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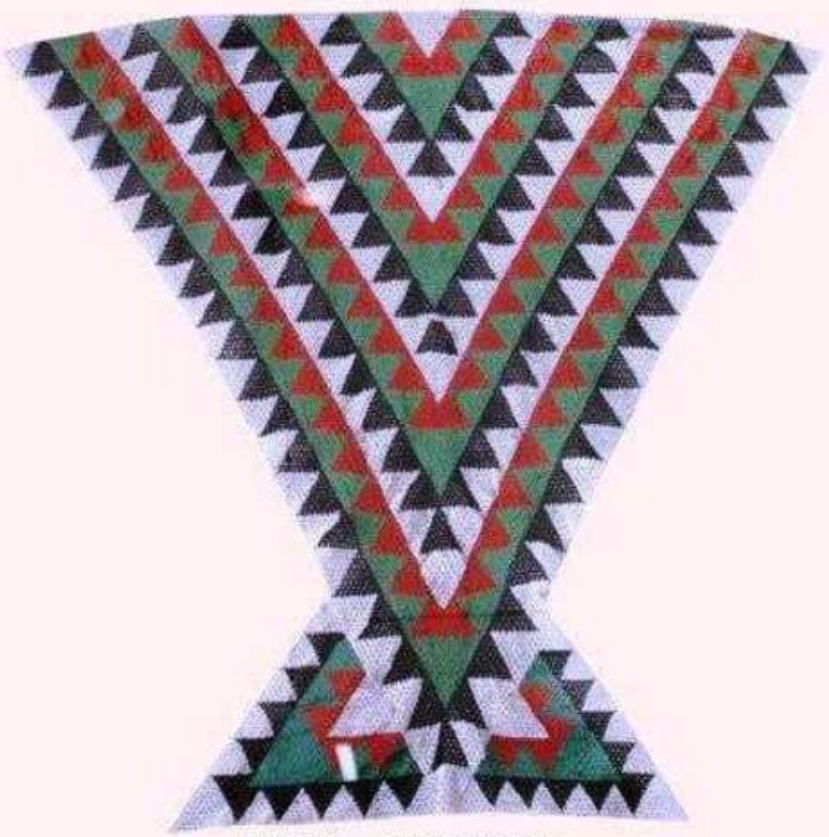

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EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* Readers

Inkanyiso Volume 12 No. 2 is being published during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has caused unprecedented disruption globally. At the time of writing this editorial (020121), the Coronavirus Live Tracker produced by Johns Hopkins University reported 83,362,521 confirmed cases and 1,834,656 (2.17%) deaths globally, with the United States (20,617,346 confirmed cases and 356,445 deaths) leading globally and South Africa (1,073,887 confirmed cases and 28,887 deaths) topping the list in Africa. We have dedicated two short communication articles to COVID-19. This Issue also features nine research papers in fields including Communication Studies, Education, Indigenous Knowledge, Law, Linguistics, Political Science, Psychology, Public Administration, and Theology.

Neocolonialism and imperialism have been topics of research and discussion for many decades and from multiple approaches. The first article, “Francophobia as an Expression of Pan-Africanism in Francophone Africa: An Exploration of the Cameroonian Political and Media Discourse”, by Floribert Patrick C. Endong, from the University of Calabar, Nigeria, reflects on the recrudescence of Francophobia in many Francophone African countries, such as Cameroon, and francophobic sentiments, either as blatant xenophobia or a nationalist feeling, often leading to various forms of animosity against France as a dominant neo-colonial force in their countries.

On higher education, in “Exploring Effective Strategies to Revamp the Student Enrolments in Private Tertiary Institutions: A Case of Rwanda”, Cyprien Sikubwabo, from the University of Kigali-Rwanda and André Muhirwa and Philothère Ntawiha, from the College of Education, University of Rwanda, recommend a partnership between the managers of private tertiary institutions and the Government of Rwanda for establishing what they suggest to be effective strategies to revamp student enrolment of the institutions.

In “Generic Structure Potential Analysis of Christian Street Evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria”, Michael Temitope Ajayi, from the University of Ibadan, recognises that while Christian street evangelism is one of the Bible-based doctrinal practices found among Nigerian Christians, especially in Southwestern Nigeria, scholarly attention has not been paid to a linguistic description of language use in such Christian street evangelism. The findings reveal that Christian street evangelism features five obligatory elements: songs, greetings, sermon, prayer and finis; and three optional elements: declaration of purpose, call for confession, and welcome to the fold. The fourth paper focuses on indigenous knowledge and psychology. In an article titled “The Influence of Ancestral Spirits on Sexual Identity amongst Traditional Healers (iZangoma) in South Africa: A discourse analysis”, Khanyisile Rosemary Mnyadi, a former student of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, argues that South African Traditional Healers have been discriminated against for many years with claims that they are ‘witch-doctors’. Khanyisile explores the spiritual (ancestral) influence on the sexual identity of African Traditional Healers, particularly iZangoma, and challenges the idea that homosexuality has never existed in Africa; that it is therefore an import from the West. The author further contends that since homosexuality amongst iZangoma is not a chosen identity but forced by ancestral guides, discrimination against ancestral possession, homosexuality in Africa, and the double stigmatisation against iZangoma attracted to the same sex should be discouraged.

Soccer is a popular sport with a large following globally. The fifth article, “Developing Football Language in Yorùbá”, analyses soccer/football from a linguistic perspective. Ezekiel, Komolafe Olusanya, from Osun State University, seeks to describe strategies for designating football concepts in Yorùbá such as composition, idiomatisation, explication, loan translation, borrowing, use of existing equivalents, coinage, derivation, semantic extension, modulation,desentialization and interlinguistic or hybrid formation. Ezekiel hopes that his study

will significantly improve the effective and efficient use of football vocabulary in the study language.

Proper local government administration is a dilemma in Africa. In the sixth article, “Transparency in Local Government Finance and Service Delivery: The Case of Mwanza City and Moshi District Councils in Tanzania”, written by Ambrose Kessy from the University of Dodoma, transparency is recognised to be an essential tool of local governance, which enables the local citizens to hold local institutions accountable for their performance, to foster trust in government, minimise corruption and improve local service delivery. This study found little flow of information from higher levels of local government to the lower levels, poor resource allocation and results. The study recommends major attention to accountability and transparency attached to service delivery in any country for the public good.

The seventh article entitled “Designing Per-Poor System of Innovation Proverbs” is written by Wangai Njoroge Mambo, from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, to explore how to create a Per-Poor Innovation (PPI) approach in a way that contributes to knowledge. The study concludes that synthesising African philosophies provides a paradigm for integrating indigenous knowledge (IK) and Global Knowledge(GK).

The eighth article, “Lawyers’ Antics and Nonverbal Impoliteness in Nigerian Court Documents: An Example of Mosojo versus Oyetayo”, is by Abayomi Ayansola, from Veritas University and Bibian Ugoala, from the National Open University of Nigeria, who evaluate counsels’ impolite nonverbal communicative behaviour and professional antics, which are complementary to verbal impoliteness. Findings revealed that counsels’ antics and nonverbal impolite behaviour are not only embedded in some legal documents but also manifested in the form of time-wasting, willful absence from the court and embedded in presupposing booby-trap arguments that were meant to frustrate the opposition and influence the course of justice.

The last paper combines both political science and linguistics. In the article, “Discursive Ideologies in Campaign Speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema in the 2019 South African Presidential Election”, Ibitayo Oso and Ivie Oviawe, from the University of Ibadan, used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the discursive ideologies embedded in the campaign speeches of the two political leaders, to unearth the hidden ideologies that the candidates subtly employ to sway the voters in their favour. Ibitayo and Ivie recognise the importance and complexity of political discourse and advise that the public be well informed to understand the ideologies for the informed selection of suitable candidates.

The last two articles comprise short communications on COVID-19 from psychological and political perspectives. First, Stephen Edwards from the University of Zululand reports ‘two recent African Psychology studies on Covid-19’ and states that COVID-19 offers new opportunities for the confrontation and transcendence of facets of life such as illness, suffering and death. Among the five main points made are that the concept of "Ubuntu" both relates to and extends the notion of "agape" or unconditional love, through its emphasis on human relationships, which require extra compassionate care during and after COVID-19. The final paper, by Christopher Isike from the University of Pretoria, is titled “Profit vs Public health: the crisis of liberal democracy and universal healthcare in Africa”. He argues that a sound public health system is critical to the core national interests of any state and its survival, and uses social state, social democracy and a universal healthcare system to conclude that the novel coronavirus pandemic has taught us the importance of protecting livelihoods and lives within this interconnected world, where the prioritisation of profits over public health is catastrophic.

Enjoy the reading.

Dennis N. Ocholla

Editor-in-Chief

Inkanyiso, JHSS (*www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za*)

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Short communications

Francophobia as an expression of Pan-Africanism in Francophone Africa: An exploration of the Cameroonian political and media discourse

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Abstract

There has over the decades been a recrudescence of francophobia in many francophone African countries. This has attracted the attention of scholars across the world and has fuelled a discourse which has myopically constructed francophone Africans' francophobic sentiments either as a purely xenophobic movement or a nationalist feeling. Meanwhile, for many members of the African diasporas and intelligentsia, francophobia is essentially an expression of their pan-African convictions. In effect, for many francophone pan-African political activists, the act of fighting and mitigating neocolonialism in their countries is inextricably tantamount to exhibiting francophobic sentiments. Such an act is also tantamount to deploying various forms of animosity against France. This is so perhaps because France is arguably perceived as the most dominant neocolonial force in their countries. In this paper, this popular trend is illustrated with close respect to the Cameroonian experience. Using secondary sources and critical observations, the paper specifically looks at how various manifestations of French neocolonialism have given birth to waves of anti-French sentiments among the intelligentsia and in the media; and how this anti-French feeling is mostly expressed in the name of Pan-Africanism. The paper thus examines how Pan-Africanism has, to both the Cameroonian intelligentsia and the media, meant adopting a virulent anti-French discourse or rhetoric. In line with this central objective, the paper answers three principal research questions: what body of evidence proves that there is French neocolonialism in Cameroon? How has French neocolonialism engendered a virulent pan-African discourse that is basically anti-French? And how has this pan-African francophobic discourse been observed or manifested among the Cameroonian intelligentsia and in the country's private media?

Keywords: Anti-French sentiment, neocolonialism, Pan-Africanism, nationalist media, domination, Françafrique. Cameroon

Introduction: Pan-Africanism and the imperative of being anti-French

Be it subtle or evident, foreign dominance has hardly, if not never, been welcome in countries across the world. Nations have always developed the "instinct" and reflex of denouncing and resisting any form of external dominance, especially when such dominance becomes politically, economically and/or culturally asphyxiating. In tandem with this, most Third world and non-Anglophone nations have tended to interpret the phenomenal globalization of "very powerful"

1. Floribert Endong PhD is a lecturer in the Department of Theatre, Film and Carnival Studies, University of Calabar, Nigeria.

Anglo-Saxon cultures (notably Americanism) as a threat to their own cultures and ideologies. In France, for instance, the government has in both gentle and aggressive ways resisted the American cultural and ideological domination. France has done this by sometimes resorting even to what many scholars have called anti-Americanism. Meunier (2009) notes for instance that, by leading the anti-globalisation movement in the 1990s and by championing the movement against the war in Iraq in 2003, France has over the years confirmed its status of "old enemy among America's friends". Meunier further observes that "even before the days of Chirac and De Gaulle, France had always seemed to be at the forefront of animosity toward the United States – from eighteenth-century theories about the degeneration of species in the New World to twentieth-century denunciations of the Coca-Colonization of the Old World" (Meunier 2009:129). In the same line of argument, Herrmann and Kertzer (2015) have argued that although not that pronounced, anti-Americanism has always been part of the French popular cultures and lore. In their words, "the more attached the French are to their country, the more of a break they give the United States compared to other great powers who behave similarly" (Herrmann & Kertzer 2015:1).

In the same way, France has perceived American cultural and ideological "dominance" as a threat to its own culture and as an "ill" to energetically combat (sometimes with strong anti-Americanism), so too have many of its former colonies viewed its domination of various sectors of their economies as an equation to solve with anti-French sentiments. Thus, growing and perceptible waves of francophobic sentiments have since the decolonisation period prevailed in many, if not all francophone African countries, begging for scholarly and political attention (Soumare & Konan 2019; Roger 2019; Survie 2019).

This growing wave of anti-French sentiments observed in Francophone African countries has variously been reviewed and interpreted by politicians, researchers, sociologists, philosophers and anthropologists, among other observers. At least two schools of thought have attempted to theorise the phenomenon (francophobia), mostly taking into consideration its local or national colorations, its roots and French/Western institutions' attitudes towards it. The first school of thought – which I technically call the "skeptical school" – has interpreted the phenomenon either as a mere myth, a political rumor not backed by substantial empirical evidence or a minor dilemma not deserving elaborate attention. An egregious adept of this school of thought is General Secretary of the Franco-African Summit, Mme Stephanie Rivoal (cited in Myer 2019) who views the myth of the recrudescence of the francophobia movement in francophone Africa more as a hastened generalisation and simplification of French political and military presence in the continent as a whole and in francophone African countries in particular. In an interview granted to the tabloid *Point Afrique*, she claims that it is surely faulty to present anti-French sentiments in Africa as a strictly generalised phenomenon. The French diplomat anchors her position in her personal observation and her personal experience with African businessmen, politicians and technocrats. She claims that her numerous visits on African soil have informed her that many Africans rather greet French presence in their territories with much hope and euphoria. In her language, the allegations of a growing anti-French sentiment in Africa should very much be taken with a pinch of salt:

> Let us face concrete facts. Anti-French sentiments are not a generalized phenomenon in Africa. In all African countries that I have once visited, people have repeated told me "you Frenchmen need to come again and invest in our countries" [My translation][1] (cited in Mayer 2019: para 2)

In the same line of argument, a French diplomat cited in Roger (2019:49) claims that the myth of a recrudescent anti-French sentiment in francophone countries is just a negligible phenomenon

1. Parlons de faits concrets. Le sentiment anti-français est loin d'être généralisé à l'ensemble de l'Afrique. Partout où je vais, on me dit : *venez investir davantage dans nos pays.*

that should not, for now, be seen as a call for alarm. In his language, the phenomenon “is like the cries of mosquitoes. You hear them around you in the advent of the night. You also feel their presence around you; but you need not be worried for now” [my translation][1].

If Rivoal on one hand and her French counterpart cited in Roger (2019) on the other hand do not totally negate the existence of francophobic feelings in Africa, many of their African peers and contemporaries categorically relegate the thesis of such francophobic feeling to a lie, a post-truth or a mirage mostly evoked to discredit France or create a fictive lack of entente between France and its former colonies. One easily finds this category of observers among African leaders, particularly those that have – or pretend to have – some strong affinities with French multinationals or political institutions. In line with this, Roger (2019) quotes Boubacar Keita as suggesting that far from being driven by anti-French sentiments, citizens of francophone countries in the Sahel region view French military presence in their respective countries as a demonstration of French solidarity that can only be welcome and be popularly considered as a strategic action in the ongoing fight against radical Islamism and terrorism in the region. After a French helicopter crashed and caused the death of 13 French soldiers in the Sahel region, president Keita wrote his French counterpart saying:

> I can assure you that in spite of the impatience and frustrations sincerely or maliciously expressed here and there, the peoples in the Sahel region remember and continue to exclusively underscore the solidarity which they enjoy from French troops”. [My translation][2] (cited in Roger 2019:26).

Contrary to the "skeptical school", the second current (the “non-skeptical” school) confirms the existence of an ever growing wave of anti-French sentiments in francophone Africa. This non-skeptical school attributes the anti-French sentiment to a multitude of factors, principal among which are the sequels of French colonialism and neocolonialism clearly manifested by the continuous existence of a colonial currency in Francophone African countries (the CFA Francs), the prevalence of colonial patterns of trade between France and its former colonies, and France’s military presence and constant political interference in the internal affairs of African French-speaking countries (Pigeaud & Sylla 2018; Mbog 2020; Crux 2020; Chimtom, 2020). Adepts of the "non-skeptical" school argue that France’s continuous socio-cultural and political domination in French-speaking countries in particular and in Africa in general has made it the major problem of the “Dark Continent”, as well as the greatest threat to the continent’s socio-economic development. Cameroon’s separatist movement, the Ambazonia Prisoners of Conscience Support Council (2019:9), states this theory plainly, when it declares in its report titled *History and Contex*t that:

> Kenneth Kaunda [once said]: “There is a devil in Africa! That devil is called France.” For Africans in former British colonies, as well as for most activists and allies in non-French speaking countries across the globe, Kaunda’s statement does not compute. We are too used to focusing on the “big bad guy” and France doesn’t seem like him. But for Africans who have experienced life within the skeleton of France’s colonial legacy, these words ring true without explanation.

In effect, French continuous – but un-avowed – political, economic and military domination in its former African colonies has triggered the emergence of all manner of both underground and overt nationalist movements which have rooted their mantras in French-bashing and anti-French agitations. Thus, in many francophone African countries, the perceived evidence of French neocolonialism – manifested by French military presence, pro-French economic policies, the domination of French multinationals, the prevalence of colonial currencies (the CFA Francs or

1. C’est comme les moustiques à la nuit tombée: il y a un bruit de fond gênant, mais rien de bien méchant pour l’instant
2. Je puis vous assurer qu’en dépit des impatiences observées, des frustrations exprimées çà et là, qu’elles soient sincères ou feintes, les peuples du Sahel ne retiendront et ne magnifieront que la solidarité dont elles bénéficient aujourd’hui de la part des forces françaises

Françafrique) and France's purported pernicious alliance with unpopular ruling elites among others – have turned out to fuel massive anti-French sentiments in various Francophone African countries. In his paper titled "The anti-French sentiment in Africa", Roger (2019) particularly stresses that this francophobia stems from popular beliefs and various forms of conspiracy theories that associate French military presence in the Sahel with neocolonial ploys aimed first and foremost at protecting French interests against local peoples' own interests in the sub-region. By such conspiracy theories France is less enthusiastic in wiping out the djihadist menace in the Sahel because the cultivation of a chaotic atmosphere in the Sahel can only justify France's military and political presence in the region and thus work in the favour of Emmanuel Macron's France.

A striking issue in the manifestations of francophobia in francophone Africa is that the anti-French sentiments most often take a concrete shape under so-called pan-Africanist or Afro-optimist political movements. In other words, many of the pressure groups and political entities that formally express anti-French feelings tend to anchor their sentiments in pan-Africanist or Afro-optimist ideals or in some form of unstructured movement or rhetoric that resemble these ideals. A case in point is French-Beninese activist Kemi Seba who, in guise of defending pan-African ideals, initiated a digitally driven campaign that has remained bent on caricaturing the CFA Franc as an instrument of French neocolonialism in francophone Africa as well as a channel through which France perpetually and insidiously keeps its former colonies in 'economic slavery' (Bax & Monnier 2017; Chutel 2017). Another case in point is the Suisso-Cameroonian activist Nathalie Yamb who, under the impulse of an aggressive anti-French pan-Africanism, has on multiple occasions multiplied animosities against the French government and the French nationality. During the 2019 Russo-African Submit held in Sotchi, she censured France, noting that:

> France continues to view the African continent as its propriety. We want to dump the CFA Franc which Paris, with the complicity of its Africans stooges, insists on maintaining under the name "Eco" […] We demand the dismantling of French military bases which exclusively enable the pillage of our resources […] and supports the continuous stay of dictators at the head of our States [my translation][1] (cited in Soumaré & Konan 2019:62)

Thus, to many francophone pan-African political activists, the act of denouncing, fighting or checking neocolonialism in their countries or continent is inextricably tantamount to exhibiting francophobic sentiments and deploying forms of animosity against France. This has been so, perhaps because France is arguably the most dominant neocolonial force in their countries as well as in the entire African continent (Ambazonia Prisoners of Conscience Support Council 2019; Pigeaud & Sylla 2018). The fact that many francophone Africans use francophobia as a tool to express their pan-African or Afro-optimist convictions has not really attracted the attention of scholars. Most of the research works that have devoted their attention to francophobia in francophone African countries have tended to present this francophobic sentiment either as an essentially xenophobic or nationalist tendency. There is therefore a great need to illustrate how African francophobia is not essentially xenophobic or just nationalist, but an expression of a bigger philosophic-political movement (Pan-Africanism).

In this paper, the above is done in the light of the Cameroonian experience. Using secondary sources and critical observations, the paper specifically looks at how various manifestations of French neocolonialism have given birth to waves of anti-French sentiment among the Cameroonian intelligentsia and in the media. The paper also looks at how the above-mentioned anti-French sentiments are mostly expressed in the name of Pan-Africanism. The

1. La France considère toujours le continent africain comme sa propriété. Nous voulons sortir du franc CFA, que Paris, avec la complicité de ses laquais africains, veut pérenniser sous l'appellation éco », […] Nous voulons le démantèlement des bases militaires françaises qui ne servent qu'à permettre le pillage de nos ressources (…) et le maintien de dictateurs à la tête de nos États.

paper thus examines how Pan-Africanism has, to many members of the Cameroonian intelligentsia and media, meant adopting a virulent anti-French discourse or rhetoric. In line with this central objective, the paper answers three principal research questions: how true is the belief that there is French neocolonialism in Cameroon? How has French neocolonialism engendered a virulent pan-African discourse that is basically anti-French? And how has this pan-African francophobic discourse been observed or manifest both among the country's intelligentsia and media?

French neocolonialism in Cameroon: reality or myth?

By definition, neocolonialism is a paradoxical situation where a country is *de jure* independent but continues in various insidious ways to be under the political, economic and cultural control of its former colonial master, a foreign power, a powerful international body or specific foreign multinationals. It is also a system that emanates from a vicious alliance between the former colonial power and the ruling class of the ex-colony. Such an alliance has as main target to predominantly defend or protect the economic and cultural interests of the former colony or its multinationals, to the detriment of the local/African population (Martins, 1995). Many sources have sought to illustrate neocolonialism in Cameroon. A review of these sources reveals that at least three Western and Asian powers have over the years exerted neocolonial control over the Cameroonian government or the country as a whole. These powers include the United States of America, China and most especially France (Mayers, Nguiffo & Assembe-Mvondo 2019; Jansson 2009). According to Survie (2009; 2019), Haag (2011), Pigeau and Sylla (2018) and Mbog (2020), France is pre-eminent among neocolonisers in Cameroon.

The myth of French neocolonialism in Cameroon is rooted in a plurality of factors, one of which is the fact that, since independence, Cameroon has continued to maintain colonial patterns of trade with France. Although Cameroon has generally been open to international trade, it has in most years made France its main, or one of its principal trading partners. In 2009, France was Cameroon's first trading partner with a commercial exchange of about 860 Million Euros which included 597 Millions of import from France and 263 Million of export to France (a negative trading balance) (Haag 2011). In 2018, France was second to China in the list of the five main trading partners of Cameroon (Societe Generale 2018). A number of trade agreements signed between France and Cameroon have been to the advantage of France and other members of European Union, and to the detriment of local industries in Cameroon. For instance, in 2016, Cameroon signed a free trade agreement with the European Union (of which France is a member). This agreement has been viewed as a system which removes the little protection local industries could have in Cameroon to the advantage of French and European Union domination of the Cameroonian market.

Beside the colonial pattern of trade, Cameroon has – like other French speaking Africa countries – continued to use a colonial currency (the CFA Franc) introduced in its territory by France in the pre-independent period. Through this currency, France has exerted financial control over Cameroon. Not only is this currency guaranteed by France, Cameroon is obliged to deposit over 50% of its foreign earnings into an operational account in the French treasury. This requirement enables a huge outflow of capital which could have been used for Cameroon's socio-economic development. Beside this, the currency is minted in Europe and managed by a central bank (Central African States Bank [BEAC]) which is also subtly controlled by France. In effect, decision on monetary policies in the Central African Monetary Community (of which Cameroon is member) can be taken only with the consent of France. France's representation in the central bank of the CFA zone is not massive, but given the fact that decisions taken in the bank must be unanimous or enjoy a large majority, France has a *de facto* veto power in the decision-making machinery and the operations of the bank.

More palpable evidence of French neocolonial influence in Cameroon is the favourable treatment accorded to French multinationals in Cameroon, a treatment which in many cases has enabled them (the multinationals) to exhibit illegal and imperialistic tendencies in the country. Indeed, a number of French companies have capitalised on widespread corruption in Cameroon as well as on their alliance with some very influencial figures in the Cameroonian government to abusively exploit Cameroonian resources, evade taxes or violate the human rights of their local employees. A case in point is French multinational Sondiaa, which has constantly deployed illegal take-overs of local people's landed proprieties for the creation or extension of its sugar cane plantations (Haag 2011; Survie 2019). Other egregious cases include Rougier, Coron and Bolloré which in all impunity have often employed mercenaries from the security engineering company Africa Security SARL to ruthlessly address incidents of protest mounted by their employees. Thus, many French multinationals operating in Cameroon have, with great impunity, or with the complicity of some influential officials of the Government, perpetrated human rights violations in Cameroon (Transparency International Cameroon 2018).

Sharing corollaries, Pigeaud (2009) cites several reports generated by Oxfam and The Catholic Committee for the Fight Against Hunger which reveal that the French corporation called 'Plantations of Upper Penja (PHP)' has negatively distinguished itself by its constant violation of its workers' human rights, the abusive treatment of its employees and the very low wages it pays its workers (about 60000 heads). In effect, its workers sometimes labour for more than 15 hours daily. Peageaud (2009) also notes PHP's non-respect of environmental protocols, its involvement in fiscal evasion and unscrupulous entrepreneurial attitudes. PHP has for years embraced these questionable cultures without being reprimanded or sanctioned by the Cameroonian authorities, thanks to subtle bribery, corruption and in officious support of the government. As Pigeaud pointedly (2009:27) puts it,

> PHP has the support of the region's political, administrative and judicial authorities. "As a traditional leader, I receive a monthly salary from PHP, reveals a local authority. The Senior and Junior Divisional Officers similarly receive a pay from the company". […] PHP "does anything it wants to whosoever it chooses to deal with. Its administration is capable of the worst, surmises a businessman who hails from Njombe and who proffers anonymity. [My translation][1]

Pigeau further explores some of the reasons why PHP and similar French corporations operating in Cameroon will perpetrate the most reprehensible fiscal, social and entrepreneurial cultures [?], yet will remain untouchable and rather 'venerated' giants in the Cameroonian polity. She observes that many members of PHP's administration are top figures of the party in power in Cameroon. The company is member of the Cameroonian banana companies of Cameroon, a lobby headed by another important figure of the party in government and brother-in-law of the Minister of Commerce, Luc Magloire Mbarga Atangana. The latter doubles as the Chairman of PHP's board of directors. Moreover, the company gives out its lands for rent to top Cameroonian army officers. The company enjoys a good relationship with the nation's president as its employers are regularly sent to work on president Biya's pineapple plantations. In view of all these factors, Pigeau (2009) associates the neocolonial policies of the company partly with the connections it has with the powers in Cameroon.

While a number of French multinationals enjoy the status of "untouchable" or neocolonisers thanks to their affinities with influential members of the party in government, others have such privileged status thanks to the support they provide to specific key government agencies or government projects. The French oil company Total for instance has for years sponsored the

1. PHP a les responsables politiques, administratifs ou judiciaires de la région dans sa poche. «En tant que chef traditionnel, je suis payé chaque mois par la PHP, confie une «élite» locale. Le sous-préfet, le préfet aussi. [...] PHP «fait ce quelle veut à qui elle veut», ses dirigeants «sont capables de tout», résume un homme d'affaires originaire de Njombé qui ne veut pas être identifiable.

training and activities of the Cameroonian Navy in exchange for the protection of their petroleum platforms in the country (Haag 2011; Tache 2019).

France's neocolonial control over Cameroon has also been greatly felt in the political realm. This has been seen both in instances where Cameroonian presidents openly declared their loyalty or allegiance to France, and incidents where a French president, an influential politician or multinational from France sought to pressurise the Cameroonian president or government towards executing a pro-French design. In one of his speeches to the public, Cameroon's very first president, Ahmadou Ahidjo, manifested his loyalty to France saying: 'How can we conceive having other partners than this country [France]? How can we forget its accomplishment all these years that we have learned to understand and appreciate [it]' (cited in Takoungang and Krieger 1998:88). With the same measure of enthusiasm, Ahidjo's successor President Biya told the French press in an interview in *La Baule* (France) that he (Paul Biya) 'cannot disagree with the opinion of President Francois Mitterand', and that he is 'the best student of France' (cited in Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire 1999:234). Cameroon's presidents have not only been 'good students or stooges of France' but its protégés, according to popular perceptions. Many myths prevailing in Cameroon claim that most Cameroonian presidents have been France's choice in presidential elections. It is for instance rumoured that France manipulated the 1992 presidential elections to ensure the victory of Paul Biya and hinder the election of an Anglophone at the head of the Cameroonian government. Archbishop Christian Tumi (one or Cameroon government's staunchest critics) remarks for instance that: 'every body knows that Fru Ndi[1] won the election in 1992. Who organized the coup? It was Mitterrand and I am citing something [French President François] Mitterrand said to Biya: "jamais un anglophone à Etoudi [meaning never should an Anglophone be allowed in Etoudi[2]"' (cited in Chimtom 2018:17). Rumours like the one voiced above point to the fact that a number of Cameroonian people view France with a lot of suspicion.

Anti-French sentiments as Pan-African manifestations against French neocolonialism in Cameroon

The persistent prevalence of French neocolonialism has engendered sporadic waves of anti-French sentiment in Cameroon. This anti-French sentiment has from time to time fueled Cameroon's popular culture (urban music, literary productions, popular cinema, political discourse and media contents). However, rarely have Cameroonian authorities or French diplomats and French multinationals publicly recognised the existence of francophobia in the country. Even on occasions where the French government has unambiguously bashed its Cameroonian counterpart, there have hardly been official expressions of anti-French sentiments from the Cameroonian government. Recently for instance, President Emmanuel Macron claimed in a video that went viral on social media that he has successfully pressured President Paul Biya into liberating some opposition leaders and political opponents. Macron's act quickly attracted the indignation of critics across Africa (Mbog 2020; Crux 2020). Nevertheless the Cameroonian government tended to overlook or downplay the issue, using the period to rather cowardly declare its loyalty to the French government. In a February 2020 press release issued in reaction to Macron's pronouncement, Cameroon's Minister of Communication Rene Emmanuel Sadi rather claimed that France is: 'A country with whom Cameroon shares strong historical ties and

1. John Fru Ndi has for over two decades been the leader of the opposition in Cameroon. As leader of the Social Democratic Front (SDF), he lost the 1992 presidential elections in Cameroon; in favour of Paul Biya, the current Cameroonian Head of State who has been in power since 1982. Fun Ndi has witnessed his decline from this position of leader of the main opposition party in recent presidential elections, with Maurice Kamto's Cameroon Renaissance Movement's rise to prominence in the Cameroonian political landscape. Fru Ndi is from the Anglophone region of Cameroon, precisely from the North West Region of the country, an area believed to host ethnic nationalities (the Bamendas) that are in their majority hostile to President Paul Biya's and Francophone rule in Cameroon.
2. Etoudi is the neighbourhood where the Cameroonian presidential palace is located. It is a synecdoche commonly used in Cameroon to mean the country's presidential palace

relations of friendship and cooperation. These relations are mutually beneficial and have always been founded on the sacred principles of State sovereignty and mutual respect' [My translation][1] (Cited in Mbog, 2020:4)

The silence of the Cameroonian government and French politicians and diplomats on the issue of growing francophobia in Cameroon is both complemented and justified by the fact that rarely – if not never – has any case of physical/mortal aggression against French nationals or French interest been reported in the country. Apart from a small number of 1990s movements initiated by pressure groups to boycott French products, one has hardly witnessed popular manifestations against French economic interests in the country. Also, France and French tertiary institutions have since the beginning of the post-independence period (since 1960) continued to be an attractive destination for many Cameroonians seeking to further their university education abroad. As noted by the French ambassador to Cameroon Christophe Guilhou, (cited in Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires Etrangères 2020), the number of Cameroonian nationals who seek admission to French universities grows yearly.

In spite of these positive developments, many sporadic manifestations of anti-French sentiment have surfaced in the country's socio-political space, particularly following incidents of neocolonial attitudes of France towards Cameroon or rumours of France's involvement in destabilising activities against Cameroon. On February 22, 2020 for instance, French President Emmanuel Macron made a suggestive remark on a video that went viral on social media. In the video Macron claimed that he had mounted sustained pressure on the Cameroonian president Paul Biya and compelled the latter to liberate a political opponent (Maurice Kamto) who was jailed in connection with post-election protests. In the same video, President Macron highlighted various political maneuvers he had deployed and was planning to leverage in order to further direct President Biya towards a peaceful handling of some security issues in Cameroon and a forceful liberation of other political prisoners. Word verbatim, he said:

> I pressured Paul Biya and asked him to address the Anglophone crisis and issues pertaining to his political opponents. I told Biya we must not meet in Lyon if Kamto is not released. He (Kamto) was freed because we put pressure. And now, the situation is deteriorating again. I will call president Biya next week. We shall mount maximum pressure on him for him to put an end to this situation. I am fully aware and concerned about incidents of violence in Cameroon. These incidents of violence are unacceptable. I am doing my best. [My translation][2] (cited in Mbog 2020).

This muscled and relatively macho act by Macron sparked virulent criticism from the Cameroonian public, as well as waves of anti-French manifestations in the country. While a certain number of observers promptly read Macron's statement as the act of a supremacist or an 'inexperienced neocolonialist', the majority of Cameroonian critics (according to literature available) viewed the pronouncement along with covert ploys by France, aimed at maintaining the Françafrique (France's sphere of influence). In reaction to Macron's declaration, various pressure groups organised anti-French protests targeting the Yaoundé-based premises of the French embassy to Cameroon as well as the Douala-based[3] French consulate.

1. La France est « un pays avec lequel le Cameroun entretient des relations damitié et de coopération anciennes, étroites et mutuellement bénéfiques, et qui ont toujours été fondées sur les principes sacrés de la souveraineté des Etats et du respect mutuel
2. J'ai mis la pression sur Paul Biya pour qu'il traite le sujet de la zone anglophone et ses opposants. Je lui avais dit que je ne voulais pas le recevoir à Lyon tant que Maurice Kamto nétait pas libéré. Et il a été libéré parce quon a mis la pression. Et là, la situation est en train de se redégrader. Je vais appeler la semaine prochaine le Président Biya, on mettra le maximum de pression pour que cette situation cesse. Je suis totalement au courant et totalement impliqué sur les violences faites au Cameroun et qui sont totalement intolérables. Je fais le maximum
3. Yaoundé and Douala are two major Cameroonian cities. The former is the political capital of Cameroun while the latter is the economic capital of the country.

Macron's viral declaration also fuelled an anti-French political discourse in the Cameroonian media and among the country's intelligentsia. While most media houses that raised the issue multiplied various forms of aggressive rhetoric to describe Macron's neocolonial attitude, a number of Cameroonian political ideologues and academics proffered analyses that associated Macron's perceived 'blunder' not only with some jaw-dropping conspiracy theories but also with some of the most childish – but problematic – expressions of French imperial control of Cameroon. A university lecturer and political analysis (Mathias Eric Oyona Nguini) interpreted Macron's act as evidence that:

> There exists a pseudo-Cameroonian activism working in collaboration with some special forces towards imposing a new political clientele to Cameroon. This is done within the framework of a colonial democracy […] This activism aims to destabilize and overthrow the Cameroonian government. It is one of the instruments leveraged by intrusive neo-imperial powers to create hybrid wars aimed at consolidating the neocolonial *satellisation* [My translation][1] (cited in Mbog 2020).

In the same line of thought, Catholic clergyman Roman Kisi described Macron's remarks as a sign of the recrudescence of French leaders' colonial attitudes towards the Cameroonian government. In an interview he granted the online tabloid *Crux Magazine*, the man of God conceded that Macron's claims clearly show that he is not only 'responsible for all the chaos in Cameroon' but is also part of an insidious imperialistic system mounted by France and programmed to perpetually undermine Cameroonian leadership. This is suggested by the simple understanding that 'if he [Macron] has ordered Kamto's release and is now pressuring President Biya to release other political prisoners, it means that African leaders like Paul Biya are stooges' (cited in Crux 2020). It may not be totally out of place to suspect or argue that Cameroonian presidents have been stooges of their French counterparts. This is so as President Biya – just like his predecessor Ahmadou Ahidjo – have since the early parts of his rule declared his loyalty and even subservience to French presidents and France. In 1990, Biya declared to the press in *La Baule* (France) that 'I cannot disagree with the opinion of President Mitterand that I am the best student of France' (cited in *Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire*, 1999:234).

Incidents like Macron's remark somewhat serve as both a reminder and a spotlight. This is so as they easily draw the attention of the Cameroonian public to other socio-political problems popularly perceived to be the consequence of French neocolonial control over Cameroon. The incidents also fired members of the Cameroonian populace to variously exhibit pan-African sentiments, anchoring such sentiments in a plurality of social materials. In fact, most reactions to French neocolonial attitudes towards Cameroon have most often been coated with specific components of the pan-African ideology. Some of these components of the pan-African ideology include the African self-determination concept, the back-to-African-value movement, the African unity idiom and the worldwide Black Nationalism and socialism concepts. This is seen in most Cameroon separatist movements' attitude towards French domination in Cameroon. The Ambazonian Prisoners of Conscience Support Network (2019) – one of the separatist groups currently campaigning for the creation of a break-away country called Ambazonia – for instance, has on various platforms anchored its activism in an anti-French type of Pan-Africanism. In its report/manifesto titled *History and Context*, the group has described its secessionist movement as a pan-African initiative aimed at challenging the ills of a political regime which is nothing other than 'the French neocolonial regime in Cameroon'.

Like the Abmazonian Prisoners of Conscience Defence Council, the Archbishop of Douala, His lordship Christian Tumi (a staunch critic of President Paul Biya) holds French neocolonialism

1. Un activiste pseudo-camerounais, agent de services spéciaux travaillant pour imposer une nouvelle clientèle gouvernante au Cameroun, dans le cadre factice d'une démocratie coloniale (…), agit contre le Cameroun pour le déstabiliser et renverser son gouvernement. Il est un de ces agents typiques que les puissances intrusives néo-impériales utilisent pour créer des guerres hybrides destinées à raffermir la satellisation néocoloniale.

responsible for many of Cameroon's socio-political and economic malaises. In an interview granted the local Cameroonian newspaper *The Rambler* for instance, the clergyman lists France's interference in the political affairs of Cameroon among the major remote causes of the current Anglophone crisis. The man of God also holds French neocolonialism responsible for the pitiable economic state of Cameroon. He declares that: 'what is creating the whole problem is the presence of France in Cameroon. Whereas the English people left, whereas they packed their boxes and everything and went away, Cameroon is controlled by France. That's the problem" (Cited in Chimtom 2018:16).

Like Archbishop Tumi too, a good number of Cameroonian politicians and political analysts have by their observations, fuelled the myth that France is the principal 'enemy' of Cameroon and that putting an end to its meddling in the affairs of Cameroon is the only way Cameroon may achieve political and economic success. As noted by Atemengue in his book title *Sortir le Cameroun de l'impasse* [Saving Cameroon from impasse], many Cameroonian politicians have developed anti-French sentiments as a tactical political tool as well as for nationalist reasons. In an article titled "Cameroun: francophonie et populisme à la carte", Dougueli George (2019) similarly numbers the *Mouvement Africain pour l'indépendence et la Nouvelle Démocratie* (MANIDEM) – currently integrated into Cameroon's opposition party called the Union of Cameroonian People (UPC) – as one of the opposition political forces which have used francophobia and constant French-bashing as a pan-African strategic tool to win the hearts of the Cameroonian electorate. The French critic further observes that Francophobia has thus progressively become a form of populism used by a number of Cameroonian politicians and pressure groups for political point-scoring. Dougueli writes that in populo-nationalist quarters as well as in secessionist movements in Cameroon, francobobia is a kind of fashionable culture. It is viewed as being open to the world; as well as a channel for censuring France's African policy, the ills of the *Françafrique* and the troubling Cameroonian Diaspora living in France.

Anti-French sentiments in Pan-African media initiatives: the Cameroonian experience

It is an accepted premise that the media of mass communication do not only have a symbiotic relationship with the society in which they subsist, but they also reflect their society of origin in many respects. Following this theory, it is not surprising that anti-French sentiments have progressively permeated the popular culture and the media discourse in Cameroon right from the time of French colonial rule in the 19th century. It is on record that the nationalist press spearheaded by newspapers such as *l'Effort Camerounais* made anti-French reporting a key strategy in its advocacy for the independence of Cameroon. Decades after Cameroon's independence, the anti-French rhetoric has remained perceptible in the Cameroonian media for reasons which range from the urge to denounce the ills and mistakes of French colonialism (that France has never recognised) to the imperative of expressing pan-African ideals. In line with the first motive mentioned above (the urge to denounce France's unavowed colonial mistakes), journalist Hamna Mana of the Cameroonian tabloid *Le Jour* remarks that:

> Anti-French sentiments in Cameroon are anchored in one important factor: France has never acknowledged the fact that she has waged a war in 1950 against nationalist groups struggling for Cameroon's independence. This failure on the part of France is fuelling Cameroonians' rancour against the French government. The latter has not memorably appeased its former colony, hence the mix-ups. [My translation][1] (cited in Mbog 2015:7)

1. Le sentiment anti-français sappuie sur un élément important : la France na jamais reconnu quelle avait mené une guerre au Cameroun dans les années 1950 contre ceux qui se battaient pour lindépendance. Ce déni entretient de la rancur, il ny a pas eu dapaisement mémoriel, doù tous ces amalgames

Mana's reading of the situation is plausible if one considers anti-French cinematic productions such as Jean Marie Teno's 1992 documentary film titled *Afrique je te plumerai* (translatable as 'Africa, I will Pluck you'). In this film Teno censures French colonialism in an acerbic way, holding it responsible for a French-instigated 'cultural genocide' in Cameroon. This genocide, according to Teno, is the product of France's introduction of Euro-centric socio-cultural and political paradigms (pro-French education, Euro-centric economic policies and anti-traditionalist and anti-African worldview, etc.) which undermined and ultimately asphyxiated traditional Cameroonian societies and killed the African soul of the Cameroonian nation. According to Teno, France deployed the Euro-centric paradigms mentioned above to technically inhibit an African-driven form of socio-cultural and economic development in the country. Going by this understanding, Teno ends up advocating a developmental model which on the one hand takes into account the failures of the past (France's colonial mistakes) and on the other hand exorcises French socio-political influence from the soul of Cameroon. He declares that: 'I wanted to trace [the] cause and effect between the intolerable present and the colonial violence of yesterday to understand how a country could fail to succeed as a state which was once composed of well-structured, traditional societies' (a segment of the voiceover of Teno's *Afrique je te plumerai*).

As earlier mentioned, a number of Cameroonian media houses or media practitioners justify their anti-French sentiments or rhetoric with their strong desire to defend pan-African ideals. Leading this category of media voices is the privately owned broadcaster *Afrique Media*, a TV station which has taken pride in labeling itself a pan-African broadcaster. In effect, of all Cameroonian media houses which fuel francophobia in Cameroon*, Afrique Media* is arguably the most vocal, vibrant and dynamic. This broadcaster has firmly rooted its editorial philosophy in denouncing neocolonialism in Africa (particularly in Cameroon and other Francophone countries), an endeavour which can only lead them to propound an anti-French rhetoric.

As a francophobic media house, *Afrique Media* has non-hesitantly resorted to yellow journalism and various gutter reportorial practices to bash France. Most of its interactive programmes – notably "*le debat Africain*" (the African Debate), "*le Merit Panafricain*" (The Pan-African Merit), "*Bouquet Special*" (Special Bouquet) and "*Edition Speciale*" (Special Edition) are forums where panelists and presenters create or use any opportunity to rain insults on France and her policies in Francophone Africa. The station's director of programmes Patrick Eya confesses the station's fervour to bash France at all costs when he says '*nous avons choisi de dénoncer les injustices que la France fait subir au continent africain'* [we have chosen to denounce the injustices that France inflicts on the African continent] (cited in Mbog 2015). By this statement, and many similar ones, the station's staff has on various platforms or media not denied their anti-French mantra.

