers did not attain proficiency and competence in the language. Cicewa, which is the same language as ciNyanja, came to symbolise the country's national identity, linguistically, culturally and politically (Chirwa 1994/95). Effectively ciCewa pushed other languages into relative obscurity (Mchombo, 1998). It was seditious to be seen with any publication in ciTumbuka, with the exception of the Bible and a hymn book in the language.

In Bakili Muluzi's time as Malawi's second president (1994-2004), six indigenous languages and English were pronounced official languages. CiTumbuka was reinstated as an official language. Other indigenous languages were ciTonga, ciCewa (ciNyanja), ciYao, ciLomwe, ciSena; these four apart from ciCewa play a token role in the ten minute news broadcasts on the national radio and are never functionally used in other programmes or the press media, other than ciCewa and English. English is the only language used on TV Malawi. This practice clearly sends out strong messages about the lack of functional use and recognition of indigenous languages. Kingonde speakers, surprisingly, demanded that the national radio station also broadcast news in their language in the ten minutes news broadcast, but kiNgonde is not constitutionally an official language.

In a way, Malawi's linguistic profile follows a description of its colonial and historical tradition, in that it is a political act with a slight freedom given to indigenous languages, Interestingly, English still remains the most prestigious language of learning and communication. It has appropriated indigenous languages as an imposition of European variants of African languages, under the guise of promoting indigenous languages. Codification of indigenous languages has been limited to

2. The Kings Chiefs of Central Africa were all the Native Authorities of the entire Central Africa. Central Africa referred to Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where chiefs were all under the influence of Britain's colonial influence in the 'scramble for Africa.' The thinking was that if the Natives were controlled by their own Chiefs first, it would then be easier for Britain as a colonial power to pacify and rule the colonised natives through their Chiefs.

ciCewa (ciNyanja) as instructional languages nationally in early education. The rest of the indigenous languages are not codified or standardised. English remains the supremacist and most prestigious language from top to bottom.

Place names

Names of places, particularly towns, have changed from being non-African and non-Malawian to being Malawian, again depending on the ruling power. For example, during the colonial times, the few towns which were known by non-African names to remember missionaries or colonial administrators, were renamed. These were renamed as follows:

Deep Bay	Chilumba
Fort Hill	Citipa
Fort Manning	Mchinji
Fort Johnstone	Mangochi
Port Herald	Nsanje

Deep Bay was so named because the first ship or boat that sailed on Lake Nyasa, *Vipya*, unfortunately sank in the deepest waters of the lake, with a lot of passengers, at a very close place to the shore and people saw it sink. Attempts to recover it failed miserably, hence the name.

There was an orthographic change from *Cholo* to *Thyolo* after 1964. In a similar vein *Que Que* was changed in Zimbabwe to *Kwe-Kwe* after 1980. One has to note, however, that these words are pronounced differently, depending on the speakers.

Personal names

Authorities have written considerably on the development of Christian and colonial naming traditions in Africa. The adoption of English names among Black Africans has been attributed to the coercive power of Christianity and colonialism (Dube *et al.* 2007, Neethling 2003). In South Africa, among Xhosa speakers, Neethling (2003:47) observes that:

> With the introduction of Christianity and education as practiced by mission schools to Xhosa speakers in the early 19th century, came a new development. English names were bestowed upon Xhosa children by the missionaries (at baptism) and by teachers (at school). These were often referred to as 'church' and 'school' names.

Neethling (2003) above identifies teachers and missionaries as name givers. In Malawi, a similar situation occurred owing to colonialisation since missionaries were effectively forerunners of British colonialists. However, there is also an indication that community members acted as original name givers as Suzman (1994) observes that this was 'varied and extensive' and 'pointers' to historical events and social circumstances within the larger family units (Moyo 1996).

With the advent of Christianity and colonialism in Malawi and southern Africa as a whole, this meant that the colonised had to be absorbed in the establishment. Consequently, employees renamed Black Africans indiscriminately with certain European names (Dube *et al.* 2007). One other reason for this was that Whites found African names rather difficult to pronounce. These were names like *Qabaniso, Gomezga, Hluphekile,* in Northern Malawi. In South Africa Machaba (2002) wonders why such names as *Nkosinathi* (God is with us) could not be continued to be used. Indigenous African names were also associated with sins, backwardness, darkness, etc. (Machaba 2002; Moyo 1996). The adopted names, it would appear, suited the prevailing socio-cultural, economic and political environment and this is nothing new in African history (Mphande 2006).

The act of naming oneself, therefore, reveals that names serve as indicators of broader social change and names are a device which explains and classifies patterns of domination and submission (Alia 1984).

With individual names there is a distinction between personal names and surnames (Mphande 2006). Mphande (2006:109) sums up the difference:

> While surname may refer to collective and more historical experiences, first, or given, names comment on more temporary social issues and are thus more relevant in deciphering the social atmosphere at a given time. Apart from indicating an individual's relationship with a physical and social environment, names are also statements about religion and the beliefs of speakers and their relationship with the supernatural.

Personal names thus provide a barometer for measuring changes in attitudes and moral codes at specific historical epochs.

On the other hand, personal names provide unique details and circumstances surrounding the birth of a child (De Klerk and Bosch 1995). In addition they give more information about the natural conditions that were prevailing and the social context in which the individual was born. Naming in African societies has this significant role in identity marking, which makes the language of the name crucial. For example, a child would be named *Ndaipamo* in south Malawi; the name is a short form of the full name *Ndaipamo m'mudzi muno,* which means 'I am hated in this village.' Another name in

southern Malawi is *Limbanazo*, which means 'be strong and bear the consequences.' A polygamist bestowed the name *Limbanazo* on his son and named his wife *Aseka akayenda*, (*Aseka*), in short, meaning that she would only laugh when she is away from her household. She would not talk to the co-wife and her children. On the other hand, she would be jovial, talk or joke with people outside her home area, when she went to another place.

In Northern Malawi, among the Ngoni, *Mtwalo* is another name of the writer's traditional chief. The name was bestowed on the traditional chief as a child as a result of the difficulties which the chief's mother had during childbirth, hence the name that was bestowed on the child. In this case both names describe the circumstance that prevailed at the birth of the child. The name *Tafwaci*, also in Northern Malawi, means 'What is wrong with us? The message from the name-giver is to implore the powers that be, with the implication that many may have passed away as a result of witchcraft or some evil spirit. A similar name to *Tafwaci* is *Mapopa*, which means 'we are now in the wilderness'. It is a name that is usually given to a boy upon the departure of a relative, whereas *Tafwaci* could be bestowed on either a boy or girl. On the other hand, a name such as *Chiembekezo* from the central region means 'hope and expectation', meaning parents or the village people hope that the newly-born will give a renewed life and hope for the future to come.

The prevalence of Malawian names in the post-colonial period

We noted earlier on that children who were born after 1964 were popularly referred to as 'born-free.' The argument was that Dr Banda had singularly brought freedom and therefore independence to Malawi. 'Old' names resurfaced and became more pronounced than colonial, Western or English names. Evidence of such names come from political leaders like Dr H. Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's first president (1964-1994). He preferred to have his name, Hastings, appear as an initial only and allow the projection of his indigenous Malawian name, Kamuzu, prominently spelt in the press, as Dr H. Kamuzu Banda. Banda's original name was *Kamunkwala,* a Tumbuka word which means 'a small dose of medicine' but he later changed this himself to *Kamuzu*, which symbolised the dawn of a new era. Others were called *kwacha. While the meaning of Kamuzu* is a medicinal, herbal root, the meaning of the names 'Kamuzu' or 'Kwacha' meant 'freedom' or 'dawn' of a new era, because it was the president, Kamuzu Banda, who brought the freedom or dawn of a new era. Kamuzu Banda was thus named because this ended his mother's by seeking assistance from a medicine man (Lwanda 1993:14). Banda later came to project this name, *Kamuzu,* to symbolise his African-ness and the African identity.

Short (1974:06) also noted that Banda's name, Kamuzu means 'little root' and that the name was bestowed on him to commemorate the ending of his mother's infertility by a potion prepared from the root herbs by a *sing'anga* (medicine man). At school he was christened Hastings by the Church of Scotland, the faith that he was converted to. It would appear that these indigenous names have aesthetically appealed to individuals, particularly after Malawi's independence in 1964, with an added political robustness about them. The aesthetic reasons tended to relate to individuals' appearing to be somewhat original, like Banda himself. The common understanding is that they have given them political identity.

What we observe after the period in 1994 is that people used both names in full, as in Hastings Kamuzu Banda, but after 1994 the Christian or English name only appeared as an initial: Dr H. Kamuzu Banda. Thus before 1994 one would be known as in Column A and after independence the English name would only be initialed as in Column B.

Column A	**Column B**
Bywell Vusi Jere	Vusi Jere or Vusi B. Jere
Kingdom Muzipasi Mkhaliphi	Musipazi K. Mkhaliphi
Beauty Balekile Nyirenda	Balekile B. Nyirenda
James Mgontha Moyo	Mgontha J. Moyo
Collins Gulengwachi Chimaliro	Gulengwachi C. Chimaliro
Angeline Tawene Phiri	Tawene A. Phiri
Kingsley Kaithaze Hara	Kaithaze K. Hara
Chaonaine Mercy Sapangwa	Chaonaine M. Sapangwa
Mwinimuzi Grace Chiuye	Mwinimuzi G. Chinye
Chisanzo Robert Ngulinga	Chisanzo R. Ngulinga

As pointed out, with the dawn of political freedom, many children, who were referred to a 'born-free' after 1994, adopted political names regardless of where they were born throughout Malawi. There were many children who at birth were named *Kamuzu* or *Kwacha,* which has the same meaning as 'freedom' in ciCewa. In ciTumbuka, a child would be called *Wanangwa,* which has a similar meaning to 'freedom' in ciTumbuka. Some children were given the name *Unika,*

which means 'shine' with the freedom that the country had attained. Others still were bestowed Malawian names without political connotations. Examples are Onani which means 'look' in ciCewa, and *Dziko* in ciCewa, which means 'the world.' A similar name in ciTumbuka would be *Caro*. Others still were called *Kwende* in ciYao, which means 'let us go.' In all, the circumstances surrounding a child's birth would be explained by name givers, and children who were born after independence in 1964 largely symbolised 'a new dawn' in independent Malawi.

Discussion

One of Dr Banda's first ministers after Malawi's independence, who were referred to as 'rebel ministers' after being dismissed by the president in less than a year after being appointed, was initially known by all his names in the press, as Murray William Kanyama Chiume. Upon becoming a forefront minister of Foreign Affairs (the only one to hold the foreign service post in Dr Banda's rule), he presented his name to the media, which appeared and read only as M.W. Kanyama Chiume. Following his president, Chiume identified himself with what was then politically fashionable; in other words, he also fronted his western names, which only appeared as initials, as M.W.

Elsewhere in Africa, one of Africa's greatest novelists in English, whose novel *Things Fall Apart* brought African literature to the world, changed his names to Chinua Achebe. He was born in a Christian family; his father was Isaiah and his mother Janet. Both his parents had religious names. Their son's baptismal name was Albert Chinualumoga. He later abandoned his baptismal name of Albert after realising that it was a tribute to Victorian England (*Africa Today,* 2001). He obviously must have felt very insulted when we consider that he espoused a great sense of African-ness through the Igbo idiom and voice rendered in English to reach a world-wide audience.

James Ngugi too, a world-renowned Kenyan novelist, known for his motif of 'return to the roots', rejected his Christian education name, James, and returned to the past. He adopted his father's name and made a symbolic return by reclaiming his father's name. This symbolised a breakaway for what he described as a tortured relationship with colonial education. He called himself *Ngugi wa Thiong'o* which means, *Ngugi, the son of Thiong'o*. In a similar fashion, Mphande, now Lupenga Mphande, a political activist from Malawi, changed his name. Throughout his secondary school education, however, he was known as John Lupenga Mphande. Since his university education he totally abandoned the name *John* as totally meaningless to him. He is a poet of rare intellect and of deep humanity. Professionally, he is a phonologist by training and an academic. He is now known as *Lupenga* Mphande, for political identity reasons, where *Lupenga* means 'the horn that rallies people to some urgent gathering.' In this sense he finds his name bearing a symbolic sense, in view of his key role in the demise of Dr Banda's political fortunes in 1994. He also contributed considerably toward multi-party elections in Zambia after Dr Kenneth Kaunda's rule.

De Klerk (1999) has noted that former controversial secretary-general of the Pan African Congress (PAC) in South Africa, Ben Alexander, later changed his name to *Khoisan X*. He argued that 'X' symbolised a search for his identity, ethnically, with regard to the search for his original roots, as he is believed to have been of the Khoisan stock. With the advent of the new dispensation, his political identity remained unclear if he continued to be known as Ben Alexander.

A former South African Minister of Sport, Arnold Stofile, changed his name to *Makhenkesi* Stofile, and the politician of Congress of the People (COPE) and former Defence Minister, Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, changed his name to *Mosioua Lekota,* dropping the two English names. In Zimbabwe, a famous literary scholar changed his name from *European* to *Tafadzwa*, a name drawn from *chiShona* (Dube *et al.* 2007).

Names as expressing people's political and cultural pride

Names tend to embody some of the deepest feelings that language can express. In this regard, names therefore tend to reflect the bearer's origin and context at the time, where the tendency is to follow and be guided by custom, fashion and what they see as expediency.

Machaba (2002), in South Africa, has observed that the notion of change in a people's name and place names reflects 'an unnecessary revenge for colonialism and Apartheid.' Others view this as a long-awaited move. The precise variables or reasons for name bearers who decide to change their names in the course of their lives are varied. We can only speculate that these fuse aesthetic, religious, socio-cultural and political factors. There is thus a complex fusion of factors leading to one's change of name(s). This indicates a shifting allegiance from having an English or European name and an indigenous African name for identity on political platforms.

At the University of Botswana, Arua (2009) reports on a study in which he investigated whether Black African students are loyal to names that are given to them at birth and to what extent this pattern of naming affects their first names. Data was collected among a student population of 164 first year and final year undergraduate students (95 females and 69 males). The student population presents extremes of freshness and experiences of learning in a university. The findings showed a response of 82% (46 females versus 36 males), roughly. It would appear that was largely because first

names were Tswana. These were names like *Boitumelo*, meaning (joy or happiness), *Malebogo*, meaning (thanks), *Gaone* meaning (His God's), *Kabelo* (Gift), *Keamogetse* (I have received), *Kelebogile* (Thank you), *Keoreapetse* (I prayed to Him), *Lorato* (Love), *Motlalepula* (One who comes with a rain), etc. European names like *Martin* might be meaningless to an individual and more importantly to the family where the individual belonged. In a similar vein, it could be argued that most children born after Malawi's independence had more African names, unlike their parents who were born in the colonial era. Children's parents in Malawi tended to project their Malawian names and only initialed their Western names. Arua (2009), however, showed that there was no indication of sexist undertones and it should be noted that the common underlying reason seems to have been the circumstances which prevailed at the time that the child was born, hence the similarity and relevance of Malawian and Botswanan names. It can be argued, therefore, that among Malawians, Tswanas and in southern Africa generally, naming seems a strong ideological tool, where names give loyalty, esteem and show respect to ancestors and religious values that are inherent in each society (Arua 2009). Children felt that they should not change their names when they became adults. The 82% result shows that many students in the study preferred the retention of Tswana names, which was significant.

A different observation was made by De Klerk (1999), who observed that English names are in some contexts still upheld and that there is a positive attitude among Black African name bearers. The idea may not be to abandon Western, colonial or Christian names entirely for cultural or political identity reasons. It could be argued that shaking off these initial names is tantamount to individuals being stripped or eroded, as they have all along being identified and known by these names since they arrived in this world.

Concluding remarks

It is yet to be established whether future name-bearers will be totally known by their indigenous African names or by a fusion of both Western and African names. In an African context, it might be worth reiterating that the notion of domination is a metaphor and languages do not dominate people; people dominate each other. Paradoxically, even though the metaphor of languages dominating people is meant to be a clarion call to political action, framing the discussion in such a political manner renders it more difficult rather than easier for political intervention to take place, exactly in those contexts in which active social intervention is warranted (Dube *et al.* 2007:27). The state cannot control names in public life. It is within individuals' power to conceptualise and project their names according to how and what they think is best for them.

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Reversing brain drain in Africa by engaging the diaspora: contending issues

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The impacts of brain drain in Africa are phenomenal. In the lst five decades of the continent's political history, political and economic factors have collectively acted as push factors in the migration of young Africans from the continent. As such, reducing, reversing and mitigated the effects of emigration from Africa have been a tall order. This paper examines the net effects of brain drain on the continent against the backdrop of the global environment. Its data base was drawn from both archival materials and contemporary literature. It discovers that to effectively mobilize the abundant talents and resources need for the continent's development, Africa diaspora must be collectively engaged. This policy prescription would avail the region the much needed succor in its march towards development.

Keywords: Brain drain, Africa, African diaspora, public administration, political science, University of Benin, Benin city, Nigeria.

Introduction

Brain drain, also known as human capital flight, refers to the large-scale emigration of individuals with technical skills or knowledge. An international migrant worker or skilled emigrant is defined by the United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990), as a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national. There is a growing alarm over the impacts of the above stated phenomenon on the African continent. Although data on brain drain in Africa is scarce and inconsistent, statistics show a continent losing the very people it needs most for economic, social, scientific and technological progress.

Estimates have it that between 1960 and 1989, some 127,000 highly qualified African professionals left the continent and Africa has been losing at least 20,000 professionals each year since 1990 (Tebeje 2005). Thus, development experts decry the adverse impacts of brain drain on the region. Even as at the turn of the millennium, brain drain was reported to have cost the continent over $4 billion in the employment of an estimated 150,000 (mostly from the West) expatriate professionals annually (BBC News 2001).

Certainly, there are arguments for and against the effects of brain drain in Africa. The thrust of this paper is on the effects of brain drain on the continent. In essence, special emphasis is laid on African diaspora and their collective expertise needed for the development of the region. This will be factored into the process of governance for effective service delivery. The paper starts with a brief introduction, which is followed by theoretical perspectives. The major issues are analyzed subsequently, while the concluding note is on how to move the continent forward.

Theoretical perspeectives

This paper adopts the trans-nationalist approach. The import of this school lies in the interconnectivity between people and the receding economic and social significance of boundaries among nation states. This perspective argues that while it is wrong to assume that states are the key actors in international relations, other key actors like International Organizations, and Non-Governmental Organizations which provide policy initiative and implementation are composite stakeholders (Joerges,Inger-Johanne & Gunther 2004). Also, this perspective is commonly seen as an alternative to power politics or idealism (Adams & Page 2005). According to Nardon & David (1992), idealism has provided a counter point to realism. Thus, the long tradition of idealism in inter-state relations holds that morality can form the basis for international relations. Given that human nature is not necessarily evil; peaceful and cooperative relations amongst states are possible. In essence, states can operate as a community rather than merely autonomous self-interested agents.

However, with the benefits of globalization flowing ordinarily to the developed world and as we enter the new age of mobility, people will move across borders in ever-greater numbers. African professional tend to migrate to Europe and North America. Many are dissuaded from returning home by the economic and political crises that have ravaged the continent over the last few decades. This human migration hits the continent particularly hard as a high percentage of educated Africans live abroad.

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The sticky point has been whether brain drain has positive or negative impacts on Africa. Migration studies conducted on the continent to assess the impacts of intellectual migration have produced quite contradictory results. There are two schools of thought in this respect. The divergent paradigm examines the brain drain from the perspective of the highly detrimental effects arising from the loss of the brightest minds in the continent, thus weakening the capacity for development. The belief here is that the flight of health workers, scientists, and teachers hinders the continent's development.According to Hanson (2008:1), 'it will be impossible to achieve an Africans renaissance without the contributions of the talented Africans residing outside Africa'. This is because the continent needs to harness the full potentials of its citizens regardless of geographical boundaries.

Contrarily, the convergence school of thought argues that the problem of brain drain is over-dramatized and is less critical than it is usually portrayed (Adepoju 2003). This perspective tends to emphasize the benefits of migration for both Africa and the receiving countries. In line with the aforesaid, recent research in migration of skilled workers tended to conclude that brain drain might, through remittances and the return of talented workers, be good for Africa. In a paper presented in March 2008 by economists William Easterly and Yaw Nyarko, it was stated that remittances to Africa were largely undercounted, but that each African country received a substantial average of its foreign aid in the process (cited Hanson 2008:14). In some cases, talented Africans are even returning to their home countries to work or start businesses, thus triggering a phenomenon called brain circulation – a situation where entrepreneurs start new companies but maintain links with their adopted countries.

Brain drain and Africa

Brain drain is common amongst developing countries, especially those in Africa. The share of Africans with college degrees that live outside the continent is certainly high. This has financial, institutional, and societal costs for the region, as young Africans who left for education purposes or opportunities overseas do not feel obliged to return home at the end of their studies or sojourn. There is a general belief that a brain drain tends to pull the best and the brightest from the continent; the very people most equipped to help improve living conditions in Africa. According to Chacha (2007), 'about 60,000 middle and high-skilled Africans emigrated from the continent between 1986 and 1990'. Corroborating the above, Fadayomi (2009) states that based on an Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the International Organization Migration (IOM) reports(2005), no fewer than 20,000 skilled Africans have been emigrating from the continent since 1990. According to him, an estimated 27,000 skilled Africans left the region for the more developed countries between 1960 and 1975, with the figure increasing to 40,000 between 1975 and 1985 (an increase of 60 percent within a decade).

The brain drain phenomenon which involves the increasing mobility of educated and skilled Africans to more developed countries is contributing to the erosion of public and private sector service delivery systems of most African countries. This continuous outflow of skilled labour contributes to a widening gap in science and technology between Africa and other continents. According to Tebeje (2005), 'Africa's share of global scientific output has fallen from 0.5 percent in the mid-1980s to 0.3 percent in the mid-1990s'. This flight of professionals from the continent endangers its economic and political systems. IOM (2005) notes that the trend is depriving some African countries of a significant share of their skilled human resources, which they have often trained at considerable cost. For instance, in Nigeria it costs the Federal Government about two thousand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars ($2,188) per session to successfully train a medical doctor in a federal university in terms of the unit cost per medical student and the subvention to cushion the tuition fees (Vanguard 2007).

Consequently, the departure of health professionals has eroded the ability of medical and social services in many African countries to deliver even basic health and social needs. More so, the annual emigration of about 20,000 medical personnel (doctors and nurses) from Africa is aggravating an already precarious public health situation on the continent. As aptly captured by the United Nations (2005) in Table 1, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in 2003 stated that 14 countries in sub-Saharan Africa were osing more than 15 percent of their skilled workers to Europe and America.

Table 1 Number of doctors trained in sub-Saharan Africa working in oecd countries and selected health indicators

					Selected health indicator in home country		
Source Country	**Population (thousands)[a]**	**Total number of doctors in home country[b]**	**Number of doctors working in 8 OECD recipient countries[b]**	**Percentage of home country workforce[b]**	**Under-five mortality rate[c]**	**Life expectancy of birth[b]**	**Adult HIV (percentage of adults ages 15 – 49[c])**
Angola	13,841	881	168	19	245	40.7	3.9
Cameroon	14,856	3,124	109	3	163	45.8	6.9
Ethiopia	68,525	1,936	335	17	172	47.6	4.4
Ghana	19,867	3,240	926	29	102	56.7	3.1
Mozambique	17,911	514	22	4	182	41.9	12.2
Nigeria	117,608	34,923	4,261	12	200	43.3	5.4
South Africa	45,610	32,973	12,136	37	74	49.0	21.5
Uganda	24,309	1,918	316	16	139	46.8	4.1
United Republic of Tanzania	34,763	822	46	6	164	46.0	8.8
Zimbabwe	12,595	2,086	237	11	117	37.2	24.6
TOTAL	369,885	82,417	18,556	23	--	--	--

Source: United Nations (2005)

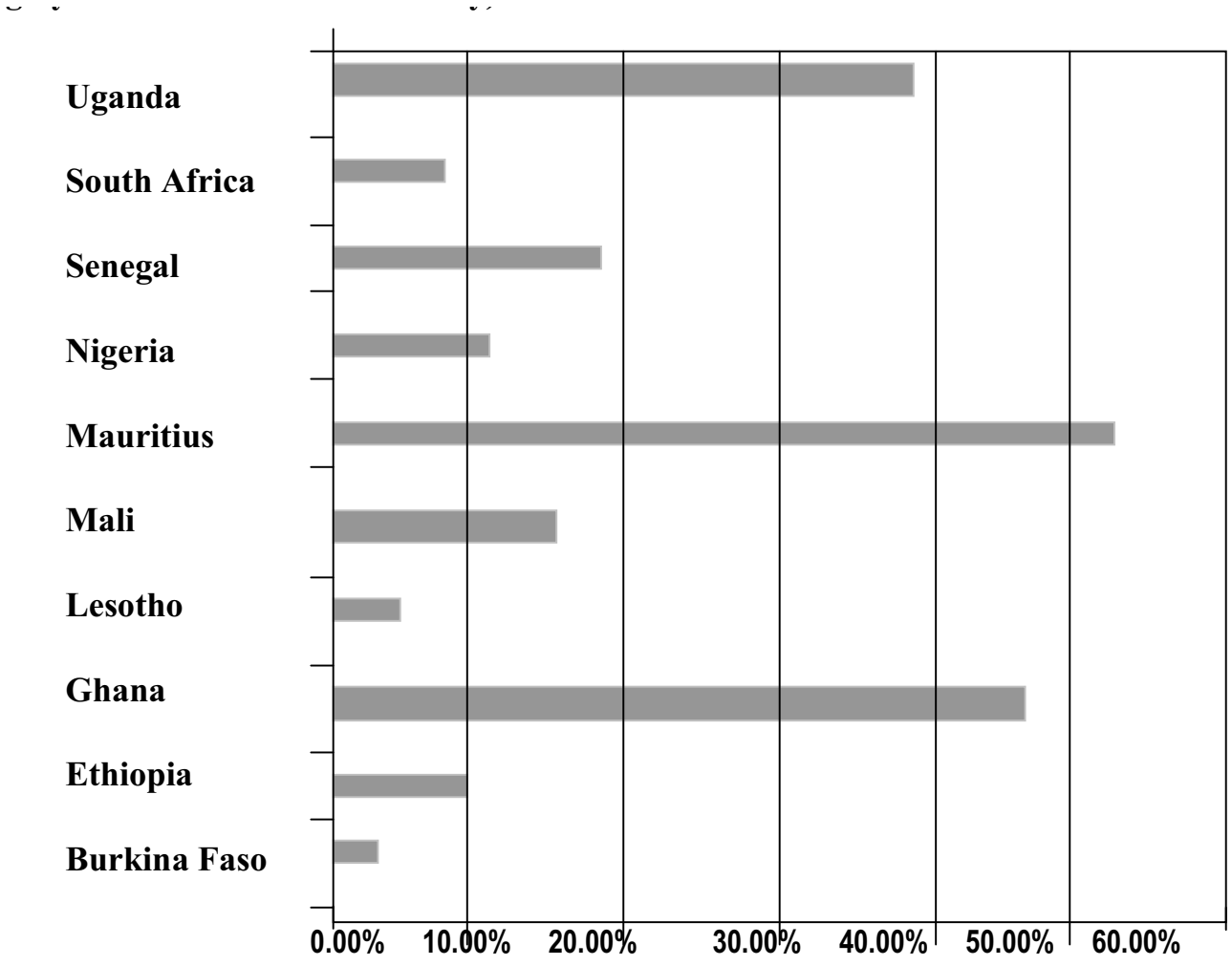

Figure 1 Highly–Educated Emigration to OECD Countries, 2000 (Percent of highly–educated in source country)
Source: Docaller & Marfouk (2004)

By mid-2000, there were more Malawian medical doctors practising in the mid-Eastland city of Manchester than in the whole of Malawi, and only 50 out of the 600 doctors trained in Zambia since independence are still practising in that country (GCIM 2005). In 1999, Ghana certified 320 new nursing personnel who graduated from their training schools, and lost the same number to emigration. The following year, the country lost twice as many and official records indicate that more than half of Ghana's nursing position are unfilled (UNFPA 2006).