Also acknowledging the Anti-French penchant of the station, another senior journalist working with *Afrique Media,* François Bikoro, confided that:

> *Afrique Media* does not deny the fact that it is bias in its treatment of issues bordering on pan-Africanism. It doesn't also deny the fact that, its voice represents a counter-force to the mainstream media which are bent on propagating the Western ideology [...] *Afrique Media*'s way of operating has nothing to do with journalism but opinion broadcast shaped according to the "African palaver model" [My translation][1] (Cited in Boungou 2014).

In 2015, the station fuelled anti-French sentiments in Cameroon by naturalising a myth and by helping to propagate a conspiracy theory that presented France as the invisible hand that presently arms and tele-guides terrorist groups in Northern Cameroon. Actually, in a succession

1. Afrique média ne cache pas son parti pris pour les questions panafricaines et se veut une réponse aux médias mainstream qui se font le devoir de véhiculer lidéologie occidentale [] Afrique média ne fait pas du journalisme, mais la communication dopinion sur le modèle de la palabre africaine

of media reportages, the station argued that, given the fact that most of the weapons seized from the Boko Haram terrorist group are French-made, France should be the invisible hand arming the Boko Haram group and fueling terrorism in northern Cameroon (Pommerolle 2015). This anti-French line of argument and aggressive rhetoric has landed *Afrique Media* in trouble with both the Cameroonian government and some French political institutions. In June 2015, for instance, the Cameroonian media regulatory organ the National Communication Council (NCC) suspended the media house and closed its Yaoundé and Douala offices over issues of hate speech against France and some other Western countries (Moki 2015). This suspension did not deter the station from pursuing an anti-French editorial policy and an adversarial posture vis-à-vis France's political allies or multinationals in Cameroon. In effect, in several situations where it was suspended in Cameroon, the station swiftly delocalised its pole of transmission to Malabo (Equatorial Guinea) and continued with more virulent French bashing. Thus, the station has continued to give the impression that pan-Africanism in media broadcasting is tantamount to francophobia. Thus, it has also perpetrated the now popular – but problematic – belief that anti-French sentiments could be an efficacious weapon to combat French neocolonialism and support pan-Africanism in Cameroon.

Conclusion

Many years after independence, France's presence has remained dominant – if not preeminent – in Africa in general and Francophone Africa in particular. Sources have demonstrated French involvement or interference in the affairs of both Anglophone and Francophone African countries, at different points in time, in the contemporary history of the continent. The *Françafrique* for instance has from its inception in the 1940s to date remained a seminal example of French economic control over Francophone African countries; while her continuous military presence in numerous Francophone countries (through the creation of military bases in Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad and Djibouti just to name a few) has given many observers the impression that it (France) has in no way envisaged the wisdom of leaving its colonies. This persistent French policy has also suggested that much of Francophone Africa has remained France's sphere of influence or neocolonial territories. This objectionable state of affairs has not gone down well with many political activists and observers in Francophone Africa.

These last years have thus witnessed renewed waves of anti-French sentiments and agitations in several French-speaking African countries from Mali to Cameroon. The anti-French sentiments have literally permeated the entire social discourse in these countries, most often taking the form of a pan-African rhetoric against Western neocolonialism. In this paper the author has argued that, to many Francophone African political activists, combating neocolonialism and exhibiting pan-Africanist tendency have come to mean nursing anti-French sentiments, perhaps because France is increasingly perceived as the pre-eminent neocoloniser in Francophone Africa. In Cameroon more specifically, the popular perception or representation of France as the most dominant neocoloniser is given credence. Several incidents of France's interference in the political and economic life of the country have been established. Such incidents have triggered or resurrected anti-French campaigns rooted in Pan-African ideals. In the domain of media reporting, broadcasters like *Afrique Media* have, in view of the continued dominance of France in the country, tailored their mantras and editorial philosophies to dominantly sound anti-French. French bashing has thus become a pertinent way of exhibiting Pan-African feelings in the Cameroonian media and in the socio-political landscapes of the country.

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Exploring effective strategies to revamp the student enrolments in private tertiary institutions: A case of Rwanda

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Abstract

Different reports by the Ministry of Education in Rwanda have confirmed a decrease in student enrolments in Rwandan private universities since 2014, such that there is a need for effective strategies to address this issue. This study was undertaken to explore effective strategies to revamp student enrolments in six selected private tertiary institutions in Rwanda. The study adopted a descriptive survey design and used a sample of 382 participants out of 13914 subjects. The study employed a structured questionnaire for data collection. The data was analysed by means of percentages, frequencies, means and standard deviation. The findings revealed that the effective institution-based strategies to improve student enrolments in private universities in Rwanda are notably: motivate new applicants by helping the alumni to get jobs, reduce the costs and bring flexibility in fee payment, offer more flexible and marketable programs, improve quality in teaching and provide adequate instructional facilities. It was also found that the effective Government-based strategies are notably: promote graduate employability in Rwanda, provide study loan to private university students, promote more technical programmes than general ones, provide financial support to private universities by the Rwandan government to build their capacity. The study recommended that there should be partnership between the managers of private tertiary institutions and the government of Rwanda in putting in place the suggested effective strategies to revamp the student enrolments of the institutions.

Keywords: effective strategies, private tertiary institutions, revamp, student enrolments, Rwanda

Introduction

Provision of education to citizens has been said to be central in training more members of the potential workforce of a country. Higher education is among the essential levels of education for the development of highly qualified human resources for a country. Universities and colleges play a major role in this endeavour. Because of globalisation and the upcoming knowledge-based economy, there has been a worldwide growth and proliferation of higher education institutions (Stander 2017). The study of Roser and Ortez-Ospina (2014) examined the gross enrolment ratio

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for different regions of the globe. They found that the current number of student enrolments is shrinking gradually in some areas of specialisation, resulting in a decline of student enrolments in certain universities around the globe. Hammed (2018) in his report states that over 50% of public universities and more than two thirds of private universities were not able to meet their enrolment targets in 2016, and decreasing student enrolment continue to be a burden for higher education institutions globally.

Current research on higher education has shown that agriculture and veterinary majors are less popular in different universities around the world (Nelson 2014). A study by the Babson Survey Research Group in January 2018 found a decrease in higher education enrolment in general, but with growth in students enrolled only in distance courses. The study highlighted a decline from 18.3 million to 17.1 million (6.4 percent) in the worldwide student enrolments. Furthermore, UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS, 2017) indicated that starting from 2015 the world gross enrolment rate in universities has started shrinking compared to the previous years.

In Rwanda, private tertiary institutions contribute copiously to the development of the nation by providing high level education to its citizens and their overall functioning depends significantly on the number of enrolled students. The main reason is that tuition is almost taken as the sole means of generating funds for these institutions (Teixeira & Koryakina, 2011). That means, these institutions should get considerable student enrolments for proper performance and for their sustainability.

Statement of the problem and purpose of the study

Based on the reports of the Ministry of Education in Rwanda, the rate of student enrolments in tertiary institutions in Rwanda has started decreasing since 2014. As a result, some private universities in Rwanda have started facing financial deficits which have forced them to close their doors and left their students and employees in horrific conditions. Since 2017, the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) through Higher Education Council (HEC) conducted a number of audits in order to evaluate the quality of education provided in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda as well as determining their capacity to run their businesses as educational institutions. So far, eight private universities in Rwanda have been closed due to their lesser capacity to run their operations; the root cause of this phenomenon is the shrinking of student enrolments at these institutions which cause their shortages of finance. The survey conducted by MINEDUC (2018) found that Gross enrolment rate (GER) of the university students declined between 2015 and 2017. Similarly, the same study showed a large disparity in terms of student enrolments per field of study in Rwandan private universities. A higher rate of student enrolment was found in fields like business, administration and law, with a low rate in the fields like natural sciences, mathematics and statistics, while a very low rate was found in fields such as agriculture and the humanities. The report of MINEDUC (2018) indicates that the rate of student enrolment has been shrinking gradually since 2014. The report shows that the enrolment in private tertiary institutions increased from 21948 students in 2006 to 28909 students in 2009 (31.7%); from 31170 students in 2010 to 43717 in 2013 (40.2%) and from 49254 students in 2014 to 50822 students in 2018 (3.1%). Based on these statistics, it is clear that the rate of student enrolments declined from 40.2% (for 2010-2013) to 3.1% (for 2014-2018). Indeed, there need to be strong solutions found for this problem to ensure the sustainability of private higher learning institutions in Rwanda.

The concept of student enrolments in higher learning institutions has attracted the attention of a considerable number of researchers worldwide, but most of their studies have focused on exploring factors affecting students' university choice and factors influencing students' enrolment in general. However, there are very few studies which attempted to explore effective strategies to improve student enrolments in general. Furthermore, there are no studies which attempted to explore effective strategies to improve student enrolments in either private tertiary institutions or

focusing on Rwanda. This study was carried out to fill this gap in the literature. In addition, the researchers believe that the findings of this study will be very useful to the managers of private tertiary institutions in Rwanda as it will inform them how best they can improve their student enrolments. That means, the findings of this study will serve as an important tool for policy formulation as well as the improvement of education practices in relation to private university student recruitments both nationally and internationally.

Research questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- What are the most important variables influencing students' decision to enrol in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda?
- What are the students' challenges regarding private tertiary institutions in Rwanda?
- What are the institution-based and government-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda?

Literature review

This section comprises the review of related literature. The review focuses on the themes from the research objectives as discussed in the next sections.

Factors influencing student's university choice

There are several studies on factors influencing student's university choice; some are described below. The study of Irfan, Wasim, Rana and Nadeem (2013) concluded that the choice of tertiary institutions has become more complex and is influenced by factors like desired programmes, courses and university reputations, institutional reputation and distance from home. Yusof *et al*. (2008) confirmed that available programmes are highly considered by first years while choosing a specific university. Similarly, Ismail (2009) hypothesised that university choice is influenced by the academic recognition of a university. Consequently, the study concluded that academic programmes significantly influence college choices. For Hoyt and Brown (2003) available degree options are among the essential factors influencing students' university choice. Ming (2010) examined factors affecting students' university and college choice decision in Malaysia. The findings revealed that factors affecting students' choice of university are institutional location, courses offered, university image, instructional resources, costs, availability of financial support and employment prospects.

Danjuma, Shasi and Hauwa (2014) investigated whether there is a close association between customer service and student enrolment in one of the most important private universities in Nigeria, and the willingness of the registered students to recommend their university to other prospective students. The study used Pearson correlation to analyse the data. In the end, the findings revealed that service delivery positively correlates with the choice of a university.

Marinnge (2006) conducted a study aiming at determining the important factors that students consider while making decisions regarding their choice of university and programmes. The study used a sample of 387 students (186 males and 201 female) and a survey questionnaire containing a 10 points Likert scale. In addition, the questionnaire included 35 university choice factors that students had to rank respectively. In the questionnaire, there were also 10 items designed to discover the factors influencing students' choice of course or programme. Data was analysed using descriptive statistics establish the factors under investigation. The study revealed that labour market factors in relation to employment and career projections greatly influence student's choices of universities or programmes.

Le, Dobele and Robinson (2019) examined the dynamics of university choice in relation to the usage of information sources. This study used a sample of potential students from Vietnam.

The study showed that the courses offered are among the important factors influencing university student enrolments. Moreover, the study concluded that frequently poor content of the courses offered by a university can negatively influence student enrolments in universities. Commenting on this study, it could be understood that students need marketable programmes which generate more jobs rather than courses with poor content which do not offer job opportunities. Indeed, unmarketable programmes influence decline in student enrolments.

However, Walsh, Moorhouse, Dunnet and Barry (2015) found different results in a longitudinal study on factors influencing university choice in England. The students were first investigated during their application for university enrolment and when they were about to start studying in the respective courses of their choice. The findings revealed that courses or programmes offered by a university do not affect a student's choices. These findings simply mean that whatever courses or programmes and whether they are marketable or not, cannot affect student enrolment.

Strategies to improve university student enrolments

Student enrolments are essential to any higher learning institutions and tuition remains a key determinant of the proper functioning of tertiary institutions worldwide. This is due to the fact that school fees remain the main source of revenue in these institutions (Mata-López & Tobón, 2018). Indeed, shortage of student enrolments in private higher learning is considered a threat for these institutions. Consequently, some studies were carried out in order to find durable strategies to address the problem whenever it arises. Some of these studies are discussed below. Atieno (2009) argues that due to a high competition in the tertiary education sector, recruiting sufficient students for private tertiary institutions is not an easy undertaking. He further notes that tertiary institutions are continuously facing the difficulty of encouraging more students to enrol. Although they spend a lot of money marketing their programmes, their expectations regarding the number of enrolling students have not been met yet. For this author, the demand to raise student enrolments has made the institutions develop a number of mechanisms to encourage more applicants. These include: increasing students' satisfaction through the provision of good services to students, using strong marketing strategies like advertisements and face-to-face meetings with potential clients.

Asgill *et al*. (2013) have advised the managers of tertiary institutions to use the following strategies in order to get more applicants: using social connections, radio, television, e-mails, on-site workshops, professional conferences, among others. According to Zozaya and Herlinda (2013), in terms of business, to meet the customers' satisfaction, the business owner must have the information regarding their personality, experiences, expectations, desires, points of view, and these are necessary for determining the ways one can gain a superior position in the tertiary education market. Mahin (2011) in her report proposed some enduring strategies to enhance student enrolment rates. These are namely: significant support to the students while searching for universities and enrolment procedures and facilitating the families' understanding and handling of university costs.

Clifford, Miller, Stasz, Goldman, Sam and Kumar (2013) explored the effectiveness of various approaches adopted to enhance access to tertiary education. The study found that in spite of scarce resources for public tertiary education in third-world nations, governments and institutions devised some strategies to ensure access to tertiary education. These are namely provision of scholarships and adopting fee policies tailored to different needs of students and extensive student loan schemes (Lee and Healy 2006). Atieno (2009) explored the effect of communication strategies on improving student enrolments among private universities in Kenya. The study adopted a descriptive research approach to elaborate on the problem under investigation. The study employed a sample of 100 students that were chosen from four private universities in Kenya, using the stratified sampling technique. The study used a questionnaire as

the data collection instrument. The results showed that communication strategies significantly influence the enhancement of student enrolments in private high learning institutions. It was found that print media is the most utilised method for displaying information among the universities. Most of the respondents confirmed that they had received messages about universities on the radio. Therefore, they proposed that social media and the Internet should be utilised as well.

Azad and Shubra (2012) conducted a study to find ways to solve the problem of declining student enrolments in computer science courses. Specifically, the study analysed the efforts made to recognise the causes and find strategies to improve computer science enrolment. The findings revealed that to increase student enrolments for computer science programmes, universities have to offer multidisciplinary and cross-disciplinary courses. For Braun (2017) effective strategies to increase student enrolments are namely knowledge concerning the potential students, discovering the important dynamics for selecting a university, revamping the enrolment procedures and having a perception of your position vis-a-vis your competitors. The Australian Government (2017) suggested the following strategies for enhancing student enrolment in tertiary institutions. These are quality services to learners, more flexible admission conditions, better teaching activities and teachers' competence, a conducive learning environment, keeping an eye on student development and transparency in completion rates.

Hammel (2018) reported that more than 50% of public universities and more than two thirds of private universities did not succeed in achieving their targeted student enrolments in 2016. Decreasing student enrolments remains a problem for universities all over the world. He further notes that satisfying the various needs of all kinds of students is central to the success of the universities. Tertiary institutions are also advised to make virtual visits and improve substance, accord simple application procedures, provide financial support, make relevant reminders, make the customers (students) enthusiastic and optimise the enrolment process. Filzah, Siti & Nik (2016) carried out a study to examine the strategies for improving university student enrolments in Malaysia. This study revealed that non-active enrolment strategies like institutional reputation and advertisements significantly influence university student enrolments. Nevertheless, active enrolment strategies (i.e. overseas recruitment) had not had a significant correlation with student enrolment.

Methodology

This research was conducted in January-February, 2020. It was carried out in six private tertiary institutions including the Adventist University of Central Africa (AUCA), Christian University of Rwanda (CHUR), Institut Supérieur de Ruhengeri (INES-RUHENGERI), KIM University, Protestant Institute of Arts and Social Sciences (PIASS) and University of Tourism Technology and Business Studies (UTB). The six private universities were selected out of 20 tertiary institutions operating in Rwanda. The selection was based on the assertion by Borg and Gall (2003) that at least 30 percent of the entire population is appropriate for the sample. Thus, six institutions were involved in the study, in the belief that the sample was representative enough. Given the preferred time scope of the study, only tertiary institutions that were five years old by the end of the 2018-2019 academic year were involved in the study. The six tertiary institutions were selected using a systematic sampling technique: the institutions were first sorted alphabetically, and then the interval of four numbers was used to select the ones to be involved in the study.

The sample frame of the study includes undergraduate students, academic registrars and marketing officers from the six selected private universities in Rwanda. Therefore, the target population of this study comprised 13914 subjects (13902 undergraduate students, 6 academic registrars and 6 marketing officers) of which a sample of 382 participants (370 undergraduate students, 6 academic registrars and 6 marketing officers) was drawn. The student sample was

chosen by means of the sampling table by Krejcie and Morgan (1970). The table is based on the following formula.

$s = X^2 NP (1-P) ? d2 (N-1) + X^2 P (1-P).$

s: required sample size

X^2 = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841).

N= the population size

P= the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum sample size)

D=the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05).

In addition, stratified (probability) sampling technique was used in selecting the undergraduate students. By this technique the researcher divides (stratifies) the population into sub-groups (strata) having the same characteristic, and then from each group a particular sample is randomly chosen (Creswell 2012). In fact, the researchers divided the undergraduate students into four strata, according to the years of study (year 1, 2, 3, and 4). These strata were chosen in order to have diversified and reliable data. Within each group, the researcher used a simple random selection of the undergraduate students for inclusion in the sample. For the academic registrars and marketing officers, the researcher used a census technique which consists of taking the whole population as a sample because it is too small (Creswell 2012).

This study used a structured questionnaire to collect data from the six sampled tertiary institutions. The questionnaire contained close-ended questions only in five point Likert scales (*1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral1, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly Agree).* The questionnaire was the same for all the participants (students, academic registrars and marketing officer) and all their responses were analysed together. This was found to be the best approach for this study because its objectives did not entail using different research instruments. Thus the researchers found no reason to utilise a specific instrument per each category of respondents. Before collecting data, the researcher sought authorisation to carry out this activity from the vice-chancellors of the six tertiary institutions. Before data collection, the researchers sought the informed consent from the respondents using an appropriate form. Before collecting the data, the researchers did a pilot study to establish the reliability of the instruments by means of Cronbach alphas analysis. The pilot study was done by having 15 respondents (13 students, 1 academic registrar and 1 marketing officer) fill in the questionnaire and give their feedback on it. This exercise was conducted in one private university that was randomly selected. However, the institution that was selected for the pilot study was not involved again in collecting the main data. The data was taken from the questionnaires and entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20. The following table shows the Cronbach alphas scores obtained.

Table 1: Pilot study results

Variables	Number of items	Cronbach Alpha	Comments
UCF	15	0.903	Accepted
CUS	15	0.957	Accepted
SRSE	15	0.949	Accepted

Note: UCF=University choice factors, CUS= Challenges among university Students, SRSE=Strategies to Revamp Student Enrolments.

The results in Table 1 show that the Cronbach alphas were above 90%. This indicated that most items in this questionnaire had high squared multiple correlations, an indication that the questionnaire passed the reliability test. A Cronbach alpha above 0.7 is considered satisfactory (George & Mallery 2003). This meant that the tool was adequate in establishing the factors

affecting students' choice of university, challenges among private university students and strategies to improve student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda. The results in Table1 helped the researchers ensure that the instrument is reliable. The observations from the pilot study by the participants, helped the researcher eliminate all the errors and make any other necessary adjustments. In data analysis, SPSS was employed to generate all the intended results. In addition, the researcher used descriptive statistics (percentages, frequencies, mean and standard deviation) in data analysis.

Findings

This section comprises the findings as per the objectives of this study. The findings are presented under topics such as:

- Variables influencing students' decision to enrol in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda,
- Students' challenges in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda,
- Institution-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda and
- Government-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda.

All the findings are based on the responses from undergraduate students, academic registrars and marketing officers. All the responses were analysed altogether across each objective. Due to their involvement in student enrolment, the researchers found it appropriate to involve the three categories of respondents in this study.

Demographic characteristics of respondents

This study involved 382 participants (370 undergraduate students, 6 academic registrars and 6 marketing officers). Specifically, the study involved 74 respondents from AUCA, 42 respondents from CHUR, 87 respondents from INES-RUHENGERI, 50 respondents from KIM University, 41 respondents from PIASS and 88 respondents from UTB. In terms of gender, this study involved 204 (53.4%) male and 178 (46.6%) female participants. Concerning the age of respondents, 156 (40.8%) were less than 20 years, 184 (48.2%) were from 20 to 30 years old while 42 (11.0%) were above 30. Concerning education level, 7 (1.8%) held master's degrees, 27 (7.1%) had bachelor's degrees, while 348 (91.1%) were still doing undergraduate study. In Rwanda some people opt to have more than one degree in order to increase their chances of getting jobs. Thus, some of the participants were doing additional bachelors' degrees. With regard to the marital status of the respondents, 354 (92.7%) were single and 28 (7.3%) were married. The married participants were very few compared to the single ones, because the majority of the undergraduate students are generally single and some of them don't even have the legal age for marriage in Rwanda (21 year). In the education system of Rwanda, most undergraduate students start their studies when they are 19 years old.

Response rate

This section presents the response rate with regard to this study. In other words, it shows the extent to which the expected participants turned up. The field study was carried out between November 2019 and March 2020. The study sample was 382 participants and the questionnaires were administered to the 382 respondents (370 undergraduate students, 6 academic registrars and 6 marketing officers). That means the response rate was 100 percent and was appropriate for the study. Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) argue that a response rate of more than 60% is adequate for social sciences.

Table 2: Response rate

S/N	Category of participants	Number of Expected participants	Participated	Percentages
1	Undergraduate students	370	370	100%
2	Academic registrars	6	6	100%
3	Marketing officers	6	6	100%
4	Total	382	382	100%

Source: Research data (2019)

Results in Table 2 show that all the expected participants have turned up for the study. That means the data was collected from the expected number of participants and none missed. Thus the response rate was 100 percent and as per the researchers' plan.

Variables influencing students' decision to enrol in a particular private university in Rwanda

The following table includes all the items that the respondents (students, academic registrars and marketing officers) were asked in order to identify variables influencing students' decision to enrol in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. For each item, the respondents had to choose one alternative among *disagree strongly, disagree, neutral, agree* and *agree strongly*, by ticking the appropriate box.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for variables influencing students' decision to enrol (N=382)

Options	N	Min	Max	Mean	STD
Cheap costs	382	1.00	5.00	4.3037	.90024
Flexibility of payment methods	382	1.00	5.00	2.5340	1.30521
Good service delivery	382	1.00	5.00	2.6675	1.29483
Flexible programs and matching with my secondary school options	382	1.00	5.00	4.1073	1.40733
Marketable programs	382	1.00	5.00	2.8325	1.26250
Flexible admission conditions	382	1.00	5.00	2.5838	1.26410
Flexible academic rules and regulations	382	1.00	5.00	4.0314	1.33362
Adequate instructional facilities	382	1.00	5.00	3.8534	1.18143
Good infrastructure	382	1.00	5.00	2.6911	1.35114
Competent and flexible lecturers	382	1.00	5.00	3.9005	1.20609
Good student/campus life	382	1.00	5.00	2.6702	1.24065
Good location of the university	382	1.00	5.00	3.8429	1.47292
Family pressure or advice	382	1.00	5.00	2.8874	1.33218
Peer pressure or advice	382	1.00	5.00	2.8665	1.22763
Conducive learning environment	382	1.00	5.00	2.9869	1.18934
Valid N	382				

Note: Strongly Disagree=[1-2[=**Very Low Mean;** Disagree= [2-3[**=Low mean;** Neutral= [3-4[=**moderated mean;** Agree= [4-5[**=High mean;** Strongly Agree = [5-[**= Very High mean**
Source: Research data

The results in Table 3 show that the majority of respondent agree that the following variables have influenced students' decision to enrol in their respective private universities. These are namely:

- Cheap costs (μ=4.3037 and STD=0.90024),
- Flexible programs and matching with one's secondary school options (μ=4.1073 and STD=1.40733), and
- Flexible academic rules and regulations (μ=4.0314 and STD=1.33362).

In addition, the results show that the majority of respondents were neutral about the following variables. These are namely:

- Competent and flexible lecturers (μ=3.9005 and STD=1.20609),
- Good location of the university (μ= 3.8429 and STD=1.47292) and
- Adequate instructional facilities (μ=3.8534 and STD=1.18143).

The results also show that the respondents mostly disagreed that the following variables have influenced their decision to enrol in their respective universities. These are namely:

- Flexibility of payment modalities (μ=2.5340 and STD=1.30521),
- Good service delivery (μ=2.6675 and STD=1.29483),
- Marketable programs (μ=2.8325 and STD=1.26250),
- Flexible admission conditions (μ=2.5838 and STD=1.26410),
- Good infrastructure (μ=2.6911and STD=1.35114),
- Good student/campus life (μ=2.6702 and STD=1.24065),
- Family pressure or advice (μ=2.8874 and STD=1.33218),
- Peer pressure or advice (μ=2.8665 and STD=1.22763) and
- Conducive learning environment (μ=2.9869 and STD=1.18934).

Students' challenges in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda

The following table includes all the items that the respondents (students, academic registrars and marketing officers) were asked to identify students' challenges in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. For each item, the respondents had to choose one alternative among *Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neutral, Agree* and *Agree strongly,* by ticking the appropriate box.

Table 4: Descriptive statistics on students' challenges (=382)

Options	N	Min	Max	Mean	STD
Difficulty in obtaining tuition fees	382	1.00	5.00	4.1230	1.03383
Lack of flexibility in fee payment	382	1.00	5.00	4.1021	1.10001
Poor service delivery	382	1.00	5.00	2.6911	1.35114
Incompetent lecturers	382	1.00	5.00	3.9110	1.13519
Poorly developed curricula	382	1.00	5.00	2.8665	1.22763
Inadequate learning facilities	382	1.00	5.00	3.8298	1.28175
Poor infrastructure	382	1.00	5.00	2.4058	1.33802
Bad location of the university	382	1.00	5.00	2.6126	1.30078
Very harsh academic rules and regulations	382	1.00	5.00	2.8325	1.26250
Bad learning environment	382	1.00	5.00	2.5838	1.26410
Lack of/poor accommodations	382	1.00	5.00	3.7644	1.32490
Lack of/poor restaurants	382	1.00	5.00	3.8325	1.20070
Lack of extra-curricular activities	382	1.00	5.00	2.9869	1.18934
Declined motivation to study university	382	1.00	5.00	4.2461	.88568
Shortage of employment opportunities among Rwandan graduates	382	1.00	5.00	4.4476	.91996
Valid N	382				

Note: Strongly Disagree=[1-2[=**Very Low Mean;** Disagree= [2-3[=**Low mean;** Neutral= [3-4[=**moderated mean;** Agree= [4-5[=**High mean** Strongly Agree = [5-[= **Very High mean**
Source: Research data

The results in Table 4 show that the majority of respondentss agree that they are facing the following challenges in their respective universities. These are namely:

- Shortage of employment opportunities among Rwandan graduates (μ=4.4476 and STD=0.91996),
- Declined motivation to study at university (μ=4.2461 and STD= 0.88568),
- Difficulty in getting tuition fees (μ=4.1230 and STD=1.03383) and
- Lack of flexibility in fee payment (μ=4.1021 and STD=1.10001).

In addition, the results show that the majority of respondents were neutral about the following challenges in their respective universities. These are namely:

- Incompetent lecturers (μ=3.9110 and STD=1.13519),
- Inadequate learning facilities (μ=3.8298 and STD=1.28175),
- Lack/poor restaurants (μ=3.8325 and STD=1.20070) and
- Lack/poor accommodations (μ=3.7644 and STD=1.32490).

The results also show that the respondents mostly disagreed with the following challenges:

- Poor service delivery (μ=2.6911and STD=1.35114),
- Poorly developed curricula (μ=2.8665 and STD=1.22763),
- Poor infrastructure (μ=2.4058 and STD=1.33802),
- Bad location of the university (μ=2.6126 and STD=1.30078),
- Very harsh academic rules and regulations (μ=2.8325 and STD=1.26250),
- Bad learning environment (μ=2.5838 and STD=1.26410) and
- Lack of extra-curricular activities (μ=2.9869 and STD=1.18934).

Institution-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda

The following table includes all the items that the respondents (students, academic registrars and marketing officers) were asked in order to identify institution-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda. For each item, the respondents had to choose one alternative among *Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neutral, Agree* and *Agree strongly*, by ticking the appropriate box.

Table 5: Descriptive statistics on institution-based strategies (N=382)

Options	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std.
Reduce the costs and bring flexibility in fee payment	382	1.00	5.00	4.2513	.88717
Use of media/social media in marketing the institution	382	1.00	5.00	2.7117	1.45168
Improve the services to students	382	1.00	5.00	2.8006	1.46974
Make academic rules and regulations more flexible	382	1.00	5.00	2.8988	1.47977
Offer more flexible and marketable programs	382	1.00	5.00	4.2199	.87773
Improve quality in teaching	382	1.00	5.00	4.0995	.95326
Provision of adequate instructional facilities	382	1.00	5.00	3.8796	1.23855
Provision of adequate infrastructure	382	1.00	5.00	2.6166	1.31157
Improve the student/campus life	382	1.00	5.00	2.6227	1.32965
Provision of more extra-curricular activities	382	1.00	5.00	2.6166	1.35994
Optimise the learning environment	382	1.00	5.00	2.5061	1.39834
Motivate new applicants by helping alumni get jobs	382	1.00	5.00	4.4241	.91832
Improve the institutional reputation	382	1.00	5.00	2.7304	1.28511
Sensitise the active students to bring their friends/ peers	382	1.00	5.00	2.6440	1.25447
Make the academic rules and regulation less rigid	382	1.00	5.00	2.6911	1.35114
Valid N	382				

Note: Strongly Disagree=[1-2[=**Very Low Mean;** Disagree= [2-3[=**Low mean;** Neutral= [3-4[=**moderated mean;** Agree= [4-5[=**High mean** Strongly Agree = [5-[= **Very High mean**
Source: Research data

The results in Table 5 show that the majority of respondents have agreed that the following institution-based strategies can increase the student enrolments in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. These are:

- Motivate new applicants by helping the alumni to get jobs (μ=4.4241 and STD=0.91832),
- Reduce the costs and bring flexibility in fee payment methods(μ=4.2513 and STD=0.88717),
- Offer more flexible and marketable programs (μ= 4.2199 and STD=0.87773) and
- Improve quality in teaching (μ=4.0995 and STD=.95326).

Furthermore, the results show that most of the respondents were neutral about the provision of adequate instructional facilities (μ= 3.8796 and STD= 1.23855) as one of institution-based strategies to increase the student enrolments in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda.

The results also show that the respondents mostly disagreed with the following proposed institution-based strategies. These are namely:

- Use of media/ social media in marketing the institution (μ= 2.7117 and STD= 1.45168),
- Improve the services to students (μ= 2.8006 and STD= 1.46974),
- Make the academic rules and regulations more flexible (μ= 2.8988 and STD= 1.47977),
- Provision of adequate infrastructures (μ= 2.6166 and STD= 1.31157), Improve the student/ campus life (μ= 2.6227 and STD= 1.32965),
- Provision of more extra-curricular activities (μ= 2.6166 and STD= 1.35994),
- Optimise the learning environment (μ= 2.5061 and STD= 1.39834),
- Improve the institutional reputation (μ= 2.7304 and STD= 1.28511),
- Sensitise the active students to bring their friends/peers (μ= 2.6440 and STD= 1.25447) and
- Make the academic rules and regulation less rigid (μ= 2.6911and STD= 1.35114).

The following table includes all the items that the respondents (students, academic registrars and marketing officers) were asked in order to identify government-based strategies to increase student enrolments in private tertiary institutions in Rwanda. For each item, the respondents had to choose one alternative among *Disagree strongly, Disagree, Neutral, Agree* or *Agree strongly*, by ticking the appropriate box.

Table 6: Descriptive statistics on Government-based strategies (N=382)

Options	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std.
Make the admission conditions more flexible	382	1.00	5.00	2.6675	1.32092
Admit fewer students into public universities	382	1.00	5.00	2.5995	1.38393
Provide financial support to private universities	382	1.00	5.00	4.2513	.88717
Reduce the control over private universities	382	1.00	5.00	2.8534	1.30393
Promote graduate employability in Rwanda	382	1.00	5.00	4.4293	.91873
Oblige all private universities in Rwanda to offer similar costs	382	1.00	5.00	2.7199	1.31120
Prove study loans to private university students	382	1.00	5.00	4.3691	.91209
Reward the best performing private universities in terms of student enrolments	382	1.00	5.00	2.7382	1.33774
Sensitise parents to take their children to university	382	1.00	5.00	3.0445	1.34987
Give accreditation to private universities proportionally to the available number of students	382	1.00	5.00	4.2513	.88717
Promote more technical programmes than those of general education	382	1.00	5.00	4.3037	.90024
Sensitise the youth about the role of university studies in job creation	382	1.00	5.00	4.1937	.93019
Increase fairness in employee recruitment	382	1.00	5.00	3.9581	1.11695
Encourage the youth to study at university with the aim of job creation not job seeking	382	1.00	5.00	4.0916	1.05217

Set up an organ for speaking for private tertiary institutions	382	1.00	5.00	2.7382	1.33774
Valid N	382				

Note: Strongly Disagree=[1-2[=**Very Low Mean;** Disagree= [2-3[=**Low mean;** Neutral= [3-4[=**moderated mean;** Agree= [4-5[=**High mean** Strongly Agree = [5-[= **Very High mean**
Source: Research data

The results in Table 6 show that the majority of respondents have agreed that the following Government-based strategies can increase the student enrolments in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. These are:

- Promote graduate employability in Rwanda (μ=4.4293 and STD=0.91873),
- Provide study loan to private university students (μ=4.3691 and STD=0.91209),
- Promote more technical programs than those of general education (μ=4.3037 and STD=0.90024),
- Provide financial support to private universities (μ=4.2513 and STD=0.88717),
- Sensitise the youth about the role of university studies in job creation (μ=4.1937 and STD=.93019),
- Encourage the youth to study university with the aim of job creation not job seeking (μ=4.0916 and STD=1.05217).
- Give accreditation to private universities proportionally to the available students in Rwanda (μ=4.2513 and STD=.88717).

Furthermore, the results in Table 5 show that most of the respondents were neutral about the following government-based strategies. These are:

- Increase fairness in employee recruitment (μ=3.9581 and STD=1.11695) and
- Sensitise of parents to take their children to university (μ= 3.0445 and STD=1.34987).

The results also show that the majority of respondent mostly disagreed with other proposed government-based strategies. These are namely:

- Make the admission conditions more flexible (μ= 2.6675 and STD=1.32092),
- Admit fewer students into public universities (μ= 2.5995 and STD=1.38393),
- Reduce the control over private universities (μ= 2.8534 and STD=1.30393),
- Oblige all private universities in Rwanda to offer similar costs (μ= 2.7199 and STD=1.31120),
- Reward the best performing private universities in terms student enrolments (μ= 2.7382 and STD=1.33774) and
- Set up an organ for speaking for private tertiary institutions (μ= 2.7382 and STD=1.33774).

Discussion

As found in the study, there are a variety of factors influencing the students' decision to enrol at a particular private university in Rwanda. These factors include:

- Cheap costs by the universities,
- Flexible programs and matching with one's secondary school option,
- Flexible academic rules and regulations,
- Competent and flexible lecturers,
- Good location of the university and adequate instructional facilities.

These findings are different from other studies to certain extent. First, this study focuses on private universities while other studies examine all kinds of universities in general. Second, this study found more factors influencing students' decision to enrol in a particular private university than other studies. While this study found 6 factors, others found fewer. Some studies found results contradicting with those of this one. The study of Marcotte (2011) was consistent with those of this study to some extent: its findings revealed that cheap costs influence students'

choice of university. However, Kroth (2015) got contradicting results; his study found that costs do not affect university student enrolments. Similar results were also found by Nurudeen (2017), whose study concluded that the range of programmes offered by a university is among the most prominent factors influencing students' choice of university. On the contrary, the study by Weerasinghe and Ferdindo (2018) found that programmes offered by a university do not influence students' choice. Similar results were found by the study of Hoyt and Brown (2003); Kioko (2012); Matsolo, Ningpuanyeh and Susuman (2018) and Alloway and Dalley-Trim (2009), which confirmed that a favourable location of a university influences students' choices. However, Hossler, Bean & Associates (2009) got different findings; their study confirmed that the location of a university does not influence university choice. In fact, students like to study in universities which are close to their homes in order to reduce the cost of transport. They also like to study where instructional facilities are adequate because they facilitate their learning greatly. Similar results to this study were also found by Fosu (2014) whose findings revealed that courses offered, high calibre lecturers, well-stocked library and Internet, flexible lecture timetable and recognition of qualification by employers were the most important factors that influence students' choice of university. All in all, the findings of this study are somewhat different from those resulting from other studies. This study found that flexible rules and regulations influence students' choice of university as well, and this has not been found by any previous study. These findings imply that private universities in Rwanda should be aware of factors influencing students' decision to enrol in a particular private university. After that, they need to strive to conforming with the factors in order to attract more students.

In addition, the study found that students in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda have some challenges which may result in the decline of student enrolments if they are not effectively mitigated. The challenges include:

- Shortage of employment opportunities among Rwandan graduates,
- Declined motivation to study at a university,
- Difficulty in getting tuition fees,
- Lack of flexibility in fee payment,
- Incompetent lecturers,
- Inadequate learning facilities,
- Lack of/poor restaurants, and
- Lack of/poor accommodations.

It was found that very few studies had been conducted on the same topic. The study of Auer (2019) seemed to be the only one that was conducted to identify the challenges of university students. The study reached similar findings, but fewer than those of this study. Auer's study found that one of students' challenges at private universities is the increase in tuition fees and struggle in getting a student loan. On the contrary, this study found eight challenges of students at private universities in Rwanda; seven of them have not been found by any previous study. Eventually, challenges of students in private higher learning institutions might be detrimental to potential enrolments. Thus, these findings imply that there is a need for managers of these institutions to address the challenges in a bid to boost the students' satisfaction, which can improve student enrolments.

Finally, the following institution-based strategies were found to be the most effective to revamp students' enrolments in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. They include:

- Motivate new applicants by helping the alumni to get jobs,
- Reduce the costs and bring more flexibility in fee payment,
- Offer more flexible and marketable programs,
- Improve quality in teaching and

- Provide adequate instructional facilities.

Furthermore, the findings show that the following are the most effective government-based strategies to revamp student enrolments in private universities in Rwanda. They include:

- Promote graduate employability in Rwanda,
- Provide study loans to private university students,
- Promote more technical programmes than general ones,
- Provide financial support to private universities,
- Sensitise parents to take their children to university,
- Sensitise the youth about the role of university studies in job creation,
- Encourage the youth to study at university with the aim of job creation not job seeking,
- Increase fairness in employee recruitment and
- Give accreditation to private universities proportionally to the available number of students in Rwanda.

A number of researchers have found consistent findings on strategies to revamp students' enrolments in private higher learning institutions in Rwanda. However, they did not classify them as institution-based and government-based. Similarly, this study found new strategies which have not been found by any previous studies. They include Corrine (2007) whose study found that the use of strong marketing strategies can boost student enrolments in tertiary institution. Similarly, Talbert (2012) found that the effective strategies to increase enrolment, retention and graduation rates at university are to be expanded namely advertising techniques and increasing teaching effectiveness. Finally, Hayes (2014) found that the effective strategies to boost student enrolments in private universities are: the provision of scholarships and financial aid to students. The study revealed that most of the strategies are financial. This is due to the fact that money is the first condition to fulfil in order to study at university. That means whenever parents are not capable of paying tuition fees for their children, they can't send them to university.

Conclusion and recommendations

From the findings of this study, it can be concluded that there are a variety of important factors which influence students' choice of private universities in Rwanda. It can be concluded that current university students are facing a number of challenges which can affect future student enrolments in private universities in Rwanda. It can also be concluded that there are various effective strategies to revamp student enrolments in private universities in Rwanda. These findings provide a picture of the most important factors influencing students' choice of private universities in Rwanda and the challenges facing the students in these institutions. This implies that the findings can be a good opportunity for the institutions to develop better policies and improve their practices in relation to student recruitments. Furthermore, the study also suggested effective strategies to revamp student enrolments in private universities in Rwanda, based on which student enrolments of the institutions can be improved. On the basis of the findings, it was recommended that the managers of private universities in Rwanda should be aware of the most important variables influencing the students' decision to enrol in a particular private university and attempt to comply with them. This will help them devise the most appropriate strategies to improve their student enrolments. Moreover, the senates of private universities in Rwanda should be aware of the most important challenges among their students and manage to mitigate them. This will serve as one of the best strategies to increase the students' satisfaction, which will help in boosting student enrolments. Finally, this study explored a number of institution-based and government-based strategies to revamp student enrolments. Therefore, managers of private higher learning institutions in Rwanda should manage to apply all the suggested institution-based strategies in order to increase their student enrolments. The Government of Rwanda

should support the private higher learning institutions by addressing all the suggested Government-based strategies to increase student enrolments of these institutions.

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Generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria

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Abstract

Christian street evangelism is one of the Bible-based doctrinal practices found among Nigerian Christians, especially in Southwestern Nigeria. Studies have examined language use in Christian activities, including sermons in church services, at funerals and in marriage ceremonies. However, no scholarly attention has been paid to a linguistic description of language use in Christian street evangelism, which, although sit hares some features with other contexts of Christian activities, manifests some elements that characteristically define it within the series of Christian evangelistic activities. This study, therefore, is a generic structural potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria. Data were gathered using ethnographic techniques. Data comprised fifteen observed street evangelism activities randomly sampled in different cities in Southwestern Nigeria. Data were subjected to discourse analysis within the purview of Halliday and Hassan's (1985) Generic Structure Potential (GSP) theory. Findings reveal Christian street evangelism features five obligatory elements: songs, greetings, sermon, prayer and finis; and three optional elements: declaration of purpose, call for confession, and welcome to the fold. The GSP of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria can be catalogued as .

$$[S]\frown\ ^\wedge\ [G]\ ^\wedge\ (DoP)\ ^\wedge\ \ [Se]\ ^\wedge\ \ \ [P]\frown\ ^\wedge\ \left\{(CfC)\ ^\wedge\ (WtF)\right\}\ ^\wedge\ [F]_{,}$$

Keywords: Christian street evangelism, Southwestern Nigeria, Generic Structure Potential

Introduction

Evangelism is one of the doctrinal practices among Christians all over the world. In the Nigerian context, prominent among the biblical passages often reinforced to emphasise Christian evangelism are Mark 16:15-16 and Acts 1:8. Hence, various Christian groups have devised different means of evangelism, including sharing of tracts, organisation of open-air crusades, preaching in the bus, and early morning street preaching, among others; each with its peculiar structure and form. This study is a generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria. Street evangelism, otherwise referred to in this study as street preaching, is one of the oldest forms of evangelism in the world, whose root can be traced to the Bible as evident in Gen. 3:9 where God 'went out to call on Adam and in the Garden of

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Eden'. According to Miano (n.d), street evangelism or preaching has to do with the proclamation of religious messages publicly. It involves the use of a voice louder than what obtains in a normal conversation (*https://carm.org/what-is-street-preaching*). In his observation, the act of street preaching is not peculiar to Christianity, as Islam also employs the phenomenon. Street preaching is a common practice among Nigerian Christians in Nigeria, particularly in the Southwestern region. In this region, it is very rare to witness a day one would not observe Christian preachers propagating the gospel through street preaching. These preachers are often seen early in the morning, some with bells, the Bible and megaphone (or public address system).

While language use in other contexts of Christian activities, especially in Nigeria, has enjoyed scholarly attention, the peculiar nature of form and function of language use in Christian street evangelism has not been given attention. Perhaps this is due to the wrong impression that language use in this context of Christian activity is not characteristically different from what is observed in other contexts. This study, therefore, is a generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria, with a view to examining the generic linguistic elements that characterise this sub-aspect of Christian activity that relies sufficiently on use of language, and ultimately describing the pragmatic imports of the obligatory and optional elements in this context of language use.

Review of relevant literature

Several works have been carried out on language use in Christian religious activities in general and Christian sermons in particular. These include Akhimien and Farotimi (2018), Ajayi (2017), Anyanwu *et al.* (2016), Ugot and Offiong (2013), Adedun and Mekiluwa (2010a and 2010b), Esimaje (2012), and Awonuga and Chimuanya (2016), among others. Adedun and Mekiluwa (2010a) investigate the operation of cooperative principles in a Nigerian Christian sermon with the aim of establishing how meaning is conveyed and interpreted in sermonic discourse. They note that background assumptions and knowledge shared by participants in sermonic discourse (preachers and congregation) play a vital role in meaning construction and interpretation during sermon delivery. Adedun and Mekiluwa (2010b) examine the discourse features and patterns in a Nigerian Pentecostal Christian sermon. The study concludes that sermonisation in Pentecostal Christian settings is replete with a series of rhetorical and speech acts carefully deployed by preachers in their sermon delivery. Esimaje's (2012: 24) study is a lexico-semantic analysis of Christian sermons delivered in English in Nigeria, particularly in comparison with what obtains in other climes. Esimaje observes that context plays a significant role in the semantic framing and deconstruction of the lexical items deployed in English sermons in Nigeria. Ugot and Offiong (2013) examine language of interaction in a Nigerian Pentecostal setting, with particular reference to the Calabar area of Nigeria. They note that Pentecostal churches in this area employ English language, Nigerian Pidgin and other local languages of the area in their services. Anyanwu *et al*. (2016) is a comparative analysis of the use of English language in Orthodox and Pentecostal Churches, using two Catholic Churches, two Anglican Churches and two Pentecostal Churches within Owerri metropolis as case studies. They observe the use of English to be a powerful tool in the hands of church leaders to manipulate the followers to achieve certain ideological goals. Similarly, Awonuga and Chimuanya (2016) engage the linguistic devices in selected Nigerian Christian preachers' sermons within the purview of systemic functional grammar. They submit that linguistic devices such as repetition, syntactic parallelism, imperative sentences, and rhetorical questions, among others, characterise the sermons of Nigerian Christian preachers.

Ajayi (2017) examines language use in Christian funeral services and sermons, particularly among Christian preachers in Southwestern Nigeria. He identifies discourse features such as 'reference to the deceased as body and not corpse, reference to the good deeds of the

deceased, reference to shared religious (biblical) belief about death and resurrection, deployment of songs of relief, and offering of words of prayers' (Ajayi 2017) as pain-relieving strategies carefully deployed by Christian preachers at funeral services in Southwestern Nigeria. Akhimien and Farotimi (2018:1-8) engage selected sermons of Pastor E.A. Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria and one of the most popular Pentecostal preachers in the country, with a view to identifying and describing the discourse strategies and persuasive elements that characterise his sermons. Employing Schlegloff's model of conversational analysis, they observe that Adeboye's sermons manifest discourse features such as feedback-call-response, adjacency pairs, openings and closings; repair mechanism, and selection of the next speaker, complemented with non-verbal conversational features such as pause, smile, laughter, and raising of the hands and head (Akhimien and Farotimi 2018: 1).

As mentioned earlier, these studies have all examined language use in other contexts of Christian activities, with the exclusion of Christian street evangelism. This study, therefore, attempts a generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria, within the purview of Halliday and Hasan's (1985) Generic Structure Potential theory. In particular, it provides answers to the following questions:

- what are the obligatory and optional linguistic elements in street sermonic discourse?
- what is the generic structure of the street sermonic discourse?
- what are the pragmatic imports of the linguistic elements identified in the street sermonic discourse?

Theoretical orientation

Halliday and Hasan's (1985) Generic Structure Potential (GSP) theory is considered as the theoretical framework for this study. The GSP is a theory of genre analysis which is an integral aspect of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (Sunday and Fagunleka, 2017). Operating within the ambit of systemic functional linguistics, Halliday and Hasan (1985:56) describe genre as 'a meaning which results from language which does a particular job in a particular contextual configuration' (Sunday and Fagunleka, 2017: 112). Thus, the concept of 'generic-specific semantic potential or generic structure potential' is often adopted for the description of a particular text which is structurally different from another. In this study, however, the notion of generic structure potential is considered appropriate, hence its adoption. Following the submission of Halliday and Hasan (1985:56), the GSP is predicated on the notion that contextual configuration (CC), considered to be a specific set of the values that specify the field, tenor and mode of a discourse, 'permits statements about the text structures' to be made. In specific terms, a contextual configuration can predict the following about the structure of a text:

- Obligatory elements - elements that must occur
- Optional elements - elements that may occur
- Sequencing of elements - arrangements of elements can be compulsory and optional
- Recursiveness - frequency of the occurrence of elements

What the above suggests is that it is possible to spell out the totality of the range of obligatory and optional elements, as well as their order, in a manner that the possible structure of a text or genre can be exhaustively captured. This possibility is referred to as generic structure potential. The GSP spells out the possible features of texts belonging to a particular genre. For instance, in the argument of Halliday and Hasan (1989: 64), the following schema represents the obligatory and optional elements of shop interaction or service encounter: [(G). (SI) ^] [(SE.) {SR^SC^} ^S^} P^PC (F)]. This is explained thus: Greeting (G), Sale Initiation (SI), Sale Enquiry (SE), Sale Request (SR), Sale Compliance (SC), Sale (S), Purchase (P), Purchase Closure (PC), and Finis (F). The round brackets ( ) show optionality of the enclosed elements; the dot between elements

indicates “more than one option” in sequence; the square brackets [ ] depict restraint on sequence; the braces with a curved arrow are an indication that the degree of iteration for elements in the square brackets is equal, and the caret sign (^) shows sequence. In their argument, Halliday and Hasan (1989) note that the obligatory elements of any interaction (text) define the genre of the interaction. In other words, without the obligatory elements, the text will not be conceived to belong to a particular genre.

In the study, we have adopted the following notations in our analysis:

[ ] obligatory element
( ) optional elements
^ sequence of elements
recursive elements
the first element in a sequence conditions the presence of the second element

Methodology

This study relied on ethnographic techniques for data gathering: participant and non-participant observation. Data comprised fifteen street evangelistic preachings/sermons, eleven of which were in Yoruba and four in English, of Christian street evangelists/preachers, across different cities of Southwestern Nigeria. The street sermons of the preachers were observed, transcribed and presented as data in this study. Data were subjected to discourse analysis within the purview of Halliday and Hasan’s (1985) generic structure potential theory. My peronal experience as a Christian was also useful in data engagement and discussion.

Data analysis

The following obligatory and optional elements characterise Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria.

Obligatory and optional elements in Christian street evangelism and its structure:

$$[S]^{\curvearrowright} \wedge [G] \wedge (DoP) \wedge [Se] \wedge [P]^{\curvearrowright} \wedge \{(CfC) \wedge (WtF)\}^{\curvearrowright} \wedge [F]$$

Song (S)

Song is one of the integral parts of Christian activities. In fact, one cannot imagine any Christian gathering or group whose activities are without songs. The centrality of songs to Christianity has been established by works such as Ekeke (2012) and Tönsing *et al*. (2015). Following the submissions of these scholars, one appreciates why singing of songs comes as the first ‘ritual’ in Christian street sermons. The songs observed in a Christian street sermon can range from such that call for repentance to those that demonstrate the power of Jesus Christ to save and deliver sinners and people of the world from their challenges. Examples of such songs are presented below:

Excerpt 1

He came from heaven to earth to show the way
from the earth to the cross, my debt you paid, from the cross to the grave,
from the grave to the sky, Lord I lift your name on high...

Excerpt 2

You cannot just hide it from God (2ce)
You cannot just hide it from Him

Why not confess to Him today...

Excerpt 3

m ènìyàn rántí o, gb bo'lùgbàlà tí pee
Ó pè , rántí o, gb b'lùgbàlà tí pee. Wá nísinyìi tì Kristi
pè ,wá ìw l, wá gb ipè...wá nígbà tí Kristi pè ..
Son of man, remember, hearken as the saviour is calling
He is calling you … come right now
Christ is calling you sinner, come heed his voice … come now
that Christ is calling you

Excerpt 4

ni tí ò kú fún mi lrún máà j ó jèrè mi (twice)
Jesu lókú fún ùn mi kì màà èsù
ni tí ò kú fún mi lrún máà j ó jèrè mi...
Don't let who did not die for me to gain my soul (twice)
Jesus was the one that died for me and not the devil
Lord, don't let who did not die for me to gain my soul

In the excerpts above, songs are pragmatically deployed as a 'signature tune' that announces the presence of the preacher, particularly to draw and gain the attention of the target audience. Since the target audience would still be in bed (for those sermons preached in the morning) or be involved in some other activities in which they might be heavily engrossed, street preacher(s) use songs as an 'attention drawer', essentially to gain the attention of the target audience. However, in some other instances, songs are deployed in the middle or at the end of the sermon. When songs come in the middle of the sermon, it is a pragmatic device by street preachers to 'fill the gap' in his/her sermonic activity, reflecting on what to say next. In some other instances, it is used to reinforce the import of the message or sermon being preached. In this instance, the preacher can be said to be preaching in song, as is the case in Excerpt 4. However, singing songs at the end of the sermon is a closing signature tune deployed by street preachers to round off his/her sermon, as he/she prepares to leave, perhaps, for another street for evangelism.

Greeting (G)

Several studies have accentuated the place of greetings in interpersonal interactions in the Nigerian social space, particularly in the Yoruba socio-cultural system (Ajayi 2017: 38). Commenting on the place of greetings in Yoruba culture, Odebunmi (2015) submits that greetings are central to the Yoruba socio-cultural practices. Fafunwa (2008) observes that the Yoruba have appropriate greetings for every situation. In fact, the scholar reports the people have the most elaborate forms of greetings in the world. As noted by Odebunmi (2015), the people have greetings that reflect different times of the day, seasons of the year, occupations, circumstances and situations, including festivities. Hence, there is no aspect of the people's life that does not feature greetings. This concept is one of the obligatory elements of Christian street sermons in the Southwestern part of Nigeria. The excerpts below are instances of greetings in the observed street sermons.

Excerpt 5

Good afternoon, we are from XXX, we come to bring the good news of Jesus
to you …

Excerpt 6

káàr o, ìròyìn Jesu Kristi ni mo mú wá fún un yín...ti m Màríà tí ó kú fún m aráyé ...
Good morning, I bring the good news of Jesus Christ to you … the son of Mary that died for our sin

Excerpt 7

kú ojúm yin èrò agbègbè yìí, ìhìn rere Jesu Kristi ni amú wá fún un yin
Good morning, I bring the good news of Jesus Christ to you

Excerpt 8

Mo kí gbogbo yin tí ó wà ní agbègbè àti àyíká yìí ní orúkò olúwa...
I greet everyone in this neighbourhood in the name of the Lord

In excerpts 5-8, the various preachers orientate towards the Yoruba socio-cultural practice of starting a social interaction with greetings. Even Excerpt 4 that takes place in English is not exempted. In particular, in accordance with the practice of the Yoruba to greet according to the various times of the day and generally, the preachers reflect the actual times of the day in their greetings as they begin their evangelistic work (as evident in **Good morning:** Excerpt 5; . **káàr o:** Excerpt **6; kú** ojúm yin èrò agbègbè y**ìí**: Excerpt 7; and **Mo kí gbogbo …** Excerpt **8).** This practice, even though observed to have been subconsciously practised by the preachers, must have been predicated on their understanding of the role of greetings in social interactions among the people, and that failure to fulfil this 'ritualistic' part of social interactions, even when the audience are not physically present, is like committing an abomination. Doing this pragmatically gives the preacher some sort of 'soft-landing' before the target audience, as an adage in Yoruba says '*ni dami síwájú, á t'l tútù*' one who wets the ground ahead of him/her would definitely walk on a cool ground. Greeting the people, more or less, serves as a precursory ritual required to get to their hearts. Interestingly, this is observed even in instances where the target audience are not physically seen by the preachers; as in their (the preachers) imagination, the target audience are present.

Declaration of Purpose [DoP]

Declaration of Purpose is an optional element of Christian street evangelism. This is very much like what Labov and Waletzky's (1967) refer to as Orientation. Here, the preacher feels indebted to let the people know why he/she is out to engage them. Although, it is not an obligatory element in Christian street sermons, when it features, it makes it easy for the people (the audience) to know their (the preachers') intentions. It prepares the minds of the audience for the mission of the preachers. The excerpts below are examples of declaration of purpose observed in our data.

Excerpt 9

j ará ní orúk olúwa, **ìhìn rere ti Kristì ni mo mú wá ní òwúr yìí**. Ìhìnrere tí a rán mi sí , èyí tí Kristì fi hàn fún wa nínú ìwée mím r, ìwé Isaiah, orí ogójì ...
Brethren in the Lord, I bring the good news of Christ to you this morning. The gospel sent to you through me is as found in the book of Isaiah, chapter 40 …

Excerpt 10

káàr o, **ìròyìn Jesu Kristi ni mo mú wá fún un yín ...**
Good morning, I bring the gospel of Jesus to you …

Excerpt 11

... A mú ìhìn rere Jesu t yín wà lónìí ...

We bring the gospel of Jesus to you today

Excerpt 12

... we come to bring the good news of Jesus to you … the word of Christ. He is coming back again ...

As shown in the excerpts above, the singular purpose of Christian street evangelism is to 'save' souls by preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. This practice, as evident in the language of street evangelists, is commanded in the Bible. Some of the popular passages of the Bible often quoted as justification for this practice are John 3:16, Mark 16:15-16, and Matthew 28: 18-20, among others.

Prayer (P)

Prayer is an obligatory element of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria. Just like song, prayer is the very key to Christian activities, including evangelism. Commenting on prayer and Christianity, Adams (2016: 271) submits that prayer is the Christian way of being in the world with God. In the opinion of Henry (1972:30), the lifeline of theology is prayer, because it paves the way for believers to know God. In the words of Van der Merwe (2018: 8), prayer and the experience of God's involvement in a believer's life constitute human-divine dialogue, and therefore, the experiential knowledge of God in daily life can result in both planned and unplanned prayers. In Christian street evangelism, prayer is a recursive element that features at different times. It can come up before the sermon itself, after the sermon or at the end of the whole preaching exercise. The forms of prayer observed in Christian street sermon include prayer of salvation, particularly for the souls of listening 'sinners'; prayer of breakthrough and others. Examples are presented in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 13

Mó gbàdúrà, bí a e pinu lónìí láti jw wa, Jesu á gbàwá,
A ò ní padà sínú m lórúk Jesu. Ore f t'a ó fi e ìf
Irun, Irun á yànda r sínú ayée wa ní orúk Jesu Kristi
I pray, as we are deciding today to confess our sins, Jesus will deliver us, we will not go back to sin anymore in Jesus' name. The grace to do the will of God, God will give to us in Jesus' name

Excerpt 14

God bless you, it is well with you my brother ... God bless you
my sister …

Excerpt 15

Mó gbàdúrà fún, ní orúk Jésù, a mú ìdíw àti ìdènà kúrò lnà r ... j mo gbàá l'ádúra láàár yìí, ànúú Olúwa kí ó wá rí. Àánú olúwa wá rí... mo gbàá l'ádúra láàár yìí gg bí ik àtí ìríjù Irun, ìtura yóò dé bá lórí i r àti lórí k r. j lórí okòwò r, lórí ohun tí ò dáwlé, mo paá lá lórúk Jesu, ìtura yóò j tì r ...
I pray for you in Jesus' name, hindrances are taken away from
your path … I pray, the favour of God shall locate you … the
favour of God locates you … I pray as God's servant, you shall
experience comfort in your engagements/dealings, business and all that you lay your hands on

Excerpt 16

> ... jé gbogbo yin tí etán láti fi ayé yín fún Jesu, naw yín sókè ... **mo gbàdúrà gbogbo agbàra , Dáfídì ní Olúwa gbà mí lw bi , mo pà, mo gbàdúrà, gbogbo agbára tí e ti , gbogbo èso nínú ayée yín, óyá máa gbiná snù**.. Mo dúp pé Jesu ti gbà yín là. Lórúk Jesu Kristi ní mo gbàdúrà. Aàmín.
>
> *All of you ready to give your life to Jesus, raise your hands … I pray* every power of sin, David declared, Lord, deliver me from sin; every sin in my life, I decree, I pray, all that represent sin in my life, attract fire … I thank God that Jesus has saved you. In Jesus' name I pray. Amen

Sermon (Se)

Sermon is one of the basic principles upon which Christianity and Christendom rest, hence its obligatory status in the list of elements that define street evangelism among Nigerian Christians. In fact, as Acheoah and Hamzah (2015:23) note, Christianity as a religion is a product of the evangelical ministry of Jesus and His disciples, characterised by sermons which challenged the religious authorities of their times. In line with this submission, it suffices to conclude that the whole essence of street evangelism or sermonisation by Christian preachers is to make people (sinners) change their ways and live up to the standard of Jesus Christ and His apostle. As a matter of fact, as we have observed, some street sermon-givers practise this 'for a living', with the claim that God has admonished them not to combine it with any 'worldly' (secular) vocation. Some examples of sermons in our data are presented in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 17

> Jesus is coming soon. Run away from your sinful ways. Give your life to Jesus. Jesus is coming soon. You cannot hide your sin from God, you cannot hide it from Him ... Surrender your life to Jesus today. Give your life to Jesus; let him wash away your sins. Give your life to Jesus, let him come and save you. Call on Jesus,and say Jesus, I am a sinner, have mercy on me ...

Excerpt 18

> What is man that you are mindful of him? What is man, my sister? What is man, my brother? God does not want you to land in hell fire. God does not want you to lament forever. God does not want you to die in sin. God paid you a visit, appreciate that visit. Ask yourself, my sister and brother, who am I? From January to December, you are not better than those who have died ...

Excerpt 19

> lrun retí r, kìíe ewé lásán ni lrun retí, kìíe òdòdó tí a pè ní flower ni lrun retí. Ggbí ìwé Gàlátíà ti s fún wa: Galatians 5:22. O ò ràntí wípe kìràkìtà asán nilé ayé yìí, a ò m'óhun k'óhun wá, a kò ní m'óhun k'óhun l. Ìgbà tí à b wá sínú, ìhòhò la wá sínú ayé arákùnrin, ìhòhò la wá sínú ayé arábìnrin ... è é e tí yóó fi mú ègbé! Kí ló wà nínú ayé yíí ná? …
> God is expecting you, not leaves nor flowers. Just as the book of Galatians 5:22 has told us. You don't remember, upon all our activities in this world, we are taking nothing to heaven, just as we brought nothing. Brothers and sisters, we came to the world naked, why will you perish! What is in this world?...

Excerpt 20

He is coming back again, our Lord Jesus Christ is coming back again. For God so loves the world that He gave His only begotten son to this world that he would heal us, save us. The Bible

makes us understand that when the people were going towards destruction, God sent his word and it healed them from their destruction. You need Jesus; there is no any other way to succeed in life and the afterlife than Jesus. No matter who you think you are, no matter what you are passing through, you need Jesus…no matter whatever you are passing through in life, God will still have mercy on you, God will still deliver you. That is why you have to believe in Him. Some people will pass through some things in life, they begin to move into the world, they begin to enter the world, they begin to do artificial things of this earth...

Excerpt 21

> Ronú pìwàdà lónìí ìw alágbèrè, asklbatènìyànj, paágà,
> Abrìà, mùtí ... Jesu pè lónìí kí o ronú pìwàdà. la lè p
> jù fún ...
>
> *Repent today you fornicators, gossips, adulterers, idolators, the drunk,*
> Jesus is calling you today…

An appraisal of the excerpts presented above reveals that Christian street sermons are persuasive and admonitory in nature. In the sermons, the sermon-givers often paint the target audience as a sinner or sinners whose life/lives is/are precious to God, and hence should not die in their sins. In some instances, the street sermon-givers reiterate the second coming of Christ, believed among Christians to be a soul-harvesting period in the life of humanity. According to this belief, when Jesus comes (the second time), He shall take with Him the righteous to paradise, while those who have refused to 'give their lives to Him' are doomed and 'sentenced to eternal condemnation and damnation' (John 14:1-3, Luke 13:1-28, Matthew 13: 41-43, and Hebrews 9: 28, among others). In some other instances, the preachers could make deliberate reference to some practices that are considered sinful according to Christian biblical belief in order to address specific 'sinners' who are involved in them and ensure they repent accordingly. Such is found in Excerpt (21), for instance, where the preacher calls out to specific 'sinners' practices such as: *alágbèrè* (fornicators), *asklbatènìyànj* (gossips), *paágà* (adulterers), *abrìà* (idolaters), *mùtí* (drunkard).

Call for Confession (CfC)

Call for confession is another optional element of Christian street evangelism. It is a phenomenon that comes up where the street evangelist imagines that a soul has been 'won' for Christ and as such, such a soul or souls, as the case may be, need(s) to formally renounce his/her ways and denounce the devil (in line with Paul's injunction in Romans 10: 9). This practice is very much like the 'altar call' that is often witnessed within the context of the church service, particularly in Pentecostal contexts. Typically, an altar call would require the pastor asking whoever in the congregation wants to give his/her life to Christ after a sermon has been preached to signify by raising their hands. After such individuals must have raised their hands in response to this call, they would be asked to come to the front (though not in all situations) and asked to recite certain prayers of confession and renounce their sins. The end result of this process is that such individuals are declared 'born again'. A typical example of such is captured in Bryan (2016: 49) as follows:

> Dear God, I thank you for loving me. Thank you for sending Jesus into the world. I believe you died on the cross for my sins. I believe you rose again. Forgive me for all my sins. Give me the gift of eternal life. And help me face the challenges that I'm up against. God, I surrender my life to you. In Jesus' name

Call for confession in Christian street evangelism follows this same procedure, except for the aspect of asking 'the newly won souls' to come forward for prayers. In the call for confession segment of Christian street evangelism, the sermon-giver can ask the 'new souls' to place their hands on their chests and repeat a prayer of confession after him or her. Some examples in our data are presented in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 22

> Ìw tóo etán láti fi ayé r fún Jésù lónìí tàbí padà sí d r, l lórí ekún r, kí o sì kígbe sí lrun pé, Olúwa, gbogbo nà mi tí mo ti rìn, gba kàn mi, má j n ègbé srun àpáàdì, má j kí run àpáàdì ó jèrè lórí mi…Máà j kí pàdánù ilé ológo
>
> You that are ready to give your life to Christ today or go back to him, go on your knee and cry to God that, Lord, all my sinful ways, save my soul, don't let me perish in hell. Don't let me be a candidate of hell. Don't let me miss the glorious home …

Excerpt 23

> j ní wákàtí yìí, tí a bá rí ni tí ó ti etán láti fi ayé r fún Jésù, o ò e wí nínú àdúrà wípé lrun aláàánú, mo dúp lw r ní òwúr yìí fún àfàní, èmi l, dáríjì mí, fún mi ní ìyè r, fún mi ní àlááfíà r, mo gba Jésù gb ggbí lrun àti olùgbàlà mi...mo fi síwájú kí n lè rí ìyè gbà níjba lrun ní j ìkyìn.
>
> If there is anyone that is ready to give his/her life to Jesus, why not say this prayer: the merciful God, I thank you this morning for the opportunity, I, a sinner, forgive me, give me life, I accept Jesus as my Lord and Saviour. I put you ahead of me so as to receive life in your kingdom in the end

Excerpt 24

> Receive Him this morning by saying after me Lord Jesus, I acknowledge myself as a sinner, I know I cannot do without you I know I am nothing without you, I know I am a sinner. But father, I believe that you died on the cross of Calvary for my sins. I believe that you rose up on the third day for my justification. Please take away my guilt of sin; take away my iniquity by your precious blood this morning in the name of Jesus. Father, come into my heart, be my Lord and write my name in your holy book of righteousness and keep me till the very end …

'Welcome to the fold' (WtF)

The 'welcome to the fold' (WtF) session of Christian street evangelism is an optional element that features immediately after the call for confession. At this point, the street evangelist 'officially' welcomes the new 'soul' in to the fold of Christ. It is like welcoming or ushering the soul into a new life devoid of his/her old way of life characterised by sins and 'the works of the flesh'. It is a move that signals a new beginning for the newly-saved soul. Some of the examples captured in our data are presented below:

Excerpt 25

> j ní wákàtí yìí, mo kí kú oríire ìw tí o ti gba àdúrà yìí, ore f lrun yóò máa bá gbé. Ní orúk Jésù o ò ní ks; ní rúk Jésù o ò ní ubú dà á nù. Mo tún gbàdúrà fún ún lówùr yìí, bí a ti jáde l, tí a bá rí ìdánwò kí ìdánwò ní inú ìrìn àjò wa lónìí, mo gbàdúrà, gg bí ìríjú lrun, a mú ìdánwò náà kúro ...
>
> At this moment, I greet you, congratulations if you have participated in this prayer (of confession). The grace of God shall abide with you. In Jesus' name you will not 'fall'. I

also pray for you this morning, as we are going out, if there is any temptation on our way, as a servant of God, I decree such is taken away ...

Excerpt 26

j mo kí kú oríire fún ìpinu r yìí. A ti k orúk r sínú ìwé ìyé. Àwn aglì sí y lórí ayéè r. Olúwa yóò mú délé lórúk Jesu.
I greet you congratulations for your decision. Your name has been written in the book of life. Angels are rejoicing over your life. God will take you home in Jesus' name.

Excerpt 27

If you said this prayer this morning, I say congratulations to you. There is joy in heaven over your soul. Look for a Bible-believing church around you where the word of God is preached. May the Lord bless you.

Finis (F)

Finis is the last part of Christian street evangelism. It is a compulsory phenomenon in the activity and it points to the fact that the street evangelist is rounding off his/her sermon. This sometimes comes in the form of prayer (wishing the new convert well in his/her new found faith); it can also come in form of song whereby the preacher summarises the thematic content of his/her sermon in songs.

Excerpt 28

My brothers and sisters, as you decide to give your life to Jesus this morning, I pray God will see you through, God will see you through.

Excerpt 29

This morning, He is calling us. Harden not your heart my brothers … As you have hearkened unto him this morning, God bless you. It shall be well with you.

Excerpt 30 (a song)

…Halleluyah látrun wa plú orin ay, Òlugbala yóó pada wà, láì kò níretì
Halleluyah from heaven with songs of joy. The Saviour is coming back, when we least expect.

Excerpt 31 (a song)

Eternal, eternal life, eternal, eternal life. I want to reach eternal life.
God save my soul, I want to reach eternal life, God save my soul.

Excerpt 32

...Mo gbàdúrà, àlááfìà ni fún un yin (sings as he leaves)
I pray, it is well with you.

Conclusions

This study has attempted a generic structure potential analysis of street sermons in Southwestern Nigeria, particularly within the purview of Halliday and Hasan's (1985) GSP. It has identified the obligatory and optional linguistic elements in street sermonic discourse in the region. Similarly, the study has attempted as descriptive analysis of the pragmatic import of the use of the linguistic elements identified in the discourse. The generic structure potential of Christian street evangelism has been catalogued in this study as follows **[S] ^ [G] ^ (DoP) ^ [Se] ^ [P] ^ (CfC) ^ (**WtF**) ^ [F],** where S stands for sermon, G for greeting, DoP for declaration

of purpose, Se for sermon, P for prayer, CfC for call for confession, WtF for welcome to the fold, and F for finis.

As indicated in the structure, Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria begins with songs and the element is recursive, that is, it can occur many times in the sermonic activity. This is followed by greetings, declaration of purpose, sermon, prayer (another recursive element), call for confession, welcome to the fold, and finis, which signals the end of the activity. Similarly, as shown in the structure, call for confession is a pre-condition for the featuring of welcome to the fold. In other words, the manifestation or presence (or absence) of 'welcome to the fold' in Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria is determined by the presence or absence of call for confession. Following from the elements that have been identified as defining Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria, it suffices to submit that this aspect of Christian activity, although it shares certain linguistic patterns with other Christian activities, demonstrates a peculiar language use that depicts it as a unique part of Christian evangelistic activity. This finding is a major contribution to studies in sermonic discourse, especially within the Nigerian context. It will therefore be interesting to see how future studies examine the phenomenon in other regions of the country, particularly with the aim of comparing and contrasting what obtains in the GSP of sermonic discourse in Southwestern Nigeria and other regions.

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The influence of ancestral spirits on sexual identity amongst Traditional Healers (*iZangoma*) in South Africa: A discourse analysis

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Abstract

Over the years South African Traditional Healers have been discriminated against, with claims that they are 'witch-doctors'. Non-heterosexual Africans[2] are also often faced with the horror of violent attacks stemming from the belief that homosexuality is 'un-African'. The harsh experiences of homosexual, bisexual and transgender traditional healers are, therefore, unimaginable. This study explored the spiritual (ancestral) influence on the sexual identity of African Traditional Healers, particularly iZangoma. The study revealed that for some iZangoma engaging in same-sex relationships is never a choice but 'imposed' or forced by the dominant ancestral guide, depending on which sex the ancestor was attracted to when they were still alive. This paper challenges the idea that homosexuality has never existed in Africa, and is therefore an import from the West. Intradisciplinary and/or interdisciplinary implications: this study may potentially inform contemporary African debates around homosexuality and challenge how it is perceived amongst groups that are regarded as playing significant roles of healing and leadership in African communities. Since homosexuality amongst izangoma *is not a chosen identity but forced by ancestral guides, this calls for an end to discrimination against ancestral possession, homosexuality in Africa, and the double stigmatisation against izangoma who are attracted to the same sex.*

Keywords: sexual identity, homosexual, bisexual, transgender, LGBTQI+, African Traditional Healer, *iZangoma*, ancestors, ancestral guide

Introduction

Jordaan (2011) postulated that there is an increasing avoidance to conduct research on homosexuality in African studies which is caused by heterosexual panic concerning the issue of homosexuality in Africa. According to Jordaan (2011), the insistence and recurring refrain that there is no homosexuality in Africa best captures this tendency. This refrain is often accompanied by assumptions and accusations that African populations adopt homosexuality from Western perversion (Jordaan 2011). Given these kinds of positions spelt out by the likes of Jordaan (2011) this article explores sexuality and sexual identity in contemporary Africa. In particular, it explores the influence of ancestral guides on the sexual identity of Traditional Healers (*iZangoma*) in South Africa, an area that has received even less attention in Africa.

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2. The use of the term(s) 'Africans', 'African people' and 'African culture' are not intended to suggest a completely homogenous group/culture.

Stobie (2011), who examined the autobiography *Black Bull, Ancestors and Me: My life as a lesbian Sangoma* by Nkunzi Zandile Nkabinde, stated that possession by her late male ancestor named *Nkunzi* (meaning Black Bull), her dominant possessing spirit in her healing work, serves a validating transgender function in the case of this Traditional Healer who identifies as a lesbian. However, Stobie (2011) argued that this is problematic as it creates conflict between Nkabinde's modernist, feminist beliefs and her reverence for tradition. As a result, Nkabinde's composite identity is believed to highlight problematic aspects on how gender, spirituality and sexuality are represented (Stobie 2011). This article further problematises homosexuality by groups that are regarded as playing significant roles of healing and leadership in African communities. Similarly, it may potentially inform contemporary African debates around homosexuality, in the light of recent legislation in 34 out of 55 African countries which criminalise homosexuality (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association 2016).

Research problem and purpose of the study

The main aim of this study was to explore whether sexual identity is influenced by ancestral guides among Traditional Healers (*iZangoma*) in South Africa. The focus of this study was on *iZangoma*; diviners who are possessed by *idlozi* (spirit of the departed who had the gift of healing spiritually) and reach trance states through *ingoma* (drumming).

The objectives of the study were:

1. To explore how a select group of homosexual and bisexual Traditional Healers define their sexual identity.
2. To investigate whether Traditional Healers' sexual identity can be influenced by their ancestral guides.
3. To explore whether sexual identity is actually a choice, or whether it is imposed on a select group of Traditional Healers.

Review of literature

Brief background into Traditional Healing and homosexuality in South Africa

Consulting a Traditional Healer or being one is something that is frowned upon and not respected by Western culture and some Christians (White 2015). In the African culture, however, this is normal and a part of life. According to Zuma *et al*. (2016), a Traditional Healer is respected and is positioned as unique and important. He or she can journey into other realms, look into the lives of others, and provide healing and guidance (Kgope, 2012). As a result, Traditional Healers are trusted in African culture because of the crucial role they play in their communities (Chung and Bemak 2012). However, this phenomenon is thought to be unreal, evil and bizarre by other cultures and religions. Individuals who are gifted with the ability to communicate with ancestors (their own and those of others) are believed to be insane or crazy by other cultures, postulated Jacob (2008) and Cromby, Harper and Reavey (2013).

However, Jacob (2008) refuted the stigma associated with Traditional Healing, emphasising that when the medical profession or society says a Traditional Healer is mad or crazy, all they really mean is that they do not understand what is happening to the individual. African culture views hearing voices and having visions as normal, although this is usually constructed as abnormal by other cultures. In South Africa, there have been many hate crimes against homosexual, bisexual and transgender people. However, it was found that Traditional Healers have also been mistreated (Farham 2011), and discriminated against in the past (Turner and Schlee 2017). This informs us that LGBTIQ+ Traditional Healers experience double-stigmatisation as a result of their calling as well as their sexual identity, over which they do not have a choice and which they cannot change. Homosexual relations, in some instances, carry some spiritual or religious significance, as with *iziNyanga* (herbalists), *iZangoma* (diviners who

are trained and possessed through dancing and music-drumming) and other Traditional Healers, asserted Tamale (2014).

A South African study done by Morgan and Reid, on ancestors, sexuality and identity among same-sex identified female Traditional Healers, found that the way *iZangoma* construct their identity and desire, shifted between that of a dominant male ancestor and that of personal agency (cited in Banks 2013). Morgan and Reid (cited in Phiri 2016) revealed that these Traditional Healers have a different belief system – with regard to their sexual identity as African women – that revolves around gender, kinship, power, community and agency, which provides a window through which the interaction as well as intersection of their personal same-sex desire, and that of their male ancestors, can be viewed. With reference to these Traditional Healers, a same-sex relationship assumes a social status and, as a result, becomes a source of power (Phiri 2016). By considering the narratives of homosexual, bisexual and transgender *iZangoma*, this article will bring about understanding with regard to the influence of ancestral spirits on sexual identity, potentially reducing any stigma associated with LGBTIQ+ *iZangoma*.

Afrocentric worldview: hierarchy of being, structure and characteristics of African Traditional religions

It is impossible to study African people as a whole, and most importantly homosexuality and bisexuality amongst African Traditional Healers (*iZangoma*), without a proper understanding of how Africans perceive or experience the world. African Traditional religion refers to 'the indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the people of Africa that include worship, consultation of priests, rituals, symbols, cosmology, arts, practices and society' (Olupona, cited in Ndemanu 2018:72). African people recognise the existence of God or a Supreme Being. They also strongly believe in ancestral spirits (*abaphansi*; *abant'abadala*; or *amathongo*). In African culture, ancestors are believed to be mediators between the people on earth and the Supreme Being (Ndemanu 2018). In other words, the belief is that spirits of the departed are messengers that deliver or send to God the requests of man and in turn relay to man the responses and messages received from God. Therefore, Traditional African people believe that ancestral spirits are their intercessors, although they pray to, and worship, the Supreme Being (Masaka and Makahamadze 2013; Ndemanu 2018). Ukwamedua and Edogiaweri (2017) contend that the line of religious evolution comprises monotheism (One Supreme God), polytheism (major spirits, gods) and animism (countless spirits). Marumo (2016) and Ukwamedua and Edogiaweri (2017) had an opinion similar to Kanu's (2013) that there are five categories in the hierarchy of beings in African religions. These begin with *God* as the ultimate explanation of the genesis and sustenance of both man and all things; *Spirits,* being superhuman beings and the spirits of men who died a long time ago; *Man* including human beings who are alive and those about to be born; *Animals and plants*, or the remainder of biological life; and *Phenomena and objects without biological life* (Marumo 2016; Ukwamedua and Edogiaweri 2017). Basically, this hierarchy expresses that the originator and sustainer of man is God. The destiny of man is explained by spirits and man is the centre of this ontology. The environment in which man lives is constituted by animals, plants and natural phenomena, and objects, which provide a means of existence and a mystical relationship with them is established by man, if need be (Marumo 2016). To remove or destroy one of these categories would be the destruction of the whole existence, and of the Creator, which is impossible.

The universe consists of two spheres: the visible and the invisible (Beyers 2010). According to Reyes (2012), creation, which we perceive around us, including human beings, is the visible world, with the invisible world being the place where God, spirits – including ancestors – and all powers reside. Iroegbu (2010) postulates that the invisible world determines each individual's destiny in the visible world. The invisible world influences mundane happenings such as life,

birth, love, luck, health, success, quarrels, accidents, illness, achievements and misfortunes (Iroegbu 2010). As a result, the invisible world prevails over the visible world, claims Reyes (2012). The invisible world's inhabitants are called the vital forces or forces of life (Tempels, cited in Beyers 2010). God, the Creator, the Prime Energy is responsible for all things that exist in the universe (Thomas 2015). This Prime Energy or Vital Force provides every living thing with its own force of life as well as its own power to sustain it. As a result, because all living things receive the energy for life from the same Source, all living beings are interconnected through this life force. Beyers (2010) asserted that African religions display similarities although they are varied in outward appearance. The main characteristics of African Traditional religions include belief in a Supreme Being, belief in spirits and divinities, the cult of ancestors, as well as the use of spiritual forces, magic and charms. Kruger, Lubbe and Steyn (2009) state that African religions have three common traits, which include belief in a Supreme Being, the realm of spirits, and a unified community.

Ancestral guides and their roles in the lives of African people

Iteyo (2009:155) defined ancestors as 'spirits of former living members of a community – both former members of various cults, as well as individual families'. Mabvurira (2016) added that ancestors are spirits of deceased relatives who are believed to relay people's petitions to God. An ancestral guide is an ancestor that is assigned to a human being before birth whether or not the individual is destined to be a Traditional Healer. Ancestral guides are intimately involved in the lives of their descendants as they help guide and protect these individuals on their life's journey, to the extent of influencing their behaviour (Gibson 2013). Crystal (2012) postulated that an ancestor or spirit guide teaches, helps, watches and heals an individual on his or her physical journey into spiritual awareness. The closest guides give the individual warnings which include a desire for particular foods, resisting certain invitations, bodily sensations and intuition. These, according to Mc Kay (2012), are some of the many ways in which guides communicate with an individual. Ancestral or spirit guides are believed to communicate by sending messages through sounds, visual images, archetypes or intuition during meditation or in a dream. However, *channeling*, which is looking at, listening to, as well as focusing on the messages that are received, is something that can be taught (Crystal 2012).

Mc Kay (2012) argued that in African culture there are two main reasons why ancestral spirits gift an individual with the ability to heal. Firstly, if a dominant ancestral guide before passing on was a Traditional Healer, he or she can pass this gift on to an individual so as to continue the healing work on earth. Therefore, Traditional Healing is seen as a gift that is passed down from generation to generation (Mc Kay 2012). Secondly, in African culture, it is believed that an individual's spirit or soul will remain in darkness and be punished by God if, whilst still in the physical world, the individual engaged in witchcraft and other unkind acts with the intention of harming others. As a result, Mc Kay (2012) postulates that to compensate on their behalf for these unkind acts, these spirits return to their descendants granting them gifts of healing to help people who are in need on earth, thereby freeing themselves from any bondage experienced in the spirit world. In the Other world, the purpose of the life of ancestors is believed to be the completion of tasks or responsibilities that were not fulfilled whilst still living in the physical world, as well as making amends for any bad deeds that they may have been involved in. According to Mc Kay (2012), these ancestral spirits may include grandparents, ancient ancestors or other deceased relatives.

Ancestors, insisted Mokgobi (2014), play an indispensable role in the ontology and phenomenology of African Traditional religion, especially those who remain in the conscious memory of their survivors, such as the living-dead or recently departed. The argument is that a personal ancestral spirit serves to preserve one's life. In return for periodic rites of sacred remembrance in the form of offerings, appellation (giving its name to a child or initiate), and

prayers, the ancestral spirit protects its ward from the attacks of sorcerers and witches (Pew Research Center 2010; Ukwemedua and Edogiaweri 2017). This also occurs on a communal level with regard to clan, prominent family and tribal spirits. The belief is that negligent persons may be chastised by the offended ancestor, allowing an accident or some sickness to befall them. If one violates traditional customs, especially the important taboos which govern interpersonal relations such as incest, similar punitive measures will also be effected. Matolino (2011) postulated that ancestors are believed to continue to exert their conservative influence as personal spirits on the present generation in various ways, such as inflicting fitting punishments on those who violate the established values, norms, mores and customs of society. According to Nurnberger (2016), by punishing transgressors, African ancestors who punish their negligent descendants have actions similar to those of Christ. Ancestors punish people by blocking life chances, bringing ill health, bad luck (Matolino 2011), as well as sterility, drought and other mishaps (Nurnberger 2016). However, the Saviour (Christ) rewards His faithful members plentifully. Again, His attitude here corresponds to that of African ancestors who are supposed to reward their faithful descendants. Marumo (2016) postulates that good or bad is brought by ancestors as a result of their favour or displeasure. Being in the spiritual world gives ancestors supernatural powers over those living in the physical world, such as the ability to give or take life and to bless or curse (Adamo 2011; Ekore and Lanre-Abass 2016; Okeke, Ibenwa and Okeke 2017). Therefore, O'Brien and Palmer (2009) and Essien (2013) argue that when calamity strikes, people will seek to make amends through expiation and sacrifices of appeasement which are stipulated by a diviner or an obvious act of revelation from the spirits, for example through omens, dreams or possession. Similarly, appropriate offerings of thanksgiving have to be made when one receives earthly blessings, such as a good harvest or a new child, assert Ukwamedua and Edogiaweri (2017). The capacity for life force is also threatened through the evil working of spirits, and not only by an immoral life (Nyabwari and Kagema 2014; Ndemanu 2018). Spirits can be employed both to tap the life force of some and to bring harm to others. The same spirits can also be implored to protect one from others' evil intentions.

Understanding homosexuality: an African perspective

While there is a clear understanding of what homosexuality and bisexuality are, there is still a negative outlook on homosexual relationships in African societies as they hold strong beliefs that same-sex relationships have never existed in the past, are an import from the West, and are a disgrace to the African culture (Zabus 2009; Rudwick 2011). As a result, digging deeper into African history with regard to homosexual behaviour may help to either confirm or reject the now popular '*homosexuality is unAfrican*' belief. Contrary to the common belief that homosexuality is an import from the West, Ilesanmi (2013) states that since Africa is said to be the cradle of the human race, it can, therefore, be logically inferred that homosexuality started in Africa prior to the human race migrating to other places to spread its branches in different colours, shapes and sizes. Ilesanmi's (2013) views were later shared by Zabus (2014), who asserted that the African continent has always been more queer than is generally acknowledged. Ilesanmi (2013) substantiates these claims by stating that homosexuals and transsexuals in many African cultures were revered and worshipped as spirits of the gods, drawing attention to the Yoruba god of thunder, *Sango*, who was described as a beautiful man who had his hair braided and accessorised like a woman, and also dressed like a woman. According to Ilesanmi (2013), in northern Congo it was also routine for male Azande warriors to marry male youths who functioned as temporary wives. In Nigeria, it is culturally allowed for the eldest daughter in the family to marry another woman in the absence of a male child in the family. The eldest daughter is considered the husband and gets to choose a man to impregnate her wife in order for the child to bear the family name. Ilesanmi (2013) further claims that the various historical paintings on ancient African walls are proof that our ancestors enjoyed homo-affection, love and sex.