The World Bank study conducted in 2004 showed that the flight of highly-educated people from sub-Saharan Africa has been very severe. Table 2 shows that in Mauritius, 57 percent of college educated natives reside in industrialized countries, Ghana 48 percent, Uganda 37 percent, Senegal 18 percent and Mali 15 percent. In South Africa, Lesotho, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Ethiopia, the rate is about 10 percent.

The outflow situation of doctors and nurses in some African countries is alarming, as 69 percent of doctors trained in Ghana from 1995-2002 emigrated from the country (Bump 2006), while South Africa lost 13 percent of its skilled manpower annually during the 1990s (Bhorat, Jean-Baptiste & Cecil 2002). Uganda is said to have lost more than 50 percent of its professional and technical workers during the reign of President Idi Amin between 1971 and 1979 (Russell, Karen & William 1990). The exodus of Nigerian academics and students is attributable to the decline in educational standards in Nigerian universities. Thus, the country witnessed an outflow of highly-skilled professionals to the oil-rich countries in the Middle-East when the country's oil fortunes nose-dived with the fall of crude-oil prices in early 1980s (Black,Lynday & Claire 2004). In a nutshell, a brain drain makes it difficult to create a middle class consisting of doctors, engineers, administrators, and other professionals.

Intervening variables that tend to explain emigration

Analyses of skilled migration from sub-Saharan Africa have been rooted in economic rationality, which corroborated by Todaro's (2009) work on rural-urban migration in which the decision or urge to migration to urban areas is informed by push-pull factors, especially wage differentials. However, Portes and Rumbaut (1990) have criticized the push-pull model on the premise that it shows an inability to explain why similar migration outflows do not arise from equally poor countries, and argued that major labour flows often emanate from countries at intermediate levels of development rather than the poorest countries, as implied by the push-pull model. They argue further that migration outflows of skilled personnel could be explained from geo-political influence, and not necessarily individualist rationality of migrants.

Baldwin (2003) states that by focusing on the individual, the push-pull model had the potential of devaluing the roles of institution, like the State and supra-national institutions in generating and sustaining international migration flows. Focusing on the individual economic rationality has the tendency to exclude variations in national policy, especially the influence of states which are actors in the structure and operations of the global economy. For instance, the Philippines deliberately promote overseas employment, while countries like Canada, United Kingdom and the United States are actively seeking to admit skilled health workers from overseas.

States put policy in place to enable their citizens to take advantage of the remuneration and employment opportunities. Nurses trained in the Philippines earn about 200 dollars monthly in their own country, but could earn up to 4,000 dollars monthly in the United States. States could also employ differential tax regimes to promote migration (Baldwin-Edward, 2006). In Canada, taxation regimes have been acknowledged as a contributory factor in boosting the emigration of physicians to the United States. Barret (2001) reports that between 1995 and 1996, the average net income of US physicians was 269,000 dollars compared to 119,000 for Canadian physicians.

Programmes of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) pursued in the 1980s by most African states had directly impact on the availability of employment opportunities within these source countries which encouraged emigration. Reduction in public workforce, a corollary to SAP, also raised the tempo of emigration of skilled manpower in Nigeria, like in other African countries implementing the Structural Adjustment Programme set out by the Bretton Woods institutions.

The basic drain phenomenon has been driven also by social networks linking migrants in destination countries and potential migrants in source localities. Mattes & Richard (2000) note that the networks of social ties are drawn upon by newly arriving migrants, reducing the costs and risks associated with migration, which implies that once migration pathways are established, they will stimulate further migration. The influence of overseas nurse associations and other support networks in sending countries, like Nigeria, South Africa, Jamaica and Guyana are important elements in networks that foster further migration. The remarkable salary differentials between skilled professionals in Europe and America in comparison with Africa spur the desire of many skilled professionals to emigrate. For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2003) reports that a skilled nurse earns about 11,000 dollars annually in South Africa's public service, 22,000 dollarsin the United Kingdom, 35,000 dollars in Saudi Arabia, and over 40,000 dollars in the United States.

Other drivers of skilled migration include social pressures owing to large families, the availability of advanced facilities and professional contacts developed when studying abroad. The issue of violence as catalyst for emigration was highlighted by Mattes and Richard (2000), as Myburgh (2004) provided survey evidence that 50% of South Africans who formally indicate an intention to emigrate in exit polls recorded the reason of violent crime. Chacha (2007:1-2) 'cites state failure and poor state leadership as determinants in skilled emigration in sub-Saharan Africa'. He explains further:

> the brain drain in Africa is as a result of the greed and Maladministration of Africa leaders. Africa has enough to sustain all Africans; that we actually don't have need to go Abroad …The professionals' impulse to depart their native countries is very much that of man's primitive instinct for security: physical security, economic security and the assurance that one can age in a safe environment where food security and 'social security' are not luxuries … Africans. Leaving Africa are not happy to be leaving. The brain drain is a result of corrupted governments leading African nations ... African governments don't care much about their own professional citizens as they pay big salaries to foreign expatriates for the same job their citizens can do.

Impact of skilled emigration on countries of origin and destination

In 2003, Commonwealth countries' health ministers raised an alarm over the increased migration of skilled personnel that is now undermining health system delivery in the developing countries, and adopted a position thus:

> in recent years, international migration, fuelled by many factors, has grown to such proportions that it is affecting the sustainability of health systems in some countries. While both developed and developing countries are experiencing the negative impact of loss of skills, such loss is more keenly felt in developing countries, which are finding it increasingly difficult to compete for skilled human resources in the existing global market (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003:1 cited in Baldwin 2006).

This perspective held by developing countries has been challenged by liberal capitalist thinking, which has pushed the discussion from "brain drain" to "brain circulation" or "brain overflow". From this new perspective, it is argued that the world economy gains from a more efficient allocation of human resources, and that it was better to have "brain drain" than "brains in drain" (IOM 2005).

This is further supported by five arguments:

- Firstly, in a more networked global economy with increased Foreign Direct Investment (RDI), the belief in a straight forward brain drain is now getting out-dated in such countries as India (Khadria 2002).
- Secondly, there is a strong belief that migration of highly-skilled personnel is beneficial to both countries of origin and destination because of the emergence of transnational communities that link the diaspora to the home communities, thus stimulating investment and entrepreneurship (Saxenian 2002).
- Thirdly, migration is often more temporary than in the past, like forced slave trade, enabling countries to attract migrant return, especially in the case of India, providing a new leverage for investment (Bach 2003).
- Fourthly, skilled emigrants from developing countries are expressing their individual's freedom of movement and the right to market one's talent in the world market (IOM 2005).
- Fifthly, regardless of their stage of development, countries with an unfavourable political, economic and human rights environment tend to experience outflows of skilled personnel or professionals or scientists, academics and high-level researchers as they cherish intellectual freedom, which the developed economies provide (Gubert 2005).

However, African nations are seriously worried about the sustained loss of their best talents and professionals to rich countries which implement selective immigration policies for skilled workers, especially in the wake of globalization with fast evolving technological change, increase in knowledge – and skill – based service industries, and market competition. The implications of skilled emigration or brain drain on countries of origin, in the developing world, have been found to include the following.

Firstly, long-term emigration of skilled personnel amounted to a loss of the huge amounts of public funds directly or indirectly invested in training such professionals. For instance, South Africa claims to have spent 1 billion US Dollars on the education of health workers who emigrated, which is about 30 percent of all development aid received by the country between 1994 and 2000 (Hass 2005). In Ghana and Zimbabwe, 70 percent of all doctors leave within a few years of graduating from medical college (*Financial Times* 2004). Nigerian professionals in the US alone were estimated at about 300,000 (Chacha 2007). The full picture of the financial losses in training these professionals cannot easily be seen, but the gains to the receiving countries have been put in perspective. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimated that for each developing country, professionals aged between 25 and 35 years, 184,000 US Dollars in training cost is saved by developed countries. Taking into consideration that the 27 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries have a workforce of approximately 3 million professionals educated in developing countries, this could result in a huge 552 billion US Dollars savings for the OECD (Myburgh 2004).

Secondly, skill emigration or brain drain depletes the tax revenues of countries of origin, but boosts that of the countries of destination. By implication, developed countries aggravate global inequality through their selective immigration policies aimed at draining scarce and expensively-trained human resources from developing nations. For instance, the one million Indians living in the US accounted for 0.1 percent of India's population but earned the equivalent of 10% of India's national income. In India, their income would have been less, but they would still have been in the bracket of the highest tax payers (IOM 2005).

Thirdly, brain drain exacerbates poor workforce planning, by encouraging shortages in critical areas of human resources in the economy. The shortages throw up challenges in different sectors, creating imbalances in the deployment of professionals in countries of origin for skill emigration (Zuru 2002).

Fourthly, the countries of origin of brain drain could benefit indirectly from remittance sent home by these emigrated professionals to their siblings and other dependants at home. Despite the difficulty in tracking the scale of remittances through informal channels, some of the remittances have contributed to the national income of some major countries like India (11.5 billion US Dollars), Mexico (6.5 billion US Dollars) and Egypt (3.5 billion US Dollars), among others (IOM 2005).

For the destination countries, especially the developed nations, the brain gain boosts their abilities to meet the staff requirements and address staff shortages. For instance, the relative ease with which the United Kingdom government achieved its 2004 target to increase the nurse workforce by 20,000 would probably not have been achievable without the sustained increase in overseas nurses employed in the country (Baldwin 2006). The destination countries save costs that would have been sunk into training skill manpower or professionals needed in key sectors of their economy, with the availability of already trained personnel who arrive in such countries for employment. Besides, the destination countries boost their tax revenues from the emigrants with skills, and also gains by ensuring that overseas workers are often employed in posts that could be hard to fill because of geographical locations, especially in the rural areas of the destination countries.

Engaging the African diaspora

Many Africans living abroad are reluctant to return home due to the economic and political crises that have engulfed the continent since the epochal year of 1960. Failing economies, political instability manifested in high unemployment, armed conflicts and lack of adequate social services such as health and education, are some of these factors. Throughout the said period, the region has lost its best and brightest. Analysts debate the semantics of the issue and have focused almost entirely on remittances, overlooking the implications of a brain drain on human resources, motivational capacity, and health-social services.

In the past, efforts to stem Africa's brain drain by focusing on repatriation strategies have yielded few results. Studies also showed that repatriation will not work so long as African states fail to address the pull and push factors that influence emigration. Thus, the relationship between countries in Africa and the African diaspora remain crucial to finding the right solutions.

When the African Union declared the African diaspora the 'sixth region' of the continent in 2003, another chapter was opened to usher in diaspora involvement in capacity building on the continent; not only in terms of kinship affinity but because they wanted to help those in need (Dallas 2005). Through church missions, adopt-a-child programmes or individual donations to families linked to them, the African diaspora has provided what could be considered remittances. Also, this category has created business in African countries or invested in African exchanges.

The African diaspora could help reverse brain drain on the continent through a programme called 'virtual participation'. This involves diaspora participation in nation-building without physical relocation. According to Tebeje (2005:52), 'It ... shows promise as a means to engage the African diaspora in development effort'. The challenge here is how to mobilize this capacity on a continent where government-diaspora relations are peripheral. Thus, African leaders need to rise to the occasion as this could encourage emerging diaspora efforts to assume a more active role in the region's development. It could also facilitate an effective and sustained diaspora commitment to Africa's development efforts as it has tremendous potential to channel the untapped intellectual and material inputs from Africans living overseas.

Furthermore, with a growing awareness amongst the African diaspora of its moral, intellectual, and development efforts, Africa must develop a collective strategy to engage them. In the past, there was no meaningful attempt to do the above and no institutional connections existed. As such, African diaspora groups generally relied on ad-hoc, disparate and small-scale programmes to assist in the development of the continent. The growing need for African expatriates to become active in the region's development efforts couple by the willingness by Africa to accept and accommodate them as veritable stakeholders is a positive step towards addressing the issues of brain drain and capacity building in Africa.

Conclusion

The focus of this paper was on brain drain and its impacts on African development. The analytical variables of the paper were premised on the asymmetrical perspectives of the divergent and convergent schools of thoughts. While acknowledging the importance of these approaches, we believe that a coordinated approach to the issues under discourse would be proper to the continent's developmental challenges. Also, there is a serious need to enhance diaspora involvement in capacity building in Africa. To achieve this, the paper calls on African leaders to create the enabling environment meant to guarantee the necessary inputs from Africans living abroad. This, in effect, could reduce and possibly reverse the brain drain phenomenon in the continent.

Also, since the present socio-economic conditions on the continent serve as a springboard for would-be emigrants to flee the region, it is our firm belief that the provision of social amenities like constant electricity, good healthcare services, quality education, efficient transport systems, etc, by government, would go a long way to reverse the current trend. After all, these facilities are a basic minimum in the countries of their sojourn.

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Emerging role of media as the language art in children's literature in Kenya

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The growing need to understand a Kenyan child in learning situations today indeed broadens our quest to understand literacy and related text forms associated with information and multimedia technologies. Media today constitute socialization avenues for children in the contemporary society. They play a relation in family and school life for children regarding children's socialization and cultural transformation. Therefore there is a need to harness the benefits of the 21st century information technologies in children's learning. The paper's main concern is on media's symbolic meaning involving interpretation, negotiations and making compromises for potential meaning of representational forms. Firstly it recognizes how media have meshed into contemporary society. Therefore we are pedagogically faced with presentation problems in children's literature where African values, beliefs and codes of behaviour can be inculcated. Secondly it argues that children's literature calls for a rethinking, such that it is made 'integrative' and new media such as television, videos, and internet use are given a role in contributing to learning. Thirdly, representation strategies to embrace the information age are described.

Keywords: Pedagogy, literacy skills, multimedia technologies, integrative approach, multiliteracy , multiculturalism.

Introduction

> It seems the world of learning and knowledge is no longer confined to textual information… it is increasingly being captured in images, sounds, moving pictures and combination of these
> (Investing in A Learning Society Singapore 1994)

Our understanding here is that literature available to children needs to relate to the impact of media as an emerging language art among children in Kenya today. We are here looking at language the way Brunner(1986: 131) described it, that language has a two-faceted nature of "being both a mode of communication and a medium for representing the world about which it is communicating". Thus, we consider Kenyan children's literature as intended to promote the African culture, traditional heritage and cultural identity while at the same time giving the children honest facts about emerging developments in their society, and a recognition of language representation which promote ideas and emotions that develop among the children of the information society.

Let's begin by considering these questions. Whom do we call a child? In what environment do we find this child? In what format is this children's literature prevalently presented in Kenya? And how does this literature develop their competence for the emerging needs of the information society they find themselves in today? Can the use of media in children's literature become a recipe for cultural ambiguity among the children? These are the leading questions in this paper, questions which are of serious pedagogical importance.

In contemporary society, childhood studies continue to emerge from modern ideas of childhood which have splintered such studies into alignment on two different epistemological approaches – universalism and particularism, in which particularism is linked to socio-cultural factors and universalism linked to biological laws; in Prout's words "a heterogeneous biological-discursive-social-technological ensemble" (Drotner & Livingstone 2008: 78).

In Kenyan traditional society, the particularism approach applies in cases where various communities practise their different cultural rite of passage ceremonies upon children essentially to establish a move from one stage in life to another along the socio-cultural trajectory. In such cases, one is considered to be a child until the age of initiation which, for some communities, is marked by circumcision (of boys and in some cases boys and girls); others practise the extraction of six lower teeth. These practices in ethnically differentiated communities have been used to gauge who a child is, and set a trajectory toward adulthood through maturation of puberty.

Therefore, a Kenyan child belonged to one world, that of his community, a community that provides the child with security and traditional skills for survival in a world around him, the ideas shared by African scholars (Mbiti 1969). However, because of the current global impact on Kenyan society, this is no more. The societal transition – from that which was pegged on an experience of one world – that of a community, is increasingly going through socio-cultural transformation ushered in by new media. And the change has been fast. The Kenyan child today is a child of many worlds living in the pressures of the networked society and that of a revolution of information age which has come to embrace

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Africa. He lives in an age of a 'technological trap'; an age that has made the world a small networked society where accessibility to its diverse experiences is accessed fast enough at the touch of a button. The influence on his culture is enormous. From another angle, the technologising capability of the 'new' digital communication continues to contribute to the rhetoric of globalisation linking this with modernisation and development but Kenyan scholars have begun to demystify the new digital communication technologies and have called into question their effect on children and what may be regarded as new.

With the increasing information onslaught, the children's learning development has become critical. The correlation between learning and media among children has attracted few studies in the past (Drotner 1998) and continues to do so. Most of available studies focusing on the influence of media on children's cognitive development and processes have relied mostly on media content, exposure and children's developmental levels (Starter 1989, Buckingham 2011, Drotner 1998, Livingstone 2009). Such studies have yielded knowledge on the processes underlying the encounter between the child and the media with few inferences on the social and cultural setting where the children find themselves. In fact the traditional clichés still remain paramount: 'roaming around the known' for the acquisition of new knowledge.

When we talk of inferences of cultural influence, we understand culture in the sense of a whole life. And our whole life continues to be under the influence of the driving force of the media, causing significant changes in our traditional practices. As Caronia and Caron (2008: 373) have pointed out, the emerging culture is: "a system of ideas, representations, values and knowledge about the world ... contents derived from the media, thus the media culture consists of a set of media-specific skills and competencies needed to decode and recode content".

The competencies acquired by children have therefore made Kenya parents lose the socio-cultural yardstick that was used to gauge a child's age. The parents have taken a new dimension where the school curriculum following the biological law perspectives is used as an indicator for age sampling. Thus for schoolgoing age, we find children mostly in kindergarten (2-4 years), primary schools (5-13 years), and secondary schools, between 13 and 17 years. The picture given here, however, is that of an urban child. The ages vary greatly in Kenyan rural areas and are difficult to describe because of mitigating factors of poverty and diseases. Therefore we should regard a child as one aged below fourteen years; we don't dispel other people's ideas who see the age limit of a child to range to seventeen years. We have however collapsed the age range between 18 to 25 years to be designated for the youth, a growth period immediately preceding that of an adult.

However, the concept of childhood differs not only culturally but even in units as small as the family. Fred Inglis (1981: 76) has pointed out that "the history of childhood is necessarily an intercalation in the history of the family." Interestingly, the most satisfactory generalisation made by scholars (Livingstone 2009, Buckingham 2011, Prout 2000) is that childhood is a period of life which the immediate culture thinks of as being free of responsibility and susceptible to education.

Kenyan children and their literature

While we may hold the belief that children are essentially passive, dependent and powerless, some psychologists (Vygotsky 1962 and Piaget 1969) have known them otherwise: as being good players, their playing activities being characterised as absorbed, elaborate and meaningful. Of course, children also display a large variety of different needs and abilities because of the age range involved in any activity. However, it will be wrong to deal with children as a homogeneous group, as they will at any given age and environment display a wide range of abilities.

The concept of children's literature has often been understood by adults as merely books written for children. But in practice, it is vastly more complicated. Which brings us to the Piagetian definition of a child as a way of unraveling what children's literature should be. Piaget (1969:7) sees children as "those whose minds and bodies have not yet matured in various definable ways". However, from a literary point of view, we need to recognise children as developing readers – or in an African sense, partakers of cultural mores either orally or as readers. Thus their literature should be defined by their audience and focus on the audience specific cultural frames of reference which shape the role of language, social interaction, cognition and lifetime experience. The audience here is not merely anonymous but specific as African, since the significant underlying factor here is culture.

The Kenyan 8-4-4 education system has not emphasised media in defining children's literature. It has designated a dividing line between books that are for children and those which are not, on the basis of content rather than frameworks combining visuals for facilitation of understanding of the text. We often find children's literature consigned to areas covering poetry, fairy tales, non-fiction (educational) and comics not specifically African.

The pertinent question that arises is what literature would be relevant for Kenyan children. Indeed, as children are known to be innately curious, their literature today should not be taken as a simple idea: books written for children or books read by children. Odaga (1985) has defined literature as an art whose medium is the word, and its subject according to Satre (1967: 116) "has always been man in the world ..." Thus, the definition sees literature as an

experience, personal, aesthetic and cultural; this demonstrates that culture is always foregrounded in any literary work. In this way, an African child's experience begins with appreciating literature through songs and stories from their grandmothers or parents, read by a teacher or heard from a recording artist. And these are meant to teach the children the names of objects animate and inanimate, taboos, seasons and community morals.

In African history, however, literature was chiefly oral and included proverbs, myths, riddles, tales, chants, legends, songs, taboos, tongue twisters, dances and superstitions which formed a way of life in the rural countryside and the communal culture of the village. The intention was to make this oral tradition a culture of the people. The Kenyan oral tradition was dominated by spoken language which made the communities what they were and held them together through the use of language in face to face interaction. Their social memory was transmitted in a spoken tradition from one generation to the next, was memorised, enjoyed and entertained the communities as life went on from day to day and from week to week, season to season and marked by certain events like feasts, funerals and eloping events, that is, marriage. It exposed the children to many values and value systems, ideas, and practices, sometimes at sharp variance with their own.

Nevertheless in the current technological and information explosion, literature is taking another dimension. We cannot talk about children's literature with disregard to the impact of media in literate culture – a culture dominated by computer-mediated communication. Writing is a system of record in which things are put down as information and transmitted through space over great distances.

With the new media, Kenyan children's literature is slowly losing the African cultural touch – the art of life – and seems deeply inclined toward Western culture, although with loose African features. Hunt (1994: 1) has precisely described today's literature thus "… it involves and integrates words and pictures, it overlaps into other modes – video, oral storytelling, and other art forms." The implication is that pictures or images of things are good exercises especially for the imaginative life of children – they develop their acquisition of literary representations in literate culture. Thus children who appreciate illustrated tales in their readers would like to demonstrate for themselves or role play the pictorial depictions. They will often do this with a freshness of detail and instinct for pictorial effect and vivid use of creativity surprising to older people.

The pictures or drawings like those of a Maasai man with an ochred hairdo standing on one leg and a spear in his hand assist children in making better sense of the implicit world of a text's content, thereby improving their retention. This argument may help us unravel the much talked about problems in illustrated books and picture books: that pictures are accessible to children but the meanings derived from them are not; that the picture 'closes' the text – that is, it limits and cuts off the possibilities of interpretation; and that a picture may complement or contradict the words.

However, recent studies (Allen 2004) have argued that pictures in children's readers stimulate their imagination, and that is the reason for their popular use in children's readers. Such use is a way of helping the child in the acquisition of multiliteracy. Other new dimensions found in children's books today include talking books intended for blind children, pop-ups, books accompanied with audio cassettes and of late discs. There are also stories in videos often characterised by cartoons and puppets.

This scenario balances the description of old and new materials for children's literature. On one hand, the old approach has functioned as the orality of our heritage for the continuity with our past, since most of Kenyan early literature was not written. On the other hand, the new approach is the written and illustrated literature intended to establish children's relationship with print and their world today and in the future and the joys and sorrows in technology that are part of contemporary life.