Epprecht (2010), Mabvurira *et al*. (2012) and Ward (2013) argue that homosexuality has always been present in Black society and asserts that homosexuality also occurred in traditional Africa. According to Jaji (2017), concurring with Epprecht (2010), Mabvurira *et al*. (2012) and Ward (2013), what's actually *unAfrican* is the condemnation of homosexuality. Epprecht (2010), Mabvurira *et al*. (2012), Ward (2013) as well as Bertolt (2018) maintain that homosexuality has always existed in Africa, in one form or another, with South Africa being no exception despite the difficulty in finding accurate data among Blacks about homosexuality.

Van Klinken and Chitando (2016) argue that there now exists a belief amongst Africans that homosexuality is caused by evil forces and witchcraft, all because Black societies refuse to accept homosexuality as normal. Sigamoney and Epprecht (2013) assert that the belief that homosexuality is *unAfrican* is widely viewed as an expression of homophobia. They further argue that people's understanding remains limited with regard to ways of shifting the prejudices associated with this belief because they do not have the knowledge of what homosexuality and Africanness mean in a given context (Sigamoney and Epprecht 2013). Mthembu (2014) and de Vos (2015) argue that homophobia is the result of people's fear of homosexuality brought about by a lack of understanding.

African theories on homosexuality and bisexuality amongst Traditional Healers

This section begins firstly by discussing the different theories or explanations for homosexual tendencies that exist amongst Traditional Healers before discussing the constructed influence of ancestral guides on the sexual identity of Traditional Healers.

The androgynous energy of Traditional Healers

Conner and Sparks (2014) argue that in African cultures such as the Dagara spiritual tradition androgynous initiates (females who can vibrate male energy and males who can vibrate female energy) are known as *Gatekeepers*, believed to be individuals who live life between the physical and spiritual worlds, and are also mediators who bring balance between the two genders (Conner and Sparks 2014). As a result, a male Traditional Healer would have his gender assignment accompanied by all the mental or physical faculties and predispositions usual to that gender, but is also able to access all the female thought patterns, emotions and subconscious imagery. This, according to Hsu and Harris (2010), is assumed to apply to female healers as well (in reverse). According to Phiri (2016), Traditional Healers are individuals who have the power to enter the Other World mainly because of the belief that they have an essential androgynous energy. Even though some healers are gay and lesbian, same-sex attraction is not believed to be a mandate for the use of healing powers. The African culture positions healers as special as they are assumed to carry this androgynous energy, which is the energy of the spirits (Phiri, 2016). It is believed that this androgynous energy gives Traditional Healers the ability to exist in the physical form as well as journey into other realms (Hsu and Harris 2010).

Lambrecht (2017) concurs with Hsu and Harris (2010), Conner and Sparks (2014), and Phiri (2016), arguing that central to being an African Traditional Healer or *iSangoma* is the androgyny of behaviour and colourful dress code. This androgyny expresses an *iSangoma*'*s* position between the material and spiritual world where he or she becomes a wanderer of boundaries (Lambrecht 2017). The cross-gender identification expressed by the dress code of an *iSangoma* suggests an overcoming of sexual differences and simultaneously highlights his or her androgynous state (Lambrecht 2017). During a trance-state, *iSangoma* resonates and expresses the aesthetics or beauty of the ancestors that he or she embodies. The souls that possess this androgynous energy are seen as blessed in the African culture and are positioned in the community as the holy ones (Conner and Sparks 2014). Hsu and Harris (2010) postulate that the balance of male and female energy (androgyny) in a Traditional Healer is significant as it

facilitates the connection between the patient and the ancestors, both male and female, to encourage healing.

The African Traditional Healing practice as female-centered, leading to gay male iZangoma

According to Ogana and Ojong (2015), the sexual orientation of *iZangoma*, as controversial as it may be, cannot be overlooked. Zulu anthropologist Harriet Ngubane states that the capacity to bear children, or the matrilineal lineage, is the basis of an *iSangoma*'*s* calling, arguing that a bridging role is played by wives or mothers as channels through which children enter the world of the living through their reproductive biological roles, with female diviners benefiting as a result through lineage (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015). Also, *iZangoma* are often females, due to women's greater tendency to be intuitive, child bearers, creators and carers, as well as possessing endurance, tenacity and compassion, which are important roles and characteristics in any healing profession (Ogana and Ojong 2015). Ngubane clarified that 'it is through a woman that the transition of spiritual beings is made', highlighting women's gender supremacy in their role as mediators between ancestors and the living (Lombo 2017:36). This, according to Phiri (2016) and Lombo (2017), is crucial in explaining why it is mainly women who are diviners and in turn why male diviners must become transvestite since a transvestite is an individual who dresses and acts in a manner that is traditionally associated with the opposite sex. Ngubane (cited in Conner and Sparks 2014:36), in an attempt to further amplify this concept, asserts, 'divination is a woman's thing and if a man gets possessed, he becomes a transvestite as he is playing the role of a daughter rather than that of a son; for the special and very close contact with the spirits is reserved for women, only who can form a bridge between the two worlds'.

Lee (cited in Conner and Sparks 2014) observe that male *amaThwasa* tend to veer to homosexuality when they are called to initiation and are usually young and unmarried. 'While the whole profession is female-centered, the minority of male neophytes are transvestite and tend to copy the way of women' (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015:73). Derwent (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015) concurs with this statement and asserts that male *iZangoma*, in the context of ancestral possession, have acted in ways that are typically associated with the female sex. Normally, it is women who train these males who undergo *ukuthwasa* and these apprentices take on female identities by donning female dress during the process. Placing emphasis on the extent to which these male *amaThwasa* adopt roles of the opposite sex, it has also been observed that in a traditional Zulu compound, they sit on the left hand side of the house, which is specifically reserved for women and even learn the female craft of beadwork. Further emphasising this form of emasculation, Derwent (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015) argues that these males mimic women in many ways because they are trained by female practitioners. They occupy the same space in domestic settings that females normally occupy, speak in high-pitched tones, and use female attire such as *imiyeko* (wigs imitating long hair, believed to hold spiritual power) and *izidwaba* (skirts). On the other hand, lesbian and transgender male (female-to-male) *iZangoma* are allowed to do things only done by traditional Zulu men, such as carrying a shield and spear, as well as enjoying beer and meat (Conner and Sparks 2014). Lambrecht (2017) argue that the cross-gender identification of *iZangoma* is symbolic of overcoming sexual differences and in addition it highlights *iSangoma*'*s* marginality as well as the liminality of his or her androgynous state. It is no wonder, then, that male initiates are referred to as homosexual. Lindsay and Miescher (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015) remark that from a value-neutral identity, the transvestite male *iSangoma* experiences a gender transformation shift to a disparaging label for men of lower masculinity, as they are called derogatory terms like *isitabane* or *ungqingili* (men who have sex with men). As a result of homophobic information among male *iZangoma*, further research is needed from both a historical and socio-cultural perspective in order to derive a clearer understanding of the situation.

The constructed influence of ancestral guides on homosexuality amongst Traditional Healers (iZangoma)

Buijs (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015) refutes Ngubane's argument and states that the gender identity of an *iSangoma* depends on the ancestor who inhabits the body of the diviner. A male *iSangoma* will take on female characteristics of walk, dress and voice, if he is possessed by a female ancestor and vice versa for a female *iSangoma*. According to Zabus (2014), an ancestor spirit-possessed man in Senegal, the *gor-djigeen* ('male-female' in the Wolof language) is said to be haunted by the primordial severance between male and female in the creation of the universe, whereas claims of being inhabited by a female spirit might be made by a gay Shona man in Zimbabwe (Zabus 2014). Such men in *ubungoma* are not hard to identify. Mkasi (2016) concurs with statements regarding the feminine traits that male *iZangoma* possess and declares that the few Zulu male *iZangoma* that exist tend to adopt a female persona. These males are often homosexual, Ogana and Ojong (2015) affirm, a gender orientation that is viewed as *unAfrican*, and the masculine roles of husband and father are not expected from these male *iZangoma* by their communities. These male *iZangoma* also cross-dress, speak in a high-pitched female voice and tend to walk with a female gait.

According to Morgan and Weiringa (cited in Mkasi 2016), female *iZangoma* are not excluded from this matter, as some older female *iZangoma*, despite gayness being taboo, are assisted by their ancestors to select a partner, a female ancestral wife or female *iThwasa*, with whom she will have sexual relations. Reiterating the gay tendencies observed amongst female *iZangoma*, Morgan and Weiringa (cited in Ogana and Ojong 2015) state that ancestral wives serve their female husbands and undertake chores to facilitate their healing work. The healers use these liaisons to have sex even though it is prohibited for female *iZangoma* to have sexual relations with their ancestral wives and/or *amaThwasa* in the African culture. Mkasi (2016) echoes these statements by enunciating that in Traditional Healing there is an understanding that one's behaviour can be influenced or changed by his or her ancestral spirits. The author proceeds to point out that witnessing a female *iSangoma* behaving like a male or a male *iSangoma* behaving like a female is not something strange, because at times, depending on the ancestral spirit that possesses an individual, the spirit can take complete control of one's body. Furthermore, as postulated by Mkasi (2016), it is expected that ancestral spirits cross gender boundaries. In an attempt to substantiate these claims, the author gave a background of how the Traditional Healing context interprets spirit possession:

'A female spirit in a female *iSangoma*
A male spirit and a female spirit in a female *iSangoma*
A male spirit in a female *iSangoma*
An authoritative male spirit in a female *iSangoma*
A female spirit in a male *iSangoma*' (Mkasi 2013:44).

When analysing these categories using Western concepts of homosexuality, they mean the following:

'Lesbian – A female *iSangoma* who is possessed by a male spirit
Bisexual – A female *iSangoma* who is possessed by a female spirit and a male spirit
Transgender – A female *iSangoma* who is possessed by a male (authoritative) spirit
Gay – A male *iSangoma* who is possessed by a female spirit' (Mkasi 2013:44).

Nkabinde (2008) claims that when a female *iSangoma* assumes a male position as a result of being possessed by an authoritative male ancestral spirit, she is called *Baba* (father) by other *iZangoma* and members of the community. *iSangoma* in this position impersonates a male figure to an extent that the ancestor possessing her is easily identified by members of the family. According to Morgan and Reid (cited in Mkasi 2016), this type of *iSangoma* may prefer to live a celibate life, choose not to marry, choose same-sex partners, or choose an ancestral wife.

According to Nkabinde and Morgan (2011), in another South African study of lesbian *iZangoma*, it appears that these *iZangoma* seem to have dominant male ancestors whom they believe command them to take wives. As a result, it is believed that these women use the institution of ancestral wives as a safe space in which they can have loving, intimate and sexual same-sex relationships with the assumed consent of their dominant male ancestors. Nkabinde and Morgan (2011) argue that they give credence to their same-sex relationships in the indigenous African framework by using the voices of their ancestors. This is also believed to be true of some male *iZangoma* and their dominant female ancestors who are assumed to command them to have husbands.

The obvious question, then, which this study aims to answer, is: can ancestral guides influence an individual's sexual identity? According to Mkasi (2016), this is not an easy question to answer, mainly because being possessed by ancestral spirits of the opposite sex does not necessarily mean that one will be in same-sex relationships. Also, to successfully answer this question, one needs to listen to individuals who are in same-sex relationships and who are open about their sexuality (Mkasi 2016), which is another important aspect of this study. It all comes down to agency and how *iZangoma* position themselves in their narratives. If they position themselves without any agency, then they cannot be blamed or ostracised for engaging in same-sex relationships. The question is whether their homosexuality and bisexuality is influenced by their ancestral guides or if it is their own choice to be in same-sex relationships.

Theoretical framework: communitarianism and choice

In order to understand who (self or others) has a greater influence in the sexual identity of African Traditional Healers, it is important to study their culture and context (characteristics of the African culture) to gain insight on how African people as a whole are expected to make decisions about their lives (independently or collectively with the help of ancestors, family and community members). Africans, unlike Westerners, have a synthesising mind-set as opposed to the accidental analytic one, contended Desmond Tutu (cited in Kaye 2011; Llewellyn and Philpott 2014). According to Tutu, Westerners have a strong sense of individualism while Africans have a strong sense of community. Westerners are able to take personal initiatives because they have a strong sense of the value of the individual. However, when one is a community-minded person, it is not easy to go against accepted communal mores (cited in Kaye 2011; Llewellyn and Philpott 2014).

According to Greenfield (cited in Chirkov 2015), there are sharp distinctions between the knowing subject and the object of his or her knowledge in traditional Western ways of knowing. The knower is stripped of all particularities, such as his or her existence in space and time, culture, gender, position and the like (Rawls, cited in Majola 2009; Lesolang 2010). In traditional psychology, the self is seen as an autonomous, bounded entity that is not influenced by contextual and social factors but is defined by its internal attributes, such as emotions and thoughts (Mackintosh and Long, 2017). Discretionary choice establishes this entity where the social order and relationships with others exist. Mkhize (cited in Rogers 2011) argues that this view of selfhood is also known as the *independent view of self* or *self-contained individualism*. This view of the self is very different compared to non-Western cultures' and indigenous societies' conceptions of the self. In these societies, affirm Dzherelievskaya and Vizgina (2017), the self tends to be context-based in that one's relationships with others such as family, community and status within the group are what define the self. Harmonising one's interests with those of the collective, rather than being autonomous, is the goal of socialisation (Dzherelievskaya and Vizgina 2017). This view of selfhood is known as the *collectivist self* or *interdependent self-construal* (Kitayama *et al*. 2017).

According to Taylor-Smith (2009), in Africa, communitarianism can also be translated as belongingness. These are ties with, or a strong sense of belonging to, the family, community,

ethnic group or tribe, a clan, and a state or nation in the modern sense of the word. Taylor-Smith (2009) asserts that the African society is organised around the family, community, clan and tribal ties. As a result, in Africa, human community is vital for the acquisition of an individual's identity, personhood and sustenance of their existence (Kuye and Tshiyoyo 2015; Watadza 2016). John Mbiti (cited in Watadza 2016:5) captures this philosophy very well when he states, 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am'. As a result, Mabvurira (2016:35) states that an African individual's identity 'is hinged on a collective identity'. According to Sanni (2016), rejecting one's traditional family religious practices can only lead to an identity crisis, a weak identity, or a complete loss of identity, mainly because an integral part of the African culture is religion. The reason for this is that it is only through relationships in the community of the living and the living-dead, and through a relationship with the Supreme Being or God, that one's identity can be expressed, claims Watadza (2016). Therefore, an African community is actually deprived of life in the present and the future, and of a life with God, if it is without the living-dead and ancestor shades.

Nkabahona (cited in Taylor-Smith 2009) maintains that the harmonious co-existence between the physical and spiritual, which in essence is a harmonious co-existence between man and spiritual beings, man and neighbour, man and nature or the environment, was an overarching and guiding principle for the traditional African. This guiding principle was so strong that the entire community would be negatively affected if there was interference in the harmonious co-existence (Udokang 2014). In general, chaos, suffering and disharmony in the community would be brought about by the bad deeds of an individual or group of people (Deezia 2018). According to Mkenda (2010), good acts by members of the community also brought about peace, harmony and livestock. The African philosophy of communitarianism has, to a large extent, a lot in common with Christianity and other world religions. In accordance with their perception of the universe as one, undivided, hierarchy of beings, physical and spiritual, Africans had a sense of sin, although this differs radically from the traditional Christian religion. While both attribute human suffering to the sins of man, resulting in some form of punishment from God, to a great extent African spirituality, according to Latif (2010) and Landman (2018), exonerates God from being responsible for human suffering. Instead, angry ancestors or individuals within the community are blamed for misfortunes and acts contrary to the sustenance and promotion of harmonious co-existence, peace and social order (Latif 2010; Deezia 2018). According to Manstead (2018), an individual's identity is shaped by pre-existing social structure and conditions. Identity is both individual and collective, being continually formed and reformed, created and shaped by the discourse of the individual and society or community (Persson 2010). From the above, one learns that the choices an African individual makes are not entirely influenced by the self but by the family community (relatives, both living and deceased) and general community. The implication of this understanding on sexual identity, it would seem, for an African and an African Traditional Healer and their sexual identity, is a complex and very nuanced one. However, Rudwick (2011) emphasises that South Africans' anti-gay sentiments result from the reasoning that homosexuality is against their culture, implying that gay-ness is simply a behavioural codex which one could choose to adhere to or not. What many South Africans do not acknowledge, claimed Rudwick (2011), is that homosexuality is not a matter of choice for most Black gay people, but a matter of identity. The above theoretical framework will assist in understanding how the select group of Traditional Healers define their own sexual identity, that being, if they view their sexual identity as shaped by the traditional African community (which includes ancestors), or if they believe it is influenced by the self.

Methodology

This was a qualitative research study as it allowed the researcher to identify and understand the information categories emerging from the data (Anderson 2010), so as to explore phenomena

and understand social situations (Jamieson 2016). It used an exploratory approach in that it investigated a relatively unknown area of research and looked for new insights into phenomena (Davidsson 2016).

The study population was South African *iZangoma*, African Traditional Healers who are possessed by *idlozi* (spirit of the departed who had the gift of healing spiritually), and reach trance states through *ingoma* (drumming); who engage in same-sex relationships and are over the age of 18. *Sangoma* initiates (*amaThwasa*) and gay male *iZangoma* were not excluded. In total, five participants were recruited through the use of the snowball sampling (chain referral) technique.

Snowball sampling involves identifying and selecting participants that are proficient and well-informed about the phenomenon of interest (Etikan, Musa and Alkassim 2015). Interpersonal relations and connections between individuals are used in snowball sampling to access specific populations (Etikan, Alkassim and Abubakar 2016). This sampling technique was appropriate as it enabled the researcher to reach hidden and socially stigmatised populations so as to study problems existing among these populations (Kirchherr and Charles 2018). The researcher began by selecting initial subjects non-randomly; it is these subjects that determined how the ultimate sample is composed (Kirchherr and Charles 2018). Therefore, one lesbian *iSangoma* and one bisexual *iThwasa* (initiate) known by the researcher personally were selected initially and in turn they were asked to recruit other suitable candidates (homosexual or bisexual *iZangoma*). Each of these selected participants recruited one lesbian *iSangoma* that they knew, one of which recruited a transgender male *iSangoma*. Participants were from the KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Eastern Cape regions of South Africa.

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. These are loosely structured interviews that consist of open-ended questions which allow viewpoints to emerge freely (DeJonckheere and Vaughn 2019). Semi-structured interviews allowed for in-depth questioning of participants' thought processes and motivations, and also allowed the researcher to follow up on particularly interesting issues that were brought up during the interview process (Silverman 2013). The researcher compiled two interview schedules, one in English and one in isiZulu. The interview schedule comprised 11 open-ended questions which covered the three study objectives. One face-to-face interview and four telephonic interviews (for participants who were not residing in KwaZulu-Natal) were conducted. All five interviews were audio recorded.

The results of this study were analysed using the social constructionist approach (discourse analysis). The focus of discourse analysis is language-in-use, which is language in either written or spoken form (Alsaawi 2016). Through persuasion, discourses, also known as rhetorical strategies, were applied in a strategic or unique way by narrators in order for the interviewer to embrace a particular belief (Xu 2014). Therefore, discourse is known as 'verbal art' in which meaning is shared (Johnstone 2018). Constructionist analysis was suited for this study as it focused on '*what do texts do*?' rather than '*what do texts say*?' because the analyst had to examine discourses for their effects not veracity (Testa and Armstrong 2012).

Findings

Q1: How do homosexual, bisexual and transgender Traditional Healers (iZangoma) define their sexual identity?

From the results of the study, it was noted that participants used various strategic discourses to define their homosexual, bisexual and transgender identities. All participants constructed their sexual identities as something that was due to biology or genetics. Other participants, in an attempt to shift the blame from themselves, drew on a collectivist view of their sexual identity by adding that the environment they grew up in, their ancestors, and witchcraft or poisoning may also be responsible for their attraction to the same sex, presenting sexual identity as something

that can be influenced by the family, ancestors and the community. Another way in which participants defined their sexual identity was by constructing it as a culture rather than a lifestyle, and as their pride, positioning it as something that is not just a façade or disguise but part of their being. This was done to encourage other *iZangoma* to not live in secrecy about their sexual identity, which is often discouraged and misunderstood in many African cultures. Defining their sexual identity as the result of biology and genetics informs the researcher that they believe that their sexual identity is something they are born with. It is in their blood; part of their being. This also informs the researcher that the idea of having a sexual partner of the opposite sex would seem a little far-fetched for homosexual Traditional Healers because attraction to the same sex is all that they know. It is who they are. The environmental and cultural factors indicate that their sexual identity is something they cannot move away from or neglect as it is who they are. The concept of ancestors as well as witchcraft having an impact on the sexual identity of Traditional Healers suggests that they have no control over it; instead, it is the ancestors or the ones who practise witchcraft who are in control of the sex they become attracted to, whether the Traditional Healer is aware of this control or not. Defining their sexual identity as their pride gives the impression that it is something that they are proud of. Normally, when one takes pride in something they do, it means they also treasure it and would not cease doing it. This indicates to the researcher that the participants would not be willing to change their sexual identities even if they had the opportunity to. This is mainly because being in a heterosexual relationship would not give them the kind of pleasure that they get in same-sex relationships.

Q2: Do ancestral guides have an impact on a Traditional Healer's (iSangoma's) sexual identity?

Most participants were of the view that dominant ancestral guides do have an impact on the sexual identity of Traditional Healers, but not in all cases. Discourse analysis, which was used in this study, revealed that participants applied language in unique ways to persuade the interviewer to embrace the belief that ancestors can have an influence on sexual identity. Participants positioned ancestors as having valid reasons for causing a Traditional Healer to be attracted to the same sex, and also used various personal life experiences to convince the interviewer of this belief. This means that homosexual, bisexual and transgender identities can be influenced by ancestors. However, it is dependent on the ancestors' sexual identities as well as how strong their possession of the individual is. It is believed ancestors continue to live their past lives through the individuals they possess. Binary oppositions were also noted. One participant portrayed African people as being at fault for neglecting traditional and cultural practices, resulting in them being unaware of the role played by ancestors on their sexual identity because they have no close relationship with their ancestors. This participant presented herself as someone who has always been aware of her ancestors' influence on her sexual identity. From the study results, it seemed that the impact was forceful in most cases as it could lead or shape one to becoming homosexual, bisexual or transgender. This impact was also found to cause one to behave in a manner that is believed to be associated with the other sex (e.g. a female who behaves like a male with regards to the way they talk, walk, dress and the activities that they engage in). On the other hand, the study results revealed an intentional or deliberate impact by ancestral guides on the sexual identity of *iZangoma*, as some participants were of the opinion that the sexual needs or interests that they possess as individuals were possibly identified by their ancestral guides as similar to their own, which may have been a factor that resulted in them being 'chosen' by their ancestors. These participants created a discursive distance and set themselves apart from Traditional Healers whose ancestors have 'made' them homosexual, bisexual or transgender, with the aim of positioning their ancestors as blameless with regards to their sexual identity, claiming that their ancestors only 'add to' who they already are. The view

here is that a male ancestor who was sexually attracted to other males whilst still alive will possess a descendant who is a gay male or heterosexual female. Likewise, a male ancestor who was heterosexual will possess a descendant who is a lesbian female or a heterosexual male. They also emphasised that just because a healer is male and has female ancestors, that does not automatically make him gay; it depends on the ancestors' preferences and the way in which they lived their lives. Another important view expressed by some participants concerning this debate is that if the healer's sexual identity is the result of their ancestors' influence, then this will only be seen after initiation (*ukuthwasa*) as that is when the ancestors make themselves known, positioning ancestors as not being responsible if one is attracted to the same-sex before initiation. In contrast to the above, one *iSangoma* argued differently by insisting that this phenomenon has nothing to do with ancestors but God, because only God has ultimate power and control over all things, including one's sexual identity. This participant further maintained that ancestral guides can only obey or follow the individual that God has created one to be, and that ancestors cannot make you something that you are not, portraying homosexual, bisexual and transgender Traditional Healers, and their ancestors as blameless, with God having ultimate control.

Q3: Is homosexuality, bisexuality and transgender identity amongst Traditional Healers (iZangoma) a chosen identity or is it 'imposed' by ancestral guides?

The discursive approach used in this study showed a common theme amongst most participants, which was that of an external locus of control, as these participants argued that being homosexual, bisexual or transgender is not a choice they made of their own volition, but is beyond their control. This indicates that attraction to the same sex is real, genuine and not something that can be denied or rejected. It seemed that sexual identity was generally imposed, although there were strong voices suggesting that choice still exists. Where it was imposed, participants communicated this by constructing an inflexible reality where the power and influence of dominant ancestral guides is unrelenting and incontestable, positioning themselves as having no agency; presenting themselves as individuals who are in a dilemma between being with the person they love and pleasing their ancestors; and portraying themselves as mere vessels that ancestors use to live their own lives. Where there was choice, participants communicated this by positioning their ancestors as spirits who can be understanding and accepting at times, constructing a reality where negotiation was a precondition. Some participants believe that the sexual preferences of their ancestral guides are imposed on them and that they have to live the same way that their deceased ancestral guides lived as ancestors bring harsh consequences to bear on their descendants if things are not done their way. Lastly, binary oppositions were noted when participants indicated that some Traditional Healers use their ancestral guides as an excuse for being gay or lesbian in order to gain acceptance in society. This was an attempt by participants to set themselves apart from dishonest healers, presenting themselves as honest healers who would never use their ancestors as an excuse if they knew that their ancestors have nothing to do with their same-sex attraction. Participants also drew on 'victim' discourses by mentioning the criticism and judgement that they experience because of their sexual identity, as well as the fear of 'corrective' rape and possible murder, to convince the interviewer that no sane person would choose to live such a life, positioning themselves as having no control and positioning their sexual identity as something that they cannot change.

Conclusions

The main findings of the study were that participants defined their sexual identity as a biological or genetic construct, as their culture, their pride, a result of witchcraft or poisoning, as influenced by their environment and ancestors, and also as a misunderstood concept. This study also

revealed that dominant ancestral guides can have an impact on the sexual identity of Traditional Healers depending on whether the ancestral guide was sexually attracted to males or females when they were still alive. Lastly, for Traditional Healers, engaging in same-sex relationships seemed more forced or 'imposed' by ancestral guides rather than it being a choice.

No previous study has been conducted that interviews homosexual, bisexual and transgender Traditional Healers on how they define their own sexuality. This research study advances past research about Traditional Healers, sexual identity and ancestral guides. It addresses a gap in the literature and provides new insights; therefore, a unique contribution to overall research about the topic. This study was significant in that it elicited personal views about what Traditional Healers believe to have impacted on their sexual identities.

Studies that investigate the possibility of witchcraft or black-magic as a cause for homosexuality in Africa are recommended. Future studies on this topic should prioritise obtaining data from gay male African Traditional Healers, as failure to secure gay male participants limited the study in that the results and conclusions made represent one demographic (female) sector of the interest population for this study.

This study suggests a different approach to African sexuality using existing knowledge of ancestral spirits in Africa and the discourses and experiences of LGBTQI+ *iZangoma*. It encourages homosexual, bisexual and transgender individuals to dig deeper and find answers for themselves in order to understand the influence on their own sexual identity. It is significant as it encourages not only Traditional Healers but African people as a whole to have a closer relationship with their ancestors to better understand their sexuality, as well as the challenges they face in other aspects of their lives. It challenges the African Traditional Religion, Psychology/ Social Sciences and their views, approaches and assumptions on African sexuality that hinder the development of society, resulting in double stigmatisation against LGBTQI+ Traditional Healers. This may help individuals gain deeper knowledge and understanding and also reduce the double-stigma experienced by LGBTIQ+ Traditional Healers in South Africa, thereby ensuring communities of trust and unity.

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Developing football language in Yorùbá

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Abstract

Football is a global sport; almost all cultures have catalogues of terms devised to designate its concepts. This study, which is a part of an on-going project by this researcher to develop "A metalanguage for football terms in Yorùbá" (one of the three major languages in Nigeria), seeks to describe strategies for designating football concepts in Yorùbá. Source language data were generated mainly from Dictionary – Inside UEFA – UEFA.com and translated using Newmark (1981) semantic and communicative translation strategies. The essence of the translation is to enable cognition of the terms in the target language. Existing Yorùbá terms for football concepts were generated from audio recordings of radio sports news presentations and dicourses and from football fans at football viewing centres with the aid of questionnaires. The researcher also relied on informants who are competent speakers of Yorùbá and are experts in football matters. These experts were helpful in making choices from the existing designations, and in offering alternative designations where existing terms are deemed inappropriate. The strategies employed for labeling football terms in Yorùbá include composition, idiomatisation, explication, loan translation, borrowing, use of existing equivalents, coinage, derivation, semantic extension, modulation, decentialisation and interlinguistic or hybrid formation. For the purpose of clinical cognition, these terms were categorised into native language creation, borrowing and interlinguistic based on linguistic sources of term creation. It is hoped that the study will significantly improve effective and efficient use of a football vocabulary in the study of the language.

Keywords: Football, strategies for designating football concepts, source language, target language, Yorùbá, metalanguage, strategies.

1. Introduction

Football, in some countries called "soccer", is the most popular sport globally. It is an outdoor sport characterised by incredible stamina and absolute athleticism as players have to hustle and run across the field with the ball throughout the game. The origin of the sport has been contested (Dzahene-Quarshie 2012; Schultz 2013: 1; Shiner 2018). While some schools of thought believe that the sport originated in Britain, others hold that it originated in China. Shiner (2018) interrogating the origin of football writes, "The common view is that football was invented in England, coming to the fore in the 19th Century. However, there are claims that the Scottish invented football as we know it, as well as the Chinese, who also believe they played an integral role in the birth of the game."

Dzahene-Quarshie (2012) states that the idea that football was invented in England could have begun because Britain is prominent in contemporary football; also, English is a global lan-

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guage which has influenced many languages in the areas of their socio-cultural and economic lives. This controversy has been put to rest by FIFA (*FIFA.com History of Football – The Origins*). FIFA has revealed that the earliest form of football for which there is scientific evidence is a Chinese competitive game called *cuju* that appeared in the military manual dated back to the second and third century. FIFA, however, credits the origin of contemporary football to England, which according to her began in 1863.

Football started in Nigeria in the early 1900s, and was introduced by Baron Mulford, who organised weekly matches between European and Nigerian youths in Lagos (Ani *et al.* 2015). The sport has since become the most popular in the country. Pharook (2014) finds that football enjoys more coverage on Nigerian media than any other sport. The country has hundreds of players both at home and abroad, millions of supporters and hundreds of clubs, with very many competitions and tournaments at national, state and local levels. Gianni Infantino, FIFA President, describing football in Nigeria, was reported by Hyde (2018) to have said, "I was told that in Nigeria, football is passion, but it is a lie, because it is more than that. In Nigeria, I was told that football is love, but it is a lie. It is more than that. In Nigeria. I was told that football is a religion, but it is a lie. It is more than that. In Nigeria, football is life." To say this description is apt is an understatement. Football is more or less the spine of Nigeria's national life. It has become a stabilising force and instrument of national cohesion as all manners of hostilities, inter-ethnic, inter-religion, political and internal terrorism are suspended any time the national teams are playing internationals.

Onyebueke (2018) and Adetunji (2010) note the obsession of Nigerian youths with European football. Adetunji (2010), describing the attachment of Nigerian youths to the Premier Leagues says, "… on days when games are to be played (usually weekends and sometimes Wednesdays) fans make their way to viewing centres (halls, mostly make-shift, where matches from foreign football leagues are shown live at affordable rates) in their neighbourhoods to support their favourite teams or watch the games of rival teams". Onyebueke (2018) is of the view that "Obsession of football lovers with 'overseas sweethearts' … is an outcome of transnational broadcast of European league/championship matches and the widespread habit of watching such events via television and other electronic means."

As a reflection of this passion, football reporting and discourses on electronic and digital platforms in national languages have become very popular. In most cases the football terms generated by these sportscasters in indigenous languages fall short of a concept-term connection. This observation is supported by Yusuf (2008) cited by Akanbi and Aladesanmi (2014): "the level of appropriateness and effectiveness of the terms generated cannot be guaranteed and therefore deserves some attention". From the study data, for instance, *Penalty kick* is variously referred to as *golí wò mí n gba sí o* (lit. keeper look at me as I play it to you), *àgbéélé gbá sí golí* (lit. putting it on ground and playing it to keeper), *pená(íti)* (borrowing from English). Based on the encyclopaedic knowledge of the term *penalty kick,* the appropriateness of *golí wò mí n gba sí o* and *àgbéélè gbá sí golí* is called to question. Penalty takers do it to beat the opponents' goalkeepers and it is to their advantage if the keepers look elsewhere when *penalty kicks* are taken. It would be more appropriate therefore to label *penalty kick* as *àgbéélè-gbásójúlé* (putting on ground and shoot into goal) because penalty kickers aim at the goal. In addition, some designations do not mark the difference between penalties that are awarded as an advantage i.e *"penalty kick"* and those that are used to break ties i.e "*penalty shootouts".* Again, it is very common among football fans and broadcasters to use English terms wholesale when appropriate indigenous terms can be motivated. For example, from data collected from some football fans, *quarter-finals, semi-finals*, *final* are designated *ipele kótá final, ipele sèmí final,* and *final* respectively. From cognitive and patriotic points of view, these terms are best designated as *ipele keta sásèkágbá, ipele ìkángun sásèkágbá,* and *ipele àsèkágbá* respectively.

The sources of these challenges could be traced to the non-availability of standardised reference materials on football terms in Yorùbá. Writing on the paucity or lack of terminology in African languages, Van Huyssteen cited by Ndhlovu (2014) identifies nine characteristics related to term creation in Africa, namely the time factor, Eurocentrism, standardisation, foreign sounds, multilingualism, trendy words, purity, the abundance of synonyms, and the lack of coordination of efforts. In addition to these factors there is the issue of exposure that applies to term creation in specialised fields. The last factor is particularly true of the Yorùbá language as the bulk of existing football terms in Yorùbá are devised by football fans and sportscasters who lack exposure to term creation and the grammatical rules of Yorùbá, but have to create them on the spur of the moment in a frantic bid to report football news. In addition to this problem, there is is the nature of football language, which according to linguistic scholars is replete with conceptual metaphors from different semantic fields. The striking one among them is military (see Lakoff 1991, Chapanga 2004; and Vierkant 2008). Vierkant (2008), for instance, remarks that metaphor seems to be an unavoidable issue when talking about football. The language of football is full of images like “attack”, “shot”, “defence”, “midfield”, “enemy” or “battle”. Chapanga (2004) notes that there is an undeniable theme of war in soccer. "The sport is a physical contest making it almost inevitable that allusions to war, metaphors of battle and strategy will be employed by professional commentators”. Other conceptual domains identified by Hussein (2019) apart from war include journey or travel (airborne, float), food (feed, sandwich), race (role, host), theatre performance (scene, host), special events (celebrate, cheers), animal (foxy, sting), story (epic) and machine (plug on). The implication of the varied domains of conceptual metaphors is that effective designations of football terms in a target language is not a straightforward enterprise as it would require the knowledge of these metaphors in their primary fields as well as reconciling the cultural embeddedness of these metaphorical expressions in the source language with the target language. This enterprise therefore requires intervention by trained linguists. The focus of this paper, which is part of an ongoing project by this researcher to develop “A metalanguage for football terms in Yorùbá”, is to describe strategies that are or can be used as football terms in Yorùbá to fill the gap. It is hoped the overall study can improve communication in the domain of football in Yorùbá and expand her technical vocabularies.

2. A brief review of terminology works in Yorùbá

Existing literature has underlined the importance of terminology to the development of indigenous languages. According to UNESCO (2005: vi),

> People whose mother-tongue is not (or not sufficiently) developed from the point of view of terminology and special purpose languages (SPL) or who are denied the use of their mother-tongue in education and training, for accessing information, or interacting in their workplaces, tend to be disadvantaged ... In most cases limitation in the use of a language to folklore or to the family sphere means that such a language will be inadequate to support professional communication. Similarly, a language that lags behind in its terminology for a given domain risks losing the ability to communicate in that subject in its language over time.

UNESCO’s view corroborates that of Cabré (1998: 18), who points out that “… a language that cannot be used in all types of communication is doomed to disappear, and a language cannot be used in all situations unless it has the necessary terminology.”

Terminological work in Yorùbá began in 1953 with the setting up of two technical committees to evolve grammatical and scientific terms for the language by the Ministry of Education for the defunct Western Region (Awoniyi 1978: 135; Awobuluyi 1994). According to Olubode-Sawe (2010: 6), the preliminary report of the committees was published in 1956 as "Notes on Grammatical and Scientific Terminology". Awobuluyi (1994) notes that the constitution of the committees was a direct consequence of ‘nationalist sentiments and aspirations’ for inter-

nal self government, leading ultimately to total independence. Since then, there have been copious terminological works spanning several domains. Among such works are Awoniyi (1974), a handbook containing terms for broadcasts in Yorùbá; Federal Ministry of Education (1980), a glossary of technical terminologies for primary schools in Nigeria; Nigeria Educational Research and Development Council (1991), a quadrilingual glossary of legislative terms**;** Bamgbose (1984), a Yorùbá metalanguage Volume 1, dealing with linguistics, literary and methodology terms; Awobuluyi (1990), a Yorùbá metalanguage Volume 2, dealing with linguistics, literary and methodology terms; Odetayo (1993), an English-Yorùbá bilingual dictionary of Engineering Physics terms; Fakinlede (2003), a specialised dictionary dealing with expanding frontiers of knowledge, particularly in science and mathematics; Olubode-Sawe (2010), a Yorùbá vocabulary for building construction, and Yusuf, Adetunji, and Odoje (2017), an English-Yorùbá glossary of HIV, AIDS and ebola-related terms.

Awobuluyi (1994) identifies the adaptation of foreign terms and expressions, and exploiting and employing the linguistic resources of a language, as the two approaches people engaged in enriching the lexicon of a language use. According to him, the "latter approach has been the clear favourite among all the groups and individuals who have so far had a hand in enlarging the Yorùbá lexicon."

Owolabi (2006: 26) comments on the existing works: "more Yorùbá metalinguistic terms are still needed ..." One such area of multiple activities is football, the focus of this study.

3. Methodology

Football terms and their definitions relating to football governing bodies; competitions and trophies; awards and recipients; stadiums and playing fields; players and playing positions; team, football management; rules, misconduct and advantage; officials; time; ball control and play; some general concepts; transfer and money; supporters and fans, and clothes and football equipment were collected mainly from *Dictionary – Inside UEFA – UEFA.com* and translated into Yorùbá. Other Internet materials used included the *Glossary of Football Vocabulary*, *A-Z Glossary of Football and Soccer Terms,* and *Euro 2016: the football snob's dictionary*. The translation provided means of discovering and understanding the meaning of source terms for the purpose of designating the terms in the target language. A blend of Newmark (1981) semantic and communicative translation strategies was used for the translation. According to Newmark (1981: 39), semantic translation "attempts to render, as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original'. In other words, it is a source language bias, literal, and the loyalty is to the ST. Communicative translation on the other hand "attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that of the readers of the original' (Newmark 1981: 39). The translation method is a target language bias; free and idiomatic. The necessity for blending the two strategies results from the need to secure equivalent effects of source terms with accuracy of meaning, emotive and/or pragmatic impacts while at the same time maintaining naturalness in the target language.

Existing Yorùbá terms for football concepts were derived from 170 audio recordings of daily radio sports presentations and discourses in Yorùbá by three FM radio stations: Lagelu (97.7 MHZ), Amuludun (99.1 MHZ), and Splash (105.5 MHZ). These stations were purposively selected as they dedicate quality airtime to sports reporting in Yorùbá and their transmissions are well received across the Yorùbá speaking states of Nigeria. The researcher also collected Yorùbá terms for football from fans at football viewing centres with the aid of a questionnaire. The data were collected over a period of six months, specifically between December 2018 and May 2019. This period was chosen because the period is when national league competitions mostly take place in Nigeria and Europe. The researcher also relied on informants who are competent Yorùbá speakers and experts in football matters. These informants helped in:

1. providing much information to do with conceptual knowledge in the field of soccer,

2. making choices from existing Yorùbá designations isolated from the audio recordings and from data collected from soccer fans,
3. modifying and/or redesignating existing terms that were deemed inappropriate, and
4. designating source terms that do not have existing labels.

In carrying out 2-4, the researcher in collaboration with the experts, considered contextual closeness of meaning in the source language, naturalness of meaning in the target language, frequency of use, collocability of terms with other segments in phraseology, term economy, unambiguity and portability.

4. Strategies of designating football terms in Yorùbá

In deriving Yorùbá terms for soccer, the researcher adopted some well-known strategies of terminology creation in Yorùbá, as adopted in lexicographic works such as Awobuluyi (1990, 1994), Bamgbose (1984), NERDC (1991), and FME (1980), Olubode-Sawe (2010), Yusuf, Adetunji, and Odoje (2017). These strategies, as noted by Owolabi (2006: 40), include composition, semantic extension, dialect or internal borrowing, loan words or external borrowing, specification, explication, idiomatisation, equivalents, acronymy, coinage including special coinage, description, translation, adaptation and range extension. It needs to be said, however, that not all of these strategies are employed in this study, while some strategies are merged. Some not included are also identified and used. For example, specification and dialect or internal borrowings are not used, description is discussed under composition, borrowings are classified into indigenised term formation and pure borrowings, while lexicalisation of source term acronyms, modulation, not identified, are used. For clinical distinction, I have classified these strategies into three broad headings that are based on the lexical resources of the language used, namely A: Use of target language lexical resource; B: Borrowing; C: Interlinguistic/hybrid formation.

A. Use of target language lexical resources

Term formation strategies used under this category include composition, idiomatisation, explication, existing equivalents, loan translation, semantic extension, coinage, derivation, modulation, and desentencialization.

a. Composition: Composition is a very productive method of term formation in Yorùbá. The method involves combining linguistic items (words and phrases) to create target language terms descriptive of conceptual intensions. Owolabi (2006: 41) identifies composition as the main strategy used by Awobuluyi (1990, 1994), Bamgbose (1984), NERDC (1991) and FME (1980). The method is employed in this study to designate football terms in terms of function, use, manner and behaviour.

i. Function: This composition method involves describing source language terms in the target language based on the function of the term referent. Examples are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Table showing examples of terms composed by functional description

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
asabóọ̀lù lẹ́hìn pápá, n.	*picker of ball outside the pitch*	ball boy, n.
agbẹ́yìn, n.	*player playing at the back*	defender, n.
agbáàrin, n.	*player playing in the middle*	midfielder, n.
alákòóso ikọ̀ agbábóọ̀lù, n.	*the overall boss of a team*	manager, n.
ile ẹ̀kọ́ bóọ̀lù, n.	*house for learning of ball*	football academy, n.
adarí ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọ̀nsẹ̀, n.	*controller of match*	referee, n.

ii. Use: This composition method involves describing source language terms in the target language based on the use of term referent. Examples are given in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Table showing examples of terms composed based on description of use of term referent

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
asabóọ̀lù lẹ́hìn pápá, n.	*picker of ball outside the pitch*	ball boy, n.
agbẹ́yìn, n.	*player playing at the back*	defender, n.
agbáàrin, n.	*player playing in the middle*	midfielder, n.
alákòóso ikọ̀ agbábóọ̀lù, n.	*the overall boss of a team*	manager, n.
ile ẹ̀kọ́ bóọ̀lù, n.	*house for learning of ball*	football academy, n.
adarí ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọ̀nsẹ̀, n.	*controller of match*	referee, n.

iii. Manner: This composition method involves describing source language terms in the target language based on the manner in which term intension is executed. Examples are given in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Table showing examples of terms composed by description of manner in which term intension is executed

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
àfigẹ̀gbé, n.	*using chest to carry*	chester, n.
ìtàkìtigbá, n.	*acrobatic striking*	bicycle kick, n.
ìgbásẹ́kọ̀rọ́, n.	*striking to curve*	banana kick, n.
kòbalẹ̀, n.	*not touching ground*	volley, n.
àfigìgísẹ̀gbá, n.	*using heel to strike*	back heel, n.
àforígbé, n.	*using head to carry ball*	header, n.
àfigàngbá, n.	*using big toe to strike*	toe poke, n.

iv. Behaviour: This composition method involves describing source language terms in the target language based on the behaviour of the term referent. Examples are given in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Table showing examples of terms composed by description of behaviour of term referent		
Term in Yorùbá	**Translation**	**Term in English**
ikọ̀ asé alátakòmọ́lé, n.	*team that restricts opponent to their goal area*	attacking team, n.
ikọ̀ asélé, n.	*team that blocks goal area against opponent*	defensive team, n.
agbábọ́ọ̀lù onímọ́tara nìkan, n.	*player that is concerned with self interest*	selfish player, n.
agbábọ́ọ̀lù aláìnímọ́tara nìkan, n.	*player that is not concerned with self interest*	team player, n.
sọ́ọ̀ti yíróbó, n.	*shot in which the ball rotates in flight*	bent shot, n.

It has however been discovered that the application of this strategy involves not only description and translation as noted by Awobuluyi (1994), but also other strategies of term formation. The following examples illustrate this point of view: *asabóòìlù léhìn pápá*, n. and *sóòti yíróbó*, n. In Table 1 and Table 4 there are examples of interlinguistic term formation, while *agbábóòlù onímótara nìkan*, n. in Table 4 is an idiomatic expression. Again, all sample examples in Table 2 are existing equivalents.

b. Explication: This term formation strategy involves giving detailed information to designate source language terms. In this term formation strategy, term economy is sacrificed on the altar of explicitness. Explication examples are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Table showing examples of terms designated by explication		
Term in Yorùbá	**Translation**	**Term in English**
ìpadánù àǹfàní ìkópa fún ikọ̀ agbábọ́ọ̀lù àgbà ọ̀jẹ̀ orílẹ̀ ẹni, n.	*a footballer's loss of opportunity to be part of the national team of his country (having represented another country)*	cup tied, n.
ète ìtẹ̀síwájú ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọnsẹ̀ ajẹmọ́ síso bọ́ọ̀lù sáàrín ọmọ ikọ̀ alátakò, n.	*technique of restarting a match involving throwing ball into the midst of opponent teams*	drop ball, n
mímú ìdádúró ráńpẹ́ bá ìfẹ̀sọ̀wọnsẹ̀, n.	*stopping a match for some moments*	dead ball, n
ikọ̀ àrokàn-ìborí-ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọnsẹ̀-sí, n.	*team that many think would win a match*	favourite, n.
ayò ala ọ̀mì inú afikún àkókò, n.	*goal that breaks tie during added time*	golden goal, n.
ète ìtòsípò agbábọ́ọ̀lù onílànà agbẹ́hìn mẹ́rin, agbáàrín lọ́wọ́ ẹ̀hìn méjì, agbáàrín lọ́wọ́ iwájú méta àti atamátàsé kan, n.	*technique of assigning players to position of four defenders, two players at the midfield towards the back, three players at the midfield toward the front and one striker*	4-2-3-1 formation, n
ìdíje ìfe ẹ̀yẹ àgbáyé obìrin tí ọjọ́ orí wọ́n kò ju ogún ọdún, n.	*world cup competition of female whose age is within 20 years*	FIFA U-20 Women World Cup, n

c. Loan translation: This method involves the combination of target language words in imitation of the source language to express source language terms. However, the order of the words in the target language may be governed by its syntactic patterns. Examples of this strategy are given in Table 6.

Table 6: Table showing examples of terms designated by loan translation

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
àdéhùn àyálò, n.	*contract of let me borrow use*	loan deal, n.
ọ̀mì aláìlàyò, n.	*draw of no goal*	goaless draw, n.
káàdì pupa, n	*red card*	red card, n
àkókò àfikún, n.	*time added*	added time, n.
ẹ̀sẹ̀ ìfàkókò sòfò, n.	*offence of wasting time*	time wasting offence, n.

d. Idiomatisation: This method involves using target language idioms to designate source language terms. The following examples can be given in this study.

Table 7: Table showing examples of terms designated by idiomatization

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
gbẹ̀yẹ lọ́wọ́, v.	snatch bird from	defeat, v
ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọnsẹ̀ ikọ̀ asorogún, n	*measuring leg of arch enemies*	derby, n.
ayo oníbejì, n.	*goals of twins*	brace, n.
ayò oníbẹ̀ta, n.	*goals of triplets*	hatrick, n.
ìsọ̀rí oríbóríyèé, n.	*group of only head can save*	group of death, n.
ìfẹ̀sẹ̀wọnsẹ̀, n.	*measuring legs against*	match, n.
dìgàbò, v.	*cover with arm/feather*	shield, v.

e. Existing equivalent: This method involves using existing words in the target language to designate source language terms. The following are examples.

Table 8: Table showing examples of terms designated with existing target language equivalents

Term in Yorùbá	Translation	Term in English
ọ̀mì, n.	*draw*	draw, n.
olùgbàlejò, n.	*host*	host, n.
èjé, n.	*dribble*	dribble, n.
kì-nílọ̀	*to caution*	caution, v.
ìdíje, n.	*competition*	competition, n.
àsíá, n.	*flag*	flag, n.
jàǹbdùkú, n.	*hooligan*	hooligan, n.
ìsọ̀rí, n.	*divison*	divison, n.
gbá, , v.	*kick*	kick, v.
chin, n.	*chin*	àgbọ̀n, n.

f. Derivation strategy: An example of this strategy is the use of prefixes to derive nouns that are semantically related to the verbal base. In the examples given below the prefixes are attached to the verbal base to derive terms that are nominals.

Table 9: Table showing examples of Verb/Noun derivation

base term	pref- + base term	derivation
gbá gorí asọ́lé, v. (to play above the goalkeeper) = *lob*, v.	à- + gbá gorí asọ́lé, v.	àgbá gorí asọ́lé, n. (playing above the goalkeeper) = *lob*, n
díje, v. = *compete*, v.	ì- + díje, v.	ìdíje, n. = *competition*, n.
samí, v. (to look for x surreptitously) = *scout*, v	a- + samí, v.	asamí, n. (person looking for x surreptitously) = *scout*, n.
fèjìkágbá, v. (hit with shoulder) = *shoulder barge*, v.	ì- + fèjìkágbá, v.	ìfèjìkágbá, n. (hitting with shoulder) = *shoulder barge*, n.
fòfindè, v. (to tie with the law) = *suspend*, v.	ì- + fòfindè, v.	ìfòfindè, n. (tying with the law) = *suspension*, n.
kì-nílọ̀, v. = *caution*, v.	ì- + kì-nílọ̀, v,	ìkìnílọ̀, n. = *caution*, n.
séjúlé, v. (block entrance to house) = *defend deep*, v.	ì- + séjúlé, v.	ìséjúlé, n. (blocking entrance to house) = *defending deep*, n.
kópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, v. (to take part for the first time) = *debut*, v.	ì- + kópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, v.	ìkópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, n. (taking part for the first time) = *debut*, n.
kópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, v.(to take part for the first time) = *debut*, v.	a- + kópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, v.	akópa fún ìgbà àkọ́kọ́, n. (taking part for the first time) = *debutant*, n.

However, deriving terms of the verbal category from a nominal base may involve prefixing a contextually semantically related verb to the nominal stem or base. The following are examples.

Table 10: Table showing examples of Noun/Verb derivation

Base term	pref- + base term	derivation
ègé, n. = *dribble*	gé-ní + ègé	gé-(légèé), v.
owó ìtanràn, n. (money for settling offence) = *fine*	bu + owó ìtanràn fún	bówó ìtanràn fún, v. (award money for settling offence to) = *fine*, v.
àdéhùn àyálò, n. (contract of borrow to use) = *loan deal*	fi-se + àdéhùn àyálò	fi-sàdéhùn àyálò, v. (use for contract of borrow to use) = *loan out*, v.
àtúngbá, n. (playing again) = *replay*	se + àtúngbá	sàtúngbá, v. (play again) = *replay*, v.
fèrè, n. = *whistle*	fọn + fèrè	fọn fèrè, v. (blow whistle) = *whistle*, v

g. Special coinage/neologism: This process involves the formation of a term which does not exist in the language, but whose use is likely to be confined to a specific register of a language (see Bamgbose 1984: p. Iv). Two examples in this study are èdiyò, n. and elédiyò used to designate own goal and own goal scorer respectively. I coined the term *èdiyò* from *èdì* (spell) + *ayò* (goal)

to refer to a goal scored against own team that appears as if the team that scores an own goal is under the spell of the opponent while *elédiyò* ”own goal scorer” is a derivation from *èdiyò*.

h. Semantic extension: This method involves employing a term used in one sphere of activity to designate a new concept in another subject field in the same language. The characteristics that make up the intension of the concepts in the two fields are often comparable by analogy. Examples are terms such as *balógun* (war leader), *atamátàsé* (sharp shooter)*, asamí* (spy), from the domain of warfare and *ayò* (shield), from a local game played in twelve carved holes in piece of wood. These terms are used to designate *captain, striker, scout* and *goal* in football respectively. There is also *àte*. *Àte* is a carved wooden object for displaying things like goods in Yorùbá. I use the term *àte* (modified by *ìgbéléwòn*) in this study to designate source language term *table,* (the statistical summary of the matches played by the teams in the same division or group, indicating their ranking in the group, points obtained, matches played and goals scored and conceded (*Dictionary – Inside UEFA – UEFA.com*) as *àte ìgbéléwòn* (table for weighing/ assessing/measuring (performance).

i. Modulation: Hardin and Picot (1990) define modulation as “a change in point of view that allows us to express the same phenomenon in a different way”. For example, *indirect free kicks* are labeled *àgbélègbá onísóótí* (kick of shot) and *àgbélègbá onípáásì* (kick of pass) by about 57% of my view centre informants. This is a case of change of point of view from the manner of aiming at the goal to the description of the kick employed to execute the advantage. The change in point of view is probably due to practical observation of how the binary terms’ intensions are executed. When a *direct free kick* is awarded by the referee, the kicker may pass to a team mate but in most cases will fire a shot at the goal and a goal may be scored without the ball being touched by another player. On the other hand, when an *indirect free kick* is awarded, a shot fired at the goal cannot be scored without the ball being touched by another player. So what kickers do is to pass the ball to a team mate to shoot at the opponent’s goal. Practically, therefore, labelling *direct free kick* and *indirect free kick* is woven around the nature of the kick utilized to execute the advantage.

j. Desentencialization: This method involves nominalization of a whole sentence without any overt marker of nominalization. Examples are the following:
i. òfín golí má fowó mú bóólùn, n. (rule of keeper don’t catch ball with your hand) “*four second rule*, n.*”*
ii. agbábóólù-atikò-kan-bò-sómìíràn, n. (footballer who moves from one club to another) *“journey man*, n.*”*
iii. ipele kòmesèyo, n. (stage of who doesn’t know how to put leg (would go back home) *“knockout stage*, n.*”*
iv. ifesèwonsè-je-kí-n-je, n. (match of eat and let me eat) *“goal feast match*, n.*”*
v. olùkó èto káraóle, n. (teacher of let the body be strong) “*physical trainer*, n.*”*

B Borrowing

Borrowing is the use of foreign designations of concepts (most especially source language terms) in the target language. Komolafe (2014: 49) notes that, “borrowing is a very important source of developing the vocabularies and terminologies of a language”. Awobuluyi (1994: 38) is of the view that borrowing in terminology is activated as a result of the impossibility of finding or creating a transparent indigenous term for a foreign concept or when borrowing “is considered to be of pedagogical value to preserve as much as possible the original form of the foreign term concerned”. While Awobuluyi’s position is valid, there are occasions when borrowing is as a

result of linguistic laziness. This position can be explained within Widyalankara (2015) Expediency Hypothesis. Widyalankara (*ibid*, p. 2) says, "Expediency carries connotations of an action done due to desirability and convenience. It is a practical method of solving intricacies in the context of linguistic behaviour. *On the other hand it connotes sociolinguistic laziness."*

Sociolinguistic laziness in this context can be defined as the use of a foreign designation for a concept in the target language where appropriate designation(s) can be motivated. As illustrated in the introduction, designating quarter finals, semi finals and final as *ipele kòtá final, ipele sèmí final,* and *final* respectively are instances of linguistic laziness. I classify borrowing into this study into indigenized/naturalized and pure/direct based on the criterion of whether borrowed linguistic item is influenced by the grammar of the borrowing language or not.

a. Indigenized or naturalized borrowing: Indigenized borrowings are foreign terms that have been adapted into grapho-morpho-phonological structure of the target language. Examples are given in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Table showing examples indigenized or naturalized borrowing

Term in Yorùbá	**Term in English**
sọ́ọ̀tì, n.	shot, n.
pẹ́ná, n.	penalty, n.
líígì, n.	league, n.
fáìnì, v	fine, v
páàsì, n.	pass, n.
kọ́nà, n	corner, n.
báńdéèji, n.	bandage, n.

b. Pure or direct borrowing: In the pure or direct borrowing, foreign language designations of concepts are retained wholly without modification in the target language. This strategy is discussed under interlinguistic strategy as seen in Table 14.

C. Inter-linguistic/hybrid formation

This strategy involves combining linguistic resources from two languages (usually source and target) to designate a new concept in the target language. Three types of interlinguistic term formations are described in this study.

a. Interlinguistic formation in which target language words are combined with indigenised source language words. Examples are given in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Table showing examples inter-linguistic/hybrid formation

Term in Yorùbá	Analysis	Translation	Term in English
sọ páàsi sí asọ́lé, n.	sọ - sí asọ́lé (Yorùbá) páàsi (indigenized English word)	pass to goalkeeper	back pass, n.
agbábọ́ọ̀lù	agba- (Yorùbá) bọ́ọ̀lù (indigenized English word)	player of ball	footballer, n.
bọ́ọ̀lù orii yanrin, n.	bọ́ọ̀lù - (indigenized English word) orii yanrin (Yorùbá)	ball played on sand	beach footie/beach soccer, n.
pẹ́ná ala-ọ̀mì, n.	pẹ́ná - (indigenized English word) ala-ọ̀mì (Yorùbá)	penalties that break tie	penalty shoot shoot outs, n.
àkókò ìgbádì fún sáà líìgì, n.	àkókò ìgbádì fún sáà --- (Yorùbá) líìgì (indigenized English word)	time for preparing for league	pre season, n.
nọ́mbà agbábọ́ọ̀lù, n.	nọ́mbà --- (indigenized English word) agbábọ́ọ̀lù (Yorùbá)	number of player	squad number, n.
pápa onírọ́ọ̀gì, n.	pápa --- (Yorùbá lexical item) + oní- (Yorùbá pref) rọ́ọ̀gì (indigenized English word)	field of rug	artificial turf, n.

As can be seen in Table 12, there is no fixed order for the occurrence of lexical resources of the languages involved. In other words, there are instances of endo-exogenous as in *agbábóòlù*, n., and *pápa oníróògì*, n. and exo-endogenous as in *nómbà agbábóòlù,* n. and *pená ala-òmì,* n. This characteristic distinguishes it from the other types of interlinguistic term formation where the source language term has to be preceded by a target language word.

b. Interlinguistic formation, in which target language words are combined with lexicalized source language acronyms.

Interlinguistic strategy is used in the formation of target language equivalents of source term acronyms in Yorùbá. Valeontis and Mantzari (2006: 6) define acronyms as words that are formed by combining the initial letters or syllables of all or several of the elements of a complex terms or name. In Yorùbá, source language acronyms are either lexicalized or retained in their original form. Acronyms that are pronounced like any other words are lexicalized and adapted into the grammatical structure of Yorùbá and pronounced as words. However, in the two methods of source language acronym designations in Yorùbá, the acronyms are preceded by descriptive words which serve to explain the meanings of the acronyms in the target language. In Table 13, the word *àjo* serves to explain the meanings of lexicalized acronyms *Kááfù*, n., *Yùrópà*, n., *Fífà*, n., *Kóñkákáàfù*, n., and *Yùéfà*, n. as unions, while *egbé* serves to explain the meaning of *Súwán* as a society.

Table 13: Table showing examples of lexicalized source terms acronyms		
Term in Yorùbá	**Translation**	**Term in English**
àjọ Kááfù, n.	body CAF	CAF, n.
àjọ Yùrópà, n.	body EUROPA	EUROPA, n.
àjọ Fífà, n.	body FIFA	FIFA, n.
àjọ Kọ́ńkákáàfù, n.	body CONCACAF	CONCACAF, n.
àjọ Yùẹ́fà, n.	body UEFA	UEFA
ẹgbẹ́ Súwáǹ	society SWAN	Sport Writer Association of Nigeria (SWAN), n

c. Interlinguistic formation, in which target language words are combined with bare source language acronyms.

In this interlinguistic term formation, acronyms whose segments are pronounced individually like AYC, NNF, FA, 4-2-3-1 are borrowed wholesale into Yorùbá. The acronyms are retained in whole form as in the source lansguage because of phonological and orthographical disparities between English and Yorùbá. In employing these acronyms wholesale as target language term, they are preceded by descriptive words as in the following examples given in Table 14. As explained in (Cb.) *àjo* serves to explain that NNF, n. and FA are unions, idíje serves to explain that AYC, n. is a competition, while *ìtòsípò agbábóòlù onílànà* serves to explain that 4-2-3-1 is a formation technique.

Table 14: Table showing examples of wholesale borrowing of source terms		
Term in Yorùbá	**Translation**	**Term in English**
idíje AYC, n.	competition of AYC	AYC, n. (Africa Youth Championship)
àjọ NNF, n.	body NNF	NFF, n. (Nigerian Football Federation)
ẹgbẹ́ NANF	society of NANF	National Association of Nigeria Footballers, n.
àjọ FA ilẹ̀ Gẹ̀ẹ́sí, n.	body FA in English	English FA
ìtòsípò agbábọ́ọ̀lù onílàna 4-2-3-1, n.	assigning players to position of the type 4-2-3-1	4-2-3-1 formation, n.

As noted by Dzahene-Quarshie (2012), “there seem to be no one particular label for some football expressions and terms and the result is that several renditions exist side by side”. This assertion is equally true of football terms in Yorùbá. I am of the opinon that multiple labelling is only a problems if the various designations for a concept do not capture its intension. Multiple labelling affords the users choices to achieve some stylistic objectives particularly if such terms are harmonized and standardized and made to exist side by side. From the data collected, multiple labelling of a source term in Yorùbá arises as a result of the use of different term formation strategies, and use of synonymous forms or paraphrases of the same strategy. For example, *ayò* (n) and *góò* (n) are both used to designate the source term *goal. Ayò (*shield*)* is an extension from the domain of local game in Yorùbá, while *góò* is an indigenized borrowing. Again, *ikò òjèwéwé* (n) (team of small masquerades) and *ikò eyin ní dàkùko* (n) (team of “it is

chicks that becomes cocks") are both synonymous idiomatic expresions used as Yorùbá terms for the English term *feeder team* (n). Another cause of multiple labelling is the synonymous relationship that exists between a term and its acronym. Both of course refer to the same concept. For example, *àjo asàgbékalè òfin erée bóòlù lágbàáyé* (n) (body that lay down rules governing football in the world) and *àjo Ifáábù* (n) (body called *'Ifáábù*) are synonymous. They both refer to the same source term *International Football Association Board* (n) whose acronym is *IFAB*, n.

Conclusions

Terminology development is important for the health and vitality of indigenous languages. Despite the fact that terminological work in Yorùbá began in 1953, vast areas of specialised fields are yet to be covered. One of such areas is football, which has become more or less the spine of our national unity. The current study focuses on stategies of for developing the vocabularies of football concepts in Yorùbá. Given the nature of football language as a special and public language and the fact that people who follow football expect certain words and phrases to express certain meaning (Schultz 2013: 4), the strategies devised in this study are influenced by the need to meet the expectations of followers, make designations as close as possible, in contextual meanings, impacts and effects to the source language terms while at the same time natural to the target audience. To this end, it is hoped that the terms generated would enhance effective football discourse, analyses and reporting in Yorùbá. It is recommended that efforts be made to develop other domains of sports in Yorùbá.

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Transparency in local government finance and service delivery: The case of Mwanza City and Moshi District Councils in Tanzania

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Abstract

Transparency is an essential tool of local governance which enables the local citizens to hold local institutions accountable for their performance, to foster trust in government, minimize corruption and improve local service delivery. Accountability and transparency have been on the top of agendas in all the local government reforms in Tanzania. For transparency to work properly, it needs effective structures of implementation. Within the local government system in Tanzania, the structures of transparency are present but appear to be not working as they should do. This paper seeks to assess the extent to which the problems of transparency have persisted under the new phase of local government reforms and how they are likely to impact on local service delivery in Tanzania. The purpose of this study was, therefore, to examine the extent to which fiscal transparency in local governments in Tanzania is practised and how this has played a greater role in service delivery. The study used a case study of purposively selected local councils in Tanzania to examine the dynamics of fiscal transparency and service delivery. The findings show that there is little flow of information from higher levels of local governments to the lower levels in relation to resources available and results achieved. The information received from the councils is sometimes opaque or fuzzy in the sense that it does not reveal all about what their leaders do or what important decisions have been made about their councils. The study concludes that the importance of accountability and transparency attached to service delivery in any country is essential for good practice in local governance. Hence, instruments for accountability and transparency at the local levels must be enhanced to enable public institutions and public officials to be responsive to the citizens.

Keywords: Decentralization, transparency, local finance, accountability, Tanzania

Introduction

Providing local citizens with open access to information is a foundation of good governance. Public accountability and transparency have the goal of encouraging good and reliable performance by local governments (Sofyani, Riyadh & Fahlevi 2020). Indeed, the term transparency has increasingly become a predominant agenda in almost every organization, public and private, large or small (Hood & Heald 2006; Park & Blenkinsopp 2011). Transparency is an essential tool of local governance which enables the local citizens to hold local institutions

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accountable for their policies and performance, to foster trust in government and minimize corruption (Bellvera, Mendiburub & Poli 2008). As used in finance, fiscal transparency is also an essential component for overcoming the asymmetry of information between politicians and citizens (Esteller-Moré & Polo Otero 2012). Academicians, policymakers, development partners, politicians, bureaucrats, economists, and public officials also agree that accountability and transparency stand among the key pillars of good local governance (Akhtar, Malla & Gregson 2016; Carter 2014; Castillo & Gabriel 2020; Gabriel 2017; Halachmi & Greiling 2013). Other important pillars include predictability and participation. Nevertheless, a great concern regarding good governance has been that of transparency and accountability, not only of public officials but also of the institutions involved in the delivery of services to the public (Okekea & Agu 2016).

Local governments play an essential role in providing services at grassroots levels. Such services delivered in various sectors may include agriculture, health, education, water, land and in infrastructure (such as the construction and repair of feeder roads) (Liviga 2012). The realization and success of such activities by local governments requires effective mechanisms for accountability, transparency, and citizen participation in the provision of public services. To improve service delivery, the government of Tanzania embarked from the 1990s on major decentralization reforms under the motto of “decentralization by devolution” (popularly referred to as D by D). D-by-D refers to the transfer of power, authority, and resources from the central government to LGAs (Harris, Domingo, Sianga, Chengullah & Kavishe 2011; Hoffman & Gibson 2006; Kessy & McCourt 2010; Mdee & Thorley 2016; Ndlovu & Ngenda 2006; Pallotti 2008). This was initiated through the umbrella of reforms to make the LGAs more accountable for resource delivery in their areas of jurisdiction. The reforms were carried out in LGAs through the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) which was part of a broader programme among the four key public sector reform programmes in Tanzania. The other three reform programmes included the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), Legal Sector Reform (LSR) and Public Financial and Management Reform (PFMR). All four programmes were part of a broader policy and strategic framework aimed at enhancing accountability, citizen participation, transparency, and integrity in the use of public resources and to improve service delivery (Mdee & Thorley 2016).

However, despite the ongoing reforms in local governments in Tanzania aimed at improving the performance of the LGAs, concerns have emerged with regards to issues of transparency and accountability of public officials and institutions tasked to oversee the workings of good governance (Kessy, 2020; Kwanbo, 2010). Work in this area is extensive but is primarily concerned with the general issues of fiscal transparency by the local councils (Fjeldstad 2001; Msami 2011; Mushi, Melyoki & Sundet 2005). There is still a great deal of work to be done in this area of transparency, mainly focusing on specific sectors and how the issues of transparency are addressed during service delivery.

For transparency to properly work, it needs effective structures of implementation, managed and given adequate resources, and must be supported by strong internal organizing capacity (Ingrams, 2016). Within the local government system in Tanzania, the structures for supporting accountability and transparency are present but appear to be not working as they should do (Kessy 2020). Other studies have also shown that one of the causes of the problem of transparency in Tanzania is the lack of commitment on the part of public officials and contradictions between laws/regulations and policies (Tidemand 2015). Besides, most of the LGAs structures appear to not properly working due to little flow of information from higher levels of local governments to the lower levels in relation to resources available and results achieved (Kessy & McCourt 2010; Kessy 2008; Massoi & Norman 2009; Mdee & Thorley 2016). What is important is not only about the presence of the structures and the flow of information, but also the form in which the information is presented and made available matters.

A recent line of research has established that good practices of fiscal transparency relate to (i) form and timing of presentation, (ii) presentation for different target groups, (iii) classification, and (iv) alignment of different documents (Seiwald 2016). We take the seminal approach of this author as the basis for the discussion of transparency in local financing in Tanzania. The main objective of this study was to examine the extent to which fiscal transparency in local government is practised and how this translates to service delivery. The most critical questions to be answered by this study are:

1. What has been the situation and status in good practice in the implementation of transparency in local finance for service delivery in Tanzania?
2. How effective are the mechanisms for the dissemination of financial information by the local authorities to the local citizens?

Literature review

The review unpacks the concept transparency and its context in Tanzania.

Transparency: A word and a doctrine

The word transparency has attracted much attention from many people around the world, with some calling it the main pillar for good governance (Akhtar *et al.* 2016; Ball 2009; Carter 2014; Hood & Heald 2006; Ingrams 2016; Stanger 2012). Transparency is defined as "the publicity of all the acts of government and its representatives to provide civil society with relevant information in a complete, timely, and easily accessible manner" (da Cruz, Tavares, Marques, Jorge & de Sousa 2015:872). Similarly, transparency in its simplest form can be defined as 'the ability to find out what is going on inside a public sector organization through avenues such as open meetings, access to records, the proactive posting of information on websites, whistle-blower protections, …" (Piotrowski & Ryzin, 2007:308). Bauhr and Nasiritousi (2012:11) also define transparency as 'the release of information that is relevant for evaluating institutions". Like many other contemporary attempts to define the concept, these authors have a top-down perspective, bringing transparency closer to the notion of the disclosure. Oliver (2004:2) conceives transparency as comprised of three elements: "an observer, something available to be observed and a means or method for observation". This type of definition is based on the principal-agent theory, which postulates the requirement for the principal to check whether the agent adheres to the contract (Meijer 2013).

These definitions above highlight relations between the government agencies and the local people in terms of important channels that local citizens can use to get access to local government information. The definitions are also descriptive than prescriptive on the best ways in which the local citizens can access information from their government. Overall, the general picture that can be obtained from various definitions of transparency is that the concept is regarded as one of the pillars of good governance, and it merely refers to "the availability of information to the public on the transactions of the government and the transparency of decision-making processes" (Pallot 2001:646). Again, this definition is more associated with accounting procedures and seems to be the dominant view about transparency in local government. Despite this limited meaning of transparency, one may agree with Piotrowski and Ryzin (2007) that there has been very little published literature on transparency because the concept has just gained momentum in the academic discourses and it is also difficult to measure.

As with all fissiparous doctrines emerging from the social sciences, transparency is an idea that embraces many strains (Hood 2006:19), and its core meaning is still the subject of debate for local governance (Bessire 2005; Fox 2007; Meijer 2009). Because no exact meaning and measurement have been agreed, the word remains as a doctrine for propagating good governance rather than attempting to practise it, referred to as "nominal versus effective transparency" or "transparency illusion" (Hood & Heald 2006:34). However, when the word is

associated with fiscal transparency, this implies that governments must provide detailed information not only about its current budgetary activity but also about its future forecasts and past performance

The word transparency is also seen as intrinsic rather than fundamental in the governance agenda. Nevertheless, critical questions to be asked here are: is more or less transparency a bad or good thing? How is transparency perceived and measured? Is transparency in government the same as openness? Finding concrete answers to these questions is a huge task. As for the first question, the analogy of sunlight can be applied here. For example, it is commonly believed that sunlight is the most powerful of all disinfectants, yet we are also warned about the danger of over-exposure to the same sunlight (David 2006:40). This analogy suggests that though transparency is regarded as a good thing, too much of it can create problems.

The changing faces and phases of transparency

The term transparency, with different implications at different times, describes a concept which has been used in public administration, although merely taken for granted. For example, while the government is expected to be more transparent, the concept has tended to produce several images (Ball 2009; Bessire 2005; David 2006; Otenyo & Lind 2004). Accordingly, the current usage of the term transparency "is not only a bonus to representativeness in governance but also an additional increase in the power of citizens" (Otenyo & Lind 2004:290). The study of transparency has also been closely associated with the study of accountability and participation. This suggests that any attempt to build a theoretical framework should also consider the level at which transparency is emphasized and practised and whether the focus should be on central or local government. More recently, the widespread interest in the term has raised many questions about how to tackle transparency conceptually (Castillo & Gabriel 2020; Hood & Heald 2006; Krah & Mertens 2020; Nolin 2018). This is because transparency (and accountability) push governments to adopt more open functioning, making them vulnerable to public scrutiny. Studies have shown that while governments are enhancing their transparency with various degrees of extension and depth, the question remains of how effective is this transparency (Ball 2009; Cucciniello & Nasi 2014).

The emphasis on transparency has been changing over time, with the concept still revolving around the idea that the governed have the fundamental right to see what their leaders do (Piotrowski & Ryzin 2007). Taken in this way, transparency is seen as an intrinsic value for enforcing accountability and openness in government rather than as a fundamental. For instance, the current public sector reforms in developing countries emphasize the need for governments to be more transparent and open in the running of their operations (McCourt & Minogue 2002; Shah 2006; Turner & Hulme 1987). However, what is proclaimed on policy documents and political platforms is different from what is implemented on the ground, differing from the good intentions of the initial policy objectives.

Despite these challenges in implementing effective transparency mechanisms, Banisar (2004:2) claims that "a new era of government transparency has been invented and the culture of secrecy that has been the modus operandi of governments for many years is no longer feasible". In practice, local citizens in many countries are now demanding their governments and officials to consider transparency and accountability in their day-to-day activities (Gabriel 2017). As local governments play a key role in fostering the socio-economic development of the communities, the pressure on the local governments to exercise more accountability and transparency in service delivery has been mounting. However, disclosing information to the public has not been easy. As Madison once noted, "knowledge is power and those who possess it have the power to rule" (Pope, Florini & Calland 2003:10). From the review of the different meanings and usages of transparency, the concept has many meanings and will continue to have many faces that in part, may be confused with accountability.

Fiscal Transparency in Local Governments in Tanzania

From the 1990s, Tanzania has embraced reforms in various sectors, including in local governments aimed at accelerating social and economic development for the better living of citizenry. In 1999, for example, Tanzania formulated the National Framework for Good Governance (NFGG) aimed at guiding the country to institute good governance (Mdee & Thorley, 2016:5). Among the components pursued in this strategy was the D by D aimed, among its fundamental objective, at delivering services closer to the people. In essence, NFGG focuses on many issues including the participation of people in decision making; accountability, transparency, and integrity in the management of public affairs; electoral democracy; gender equity; greater public service capabilities to deliver services efficiently and effectively (Mdee & Thorley 2016:6)

Tanzania has embraced and implemented four key administrative reforms namely Public Sector Reform Programme (PSRP), the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), the Legal Sector Reform Programme (LSRP), and the Public Financial Management Reform Programme (PFMRP) (Mdee & Thorley 2016). According to Mdee and Thorley (2016:6) “These programmes constitute the policy and strategic framework for enhancing accountability, transparency and integrity in the use of public resources and to improve service delivery”.

In Tanzania, the demand for transparency in the management of local government resources has been gaining momentum. However, there are several challenges faced by local citizens to demand effective accountability and transparency. For example, the formal mechanisms of accountability and transparency are embedded in various pieces of legislation, policies, and regulations. There is no such single document which clearly defines the mechanism for transparency in local governments. For example, even the Policy Paper on Local Government Reform (1998), which has been a key reference for local governance in Tanzania hardly mentions the word transparency. The only section in the policy document setting out the transparency agenda states that:

> The government will strengthen the capacity of relevant government bodies (including the Regional Administration) to gather and process data from the local government so as to provide a better basis for policy making and increase the transparency of local government operations (United Republic of Tanzania 1998:12)

Similarly, the Local Government Finances Act, 1982 (section 44) states that:

> The Regional Commissioner may authorize in writing any person to have access to the records of a local government authority and a person so authorized shall at all reasonable times have access to and be entitled to inspect all books of accounts and records of the authority and may advise the authority on the matters contained in them and submit a report to the Regional Commissioner in connection with the records (The United Republic of Tanzania 2000:225)

Unfortunately, all these two statutory documents hardly have detailed sections on how the local citizens can enforce transparency in local governments. It also appears that the policy paper on local government reforms in Tanzania is also not supported with a corresponding piece of legislation for enforcement of transparency measures. A number of studies included within the review suggest that among the challenges facing LGAs in developing countries, including Tanzania, is the presence of ambiguous pieces of legislation which appear to hinder good governance in local areas (Kessy & McCourt 2010; Kessy & Mushi 2018; Kessy 2018; Mushi, Kessy & Katera 2018). Under such circumstances, mechanisms of transparency become merely imaginary.

One of the major assumptions of various local government reforms in Tanzania has been the transferring of responsibilities from the central government to the local government authorities, hence improving the delivery of social services (Kessy 2020; Mallya 2011; Steffensen

et al. 2004). The major thrust for the whole exercise for reforming both the central and local governments has been on increasing people's power. However, the mechanisms for accountability and transparency in Tanzania and generally in other countries from the East African Countries are still in the early stages of implementation. For example, tools like participatory planning, open budget conferences, the involvement of citizens in project implementation and monitoring, and demands for local government transparency, communication, publications of financial information, notice boards with a budget and accounts figures, local government radio announcements, and public hearings have slightly shown some positive signs (Steffensen *et al.* 2004). Moreover, some structures for accountability and transparency have been established including Ward Development Committees (WDCs), and village councils (Lyon, *et al*. 2018).

An argument has been advanced by a few scholars that structures and mechanisms are vital in the measurement and implementation of accountability and transparency in organizations (Bauhr & Grimes 2012; da Cruz *et al*. 2015; Janssen *et al*. 2017). For example, Okekea and Agu (2016:289) advance an argument that formal mechanisms of accountability are usually embedded in pieces of legislation and that "they are the legally binding aspects a system of direct legislative, execute judicial and hierarchical controls in a polity". In other words, accountable governance cannot be achieved if there are no effective mechanisms in place, to hold public actors of the virtuous path and to prevent them from misconduct.

Methodology

Research design

Mixed-methods research was adopted for this study. This is an approach to an inquiry which involves collecting both quantitative and qualitative data and integrating the data in the analysis and discussion. The core assumption of this approach is that the integration of qualitative and quantitative data produces additional insight which would not have been provided by either the quantitative or qualitative data alone (Creswell & Creswell 2017). Accordingly, a case study approach was chosen because of the exploratory nature of the study. As such, this study accepts the limitations of not being able to make any generalizations of local governance in Tanzania. The central assumption was that perceptions, feelings, and opinions of the key actors in local councils and local citizens are fundamental.

Study areas

The data and information used in this paper have been drawn from two case councils in Tanzania: Mwanza City Council (MCC) and Moshi District Council (MDC) both located in Mwanza and Kilimanjaro regions respectively. This study was carried between January and September 2018. MCC and MDC were selected not necessarily as representatives of all the 185 councils in Tanzania Mainland but due to their proximity and degree of involvement in the two Local Government Reform Programmes (LGRP I & II). These councils were also purposely selected to balance the rural and urban contexts. MCC, which is an urban council, is the second-largest city in Tanzania after Dar-es-Salaam. Both councils were involved in the first phase of the LGRP I (1999-2008).

Sampling procedures

The study employed a survey of 235 citizens and 63 council officials from MCC and MCC. This covered four wards (two from each council) and eight villages/streets (two from each ward selected). The demographic information of the respondents selected for the study is summarized in Tables 1 & 2.

Table 1: Demographic information of the Citizens Survey (N=235)

NAME OF WARD	NAME OF COUNCIL		
	MWANZA (MCC)	MOSHI (MDC)	TOTAL
Pamba	59 (25.1%)	NA	59 (25.1%)
Pansiasi	60 (25.5%)	NA	60 (25.5%)
Kirua South	NA	57 (24.3%)	57 (24.3%)
Makuyuni	NA	59 (25.1%)	59 (25.1%)
TOTAL	119 (50.6%)	116 (49.4%)	235 (100.0%)
NAME OF VILLAGE/ MTAA	NAME OF COUNCIL		
	MWANZA (MCC)	MOSHI (MDC)	TOTAL
Papa	30 (12.8%)	NA	30 (12.8%)
Reli	30 (12.8%)	NA	30 (12.8%)
Bugarika A	30 (12.8%)	NA	30 (12.8%)
Bugarika D	29 (12.3%)	NA	29 (12.3%)
Mabungo	NA	30 (12.8%)	30 (12.8%)
Pumuani	NA	27 (11.5%)	27 (11.5%)
Himo Embakasi	NA	30 (12.8%)	30 (12.8%)
Himo Furaha	NA	29 (12.3%)	29 (12.3%)
TOTAL	119 (50.6%)	116 (49.4%)	235 (100.0%)

Source: Field Data

Table 2: Demographic information of Council Officials (N=63)

NAME OF COUNCIL	SEX		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Mwanza (MCC)	18 (28.6%)	7 (11.1%)	25 (39.7%)
Moshi (MDC)	28 (44.4%)	10 (15.9%)	38 (60.3%)
TOTAL	46 (73.0%)	17 (27.0%)	63 (100.0%)
	OCCUPATION		
	COUNCILLORS	COUNCIL OFFICERS	TOTAL
Mwanza (MCC)	17 (27.0%)	8 (12.7%)	25 (39.7%)
Moshi (MDC)	24 (38.1%)	14 (22.2%)	38 (60.3%)
TOTAL	41 (65.1%)	22 (34.9%)	63 (100.0%)

Source: Field data

Data collection

Generally, data collection was carried in the case councils in the form of survey and interviews with key respondents. These included local citizens, councillors, council officials, representatives from the ministry responsible for local government (President's Office Regional and Local Government Administration (PO-RALG), Village Executive Officers (VEOs), Non-Governmental Or-

ganizations (NGOs), and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) to understand the dynamics of transparency in local government and service delivery. Moreover, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), intensive open-ended interviews and closed-ended questionnaire guides were developed to make sure that information covering the same material was obtained from all respondents. Both semi-structured and structured interviews were employed to obtain the primary data, although the researcher was still free to develop conversations along with particular sub-themes.

Findings

The paper now turns to the presentation of the findings obtained from the two councils of MCC and MDC. We should recall that two research questions guided the study. The first was on what has been the situation and status in good practice in the implementation of transparency in local finance for service delivery in Tanzania; and second, how effective are the mechanisms for the dissemination of financial information by the local authorities to the local citizens? In answering these two questions, the findings will centre on the analysis of experiences of transparency in local financing in the case studies in terms of assessing the effectiveness of dissemination of financial information to the public and the management of primary schools' funds. The following section provides a brief analysis of the modalities of local service provision in Tanzania before the presentation of the findings.

Modalities of local service provision in Tanzania

There is an array of arrangements through which services are provided to the people by the LGAs and other actors. In the first place, LGAs themselves are directly involved as they deliver services using their staff and others under the supervision of the LGAs. Services delivered under this arrangement include agricultural extension services, primary education, health, roads, water, firefighting, surveying and plot allocation and construction of markets. The second category of service delivery is where LGAs deliver services through outsourcing to private institutions and companies' arrangement and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The services involved include collection and disposal of waste; the construction of infrastructure such as classrooms, dispensaries; and vehicle parking lots in urban areas. The third category is where the LGAs must coordinate and monitor the provision of social services by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which receive funding from the donors (Liviga 2012).

A classic example is in the education sector. Two ministries – the ministry of education and the ministry responsible for local governments – oversee the management of primary education in Tanzania. In this arrangement, the education sector and particularly the primary education is not sorely under the jurisdiction of the LGAs. The LGAs are only allocated grants by the central government in which they must follow and observe strict but rational rules and procedures to ensure efficiency and effectiveness (Kessy 2011; Lyon, Zilihona & Masanyiwa 2018; REPOA 2008).

Transparency in local government finance

Financial transactions need to be open to public scrutiny. Local people need to know how much of the money they pay through various taxes is being spent by their local government authorities. The majority of citizens interviewed in the case councils showed strong negative attitudes to their leaders about how they disclose financial records. They complained that the information they get from their councils is sometimes opaque or fuzzy in the sense that it does not reveal all about what their leaders do or what important decisions have been made about their councils apart from posting of financial information on the council boards (FGDs with citizens from MCC and MDC). It should be emphasised that posting information on the notice boards or websites does not necessarily mean that local people have access to that information. Such activities may be

mere fulfilment of the obligation of specific policies or regulations, but are not purely aimed at communicating with the local people.

While some council officials see this as an improvement as compared to the past, the majority the local citizens complained that these measures are not enough. A few studies conducted on local governance in Tanzania have also noted that information on audited records which is important for accountability is not accessible. For example, only 15.9 per cent of the people interviewed in the 2013 Citizen Survey said they had seen or received such information (Chaligha 2014). Another study conducted in 2015 by Sikika in the six districts of Kinondoni, Ilala, Temeke, Kibaha, Kondoa and Mpwapwa also showed that local government authorities do not comply with the existing laws and regulations that direct the disclosure of budgetary information to the public, via local newspapers. Many district authorities make little effort to share budgetary documents with the public (Sikika 2015).

It should be recalled that before broad local government reforms were introduced in the 1990s and 2000s, financial information in many LGAs was kept secret from the eyes of the citizens by the council officers, including also the councillors. Disclosing any financial information to the public was regarded as breaching the local government laws. This problem seems to be historical. For instance, every participant from the FGDs stated that the confidentiality of government information was very high during the ujamaa period, and it was hard to trust anyone. In general, this was the overwhelming conclusion from FGDs with both the councillors and officers in MCC and MDC. In this case, citizens are only told what had been done but not how much was received from the central government and spent.

The council officials survey shows that about 38.1% of the officials think that that local citizens get council information from council noticeboards followed council newsletter (28.6%) (Table 3).