Making children's literature integrative

However, despite all the media have made available, intense debate still lingers concerning the use of media by children. Putnam (2000), for example, argues that print is continuing to be the repository of rational thought since written words enable the reader to reflect upon ideas being expressed. He also strongly asserts that "to forsake print, therefore, is to give up on intellect and reason" (Putnam 2000:100). Critcher (2008) also has argued that "… words are better than pictures, reading better than viewing … children to eschew all media and sit down to read a good book" (Critcher 2008:96).

Counter reactions to these arguments also abound. Today, the campaigns about the dangers of new media have become narrower; nobody today inveighs against the whole idea of the internet as was once done on moving pictures. Indeed, we are beginning to see a major shift from 'pessimist elitism and censorship', through 'tacit paternalist measures' to a 'democratic pluralism' (Springhall 1998:156; Drotner 1999). Thus the nature of debates has changed as media technologies continue enter children's lives and learning contexts.

Children's literary texts in Kenyan prevailing social order are largely dominated by multimedia presentation, including films, comics, still pictures, video and audiotapes, to provide an infinite variety of visual experiences. Indeed, the current information age would require the children's literature to be 'integrative', making use of printed word, pictorials and orality to unify the various senses for conceptualisation, such that skills should help the child to acquire the ability to interpret and represent information. It is an ability that will enable him to become media literate and equips him with the skills to analyse, evaluate and communicate messages in a variety of representations. Seemingly, this is a shift of emphasis concurrent with the events in the contemporary global society.

For a learning situation, an integrative children's literature serves to help the child process and acquire sequences of language structures that conform to his contextual affordances of that language as ordered by the culture. The child can then relate the linguistic elements so acquired via pragmatic mappings for use in his communication to suit his extra-linguistic context. In other words, the literary nuance so painted in the chant or proverb is a language art which is mapped cognitively and, for a child, helps him in the encoding of information through the use of words spoken and decoding extra-linguistic features for comprehension of prosodic features, gestures, still pictures, and other images.

Making children's literature integrative is a reformulation approach wherein 'integrative' refers to the inclusion of media literacy, print culture, and the ability to think creatively in the mother tongue and English; the attributes of national agenda in the Kenyan 8-4-4 education system.

Integrative literature for children therefore conforms to Mc Cann's (1992: 43-56) idea of children's literature as a "social sphere that influences children and extends beyond ethnic self involvement." Klassen (1993: 85) makes this vivid when he proposes that:

> Literature that is multicultural provides *children* with opportunities to reflect on their cultures (*mirrors*) and examine other ways of perceiving the world (*windows*). Specific cultures explored must be examined through multiple viewpoints that investigate their unique, diverse and universal characteristics. Literary experiences with such literature transform *children's orientation* of the world they live in and create a *critical consciousness* of their world experience.

Kenyan schools where presentation is through 'read about' strategy are only making the representation to remain deficient of the rich milieu of the media where a lot of children's literary works abound.

Nonetheless, the opponents argue that the pictorial medium is inferior to the process and habits of mind stimulated by language (Postman 1994). He claims that the picture "does not put forward a proposition, it implies no opposite or negations, there are no rules of evidence to which it must conform" (Postman 1994:72-73).

'Read about' strategy nonetheless has substantial problems. First, there is the problem of language, which to many readers in Kenya schools is English. Second, there is the problem of the availability of such readers.

The general tendency shows that such readers are only affordable to middle class parents. Third, any literary works in the children's mother tongue are rarely available, and any that exists has a tendency to distaste among Kenyan children because of the power and prestige of English which tends to pull the children away from reading in their mother tongue. Fourth, the present society is rapidly getting out of phase with the past. So we face the question of 'which cultural heritage should children's readers inculcate?' Should it be that of the highly English culture portrayed in the available readers or the few which portray African culture and are available in mother tongues? We suggest that both English and mother tongue readers be made available equally for children's use.

Kenyan children

Many Kenyan children are living in a language setting where there is an interaction of various mother tongues, the national language Kiswahili and the official language English, hence their problems in acquiring the correct linguistic structures of their mother tongue. In Dholuo for example, new lexical items tend to abound in today's language setting and the original ones are beginning to lose currency. A few of the following examples of Dholuo words for a Luo child of 10 years illustrate the point:

Table 1 Coinage of current Dholuo words

Lexical items (old)	Lexical items (new)	Gloss for new lexical items
nyamburko	mtoka	A new lexical item for car, coined from English word "motor car"
beti	opanga	A new lexical item coined from Kiswahili word "panga" for a machette
agola	jikon	A new lexical item coined from Kiswahili word "jikoni" for a kitchen
ruoth	chief	A new lexical item borrowed from English word "chief"
dero	sito	A new lexical item coined from English word "store" for granary
Kartiegruok	Sikul	A lexical item coined from English word "school"
--	Ojiko	A lexical item coined from Kiswahili word "Kijiko"

Luo children in primary school use the new lexical items in their face-to-face interaction and are not conversant with the old ones. Lexical borrowing and any coinage system in languages are processes common in language development. However, high use of these processes may weaken or become detrimental to language maintenance. In fact, the pleasure of African culture is well portrayed in language when old lexical items are used to paint the cultural scenario which is effectively African. Therefore those authors who may be willing to contribute to the advancement of children's literature in their mother tongue will be faced with problems of lexical selection because of language use by their target audience.

Kenya has more than forty mother tongues. Many will question what lexical items to use whereas others will be wondering about the proficiency level of the mother tongue among the children, even though many schools in Kenya do very little in making mother tongue readers available. We suspect that this may be due to examination demands in schools where competence in English, an official language in Kenya, is of paramount importance, as English continues to be a compulsory language in the Kenyan examination system and the language of the curriculum. The children are therefore made to work hard in English to pass their examinations.

A keen observation of children's readers made in the Children's Section at Moi University Library in Eldoret at one time revealed a cultural hiatus that continues to loosen our link between our past and present cultural values. Content in most of the reader's depicted scenario of modern setting related to western culture. No more folk tales that relate to local adventures of 'stories of the village beauty tormented by snakes visiting her home in a quest to marry her' stories on taboos that made a mother lose all her children drowning in the lake and others eaten by hyenas, stories of a father losing an eye for refusing the marriage of his only daughter', and the animal stories of the tricky hare competing in pulling duel with an elephant.

Such stories have a setting basically in an African context and are rich in their cultural import. Culturally they enthrall and delight the children and appeal to them as their import is meant to create a literary imagination of an African context. Media enhances this imagination but their stimulation in children's readers to influence and treat children as homogeneous, if not carefully used, may impact negatively on culture.

The fear of a negative impact of media on children is not new. Childhood, a period for learning the skills and abilities necessary in adult life, is when the children are highly impressionable and will respond to media with passion and be quick to model their conduct on what they see shown on the screen or illustrated.

In the survey of readers in Moi University Library, we found that readers of levels I – II in the children's section predominantly had a setting of an Africa village portrayed as rural where life interacts with wildlife around it. Surprisingly, no hunting with dogs and arrows was portrayed. But a historical scene of European hunters using guns in the African wilderness was illustrated in level II. The depiction of hunting using guns negates the lawful hunting practice in the rich expanse of African wildlife and the joy of traditional hunting among Africans.

Kenya is renowned worldwide for its wildlife. Levels III and IV began with a home now urban. The urban type of life in these two levels was strongly depicted through pictorial portrayal of cars, policemen, aeroplane, airport, whisky, TV, radio, street lights and a computer on a table. Whether this is meant to epitomise the fundamental four archetypical forms of modern education: exclusion, assimilation, multiculturalism and pluralism remains a question for further research. For many Kenyan rural children, depiction of such media infrastructure at some homes portrays them as less media-literate consumers and belittles their preferred social identity. What they experience is a state of difference of emphasis: the reading texts do "not take cognizance of what these children already know implicitly, *so as to turn the* 'passive' knowledge into 'active' knowledge" (Buckingham 2011: 69).

Kenyan culture needs to be inculcated in children's mind by reading materials through practising a 'read about' strategy. However, this is increasingly becoming elusive in many English readers the children use. As such, so long as mother tongue materials rich in Kenyan culture in schools remain scarce, we shall continue to be tormented with the fear of the scope of information most of our children consume today, information which is cross-cultural and voluminous, fast and sophisticated in psychological depth. It is even becoming more sophisticated for the word of mouth, through 'Tell me a story' strategy, to relate. There is therefore a need for a mediating process to capture this, hence a challenge in pedagogy for survival in the information age and for the children who must partake of this survival effectively.

The point is that literacy requirements have changed and will continue to change with new technologies entering into children's daily lives; the change is a trend that must be captured in children's literature guided by our "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984). Unless children's education takes the lead in developing appropriate pedagogies using the new media, corporate media moguls will end up determining what the children learn and what constitutes their literacy. The Kenyan educators must therefore be familiar with pedagogical issues at stake in the current knowledge society.

Reading and viewing compared

Theories vary about the difference between reading and viewing experience. One position holds that visual messages go directly into viewer's cognitive structure without the processing delay necessitated by decoding print symbols into concepts and images. Gettegno (1969:4) represents this view when he concludes:

> Sight is swift, comprehensive, simultaneous analytic and synthetic. It requires so little energy to function, as it does, at the speed of light, that it permits our mind to receive and hold an infinite number of items of information in a fraction of a second ...

Another way of looking at this proposition is that whatever the source of stimulus experience – printed words, spoken words, or visuals, a child will undergo a mental processing to perceive the implicit content to enable him make sense of the experience (Jerslev 2001). Is there any difference between print reading and the viewing of pictorial images? Does the print reader find himself in total thrall like the viewer who as proposed by Forman (1934) "loses ordinary control of his feelings and his thoughts, he identifies himself with the plot and looses himself in the picture, as he is possessed by the drama (Forman cited in Starker 1989:103). For Foreman (1934) perspective, viewing the visual media provides children with comfort, requires their formal skills, appeals to them and makes little distinction between fantasy and reality. Ordinarily, children are regarded as impressionable and pick fast the fantasies on the pictorial medium.

The children are of course expected to carry forward all that they experience in the literary reading into their speech or habits because any media used in a literature text is regarded as an emotion producing machine (Grodal 1997, Tan 1996). Their demonstration of language use needs to mirror the experience of their surrounding and certain linguistic structures gained from the literary work they read. What we are likely to see in most of children's literature texts used in schools, more so in primary schools in Kenya, are texts geared toward improving language use, apart from being seen as work that exist to be enjoyed, to entertain and for knowledge building.

We have to take cognisance that all the children's perceptions of the world around them are created by the sounds they hear and the objects they see which provide them with comfort in their day-to-day life. For example in Kenya, these include events like marriage rituals, immovable heritages, language, initiation ceremonies, songs, traditional dances, foods and forests and animals. The value of images in Kenya is well illustrated in our African shrines for example, shrines of 19th century paramount chiefs, the KAYA shrines in the coast region along the Indian Ocean, and the burial ceremonies – 'tero buru' – among the Luo community in western Kenya. Ogot (1974) has illustrated a number of these events in the history of East Africa.

All these form cultural objects or texts for children and their meanings are obtained through understanding or reading which feed into the children's lived experience, which in turn impacts on their processes of language production.

Reading among the children should therefore not be understood simply as a matter of an isolated encounter between the child (reader) and the text. It is an activity that takes place in a specific social setting implied in the content of the text, giving various social relationships as the text positions itself as of the parent for the child.

The process of reading requires a decoding of words into an abstraction of what is said to make meaning, while viewing images in books requires an encoding of visual images into words in speech to complete the communication of meaning. Children are very good at making sense of visual images and are quick to express the cognitive mapping experience. They will talk their hearts out to express what they see in books, on TV or video. With new media surrounding them in contemporary society, the children will continue to adapt to or negotiate their identities depending on the emphera they find themselves in.

From their perspective we begin to see media as a form of language art the children acquire. Thus the impact of visual images upon a child's cognition involves a restructuring of experience which manifests as a means of his effective-interpretive communicative skill of response. The restructuring experience is a condition in which the child goes through a cognitive process in developing skills in imagination and creativity as the child communicates messages across, thus restructuring his experience, a view well demonstrated in constructivist theory. This is language art. As Bolinger (1980:3) says:

> … language is not just a matter of communication. It is a way of expressing one's fastidiousness, elegance and imaginativeness; ... a way of displaying one's control over a medium just as a fine horseman displays his horsemanship by the way he sits in the saddle and handles his horse ... *or in a Kenyan experience, a Maasai moran chases a lion alone and kills it*

In this way, the effect of pictures in children's literature is to enhance the chance for a child to gain insight into himself, into his own feelings about the visuals, and perhaps make him express and incorporate some character traits from what he

sees into his ideal self. Many Kenyans today still remember the dangers caused by the film *Superman* among Kenyan children in the 1990s. Many children broke their arms in the city of Nairobi trying to somersault or fly the 'Superman' way since there was no caution to warn the children of the danger in practising the same at home. And in the mid-1990s in Kisumu town along the shores of Lake Victoria, when a number of children could be seen performing gestural acts by imitating the crooked feet and the jerking hands in a walking style of the world famous comedian Charlie Chaplin. The children had borrowedthese Chaplin's videos from the British Council library in Kisumu City. What I learnt from them was that curiosity among children triggered by visuals and the search for models of desired qualities is easily satiated by media.

Parents' attitude towards media

The parents and teachers in Kenya hold diverse attitudes towards media; some positive and others negative. The positive attitudes focus on amusement, entertainment, informing and educating aspects while the negative ones are anchored around cultural alienation and a threat to language maintenance, the aspect of moral practice where values, beliefs and codes of behavior are concerned. Just as we understand culture as 'learned behaviour of a given social group' we thus see it as a historically transmitted pattern of meaning in symbolic forms by which the Kenyan people communicate, develop their knowledge, and attitude toward life.

Of course, in a multilingual society like Kenya where Kiswahili serves the purposes of a uniting language – a national language, understanding media as a cultural forum is to set a base for cultural capital that should be infused in language education and family as a cultural institution, and enhancing literacy for learning. This is the view that would be likeable to Kenyan parents. It will enhance parent-child relations, the relations built by new cultural capital.

As a developing country, the general relationship between media, education and social change in Kenya needs to be viewed from the perspectives of the contribution of media to culture; for example, the improvement of the relationship between education and social change. Indeed, the dynamics of the relationship between education and social change in Kenya is fluid, since there are many interfering social factors, including poverty, illiteracy, traditional beliefs and diseases. Though media have little effect on backstage culture, the parents will remain wary of social changes broughtabout by public media.

Such changes will often overspill and creep into our culture. The Kenya School Parents Association (KSPA) has argued for the mutual interaction between the Kenyan past state of societal dynamics and the present social values while being kept in check by education, such that none loses its strand as both are needed to weave a conducive milieu for social change. The social values are important in the content of children's literature today, as we consider childhood as a socialization construction.

Such mutual interaction can be understood by drawing a demarcating line between two interacting societies – the past and the present, as shown in the figure below. The disjointed line in the figure represents the past society, and the bold line represents the present society.

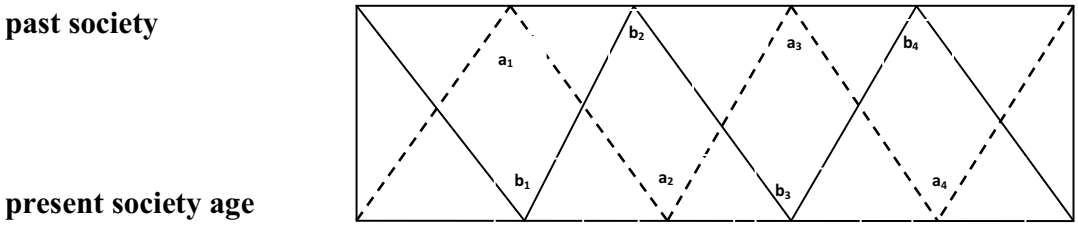

Fig. 1 Past and present cultures mutual interaction

In the illustration, the joined conical shapes – a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4, form contexts for societal polarisation at different stages of growth of a child. The vestigial past society (continuous line) conically illustrated as b_1, b_2, b_3,b_4 today continues to intermesh with the present society (dotted lines) – a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4.

Many older parents will tell stories of how the Kenyan cultural past was rich in its folk tales, dances, flora and fauna. These formed the texture of an African cultural dependence and carried powerful ideas for everyday life in oral culture. They have today diminished in existence and their essence has been overtaken by events in the media. The media dominate the present society and have ushered in cultural encounters causing adaptive living cultures. This has made

people construct their identities from the symbolic resources at hand, which today include those of the media, hence giving the media a role in shaping the language.

That being the case, the Kenyan children's literature therefore must draw from this emergent context – it must be 'integrative', such that the past values are not forgotten for being elusive and inconsequential and the present ones over-consumed for being too enticing and absorbing. Exactly, this is what parents would like the media to capture for the children; the past to be retrieved by the media and the present to be retrieved in its ever increasing volume in the media, whether it is educating, entertaining or informing. Surprisingly, there is no guarantee that this ever increasing trend will abate or change. And most of all, the parents do not have dominant hands in decisions about what tastes in electronic forums are constructed, such as to make children's texts accommodate the views of the parents on what children should learn.

For long, literature teachers in Kenya have loathed the use of media in the classroom for teaching children's literature, arguing that media mostly provide entertainment from European/American culture for the children. When they see children laughing aloud, giggling, pinching one another, imitating characters on TV or puppet shows, they unfortunately regard that as an offshoot of merely an entertainment for the children. Can that be true? Some teachers have also argued against children's story book illustrations as being of no educational value or too graphic (Starker 1989). Wertham (1955) suggested that media reliant on visual images, from comic books to the TV, should be perceived as inherently inferior. Thus no matter what the media do, they cannot reach the heights of great literature in the written word. These arguments give support to teachers' fear. There is also disillusionment among Kenyan parents that most films, TV and video shows have diverting tendencies for children.

However, pedagogically the use of media in children's literature was intended to underscore the educational and entertaining aspects which the media capture and promote in children's literature. It was also intended to inculcate media literacy skills among children. Learning is therefore facilitated through such use of media for the creation of a relaxed and entertaining atmosphere which engenders pleasure in learning activities and multiliteracy skills. In the light of this, media depiction of literary world should promote cultural practices of the society and arguably must constitute the content which is adaptable to the Kenyan context; an attempt that will place the children in a distinctive, historical narrative; a narrative of folk origins of common cultural roots and of enduring traditions of the society. This is an underlying general aspiration of parents towards seeking an assurance of a parental bond, a bond that accommodates the experiences of the media in socializing children, yet with the caution that "… media are not to be trusted if upbringing is seen as the locus of character formation and childhood is defined in terms of development (Drotner 1999:613).

Role of media in children's literature

Some of the most vivid roles for media use in children's literature texts are understood to include:

1. greater learning experience when media are integrated into the traditional learning process
2. equal amounts of learning participation to be accomplished in less time
3. a high retention rate, and
4. facilitation of preferred learning proffered by learners when compared with traditional instruction.

In general we can argue that the media increase interest, comprehension and enhance retention. This argument underscores the hypothesis that the more abstract the content of the message is the more difficult it is to comprehend. Thus the rationale for use of media lies in their ability to mediate reality for any literary comprehension, or as Buckingham has proposed, "... media do not offer us a transparent 'window of the world', but a mediated version of the world. They do not just present reality, they represent it" (Buckingham 2011: 57). Media therefore allow the children to interpret abstraction more easily, through the channels of more than one of their senses through vicarious presentation. Gestalt psychology describes this state in their argument that media provides an affordance for all senses to be used by the child for acquisition of reality. Thus graphics, video, TV and cinema have enormous roles in the acquisition of concepts and attitudes for the present generation of children. As Fothergill and Butchart (1990:14) proposed, "already many children are being influenced and even educated more by television than by the school."

Many people outside Africa got the sorrows of the famine in Sudan and Ethiopia on TV in the late 1980s just as people in Africa got the sorrows of 9/11/01 of the Trade Centre in the US. Rwandan genocide and the problems of Darfur are known to people outside Africa only through TV and print media. Thus the use of the power of the visuals is enormous despite the claims of opponents.

One may question then that how many homes in Kenya have TVs and VCRs for the purposes of watching documentaries, films, news, football, athletics and other amusements? There is no research to ascertain this yet; however, impressionistically there is an increasing tendency for the acquisition of media resources, for example, telephone, TV, radio and computers for home use in urban areas. The trend is slowly picking up in rural Kenya.

This is a sign of rapid transformation of a society by the new media. Why then shouldn't the new media have an impact on children? Why shouldn't Kenyan children take their fairytale books and sit to read and enjoy them, as used to happen in the past? Many Kenyan adults still remember the etiological tales in Dholuo, Kikuyu, Luhya and Nandi readers that we need in mother tongue readers in schools. What do visual media offer over and above the printed materials (books) in the realm of learning and entertainment that makes children today spend less time reading books and more time glued to screens for entertainment? Why are their bedrooms increasingly becoming media rich, especially children from middle class families?

Any research to give an exhaustive response to these questions may be wide reaching, because the capacity of children for acquiring knowledge is vast and knowledge itself today is available from a wide variety of sources and in a wide variety of forms. As Lord Bullock (1975:59) said, "dealing differently with information must now be recognized as one of the major problems in modern society." Variety might sound rather a weak benefit with which to begin, but the effectiveness of media contribution to children's literature is always obvious. If media could offer nothing more than what books or oral discourse could achieve, then media could not have appealed to the children as they do today. We may say that it is a question of monotony and semantics of the printed word that children experience in printed materials that has changed their mode of information consumption. Just like the body, the mind thrives on easily digested food and a varied diet. And inherent in the idea of variety is the merit of the media to provide alternatives to facilitate comprehension and multiliteracy skills.

By implication, the visual media are emerging to provide a contest to print, though opponents of the media hold different opinions. Postman (1994) for example has proposed that "... print is the repository of rational thought because words enable the reader to reflect upon the ideas being expressed (Postman 1994: 100), all this is argued to portray pictorial medium as "… inferior to the process and habits of mind stimulated by language" (Citcher 2008:86).

Postman's proposition invites us to acquiesce in his opposition to the contest the media are today positioning. Indeed, this has made Barker (1984) and Starker (1989) note how this opposition sets up a series of binary oppositions between literacy and media cultures, shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Binary opposition between literacy and media culture

Literacy culture	Media culture
Rational	Emotional
Abstract thought	Concrete situations
Analytical	Intuitive
Individual response	Group response
Psychological distance	Psychological involvement
Linearity/ chronological	Time reversal/ or fragmentation
Largely verbal	Largely visual
Mainly factual	Mainly fictional

Source : Critcher 2008:101.

Researchers (Goetz *et al.* 2005) constructed an international study in four nations (USA, Germany, Korea and Israel) on the question "what can children's fantasies tell us about their developmental needs and what part do media fantasy narratives and characters play in this?"(Goetz *et al.* 2005:17).

Their conclusion was that:

> Media do play a central role in children's make-believe worlds … in ways that are used mainly to help children symbolize their own experiences and self-image and as a springboard for their own narration of a world that allows them a personal space for developing who they wish to be

Opponents of children's media may see this view as benign as it concerns the relationship between the psychological well-being of children and media use. But other scholars (Kinder 1991; Kline 1993; Buckingham 1996) hold the opinion that media use is beneficial to children and promote their 'proximal development'. Whatever the case, what today appears as a proliferation of hybrid and frontier media forms is increasingly becoming commonplace and is generating new text-based knowledge and cultural configurations. The children therefore need a head-start to participate in these for the acquisition of critical literacy to enable them to understand how knowledge, ideas and information 'bits' are structured in different media (the metalanguage).

This does not mean we downplay the prominent role of print in education for the stimulation of cognition, but rather argue that the meaning of literacy pedagogy has to change. Cope and Kalantzis (2000:14) pursuing a similar thought have proposed that:

> Local diversity and global connectedness mean not only that there can be no standard; they also mean that most important skill students need to learn is to negotiate regional … variations in register that occur to social context ... visual and iconic meanings; and variations as in gestural relationship among people, language and material objects.

Thus the new media and hypermedia channels have emerged to provide opportunities for children to find their own voices, to find language markers of their life world and ascertain their identities. This creates a challenge for literacy pedagogy which will see media as a representation of language art.

The other argument that has frequently been put forward in support of media is that the written word is 'the least memorable form of communication'. This is a problem even with Kenyan university students who demonstrate it in deceit in examinations. Few of Kenyan university students not adequately prepared for examinations go into examinations hall with what they call 'Mwakenya' (i.e. short notes in tiny sheets of paper concealed in the pockets of their tight jeans or sleeves of their pullovers). They secretly make use of these notes during examination time with dexterity that defeats the sharp eyes of examination supervisors. If university students continue to find difficulty in retention with print, what about children?

Yet what are the most popular media people have access to these days? Definitely they are the internet, radio, television or video which are becoming increasingly common home infrastructures for providing the seeing or hearing experience. American research has also produced some very interesting information that 'we learn 83% of everything we know through our eyes, whether literate or illiterate.'

If children's literature in schools' curriculum is meant to develop humanising effects among children, then the opportunity to use new media to manage established knowledge and enhance their ability to handle new ideas and meet new situations must be inculcated among them. Buckingham (2003: 95) described effects as "development of sensitivity to language, culture and human relationship". We expect Kenyan children to be prepared to meet the basic intellectual and social demands of an adult life which has increasingly become international, multiracial, and multi-ethnic and is undergoing a rapid information revolution. This state or condition is putting pressure on the developing world to reassess the power of media in society.

For the education of children to be effective, the Kenyan school's curriculum must allow or involve the use of different channels of information provision. The schools must contribute to children's preparedness for the consumption of huge volumes of media information, whatever the age and stage of growth and development they have reached, so as to guarantee them the chance to take advantage of the opportunities available to them in the current information age. Fothergill and Butchart (1990:15) have claimed that "audiovisual and visual experiences are close to the manner in which individuals learn about their environment and interpersonal relationships through mental processing."