Table 3: Where do you think citizens get information about the council? *

Where do you think citizens get information about their council?	Occupation		Total
	Councillors	Council Officer	
Attending Council Meetings	4.8%	7.9%	12.7%
Word of Mouth	4.8%		4.8%
Television	3.2%	6.3%	9.5%
Council Website	1.6%		1.6%
Council Newsletter	15.9%	12.7%	28.6%
Council Noticeboards	31.7%	6.3%	38.1%
Councillors	1.6%		1.6%
Don't know	1.6%	1.6%	3.2%
Total	65.1%	34.9%	100.0%

Source: Council Officials Survey (N=63)

However, it should be noted that posting of this information to noticeboards is only an internal control system of local government councils, which is a requirement set by the National Audit Office (NAO). However, the reality is that apart, from financial information displayed on the council notice boards, this study could not find this information displayed to the public in some of the wards and village offices that were surveyed. Moreover, FGDs with both local citizens in MCC and MDC generally suggest that even village bank statements were not readily available for public scrutiny. The further impression received from the field suggests that the minutes for some vil-

lage meetings were also missing or not recorded. For example, one local citizen from MDC complained:

> Our village has a serious problem with transparency. The current leadership is very reluctant to hold any village assembly for fear of people asking questions related to village revenues or expenditures. No-one in this village has ever seen the minutes of the previous meetings posted on the village boards for the past five years.

The comments above point out some severe problems of transparency that may exist at the village levels when the VEOs only hold information. These officers also seem to be immune from prosecution for mismanagement of village funds because of lack of evidence. When, for example, one of the directors in the case councils was interviewed about this growing problem of unaccountability of local leaders and access to council information, the answers were discouraging: “our local people complain about everything ... they have no grounds for such complaints, and after all, they do not have the culture of reading council’s announcements”. What this officer seems to imply here is that the problem of accountability and transparency lies with the local people themselves and not with the local leaders. However, responses from the interviews with local people show that they are more interested in working with leaders that deliver social services rather than those who stick to the rules and regulations.

Effectiveness of dissemination of council information to the local people

As has been seen in the previous section, councils have various methods to disseminate relevant council information to the public. However, one may ask: are the methods effective and efficient in providing clear financial information to the public? Do the local people have access to such information? The findings suggest that only 24.3% of the citizens interviewed said they attend council meetings, while others reported having used radio and word of mouth (18% and 17% respectively) as their method of getting information from their councils. These findings indicate that most citizens are not informed on council activities as well as local finances because a few citizens attend council meetings (Table 4).

Table 4: Where do you get information about your council?

Where do you get information about your council?	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
No response	0.9%	0.4%	1.3%
Attending Council Meetings	10.6%	13.6%	24.3%
Word of Mouth	6.4%	10.2%	16.6%
Television	3.4%	1.3%	4.7%
Radio	11.5%	6.4%	17.9%
Council Website		0.4%	0.4%
Council notice board	2.1%	2.6%	4.7%
Councilors	5.5%	7.7%	13.2%
Don't know	7.2%	6.0%	13.2%
Do not get at all	0.9%	0.4%	1.3%
Magazine	1.3%		1.3%
Street/village chairperson	0.9%		0.9%
Ward Executive Officer		0.4%	0.4%
Total	50.6%	49.4%	100.0%

Source: Citizens Survey (N=235)

It was also found that village and street meetings, which could be the best route for accessing council meetings reports, are not held regularly. The difficulty of disseminating this information was also noted to be exacerbated by a lack of stationery and other office equipment such as photocopiers, pens, writing pads, typewriters, and computers, in the ward, village and street offices. This was a common problem across the two councils. For example, most of the heads of department interviewed complained about the lack of sufficient resources to disseminate council information to the grassroots levels. They cited acute problems such as computers, printers, papers, scanners, phones, and a shortage of staff. Accordingly, transparency is facilitated when methods of disseminating information to the voters or consumers are clear and free of jargon. In the same way, the financial statistics posted should be written in a short narrative style that would be easily understood by ordinary people. However, the experience of disseminating council information in most local authorities in Tanzania appears to be difficult to understand by the ordinary citizens.

Given that most of the local citizens in the rural areas have attained only primary education, this suggests that they have limited knowledge about budget issues and other activities by their councils. In this case, it is still difficult for local citizens to make sense of the information. In other words, citizens will need more visual aids and other assistance from their councils, wards, and villages, which all seem to be lacking in the case councils. This was also confirmed by some council officials from MDC, who frankly acknowledged that the financial information displayed on the council boards and village offices is more technical and difficult to understand formost ordinary people.

The findings further indicate that even though the language used is normally Swahili, the unresolved problem is the capacity of ordinary citizens to analyse these financial accounts and what they mean to them. Findings from FGDs with local citizens in MDC suggest that not all financial information reaches all citizens, because some of it is posted inside the offices, especially at village levels. Unfortunately, most of these village offices are not open all day for the citizens to have access (interviews and FGDs with Citizens from MDC). The findings from the interviews with local people from the case councils further revealed that once these financial accounts have been posted on the notice boards at the council, wards and village offices, nothing more will be said about how the money was spent, with no reporting of any practices or mismanagement of the funds. Surprisingly, even the audited accounts from CAG do not appear on the council, ward, and village boards unless they are clean records (FGDs with elected members from MCC and MDC).

Transparency in the management of primary schools funds

One issue of considerable concern regarding issues of transparency in local authorities is the management of primary education funds. The study assessed transparency in the management of primary education for some reasons. One, the participation of parents in school committee meetings is paramount for effective utilisation of the schools' funds. Second, the education sector receives the highest amount of central grants. Thus, the education sector appeared to be an exciting area to study how local authorities manage local funds

According to an Education Officer from one of the two councils visited, there are many corrupt practices between headteachers and the chairmen of the schools' committees, who may present false plans and use the money for their own interests. Because of a lack of adequate supervision and auditing, it has become difficult for the Council Auditor and some Auditors from the Ministry of Local Government to uncover all malpractices in the use of schools' money (FGDs with elected members from MCC and MDC). Interviews with the Education Officers suggest that most auditors normally sample a few schools' reports and generalise from them. This raises some questions regarding issues of transparency and good management of local finances.

Moreover, interviews with parents from the case councils suggest that they are hardly given the full picture of how much money was received.

Similarly, most citizens from MDC complained that they are given unsatisfactory explanations about these funds, such as "we have received some money from the council, and we will be building two or more classrooms, painting walls and so on", without at the same time providing a financial analysis. Even if the parents have prior information on how much money was received and probably misused, there is nothing they can do other than complaining among themselves. In this case, if the village and street governments were functioning correctly by holding the required meetings, parents would have a better chance to air their views. However, some citizens interviewed from the FGDs complained that few village leaders collude with the headteachers to siphon off education funds. The following case from one village in MDC provides more insight into the magnitude of the problem.

Interviews with residents in Makami Juu Village (MDC) revealed that there was a conflict between the Village Executive Officer (VEO) and the headteacher about the latter trying to misuse school funds and refusing to mobilise people to engage in the construction of classrooms. The study learned from FGDs with parents that since the amount of funds deposited into bank accounts from the council is known only to the headteacher, VEO and a few school committee members, this funding has been easy prey. Moreover, when relationships among these key actors break down, especially between the headteacher and VEO, it is the local people who are likely to suffer as the project will be either delayed or not properly implemented. The current conflict in Makami Juu Village started when the school received some iron sheets and about 20 bags of cement for building two classrooms. This assistance came from the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) with a component of local citizens' participation through construction work and supervision. According to some members of the school committee involved in the management of this project, the VEO stubbornly refused to co-operate with the headteacher after she refused to let him use some of the funds for his interests. No village assembly was held to disseminate the information to the public. Further interviews with some residents in the village revealed that the VEO had established good relationships in the past with the former headteacher of the school to siphon off similar project funds, but when he tried to lure the current headteacher, she obstinately refused. This bitter conflict was also forwarded to the District Education Officer (DEO) for MDC, but at the time of this research the cement bags, which seemed to have passed their expiry date, and the iron sheets were still in the school's store. In the opinion of one of the school committee members, information about funds for the school is hardly disseminated to the villagers, and no such records would be displayed either at the school board meetings or in the village office.

Accordingly, since the people from the NAO randomly audit schools' account records, it is unlikely that an occurrence like this will be easily spotted. In a similar vein, the literature informs us that since few NGOs and CBOs are working in rural areas, this problem is also unlikely to be reported by them. This case illustrates how regular meetings to inform the public about the progress of school projects are essential for local people to see what their leaders are doing; eventually, they should be able to hold irresponsible leaders accountable for their actions and inactions.

Discussion

The discussions are covered in the next sections.

Transparency in local finance

The premise behind the decentralisation reforms in Tanzania has been to promote an informed, consultative relationship between citizens and their local governments (Msami 2011). Similarly, local government reformers around the world do share a common understanding that

decentralisation reforms are undertaken to improve public services (Khaleghian 2004). The study's findings are consistent with these previous results, showing that even though the decentralisation is meant to bring services closer to the people to let local people access councils' information, this desire has been somewhat difficult to achieve for the cases of MCC and MDC. The findings have shown that most local people interviewed said that when they request some council information, they are often told that it is confidential (this is known in Swahili as *"siri"*). These findings reinforce the general belief held by most anthropologists who have documented cases where an increase in the level of decentralisation to the lowest levels does not necessarily mean better service delivery or increased regulation of local communities (Chome 2015). In fact, this may lead to local elite capturing the local resources as in the case of primary school funds. Furthermore, the results obtained by Sikika (2015) are consistent with the current findings. The study findings have shown that LGAs in Tanzania do not comply with the existing laws and regulations that require them to disclose budgetary information to the public. The findings show that the case councils visited make little effort to share local budgetary information with the local citizens. This may result in a significant drop in performance of LGAs in terms of service delivery.

It should also be noted that Tanzania joined the Open Government Partnership Initiative in September 2011 in its initiatives to increase transparency in government service delivery. However, it withdrew from OGP on June 29, 2017. While it is not the intention of this paper to discuss in detail the implications of this move by the government's withdrawal, it might be sufficing to say that the efforts to enhance transparency at the local level might be affected. For example, under the OGP Action Plan of 2012/2013, Tanzania commitment focused on the four pillars, namely: transparency, accountability, citizens' participation and technology and innovation. These commitments were to be operationalized in the health, education, and water sectors (Open Government Partnership, 2014). Our results emphasize the importance of incorporating issues of transparency into the routine practice of the LGAs. This is particularly useful for ascertaining whether the councils are adhering to the call of D by D as spelt out in the Policy Paper on Local Government Reforms (1998). The policy document requires the councils to demonstrate the importance of enhancing transparency in local financing, and hence attaining the principles of local governance. The concepts of accountability, transparency, and good governance are highly intertwined (Akhtar *et al*. 2016; Castillo & Gabriel 2020). Hence, when one of these pillars of good local governance is ineffective, the quality of service delivery is likely to be affected.

The findings seem to indicate that to some extent the councils disseminate information on local finance to the public through council meetings, newsletters, meetings organised by council officials, ward, and village meetings. However, there is still some doubt as to whether these methods are effective mechanisms. Many studies on local financing in Tanzania have questioned the efficacy of these mechanisms (CMI *et al*. 2003; Kwanbo 2010; Sikika 2015). As we have seen in the case of the case councils, the mechanisms for accountability and transparency are in place, but they do not seem to be working properly. The findings also corroborate findings by Gabriel (2017:220) who argues that: "the ready availability of financial reports and information on policy targets needs to be complemented by other information being made available to a community via official websites and social media accounts". An implication of this is that for ensuring transparency in local financing not only the substance matters for disseminating information but also the form in which the information is presented and made available to the local people.

Transparency and service delivery

These findings have two important implications for service delivery. One, effective service delivery is possible where transparency for the use of public funds is guaranteed. Second, where services are delivered in the absence of effective means of accountability and transparency, local

corruption could be widely spread. These findings provide further evidence that the challenges facing LGAs in Tanzania seem to be multiplying. For example, some scholars have noted that there are several problems and challenges which LGAs are encountering in the delivery of services in their areas of jurisdiction in Tanzania (Liviga 2012; Massoi & Norman 2009; Mdee & Thorley 2016; Mmari 2005; Ng'eni & Chalam 2016; World Bank Group & African Economic Research Consortium 2015).

The findings are also consistent with similar studies conducted on local government and service delivery in Tanzania which have shown that an inadequacy of transparency is associated with poor service delivery at the local levels. For example, these problems have also been linked to (i) a lack of capacity at the LGAs level, (ii) the problem of viability of some LGAs because they are economically weak, (iii) political patronage also hampers the efficient implementation of service delivery programmes, (v) intervention and interference of central government on issues which should have been solved by the LGAs themselves (Liviga 2012:7). Usually, such interventions and interferences are politically motivated. Other studies have shown that one of the causes of poor mechanisms for effective transparency in local government is low attendance of local citizens in local decision-making bodies which are open to the public such as the council meetings (Kessy & Mushi 2018; Kessy 2008; King 2014). For example, while decisions are made openly, yet the number of people that participate in this assembly is usually less than half of the people in the respective village. The law requires that the village assembly be announced to the public. In most villages, the announcement is made, yet rural population, just like that of an urban population is busy with personal activities that seem to provide merit to their household (Kessy 2008).

Conclusion

The importance of accountability and transparency attached to service delivery in any country is essential for good practices in local governance. Accountability and transparency enable public institutions and public officials to be responsive to the citizens. The findings have shown that the case councils have devised some methods for disseminating council information to the public. Nonetheless, these methods are not effective to enable all the local people to make sense of the information displayed on various noticeboards. The findings have also shown that the financial information seems to be the only information available on the council, ward and village notice boards. Other information, such as procurement, auditors' reports, and local project implementation reports, appears to be missing.

Moreover, financial information which is posted on the notice boards seems to be inaccessible to the public as most local people do not appear to read such information. Similarly, the design of posting financial information is difficult for ordinary people to make sense of the posted financial information apparently because of their lack of basic skills in interpreting such condensed statistics. The findings suggest that there is a lack of transparency in the management of primary school funds, as only a few people, such as VEOs, headteachers and some school committee members, hold this important information. Besides, village assemblies, which by law are supposed to disseminate such information to the public, are held infrequently by the village governments. The observed transparency practices in the two councils do not significantly provide the local citizens with greater opportunity to hold their local leaders accountable. This further implies that the local elites may mismanage various ongoing local projects in the case councils due to the lack of effective transparency mechanisms.

The current study highlights the difficulties of enforcing accountability and transparency in Tanzania and some implication on the ongoing development of the new National Decentralisation Policy in Tanzania which aims to replace the Policy Paper on Local Government Reforms (1998). The central government could make the emphasis to require the councils to make sure that relevant information about their activities is made available to the public on request, including the

elected members, CSOs, media and the private sector. More sensitisation should be made to increase the demand side of accountability to be more effective by providing the local citizens with some information including the distribution of pamphlets, booklets and books which have been published by the ministry responsible for local government on good local governance. These documents should be made available to the local citizens rather than only to local leaders. Moreover, the spread of new technology creates new opportunities for informing the public. Important information could be posted online, and disseminated through newspapers, televisions, and radio.

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Designing Per-Poor system of innovation proverbs

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to explore how to create a Per-Poor innovation (PPI) approach in a way that contributes knowledge. A lot of indigenous system research exists, but the percentage transformed into approaches, products and services is low. The study will create a low income level innovation artifact by integrating indigenous knowledge (IK) and global knowledge (GK) for Per-Poor innovators. Analogy design science research method was used to create a system of innovation proverbs. Analogy between indigenous Harambee and global sysems: Open source software, Software patterns and Kaizen was used to discover innovation rules and principles applicable to PPI. The research findings are synthesising African philosophies and provide a paradigm for integrating IK and GK. Synthesising proverbs and Theory of inventive problem solving (TRIZ) principles aided in the discovery of possible ways beeping innovation was created. The originality of this research is being first to create an indigenous PPI.

Keywords: indigenous knowledge, Per-Poor innovation, proverbs, global knowledge, systems

Introduction

People at the lowest income levels (LIL) innovate by trial and error due to lack of innovation approaches and little explicit innovation knowledge. Local communities especially LIL have through the ages developed technological innovations that meet their social, economic needs, conditions of production and have contributed to the evolution of knowledge and practice (Adrian 2008). African societies thus have skills and capabilities to create indigenous technologies, but have no systematic ways of creating and managing them.

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) discovered fire. This was among the first proto-typical innovations that changed the world. Fire is the direct or indirect foundation of all modern technologies. Analogy is better than invention for making breakthrough innovations (Hargadon 2003). The technology staircase journey from junkyard to wonderland starts with crawling, followed by walking, followed by running and on to flying (Holmstrom *et al*. 2012). Analogy is a vehicle for navigating unknown innovation landscapes. It uses relevant similarities between things and ignores irrelevant ones. Every person and generation invents. The first person to create a habitable cave house was an inventor and first person to build "caves" that were bartered for other products was an innovator.

Per-Poor innovation (PPI) is innovation by people at the bottom of the pyramid LIL (Heeks 2008:30). PPI solves problems that firms are not interested in, that only the poor are motivated to solve. Humanitarian engineering should build capacity for PPI (Ryan 2013). This capacity is built by creating Per-Poor support artifacts.

Innovation success depends on bridging the gap between available knowledge and social lacunas by linking ideas and processes in their social context (Afolabi 2013). There is a large lacuna between Per-Poor innovators and ways available for them to innovate, which reduces

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their confidence. A prerequisite for building the innovation capabilities of developing countries' innovators is increasing their confidence (Intarakumnerd and Virasa 2004). Self-esteem is part of a capability to solve a problem that is necessary to trigger solution development (Srinivas and Sutz 2008). Innovators with self-esteem and confidence persist in innovating longer in the face of failures. The earliest innovations such as fire were created by innovators in environments more constrained than LIL. Innovating in environments of scarcity occurs everywhere, always.

Proverbs represent local viewpoints that can be integrated with global knowledge (GK) for projects involving local communities (Local researchers and Easton 2004). Proverbs are the kernel of indigenous technology development systems. Research is needed to balance IK and GK for technology development and innovation (Bwisa 2005). Harambee is a Kenyan indigenous social technical system for building traditional houses, modern school buildings, and social activities like organising, managing and raising funds.

Innovation principles are building blocks of innovation methods. Some innovation principles are common sense, so can be used by anyone. Theory of inventive problem solving (TRIZ) is an innovation methodology consisting of several methods. TRIZ is based on invention science similar to the way the scientific method is based on research science. TRIZ was developed by Altshuller with the goal of creating an invention system. Altshuller created the invention system by studying how patented inventions were created. Different countries, regional and international organisations patent databases are the largest source of invention knowledge. Two differences between TRIZ methodology and other popular innovation methods like creative problem solving and lateral thinking is that TRIZ is focused on technology innovation while the others are general innovation methods. The second difference is TRIZ is comprehensive, while other methods are not.

This study uses TRIZ Invention algorithm (ARIZ) and inventive principles. TRIZ and ARIZ are Russian abbreviations that don't exactly match the English translation. The ARIZ algorithm is a detailed specification of innovation instruction steps. TRIZ inventive principles help people transfer problem-solving skills from one domain to another, can be taught and used by anyone at any level of education, from schoolchildren to management consultants to PhD researchers (Smith 2005). This study used the principles to transfer professional global innovative systems knowledge to an informal Per-Poor innovators' technology development approach. It found proverbs useful for transferring indigenous knowledge to global systems in order to extract similar elements. Technologists can build technology and innovation capabilities by following the staircase model: acquiring and using; assimilating, transforming, exploiting knowledge as they modify and innovate technologies (Intarakumnerd and Virasa 2004).

This study creates a PPI approach. Per-Poor innovators have created novel techniques, new products and business models (Heeks 2008). PPIs' details are captured as folklore known to several or as tacit knowledge possessed by a few and known only by their close peers.

Creative engineering innovates by analogy and metaphoric reasoning based on object attributes and relations dimensions with 20% overlap (Hey *et al*. 2008). Corollary of metaphor and analogy overlap is theories and techniques of each can be partially applied in other. Analogy is better than invention for breakthrough innovation influenced this study to privilege analogy over invention (Hargadon 2003). Analogy uses similarities between a better known problem and solution and a new problem with no solution. This required study to start by identifying similarities between Harambee and selected GK systems.

Research questions

Design science research questions are exploratory, constructive, guide the selection of research method (Nguyen *et al*. 2019). They align literature review, and other research components.

This study's research questions are:

1. What are similarities between Harambee proverbs and elements of global innovation systems: open source innovation, software patterns and Kaizen?
2. Can some of these similarities be represented by proverbs, famous sayings, innovation principles and rules be combined to create Per-Poor innovating system?
3. What global innovation systems structure can provide a structure to combine proverbs, sayings, innovation rules and principles into a Per-Poor innovation system?
4. How can Per-Poor proverb innovation systems be implemented?
5. How can African philosophies aid the development of Per-Poor innovation approaches?

Literature review

Literature review is presented in the following sections: proverbs and sayings, software patterns, innovation theory and principles, Kaizen and open source innovation model.

Proverbs and sayings

Africans must design science, technology and innovation (STI) into play, songs, existence, work lore and folklore through turning dreams into realisable future vision (Odhiambo 1993:44). Technology culture drives the spread of innovation and creativity through entire individual and community cognition and existence (Ogungbure 2011). Different SSA STI visions and dreams should be aligned and synthesised into a vision of visions and dream of dreams (Urama *et al*. 2010). Visions and dreams are important starting points to be built on. V*ision without action is daydreaming; action without vision is a nightmare* is a proverb that captures the importance of combining vision and action, dreaming and designing dreams into solutions.

Proverbs are fundamental subsystems of language, part of folklore and work lore used by all members of society, from children to the elderly. They are more widely used in SSA than other parts of world. Proverbs are pervasive in indigenous social technical systems due to their being simple, widely used and having a high problem-solving ability. A random collection of facts and old proverbs is not expertise; expertise is organised, integrated, consists of interrelated elements focused on particular domain and are capable of solving problems (Jackson 1999). Human proverb expertise comes from skillfully combining proverbs and other knowledge using cognitive systems. This study explores ways of organising and integrating proverbs, saying and innovation principles into an expertise system.

Proverbs present local attitudes, insights and proverb reasoning mental models (PRMM) that interleave different ideas, perspectives, experiences and knowledge into novel work practices (Local researchers and Easton 2004). Designers' strategy can leverage this by using the multiple transforming and transformable knowledge and multiple perspectives of others to create novel artifacts (Lindberg *et al*. 2010). Design science research methods are based on design strategy.

Integrated IK and GK have economic and cultural advantages of familiarity and self-sufficiency (UNESCO 2005). These make it easy to adopt and use. Emerging Knowledge societies need more producers of knowledge than consumers (UNESCO 2005). Knowledge producers integrate knowledge from different knowledge basis. Grassroots indigenous innovation emphasise local creative thoughts that pinpoint local needs that firms are reluctant or unable to address (Lizuka and SadreGhazi 2011). Innovation by synthesis is a better way of solving major individual and community problems (Osborn 1957).

Polysymbolism theory states that a proverb's constituent words are symbolic concepts that are substituted with other concepts during problem solving (Wanjohi 1997). Substituted concepts can be novel, such as discovery, creativity and invention that extends proverbs into other domains. "A proverb is a horse that carries you to quickly discover ideas" was polysymbolised to innovation, invention, technology through polysymbolic creativity (Mambo 2017).

Proverbs are discovery and invention heuristics (Polya 1985). Everybody designs as things people create have a structure, good or bad. This is supported by the proverb “Everything is designed”. Design means a plan, a pattern, a composition, or an intention and involves two phases: creating a mental plan for something and creation of forms (Taura and Nagai 2010). Therefore, design is fundamental to thinking and cognition. The questions arise how indigenous social technical were designed and whether they can be indigenously redesigned in a better way? The second question is answered by the proverb “There is nothing that cannot be improved”. Polya’s discovery that proverbs are design heuristics, their wide use, high ability to codify knowledge and Alexander’s observation that indigenous societies apply patterns genetically leads to the corollary that proverbs were and are used to design indigenous systems.

Polya, the great mathematician, suggested collecting proverbs for planning, finding means to reach ends and choosing between means of action. These are design proverbs as design is defined as planning (Taura and Nagai 2010). Proverbs such as “You are because I am” and “Let’s pull together” are planning strategies woven into society’s culture. Alexander who invented building design patterns was inspired by ways indigenous people used patterns genetically to build houses, villages and towns (Coplien 1999). This study’s uses Alexander’s reverse inspiration from global systems to indigenous systems. Alexander’s patterns borrowed from indigenous proverb patterns as Kaizen borrowed from Western quality management. A lesson learnt from this is successful borrowing from other domains is followed by creative adaptation and improvement. Indigenous societies designed their buildings and towns using genetic strategies; the corollary of this is that indigenous social technical systems were designed by Bioinspired design strategies. Nature creates organisms genetically similar to indigenous genetic design. Alexander’s work demonstrates how indigenous proto-typical design method worked.

Among design proverbs Polya found illustrating discovery and invention are: “If you fail, try, try again”, “It’s not enough to try again, try different means”, illustrated by the proverb “Try all keys in the bunch”. A more general African proverb equivalent to these proverbs is: “Trying is succeeding”. When one tries difficult or novel things, success in not guaranteed, but there is no other way of succeeding. This is supported by the African proverb “One who knows proverbs gets what he wants”. This proverb point of view is expert reasoning as using the right proverbs can be used to get everything. Directed by the two African proverbs, this study continuously searched and tried proverbs until the System of innovation proverbs was created.

Some proverbs are software patterns used to teach and develop software (Mambo 2017). Software patterns are innovative and each pattern consists of two or more TRIZ inventive principles (Kluender 2006). The corollary of this is that software pattern theory is at least partially applicable to proverbs.

Integration of proverbs with other constructs is common in SSA culture. Proverbs and riddles are integrated in proverb riddles (Messenger 1960). Gicandi integrated proverbs, poems to create music used in competitions (Sunkuli and Miruka 1990). Gicandi was also used in work, education and managing indigenous social technical systems. People at the bottom of the pyramid used PPI to create novel techniques, processes, business models and others (Heeks 2008). Using social science and the arts to create technology innovation methods is increasing. An example: Essence is an agile software innovation method founded on innovative dance elements (Aaen 2008).

Harambee is a Kenyan indigenous social technical system driven by self-help strategy applied in several domains, including technology development. People volunteer their expertise, time, knowledge and money for communal projects. At independence, Harambee was widely used and adopted as a Kenyan tradition for self-help activities (Chepkwony 2009). Identifying social, cultural and technical gaps ensures the feasibility of design and deployment of digital tools in rural areas (Nocera and Camara 2015). These are critical success factors for Per-Poor technological innovation. Harambee was designed with proverbs and is a long-lived system with

advantages that make it persist. The corollary of this is that proverbs are a design language. Any useful system can be mined for insights for creating artifacts. Data mining is automated insight mining while Alexander's patterns is manual insight mining.

Software patterns

A software pattern is a good, frequently used way of solving a particular class of problems. Patterns are discovered by recognising other people's good ideas not by exceptional brilliance (Raymond 1998). Patterns originated from Alexander's building architecture design work and were borrowed by several other disciplines. Software discipline adapted Alexander's pattern concepts and constructs, then used them to mine patterns from software systems. This inspired this study to mine proverbs from the Harambee system in analogous ways. Alexander's goal was to provide local communities including LIL with easy to use best practices in the form of building design patterns to apply to design of their buildings and towns. Invention of building patterns was driven by the realisation there will never be enough architects.

Complex phenomena generic pattern of scientific discovery is detecting patterns woven by patterned behaviour similar to the cloth weaving loom (Valdes-Perez 1995). Proverbs are patterns woven into indigenous social technical systems. Science and indigenous discovery apply generic pattern genetically.

Innovation theory and principles

Scarcity is the mother of invention and may lead to innovation. Developing countries' scarcity causes lack or inadequate innovation inputs and necessary environmental innovation elements, barriers which are absent in developed countries (Srinivas and Sutz 2008:131). Improvisation and bricolage are used to overcome these barriers. Scarcity-driven heuristic solutions are created for problems solved elsewhere, but with inappropriate or unaffordable solutions (Srinivas and Sutz 2008). The scarcity heuristics may be indigenous or a hybrid of GK and IK.

Innovation in all fields results from unconventional acts of traveling along scarcely or unexplored paths, connecting concepts and methods situated in distant branches of knowledge structures (Assogna and Taglino 2013). When exploring these unknown areas, paradigm mapping techniques are broken or stretched. Furthermore, innovation is not an issue of working with either global or local knowledge, doing, using and interacting or STI, but by hybridisation of them (Jensen *et al*. 2007). Exploring ways of hybridising Harambee, GK elements is discovery journey in unknown wilderness.

Kaizen

Kaizen is a lifelong continuous improvement journey. Kaizen journey is as important as the destination. Journey builds capabilities and destination achieves results. Innovation is a journey of journeys; past journeys build knowledge and capabilities for future journeys. Kaizen like TRIZ inventive principles are used in Information communication technology development, manufacturing, education, social sciences and applied by all levels of society. Kaizen exists in two variants, the Japanese Kaizen and Western Kaizen referred to as continuous improvement (Suarez-Barraza *et al.* 2011). The two variants are adaptation of Kaizen to different environments. Kaizen will from this point be used to refer to the Japanese Kaizen.

Kaizen is a popular approach that hybridised Japanese IK with borrowed Western quality management knowledge (Wittenberg 1994). The hybridisation created an improved technology development system. Kaizen, Western Six sigma and Business process engineering are parts drawn from the same quality management knowledge whole (Anderson *et al*. 2006). Kaizen was created through three interacting processes. First, quality management knowledge was acquired, assimilated and mastered from the West. Second, Kaizen was created by cross fertilising Japanese local and assimilated GK quality management. Third, Kaizen was improved

through learning by doing and from developments of Six Sigma in the West. Six Sigma also borrowed from emerging Kaizen. Kaizen development is one proven way of developing indigenous systems. Kaizen today has transitioned from an IK to a GK system.

Kaizen consists of several components including 10 rules and six wastes (Wittenberg 1994). One Kaizen rule is “Use wisdom not money”. The rule is adapted to “Prioritise using wisdom over money”. Another rule, “Wisdom comes from difficult situations”, is applicable to scarcity environments. The TRIZ principle “Lemon to Lemonade” enables turning difficult situations into beneficial ones. The two rules and one principle align with the proverb “Necessity is the mother of invention” aligned by the proverb “Add effort to wisdom”. The Kaizen rule “Use wisdom of ten instead of one” is contained in the Harambee self-help strategy proverb “Let’s pull together”. Synthesising the best knowledge of Harambee and selected GK into a system (SIP) creates synergy to leverage efforts.

Open source innovation model

Open source innovation model (OSIM) is a software development guide. The model is used to organise a virtual community of volunteer software developers, testers and users, who create software utilising their own resources. They communicate and host software produced on the Internet. The model has created some of the largest and most complex software systems.

OSIM, Wikis and genome are open information production systems with increasing usage, showing open innovation models can do as well as conventional closed models (Pullock 2008). The selection of project innovation model is based on project objectives, cost, duration and scope. Open innovation starts with a mindset change, by creating a culture that values competence, knowhow from outside and provides incentives for volunteers (Gassmann *et al*. 2010). Borrowing ideas from Kaizen, TRIZ and open source is a way of valuing global knowledge.

There is no reason ideas pioneered in open source cannot spread to other areas of economic and social activity (Krogh and Hippel 2006). The analogy between open source and Harambee will be used to adapt open source ideas for Per-Poor innovation. OSIM is the best chance for developing countries (DC) to join the IT revolution and missing this opportunity has worse consequences than when DC missed the industrial revolution (Oreku and Mtenzi 2013). The model allows production of high quality, low cost software, through building and leveraging a developer’s capabilities and volunteering culture. These enable penetration of competitive markets.

Transforming and transformed knowledge

Design allows creation of artifacts even with insufficient or no knowledge (Vaishnavi and Kuechler 2005) by transforming science into technology through crossing partially understood regions between theory and practice; science and technology (Vincent *et al.* 2005). Crossing GK and IK is least understood and is complicated by Per-Poor innovators having a lot of IK and little GK.

There are several ways of combining transforming and transformable knowledge as shown in Table 1. For example, a potter creating a pot uses pottery creation methods as transforming knowledge and pottery material properties as transformable knowledge. System of innovation proverbs (SIP) Table 1 quadrant 3 combines GK and IK transforming knowledge to process IK transformable knowledge. Per-Poor innovators have strength in quadrant 1 which they can use to overcome weakness in areas 3, 7 and 9 by learning through inventing. They can work with GK experts to develop innovations in areas 2, 4, 6 and 8. In the long run Per-Poor will be able to create simple innovations in quadrants 6, 8. They should learn from simple GK innovations they use daily. Quadrant 5 should be left to professionals.

Table 1: Transforming and transformed knowledge and experience matrix

		Transforming knowledge and perspectives		
		IK	GK	IK and GK
Transformed knowledge and perspectives	IK	1	2	3
	GK	4	5	6
	IK and GK	7	8	9

Open source innovation is driven by intrinsic motivation, reciprocity and reputation and catalysed by small efforts, small costs, and high knowledge contribution (Belenzon and Schankerman 2008). Open source and Harambee have shared values: respect for community, habit of voluntary work and reciprocating (Ng'ethe 1983). When people participate in many Harambee projects there are reciprocal benefits from projects of others. Harambee is based on low cost efforts, using available knowledge and resources of volunteers. OSIM uses a self-help strategy by computing professionals and users forming volunteer communities that create artifacts to satisfy their needs and those of others. There are many similarities between open source software development and Harambee.

Method

This study used two research methods: Conjecture design science research method (CDSRM) based on Analogy (Gero 2000) and design reasoning based on intelligence (Takeda *et al*. 1990). Design reasoning was used for the literature review and proverb collection; and CDSRM for developing SIP. Analogy aided in determining similarities between open source development, software patterns and Kaizen innovative systems with Harambee proverbs. Analogies are fundamental to human thought and play a heuristic role in discovery (Bartha 2019).

Design science research is used in computing, engineering, management, education and social sciences. Fused Design science and social science research method uses Design science to create artifacts and social science to develop artifacts behavioral theory (Gregor and Baskerville 2012). Developing SIP theory will require social science research. This is left as future work.

Design science research problems are ill structured social messes with solutions that are neither true nor false but are bad or good (Rittel and Webber 1973:162). Integrating GK and IK is a social mess with no guaranteed solution. Strong and weak Knowledge flows between social sciences catalyse technology innovation (Gregor and Baskerville 2012: 10). A bad solution that can be economically improved to a better solution may be adopted.

Proverb collection

Collecting proverbs started informally during researcher's undergraduate studies triggered by being puzzled as to whether SSA could have developed chemistry discipline from indigenous knowledge if they had not been interrupted by colonisation. Whether SSA could have developed chemistry and if it was feasible were informal research questions. Explained from personal construct theory (PCT), solving new problems in domains outside one's expertise is doing personal informal science by developing an hypothesis, testing them to become personal theories (Kelly 1955). These theories are important as they show how professionals and lay people build theories outside their expertise domains. The researcher's background as chemist,

system analyst and artificial intelligence systems developer influenced the exploration. The goal was to come up with personal conclusions acceptable to the researcher, not the scientific community.

Being puzzled how chemistry could have developed based on indigenous knowledge made researcher curious to find what Harambee building blocks were. Harambee projects dominated media and public debate in the early days of independence. Proverbs were used in these forums to show why projects could succeed even when faced with major challenges. Proverbs were used to chart a route from current project state through or around barriers to success. This showed how projects could be completed. Proverbs were a better approach than plain language for understanding and explaining how projects could be carried out. Workers working on Harambee projects also used proverbs. From these the researcher learned how proverbs were applied in social technical systems. Another observation was proverbs and famous technological sayings performed similar functions. The final observation was proverbs and sayings were used together in everyday technical arguments. The corollary of these observations was proverbs and sayings could be combined to create artifacts.

The proverb collection process progressively became more scientific over the years. When this study started the process became formal and scientific and was based on design reasoning: problem awareness, solution suggestion and development (Takeda *et al*. 1990). Problem Awareness enabled breaking problems into sub-problems. Solution suggestion phase searched for proverbs by observing their application in projects. Since Harambee is a way of building technologies the corollary is proverbs are applicable to technology development and innovation.

Per-Poor system of innovation proverb

Artificial intelligence problem solving search and software patterns solutions are guided by graphs. System of innovation proverbs (SIP) adapted this graph, with paths determined by the way the problem is decomposed into sub-problems, order they are solved [?] and techniques used. The graph was the answer to research question 3 as the global system structure suitable for synthesising appropriate elements into PPI approach. SIP graph start node is the “Let’s pull together” strategy. That combines people’s efforts, knowledge and finances to implement community projects

The proverb “Nothing cannot be improved” is complementary to the Kaizen rule “Avoid perfection; do it right away even if it’s only 50%” (Wittenberg 1994). For novel problems it’s often better to act and learn from results than wait until you have complete knowledge as not all knowledge exists. Linus who developed the Linux operating system started with an imperfect Linux version that was improved to become a world-class operating system.

The study found that both Harambee and Kaizen are incremental and iterative. When building a Harambee school, the first class was built to completion, students admitted, teachers posted and learning started. The usable partial project benefited the community, motivating it to continue. Harambee incremental model shares OSIM direction of starting a project based on plausible promise and creating a useful, but not perfect partial product, may be even crude (a kind of Edison’s junk) and reusing relevant parts of existing systems (TRIZ cheap copies principle) (Raymond 1998, Sanders 1998).

Figure 1 is a SIP graph consisting of innovation principles, rules, proverbs and sayings, nodes and transitions, edges. The graph guides solution development. Each node is a solution to a sub-problem. Per-Poor innovators select the next node based on next sub-problem to be solved.

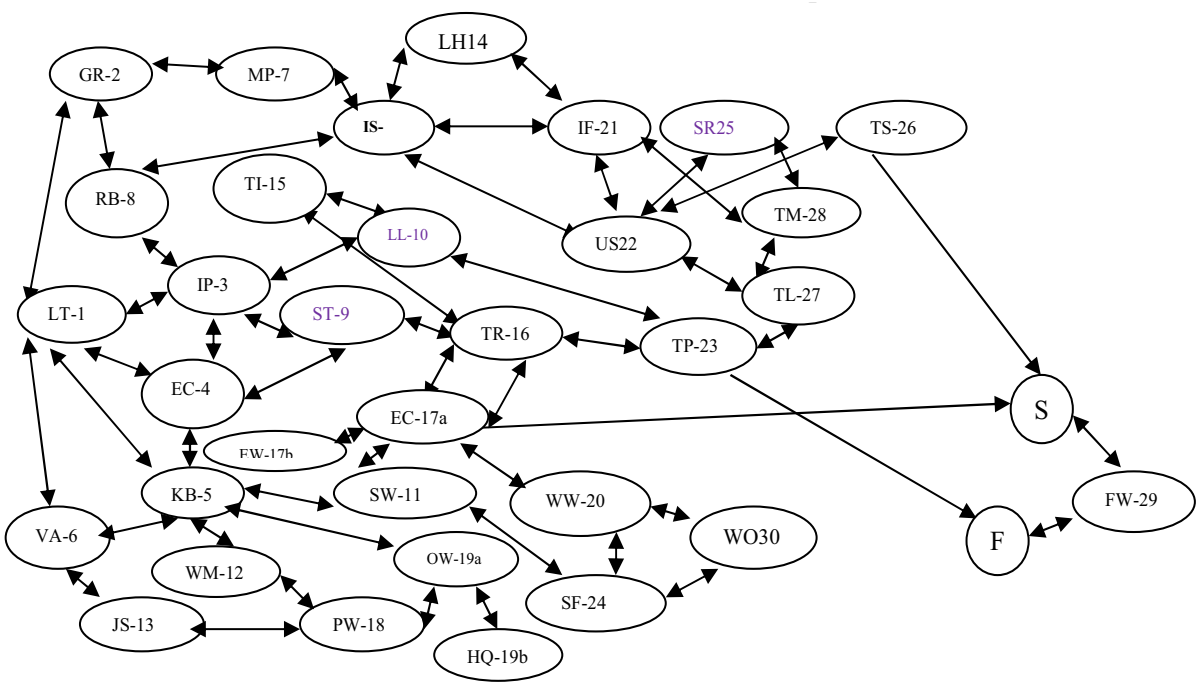

Figure 1. Per-Poor System of proverb innovation patterns

The following are SIP node elements: Let's pull together (proverb) (LT-1). A group lifts a heavy load (proverb) (GR-2). If you want to eat an elephant, you divide it into pieces (proverb) (IP-3). There is nothing that can't be improved (proverb) (EC-4). Knowledge is like a baobab tree (proverb) (KB-5). Vision without action is day dreaming, action without vision is a nightmare (proverb) (VA-6). Merge principle (innovate by combining parts) (TRIZ principle) (MP-7). Rome was not built in a single day (proverb) (RB-8). Segment (innovate by dividing into parts) (TRIZ principle) (ST-9). A little a little becomes much (proverb) (LL-10). A string waits for a rope (proverb) (SW-11). Prioritise wisdom use over money use (Kaizen rule) (WM-12). A journey of thousand steps starts first step and is completed by remaining steps (proverb) (JS-13). If I have seen far it's by standing on shoulders of great men (Newton saying) (IS-14a). Searching for a needle in haystack (LH-14b). To innovate you need a junk and imagination (Edison saying) (TI-15). Turn the other way round (TRIZ principle) (TR-16). Efforts are more important than Capability (proverb) (EC-17a). Add effort to wisdom (proverb) (EW 17b) People are wealth (proverb) (PW-18). One who doesn't know this knows that (proverb) (OW-19a). A proverb is a horse that carries you to quickly discover ideas (HQ-19b). The road to what works is through what doesn't work (proverb) (WW-20). I never failed once I found 500 ways that don't work so that I could finally find the way that works (Edison saying) (IF-21). Use cheap copies (TRIZ principle) (US22). That which defeats people is much turned over (proverb) (TP-23). The snake that doesn't fly has caught the bird that flies (proverb) (SF-24). A string is transformed into a rope (proverb) (SR25). Trying is succeeding (proverb) (TS-26). Turn lemon into lemonade (TRIZ principle) (TL-27). The journey is more important than the destination (TM-28) (proverb). If you fall don't wake up empty handed, and then try again (Proverb) (FW-29). Use wisdom of ten instead of one (Kaizen rule) (WO30).

SIP extends GK graph by substituting unidirectional with bi directional links to allow cyclical problem solving analogous to design science. The second extension linked indirectly linked nodes with weak links allowing innovator to jump from any node to an indirectly linked node in usual circumstances. An example is a situation where solution is found before last node is

reached. The third extension is thesis, antithesis and synthesis dialectic pattern was made part of every node. The fourth extension is Hargadon rule “Analogy is better than invention” is made part of every node making SIP analogy oriented.

Alternatives for Per-Poor innovation

Design requires exploration of several alternatives before selecting the alternative to implement. This study explored following alternatives:

1. Borrowing global methods followed by up scaling Per-Poor GK,
2. Downscaling global methods.
3. Creating simple global methods similar to TRIZ inventive principles that can be used by Per-Poor innovators. This would still require up scaling Per-Poor GK but on smaller scale than borrowing global methodologies.
4. Creating a PPI approach bottom up. This alternative was selected and used to create SIP
5. Downscaling global methods was also found appropriate. SIP had an extra advantage over downscaling global methods by being improvable by Per-Poor innovators. Specifically down scaling Exploratory programming a global software development method based on experimenting to discover how to innovate, was second most promising alternative.

System of innovation proverbs evaluation

One way of evaluating design science research artifacts is by showing they could have been used to create an existing innovation. An example is Soft design science research (SDSR) method evaluated by showing it could have been used to create a bank’s diffusion and adoption technology innovation (Baskerville *et al.* 2009 pg. 4). SIP was evaluated by showing it could have been used to create a Per-Poor beeping innovation (BI). Limitation of SIP evaluation compared to SDSR is lack of BI documentation. Undocumented Innovations can be evaluated using design thought experiments (DTEs) to mentally simulate possible ways they were created. DTEs are suitable for environments with many alternatives to be explored, many considerations to weigh at once and difficult to predict barriers to turning unknowns to known (Bass *et al*. 2013 pg. 286). SIP Figure 1 is used as an innovation map starting from start node LT-1 to success (node S) representing possible BI path.