Therefore, in teaching and learning among children today, we need to use media to support traditional modes of teaching so as to engage the children's attention and make them enjoy the learning or reading activities.

Pedagogical issues concerning media use assume that for learners to engage in active learning, we need to ensure that the media material used will provide engaging activities for thinking, language and reasoning. These activities are likely to enhance a child's attention, meaning and concept formation.

Conclusion

In this paper three points stand out clearly. Firstly, it is about what should be the content of the children's literature today; secondly, it is about the emerging role of media in every aspect of the life of children both outside and inside school; and thirdly, it is the contribution of media to learning and teaching.

These points stand as imperative issues that need research in children's literature whether seen as 'books for children' or a 'read me a story' strategy. What tends to escape the minds of some literary conservatives in teaching and learning is that while they are at the very point of advocating achieving the literary ideal, the immediate practical needs for literacy and inclusion of media literacy simply tend to elude their understanding either because of a hate or fear of technology.

Educators are today actively engaged in assessing the contribution of the use of media in learning situations in order to understand the emerging learner profiles related to the perspectives of a binary opposition between literary and media culture. Thus they do not see the fear other people have against the use of media in learning and teaching.

The teaching of a literature curriculum in Kenyan schools seems to be caught in a double confusion. On the one hand, the language is being destabilised in writing – the standard (be it English or mother tongue) is losing its ideal linguistic grip

as fewer and fewer children learn to read and write well. On the other hand, there is yet no restabilisation of speech – here we begin to be faced with a linguistic problem rather than language, where newly spoken codes fail the test of language generation (that is 30 years as one language generation).

Increasingly, the rate of emergence of new lexical items in various Kenyan languages tends to be high because of borrowing and coinages. For a spoken code to become fully stabilized, it needs to pass three language generations tests. This establishes the reason why in Kenya, Sheng, the combined coinage of Swahili and English, has never stabilised as a language. The problem of Sheng may be suspected to have caused the loss of oral delivery of our oral literature through the 'tell me a story' strategy. When children begin to lose linguistic strands needed for competence (listening and speaking) in their mother tongue, L2 (English) or Kiswahili in educational and cultural contexts, what will they obtain from their school curriculum?

The stated problems therefore suggest that media stands as a language art and can circumvent children's learning problems. As there is a need for children's literature to be integrative, the idea requires that our schools need to reform and conform to the present-day technological wave of events. Education needs to transform to allow children to experience how present cultural values interlace with the values of past societies, through the use of new media in today's information age. Indeed, the new media are where the volume children's literature is provided in abundance today.

We are not suggesting that media images are here to render print (children's readers) irrelevant. But it is worth pointing out that developments in the new media and information processing will certainly have a major impact on the way we live, which forms part of children's education. However, this aspect of the emerging vicarious potential of new media culture should not be mindlessly prioritised over the equally valuable traditional practices such as traditional dances, songs and other ceremonies that children need to experience in order to live and identify in their communities.

Education needs to weave an African society in children's literature, and make it concurrent with the technological events in the present rapidly changing environment. Today's technological events have formed unavoidable cultural mortar that holds the society together and tucked us into a globalised world if we are ready or not.

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Spoils politics and environmental struggle in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria

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The protracted conflict in the Niger Delta communities is currently being diagnosed with a view to understanding the nature of the resource struggle. From the 1980s, the region's cry of marginalization and exclusion from oil revenue allocation was couched in a wave of environmentalism. Environmental activism had assumed the shape of peaceful community protests against the transnational oil companies and was largely directed at ecological remediation and environmental justice. Environmentalism has now assumed new dimensions both in demands and strategy. The struggle has advanced to a low intensity conflict ostensibly against the state which has resulted in the militarization of the region. Although amnesty has been granted the militants by the federal government since October 2009 as a first step to resolving the conflict, there has been criticism trailing its framing and implementation that did not take into account some historical and socio-political antecedents of conflicts in the region. This paper revisits these and applies the greed and grievance framework to investigate the nature of the conflicts. It examines the pattern of environmentalism and discusses the complex nature of the conflicts against the curtailment of primordial motivations if environmental justice is to be achieved. Contrary to the literature, it demonstrates how grievance may manifest in greed in a mutually reinforcing pattern.

Keywords: Greed, grievance, militancy, environmentalism, Niger Delta, Nigeria

Introduction

In the last five decades, the oil-rich Niger Delta communities have predicated their abject poverty, environmental degradation, and the general underdevelopment of their area on the economic marginalization and socio-political exclusion from revenue allocation by the federal government. Not surprisingly, the Niger Delta struggle has been characterized by a clamour for self-determination manifesting in the guise of agitations for economic justice, resource control, environmental security, political representation and even secession, as shown by the Biafra-Nigeria Civil War which lasted for three years, from 1967 to 1970 (Nwajiaku-Dahou 2009; Okonta 2008). This seems in line with continued global emphasis on the need for "security-development nexus" (Stern and Ojendal 2010:5)

Environmental activism in the region was globalised in the 1980s and 1990s courtesy of the campaigns waged by writer and environmentalist Kenule Saro-Wiwa on the platform of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). The flawed trial and execution of Saro-Wiwa and eight others of his Ogoni kinsmen by the Nigerian state further accentuated the globalization and eventual radicalization of the Niger Delta struggle (Wiwa 2005; Rowell *et al*. 2005). Violent campaigns by militant youths locally and the Commonwealth of Nations' sanctions against Nigeria in 1999 gave impetus to environmental issues at the national and international levels. However, since 1999 some indigenes of the Niger Delta area have been appointed to key national positions, including ministerial appointments. And after initial resistance, the Ijaw-born Vice-President Goodluck Jonathan was elevated to the post of Acting President on February 9, 2010 as a result of the debilitating ill-health of President Umaru Yar'Ardua. Jonathan was elected Nigeria's President in May 2011.

Other fence mending actions were taken by the government. From 2000, the federal government began the implementation of the increased derivation-based oil-revenue sharing formula to the oil-bearing Niger Delta region. The

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revenue distribution formula to the region had been increased to 13 percent from a negligible 3 percent in 1999. These moves culminated in a sort of deference to the Ijaw tribe, the largest ethnic group in the Niger Delta and the fourth largest in Nigeria.

With the increase, the Niger Delta oil-producing states, especially Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers became awash with huge revenues. Added to this monthly revenue allocation from the federal centre has been a steady inflow of internally generated revenues as well as development funds from international organizations (Iyayi 2005). Also, the oil multinationals operating in the Niger Delta had been *forced* through incessant disruptions of operations to increase their community development funds to their host communities (Shell 2007). Ironically, however, rather than dousing the flames of conflict, these revenue inflows have more or less fed and exacerbated them (Eberlein 2006).

This paper draws on both primary and secondary sources of data to examine the trajectory of the conflict and its ubiquitous nature and functions. Briefly, it scans the recent amnesty package and problems facing its implementation. The paper makes a contribution by shedding light on the relationship between greed and grievance in the Niger delta conflicts and offers plausible explanations why stability and development remain largely elusive in the area despite the emergence of democratic rule and policies and actions deferring to the region. It suggests that oil wealth will continue to fuel insecurity in so far as good governance is elusive, injustice is perpetrated, and violence is rewarded.

The paper is structured into five parts: the first part introduces the study; the second spells out the theoretical framework of the study; the third section characterizes the Niger Delta region focusing mainly on its strategic importance and conflict dynamics. The fourth explains the changing contours of the conflict as well as the functions of violence, and the fifth section concludes.

Conceptual and theoretical framework

Scholars are increasingly linking resource conflicts to greed and at other times grievance. Yet the interrelationship between the two has implications for conflict and development. After the Second World War, there was the belief that the endowment of natural resource wealth would bring about socio-political and economic development to resource-endowed states. But rather than engendering development, resource dependence has been found to be inimical to growth and a catalyst for conflict especially in developing countries (Humphreys *et al*. 2007; Le Billon 2001; Auty 1993). In fact, most natural resource-endowed states have performed worse in terms of democracy and development than their counterparts which lack such natural endowments. According to analysts, most developing natural resource-dependent states suffer from 'resource curse' which manifests in the forms of poor economic growth and exposure to shock, low income and standards of living, poverty and inequalities, corruption, poor governance, and civil war (Gary and Karl 2003; Ross 2003).

The greed and grievance framework is a major contribution to the natural resource-conflict debate. The model has been popularised by Paul Collier and his associates as well as the World Bank. In recent times, this paradigm has been used extensively in analysing civil wars and conflicts in Africa, especially in resource-endowed but conflict-torn states such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, to mention only a few. Some of the central ideas of the greed and grievance thesis regarding rebellion as criminality, rebel discourse as propaganda, and the functionality of violence in conflicts are relevant to this paper (Keen 2008; Collier 2007).

First, proponents of the greed thesis maintain that the availability of natural resources in a country causes conflicts because the huge rents that accrue from such resources serve 'as spoils for potential rebels' who instrumentalise violence in order to capture such rents extra-legally (Keen 2006; Collier 2000a). These advocates argue that civil wars and rebellion are chiefly motivated by greed, even though grievance is often declared as the propelling motive of such conflicts. The dismissal of grievance as a possible cause of rebellion is predicated on the fact that "justice, revenge, and relief from grievance" are public goods and therefore susceptible to collective action and free-rider problems (Collier 2000a:98). This means that aggrieved people as in the case of the Niger Delta are likely to resist fighting and allow other aggrieved people to do the fighting while everyone will enjoy the benefits.

Secondly, rebellion is equated to organised crime. This is because it thrives only through predatory activities such as the levying of protection charges, extortion, sales of extraction rights ('booty future'), and ransom kidnapping that render the organization viable (Bannon and Collier 2003). Rebel groups are not only political organizations claiming to be pursuing social change, but they are also military and business organizations. As military outfits, they face the "problems of recruitment, cohesion, equipment, and survival" (Collier *et al*. 2003:67). As business organizations, rebellions are faced with financing problems. Several people have to be fed, clothed and housed. Also, some operational activities have to be financed, including arms purchase. Yet, revenues do not accrue directly from the military activities. For rebel groups to survive as military and business organizations they must engage in criminal activities. It is argued that most grievance-

driven rebellions cannot meet the start-off threshold, making greed-based uprisings more realistic in societies characterized by huge commodity exports and a high proportion of poorly educated young men (Collier 2000a).

Further, those (see Collier 2000b; Oyefusi 2008) who see rebellion as crimes argue that rebels deliberately misinform and mislead people by their narrative of grievance, hence should not be listened to. The propaganda of grievance is a functional deployment to garner some sympathy and legitimacy from members of the public, arguing that "the true cause of much civil war is not the discourse of grievance but the silent force of greed" (Collier 2000a: 98-101). In the same vein, de Soysa (2000) agrees with Collier that conflict is driven by rapacity rather than scarcity and that greed-driven rebellion is more likely to succeed than when motivated by grievance.

In contrast, Korf's (2005) study of Sri Lanka shows that greed and grievance can be closely interwoven, and should not be dichotomised or seen in antagonistic terms. This rather holistic approach is the focus of this paper. Indeed, Malone (2003: viii) argues that "the pursuit of economic self-interest and of redress for legitimate grievance is neither mutually exclusive nor static goals". The character and dynamics of conflict have been known to be highly fluid as the cases of Angola, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo demonstrate (Ballentine and Sherman 2003). Even combatants whose motivations were initially driven by grievance have colluded with rebels and have also become linked to primitive resource accumulation (Keen 2008 and 2005; Cater 2003).

This paper questions the reductionism inherent in the greed thesis. As will be seen, the case of Nigeria's Niger Delta suggests that the weakness of the greed paradigm relates to the greed-grievance dichotomy. Both variables do actually co-exist and even re-enforce each other in the Niger Delta conflicts. Despite the ambivalent character of some militants, their discourse remains salient because of the historic marginalization of the region and the avarice of the political elite. Both religious politics and ethnic fractionalization featured prominently in fuelling the low-intensity conflict in the Delta in contradistinction to the findings of the proponents of the greed thesis that these factors are not significant in conflict initiation and transformation (Oyefusi 2008, Collier *et al*. 2003). However polarised the model, the merit of the greed thesis is the emphasis it places on the motivations of conflict actors and their instrumentalization of violence for economic agendas, which are the focus of this paper.

The Niger Delta: mapping the trajectories of the struggle

In several respects, Nigeria is a violently divided country. Depending on the criteria for measurement, it has between 250-400 ethnic groups (Mustapha 2007). These groups are divided into 'ethnic majority' and 'ethnic minority' based on their population size. There are three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, namely Yoruba in the South-West, Igbo in the South-East and Hausa-Fulani in the North. The Hausa-Fulani are predominantly Muslim and have with the aid of military rule dominated the political landscape of Nigeria since independence in 1960. The Igbo, on the other hand, are mainly commerce motivated; while the Yoruba have almost an even distribution of both Muslim and Christian adherents. There are also a few followers of traditional African religion among the Yoruba. In addition to this tripartite ethnic structure there are over 250 other smaller ethnic minorities. These include Tiv, Kanuri and Nupe in the North, and Ijaw, Ibibio, Efik and Edo in the South among several others, making Nigeria a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic, and multi-regional federation (Suberu 2006). While the ethnic minorities in the North are concentrated in the North-Central, those in the South are mainly in the oil-rich Niger Delta region which is geo-politically referred to as the South-South.

Nigeria is Africa's largest and most enduring federal experimentation. It is famous for its adroit usage of the federal option and institutional framework to "manage cultural-territorial pluralism and conflict" (Suberu 2006:65). As a three-tier federation, it has thirty six states, a Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), and 774 local government areas. Despite nearly five decades of independent existence, Nigeria has not been able to evolve national unity amongst its diverse ethno-religious configurations because of the politics of the 'National Question'. The National Question has to do with efforts and plans to "reach a broad consensus for a just and equitable basis through which the diverse nationalities in Nigeria can unite, and pursue a common destiny of national development as Nigerians" (Obi 2002:106). It has become an apt euphemism to denote a divisive conflict ridden state that lacks coherence necessary for national unity and statehood. The federal experiment has been characterized by hyper-centralization as a result of oil politics, prolonged military dictatorship and minority marginalization by the majority. The politicization of the national question and sharing of the country's oil wealth has led to a low intensity conflict in the Niger Delta.

The Niger Delta is rich in natural resources especially oil and gas reserves. It covers an extensive area of 70,000 kilometres with about 12 million people (about 15 percent of Nigeria's over 140 million people based on the 2006 census). It is one of the most endowed regions of the world. Its mangrove forests extend over 3,750 square miles and its oil, Bonny Light, is one of the most sought after in the world market (Watts 2007; Stern 2005). The region's oil wealth is the source of Nigeria's black gold which makes the country the sixth largest oil exporter in the world thereby generating up to 40 percent of Nigeria's GDP, 70 percent of government revenues and about 90 percent of all government receipts (Ikelegbe

2006). Table 1 shows the percentage contribution of each Niger Delta state to the national account, though this is subject to market fluctuation and insecurity that in turn affects production.

Table 1 Percentage contribution of Niger Delta states to oil revenue

State	%
Delta	30
Akwa Ibom	22
Bayelsa	18.20
Rivers	13.20
Ondo	7
Imo	2.52
Abia	1.40
Edo	1

Source: *Tell*, (February 18, 2008:25)

In spite of the immense human and mineral endowments, Nigeria is a rich country with poor people because its enormous wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small, powerful elite. Systemic corruption, poor mismanagement and underdevelopment have characterized the utilization of the Nigerian state's resources (Okonta 2008; Omeje 2006). The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the mid-1980s had further deepened the economic crisis in the country. Austerity measures engendered by SAP had exacerbated the strained poverty conditions that quickly festered into tribal conflicts and contests for supremacy and access to resources. According to Olawale and Alao (2007:6) "the harsh environments that characterized SAP meant that Africa's youth have been disadvantaged from birth." This unenviable reality continues to have implications for their behaviour especially from frustration among the large brigade of unemployed youths, some of whom resort to criminality for survival (Imobighe 2003).

Another way the Niger Delta is believed to be facing economic marginalization and political exclusion has to do with the high rate of poverty in the region. For example, poverty and unemployment in the area is higher than the national average, making the Delta a paradox of 'affluence and affliction' despite being the source of the oil wealth that keeps the nation afloat (Ibeanu 2008:1). Consequently, the political class in the Delta has since the late 1950s been agitating for adequate political representation, justice and equity in the management of their affairs against the Nigerian state and the oil multinationals operating in the region.

The transnational oil companies operating in Nigeria such as Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC, a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell), ChevronTexaco, ExxonMobil, TotalFinaElf, and a few others contribute mostly to the region's environmental degradation. Oil spill and gas flaring constitute severe impacts rampant in the Niger Delta. For example, the amount of greenhouse effects from associated gas flared in the Niger Delta is the highest in the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa (Shaxson 2007). About 80 percent of the Delta population engages in fishing and farming occupations but environmental abuse by oil companies affects these livelihoods and exposes the local populace to poverty and misery (Omoweh 2005).

The Niger Delta conflict is not only protracted but also complex and multi-faceted because of its blend of ethnic and environmental claims, domestic politics, and international business (Wolff 2006). The conflict assumes ethnic dimensions as a result of intra- and inter-ethnic clashes that are largely driven by unbridled struggle for access to power and resources. Conflicts in the region date back to the pre-colonial era when some traditional nationalists resisted the colonialists. External rivalry aside, the competition for valuable resources in the region such as land and fishing grounds generated conflicts especially in notable city-states and towns such as Nembe, Kalabari, Okrika, Opobo, Brass, Aboh, and Bonny. Even piracy and enslavement were used as weapons against their neighbours by the disadvantaged tribes. For example, to date, the Itsekiris often refer to the Urhobos as their slaves, thereby creating ethnic tensions and conflicts (Ikime 2006).

The forms of conflict in the Niger Delta are numerous but sometimes insidious. Powerful elites and interest groups in the area have employed divisive tactics in their quest for self-determination, political restructuring, and resource control from the Nigerian state. First, they adopted a civic approach which dominated the early phase of the struggle that involved the use of constitutional means to seek socio-economic inclusion and environmental justice. Methods used included petitions to government authorities, sponsoring legislative motions, media blitz and forming political parties. For example, the use of petitions, especially by the Ogonis, intensified in the 1970s because of the huge oil spill at Kegbara

Dere. Community agitation was checked by the promulgation of the obnoxious Land Use Decree in 1978 which ceded all lands to the government (Naanen 2007).

The fear of majority ethnic domination in Nigeria's violently divided federation led to the setting up of the Willink Commission in 1958, two years before independence in 1960. On the heels of independence, minority groups in the country especially in the Niger Delta had feared that they would be marginalized in independent Nigeria and had requested a separate region of their own. The concerns of the Commission for a special focus on the regions' development needs and failure of government to realize this has continued to fuel agitation and conflict. Attempts at using the instrumentality of the party system especially by leaders such as Eyo Ita before 1960 and Dappa Biriye in the First Republic (1960-1966) to redress the Niger Delta question was part of this activism.

Peaceful agitations soon graduated to rebellion against the state in 1966 by some young Ijaw soldiers. The 'Twelve Days Rebellion' or secessionist declaration of a 'Niger Delta Republic' by Adaka Boro and his associates signalled the second phase (Banigo 2008). Although this was crushed by the federal troops after less than two weeks, the seeds of violent struggle had been sown. Political agitations masquerading as resource conflicts became rampant, leading to civil war (1967-1970). Oil is central to the conflicts in what many believed was greed. The character of Nigeria's economy changed radically soon after a commercial quantity of oil was discovered in the Ijaw village of Oloibiri in 1956. Though agriculture was the mainstay of Nigerian economy in the first republic (1960-1966), this altered in the oil boom years of the early 1970s. The outbreak of the Nigeria-Biafra Civil War had brought some structural changes in the federation whose four regions then were divided into twelve states in 1967, by the Gowon military regime, to make the Biafran secession unviable as the major oil wells were excised from the Biafran Igbo enclave. Though the war was considered lost by the Igbos, the federal government created the present Rivers State in 1967 to meet the demand for state creation for oil communities, and as a means to win the support of the ethnic minorities during the war (Nwajiaku-Dahou 2009).

From the 1970s, oil assumed a phenomenal rise in the country's economic calculus. Oil revenues which had accounted for only 0.1 per cent of government revenue in 1958/1959 went up to 17 per cent in 1969/1970, 84 per cent in 1980, 82 per cent in 1992 (Ikporukpo 2007). While the oil economy has further compounded Nigeria's majority-minority ethnic relations and fuelled primitive accumulation among the ruling class, it also enabled the military government to carry out post civil war reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation. Lagos, the capital of the country at that time, was transformed into a mega-city and the development of Abuja as a brand new city built from scratch commenced during the oil boom regime of Murtala Mohammed (Falola and Heaton 2008). That these cities owe their developmental strides to revenues from oil is a major source of grievance to ethnic minorities of the Niger Delta from whose land the 'black gold' is sourced.

Aside from the creation of the Rivers State in 1967, the hope of Niger Delta people for infrastructural development and general empowerment did not materialize as successive governments concentrated powers and resources at the national level, making Nigeria's claim to federalism a mockery (Suberu 2008; Sagay 2004). To compound this, as oil rents grew, so too agitation and oil revenue allocation became intensely politicized. The centralization of resources and fiscal power was accentuated by military dictatorship through decrees. For example, Decree 13 of 1970 reduced the share of revenue based on derivation by 50 per cent (Obi 1998). The inordinate emphasis on equality of states, land mass and relative population, rather than derivation and social development needs, proved unfavourable to the Niger Delta people considered a minority in the Nigerian federation. The revenue formulas in place remain highly contentious and constitute a chief factor of a possibly genuine cry of marginalization and ensuing conflicts.

The civic approach of engagement with its minimal success of state creation has not addressed the problems of the region; neither has outright rebellion. The changing face of activist environmentalism changed to a mass movement approach starting from the 1990s when Ken Saro-Wiwa began the mobilization of Ogoni communities. This third phase was characterized by non-violent protests, rallies, local and international campaigns against the excesses of oil companies and the Nigerian government, sensitization of communities to their rights, amongst others. This gradual mobilization culminated in the formation of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1990. This social movement drew up the Ogoni Bill of Rights (OBR) and demanded political restructuring, local resource control, environmental protection, compensation for decades of environmental degradation, amongst other claims. MOSOP soon became a household name and probably the strongest force on earth against any multinational oil company (Agbonifo 2009; Naanen 2007).

The response of government to MOSOP's peaceful mobilization and activities was repressive. Rather than engaging with it, the rulers of the Nigerian state resorted to illegal imprisonment, torture, divide and rule strategies, and extra-judicial murders (Okonta 2008). Things came to a head when on November 10, 1995 environmentalist Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight of his Ogoni kinsmen were executed by the state after a kangaroo trial in defiance of world leaders' pleas.

Nigeria became a pariah state in the international community and was then suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations.

This marked a watershed in environmentalism in Nigeria. Environmentalism soon engulfed the region as several ethnic groups and associations mushroomed from the mid-1990s onwards. In late 1998, youths from over 500 local communities gathered at Kaima community to discuss the plight of the region and demanded total resource control and self-determination as contained in the Kaima Declaration. The oil companies were asked to stop further exploration until the Niger Delta question was addressed. Government response to this threat was swift and violent as any form of opposition was crushed, with several people killed and many more arrested and detained. Similarly, oil conflicts and right of way between a youth gang and security agents which resulted in the death of about eight policemen in Odi, Bayelsa State led to the destruction of the community in 1999 by government forces. Hundreds of people were killed and property worth millions of Dollars was destroyed. These events, coupled with the gruesome murder of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his kinsmen, marked a watershed in the Niger Delta environmental struggle. It was becoming apparent that dialogue alone could not deliver on their agitation. By 1999, environmental activism had graduated into a fourth phase that has been referred to as "militia-zation" (Ikelegbe 2006) because of the eruption of various militant youth groups.

Militant environmentalism began around 1995 and blossomed by 2000. The militias are a mix of ideologues and purportedly represent the development aspirations of the people. They cut across ethnic protection, environmental activism, human rights defenders, and self-determination crusaders. Some of the popular fighter-groups include the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Niger Delta Vigilante Service (NDV), Iduwuni Volunteer Force (IVF), Butcher Squad, Martyr Brigade, Coalition of Militant Action of the Niger Delta (COMA), Movement of the Niger Delta People (MONDP), Expedition Force (NDEEF), and many more (Tuodolo 2008).

Ironically, the return of the country to civil rule in 1999 after 16 years of continuous military dictatorship further increased the contour of conflict in the Niger Delta as these militias became politicians' handmaidens in electoral politics and were used to harass political opponents and rig elections. Since these self-styled freedom fighters operated as a violent arm of some political elites, they also enjoyed protection from prosecution which aided their impunity; and were paid handsomely by their patrons (Ikelegbe 2008; DonPedro 2006). Perhaps these rewards for violence led to a further mushrooming of youth groups in the region in the 2000s to take advantage of the culture of violence.

Sharing the 'national cake'

One area of conflict remains the inequity attendant on the dynamics between oil production and revenue sharing. As we have seen, how to ensure equity and justice in the distribution of oil rents has been highly controversial and conflictual. A historical survey of marginalization is pertinent to underscore its relevance to greed or grievance. Some revenue-sharing commissions established to address the issue included the Phillipson Commission of 1946, Hicks Commission of 1951, Chicks Commission of 1953, Raisman Commission of 1958, Binns Commission of 1964, Okigbo Commission of 1979, Aboyade Technical Committee of 1977, and in 1988 the Babangida administration set up the National Revenue Mobilization, Allocation and Fiscal Commission which since then has been performing the responsibility of revenue mobilization and sharing in Nigeria (Sagay 2004). The formula for revenue sharing remains problematic, however.

Agitation for equitable revenue allocation by Niger Delta groups is producing positive results. They claimed as success the increased revenue from three percent revenue sharing formula to 13 percent in 1999 that became operational in 2000. As Table 2 shows, between 1999 and 2007, the Niger Delta states of Bayelsa, Delta, Akwa Ibom and Rivers ranked first, third, fourth and fifth respectively as the largest recipients of federal government revenue allocations. These revenue in-flows which represent a huge proportion of the total revenues have become a sort of booty through militants' environmentalism. Ironically, in spite of the in-flows, these states remain hotbeds of insurgency and agitations against the state.

The flow of resources into the region has not deterred militancy. The oil companies have increased their corporate social responsibility (CSR) to their host communities especially since the late 1990s when their 'social license' to operate was threatened. Shell in its Annual 2006 Report stated that it spent the sum of $53 million on community projects in the Niger Delta in 2006 (Shell 2007). It also contributed over $44 million to the Niger Delta Development Commission, plus paying over US$34 billion to the Nigerian state in taxes and royalties between 2006 and 2010 alone (*Nigerian Tribune*, March 2, 2010). The conflict is inevitable since Shell's development partnership by its selective implementation breeds conflicts in the communities, alters local economies, and changes forms of cultural relations in the localities (Zalik 2004).

Similar poverty alleviation projects by the European Commission (EC) in its Micro Project Programme valued at 71 million Euros has been expended in the region (Odiegwu, 2009; Iyayi 2005).

Table 2 Nigeria: Federal revenue allocation to states, 1999-2007

S/No.	States	Population 2006	Allocation 1999-2007 N	Per Capital Allocation	Ranking
1	Abia	2,833,999	180,913,356,049.45	63,836.78	14th
2	Adamawa	3,168,101	200,358,588,269.16	63,242.49	15th
3	Akwa Ibom	3,920,208	495,266,604,843.58	126,336.82	4th
4	Anambra	4,182,032	183,439,623,354.30	43,863.75	34th
5	Bauchi	4,676,465	227,082,096,536.85	48,558.49	31st
6	Bayelsa	1,703,358	452,260,540,942.94	265,511.15	1st
7	Benue	4,219,244	221,639,773,288.79	52,530.68	27th
8	Borno	4,151,193	242,143,511,536.62	58,331.07	23rd
9	Cross River	2,888,966	190,394,175,888.13	65,903.92	12th
10	Delta	4,098,391	561,421,465,722.84	136,985.82	3rd
11	Ebonyi	2,173,501	149,606,220,047.59	67,911.73	11th
12	Edo	3,218,332	196,650,837,309.93	61,103.34	18th
13	Ekiti	2,384,212	152,866,276,435.50	64,116.06	13th
14	Enugu	3,257,298	172,943,975,753.31	53,094.31	26th
15	FCT, Abuja	1,405,201	193,027,632,752.09	137,366.56	2nd
16	Gombe	2,353,879	146,500,259,934.10	62,237.80	16th
17	Imo	3,934,899	231,384,556,606.10	58,803.18	22nd
18	Jigawa	4,348,649	225,625,079,684.13	51,883.95	29th
19	Kaduna	6,066,562	256,110,734,255.77	42,216.78	35th
20	Kano	9,383,682	370,935,172,516.81	39,529.81	36th
21	Katsina	5,792,578	280,544,163,809.26	48,431.66	32nd
22	Kebbi	3,238,628	196,139,911,137.47	60,562.66	19th
23	Kogi	3,278,487	195,125,198,336.31	59,516.84	21st
24	Kwara	2,371,089	165,588,098,911.35	69,836.31	10th
25	Lagos	9,013,534	311,928,495,035.61	34,606.68	37th
26	Nasarawa	1,863,275	145,006,177,121.79	77,823.28	6th
27	Niger	3,950,249	237,369,691,547.30	60,089.81	20th
28	Ogun	3,728,098	195,378,106,884.06	52,406.91	28th
29	Ondo	3,441,024	257,395,751,810.07	74,802.08	9th
30	Osun	3,423,535	210,051,538,274.76	61,355.16	17th
31	Oyo	5,591,589	263,298,045,707.53	47,088.23	33rd
32	Plateau	3,178,712	155,194,100,865.61	48,822.95	30th
33	Rivers	5,185,400	621,996,274,440.22	119,951.46	5th
34	Sokoto	3,696,999	214,300,345,320.76	57,966.03	24th
35	Taraba	2,300,736	176,332,044,844.11	76,641.58	7th
36	Yobe	2,321,591	177,230,732,544.09	76,340.02	8th
37	Zamfara	3,259,846	182,989,541,536.86	56,134.41	25th
	NIGERIA	140,003,542	9,056,438,699,855.15	64,687.21	

Source: compiled by the authors from government revenue allocations. Nigeria's N1 is equivalent to about US$160

Institutionalized corruption and legitimization of violence

The nation seems to thrive on the politics of disorder that has institutionalized corruption and legitimized violence. Though the prebendal and corrupt character of Nigerian politics has been well noted in the literature (Okecha 2009; Ibeanu and Luckham 2007; Smith 2007; Watts 2005; Joseph 1987), yet the Niger Delta experience is puzzling as huge revenue inflows into the neo-patrimonial sub-national units have resulted in power tussle by the elite who engage in zero-sum competition to capture the disbursements (Suberu 2008; Collier 2007; Watts 2007; Eberlein 2006).

Many government officials have been indicted for the development failure of the region. On 15 September 2005, Governor Diepreye Alamieyeseigha of Bayelsa State (the largest recipient of federal oil revenues between 1999 and 2007) was arrested by British security officials in a London airport for laundering up to the tune of £1.8 million among other charges. He was later placed under house arrest after paying $1.25 million. He, however, jumped bail in London and appeared in Bayelsa State on 20 November, 2005 (Watts 2007). He was later tried and convicted in Nigeria. Similarly, the former governor of Edo State 1999-2007 (another state in the Niger Delta region), Lucky Igbinedion, also pleaded guilty to corruption and money laundering charges.

The case of James Ibori, former Delta State governor (1999-2007; and the third largest recipient of oil revenues in Table 2), was more dramatic. Ibori was arrested and charged to court in Nigeria for corruption and money laundering charges. Curiously, he was discharged and acquitted of all 170 count charges on December 17 2010 by Justice Marcel Awokulehin at Asaba, Delta State. The justice said that the prosecution had failed to show "critical collaborative evidence. Thus, I accordingly hold that the prosecution failed to make a *prima facie* case in any of all the 170 count charges, so I quash and dismiss all the 170 count charges against him" (Ezea 2010:16). Many saw this as one of the biggest 'sales of justice' in the country.

As the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) made attempts to re-arrest Ibori for retrial using fresh evidence, he fled the country and was later arrested in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, on May 12, 2010 by the Interpol and he was extradited to the United Kingdom for trial. On February 27, 2012, Ibori pleaded guilty to the ten count charges preferred against him at the Southark Crown Court in London. These charges bordered on money laundering, corruption and other financial crimes to the tune of over $250 million. He is currently serving a 13-year jail term in the UK. His wife, sister and lawyer were earlier convicted by the same court for aiding and abetting these crimes. The trios are serving five years jail terms each (Ajaero 2012).

At the moment, several executive members of the Bayelsa State government have been indicted by the EFCC for allegedly defrauding the state of over N150 billion (*Nigerian Compass* March 28, 2010). In Nigeria, officials are not only corrupt, but corruption is official (Umejei 2009: E9). As shown, corruption has largely become 'democratized' (Human Rights Watch 2007; Peel 2005). Over time, genuine grievances have been overtaken by greed. Even 'democratic' elections are now largely 'incredible' because they are characterized by vote-buying, ballot-stuffing, political thuggery and several other malpractices (Kew 2007; Agbaje and Adejumobi 2006).

Militants' environmentalism has led to generalized insecurity and made politically-motivated killings largely the norm. Political opponents are eliminated extra-judicially in unbridled quest for power and oil largesse. As correctly noted by Amuwo (2009:38), for the Nigerian ruling class, oil wealth remains the largest motivation for political power and it is this obsession and fixation that explains the elite's "intrusive and offensive mentality". The World Bank estimates that, "about 80 per cent of Nigeria's oil and gas revenues accrues to just one per cent of the population" (Igbikiowubo, 2004:15). And it has been estimated that a greater chunk of the $18-20 billion that the Nigerian state earns annually feeds political venality (Ifeka 2004).

The Nigerian oil industry is said to be the conduit through which a cabal of a few influential individuals manipulates the economy in their own personal interests. Recently, a government official disclosed that about N600 billion out of government subsidy on fuel every year "goes to the pockets of just a few persons who constitute the cabal" (Ogbodo 2009:21). Indeed, the National Assembly was rocked by a $3 million oil subsidy bribery scandal in much of 2012. Even members of the parliament admit that the "National Assembly has a credibility problem" (see interview with Minority Whip of the House of Representatives by Suleiman 2012: 48). The New York based Global Financial Integrity Report reveals that between 1970 and 2008 alone, Africa lost a total of $854 billion as a result of illicit financial outflows. Expectedly, Nigeria topped the list with a total illicit outflow of $89.5 billion. These revenues flight exceeded development aid to Nigeria at a ratio of 2 to 1 (*The Punch* March 31, 2010).

The character of the Niger Delta conflict is convoluted and linked to a nexus of political corruption and violent militancy where criminality has largely become an "instrument of the struggle" (Ikelegbe 2008; Watts 2007; Ifeka 2004). Elite's unbridled tussle for political power has given rise to the recruitment of unemployed youth as thugs and for other criminal activities, making the roles of youth in the interface between development and security ambivalent (Olawale and Alao 2007, see also Stern and Ojendal 2010). In August 2007 alone, over 50 lives were lost as a result of gang rivalries.

Militant leaders were locked in a power tussle over political spoils. Armed militants in the guise of agitation perpetrated different criminal activities including hostage-taking, armed robbery, killing and maiming of innocent citizens (Osumah and Aghedo 2011).

This fragmentation of political order led to the setting up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Rivers State in 2008. The Commission which had 215 memoranda as well as several testimonies and evidences, attributed the problems of Rivers State in particular and Niger Delta in general to governance, politics, cultism, chieftaincy and insurgency that were interwoven. The Commission blamed the remote cause of conflict on the neglect of the area and the immediate causes on political tussle by power elite who employed insurgents to devastate opponents and their constituencies. According to Justice Eso, Chairman of the Commission "a place like Okuru-Ama, Amadi-Ama were completely razed to the ground with the government of the day looking the other way" (Eso 2009:96).

Peace-building efforts in the Niger Delta were politicized, poorly implemented and therefore ineffective. In one attempt at peace restoration, the Rivers State government raised militants' expectations by paying N250,000 each for guns collected from them when the price of a new gun was N125,000 at the time. This made militancy more fashionable and lucrative. Justice Eso castigated President Obasanjo for heightening the profile of Tom Ateke and Asari Dokubo by wining and dining with them at Aso Rock and flying them in presidential jets, all in the name of fostering peace in the Niger Delta (Eso 2009). These militant leaders were culpable for the death of thousands of persons and destruction of several communities. For example, dynamite and bomb blasts were reportedly used by Tom Ateke-led Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) to destroy Bukuma, Tombia, Buguma and Ogbakiri communities in Rivers State because of the supremacy tussle between him and Asari Dokubo (DonPedro 2006). Despite knowledge of this criminality by the topmost echelon of government, no charges were brought against the perpetrators. This may imply state acceptance of their activities that bother either on genuine grievance or criminality to draw attention to their cause.

The lucrativeness of militancy is helped by its access to crude oil through what is called 'oil bunkering'. This horrendous theft of crude oil has also been attributed to the complicity between some militants, politicians, civil servants, ex- and serving military officers, businessmen, and several individuals and groups (Eberlein 2006; Ifeka 2004). Bunkering involves the installation of a tap into the crude oil pipeline to siphon it. The siphoned oil is loaded into barges which dislodge their cargo into bigger ships waiting at sea. From there, the ships disappear to international markets. The bunkering cartel in the Niger Delta is said to make as much as $60m a day. This explains why the perpetrators will do anything to protect the lucrative business.

President Yar'Adua had admitted that an international cartel was involved in Nigerian 'blood oil,' akin to the 'blood diamonds' of Liberia and Sierra Leone (*Africa Research Bulletin* (2008:17613). It is alleged that the money realized from the crude theft is used to finance political activities, insurgency and other business interests (Cumins and Beasant 2005). As shown in Table 3 the country lost over $20 million in 2008 alone. Furthermore, there is also a growing wave of kidnapping for ransom among militants. This has led to the abduction of thousands of expatriate oil workers and other people for huge ransoms. Initially, only foreign oil workers were kidnapped, but this has since been extended to wealthy indigenes and their relatives including aged people and school children (Osumah and Aghedo 2011; Onovo 2009).

Table 3 Nigeria: Quantity of oil loss in barrels per day and amount in US Dollars for 2008

S/N	Month	Estimated Qty of Barrels of Oil Loss Per Day	Total Barrels of Oil Loss for the Month	OPEC Basket Price for Bonny Light Crude Oil for the Month in US Dollars	Total Amount Loss for the Month in US Dollars (million)
1	January	700,000	21,700,000	88.35	1,917,195,000
2.	February	700,000	20,300,000	90.64	1,839,992,000
3.	March	700,000	21,700,000	99.03	2,148,951,000
4.	April	700,000	21,700,000	105.16	2,208,360,000
5.	May	700,000	21,700,000	119.16	2,590,763,000
6.	June	700,000	21,700,000	128.33	2,694,930,000
7.	July	700,000	21,700,000	131.22	2,847,474,000
8.	August	700,000	21,700,000	112.41	1,633,793,000
9.	September	700,000	21,700,000	96.85	2,439,297,000
10.	Grand Total				$20,720,842,000

Source: *Newswatch* (May 4, 2009:19)

There is a sense of outright criminality by some militant groups propelled by greed. A recently concluded quantitative survey which pooled 1,500 respondents drawn from the Niger Delta found that the majority of local people who joined the militant groups had no sense of grievance and those who had a sense of grievance were not likely to participate in violent militancy (Oyefusi 2008). The discourse of grievance is now largely being employed as a political strategy for personal economic agendas by large segments of various actors who are benefiting hugely from the political economy of the resource conflict. In official circles, the Niger Delta militants were seen as criminals: "Those people are criminal elements. Don't look at all this propaganda of theirs", stated President Yar'Adua in an interview with *The Guardian* (April 30 2009:9). Yet a few weeks later, the same president granted unconditional amnesty to all the militants including Henry Okah who was standing trial for treason and gun-running. Government's agreement to dialogue means that there were some merits in the demands of the insurgents.

The amnesty programme had resulted in a phenomenal increase in Nigerian oil production as some level of peace returned to the region. Government commendation for the initiative came from local and international quarters including the United Nations. However, the amnesty deal has not engendered sustainable peace owing to poor implementation and corruption. Ex-militants have protested publicly in Edo, Bayelsa, Rivers, and Akwa Ibom States over government failure to pay, accommodate, and train them as contained in the amnesty agreement. Also, the N50 billion budgeted for the programme has become a veritable source of conflict as members of the amnesty implementation committee, local politicians as well as influential militant leaders are locked in a tussle for the largesse. Three years after its initiation, the peace deal has failed to address the historical grievances of the region which have been anchored on sustainable development, environmental security, and political restructuring. Already, some ex-militants are threatening a return to the creeks to continue with their 'struggle'. The MEND claimed responsibility for the October 1, 2010 Independence Day bomb blast in Abuja in which several lives were lost as well as the bomb explosion in Warri and Yenagoa. Some disenchanted ex-militants were also implicated in the gang rape at the University of Port Harcourt in November 2009 and some armed robbery and kidnapping incidents (Ebiri 2010; Aaron 2005).

Conclusion

This paper has deployed the greed and grievance thesis to demonstrate how they manifested in a mutually reinforcing pattern in the Niger Delta resource conflicts. We examined the nature of the conflict by an assessment of the key actors, motivations and their interrelationship in the conflict situation.

We argue that from the late 1970s onwards environmental activism waged by the oil-bearing Niger Delta communities that was civic in nature gradually metamorphosed into a violent agitation involving power tussle to capture oil and development largesse. Since then, though grievance remains justified as a constant variable, it is also propelling greed. Indeed, large segments of both state officials and militant youth groups in the region have largely been driven by greed rather than the quest for environmental justice. Hence, some militants by their involvements in oil bunkering, political thuggery, ransom kidnapping, killing of innocent people and other crimes, seem to have more in common with the rent-seeking, profligate and power-hungry political elite than freedom fighters. To these actors, the Niger Delta is more profitable in conflict than in peace. This poses a serious threat to the peace-building effort.

As noted by David Keen (2008), the commonsense notion of conflict as a contest between two or more actors is reductionist, as is the conception of conflict as a kind of breakdown. As shown by the Niger Delta case, resource wars can be profitable to a lot of conflict actors. This profitability makes the quest for peace and stability a herculean task as profiteers will do their utmost to maintain the system of spoils. Until the motivations and vested interests of the conflict actors (state officials, oil multinationals and militants alike) are clearly identified and interrogated; justice done to perpetrators of conflict; and adequate compensation given to conflict victims, the quest for peace in the Niger Delta will largely remain a mirage.

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The effects of alcohol consumption on student life at a rural campus

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Universities ought to provide an enriching, joyful and wholesome learning experience for a student; however, recent trends in alcohol advertising as well as the lack of recreational activities in rural environments have nurtured an environment for alcohol abuse in rural universities. Most of the students who attend a rural university are compelled to stay on campus or board close by. More and more of these students are falling prey to alcohol abuse directly or indirectly. Very often the safety of students is compromised and most victims of alcohol abuse endure the torment in silence. Others quit studying and go back home. This study attempts to examine the fears, the risks of alcohol as part of the student culture, the harmful effects of alcohol and the consequence of peer pressure on students at a rural campus. This study is undertaken by using qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research was undertaken at the University of Zululand which is situated in the rural community of KwaDlangezwa (KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa). Perceptions and attitudes on the effects of alcohol consumption on student life at a rural campus are surveyed. Stratified random sampling allowed the researcher to divide the population into various groups. The target population of this study are students from the campus. Data was collected by means of a comprehensive literature review and through the administration of in-depth questionnaires

Keywords: Alcoholism, alcohol abuse, alcohol effects, student life, University of Zululand.

1. Introduction

Parents expect a university to provide a nurturing environment for their children which would be conducive to studying. It is expected that a university should provide a safe, enriching and rewarding educational experience for a student. This is to ensure that children would develop their social and intellectual skills without any hindrances. However, recent news reports about South African university campuses have led to speculation about the safety of students on campus (Flanagan 2011). According to Towl (2004:2) alcohol consumption has been described as a core component of student culture and is seen as a defining feature of tertiary education lifestyle. Alcohol is among the most abused substances in South Africa (SAFM 2011).

This study examines the influence of peer pressure, the fears, the risks and the harmful effects of alcohol abuse on student life at a rural campus. The South African government's move to increase the permissible age of people who purchase alcohol, is a clear indication that alcohol abuse is a major concern in the country. Social Development Minister Bathabile Dlamini stated that the proposal to raise the alcohol drinking age from 18 to 21 is being considered at a forthcoming summit on eradicating alcohol and drug abuse from our society (Modiba 2011). Alcohol indulgence has prompted students to lose focus on their primary reason/s for embarking on a study in higher education.

Students normally enter university to further their studies and acquire knowledge so they can improve their chances of entering the job market. University study fees are a substantial expense for their parents and more especially when no bursaries are secured. Students will normally aspire to obtain qualifications which would equip them with skills to follow noble career paths. These students would expect to enjoy positive experiences that will contribute towards successfully completing of their studies. Many students are under the impression that higher education is a genuine place for one to enjoy academic bliss. Aside from the high colour paraphernalia and high tech digital media used for promoting students enrolments, students need to understand that university is another community within which advantages and disadvantages exist. Every university in South Africa faces challenges and students ought to be aware of these challenges. They should not be deceived into thinking that they have entered an ideal educational environment which is free from the influences of substance abuse and similar vices.

This paper examines how alcohol affects the behaviour of students especially with peer pressure forcing an adverse university culture upon them. It also explores the degradation of the innocence of student's behaviour by alcohol abuse and possible avenues which can be pursued to root out this evil.

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2. Literature review

Harmful effects of alcohol

Alcohol consumption by students places a major strain on their academic development. Students who indulge in alcohol consumption do not normally attend class, or lose concentration in class. Excessive drinking (or binge drinking) often leads to poor performance in assessments. In South Africa the common age for binge drinking is between eighteen and thirty five years (Addiction Search 2011).

Alcohol can cause severe damage to the body and mind. White *et al*. (2002:117) suggest that students' behaviour is very likely to change after a few drinks. For example, after drinks, a student may start becoming more sociable but if too much alcohol is consumed over a short period of time one may start having problems with walking and talking. This behaviour can be regarded as the Jekyll and Hyde syndrome where a student, who under normal circumstances is an introvert becomes an extrovert or vice versa. If students continue to focus on drinking then their studies can be affected and eventually studying will become the least of their priorities. Their behaviour could also become very violent and lead to the disregard of personal or private property.

Shore and Rivers in Bolton-Brownlee (1987) state that the one way to identify students' problem with the consumption of alcohol to understand the negative consequences. These include a decrease of one's performance in the classroom, obtaining poor grades, facing difficulties with management, and participating in the destruction of property.

A study conducted by Fields (2008) suggests that students under the influence of alcohol end up having their priorities changed without realising it, for example alcohol addicted students care more about their next drink than studying. Further, alcohol affects a person's mind, body and actions. Alcohol is addictive and causes one to become sick both mentally and physically.

According to Teens Health (2011), alcohol reduces the function of the central nervous system (the spinal cord and the brain). It further inhibits the flow of messages to the brain. Alcohol causes changes in the brain resulting in intoxication. Drinking promotes forgetfulness, for example a student can study overnight for the test but will not be able to remember much the next day. Excessive drinking may cause a person to have blurred vision, slurred speech, to stagger, have slowed reaction times, impaired hearing and impaired memory (NIAA 2004).

Sometimes alcohol's effects disappear overnight, but some last longer and can even become permanent. Blackouts, memory lapses and thiamine deficiency are common disorders associated with alcohol related to brain damage (NIAAA 2004). Adam *et al*. (2000) stress that the most common harms of heavy alcohol intake were memory loss and feeling sorry, guilty or embarrassed about actions while drinking.

Further, when NIAAA (2004) conducted a survey on college students' experiences with blackouts, the report states that students participated in dangerous events which they could not remember. These included vandalism and unprotected sex. Blackouts in females can leave them vulnerable and they could end up being raped. Fatal road accidents, due to alcohol abuse, are a common occurrence in South Africa.

The movie *Party Never Stops* depicts how first year students fall prey to a binge drinking lifestyle. This leads to bunking classes (since they feel exhausted after partying), failing their courses and lying to parents (My Lifetime 2007). Further, the movie depicts how alcohol influences compulsive sexual behaviour which exposes students to sexually transmitted diseases and the risk of becoming pregnant.

According to NIAAA (2004) long term drinking puts people at risk of brain damage. However, brain damage can also be caused by poor health status or severe liver diseases. Furthermore thiamine (vitamin B) deficiency is common in people with alcoholism and also results from poor overall nutrition. People with long term drinking who have a thiamine deficiency can develop serious brain disorders such as Wernicke-Korsakoff syndrome (WKS). People with WKS can be too confused to find their way out of a room or even walk, and eventually develop Korsakoff's psychosis. People with Korsakoff's psychosis are forgetful and quickly frustrated and have difficulty walking and coordinating their movements. Further Korsakoff's psychosis people have problems remembering old information or laying down new information. In students, for example, they can sit in the lecture for about an hour without being able to recall anything that was discussed.

Alcohol abuse also causes cancer and weight gain. The abuse of alcohol is known to have harmful effects on the body. It can harm the immune system, liver, lungs, stomach, pancreas, intestines, kidneys, fertility, bones, and skin. According to Virginia Tech (2011) drinking alcohol affects the functioning of the immune system and weakens the body's ability to fight off infectious disease. Further short term drinking results in the increased number of colds; with long term drinking, alcohol can slow down the functioning of the immune system leaving your body vulnerable to a number of diseases. Alcohol damages the liver cells resulting in harm to brain cells and liver cirrhosis and an increased risk of liver cancer (Virginia Tech 2011).

The power of peer pressure

According to Johnes (2008) "peer pressure" is a term used to describe how an adolescent's behaviour is influenced by other adolescents. While most parents think of peer pressure as negative, not all peer pressure is bad. Teenagers may be influenced by their peers to study, to compete in athletics or to attend a religious function. However, when fellow teenagers are drinking or engaging in other risky activities, peer pressure can lead to problems.

The prevalence of peer pressure can become overwhelming, especially to students who have been subjected to this form of degradation since their schooling careers. Johnes (2008) asserts that teenagers can experience feelings of doubt and may lack self-esteem. For these reasons, they are particularly vulnerable to peer-pressure: an overwhelming desire to fit in and do "what everyone else is doing," even if it means participating in such high-risk activities as drinking, smoking and engaging in casual sex.