Creating BI using SIP could have been initiated by an individual or a group. Group initiation starts with “Let’s pull together” (node LT-1) by a group working together to find ways of communicating at no cost. Group could have considered three variables cost (lowest), knowledge (highest), time (lowest) and a constraint that solution be acceptable by mobile service providers. The proverbs “If you want to eat an elephant you divide it into pieces” (node IP-3), “Adding effort to wisdom” (EW 17b) and Kaizen rule “Using wisdom instead of money” (node WM-12) could have been used to direct group efforts in exploring alternatives where money was minimal or decreasing. Past experiences of mobile calls terminating due to exhausting credit could have been used. Analysis of crude solution could have led to learning. This is an application of proverbs “A string waits for a rope” (node SW-11) and “A string is transformed into a rope” (node SR25). Learning from doing could have helped transform a crude solution in small continuous incremental steps into BI. It’s not often possible to invent at the first attempt, so there were many failures.

Lessons learned creating BI could been captured by proverbs “Trying is succeeding”, combining “Group lifts a heavy load” and “A little a little becomes much” makes a difficult task easy, “That which defeats people is much turned over” , learning from attempts that don’t work and continuing until discovery of what works (interpretation of Edison saying node IF-21), “If you fail don’t wake up empty handed, and try again”. Realisation that indigenous knowledge passed from past generations was applicable to state of art innovation increases innovators’ confidence.

It's likely no-one or a specific group knows they invented or contributed to beeping invention and commercialisation due to a tacit innovation process used. Had BI process been codified and documented, its innovators would be known, given credit and benefited from their innovation. Others would have been inspired and learned from BI role models to become innovators. An observation from DTE is proverbs combined into a system have knowledge management (KM) and other GK fragments.

An individual creating BI could have followed open source and Harambee pattern of creating a crude but usable solution to seed project formation and attract others to further develop solution by applying Kaizen rule "Do it right away even if it's only 50%" and proverb antithesis "Begin pulling alone" followed by "Lets pull together". The proverb "You are because I am" word view could have been the project guide. Different group members could have applied invention proverb "Looking for a needle in a haystack" (node LH-14) in parallel to speed up innovation. Analysis of reasoning of this experimentation process shows different proverbs, saying and rules reinforce each other during solution development.

BI is a simple innovation that everyone can understand. It can be used as a teaching example for school children, Per-Poor innovators, and professional innovation trainees. BI shows that simple product innovation is for everyone, not just geniuses.

Fitting per-poor innovation within the context of African philosophy

To answer the research question how African philosophy can support developing Per-poor innovation cycling was done between African philosophy of proverbs (Wanjohi 1997) and design science research (DSR). Gaps identified from cycling were filled by cycling between DSR, Ubuntu, Vital force (Tempels 1969) and Sage (Oruka 1997) African philosophies. Cycling between knowledge base and DSR is a way of discovering novel ways of building things and creating knowledge (Hevner *et al.* 2004). Thesis, antithesis and synthesis dialectic is a proverb problem-solving and reasoning strategy (Wanjohi 1997) and research, development and innovation heuristic (Johnson 2005). The dialectic is the basis of social paradigm change (Olsen *et al*. 1992). Applying paradigm change dialectic to philosophy: global philosophy is a thesis; Tempels's vital force philosophy is its first African antithesis. Other African philosophies put forward are the antithesis of global philosophy and some or all existing African philosophies. Most basic African philosophies (BAPs) have been classified by their creators as real African philosophy and some or all other African philosophies as ethno-philosophies. This is continued propagation of antithesis between African philosophies and with global philosophy. BAPs have now matured for synthesis to better support indigenous knowledge, technology development, research and innovation.

Thesis, antithesis and synthesis is a computing technology innovation, research and development method (Johnson 2005). It models past, present and future computing technology trajectories. The dialectic pattern occurs at paradigm, method (system of systems), system and component (e.g. proverb) levels. Dewey's pragmatism views the world as in flux, emergent, never fully realised, therefore theories and paradigms have temporary stability after which they change (Dalsgaard 2014:146). The rate of change is higher at lower levels, with component changing fastest. Three steps of paradigm change dialectic have fundamental contradictions that triggers new cycles (Olsen *et al*. 1992). Contradictions orchestrate Dewey world flux. Global and African philosophies have contradictions that trigger new cycles of flux.

Individual BAPs are unlikely to become mainstream due to failure to have critical mass of researchers and funding to tip over. BAPs research funding is lower than philosophy funding in other regions. Each BAP is based on a unique perspective, is well developed in some areas and not others, and has different strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats. An African philosophy paradigm progression from antithesis to synthesis stage is proposed due to the maturing of antithesis research, lack of critical mass of researchers, low funding that prevents

any BAP becoming widely researched and used. Synthesised BAP will benefit from development of individual BAPs. In the absence of African philosophy of technology a decision was made to nest global transdisciplinary and philosophy of technology within BAPs synthesis using design science research.

Dewey's definition of technology as a means or using instruments to reach ends and intended outcomes by constituting and altering experience (Dalsgaard 2014 pg. 148) was adopted as design definition of technology. Polya defined proverbs as discovery and invention heuristics that are a means to reach ends. This reveals science, technology; discovery, invention and innovation proverbs categories exist but have been excluded in current published proverb categories. The lack of these proverb categories in literature is due to: fewer proverbs in these categories, used categories are from oral literature and most of these works are not from creativity, discovery, innovation and invention perspectives. Design is the kernel of philosophy of technology (Franssen *et al.* 2018). Design provides an outlook and means to reach ends which can be guided by design science. Since proverbs are design heuristics, they are a means to reach ends.

African philosophy of science (APS) is at a nascent stage compared to BAPs. APS is based on three-value logic: true, false and both true and false (Chimakonam 2012). Three-value logic is also the kernel of transdisciplinary philosophy (Nicolescu 2010) and transdisciplinary engineering (Tate 2010). APS excludes multiple realities. Afrikology is not disciplinary but operates on, crosses, moves beyond disciplinary boundaries based on three-value logic (Nabudere 2011). Aligning APS, BAPs and Afrikology by three-value logic would make them complementary. Three-value logic has some similarities to Artificial Intelligence and mathematics widely used fuzzy logic. Saying somebody is tall is true if referring to the world's tallest person, false for the shortest person, and has a degree of truth for all others, according to fuzzy logic.

BAPs synthesises for technology innovation leverages their strengths and opportunities while minimising their weakness and threats by creating synergies between them. Figure 2 shows knowledge flows between and across African philosophies and beyond to nested philosophy of technology and transdisciplinary philosophy. Flowing knowledge is transformed closer and closer to a form applicable to technology innovation.

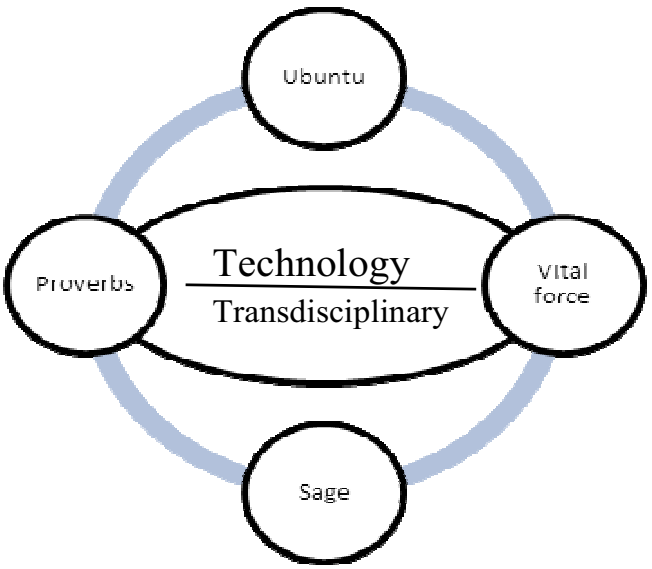

Figure 2. Transdisciplinary, Technology and basic African philosophies Radial cycle

Ubuntu management involves creating wisdom circles where voices of all participants are integrated and consensus built (Karsten and Illa 2005) pg. 613). Wisdom circles can manage wisdom using KM approaches as wisdom is meta knowledge. Wisdom is a type of knowledge of deepest causes of everything that removes ignorance barriers to happiness (Makumba 2007 pg. 32). Application of wisdom leads to achievement and benefiting from knowledge. Philosophy of proverbs and Ubuntu are based on wisdom perspective that benefits users. This prevents users becoming victims of knowledge banking.

Conclusion, key findings and recommendations

Similarity between Harambee with Kaizen, open source software and software patterns together with using proverbs and TRIZ invention principles as discovery heuristics enabled discovery of enough elements to create SIP connected by a graph structure. Proverb heuristics aided in discovery of innovation aspects in global systems while TRIZ aided in discovery in both Harambee and global systems. Both proverbs and TRIZ principles aided invention of SIP by being applied as CDRM design micro heuristics.

Many similarities were found between Harambee and open source development. Absence of software or hardware developed through Harambee was surprising. The study recommends exploratory pilot project to develop software based on Harambee model.

This study is analogy oriented and it was realised towards the end that it is a specifically analogy-inspired design. Design thought experiment (DTE) revealed two SIP alternative paths that could have been followed to create Beeping innovation. DTE further revealed GK fragments that can be used to integrate GK theories into Per-Poor innovation domain. DTE could become a major research technique for discovering how undocumented indigenous SSA innovations were created, opening a new frontier.

Importance of KM and learning through doing was recognised as important factor in innovation but no learning or KM concepts were included in SIP. These shortcomings and gaps can be addressed by future work. Research is needed to create an indigenous design science research method based on transdisciplinarity and dialectics, for small scale Per-Poor research and development. SIP social science research can provide basis for improving SIP. Down scaling global methods like Exploratory programming can provide different Problem solving approaches.

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Lawyers' antics and nonverbal impoliteness in Nigerian court documents: An example of Mosojo versus Oyetayo

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Abstract

Unlike the inquisitorial court system, the adversarial court requires that counsels willfully resort to face-aggravating impolite non/verbal acts through the instrumentation of relevant court papers as well as the use of professional privileges at the cross-examination phase to the detriment of the opposition, thereby elevating the quest for victory above fact-finding and the dispensation of justice. The study evaluates counsels' impolite nonverbal communicative behaviour and professional antics which are complementary to verbal impoliteness. Anchored on Watts' (2003) theory of relational works and Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness super-strategies, the study drew fifteen (15) purposively selected examples, with preponderance of underlying nonverbal face-aggravating behaviour by professional courtroom participants, from archived pre-trial documents and transcripts of proceedings in Mosojo versus Oyetayo (2012). Against the existence of inquisitorial and fact-finding alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms, the disputants chose the adversarial Western-like court system, with a penchant for impolite non/verbal behaviour, for the resolution of the Obasinkin chieftaincy dispute in a Nigerian community. Findings revealed that counsels' antics and nonverbal impolite behaviour are not only embedded in some legal documents, but also manifested in the form of time-wasting, willful absence from court and embedded presupposing boobytrap arguments that were meant to frustrate the opposition and influence the course of justice. Litigants are advised to explore the ADR alternative while judges should regulate the courtroom use of language to prevent the miscarriage of justice.

Keywords: Lawyers antics, court documents, Nigeria, Mosojo vs Oyetayo, face-aggravation, impoliteness, nonverbal acts

1.0 Introduction

Unlike the inquisitorial court system whose philosophy is guided by fact-finding, thereby requiring moderate use of language, the verbal and nonverbal use of language in the

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adversarial court system is widely acknowledged as face-aggravating. In several African societies, however, there are mechanisms for alternative dispute resolution (ADR) and "friendly" traditional/customary courts that orient towards the ideology of the inquisitorial legal system, where emphasis on victory by a party against the other is not as prioritised as the desire to establish the truth and to dispense justice. This is hardly the case in the adversarial system where counsels often ''battle'' the opposition in order to emerge victorious. Court adversities involve story telling that is evaluated by the judge, with each side presenting persuasive evidence while simultaneously attacking the opposition's accounts.

The Western-like courtrooms rely on oral evidence presented in the form of questions and answers so that the ''pragmatic function of attorneys' questions becomes dominant [and] differs according to the intention behind them" (Monsefi 2012:45). Brouwer, quoted in Luchjenbroers (1991:4), further highlights the perception of the adversarial system as being primarily concerned with 'winning', rather than the revelation of truth. Consequently, victory for one party rather than the other may be achieved by wit or by aggression, a situation that may not necessarily justify that justice has been served to the deserving party.

Reese and Marshall (2015:4) reveal that the adversarial system ''leans on the skills of attorneys to represent their party's position to a judge who must either be persuaded into, or dissuaded from, believing a specific story''. Counsels plot their party's victory by inserting face-aggravating contents in some relevant legal documents such as Statement of Claims, Statement of Defence, Affidavits, Statement of Service, Motion on Notice, and other relevant documents. Such contents are face-damaging and may amount to impoliteness, thereby laying the foundation for full-blown hostility at the level of cross-examination.

While a preponderance of opinion seems to suggest that courtroom faceworks are largely verbal, this study argues that verbal face-threats in the courtroom are often complemented by non-verbal faceworks through underlying codes in certain court documents as well as through unspoken/body language at the hearing phase of a case. Considering the complementary role of nonverbal language to the courtroom persuasive language use in swaying victory to one direction rather than the other, the nonverbal component of language requires evaluative comments as the verbal mode does.

Court cases are won or lost depending largely on the extent to which counsels' antics are deployed and the degree of the use of aggressive nonverbal or body language. In extreme cases, face-aggravating use of language may amount to impoliteness notwithstanding the allowance of non/verbal aggression in the courtroom situation. Nonverbal impolite-constituting behaviour may occur at three stages in the court process: at the pre-trial level, during the on-going trial and at the phase of cross-examination. Papers relating to a case are filed at pre-trial, while motions on notice are filed in the course of an ongoing case. Cross-examination is the epicentre of legal confrontation in the adversarial court system. The intensity at this stage is often set by the tone and content of court papers.

Scholars such as Harris (1984), Penman (1990), Archer (2011), Teilanyo & Ayansola (2018) are unanimous that face-aggravation in its verbal mode is prevalent in the courtroom without necessarily backing their conclusion with empirical data from court papers. Those studies also ignore the complementary role of nonverbal language in the enactment of courtroom impoliteness, which often results from excessive verbal aggression. While the universal outlets of nonverbal communication such as gestures, body movement and so on have been investigated (e.g. Burnett & Budzinsky 2005; Saidi & Pfukwa 2011) in contexts other than the courtroom, the forms and judicial implications of nonverbal language which counsels often deploy as part of their professional antics are yet to feature prominently in the literature.

In contrast, this paper evaluates impolite-constituting actions of legal practitioners which are embedded in court papers and enacted at the phase of cross-examination alongside nonverbal linguistic behaviour that often complements counsels' verbal hostilities. The rationale

is to encourage stakeholders to consider the friendlier inquisitorial ADR alternative which is based on fact-finding rather than relying on impolite non/verbal persuasive acts as is the case with the conventional courts. There are other benefits of ADR that are outside the purview of this study. The paper further calls for a regulated use of courtroom language so as to minimise impoliteness as well as to protect the vulnerable from a miscarriage of justice. In achieving these objectives, certain questions become pertinent. What are the forms of counsels' nonverbal impoliteness in the courtroom process? What is the motivation for the enactment of nonverbal impoliteness and what are the likely consequences of unregulated counsels' antics?

2.0 Nonverbal communication in the courtroom

It is not surprising that there is a prevalence of studies on verbal courtroom communication particularly from the purview of faceworks and im/politeness at the expense of nonverbal communicative acts. This attitude is a clear demonstration of scholars' apathy towards a nonverbal communicative code, notwithstanding its high resourcefulness. In departing from the norm, however, Burnett & Badzinsky (2005) investigate jurors' reactions to judges' nonverbal communication in mock trials using taped segments of 'direct and cross examination that varied the judges' level of nonverbal involvement' in the proceedings. Comments about the judge led to the conclusion that jurors are aware of judges' negative nonverbal cues. From a semiotic angle, Saidi & Pfukwa (2011) describe non-verbal communication as an important aspect of semiotics and speech acts in legal discourse. While focussing on aspects of the nonverbal dress codes, movement, space and how they convey messages that can influence the outcome of a case in a Zimbabwean courtroom, Saidi & Pfukwa (2011:2) observe that 'the behaviour and actions of the members of the legal discourse community are 'culturally' determined.

The emphasis in Burnett & Badzinsky (2005) is on the nonverbal behaviour of the judge rather than that of the counsels. This distinction is significant considering that counsels' body language in an adversarial court is meant to frustrate the opposition while the exhibition of similar behaviour by a presiding judicial officer is most likely motivated by a different communicative purpose. Nevertheless, Burnett & Badzinsky (2005) echo this paper's argument that courtroom nonverbal cues are complementary to verbal hostilities which are partly influential to judicial outcomes, which may not guarantee that justice is served. The focus of both Burnett & Badzinsky (2005) and Saidi & Pfukwa (2011) is on the hearing phase of legal proceedings, thereby ignoring inherent impolite resources in court papers as well as nonverbal impoliteness at the level of cross-examination. This study is unique in its pragmatic approach and preference for the discursive notion of impoliteness in categorising excessive behaviour in the courtroom situation.

3.0 Relational work and impoliteness

Watts' (2003) theory of relational work, in distinguishing politic behaviour from the traditional polite and impolite labels and its provision for several levels of politeness: politic, appropriate, unmarked as well as marked behaviour which are operational in different contexts and genre, provides the theoretical anchorage for the study. Insights are however fed into the theory from Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness super-strategies.

Notwithstanding that the major linguistic ingredient for the fulfillment of legal purpose and justice is inherently face-threatening, the classification of what constitutes impolite language usage should take into consideration the context of performance (Ayansola 2017). It follows that nonverbal impolite acts may also be interpreted as politic or appropriate in line with Watts' (2003) proposal, depending on whether or not such behaviour is in conformity with the frame of the participants' expectations in a particular genre such as the courtroom.

On the one hand, politic behaviour is unmarked since it is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the context of performance, while on the other hand, politeness is

positively marked and is perceived to go beyond what is expectable (Watts 2003). It is not always the case that appropriate utterances and their nonverbal components would be construed as politic as proposed by Locher & Watts (2005). Culpeper (2011:49) has therefore, highlighted the inherent problem in such generalisation when considering some contexts outside, say an army recruit training 'in which face-attacking discourse of some kind plays a central role, and thus might be said to be normal'. Bousfield (2008:7) contends that such intentionally face-aggravating utterances are marked, despite their appropriateness.

Tekourafi (2005) and Blitvich (2010) have argued that specific linguistic expressions [in verbal or nonverbal form] should be analysed in particular contexts of use. In Tekourafi's (2005:248) words, 'the regular co-occurrence of particular types of text and particular linguistic expressions as [sic] the unchallenged realisations of particular acts that create the perception of politeness'. For Blitvich (2010:10), a comprehensive model of (im)politeness must be presented in a way characteristic of a particular situational context or genre, a 'unit of analysis needed and useful not only for interpersonal face-to-face, dyadic communication, but also for intergroup, mediated, polylogal communication'.

Blitvich's (2010) approach to the study of (im)politeness has its root in Swales's (1990:14) concept of genre which is defined as:

> a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constraints choice of contexts and style […] exemplars of a genre, exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience.

In relating Swales' (1990) concept of genre to politeness, Blitvich (2010:62) defines politeness as:

> [either] the use of lexico-grammatical strategies or realisations of prosodic features typically associated, i.e. recurrent, with a specific (pre)genre and/or (ii) the complying with the established, (pre)genre-sanctioned, norms and interactional parameters regulating the rights and obligations associated therein with a given individual social identity which can thus be interpreted as face- maintaining or enhancing.

Whereas a linguistic activity may be explained from multifarious theoretical models including a frame-based micro-analytical approach (Tekourafi 2005) and granted that professional and institutional interaction may require a genre-based approach (Blitvich 2010), a rewarding theoretical model of impoliteness research should take into cognisance the context of performance and genre, thereby informing Culpeper's (2005:38) argument that 'impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)'. Culpeper (1998:86) has described impoliteness as a type of aggression and that the courtroom is a 'legitimate form of verbal aggression', since 'prosecutors are licensed to aggravate a witness's face'.

Harris (1984) shares the same sentiment in his observation that the courtroom is characterised by a number of facework activities and not just the type stated by Brown & Levinson (1987). Penman (1990) and Culpeper (1998), like Harris, are unanimous in their recognition of the prevalence of facework in the courtroom, thereby underlining that verbal warfare, with or without remedy, is an interactional requirement in courtroom proceedings. Brown & Levinson (1987:1,51) perceive the courtroom as self-regulatory and capable of curtailing verbal hostilities, thereby ensuring 'communication between potentially aggressive parties'.

When counsel's negative conduct runs against the frame of expectation in a particular genre, it becomes a handshake that goes beyond the elbow (Ayansola 2017). Such abnormal conduct becomes marked, salient and is deemed to have crossed the politic to the impolite zone,

notwithstanding the perception of the courtroom as the participants' battlefield. This is the situation with counsels' nonverbal acts and the unwritten contents of certain court papers in trial and pre-trial, respectively.

Culpeper's (1996:41-42) template for the evaluation of impoliteness is useful for the analysis of nonverbal impoliteness in the courtroom situation. It enumerates how interlocutors may deliberately attack one another's face in the courtroom as summarised below. (1) Positive impoliteness: strategies that are designed to damage the addressee's positive face want (his desire to be appreciated and liked). Example: name-calling or uttering taboo words. (2) Negative impoliteness: strategies that are intended to damage the addressee's negative face wants (the desire to have freedom to act as he chooses and not imposed on or impeded by others). Example: scorning or threatening the other. (3) Sarcasm or mock politeness: insincere or surface politeness strategies. Example: 'You are a friend indeed!' (4) Withholding politeness where politeness would be expected.

3.1 Impoliteness and nonverbal communication

Patterson (1982/1987) makes a case for nonverbal analysis to be approached from a functional perspective, with the reward that different meanings and outcomes may come from such an endeavour. From the same premise, Mehrabian & Williams (1969) identify a 'relationship between the sender's intended persuasiveness and the target's perception of persuasiveness'. LaCrosse (1975:580) further submits that 'affiliative behaviors were more persuasive than nonaffiliative behaviors'. Their stances are supportive of this paper's argument that nonverbal behaviour plays a significant role in the expression of attitudes and opinions and that face-threatening nonverbal behaviour may constitute impoliteness with dire implications for the legal process.

Nonverbal communication occurs across different activity-types and involves facial expressions and gestures as well as body posture. It complements spoken words in the transmission of different shades of meaning, through pitch, tone, voice volume as well as stance. It is difficult to assemble evidence of paralinguistic cues in the Nigerian courtroom situation where live recordings of trials are largely forbidden. This limitation can be overcome by gaining access to the transcript recordings of courtroom proceedings where the enactment of impolite nonverbal acts in addition to those that may be expressed in between the lines in the drafting of plaintiff's Statements of Claims (SC) and the defendants' Statements of Defence (SD) are improvised. Transcripts of proceedings are revealing of overt/covert nonverbal impolite acts which are complemented by an analyst's application of pragmatic presupposition based on what lawyers say or write.

The presuppositions of an utterance in the opinion of Karttunem (1974:186) 'determine[s] the class of contexts in which the sentence [utterance] could be felicitously uttered'. Karttunem's position is as applicable to an utterance as it is to the written language, as well as to verbal and nonverbal communicative acts. While arguing that the notion of presupposition could not be adequately defined in purely semantic terms of truth conditions, Karttunen (1974:186) defines 'presupposition as obtainable if surface sentence A pragmatically presupposes a logical form L, if and only if it is the case that A can be felicitously uttered only in contexts which entail L'. An illustration with an entry in the SC is provided:

> The plaintiff is a member of Obasinkin Logun Kando's family of Ila-Orangun, and he took this action against the above-named defendants for himself and on behalf of all other members of Obasinkin Logun Kando family of Ila-Orangun. The first defendant, who is in no way related to the plaintiff's family, is a member of Elepa's family in Isedo Quarter of Ila-Orangun (Mosojo vs. Oyetayo 2012:5).

The above excerpt excludes the defendant as a member of the plaintiff's family, thereby presupposing that he lacks natural claim to the title of Obasinkin, the title being presumably

reserved for members of the Logun Kando family. Granted that this is not explicitly stated, the inference can be drawn from the contextual clues offered by the legal environment. The exclusion is face-threatening and impolite notwithstanding its expedience in the context.

4.0 Data collection and methodology

Data were drawn from Mosojo versus Oyetayo (2012) in the high court of Osun State, Nigeria. The case is of interest to the study for its ample demonstration of courtroom nonverbal impoliteness in a conventional court notwithstanding that the litigants are in-group members of a cultural community that thrives on ADR; also considering that the dispute bordered on a chieftaincy contestation which falls under the purview of the traditional ruler. Broadly, the data comprised purposively selected archived and open access pre-trial documents in the following order: four (4) Sworn Affidavits, one (1) Statements of Claim and one (1) Statements of Defence. Ten lawyers, made up of both the plaintiff and the defence, formed the population of the study. While it is difficult to assemble evidence of paralinguistic cues in the Nigerian courtroom situation where live recordings of trials are largely forbidden, this limitation is overcome with the transcript manifestly indicating nonverbal expression of impoliteness in the court papers and at the level of cross-examination. The analysis was guided by Watts' (2003) theory of relational works and Culpeper's (1996) impoliteness super-strategies. Hence, incidences of impolite nonverbal behaviour were analysed top-down in a situation where they exceed sanctioned aggression as well as the participants' frame of expectation. In all, fifteen excerpts were analysed.

5 Presentation of data and discussion of findings

Impolite nonverbal court behaviour comprise counsels' antics which are rooted in relevant legal documents, with a manifestation in time-wasting, willful absence from court and presupposing arguments are strategies that are scripted for influencing judicial outcomes.

5.1 Antics of time-wasting

Time-wasting shenanigans, which are often rooted in court papers, may serve useful legal purposes to the counsel. It may be used to buy time so the benefitting counsel could adequately prepare for the trial. It may also be used as an instrument of frustration for wearing down the opposing parties, witnesses included. The court itself may become frustrated on account of technical hurdles that may be planted by counsel. Judges are known to have played into the scripts of some smart lawyers by withdrawing from certain cases or by making pre-empted pronouncements in the lawyer's favour. Witnesses have also refrained from testifying in court on account of incessant adjournments because of finance and physical considerations. There is a preponderance of time-wasting strategies in the papers filed by counsels in Mosojo versus Oyetayo as are exemplified below:

Excerpt 1: (Extracts from an affidavit by the plaintiff sworn to 17th February, …)

> Plaintiff: That I filed the Statement of Claim in the case on 21st December, …That the defendants have failed to file their Statements of Defence. That thirty days, the time allowed to the defendants by the Rules to file their Statements of Defence, have elapsed (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:17).

The defendant, as observed from the excerpts above, was reluctant in responding to the issues in the plaintiff's Statement of Claims (SC). In simplified terms, the SC is a pre-trial document which contains the core premise(s) upon which the litigant's proposed arguments in the hearing stage are hinged. The Defence Counsel (DC) is expected to file objection to certain contents in the SC in the form of a Statement of Defence (SD) within a maximum of thirty days as prescribed

by rules. The hearing could only commence after the SD has been served on the plaintiff Counsel (PC). It should be noted that the SC, in this particular instance, was filed on 21st December whereas as at 17th February, being the date of filing the affidavit, the DC was yet to file the defence.

The frustration of the plaintiff in not being served the SD, two months after he had filed the SC, was ventilated in an affidavit as excerpted above. The cost of the nonverbal underhand tactics of evading responsibility on the part of the DC was not only face-aggravating and impolite to the PC and the court, it further prevented the plaintiff from court attendance on19th March as well as resulting in the forced adjournment by the court as presented below:

Excerpt 2:

> Court: (*19*th *March, … . The plaintiff was absent*). There is no affidavit of service on the plaintiff. Case is adjourned to 10/04/ … . (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:17).

Notwithstanding the involuntary adjournment of 19th March, the SD remained elusive as late as 10 April, five months after the SC was served on the defence, thereby forcing an adjournment yet again. Rather than serve the statutory papers, the DC's antics was a motion to extend the prescribed time for the execution of SD. The well-scripted antics of the defence resulted in a motion for the extension of time within which to file the statutory SD though there was no service of the motion on parties. This precipitated another adjournment as recorded in the next excerpts.

Excerpt 3:

> Court: (*20th March, … . The plaintiff was present. 6*th, 7th and 8th *defendants were present while others were absent. No appearance for defendants*. There is no affidavit of service on the motion. Case is adjourned to 14/5/… for hearing of the motion (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:18).

The DC's shenanigans of evading the service of the SD on the PC continued unabated until the adjourned date, resulting in the absence of the latter from court. Worse still, the motion seeking an extension of time for the administration of the SD was not served on the PC. The motion was, however, served on the Senior State Counsel (henceforth SSC), who as part of the defence was representing the 9th and 10th defendants, thereby reinforcing the DC's wilful desire of frustrating the PC's interest. The cost is yet another adjournment, to 23rd May.

Excerpts 4:

Court: (*1*0th *April, … . The plaintiff was absent. 1st, 6th, 7th, 8th defendants present.*

Others absent. Defence Counsel present. State Counsel Present. No appearance for plaintiff. The Senior State Counsel has been served the Defence Counsel's application for extension of time but the plaintiff has not been served). Motion is adjourned to 23/5/… . for hearing. It is hereby ordered that the application of 1st to 8th defendants be served on the plaintiff and also that the plaintiff's application to set case down for hearing be served on the State Counsel on behalf of the 9th and 10th defendants (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:17).

> Notwithstanding that the ulterior motive behind the time-wasting antics was identified by the judge, he granted the relief for the extension of time which was sought by the defence as presented below: Excerpts 5:
>
> PC: (*Accepts service [of the motion] and he is ready to argue the motion. Mr X is not opposing the application but he is asking for costs*).
>
> Court: Motion for extension of time. Order as prayed. The defendant/ applicant is hereby granted extension of time within which to file statement of defence. Time is extended till today 14th May, 1984. There will be 25.00 costs in favour of the plaintiff /

respondent. The statement of defence already filed is hereby deemed to be filed and served with effect from today (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:24).

The service of the SD on the PC that ordinarily should not exceed thirty days took the DC a whooping six months. It took the order of the court as is documented in Excerpts 5 for the DC to serve the SD. The impolite nonverbal acts which were enacted by the DC in his reluctance in the timely service of the SD and Notice of Motion on the PC as part of numerous strategies at frustrating the opposition did not go unnoticed by the court, thereby necessitating the award of cost against the aggressor as was demanded by the PC, who was the primary target of the DC's nonverbal impolite acts.

5.2 Antics of frequent absence from court

Counsels' frequent absence from the courtroom is a nonverbal act which serves as tools for frustrating the opposition or to buy time for adequate preparation for the on-going case. In either case, it is not often the case that a counsel would be absent from court based on an act of God. Rather recurring absence amounts to impoliteness. Such attitude is meant to achieve a pre-determined purpose at the expense of the opposing party. Instances of counsels shunning of court sessions and the underlying antics behind such actions are exemplified below.

Excerpts 2:

Court: (*19th March, … . The plaintiff was absent. No appearance for plaintiff. The Defence Counsel was present. The Senior State Counsel was present*). There is no affidavit of service on the plaintiff. Case is adjourned to 10/04/… . (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:17).

Both the plaintiff and his counsel were absent from court under the pretence of not being served with the Affidavit of Notice. Whereas this is legitimate, the absence was a ploy to further discredit the DC whose notoriety for denying the opposition access to statutory papers has already been established by court. This strategy is to present himself as a victim of the DC's aggression so he could curry the sympathy of the court. The PC's absence was premeditated. He could hardly claim not to be unaware of the sitting since the Registrar, by rules, would have notified all stakeholders of the court schedule.

The antics of shunning court sessions were perpetrated by both the plaintiff and the respondents. Both counsels took time in avoiding the court on the flimsiest excuse. On the next sitting, it was the turn of the DC, having made the same excuse which was tendered by his colleague, to stay away from the court. The court as exemplified in Excerpts 6 had to adjourn the case for the umpteenth time, thereby acting the scripts of the DC.

Excerpt 6:

Court: (*plaintiff prese*nt. *6th, 7th and 8th defendants present. Others absent. No appearance for defendants*). There is no affidavit of service of the motion. Case is adjourned to 14/5/… for hearing of the motion (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:24).

It was the PC's turn in the enactment of counsels' antics and alternating absence as exemplified in Excerpt 4 which features the absence of the PC and his crew from court. The defence was on ground, however, to attend to the business of the day. The PC's failure to show up in court was hinged on the failure of the DC in serving him with the "affidavit of service.

Excerpts 4:

Court: (*10*th *April, … . The plaintiff was absent. 1*st, 6th, 7th, 8th defen*dants present. Others absent. defendants Counsel present. State Counsel Present. No appearance for plaintiff. The Senior State Counsel has been served the Defence Counsel's application for extension of time but the plaintiff has not been served*). Motion is

adjourned to 23/5/… . for hearing. It is hereby ordered that the application of 1st to 8th defendants be served on the plaintiff and also that the plaintiff's application to set case down for hearing be served on the State Counsel on behalf of the 9th and 10th defendants (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:17).

As argued in Excerpt 2, the shenanigans of the PC's absence were scripted to blackmail the defence since the counsel was by rules notified of the day's business. The absence is apparently a counter-face-threat targeted at the opposition who did not serve him the necessary papers. The following example showcases a situation where both the DC and PC were not in court, thereby requiring the court to adjourn and make an order that the Registrar should serve the parties the affidavit of service.

Excerpts 7:

Court: (*Parties absent except* 9th and 10th *defendants, represented by the SSC.*). There is no affidavit of service. Order: Hearing is adjourned to 18/9/… . Notice of this date is to be communicated by the Registrar of this court to the plaintiff and all the defendants (Mosojo v. Oyetayo 2012:30).

Counsel may shun the courtroom based on unsubstantiated sickness. This is the case in Excerpts 8 where the parties were present in court except the PC who in a letter addressed to the court claimed to have been sick. Such sickness that was reported through a letter without being corroborated by official correspondence may be yet another strategy for playing legal mind-games. That action resulted in adjournment for the umpteenth time.

Excerpts 8:

Court: (*Mr X for the plaintiff wrote to court asking for an adjournment because he is sick*. Case adjourned 27/2/… for mention. Motion adjourned 27/2/… for hearing (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:38).

The PC's apology as contained in Excerpts 9 which was tendered in the court's next sitting, is an admission of the speaker's impolite acts of frustrating the opposition and court by the PC's action in claiming to be sick, thereby avoiding court attendance as well as the medium of communicating same.

Excerpts 9:

Court: (*Mr X for plaintiff/Applicant apologises to court for the contents of his last letter to the Registrar of this court*). Case adjourned 2/5/… for definite hearing (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:38).

Counsels' alternating absence from sittings continued unabated until the court decided to halt the underlying impolite body language of the legal actors. This is established in Excerpts 10 and 11 where the PC again wrote the court informing it of his absence and the consequent imposition of cost on the PC who is the worst culprit in the impoliteness of absence, respectively.

Excerpts 10:

Court: (*24th June, … . plaintiff present.* 1st, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th d*efendants, present. 2nd, 3rd and 5th defendants absent. DC for 1st-8th defendants present. SSC for* 9th and 10th de*fendants, present. Mr X for plaintiff wrote to court asking for an adjournment as he is away to Ijebu-Ode High Court today* (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:38).

Excerpts 11:

Court: (*19th September, … . plaintiff present. 1st defendant present; 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th defendant present 2nd, 9th and 10th defendant absent_3rd defendant is dead. Mr Akande for 1st_8th defendants. Mrs M.F. Oladeinde, senior state counsel is not in court. Plaintiff asks for an adjournment because his lawyer is not in court*). Case

> adjourned 19/9/85 for mention. Plaintiff is to pay N50.00 cost to the defendants (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:39).

The PC's notoriety for shunning court sittings came to a peak when he proceeded to Ijebu-Ode High Court presumably to attend to other legal matters at the expense of the ongoing litigation. The PC was privy to the sittings of the court on 24th June and 19th September but was absent on each occasion. The recurring impoliteness of this action motivated by the desire to frustrate the opposition could no longer be condoned by the court, hence the award of costs against the PC and the validation of the argument that certain nonverbal actions, including unjustifiable absence from court, constitute impoliteness against the target(s).

5.3 Antics and impoliteness of nonverbal presupposition

Certain unwritten arguments are often embedded in trial documents as a pre-emptive path which counsels plan to chart at hearing and cross-examination. Such arguments are implicit and entail nonverbal fundamental defensive ideologies that are pivotal to legal victory. Nonverbal entailments are prevalent in the SC and SD and are scripted by the PC and DC, respectively as are illustrated below. Counsels often use varying strategies to distract the opposing party and to exclude targets from certain rights and privileges, family ties inclusive, as a way of laying legal landmines for them.

Excerpts 12:

> The plaintiff is a member of Obasinkin Logun Kando's family of Ila-Orangun, and he took this action against the above-named defendants for himself and on behalf of all other members of Obasinkin Logun Kando family of Ila-Orangun.
>
> The first defendant, who is in no way related to the plaintiff's family, is a member of Elepa's family in Isedo Quarter of Ila-Orangun.
>
> The Obasinkin chieftaincy title is a traditional chieftaincy title in Ila Orangun, which has remained in the family of the plaintiff exclusively for over a generation and throughout the track of history in Ila-Orangun (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:5).

The defendant is in the SC excluded as a member of the plaintiff's *Logun Kando* family, thereby presupposing that naturally, he has no claim to *Obasinkin*, the title of *Obasinkin* being presumably reserved for members of the *Logun Kando* family. The ideological disqualification of the defendant as a claimant to the *Obasinkin* though not explicit, inference can be drawn from the contextual clues offered from the third paragraph above. In the Yoruba culture, the exclusion in this context is short of calling the defendant a bastard and usurper, thereby affirming that nonverbal acts may complement verbal communication. In this instance, the nonverbal complementarily reinforces the intensity of impoliteness and the attack on the hearer's positive face.

The next example features a below-the-surface assertion that the plaintiff is the rightful claimant to the title.

Excerpts 13:

> The first holder of the Obasinkin chieftaincy title was Logun Kando, the ancestor of the plaintiff's family. … Logun Kando died during the reign of Orangun Oboyunmoyara over 300 years ago and his son Fagbemila succeeded him (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:6).

The muted argument in the extract above is in the reiteration of the title as the exclusive legacy of the plaintiff's family for 'over 300 years'! The presupposing interpretation is that if Logun Kando, projected in the SC as the progenitor of the family, was the first holder of the title and was succeeded by Fagbemila, his son (the SC contains a chronicle of successive Obasinkins from inception till date, all produced from the same family); it becomes logical that

the male offspring from the family have always been crowned as *Obasinkin*, whereas non-family members, the defendant inclusive, are impostors.

In a counter-strategy, the DC picked holes in the ideologically scripted SC of the PC.

Excerpts 14:

> DC: The 1st to 8th defendants further aver that there are two ruling houses for the Obasinkin Chieftaincy viz Oro-Apo Ruling House and Wale-Olu Ruling House.

That the following came from Oro-Apo Ruling House – Obasinkin Epadunmoye Winjobi (2) Obasinkin Egunjobi and T.A. Oyetayo while Obasinkin Wale-Olu, Dada, Omitogun and Jekayinfa came from Wale-Olu Ruling House (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:21).

Aware of the booby-trap set by the PC in his claim that the *Obasinkin* is solely reserved for the Logun Kando family and that any attempt to acquiesce to that argument would jeopardise the defendant's legal interest since the latter is not a member of the family, the DC in discrediting such claim averred that contrary to the plaintiff's claims, the title is rotational between two ruling houses. This argument goes with the nonverbal presupposition that the defendant is not a usurper but has a legitimate claim to the title, granted that he belongs to the alternative ruling house that could as well sponsor candidates for the chieftaincy title of Obasinkin.

Through a similar strategy, the DC attempted to evade another legal mine as illustrated below.

Excerpts 15:

> PC: The plaintiff further avers that Obasinkin Jekayinfa, an illiterate, who was the ruling Obasinkin at the time the Chieftaincy Declarations were passed and approved did not inform the ruling House of the intention and attempts to split Obasinkin Ruling House into two (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:8).
>
> DC: The 1st to 8th defendants deny paragraphs 26 & 27 of the plaintiff's statement of claim and will require strict proof of the averments at the trial of this action but state further that the Chieftaincy Declaration which regulates the appointment of the Traditional Chiefs and other Chiefs in Ila Local Government was made after due consultation with the interested parties during the reign of Obasinkin Jekayinfa. It was approved on the 19th day of March, 1960 (Mosojo v Oyetayo 2012:21).

In response to the nonverbal presupposing claim by the plaintiff that the action of Jekayinfa, the then title-holder when the Chieftaincy Declaration of 1960 was passed, was not binding on the his family since the then title-holder was unlettered, the defence insisted the Declaration was made 'after due consultation with the interested parties during the reign of Obasinkin Jekayinfa'. The pragmatics of the DC's response is that of co-opting Jekayinfa as the author of the controversial Chieftaincy Declaration which has given legitimacy to the defendant's claim to the title of *Obasinkin.*

6 Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that the adversarial courtroom thrives on various forms of faceworks and impolite nonverbal behaviour which are significantly complementary to verbal communication. Counsels often deploy nonverbal foul and fair means towards the achievement of legal victory, thereby sacrificing the quest for truth and justice. Granted that nonverbal communication is largely constitutive of pitch, gestures, facial expressions, and so on, this study focused on the stance and attitude of counsel which are often enacted through time-wasting, frivolous absence from court and nonverbal presuppositions which are forms of impolite devices aimed at frustrating the opposition and the court with far-reaching implications on the delivery of justice. Time-wasting and counsels' frequent absence from court are meant to

intimidate the opposing counsel, wear out the witness and ultimately frustrate the court. Nonverbal presupposing arguments being the flip-side of name-calling are embedded in pre-trial documents as a pre-emptive impolite strategy which counsels hope to chart at hearing and cross-examination. Implicit arguments are pragmatic boobytraps for the opposing lawyer as well as nonverbal ideological landmines for the opposition. In various forms and guises, nonverbal impoliteness is aimed at ensuring justice, hence the popular affirmation that 'justice delayed is justice denied'. In conclusion, since the conventional court is prone to impoliteness and, therefore, the miscarriage of justice, citizens should explore alternative dispute resolution mechanisms which rely on fact-finding and are less prone to impoliteness. In the alternative, courtroom language use should be moderated while vulnerable participants are protected from counsels' verbal intimidation so that fairness and justice would not be sacrificed in the adversarial court system.

Significantly, this study extends the scope of nonverbal communication beyond the traditional manipulation of pitch, gestures, facial expressions, and so on to include time-wasting, frivolous absence from court and nonverbal presuppositions which are impolite devices by counsels that are applicable to the courtroom. In so doing, this paper has set the pace in addressing the paucity of studies on nonverbal courtroom impoliteness.

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Discursive ideologies in campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema in the 2019 South African presidential election

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Abstract

This work analyses the discursive ideologies embedded in campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa of the African National Congress (ANC) and Julius Malema of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in the period before May 8, 2019, the South African general elections. The study is an attempt to uncover the hidden ideologies the candidates subtly employ to sway voters in their favour. The study employed Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the campaign messages. The data for the study comprised the campaign exchanges of the two candidates retrieved from www.youtube.com. *This study shows that the two presidential contenders, through their campaign speeches, employed different ideologies through which they hoped to sway the electorate in their favour. The incumbent, Cyril Ramaphosa, projects the ideology of renewal and the elements of 'us' versus 'them' in his campaign speeches. Julius Malema, on the other hand, being a young leader, sells the ideologies of economic liberation, 'us' versus 'them' and 'young' versus 'old', depicting that only the youth can lead South Africa to the promised land. The study submits that political discourse is laden with specific ideologies which are intended to convince the voters to vote for them. It is therefore important that the public be well informed so that they can rationally uncover and identify these ideologies and either accept or reject them.*

Keywords: discursive, ideology, campaign, South African presidential elections

Introduction

South Africa's road to democracy was a bumpy one. There have been unique issues that plagued the country before the eventual settling for democracy, making it one of the African countries that became democratic in the nineties. The issues that have been crucial in South Africa centered on the Apartheid policy that empowered the white minority over the black populace. During Apartheid, the National Party instituted segregation across South Africa to entrench white supremacy. They also separated South Africans from each other on the basis of colour. Non-white South Africans were moved out of the white urban areas. The government also offered non-whites inferior education decreasing their access to high-level jobs (Linford 2011).