As students progress from primary school to secondary school and then finally end up in tertiary institutions, levels of peer pressure intensify. Many first year students enter tertiary education institutions assuming that they are privileged especially when compared to many classmates who did not qualify or are unable to afford higher education. Coming to tertiary education institutions provides the student with new possibilities of being equipped for a brighter future. Meeting other students, making new friends are all a part of tertiary education experience. This experience can be very rewarding or it can also be a devastating life altering experience for some students.

According to Schindler (2011) parenthood includes standing strong when setting limitations for your child. These limitations can be tested when a child experiences or has to deal with peer pressure and alcohol. Schindler further contends that parents should model the behaviour that they expect their children to follow. This would assist the child when s/he deals with a situation that requires an answer of "no," so that s/he will be able to handle both the silent and verbal pressure to follow the crowd (Schindler 2011).

Identity formulation

Chan & Prendergast (2007:214) state that youth need to formulate a new identity and establish autonomy from their parents. They become more independent in decision making. As a result, youth seek personal relationships that give value to their perspectives and ensure that their feelings are understood. According to Bolton-Brownlee (1987), some students use alcohol to signify or demonstrate their emerging adulthood, to enhance their acceptance social gatherings with their peers, and some use alcohol to cope with stress.

According to Schindler (2011) students face unspoken pressure which is difficult to resist. Silent peer pressure is difficult to address because it focuses on internal feelings instead of a verbal or physical response. Schindler (2011) maintains that the need for students to belong to a group or to fit in is a normal part of growing up. It is expected that when group dynamics become overpowering, this would act as a catalyst for the individual student to re-examine his beliefs in order to exert himself as a mature individual. Schindler (2011) further contends that students must be encouraged to find friends with positive attitudes and a shared disdain for drinking. This type of cameraderie is likely to promote mutual support structures for assisting in combating alcohol use / abuse.

Schindler (2011) maintains that life is filled with choices and at times these choices are hard to make. Often, young people find it difficult to maintain and enforce their personal beliefs. Schindler (2011) further states that reasons vary from person to person, but most involve alienation from the crowd, fear of ridicule or uncertainty about the situation. Ham and Hope in Jamison and Myers (2008:492) claim that the social contexts of participating in alcohol coupled with peer pressure places university students at risk for alcohol abuse.

A university culture of drinking

According to Kalman (2009), culture is the way people live. It is social behaviour; it is learnt from a society or a subgroup. This emphasises that culture exists only in the mind and is seen as a belief and attitude about something that people in a particular group share. Student culture may be described as a combination of academic study and socialising experiences. Heath (1998) claims that socio-culture is therefore the behaviour in which a certain group engages in a society. This behaviour is also constituted by some elements in a society with which people associate themselves. A choice of a beverage in a society would, therefore, be conceived as an indication of one's social status. According to Marshall (1979) drinking is mostly considered a habit. In most societies, drinking is essentially a social act and as such it is embedded in a context of values, attitudes, and other norms. These values, attitudes and other norms constitute important socio-cultural factors that influence the effects of drinking.

The effects of alcohol consumption on student life

Just as most fishermen have a trophy story about the big fish that got away, Adam *et al.* (2000) are of the view that students see it as important to have a 'drinking story' where they talk about detrimental experiences of alcohol in a

positive light. According to Kypri (2003), research at Waikato University found that students perceive alcohol consumption as an integral part of student lifestyle and a positive step towards satisfying peer integration. In addition, most students surveyed during this study reported that there was an increase in contributing factors at university (rather than at school or elsewhere) which led to alcohol consumption. Adam *et al.* (2000) further comment that students regard drinking as a passport into university culture and student cliques. A recent independent report (by the Higher Education Quality Committee) recommended that the University of Zululand review the presence of a tavern on campus and the effects this has on reported violence and crime, and its impact on student life. The purpose of this recommendation was to minimise the consumption of alcohol by students on campus and curtail associated felonies.

Fagan & Wilkinson (1998) emphasise that the consumption of alcohol on academic property may lead to other crimes and misbehaviour on the part of other students. Their study further indicates that violence and rape is more likely to occur in an environment of alcohol use. Finn (1997) provides the following example from another study: more than half the male students who admitted to having committed sexual assault said they had been drinking or using other drugs before the crime; one in four admitted to being moderately or extremely intoxicated.

Heath (1998) supports the view that the prevalence of alcohol in an academic environment is detrimental to student as well as educator wellbeing. Further, alcohol intake affects the student's psychological equilibrium and excess consumption may gradually erode the culture of teaching and learning. Most of the problems commonly associated with drinking such as crime, violence and accidents are rooted in excessive drinking (rather than moderate or normal drinking).

Stanton and Brodsky (1996) are of the opinion that the act of alcohol consumption is a social phenomenon and that this practice normally occurs within specific settings. These surroundings differ from other social environments such as places of worship or teaching and learning environments. Where there is alcohol, there is almost always a particular environment to drink it, and every culture creates its own highly distinctive public drinking places. Traeen and Rossow (1994) believe that there would be a conflict of ideals when there is an attempt to merge two environments which have different expectations. Introducing an environment of alcohol consumption within an academic environment would negatively infringe on the desired outcome of each environment.

Whether students consume alcohol moderately or excessively on campus, there needs to be regulation governing the sale and availability of alcohol on campus. Mallie *et al.* (2009) claim that this practice poses a risk to the consumer as well as other people within his/her vicinity. Many countries are implementing policies which restrict alcohol availability in order to reduce consumption and related harm among young people. Alcohol policies affect consumption by youth directly or indirectly. These restrictions would impact on the frequency and type of social interactions which would have a domino effect on the habitual interface. This study undertook a quantitative survey of alcohol consumption by students at the University of Zululand. An independent investigation was also undertaken (by the Higher Education Quality Committee) and the recommendation was that the tavern on campus be closed and a plan of action, to change the current situation of violence and crime and their impact on student life, should also be implemented. With the closure of 'old tavern' on the University of Zululand campus the excessive drinking rate seemingly dropped, however, in the absence of a plan of action to end the availability of alcohol and drunkenness it is doubtful whether the removal of the tavern has really changed the culture of the alcohol users' interaction. Three hundred and eighty four students were questioned about alcohol consumption on campus. Fourteen percent of students were brave enough to confess that they still consume alcohol freely on the University of Zululand campus.

Alcohol marketing agencies have succeeded in creating a desire to celebrate various occasions (significant or insignificant) with specific types of alcoholic beverages. Klein (1991) examined perceptions of the situational appropriateness of various types of alcoholic drinks. Adverts create the impression that it is normal behaviour for friends to gather around the beer table after work, to enjoy wine at the dinner table or to share a whiskey during stressful office meetings. Even on campus, specific types of alcoholic beverages are used to celebrate specific socio-cultural occasions. The new ideology which has developed is that certain occasions command the use of a specific alcoholic beverage. In the new fashion scene there is no shortage of an alcoholic beverage that could satisfy a specific theme. This survey, at the University of Zululand, revealed that although the tavern on campus was closed, alcohol was still available and consumed freely. There is a strong indication that a culture of alcohol consumption has been firmly established at this campus and it requires more than merely closing an old tavern to change a culture of drinking.

Skog in Kypri (2003) discovered that an individual's pattern of alcohol consumption mirrors that of their peers, therefore, students invariably fashion the pattern of other students' drinking patterns within the same academic community. This notion is reiterated by Adam *et al*. (2000) in that the students consider it important to have a 'drinking story' where they brag about their detrimental experiences of alcohol (vomiting or sustaining an injury) after drinking.

Moreover, having a 'drinking story' is useful in maintaining group membership; harmful effects are potentially being re-constructed as positive aspects of drinking.

Prensky (2000) argues that excessive drinking behavioural patterns are learnt patterns and that this learning process can be minimised by appropriate restrictions.

Creating an alcohol free environment

The ambience of a "watering hole" is entirely different from that of a library or learning centre. Any attempts to merge these two environments would be a certain recipe for disaster. Universities need to take a firm stand to ensure that such calamities are prevented. According to the Shellenbarger (2011), surveys conducted at Purdue University show a sharp drop in drinking among students from 48% in 2006 to 37.3% in 2009. Much of this success is attributed to a new trend in alcohol free events on or around campus grounds.

According to Outside the Classroom (2008), a majority of students surveyed prefer attending events that do not focus on alcohol. A reason attributed to the added interest was having a 'cool' place to 'hang out'. These findings suggested that universities might not need to organise massive parties or events; instead, they could simply provide students with a suitable venue to interact and have fun with their peers.

According to Shellenbarger (2011), other universities following this new trend of alcohol free parties include:

- Lehigh University in Pennsylvania recently held an alcohol free event called 'Mix it up!' Teams comprising members of residence halls made their own alcohol free cocktails dubbed 'mock tails' whilst the other teams provided information and entertainment.
- In Muncie, Indiana, the University hosts a 'Late Nite' every Saturday night from 9pm to 1am, which has received acclaim as the 'Best Party on Campus'. 'Late Nite' features a variety of activities which include movies, dance videos, games, arts and crafts, laser tag, rock climbing and live bands.
- North Dakota State University hosts a club which has been dubbed the 'hottest club in town' by the school's website. Club NDSU (North Dakota State University) features a night-life atmosphere including a live disc jockey, a video game lounge with Nintendo Wii's, free food, non-alcoholic drinks and prizes. The admission is free and is exclusively for NDSU students.

This study has found that the University of Zululand, unlike most universities, has a strong prevalence of a single culture which dominates attempts at globalisation. Although, there is a sporadic sampling of other cultures, the native culture is extremely dominant. This dominance of culture makes it difficult to model the culture of cosmopolitan universities which have adopted a global culture. Cosmopolitan universities make a concerted effort to draw the attention of students to other forms of entertainment (other than the consumption of alcohol). The strategies used elsewhere could be adapted to change the ambience at the University of Zululand and strengthen the culture of learning. According to the Higher Education Centre (2011) a comprehensive approach has been developed to assist students with alcohol use, which addresses the issues not only through educational channels but also by bringing about change at the institutional, community, and public policy level. The premise of this approach is grounded in the principle that people's attitudes, decisions, and behaviour and those that relate to alcohol use are shaped by the physical, social, economic, and legal environments. This Centre argues that many aspects of this environment can be shaped by campus and government officials. This model, termed environmental management, has since been supported by scientific research for its effectiveness in bringing about lasting and positive change on a college campus.

Environmental management

According to the Higher Education Centre (2011), environmental management addresses several factors that, though they may vary in the degree to which they exist on a college campus, have significant effects on students' decisions regarding alcohol use. These factors are:

- Students' lack (or lack of awareness of) adequate social, recreational, and extracurricular options to deter them from drinking.
- Students' perception of a strong normative pressure to drink in college.
- College students are often the targets of aggressive marketing and promotion tactics by the alcohol industry.
- Alcohol is often abundantly available on and around college campuses.
- Campus and local laws and policies on alcohol can be vague or non-existent and are not always consistently or adequately enforced.

The Higher Education Centre (2011) states that in order to further the target and address these factors, a strategy driven approach has been devised which should be adapted to each campus needs and problems. The following are some suggestions:

- To offer and promote social, recreational, extracurricular, and public service alcohol-free options which will be integral to avoiding the promotion of alcohol within the campus grounds.

- To create a social, academic, and residential environment that supports health-promoting norms that would help sustain the initiative to assist students who consume alcohol on campus.
- To restrict marketing and promotion of alcoholic beverages both on and off campus as this will reduce the temptation to consume alcohol.
- To limit alcohol availability both on and off campus which would help remove the element of convenience in purchasing or obtaining alcohol?
- To further develop campus policies and enforce laws at campus, local, state, and national levels.

In order to drive this effort forward, it is recommended that the university body measure the extent of the problem as well as the nature of the problem and not ignore the factors that propel the use and consumption of alcohol on campus. Hannay in Jamison and Myers (2008:492) states that final year students tend to drink less due to exam pressures. It could well be that these students have come to realize that they are at the end of their studies.

3. Research methodology

This study is undertaken using qualitative and quantitative research methods. Bless *et al*. (2006) support this stance by stating that qualitative and quantitative surveys are important as they determines how well data will be analysed. They also indicate that quantitative measures are generally more convincing when they are supported by qualitative arguments.

The research is undertaken at the University of Zululand which is situated in the rural community of KwaDlengzwa (KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa). Perceptions and attitudes on the effects of alcohol consumption on student life at a rural campus were surveyed. Stratified random sampling allowed the researcher to divide the population into various groups. The target population of this study were students from the campus.

Data was collected by means of a comprehensive literature review and through the administration of in-depth questionnaires. As recommended by Bless *et al*. (2006) these questionnaires were pre-tested to ascertain whether the instrument adequately established what the study intends to achieve. More than five hundred questionnaires were distributed but only three hundred and eighty four good responses were collected and quantified. Finally, responses from the data were encoded and analysed with the use of MoonStats © (statistical software program).

4. Results

4.1 Students' perspective of alcohol consumption

This section exposes the results of the students' responses towards alcohol consumption on campus. Only three hundred and eighty four responses were received and analysed.

4.1.1. Availability of alcohol on campus

The Council for Higher Education's (CHE) audit on the University of Zululand advised that the University review the presence of taverns on campus. The University conformed early in 2011; however, the recent survey (Figure 1, below) indicates that alcohol is still freely available on campus. A large percentage of students indicated that alcohol is still freely available, even though the taverns were closed!

This could indicate that the alcohol addiction is deeply ingrained among students and that they would resort to unsavoury means of bringing alcohol into the campus in the presence of astute security measures.

The possibility of alcohol being sold illegally on campus is also a consideration and an avenue which the university should pursue. The indication that it is available freely would infer that alcohol restrictions are not sufficiently severe or are not in place.

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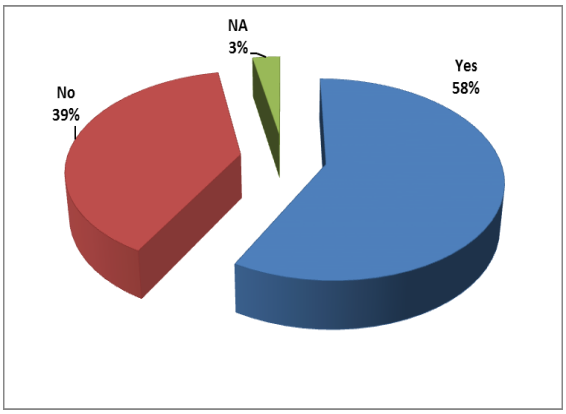

Figure 1: Alcohol is still freely available on my campus

There is definitely room for suspicion or speculation that the 39% of students who are unaware of the availability of alcohol will soon be supporting the illicit trade.

4.1.2. Rehabilitation Centre on Campus

A large percentage of students (68%) maintain that there are facilities on campus for alcohol rehabilitation. This clearly indicates that the caregivers of institution have been aware of the tarnished reputation of alcohol consumption long before the CHE audit revealed the problem. For some reason, the problem has been allowed to fester and is definitely not under control.

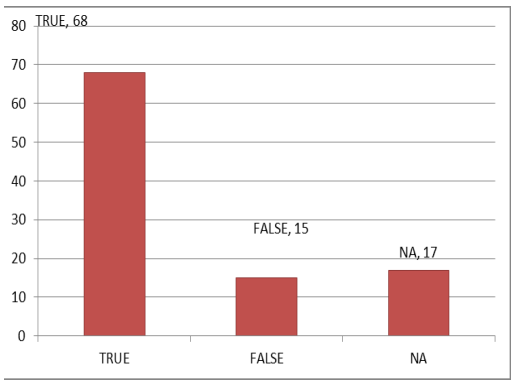

Figure 2: Rehabilitation centre for students who have an alcohol problem

4.1.3. Consequences of alcohol abuse

Figure 3 reveals the emotional state of students who are subjected to alcohol abuse on the campus. A sizeable percentage of students live in fear because of the behaviour of drunken students. Further research is necessary to determine if there is a positive correlation between those who live in fear and academic performance. However, it would not be unjust to infer that there is a strong possibility that this state of mind would provide fertile ground for poor performance.

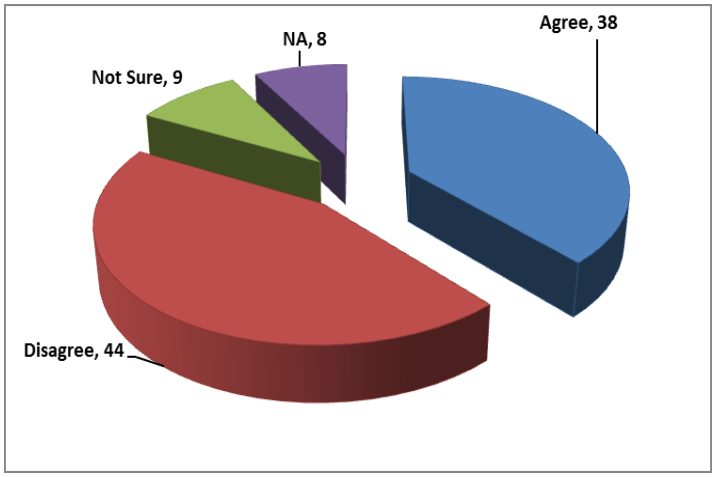

Figure 3: I live in fear because of the high prevalence of drunken students on campus

Figure 4 unfolds the fear which most parents would harbour about sending their daughter to a university hostel. Hostel students are definitely at risk of becoming victims of the prevalence of alcohol on campus. Merely closing down of taverns will not eradicate a problem will has grown deep roots into the system. Rape on campus may be only one of the sore effects of the abuse of alcohol on campus. Authorities would have to undertake further research to understand the full impact of alcohol on campus.

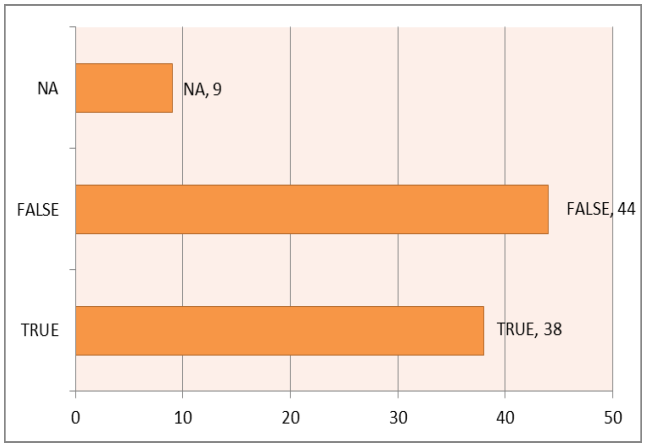

Figure 4: I know at least one female student who has been raped by a drunken male student

4.1.4.Admission of guilt

Figure 5 indicates the percentage of students who admitted that they consume alcohol on campus after the tavern was closed.

The figure creates the impression that here is an anomaly between the number of students who say that they consume alcohol on campus and those who claim they do not. Fear of contravening the rules could be a reason for not assuming personal responsibility for alcohol consumption. However, 14% of students who declare that they do consume alcohol on campus create sufficient grounds to embark on an anti-alcohol drive to protect the majority of students.

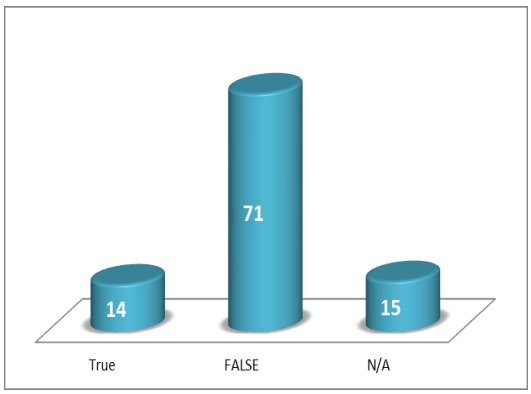

Figure 5: I consume alcohol on campus

5. Conclusion and recommendations

A place of learning should never allow students to indulge in alcohol consumption. Universities need to take a firm stand to ensure their campuses are alcohol free zones. A stance against alcohol on campus requires regular policing. This is a small price to pay to ensure the safety and success of our future generation.

The study recommends the following:

- The University must take cognisance of the fact that although the old tavern has been closed, this has not put an end to the social evils of alcohol on campus. Other measures have to be taken to eradicate alcohol consumption and drunkenness on campus.
- The University of Zululand must take immediate action to control the influx of alcohol into campus.
- Severe restriction pertaining to alcohol consumption must be enforced at University of Zululand.
- All universities should be a reflection of a global community and should not be dominated by a singular culture. University of Zululand needs to aspire to attain global status in terms of cultural, political and academic standing. This will ensure its long term viability.
- University of Zululand must design a well equipped counselling centre for alcoholics and victims of alcohol abuse. Parallel to this there ought to be effective alcohol education programs.

- There is a need to draw the attention of students to other forms of entertainment other than the consumption of alcohol.
- It is important that issues of alcohol use and abuse are addressed as a social disease.

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The stuttering implementation of language policies in the South African education system

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The current status of indigenous African languages in South Africa has caught the attention of language experts, academics and the general public. The main focus of this article is on the role which schools can play to promote and develop indigenous African languages. Schools are viewed as a fertile ground where second languages can be grounded, particularly urban schools which are multiracial, with learners from different linguistic backgrounds. The article observes that while the South African government is committed to promoting and developing indigenous African languages, the implementation of its sound policies on education is lacking. The Language-in-Education Policy (2004) is cited as an ideal, the goals of which, once achieved, could mean massive progress. The article decries the lack of commitment on the part of native speakers of indigenous African languages, in some instances, to invest in their languages, as a retrogressive step in the promotion and development of these languages.

Keywords: Language policy, African languages, multilingualism, indigenous African languages, South Africa

Introduction

South Africa is a multilingual country with entrenched policies on multilingualism, and on the promotion and development of indigenous African languages, with the view of elevating their status to that of the two ex-colonial languages, English and Afrikaans, which were in fact the only official languages of South Africa up to 1994. The current linguistic map tells us that the linguistic distribution is quite diverse among the eleven official languages across the nine provinces. In order to do justice to the previously marginalised languages, nine indigenous African languages were accorded the official status by the first democratic government in 1994.

Makoni (2005) argues that in recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages, the state must take practical positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of indigenous languages. This, it is argued, does not currently obtain in South Africa, seventeen years into democracy, as lack of implementation of government's language policies by some schools is glaring. The article argues that, to this effect, the government has, however, taken a step by formulating policies – the onus is now on native speakers of these languages to also play their part by ensuring that their languages are promoted by themselves, and also by educational institutions they send their children to.

Corrective language policies in the democratic South Africa

In order to do justice to the previously marginalised languages, nine indigenous African languages were accorded the official status by the first democratic government in 1994. Policies were formulated to correct the situation that obtained during apartheid, which saw only English and Afrikaans as the only official languages in South Africa.

Government took a step to redress the current imbalances that were instituted in the past, but nonetheless still linger on. The National Language Policy Framework (2002) was introduced, whose aim was to encourage the utilisation of official indigenous African languages in order to foster and promote national unity. The policy takes into account the broad acceptance of linguistic diversity, social justice, the principle of equal access to public services and programmes, and respect for language rights.

The National Language Policy Framework (2002) states categorically the following:

1. A striking characteristic of multilingualism in South Africa is the fact that several indigenous languages are spoken across provincial borders, shared by speech communities from different communities;
2. There is currently a strong awareness of the need to intensify efforts to develop the previously marginalised indigenous languages and to promote multilingualism if South Africans are to be liberated from undue reliance on the utilisation of non-indigenous languages as the dominant, official languages of the state; and *h*
3. To date management of linguistic diversity in post-apartheid South Africa has been made problematic by the lack of a clearly defined language policy, leading to the use of English and Afrikaans as the most dominant languages in the socio-economic and political domains of society.

Also, the Pan South African Language Board (Pansalb) was established. The sole aim of the body was to:

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(a) Promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of all official languages; the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and sign languages; and

(b) Promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa. These include German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu, as well as languages used for religious purposes in South Africa, like Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and others.

The Language-in-Education Policy (2004) promotes the use of a learner's first language and English as a medium of instruction in most schools. With the current policies, learners are expected to learn through their first languages at least up to grade 3, and thereafter be taught through English.

If South Africa were to achieve effective multilingualism, this would entail, inter alia, that speakers of the languages that are being developed are able to read and write in their languages. Indigenous languages are spoken widely in South Africa today, and have always been in the past, but they had not been accorded the same status as English and Afrikaans.

According to de Klerk (1996), the language distribution was: isiZulu (21,9%), isiXhosa (17,2%), Afrikaans (15%), Sepedi (9,6%), English (9%), seTswana (8,6%), seSotho (6,7%), Xitsonga (4,3%), siSwati (2,6%), Tshivenda (2,2%) and isiNdebele (1,5%). However, the 2001 census reveals a steady increase in the number of speakers of indigenous African languages and a decrease in the number of speakers of English and Afrikaans, see the 2001 statistics below: SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES 2001

Table 1 Language distribution in South Africa

Language	Number of speakers*	% of total
Afrikaans	5983420	13.35%
English	3 673 206	8.2%
IsiNdebele	711825	1.59%
IsiXhosa	7907149	17.64%
IsiZulu	10677315	23.82%
Sesotho sa Leboa	4 208 974	9.39%
Sesotho	3 555 192	7.93%
Setswana	3 677 010	8.2%
SiSwati	1 194433	2.66%
Tshivenda	1 021 761	2.28%
Xitsonga	1 992 201	4.44%
Other	217 291	0.48%
TOTAL	44819777	100%

*Spoken as a home language: Census 2001 (*http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/language.htm*).

The 2001 statistics show a steady general increase in the number of speakers of indigenous African languages, with only Sesotho sa Leboa and Setswana showing a slight decrease of 0.21% and 0.4%, respectively. IsiZulu, Sesotho, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, Tshivenda, Siswati and Xitsonga show an increase in speakership of 1.92%, 1.23%, 0.44%, 0.09%, 0.08%, 0.06%, and 0.01%, respectively.

This shows, among other things, the demand for speedy implementation of policies on multilingualism, and development of official indigenous African languages, not in order to replace English and Afrikaans, but to fully function alongside the two languages. So far, multilingualism has not yet been meaningfully promoted. This is due to either lack of policy implementation, or counter-productive implementation, which defeats the whole purpose of promoting multilingualism.

Although the government has expressed emphatically the call for the promotion of and use of indigenous African languages nationally, there is no evidence that the policy on multilingualism is in force. In fact, there seems to be no change at all that is aimed at developing indigenous African languages or to accord them a status equivalent to that given to English and Afrikaans, in practical terms as functional languages in the socio-economic life of the majority of South Africa's population. The two have been languages of national use and as such they have been developed to suit this purpose. The promotion of multilingualism in South Africa requires efforts that do not discount the knowledge that exists in societies where indigenous official languages are prominent (National Language Policy Framework, 2002). If these languages cannot be fully utilised in South Africa, where will they be utilised? Roy-Campbell (2001) writes:

> Despite the overwhelming evidence that the use of foreign languages negatively impacts the acquisition of school knowledge by the vast majority of African students, throughout most African countries the foreign languages continue to be afforded dominance in the educational sphere. The colonial imposition of these languages as the languages of knowledge that should be valued and as the languages of cultural capital has contributed to the naturalisation of English, French, or Portuguese as an indispensable part of what it means to be educated in many African countries. Those who are considered the knowers speak the language of power - English, French, or Portuguese – while the knowledge of those who do not speak the language of power is devalued.

Before the first democratic rule in South Africa, English and Afrikaans were the only official languages, despite the fact that the majority of South Africans were not competent in them, which made education through this medium an uphill struggle. Despite this fact, second language speakers of English had to compete with first language speakers of the language at interviews, etc. Worse still, these second language speakers came from disadvantaged backgrounds, where teachers had themselves received poor education, and were in many ways quite frankly ill-trained or unqualified to teach English or Afrikaans, or even to teach through these mediums. Buthelezi (1995), argues that under apartheid rule, these schools had been run almost exclusively by Black non-native speakers of English who were often unqualified or under-qualified for the task. In research conducted by Wildsmith (1992), cited in Buthelezi (1995), it was found that most non-standard features exhibited by the pupils were actually teacher-induced. All this resulted from the segregated and unequal education, which actually limited the 'naturalistic environment' (Krashen, 1987) conducive to second-language learning by reducing the potential social interaction between second and first language speakers.

Banda (2000), reports that the Afrikaner nationalist government went on a deliberate campaign uprooting White English mother-tongue teachers from Bantu Education, thereby denying Black children authentic models of English and well-trained, experienced teachers.

Resistance by some schools to transform in line with the prevalent diversity in South Africa

All schools were founded in order that a particular educational purpose could be fulfilled in a particular community. Certain schools were founded solely to serve the interests of the White communities in the areas then designated as Whites-only areas. Hence, Afrikaans or English was selected as the medium of instruction. Others were meant for other racial groups. Surely, these schools served well the interests of their respective communities and the residents of the relevant towns.

However, with the phasing out of the Group Areas Act, people of all races were allowed to buy property anywhere, and become rightful residents. When this happened, there were changes in the composition of the communities within which the schools were situated. As a result, all schools, rural or urban, are attended by learners from all racial groups, with diverse cultures and languages. One would expect the schools to incorporate this kind of diversity and reflect it in their school curricula.

This could be done by introducing indigenous languages to cater for the needs of African learners who enrol in these schools, and who have become part and parcel of the community within which the school is situated, and whose interests it should serve. On the other hand, the diverse community should ensure that the schools serve their own interest, and fight hard for transformation to take place.

The culture in most former Model C schools does not reflect the diversity in terms of the communities, both inside and outside the schools. Black learners and parents who now subscribe to such schools have had to adapt in order to fit into the culture and philosophy of the schools.

Some schools argued that parents sent their children there to learn English, and therefore there is no demand for indigenous languages. It is absurd to even suggest that parents are happy to enrol their children where English is the medium of instruction without admitting that both parents and learners need isiZulu, not necessarily as a medium of instruction, but in order to preserve it by ensuring that their children can speak, read and write it. This is solely for preserving this language in its spoken as well as written form. IsiZulu is a rich language which needs to be developed, especially now that it is as official as English and Afrikaans. This means that more writing in this language, as well as in other official indigenous languages, is needed desperately, if these languages are really meant for wider use for this generation and other generations to come.

Indigenous African languages, like any other languages of the world, should not be allowed to decay, for, this would entail loss of heritage of the native speakers of the languages, among other things. K. David Harrison, cited in the *Sunday Times* (2011) writes: "When we lose a language, we lose centuries of human thinking about time, seasons, sea creatures, reindeer, edible flowers, mathematics, landscapes, myths, music, the unknown and the everyday".

Stuttering implementation of language policies in education

With the sound and progressive language policies South Africa has, the biggest challenges that lie ahead are: the lack of will by stakeholders to bring about transformation to schools in their neighbourhood, and by extension, to the education system as a whole; and also, neglect of indigenous African languages by their native speakers.

Lack of will to transform South Africa's school system

In spite of the government's policy on additive bilingualism, schools have generally continued teaching as before. This means that primary and secondary schools are teaching through the medium of Afrikaans or English. It can be argued (see Mncwango 2007) that some schools that were Afrikaans medium of instruction (MOI) only have opened an additional English medium of instruction (EMOI) stream. Also, some former Afrikaans only and English only 'White' schools are now offering African languages such as isiXhosa or isiZulu as optional subjects. Interestingly though, the token use of isiXhosa or isiZulu does not mean full integration of languages and language groups. In practice, the majority of working-class children from mainly Black and Coloured families cannot afford the high fees of these former 'Whites only' schools.

To date, almost without exception, school application forms and other documents in South Africa have a 'Home Language' section. Ironically, despite the overwhelming evidence on multilingualism and government's additive bilingualism policy, it is still assumed and expected that South Africans are typically monolingual, using a 'Home Language' in their neighbourhoods. The argument is sometimes used by a school to deny a child entry on account of his or her 'Home Language' if it is deemed to differ from the medium of instruction of the school. In such a situation a child is 'encouraged' to enrol in another school (Banda 2000). Banda (2000: 60) adds:

> Although laws have been promulgated to transform and integrate higher education, there is still no university offering instruction through the medium of an African language. Moreover, there has been minimal curriculum transformation apart from the fact that English is increasingly becoming the de facto MOI in institutions of higher learning. Those institutions that used to offer instruction in Afrikaans only are being forced to open English streams as well. The reason is that to get government subsidy they need Black students to swell their numbers as well as to show that transformation is taking place. But Black students prefer EMOI and have had their secondary school education in English (or a mixture of English and an African language). Thus the majority of South African schools and tertiary institutions have a monolingual orientation despite the government's policy of additive bilingualism. The situation is unlikely to change in the near future.

Neglect of indigenous African languages by their native speakers

According to the latest statistics from the Department of Education (DoE), there is an increase in the number of Black learners at English medium schools who opt for Afrikaans as an additional language. Figures show that out of 590 000 candidates writing matriculation examinations in 2008, 113 902 candidates write Afrikaans as an additional language compared with only 12 723 who chose one of the nine indigenous African languages available in the school curriculum. The vast majority, 491 104 of them, chose English as an additional language (*Sunday Times* 2008).

Development of indigenous African languages is intended to bring about parity of esteem among all official languages. However, if indigenous African languages are downplayed by their native speakers, the problem becomes insurmountable. The government can only put policies in place which allow for the development of indigenous languages to take root, but the eminent lack of will on the part of speakers of the languages reneges on the government's position, unfortunately. The decline in the number of learners taking indigenous African languages in schools in South Africa today (*Sunday Times* 2008) is a case in point.

Promoting multilingualism in local government

The South African government has thought it appropriate to build capacity for language facilitation in local government. In order to ensure that some members of South Africa's communities are not left behind due to their inability to understand the main language/s of government communication, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 makes provision for municipalities to take into account:

(a) the language preferences and usage in the municipality; and
(b) the special needs of people who cannot read or write.

The Act goes on to say: "when a municipality invites the local community to submit written comments or representations on any matter before the Council, it must be stated in the invitation that any person who cannot write may come in office hours to a place where a staff member of the municipality named in the invitation will assist that person to transcribe that person's comments or representations, and when a municipality requires a form to be completed by a member of the local community, a member of the municipality must give reasonable assistance to persons who cannot read or write, to enable such persons to understand and complete the form".

This shows serious commitment on the part of government in terms of putting policies in place. However, pragmatically, implementation of the multilingual ism policy at municipality level has not been achieved, at least fully. In some cases, it has not even taken root.

It is of concern that, despite the extensive work that government has committed itself to do in recognition of language diversity in South Africa, the language of official business continues to be English. This is despite the statistics that indicate an increase in the speakership of indigenous African languages, and a decline in English and Afrikaans between 1996 and 2001.

Conclusion

While the issue of promoting multilingualism is the ultimate goal of the South African constitution, most schools seem to hide and remain rooted to the principal's wishes with the persuasion of the School Governing Body (SGB), especially in former Model C schools. This is by not allowing the introduction of an indigenous African language, which also ought to be acquired with full competence by learners by the time they attain grade nine. Introduction of indigenous African languages would ensure their restoration, and also encourage literacy in them.

This seems a rather weak point in that it lacks the DoE's sanction to be reinforced. No school could be sued for not introducing an indigenous language as a second additional language. The argument, therefore, is that the Language-in-Education Policy (2004) ought to be sanctioned by the DoE for schools to be a fertile ground, where the promotion and development of indigenous African languages would take root.

Again, the government alone cannot oblige learners to choose an indigenous African language over another second additional language (Afrikaans in most cases) which the school offers. The realisation of the dream to develop indigenous African languages will be brought about by a conflation of government policies, will on the part of native speakers of the languages, and change in the mindset of all stakeholders.

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Rural tourism development: a viable formula for poverty alleviation in Bergville

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The case of rural tourism and community development has been made in general terms with less focus on poverty alleviation and more emphasis on economic modernisation. Recently, a link between rural tourism and poverty alleviation has been emphasised in the contemporary tourism and poverty alleviation literature. The aim of the study was to analyse the direct and indirect livelihood impacts of tourism development and their implications on poverty alleviation in Bergville. Since tourism is one of the largest sectors in the economy of South Africa, the researcher was keen to know more about its benefits to rural society like Bergville at large and in particular the rural poor in Bergville. This paper addresses the following three research questions. What is the level to which rural tourism development can contribute to economic development, which can result in poverty alleviation in the Bergville area? Can rural tourism development in Bergville bring a halt to the continuous rural-urban migration which is triggered by poverty in the area? What are the perceptions of the Bergville residents towards rural tourism development as a mechanism for poverty alleviation? This study was carried out on the basis of a combination of two types of research data. The first is secondary data which aimed at defining the terms related to the research and focus on literature review. From literature review we discuss the different viewpoints about rural tourism, poverty alleviation and community development. The second type of research data is primary data obtained through field research. Results show that while the people are pessimistic that the resourcefulness and accessibility of Bergville can support tourism development, they are also of the view that rural tourism is a very important, probably the most important, factor for economic development. The research also recommends that local tourism planners adopt both the advocacy paradigm and the cautionary paradigm by taking advantage of the benefits of rural tourism development and managing the negative impacts thereof.

Keywords: Tourism, rural tourism, poverty, poverty alleviation, Bergville KwaZulu-Natal,

1. Introduction

The United Nations Environmental Programme (2010: 5) observes that tourism generates jobs and business opportunities for host populations and can reduce and eliminate poverty. Notably, scholars like Ashley (2002), Chachage (2003), Luvanga & Shitundu (2003), Roe, Ashley, Page & Meyer (2004), Udovc & Perpar (2007) and Bowel & Weinz (2008) emphasise this contention in their writings with more precision. Since the beginning of the emphasis on the role of tourism development in alleviating poverty, new topics have emerged looking at tourism from a broader perspective. Some of the scholars began to look at tourism development from an economic perspective putting tourism demand as one of the determinants of the ability of poor communities to use it as a strategy for poverty reduction. Maloney, Gabriel & Rojas (2001:1) contend that anything that makes a destination more expensive relative to its competitors may lead to a substantial fall in total revenues, which can lead to failure to use tourism as a mechanism for poverty alleviation. Whilst many scholars focused on the importance of tourism development in alleviating poverty, scholars like Viljoen & Tlabela (2006:1) maintained that it is important that local communities note the factors that may militate against the potential of tourism development to benefit them. These are factors such as lack of support from other sectors, low capacity to meet the tourists' expectations, lack of qualifications and training as well as lack of social, financial, human and physical capital (Dimsoka 2008, Eruera 2008 George 2007, Rukuiziene 2007, Davis 2003 and Spencely & Seif 2003). Besides focusing on the demand for tourism and barriers that can hamper tourism development, some scholars have made cautionary statements as a way of suggesting that we must not allow tourism development to carry the seeds of its own destruction by ignoring the need to make it a sustainable economic activity (Chanchani 2006, Giawoutzi & Nijkamp 2006 and Barker 2003).

This paper presents the findings of research conducted on tourism development as a viable formula for poverty alleviation in Bergville. The study was motivated by the observation by this author that poverty still remains the biggest problem facing rural communities today, with more than two-thirds of rural residents in South Africa living in poverty (Kepe & Ntsebeza 2001:2). This view is also shared by Nzama (2008:1) who argues that rural areas in South Africa face a problem of underdevelopment, unemployment, low literacy rates and a lack of basic infrastructure. The problem of rural poverty persists in spite of the fact that the countryside remains a valuable resource for tourist attractions because rural tourism uses indigenous resources which increase its importance and uniqueness in the industry (Ohe 2008:1). In fact, the

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countryside is a tourist paradise which offers a variety of attractions including scenic beauty, diverse wildlife, a kaleidoscope of traditions and cultures, and an array of opportunities to explore the outdoors through sporting and adventure activities.

As a result of this situation, concerned academics such as Bennet and George (2004:4) share the view that there is inadequate information about the contribution of rural tourism assets to the socio-economic conditions of the local people, especially the alleviation of poverty. Similarly, scholars like Brown (2008) and Meyer (2006) insist that tourism development planners must change their focus from the enclave development of resorts characterised by exclusion of linkages to the local poor rural areas. The danger of such approaches to tourism development is that they undermine the role of the tourism industry in poverty alleviation

A study was conducted in Bergville on the role that tourism development can play in alleviating poverty. This paper presents the findings of the research conducted on tourism development as a viable formula for poverty alleviation in Bergville.

2. Purpose of the study

The broad aim of the study is to analyse the direct and indirect livelihood impacts of tourism and its implications on poverty alleviation in Bergville. Since tourism is one of the largest sectors in the economy, we are keen to know more about its benefits to rural communities at large and in particular the poor. The main aim of the study was streamlined into the following research objectives:

1. To identify the resources that can be used for rural tourism development in Bergville.
2. To establish the extent to which rural tourism development can contribute positively to job opportunities, entrepreneurial skills development and increased income generation in Bergville.
3. To determine the perceptions of Bergville residents relating to rural tourism development as a mechanism for economic development in their area.
4. To identify the existing management practices or strategies that is perceived as contributing to the improvement of the quality of livelihoods in the study area.
5. To propose an integrated development model that would contribute to job creation and thus result in poverty alleviation in Bergville.

3. The theoretical framework

Employment opportunities are scarce in Bergville. This has led to the escalation of the unemployment rates for skilled and unskilled workers. In 1996 agriculture was the largest employer in the area. Bergville is a strong agricultural base, but areas of arable land are small and stocking levels are uncontrolled. The main product of the district is maize, and there is a large granary capable of storing 300 000 sacks. Peanuts and milk are also produced, and there has been an increase in soya bean and broiler production (Okhahlamba Local Municipality 2010:22).

Currently, the economy of Bergville is largely driven by household incomes where the main source of rural livelihood is derived from remittance incomes, pension and welfare grants and subsistence agriculture. Since Bergville has no industrial or commercial nodes, there are limited benefits of scale associated with small, medium and large investments in the area. There is some tourism activity in the Bergville Cathkin Park area and growing investment at Babangibone (Okhahlamba Local Municipality 2010:22).

Owing to its location relative to the developed area of Ladysmith, the local economy is prone to income leakage since many people make their purchases outside Bergville (Okhahlamba Local Municipality 2010:10). Tourism development can attract other economic activities in Bergville and solve the problem of scarcity of employment sources. Mbaiwa (2003:425) notes that the development of rural tourism can contribute to job creation by establishing new sources of employment.

At about 22%, the primary sector is the largest employer in Bergville. The total economically active population of Bergville (excluding children under the age of 15 and pensioners) is estimated to be 73 617, which is 54% of the total population. Only 12 533 people are occupied in formal employment, which is about 17% of the total population. The remaining 83% are unemployed. Approximately 73% of the total population in the municipality have no formal income and rely on other informal sources of income. About 95% of people who live in town are low income earners of between R1 and R1 600 per month. People who do not earn an income make up 18% of the population of Bergville (Okhahlamba Local Municipality 2010:18). Besides employment in the primary sector, Bergville people are involved in other types of industries such as construction, manufacturing, mining, clerical works, technical work and professional work.

There is evidence that tourism is a sector strong enough to help the poor in the developing world, especially the rural poor, to reduce the impact of poverty through the injection of foreign currency that it provides. In 2008, 924 million

tourists travelled to other countries. This is a very large number of people, amounting to over 50 000 people every half-hour. It is remarkable that about 40% of these journeys ended in developing country destinations. In 2007, tourists spent US$ 295 billion in developing countries. It is for this reason that tourism has been described as the world's largest voluntary transfer of resources from the rich to the poor. In spite of the fact that up to 85% of the supposed benefits of tourism leak out of the developing countries because of the power of international tour operators, foreign ownership, and high import propensity, tourism still contributes to poverty alleviation (Mitchell & Ashley 2009:6). It already accounts for 9% of all exports on the African continent, which is more than all agricultural products. Furthermore, recent calculations have shown that every twentieth employee in the world has a job that is related to the tourism industry (Grossiietsch & Scheller 2005:3).

Tourism is a very complex and multidimensional phenomenon that produces numerous positive economic and non-economic effects in the respective tourist destinations. Its positive effects can be appropriately regarded as a means of alleviating poverty because they heighten positive social and economic forces within the society. Some scholars have even referred to tourism as a North/South industry in that tourists are predominantly rich northern hemisphere citizens visiting poor southern hemisphere countries in an unequal exchange (Peak 2008:2). This view can be extended to say that tourism is an urban/rural industry in which employed urban citizens visit the poor rural areas to escape the stressful city life and consume the tranquillity of the countryside. This makes tourism more beneficial for the economy of the rural areas. Tourist arrivals in rural areas can create a flow of outside currency into a rural economy, and therefore indirectly contribute to business development, household incomes and employment. There are also hidden benefits from tourists known as multiplier effects.

With most prime tourist attractions being located in the countryside, tourism has the potential to allow rural people to share the benefits of tourism development. It can provide rural people with an alternative to rural-urban migration, and enfranchise rural human resources by enabling people to maintain their rural households and families. In many countries with high levels of poverty, receipts from tourism are a considerable proportion of the GDP and export earnings. The significance of tourism receipts is that they maximise the potential of the industry to contribute to poverty alleviation through rural development programmes (Blake, Arbache, and Sinclair & Teles 2006:2).

A shift from one source of employment to multiple sources is necessary if rural people are to emerge from the poverty trap. In addition to the creation of jobs and revenue, rural tourism often increases occupational opportunities in the community, one of which is pluriactivity. Pluriactivity is a term used to mean that an individual or family does more than one type of job as a source of income (Organisation of Economic Co-operation & Development 1994:25). Tourism enables farmers to offer bed and breakfast accommodation, change some of the farm buildings into a wedding venue facility, start small craft businesses on the premises, or open a small shopping outlet for visitors and community members to buy perishables and daily needs such as bread and milk. All these activities can contribute to development of the rural area.

Sometimes the influx of tourists results in new recreational opportunities and improvements for rural communities. It can stimulate new development demands in the rural areas. Perhaps the most attractive thing about developing tourism in a rural community is that the leaders and residents of the community can foster pride and establish responsibility for the process of rural development (Lewis 1998:2). Since most of the rural tourists come from large cities and developed countries, their frequent visits to rural destinations can result in rural development and environmental improvements such as village paving, traffic regulation and sewage and litter disposal funded by tourism revenues. All these can assist in rural development and creation of ownership of place, retention of the existing rural population, and sustenance of the existing local economic activities. Rural tourism can create new jobs, slow down rural-urban migration, and help to maintain the local level of services (Komppula 2004:124).

There is a strong concern that some of the expenditure by tourists is spent on imports or is earned by foreign workers and businesses. Blake *et al*. (2006:2) estimate that between 55% and 75% of tourism spending leaks back to the developed world. Tourism can change this situation so that poor households derive a better economic benefit from participating in the industry. Tourism can have favourable economic effects in rural communities. This can include large-scale retention of revenue within the host community and inclusion of the local inhabitants and products. In this way the host community can gain more income which can be used for poverty alleviation. Sometimes it is difficult to totally avoid the transfer of funds because most of the tourist industry is highly dependent on goods from large cities and foreign countries. It is, however, possible to avoid a gross transfer of revenue from rural destinations to foreign countries by ensuring that most of the tourist industries in the country are dependent on goods from both local and outside sources in a balanced manner. It is possible for the rural poor to receive more direct economic benefits from tourism while bearing lower costs.

Since poverty alleviation is one of the main challenges for rural areas, tourism remains an advantageous activity for the development of rural economies. There are two critical areas of tourism which are directly linked to rural poverty. Firstly, tourism comes with labour-intensive and small-scale opportunities. In this way it can employ a higher proportion of people compared to other sectors. It also values natural resources and cultural heritage, which are assets that normally belong to the poor (Luvanga & Shitundu 2003:9). They represent assets for local communities in that they provide an intellectual springboard for development of goods and services, crafts, local foods, music, dance, storytelling and guiding services which are sought by holidaymakers. This wealth of resources can provide additional supplementary livelihoods and help the vulnerable poor populations to avoid dangers related to dependency (Goodwin 2008:60).

Luvanga and Shitundu (2003:12) argue that tourism offers higher employment than other sectors, and that tourism wages compare well with those in agriculture, especially when compared to subsistence farming. The ability of tourism to provide immediate employment and to diversify the rural business makes it a more effective solution to the problem of poverty. Tourism offers an important opportunity to diversify the rural economy. It is a tree that grows and flowers anywhere as long as there are unique natural or cultural attractions. Marshall (2005:1) holds that one way of fighting poverty is through the creation of micro-entrepreneurs because it allows individuals to learn to manage resources and acquaint themselves with the necessary skills to develop and explore other business opportunities. Tourism can develop in poor and marginalised localities with fewer or no options for export and diversification. Remote rural areas can attract visitors because of their originality, cultural uniqueness, flora and fauna as well as their extraordinary landscapes (Luvanga & Shitundu 2003:9). In this way tourism can introduce the rural poor to micro-business opportunities.

The benefits of tourism in a rural area begin when a foreign tourist steps off the bus in the countryside. The moment the tourist has a meal, the destination concerned is exporting because of the use of foreign exchange to purchase the local currency needed for payment. This means that exporting becomes possible everywhere in a country, including remote rural areas with few economic opportunities. In this way the growing significance of tourism in rural areas is closely related to the role of job creation in promoting the united Nations Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015 (Honeck 2008:9).

Tourism is an important export for 83% of the developing countries, and it is the main export for one third of them. In 2000, developing countries recorded 292.6 million international arrivals, an increase of 95% compared to the figures of 1990. Furthermore, in the least developed countries there has been a 75% increase in international arrivals in the past decade. Tourism remains the main source of foreign exchange earnings in the 49 least developed countries (Forde 2003:2). It is not surprising that the arrival of the tourist at the destination is interpreted as the arrival of the consumer and spender. This provides opportunities for selling traditional goods, services and ideas produced by the local people. The resulting income generation may help to reduce poverty levels. The reduction of poverty can even be more effective if the poor can use the earnings to support their health and educational services – which are linked to poverty alleviation (Luvanga & Shitundu 2003: 9).

4. Methodology

A survey method was used in the study. Three questionnaires were designed: for the general public, the local business people and the local municipality employees. Triangulation of sources of data and methods blending the qualitative and quantitative methods enabled the study to have a broad understanding of the role that tourism development can play to alleviate poverty (Hales 2010: 16). Convenience sampling as a technique where the respondents, who happen to be available at prominent points such as farm stalls, shopping areas, and public gatherings, were targeted for the survey (Bhattacharyya 2003:91) was used for speeding the study. Questionnaires were used to collect data from the respondents, taking into consideration the type of research instrument, methods of reaching the respondents, the response format and the language medium (Luck & Rubin 2004: 175). The questionnaires contained both structured and unstructured questions. The administration of the questionnaires took into consideration the objectives of the study, the sequence of questions, question structure and ethical considerations.

The analysis of the data provided insight into various issues that relate to the objectives of the study. A series of univariate data were presented in percentages, frequencies, tables and graphs to give an understanding of the data that is purely descriptive. The interpretation of the data concentrated on tourism resources, contribution to job opportunities, entrepreneurial skills development and generation of income, economic growth, perceptions of the respondents on tourism development, and management practices contributing to the improvement of the livelihoods of the people of Bergville.

This study, like many other studies was not without limitations. The main limitation of the study was the timing of the administration of the local municipality employees' questionnaires. These questionnaires were administered four months before the local government elections in South Africa. This affected the response rate in two ways. Firstly, 50% of the

employees did not return the completed questionnaires as expected. Secondly the local municipality employees who returned the questionnaires avoided the second part of the questionnaire which related to the role of the existing management practices in improving the livelihoods of local people. We concluded that local municipality employees suspected that the whole exercise was a political fact finding mission in spite of the fact that the researcher explained the purpose of the study in the preliminary letters.

5. Findings of the study

The findings of the study show that Bergville has a potential for tourism development as a viable formula for poverty alleviation. It was revealed that Bergville has resources that can make tourism development a success. Furthermore, it also indicated that local people have balanced perceptions about rural tourism as they demonstrated both advocacy and precautionary attitudes towards its development. In addition, it was established that the existing tourism management practices contribute, to a certain extent, towards the improvement of the quality of lives of local people.

In a nutshell, four critical things about tourism development in Bergville were revealed. Firstly, Bergville has both tangible and intangible tourism resources that can be used for tourism development. Secondly, rural tourism in Bergville can contribute to job creation and poverty alleviation, increased participation of the local people in economic activities, entrepreneurship as well as economic growth and diversification as indicated in Figure 1.

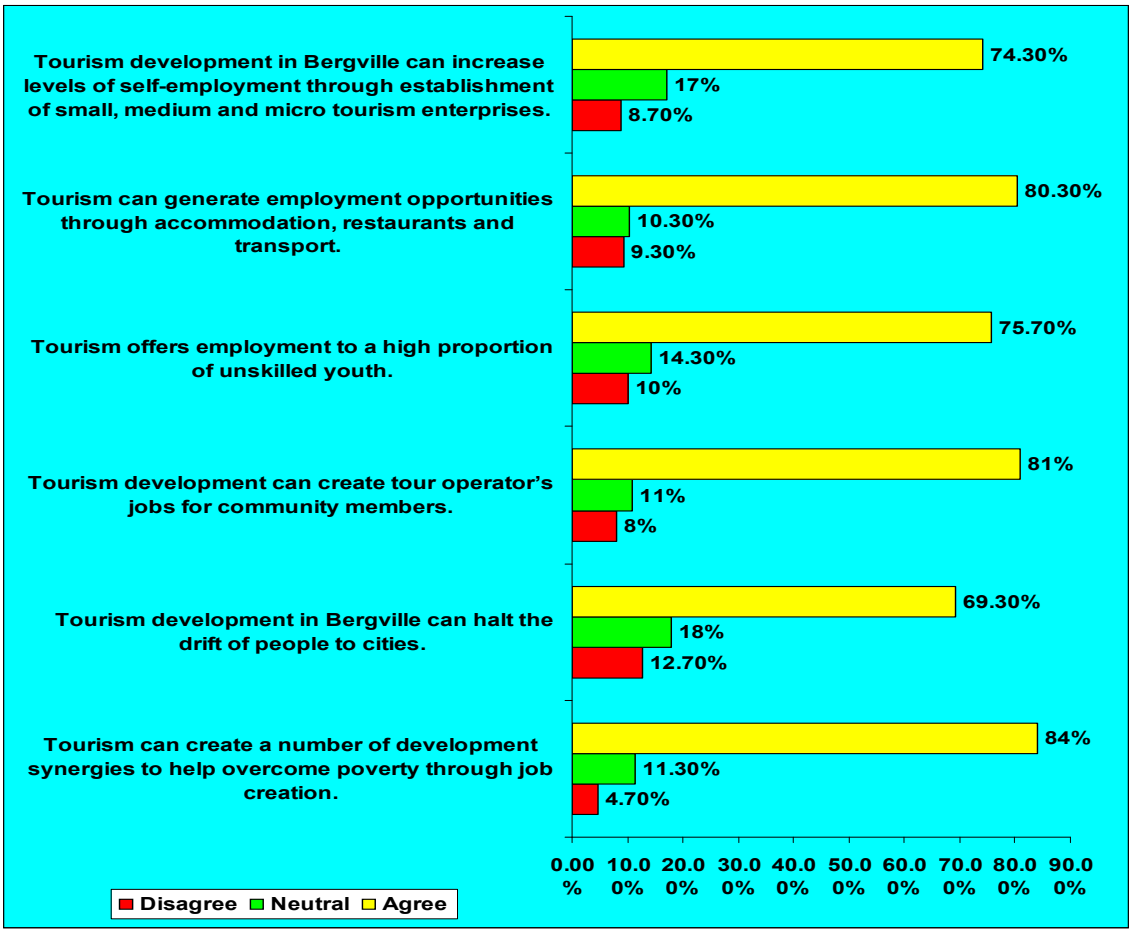

Figure 1 Job creation and poverty alleviation

Thirdly, it revealed that the respondents have positive and negative attitudes towards tourism development. This means that they view tourism development as an activity that needs some precautions in certain areas. Table 1 shows that the respondents view tourism development as an activity that can improve the quality of lives of local people and also shows that the respondents view tourism as an activity that carries the seeds of its own destruction, and should be restricted in the area. These negative attitudes represent the advocacy paradigm which promotes the development of tourism in order to benefit local communities. These positive attitudes represent the precautionary paradigm which identifies the costs of tourism development in order to ensure that it becomes a sustainable benefit to local communities.

Table 1 Perceptions on rural tourism

Positive Perceptions			
	Disagree	**Neutral**	**Agree**
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh its negative impacts.	14.0%	14.0%	72.0%
The quality of life in the community can improve because of tourism.	19.0%	13.3%	67.7%
Tourism development can bring about social integration and international understanding.	8.3%	15.7%	76.0%
Bergville has a good potential for tourism development.	11.0%	14.3%	74.7%
Tourism development can encourage the preservation of local skills, traditional ways of life and traditional belief systems.	13.3%	9.7%	77.0%
The environmental benefits of tourism outweigh its costs.	12.3%	19.7%	68.0%
Negative Perceptions			
	Disagree	**Neutral**	**Agree**
The community should take steps to restrict tourism development.	27.0%	15.3%	57.7%
Tourists are a burden to community services.	28.7%	20.3%	51.0%
Tourism increases the rate of crime in the community.	36.0%	13.7%	50.0%
Tourism causes a lot of damage to indigenous societies and culture.	39.7%	15.0%	45.3%
Tourists can add greatly to traffic problems in our area.	28.3%	16.3%	55.3%
Tourism can result in pollution and littering in our area, making it untidy.	34.3%	17.7%	48.0%
Promotion of tourism can bring about conflict between visitors and local people	30.3%	18.7%	51.0%
The private sector exploits local resources through tourism.	27.3%	22.0%	50.7%

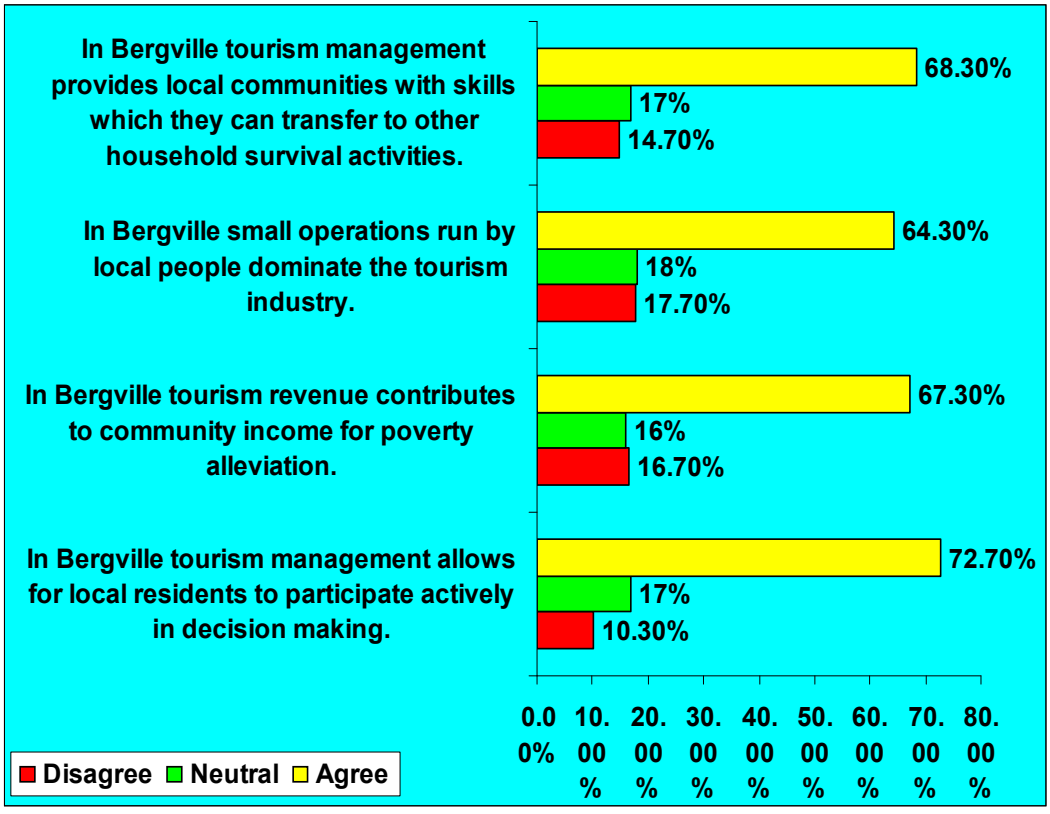

Figure 2 Existing management practices

Fourthly, the study showed that the participants have different perceptions about the contribution of existing management practices to the improvement of their livelihoods. This shows that Bergville does not only have a potential for tourism development, but also an opportunity of using tourism as a mechanism for poverty alleviation. Figure 2 shows that people have different views about the contribution of existing management practices to tourism development. There is an indication that the majority of the respondents believe that existing management practices cater for the local needs, allow for the development of small businesses, promote community participation in decision making, and contribute to poverty alleviation.

The four broad findings show that Bergville should use a combination of two approaches in order to develop into a sustainable rural tourism destination. These are the 'tourist centred' and 'community centred' approaches to tourism development. The former prioritises the immediate needs of the tourists such as transportation to reach the destination, and the latter prioritises the benefits that local communities must derive from the provisions and use of resources for tourism promotion. These are benefits such as employment opportunities in hotels, the transport industry, casinos, construction, petrol stations and tourism offices. All these benefits can contribute to poverty alleviation in Bergville.

The majority of the respondents in the study area perceive farming as an economic activity that can provide the best opportunities for the local people to participate in economic development as shown in Figure 3 below.

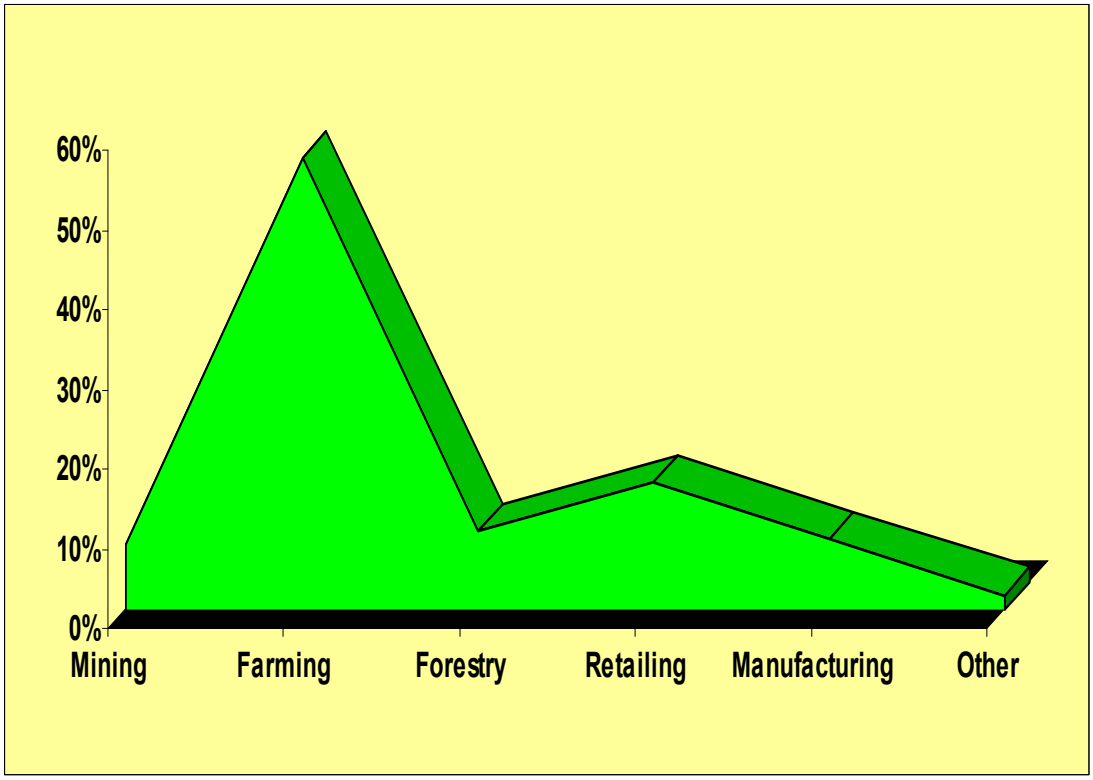

Figure 3 Preferred economic activity

As indicated, the participants believe that the main source of employment is farming. It is, however, necessary to create another source of livelihood in Bergville because areas of arable land are small and stocking levels are uncontrollable (Okhahlamba Local Municipality 2010:22). Robinson and Mazzoni (2004:1) argue that small land holdings and their low productivity are the main cause of rural poverty among rural families which depend on land-based activities for their livelihoods. Farming and tourism share the same environmental, cultural, and physical and natural resources. This relationship favours tourism development as an alternative economic activity in Bergville. Jolly (2005:1) agrees with this by stating that mostly tourism in rural areas is practised by farmers in their working agricultural operations for the entertainment and education of visitors. Agriculture and tourism can therefore make a major contribution in the struggle against rural poverty in Bergville because they present the potential to generate increased on-farm revenues.

More than two thirds of the respondents in Bergville believe that tourism development should be promoted. They believe that Bergville has a good potential for tourism development, and indicated that tourism has more benefits than costs (see Figure 4).

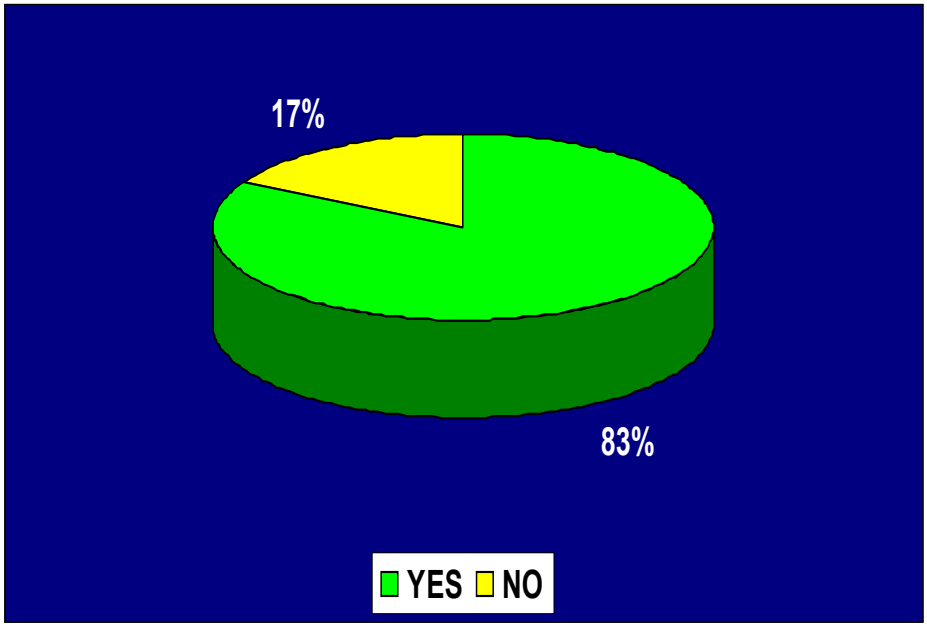

Figure 4 Promotion of tourism development

The majority of the respondents view tourism development as having the potential to improve the quality of life in Bergville. Another important benefit which the respondents identified is the fact that tourism development can bring about social cohesion and integration as well as international recognition. The preservation of the local culture and skills is very important. The respondents also perceive tourism development as an activity which can encourage the preservation of local skills and traditional belief systems. The preservation of the local skills and belief systems can promote the sustainability of the tourism industry because traditional skills and belief systems are connected to the environment. The support of tourism development by the majority of the participants indicates that local people perceive it as an activity that can alleviate poverty by creating employment, bringing about economic development, generating supplementary income, and creating new markets. These benefits can in turn improve the livelihoods of the people in Bergville.

Tourism development cannot take off without resources and attractions necessary to create a good image of a destination. The demand for a destination depends on available tourism resources and their relevance to the visitors' expectations. Coomber and Lim (2004:2) argue that expectations and perceptions are the most important factors that influence visitor satisfaction.

6. Discussions

The study showed that Bergville has most of the features and factors that can attract visitors. These are the features and factors which the potential tourism industry in Bergville can exploit, and by so doing derive social, economic and environmental benefits. This is similar to what the Okhahlamba Local Municipality (2010:22) noted that Bergville has natural resources such as the veld, flowers and animals. It has heritage sites, a National Park, good accessibility, an established tourism market as well as the positive attitude of the respondents towards tourism development. This implies that Bergville is ready for tourism development. These resources are assets for tourism development which Bergville can use to develop tourism and as a mechanism for poverty alleviation.

From the study, it is clear that Bergville has both tangible and intangible resources. Tangible resources are an important aspect for tourism development in Bergville. The area has the most critical tangible resources for tourism development. These are historical attractions, cultural attractions, natural attractions, historic sites and a unique landscape.

Such resources are responsible for the enhancement of the image of the destination and the attraction of visitors. They can attract visitors and create job opportunities for the local people, thus contributing to poverty alleviation.

The other critical tangible resource in Bergville is infrastructure in the form of accommodation, recreation facilities, linkages with highways and accessibility from urban centres. The availability of infrastructure has the potential for the creation of jobs in the tourism industry. It can boost the creation of employment opportunities in other business sectors. It can facilitate the creation of jobs in areas like management, cleaning, catering, maintenance, training and conferencing.

It can also create employment opportunities in other industries such as technology, telecommunications, accommodation, recreation and other related businesses. The findings of the study show that Bergville can take advantage of the availability of infrastructure in promoting tourism and therefore job creation and poverty alleviation.

Intangible resources are also important for the development of tourism, especially in rural areas, because they motivate visitors to come to the destinations. The majority of respondents believe that tourism development can bring about environmental awareness which can motivate the local residents to exercise environmental protection. This can contribute to the sustainability of the tourism industry in Bergville, which can make created jobs and economic growth more sustainable. It can also change the perceptions of the local people towards the components of the natural environment when unused natural and man-made environmental objects suddenly become useful income-generating resources.

Other intangible resources are tranquillity, environmental conservation, protection of the heritage and appreciation. All these are characteristics that improve the congruence between the rural destination image and the visitor. Power (2005:2) argues that the success of a strategy that uses tourism development to alleviate poverty is determined by its resourcefulness and the three categories of image: the image of the destination, the image of the service provider, and the self-image of the visitor.

The findings of the study showed that tourism development in Bergville can contribute to the creation of job opportunities, entrepreneurial skills development and increased income generation. Haldar (2007:1) argues that there is a large potential for rural tourism, especially for foreign tourists. In this way rural communities may benefit economically from the industry. From the analysis of the findings one can deduce that tourism development in Bergville can create jobs and alleviate poverty by being a centre of synergy for the creation of jobs and wealth.

Most rural people perceive rural-urban migration as a plan of action against poverty (Snel & Staring 2001). Tourism development can create an alternative space for fighting poverty. As tourism jobs are created, Bergville can achieve a certain degree of population stability by slowing down rural-urban migration. Tourism development can also facilitate industrial growth by attracting other businesses in Bergville which can create employment opportunities for the people and improve their livelihoods as they become employed and earn salaries. Tourism development as a new poverty-targeting economic activity can help the poor to focus on local opportunities for fighting poverty.

Tourism development in Bergville can create jobs which can help to alleviate poverty. The study showed that tourism development can create operators' jobs in the tourism industry, increase youth employment, and create more jobs in the service industry. This can encourage local people to open their own businesses and become self-employed. The creation of employment and self-employment through tourism development can go a long way in improving the livelihoods of people.

The results of the study indicate that tourism development in Bergville can maximise the participation of local people in economic activities. Tourism development, according to the findings, can attract other businesses to Bergville and thus create more economic participation. Economic participation would be further promoted by the emergence of small businesses because they are labour intensive and can create immediate employment for both skilled and unskilled people. This can improve the use of labour to the extent of increasing opportunities for women to participate in economic processes. As people begin to participate in economic activities, demand for local transport services increases as people move from home to places of work. When demand for local transport services increases, more job opportunities can be created, thus increasing the number of economically active people.

The study shows that tourism development can contribute to entrepreneurial development in two ways. Firstly, it can promote innovation in Bergville and thus create new business opportunities for local people. New business opportunities create new business operators which can create opportunities for training in business skills. Entrepreneurial development through tourism development has a high potential for empowering people to manage resources since resource management is critical to business success. The participants believe tourism development can stimulate the demand for local goods. This can increase the sale of traditional arts and crafts which can create a need for economies of scale, thus employing more and more people in the manufacturing of such goods as traditional arts and crafts.

The respondents believe that tourism development can change the unused farm buildings into business units. This can diversify the farming industry so that all the buildings which are underused on farms are made usable tourism assets. The study also revealed that tourism development can contribute towards entrepreneurship by way of providing local businesses with a market for selling their products. These are business operators such as street vendors and sellers of farm produce. The creation of selling opportunities can create a broad-based ownership of the tourism industry at the local level, and thus stimulate the development of new products, the emergence of new sources of supply, and encouragement of innovation in the local business.

The study shows that tourism development can contribute to economic growth in Bergville by expanding the economic base through linkages. In this way it can bring about economic expansion and encourage investments in the local area. One other advantage that tourism development can bring to Bergville is the diversification of the local economy, which creates new goods and markets for those goods. In this way local goods are made available to visitors, thus making tourism one of the main sources of foreign exchange earnings. The diversified economy demands raw materials from other sectors, thus becoming the driver of economic growth for Bergville.

The respondents did not have only positive perceptions about tourism development as the study revealed that they also believe that tourism development has both costs and benefits. The respondents believe tourism development creates problems such as conflict between locals and visitors, exploitation of resources, pollution and littering as well as traffic problems. The other concern raised by the respondents is that tourism development may cause damage to indigenous societies and culture. The respondents also believe that tourism development can cause social problems such as crime and put pressure on the local services. The conclusion is that the majority of the respondents believe tourism development must be restricted at the local community level.

As far as the respondents are concerned, Bergville has good potential for tourism development. The respondents also had positive perceptions about tourism development. The findings show that the percentage of the respondents who disagree with the positive statements is lower than that of the respondents who disagreed with negative statements. There is a general belief that tourism benefits outweigh its costs. The respondents view tourism development as an activity that can preserve the local practices and lifestyles.

In terms of existing management practices, the majority of the respondents believe that tourism management practices are participative because they allow local people a say in the running of the enterprise, which can contribute to the livelihoods of the local people. Regarding the contribution of tourism management to the achievement of local livelihoods, the majority of the respondents in the general public believed that there is a contribution, but the municipal employees disagreed with this. In the whole of this section the general public had positive views about the role of existing management practices and their contribution to local livelihoods. On the other hand, the local municipality employees generally did not agree that existing tourism management practices in Bergville allow community access to resources, and skills transfer. The same difference of opinion was clear when it came to the issue of the harmonious relationship between management practices and local culture.

The respondents in the business sector do not believe that tourism development can cause major problems. Less than 50% of them believe that it may result in price inflation of basic goods and services. They do not believe that it can create chaos and traffic problems, or that it is likely to create competition between them and outsiders. They do not view tourism development as an activity that can make it difficult for them to meet the demands and expectations of tourists, and do not agree that it can cause pollution and littering in Bergville. Generally, the respondents in the business sector do not view tourism development as a problem; instead they view it as an opportunity. Perceptions of such development show that these respondents do not believe that it can pose business challenges. On the contrary, they believe that it can add value to their business activities and bring in more economic gain for business in Bergville. Thus, it can be a way of bringing in foreign currency in the area. The respondents in the business sector view tourism development as an activity that will facilitate the development of infrastructure which can in turn make it easy for them to do business in the area.

7. Conclusion and recommendations

The study concludes that people are pessimistic that the resourcefulness and accessibility of Bergville can support tourism development. Similarly, the study shows that rural tourism is seen as a very important, probably the most important, factor for economic development. The largest number of respondents sampled for this study agree that tourism development can contribute positively to the creation of job opportunities, development of entrepreneurial skills, and the generation of increased income. The study found that the people have both advocacy and cautionary perceptions about tourism development in Bergville. Furthermore, it was found that people have mixed feelings about the contribution of existing management practices in improving the livelihoods of local people.

Given the fact that generally the people of Bergville viewed rural tourism development as one of the viable formulae for poverty alleviation, we recommend that the local municipality strengthens the partnership with the local business sector, the local community sector and general stakeholders as well as the policy makers to ensure a faster integrated tourism development process. The research also recommends that local tourism planners adopt both the advocacy paradigm and the cautionary paradigm by taking advantage of the benefits of rural tourism development and managing its negative impacts.

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