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Apartheid lasted five decades until democracy was eventually negotiated. The hope of the average South African, particularly the blacks, was that the ugly trend that the previous years had set would be reversed. Therefore, hopes were high that democracy meant the dawning of a new era with high aspirations for a better life.

On April 27, 1994, South Africans voted in the first fully democratic elections. The African National Congress (ANC) won 62.7% of the vote, holding 252 seats in the 400 seat national assembly. The National Party (NP) won 20.4% of the vote with 82 seats and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) won 10.5% of the vote with 43 seats. Due to the fact that South Africa operates the parliamentary system of democracy/government, the ANC, being the majority party in the National Assembly, chose Nelson Mandela as president. Since then, the ANC has consistently dominated the political space in South Africa.

There are almost always opposition to the ruling party, voters who believe that the ruling party does not have the will or ability to do things right. There are people who have been opposing the ANC saying that they have not lived up to the expectations of the South African people. This research seeks to identify and bring to the fore the discursive ideologies in the campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Julius Malema of the EFF in the 2019 South African elections. This will be achieved by exploring the ideologies that both Ramaphosa and Malema exploited to sway the electorate in their favour. This particular election is of interest because of its many intrigues. On the one hand, the ANC after the ousting of Jacob Zuma, who many thought was a corrupt leader, was struggling with its tarnished image. On the other hand, the EFF, a relatively new party, was seeking to oust a party that had been around for decades. Both parties made use of ideologies and other discursive patterns to convince South Africans to vote for them. The study will show how the ‘old’ versus ‘young’ ideology plays out in the campaign towards the South African elections. Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC as at the time of the elections was sixty-six years old while Julius Malema was thirty-eight years old. While Ramaphosa leveraged on age and experience, Malema presented himself as young and vibrant. Therefore, it is important for this study to carry out critical discourse analysis of the two candidates’ speeches based on their peculiarities. This work is significant because it contributes to the body of work on the language of political discourse in South Africa and, by extension, Africa.

The concept of politics

Politics is an activity and an activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Politics is an exciting phenomenon because people often disagree about how they should live. Who should get what? How should power and other resources be distributed? They also disagree about how matters should be resolved. How to collectively make decisions? Who should have a say? How much influence should a person have? Politics, according to Aristotle, is the ‘master science’. It is mainly an activity through which human beings attempt to improve their lives and create a good society. Politics is, above all, a social activity. Pfeffer (1992:23) sees politics as the process, the action and the behaviour through which potential power is utilised and realised.

Chilton (2004:3) views politics as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert their power and those who seek to resist it. Furthermore, it is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty and the like. Politics is a communal action involving people who accept a general membership or at least acknowledge a shared fate. Politics is concerned with power, the power to make decisions, to control resources and to control people and their values.

Politics is defined in different ways: as the exercise of power, the science of government, the making of collective decisions, allocation of resources, and so on. Politics is the making,

preserving and amending of general social rules. Okeke (2007:4) describes politics as a civilised agency and a way of ruling in a divided society without violence.

The role of language in politics

Language is a very powerful tool in politics. Language and politics are intertwined. In politics, language is a strong device for communication as it carries many different shades of meaning (Aduradola and Ojukwu 2013:105). Politics is concerned with power; the power to make decisions, to control other people's behaviour and to control their values. Politics is fundamentally concerned with power and authority, how to obtain and use it, how to make decisions and control resources within a particular jurisdiction, how to control and manipulate the perceptions, behaviour and values of those who are governed, among other things. To be able to do all these, politicians rely on language. Thus, politics is inherently dependent on language, hence the notion that "language is (an instrument of) power. The intricate relationship between the governed and those who govern them are enacted and mediated through language" (Chilton and Schaffner 1997:206). It is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call politics in a broad sense. Charteris-Black (2005:4) states that, "within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership".

The study of language extends beyond the domains of literature and linguistics. Pelinka (2007:129) claims that "language must be seen (and analysed) as a political phenomenon" and that politics must be conceived and studied as a discursive phenomenon.

Language is instrumental in political activities; politicians and those seeking political power use language not only to communicate their policies and ideologies, but also to create certain perceptions in order to influence the voters with a view to gaining advantage over their opponents. Szanto (1978:7) describes the language of politics as a "lexicon of conflict and drama, of ridicules and reproach, pleading and persuasion, colour and bite permeated. A language designed to valour men, destroy some and change the mind of others". Language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level. Politics is pre-dominantly constituted in language; hence, political activity does not exist without the use of language.

In a bid to identify the role of language in politics, Chilton (1998:12) defines language as the "universal capacity of human in all societies to communicate", while politics is the "art of governance". This means that language is a tool to interact or transact in various situations and in different organisations conventionally recognised asa political environment.

In politics, language is also used as a manipulative tool, to persuade and convince the voters. Politicians often use language to create a social ideology that their supporters and voters can easily key into and would want to be associated with. The strategy that involves a group of people to make other groups do what it intends to be done is referred to as a linguistic strategy. Linguistic strategy involves manipulative application of language. Onuigbo (2013:9) affirms that "language is not just a tool for communication but can be manipulated to be instrument of offence and defense". The term "linguistic manipulation" is the conscious use of one's language in a devious way to control others (Rozina and Karapetjana 2009). Pragmatically, linguistic manipulation is based on the use of indirect speech acts, which are focused on perlocutionary effects of "what is said?" Thus, in politics, linguistic manipulation plays an important role as an instrument in such a way that the manipulative intents of politicians are made obvious. Linguistic manipulation is considered to be an influential instrument of political rhetoric, because political discourse is primarily focused on influencing the people and persuading them to take specified political actions or make important political decisions. Atkinson (1984) asserts that linguistic manipulation is a distinctive feature of political rhetoric and the idea is based on persuading

people; for instance, linguistic manipulation would persuade people to take political action, persuade them to support a party or an individual.

Language plays a significant role in politics because it is an instrument by means of which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent. Thus, the language used in politics employs an extensive range of rhetorical devices such as selective pronouns, metaphor, metonymy, allusion, hyperbole, etc. to convince the electorate in contemporary societies. Politicians engage in discourse and arguments, public statement, speeches and manifestos during elections. Thus, language is an indispensable tool for political construction and reconstruction.

Research questions

This research seeks to address the following questions:

1. What are the ideologies embedded in Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema's campaign speeches?
2. What are the motivations behind the ideologies employed by Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema?

Theoretical perspectives

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theory that has been established as one of the fields of research in discourse studies. CDA focuses on public speech (talk or text) such as political speeches, advertisements, and official documents. Critical Discourse Analysis can be used for describing, interpreting, analysing and critiquing social life reflected in discourse. The aim of CDA is to examine the relationship between language, ideology and power. Moreover, its purpose is to discover the assessment and exploitation of language dominance through text. Fairclough (1995) stated that language is connected to social realities and brings about social change. He submitted that government involves the manipulation and use of language in significant ways and is particularly concerned with the links between language, ideology and power relations within society.

The focus here is on ideology, a term which has been linked to several definitions by scholars. Van Dijk (1998b) sees ideology as special forms of social cognition shared by social groups from the basis of the social representations and practices of group members including their discourse, which also serves the means of ideological production, reproduction and challenge. In the work of Fairclough and Wodak (1997), whose work provided a comprehensive work for this study on the principles within which CDA operates, one of the principles states that ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. That is, ideologies are often produced through discourse.

Politicians sometimes struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice; the tool through which they do this is language. In political discourse, language plays a critical role and every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by its usage. Political aspirants while campaigning use language to shape the political thoughts of the electorate with the aim of selling their ideologies to them. Ideologies are embedded in the language used by politicians during campaigns and they employ them to convince the people in a bid to acquire political power. The main reason for their campaign speeches is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. This they do by employing different means and resources to shape the beliefs and behaviour of others. Therefore, efforts are made to convince the electorate to discard the political ideologies of their opposition and then hold on to theirs.

A good number of studies have been carried out on political discourse in African Studies by several scholars. Some of these are Ambuyoa, Indede and Karanja (2011), Taiwo (2010), Alo (2012), and Halim (2015) among others.

Taiwo (2010) interrogates the use of metaphor in (Nigerian) political discourse and submits that metaphorical expressions are deployed by Nigerian politicians to project certain ideological stances in their speeches.

In a bid to broaden the scope of scholarship, Alo (2012) examines an engagement of the development of rhetoric by selected African political leaders. He adds that African leaders employ persuasive strategies to achieve their political goals or ambitions.

Also, Akinrinola (2015) works on the rhetorical engagement of the inaugural speech of Nigeria's President, Mohammadu Buhari. He points out that the President expressed strong commitment and inclusiveness in the speech through verbal choices and pronominal items. Still in Nigeria, Ayeomoni (2005) carried out a study on the language of politics in Nigeria and preponderant features, which include the use of a simple declarative sentence typology, the use of figurative expression or metaphoric language and the use of coercion. Osisanwo (2016) explored politics in an academic setting by looking at the campaign messages used during the electioneering campaign in the 2015 deanship election in the Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan. He adopted van Dijk's (2006) model of critical discourse analysis; twenty five texts were purposively retrieved from the numerous messages sent during the period. He indicated that the text messages sent during the period are ideologically polarised into positive self-representation and negative other-representation. He also observed that six discourse strategies which manifested in the messages include representation of the starting world and negotiation of the destination world, appeal to voters' emotion, appeal to history, appeal to experience/past achievement, counter-discourse and the creation of common ground between the self and the electorate. He also identified that four ideological stances, which are propagandist, framist, mediator and reformist, were persuasively developed.

In Kenya, Ambuyoa *et al*. (2011) examined politeness in political discourse during question-time discussions of the Kenyan Parliament. The findings show that certain strategies are employed to mitigate Face-Threatening Acts, thereby enhancing effective communication; others are a ritual requirement by the standing orders, political factions. Question time in Kenyan Parliament is full of FTAs such as criticisms, requests, accusations, blame, complaints, rebukes amongst other things, just as a manifestation of the power relations evident among the members of the Parliament. Michira (2014) worked on a critical cum descriptive analysis of persuasive strategies in the speeches of the presidential candidates in the 2013 Kenyan Presidential election.

In Pakistan, Khalil, Islam and Qazalbash (2017) focused on persuasion and political discourse by attempting a critical discourse analysis of Imran Khan's selected election speech. They posit that politicians make use of tactful language to propagate their ideologies. They opine that Imran Khan, the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI), made use of repetition, word choice, positive self-representation and negative other-representation to influence the minds of the voters.

Based on the previous research referred to above, a good number of scholars have done research on the political discourse in Africa in which they have all proved that politicians employ linguistic strategies to persuade their audience to vote for them.

This work while also looking at political discourse, studies the ideologies embedded in the campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Julius Malema of the EFF in the 2019 South African presidential election. Apart from the fact that these candidates are foremost contenders in the elections, there is an underlying ideology of 'old versus young'. This age factor is not only about the two candidates, but also that of the parties whose flags they were flying. While the ANC was formed originally in 1912 but came into power in 1994, the EFF was formed in 2013. The campaign shows how both parties use the age factor to convince South Africans to vote for them. Also, the two contenders have opposing ideologies. While Ramaphosa is believed

to be pro-white, Malema has always projected himself as fighting for the black majority. This work seeks to study the ideologies employed by the two candidates.

Methodology

The data for this research are taken from the words, phrases and sentence in the selected campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema. The data was obtained by the researchers from *www.youtube.com.* For the purpose of gathering substantial data, the researcher downloaded five (5) videos each for Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema. The longest running time for the videos was two (2) hours, and the shortest was twenty-seven (27) minutes. In collecting the data, the researchers devoted sufficient time to watching, listening and conscientiously transcribing the selected videos. The researchers paid close attention and while observing the content of the selected campaign speeches took notes and determined the utterances which may contain the ideologies that were embedded in it. Also, in order to ensure accurate data collection, the researchers spent 4-6 hours listening to and observing each video from which the data was obtained. The data collected was subjected to Critical Discourse Analysis based on Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) theory.

Data presentation and analysis

This section is aimed at presenting the data and analysis of the study. It discusses the ideologies embedded in the campaign speeches of Cyril Ramaphosa and Julius Malema and the motivation behind their usage. The data in the form of excerpts are statements made in their campaign speeches. Furthermore, in our analysis of the concept of ideology, the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as proposed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) were employed.

Ideologies embedded in Cyril Ramaphosa's campaign speeches

Cyril Ramaphosa's campaign speeches are laden with the ideologies through which he convinces the electorate in order to win the election. He adopts the use of a 'them' versus 'us' ideology and the ideology of renewal as evident in his speeches. This is further expatiated with examples below.

'Us' Versus 'Them' Ideology

Excerpt1

> Others talk, we do. Others scream; we build houses. Others criticise; we provide water to our people. Others make false promises, we build clinics and hospitals. Others want to create jobs; we create jobs ...

The element of the 'us versus them' ideology is evident in Ramaphosa's speech. He adopts the exclusive 'we' pronoun to represent himself and his party while using 'other' to depict the contenders from other political parties. This is to show the disparity between himself and his party on the one hand, and his rivals on the other hand. Ramaphosa intentionally used this ideology to represent his party as not just talkers but performers. By employing this ideology, he ridicules his opposition who are have never been in power but are known for making promises. With this, he presents his party as experienced and trustworthy unlike those who have had no experience whatsoever but make unrealistic promises. This ideology is premised on the fact that the ANC has been the ruling party since the country gained her independence. Therefore, it was easy for Ramaphosa to list the party's achievements in order to castigate the intentions of his oppositions since they have none to mention. He mentions the provision of housing, clinics, hospitals and jobs as the achievement of the government to show that they are concerned about the welfare of the South African people. He successfully uses the 'us versus them' ideology here to portray his party as the experienced side while subtly urging the electorate to allow their good

work to continue. He also uses it to make the people question the credibility of what other parties hope to achieve since they are greenhorns. To further cause distrust of the opposition in the minds of the people, he accuses them of always criticising when they (his party) do these things to improve the standard of living of the populace.

Excerpt 2

> We now can confidently report that over twenty-five years the lives of South Africans have improved and they continue to improve but we also agree that much work remains to be done and we say that we are the only organisation that can tackle the tasks that lie ahead.

Still harping on the fact that his party is well experienced, Ramaphosa uses the exclusive 'we' here, to portray the ANC as the party that has brought improvement in the lives of South Africans. To show some modesty, he acknowledges that there is much work to be done. This portrays him as a realist who is in touch with the realities on the ground in the country. He tries to sway his audience, however, to believe that the ANC is the only political party that can tackle the many tasks that lie ahead. This shows that the party is still willing to take the responsibility of making South Africa better. In short, the pragmatic import of this sentence is to remind the people that the ANC has made some improvements in the living standards of the citizens and are still fully ready to do more, because they are the party that has the experience and capability to tackle the task ahead.

Excerpt 3

> I think here of our people in the Eastern Cape, who are still waiting for a dam and that is another project that we will tackle. I think of our people in Giyani, who are still waiting for better water to flow through their taps. That we will also do. This we will do as we grow the economy of our country.

In the above excerpt, Ramaphosa uses the pronoun *I, our* and *we* in order to pass a strong message across to his audience. The use of the first person pronoun 'I' is used to identify his individual self as different from every other person. Therefore, the use of the expression 'I think', twice in the statement is not just to represent his individuality but to show that he knows what the people need and that he has them in mind since he thinks about them. This choice of pronoun is used to show the people that he is concerned about them. This is intended to boost his positive self-image among them. In using the pronoun 'our', Ramaphosa projects a collective identity. He identifies himself with the people of the Eastern Cape and Giyani using the expression 'our people' to show that he includes himself as a member of the people. This is to clearly show the people that unlike some politicians who distance themselves from the people they govern, he is a part of his own people. Whatever affects them also affects him. So his government is a government of the people. The last pronoun used is 'we', which was mentioned twice in the utterance. Ramaphosa uses the exclusive pronoun 'we' to refer to himself and his party here, indicating positive self-representation (us). Using the pronoun 'we' in the utterance above is to build the hope of the people that he would tackle the problem of the people with the help of his party and that he won't be doing the work alone. This pronoun projects him as a good team-player and his party as a resourceful one that can solve the problems of South Africa.

Excerpt 4

> We are the ones who provide ARVs for those living with HIV, others praise themselves for what they have not done.

In this excerpt, there is another use of the exclusive 'we'. This is a positive self-representation technique. 'We' here refers to Ramaphosa and his team. He draws the attention of his audience

to how they have responded to the treatment of those living with HIV in the nation by providing ARV drugs for those affected. The use of the ideology here is to make the audience and the people see the other parties as parties that have been not been able to prove themselves to the people; they only praise themselves for what they are yet to do. This is the 'them' ideology to show other-negative representation. Ramaphosa uses this to point out the negative side of other political parties. He portrays them as liars and dishonest people who praise themselves for what they have not done. Saying this places a dent in the image of the political parties, reducing their acceptability among South Africans.

3.1.2 Renewal

Ramaphosa presents the ideology of renewal to the people of South Africa. This is strategic, because they have been in power for twenty-five years and it may seem that the people have lost hope in the party that once fought against Apartheid and led them into a democratic era. He adopts this ideology to convince the people to hold on and embrace the ideology of renewal which he projects as a new era of growth and transformation for the people. The credibility of the ANC is being questioned in South Africa, therefore the ideology of a renewal process will endear the people to the party they once trusted.

Excerpt 5

> After a period of doubt and uncertainty, we have arrived at the moment of hope and renewal. The 2019 elections provide us with an opportunity to restore our democratic institutions and to return our country to a path of transformation and development.

Amidst the various scandals that rocked the ANC prior to the election, Cyril Ramaphosa sees the need to clear the doubt in the minds of his supporters using the ideology of renewal. The excerpt above shows vividly the ideology of renewal which Ramaphosa wants the people to embrace. As a way to further gain the trust of his supporters, he begins the statement by laying claim to the fact that the ANC has been faced with a period of doubt and uncertainty but nevertheless he promises them a new era which will be different from what they are used to in past administration. They are now in a different era, one that is about hope and renewal. He promises that, if voted for, he would restore and transform the country from its current state to a better one. By using this ideology, Ramaphosa intends to detach from the status quo and the scandals that have rocked his party to present a new era that will bring about development and transformation in the country.

Excerpt 6

> Comrades, there is a lot that awaits us, this period of renewal and the new dawn is beckoning, is calling all of us to now embrace the new dawn and renewal process so that we can move South Africa forward and grow our economy.

Ramaphosa, projecting the ideology of renewal, seeks to draw the attention of the people to accept his ideology. He uses the renewal ideology here to entice and convince his audience of better leadership because he is aware that the people of South Africa are beginning to lose hope in the credibility of the ANC considering the issue of corruption and division that it faces. He uses the renewal ideology to vanquish previous conceptions about the party while urging them to adopt this new prospect as a lot awaits them. He urges South Africans to embrace this ideology in order to usher in a new era of transformation. This is to further persuade the audience to see him as the candidate that is agitated by their desired change.

3.2 The ideologies embedded in Julius Malema's campaign speeches

The ideologies underlying the campaign speeches by Julius Malema are economic liberation, 'them' versus 'us' and 'young' versus 'old', which were identified in our analysis.

3.2.1 Economic liberation

Julius Malema in his campaign speeches used economic liberation to draw the attention of the people to the idea of an economy that is free from white dominance in South Africa. He is optimistic that when he is voted for, the blacks in South Africa will own businesses and be given the chance to participate in the economy of the country. Following the name of his party, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), he mentions the fact that though South Africa has gone past the ugly phase of political apartheid, they are yet to be economically free. He insists on the fact that political freedom without economic freedom is meaningless. Julius Malema used this ideology to point out that when the people of South Africa are economically liberated, there will be jobs, the blacks will be able to own productive farms and there would be no need for government subsidised housing; fewer people will be living on social grants because many of them will be able to fend for themselves. This ideology is discussed below:

Excerpt 1

> We must bring that nonsense to an end on the 8th of May. Political apartheid is over, we still have economic apartheid. Why do you behave like you have arrived, because you know that you are swimming in a pool of death. While you are working, they are paying whites more money than black people, yet you are doing the same job. That's what we mean by economic apartheid.

The name of Julius Malema's party, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), already implies the ideology of economic liberation. He protests against economic apartheid. He shows the people that the whites in South Africa enjoy better privileges by getting more pay than the blacks for the same job. He wants the people to know that they are not yet free economically; hence, voting for him on the 8th of May will bring an end to economic apartheid in South Africa. Apartheid is a very strong word that means a lot to South Africans, especially the black and coloured ones. To paint a grave image of what the government is doing to the blacks in South Africa, Malema uses the phrase 'economic apartheid'. It is evident that beneath the clamour for economic freedom is a political motive to soil the image of the whites in South Africa. This means that there is another underlying ideology of 'white' versus 'black' in Malema's speeches. Malema chooses to remind his audience of the better opportunities that the whites get even while carrying out the same job as blacks. Julius Malema reminds the people of the discrimination they face as black South Africans economically. He is aware that this will further instigate the blacks to vote in his favour as the leader who is ready to end economic apartheid in the country. He uses the pronoun 'you' to represent the black population while he uses 'they' to represent the 'oppressors' of the black people, which is the government. He uses this to paint the government in a bad light in order to discredit them in the eyes of the black population of South Africa.

Excerpt 2

> They are charging us more when we apply for a point less than what they are charging white people. Comrades, why are farm owners white people? When we say economic freedom, we mean that black people would own productive farms.

In sending the message of economic liberation to the people, he speaks of the injustice the blacks receive in certain areas, that is, they are charged more when they apply for a point and also the fact that the whites are owners of farms in South Africa. The last sentence was used by Malema to point out that the ideology of economic liberation which he wants to offer the people will lead to black people owning productive farms. Malema uses this ideology here to draw the attention of the black South Africans to injustices they face and the disparity between the whites and the blacks. He chooses to awaken the people's interest in areas they can explore such as owning productive farms. He is aware that in presenting the ideology of economic liberation to

the people, he can easily convince his audience of his need to be voted for, and then portraying himself as a candidate who is ready to improve the lives of black South Africans. Very noticeable is the use of the 'they' versus 'us' dichotomy. This is discussed in detail under the 'us' versus 'them' ideology.

Excerpt 3

> There is no more farming alone, there is no more owning a call center alone, yes, we will work in the call center, yes, we will answer the phones because we are shareholders, we are working in our company. End of the month salary, end of financial year, dividends … that is the future of South Africa.

The ideology of economic liberation is embedded in the excerpt above. This speech was made by Malema to build hope for the people that the future of South Africa is one where the people would be able to work in all sectors of the economy and become shareholders. He paints a future where they would receive their salaries and dividends. Julius Malema uses this strategy to present to his audience what the economic future of South Africa will look like when he becomes the president. Therefore, Malema used ideology here in order to influence his audience to vote for him.

Excerpt 4

> It's a wasted freedom because when you say people are oppressed economically; women are oppressed three times than men economically. One, because they are women. Two, because they are Africans. Three, because they are a working class. They are at the receiving end of the economic oppression, that's why they must benefit than all of us.

Malema uses the above utterance to substantiate his ideological opinion in a way that would draw the attention of the women in South Africa. As seen in the excerpt, Malema points out that the women are more oppressed economically and he gives reasons to support his stance. Therefore, his message of economic freedom is not just for the men but the women as well who he says are 'at the receiving end of the economic oppression' faced in South Africa. He uses his ideology here in a bid to convince them that the economic liberation for which he stands will be beneficial to all South Africans, whether male or female. This is intended to sway the women, particularly the black women in South Africa, to vote in his favour.

3.2.2 Pronouns – "They (them)" versus "we (us)" ideology

The use of pronouns is to substitute a noun in order to avoid the repetition of the noun being referred to. Therefore, pronouns can be used to refer to something that may have been mentioned earlier by a speaker. The use of pronouns in political speeches goes beyond substitution of a noun; rather it shows a dichotomy in defining the in-group (us) and out-group (them). Ideological political discourse is organised by positive self-representation (us) and other negative representation (them) (van Dijk 2006). There is evidence of them/us ideology in the speeches made by Julius Malema where he used the pronouns *I, we,* and *our* to express positive self-representation when referring to himself, the EFF, the blacks and the people of South Africa in general while he uses *they, them* and *theirs* to express other negative – representation when referring to his opposition (ANC and DA) party, the people of South Africa in general and the White people of South Africa. The different cases where the *they/them* and *we/us* ideology was used are emphasised in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 5

> … But our neighbours here, what are they doing to change the lives of their neighbours? Do they have foundation? Do they put money and say this money will be

> spent in Alexandra? They are not doing anything; they are staying in high walls. You know why? They are scared of us and they have got reason to be scared of us because they know that they are eating alone.

As seen in the excerpt above, there is evident use of the third person (subject, plural) personal pronoun which is repeated nine times in the speech. This utterance was made by Malema while addressing the people in Alexandra. The speech referred to the white people living in Sandton as "our neighbours". Malema expresses his frustration at how the whites are living around Alexandra (a township in the Ganteng province of South Africa, populated by mostly black South Africans and located near Sandton) but do nothing to improve the lives of their neighbours. He projects the use of the 'us'/'them' ideology here and the 'they' in his speech refers to the white people. According to him 'they' live in high walls which shows a form of disparity between them and the people of Alexandra. With the use of this ideology in the excerpt above, Malema shows the negative actions of the whites in Sandton.

Excerpt 6

> Here is your party, we don't promote by selling, we don't promote by proximity, we don't promote by political affiliation, we promote by years of service and discipline and dedication.

By using "we" as seen in the excerpt above, Malema introduces the 'we' ideology to refer to himself and his party (the EFF). The utterance was addressed to the police in order to persuade them to belong to his party. He opined that his party imbibes the culture of transparency and promises that they would be treated fairly. Their promotion will be based on their years of service and dedication to the force. Here, he speaks highly of his party in order to indirectly paint the other party as one which lacks integrity. The aim of using the pronoun 'we' is to sell himself and his party to the police thereby drawing the attention of policemen who have been denied of their promotion when they were deserving of it. The pragmatic import of this is that he portrays the other party as one in which nepotism is the order of the day.

Excerpt 7

> I am saying to you, please don't be impatient with them, be patient with them because your mind is liberated. Their mind is still oppressed but you are liberating their mind, then they are coming to join you one by one.

In the expression 'I am saying to you', the first person pronoun 'I' shows individuality; and sometimes politicians try to represent themselves by indicating their individual identity using the pronoun 'I' which sets them free from being under the umbrella of their party. Here, Malema shows that he is the one giving the advice as seen in the utterance and not his party. He also vividly uses the third person (object, plural) pronoun to refer to those who have not bought his idea of economic liberation while he uses 'you and your' to refer to his supporters who are already liberated like himself.

Excerpt 8

> Our people don't want social grants; they want better jobs, better salary, so that they can feed themselves, so that they can build proper houses for themselves.

As seen in the excerpt above, there is evidence of 'our' which he uses to portray a sense of collectivity, bringing into perspective himself as one of the people. As someone who understands what it once felt like to depend on the government while growing up, he uses the pronoun to point out that he is quite aware of what the people want. He further differentiates himself from the people when he refers to them as 'they' and themselves'. Here, he associates the people as 'other'-representation in showing that he understands and knows what the people need, since he

has already stressed the fact that he is part of them. He knows that having acknowledged that he is part of the people, he also needs to present most essential needs such as food, jobs and houses from their own perspective. This will give Malema leverage over other candidates, as a candidate that truly knows their very needs, as this will increase his chances of being voted for.

Excerpt 9

> They are going to come with lots of T-shirts here. That's what they do when you speak, they close your mouth with a T-shirt, they make you to be a zombie.

Here, Malema associates the ANC with the negative other-representation. He uses the pronoun 'they' to indicate precisely that his party is different and it's not one that doesn't let the people speak their mind. He presents the ANC as a party that is corrupt by enticing the people with material items during the election period, instead of allowing the people to speak up about what they really want. He uses the expression 'they make you to be a zombie' to make people see the ANC as one that would rather give out shirts than listen to the needs of the people. The reason for using this here is to gain an edge over the other party.

3.2.3 Young versus old

Julius Malema uses the 'young' versus 'old' ideology to campaign during the election. He portrays himself and his party as young, while his opposition, Cyril Ramaphosa and his party members, are regarded as old. Julius Malema of the EFF is younger than Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC, therefore he sells himself to the people as a young leader that has new ideas and Ramaphosa as an old leader with nothing new to offer the people. According to him, the ANC has run out of ideas and the young ones should be given the opportunity to be in government. The ANC which was created over a hundred years ago, has been in power since the beginning of the democratic era in South Africa. Malema criticises Ramaphosa and his party (ANC) saying they lack fresh ideas to move the country forward. Malema constantly refers to his party as the future of South Africa in his campaign speeches.

Excerpt 10

> When you go inside, there's an old person saying we want the young ones because they still have energy. They will go and fetch the land for us, they are the only ones who deliver, they do not make promises, they make commitment.

This statement is one of the ways Malema expresses the ideology of young leadership to the people. This is the ideology he chooses to buttress the fact that he is a younger than his opponent. He wants his audience to know that he is young and vibrant and would be in a better position to rule them. He uses the above statement to point out that the young ones still have energy and that they are not weak and as a result, they would be able to give the land which has been mostly allocated to the whites in South Africa back to the blacks. He further buttresses his point that the young do not make promises: they are committed to do as they have said. The pragmatic import of this is to sell himself as the ideal candidate to deliver the change that the people are agitating to get and for them to see the need to change their old leaders.

Excerpt 11

> The ANC …it's tired, hundred and something years old that's why they can't run. When you say to them, go and fetch water, they won't run, they are still going to fetch water for the people of Kumulatu … They are still going to fetch them water twenty-five years into democracy. So we need young people with energy.

Embedded in this statement is the ideology of the young leaders over the old leaders. The goal here is to paint the ANC as an old party considering their long history in the country. Malema draws the attention of the people to the ANC being over a hundred years old and are yet to

provide basic amenities to the people and as this has been the case even after twenty-five years of democratic rule. Therefore, he pushes the need for the people to vote for the young leaders who have the energy to provide them with basic amenities. He consistently points the people's attention to the fact that all the promises made by the ANC in past administrations is yet to be fulfilled and as such they should be given the chance to continue with their leadership. Malema is indirectly asking the people to give his party of about five years the opportunity to prove themselves.

Excerpt 12

The ANC is too old and too tired, they can't think of anything new.

The above statement was used by Malema to paint the ANC as not just old but as a failure. It has failed in bringing something new to the development of South Africa. To Malema, the ANC has been in power for twenty-five years and no longer have anything new to offer the people because they lack fresh ideas. Therefore, their time in the political scene is over; it is now the time for young leaders like himself to take over. Furthermore, his five year-old party has better chances to bring up fresh ideas that will improve the lives of the people.

4 Conclusion

Politicians' campaign speeches are laden with ideology. Critical discourse analysis reveals these ideologies because it focuses not just on what is said but what is left unsaid. This work has focused on the discursive ideologies employed by Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC and Julius Malema of the EFF. An observation made in this work is the major reason why politicians use these ideologies is to discredit their rivals. Their campaign speeches are either structured to attack a rival or defend an accusation brought against them. For a nation to move forward, the ideology driving the leaders should be more people-focused than this. Politicians are expected to generate and communicate worldviews in order to win and mobilise support from the electorate because of the efficiency gains that the electorate find in adhering to them. It should not just be about mud-slinging. For example, both Ramaphosa and Malema adopted the use of the 'us' versus 'them' ideology. This was employed not to present anything new to South Africans but to draw their attention to the fact that they are different from each other. They adopt the use of positive self-representation while they present their rivals as incompetent. Therefore, rather than raise issues that will positively affect the lives of South Africans in their campaigns, the politicians attack each other and try to present themselves as an alternative. Even though the politicians employ some ideologies that portray them as genuinely concerned about the electorate, they do not form the crux of their campaigns. Due to the fact that politicians are usually skilled speakers, their listeners are usually carried away by their speeches and they do not focus on the ideologies they project. Therefore, politicians use language to disguise certain ideologies in their campaign speeches. The electorate is encouraged not just to hear these campaigns but also actively listen so that they can identify the ideologies that drive the candidates and make an informed decision on who to vote for. Politicians are also advised to focus on serious issues that will positively affect the lives of South Africans rather than merely promote their campaigns.

This research paper has been able to focus on just two of the contenders in the South African presidential elections. It is recommended that further studies be carried out on other candidates so as to track their ideologies as well.

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SHORT COMMUNICATION

Curmudgeon article including reports of two recent African Psychology studies on Covid-19

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Abstract

COVID-19 offers new opportunities for confrontation and transcendence of the givens of life,Christopher.isike@up.ac.za including illness, suffering and death. These givens also bring humanity's greatest gifts, such as joy and compassion. This article reports on two recent African psychology studies on COVID-19. The first study on local rural Zulu persons' COVID-19 coping experiences provides a contemporary context for the second study on universalising and indigenising the meaning and practice of love after COVID-19. Five main points are made. First, African psychology is original psychology. Second, it refers to psychology in, of, for, and from Africa, on, by and for Africans. Third, it has much to offer psychology in other continents. Fourth, the Greek philosophy of love has considerable African origins. Fifth, the concept of Ubuntu both relates to and extends the notion of agape or unconditional love, through its emphasis on human relationships, which require extra compassionate care during and after COVID-19.

Introduction

Bland (2020) has contributed an excellent existential-humanistic psychological study on COVID-19 using four dialectical existential givens of life/death, community/isolation, freedom/determinism, and meaning/absurdity – as a guiding framework to explore USA life imbalances. The study reflects on habits and experiences with the potential to spark revitalising intentionality. Bland specifically indicates how COVID-19 offers opportunities for individuals to transcend inadequate ways of being, embracing ambiguity and tragedy; reconciling under actualised human capacities, healing false dichotomies and becoming more capable of living fully, authentically, and flexibly. The paper contains a focused critique of (the ineffectiveness of) the U.S. cultural narrative, with its predominantly individualistic, mechanistic, capitalist and Calvinist orientations. It concludes that COVID-19 provides opportunities for the collective co-creation of a cultural narrative involving evolution toward enhanced consciousness and caring.

Despite the value and applicability of Bland's (2020) argument, it is specifically directed at the USA, which may be described as a preeminent example of a Western, Educated, Industrial, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) country (Henrich Heine & Norenzayan 2010). In contrast to the individualistic, personal orientation of WEIRD countries, the African psychological sense of personhood, agency, and morality has been described as polyvocal, multilingual, multicultural and pluriversal (Adjei 2019). Ratele (2017) has defined African psychology as psychology *in*

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Africa, *of* Africa, *for* Africa, *from* Africa, *on* Africans, *by* Africans, and *for* Africans. Such a definition is based on the view that psychology with a distinctly African ontology and epistemology can enrich theoretical visions and methodological strategies and extend disciplinary frontiers in both Africa and WEIRD settings (Adjei 2019). Central to such an African Psychology is social intentionality of agency and morality as epitomised by *Ubuntu* consciousness, deeply directed towards the communal good (Adjei 2019).

Local rural Zulu persons Covid-19 coping experiences

African psychology may be viewed as the original version of psychology, reflective of indigenous knowledge systems across planet earth, which have traditionally honoured life as a deeply interconnected whole. Similar to other African communities, Zulu people have long recognised that survival depends on harmonious social and ecological relationships. To prevent disorder and chaos, people are expected to work at maintaining harmony, especially through ancestral consciousness and socially coherent relationships as epitomised in the internationally recognised concept of *Ubuntu,* which ultimately implies that meaning in life is only possible through human relationships. COVID-19 regulations such as social distancing and wearing of masks have certainly impacted on customary relationships characterised by joyous freedom of expression and movement. The research question therefore arose as to how traditional Zulu people would experience coping with COVID-19 if denied normal social relationships, which constitute such an existential pillar and customary way of life.

In order to answer this question a survey was conducted at the University of Zululand and in adjacent rural areas populated by traditional Zulu people (Thwala *et al.* 2020**).** Participants consisted of nine males and nine females, with a mean age of 46.83, standard deviation of 20.72, median of 46, and range of 15 to 80 years. The survey type questionnaire technique was motivated by the consideration that the consciousness raised by persons considering their coping experiences would be intrinsically therapeutic. Raw data was subjected to three levels of analysis. Firstly, NVivo and MAXQDA analyses provided a course sieve for further thematic analysis. Secondly, emerging themes were independently elicited by two researchers. Thirdly, final themes were consensually validated, integrated and relevant examples chosen for report. The final eleven respective, rank-ordered, overlapping coping themes were people, action, culture, time, home, technology, COVID-19, life, family, rules and world. Participants generally indicated resilient, adaptive, coping responses. The COVID-19 pandemic was recognised for its danger and treated appropriately, especially through the adaptation of human, communal, cultural, ecological and spiritual relationships. In addition, participants actively used contemporary resources, communicating via cell phones, enjoying online church services, and continuing studies through learning programmes. Relevant future suggestions were advanced for managing the pandemic.

The research question as to how Zulu people, well known for their communal spiritual culture and traditional beliefs and practices, would experience coping with COVID-19 was well answered. When considering contemporary global population prevalence of stress, anxiety and depression, the Zulu sample generally indicated resilient, adaptive coping responses. The COVID-19 pandemic was recognised for its danger, yet also treated as such dangers had been in the past, especially via family and community. In addition, participants actively used contemporary resources, communicating with others through cell phones, enjoying online church services, and continuing studies through learning programs. Participants' views resonate existential, humanistic dwelling in a sympathetic and empathetic communal world context. Traditional Zulu cultural views of times such as COVID-19 included pollution (*umnyama*) contagion *umkhondo omubi,* and practicing abstinence (*ukuzila*).

Indigenous knowledge systems throughout Africa have long recognised the profound interconnectedness of everything, where plants, animals, humans, ancestors and all creation

interdependently coexist. Such knowledge seems to have been passed on by such giant scholars as Imhotep and Plotinus (Wiredu 2004). This recognition is typically associated with contexts such as communal ceremonies, associated with heightened consciousness, insights, morality and ethical behaviour. The participants in the present study recognized the vital importance of co-ordinated human health action against the pandemic and were actively engaged in appropriate health promotion at various levels of response, ranging from global and national recommendations, though local cultural action, to routine social distancing, wearing of masks and washing of hands.

On universalising and indigenising the meaning and practice of love after Covid-19

As mentioned above, African Psychology is characterised by its social intentionality of agency and morality. *Ubuntu* consciousness is inextricably interrelated with such phenomena as respect and love. Although respect has been recently investigated (Mbele *at al*. 2015), there appears to be a dearth of African Psychological research into the phenomenon of love. In order to contribute to knowledge, universalise and decolonise love constructs, with special reference to honouring indigenous African and Zulu views, a study on love explored the following question: What contributions do African, particularly Zulu, cultural views make to the theory and practice of love after COVID-19? The African renaissance, combined with the colour wheel theory of love, provided theoretical frameworks for epistemic emancipation (Nxumalo, & Edwards 2020).

The argument had six premises. First, converging lines of evidence from such scientific disciplines as genetics, linguistics, palaeontology and archaeology point consistently to Africa as the human cradle of civilisation. Second, the history of the largest southern African ethnic group of Zulu speaking people is immersed with that of the Bantu, the Nguni collective noun for 'people', who emigrated from the forests along the Nile River Valley in today's Egypt (Wiredu 2004). It is this connection to the Nile River Valley in which many Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras, Herodotus, Plato and Aristotle spent a considerable amount of time being taught mathematics, science and philosophy by African philosophers and thinkers (Anakwe 2017). Third, equity and redress require universalisation of knowledge, irrespective of its place of origin and/or context. Fourth, indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) across planet earth have traditionally honoured life as a deeply interconnected whole. Similar to other African communities, Zulu people have long recognised that survival depends on beneficial relationships. Fifth, African ancestral consciousness and reverence for respected senior clansmen, living and dead, forms the essential foundation for most wisdom and cultural traditions. Six, Africa has also readily embraced wisdom and cultural traditions from other continents and regions.

Agape as expressed through Zulu cultural traditions

Agape (universal love) is free from desires and expectations and exists regardless of human imperfections. In the Zulu culture, the concept of *Ubuntu* both relates to and extends *agape*. Zulu speaking people live by and practise *Ubuntu,* which finds expressions in many iZulu proverbs and traditions. In one such proverb, '*isisu somhambi asingakanani, singangenso yenyoni*' (the traveller's tummy is not that big, it is as big as the bird's kidney), Zulu people are encouraged to extend *agape* to strangers in the form of shelter, food and other amenities that they might need. Another useful proverb is '*akudlulwa ngendlu yakhiwa*' (you never go past people building a house) which encourages the spirit of assisting those that are in any form of difficulty (such as in the case of those affected by COVID-19) or hard labour. In communal life, when there was physical labour to be accomplished such as tilling of the soil or building a house, traditional beer was brewed, basic food prepared and community assisted in *ilimo.* Nowadays, African people metaphorically practice *ilimo* in different forms. Since most Zulu-speaking people do not have large pieces of land to farm, in the spirit of *ilimo*, people assist without expecting any pay. In some rural areas, it is common to find villagers standing together in their demonstration of *agape*.

COVID-19 poses various social and economic challenges to people. Specialised skills and knowledge are in demand. Financial support for many relief funds set up by different agencies and governments to alleviate hunger and poverty caused by sanctioned lockdowns and job loss, are some of the limited examples of how agape is extended to those affected by COVID-19. *Ubuntu* holds even greater relevance today in a world where there are diminished levels of all forms of love through threats of a Third World War, nuclear weapons, rising levels of conservatism, right-wing populism and incendiary rhetoric. Intuition indicates widespread rediscovery of *Ubuntu* and all related practises such as appreciation, gratitude, care and love after COVID-19.

Conclusion

Life is replete with existential givens, such as chaos, injustice, unfairness, pain, disloyalty, freedom, death, isolation, meaninglessness and suffering. However as Richo (2005) notes, these givens also bring humanity's greatest gifts, such as joy and compassion. In the era of COVID-19, many people have suffered high levels of stress and mental health problems. Frankl's (2006) theory of self-transcendence provides a promising framework for research and intervention on how to achieve resilience, wellbeing, and happiness through overcoming suffering and transcending the self. He also spoke of tragic optimism, optimism in the face of tragedy, which at its best allows for: (1) turning suffering into human achievement and accomplishment; (2) deriving from guilt the opportunity to change for the better; and (3) deriving from life's impermanence an incentive to take responsible action. Tragic optimism typically features at African memorial services through shared joy as well as grief.

Ubuntu is the ultimate theme of all the caring, helping professions such as nursing, medicine, psychology, social work and theology. Embracing essential humanity, as well as love as an ultimate essential, it forms a foundation for most academic and professional disciplines, from biochemistry through law to sociology. Where such knowledge has become too differentiated, specialised, and abstract, it needs to be revitalised and humanised again through the authentic practice of *Ubuntu*, especially in *masihambisana* (coherent communication and synchronous collaboration). Through its emphasis on essential humanity and human essentials, *Ubuntu* is ultimately concerned with fundamental structures of being human, without which our human species could not survive in its present form, that is the giving, receiving and sharing of human care, dignity, respect, support, companionship, help, healing and love. It clearly honours African indigenous values such as "*maat*" with its many more abstract connotations such as reality, truth, justice, integrity, beauty as well as the interconnectedness of everyday life, which requires extra compassionate care in present COVID-19 days.

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SHORT COMMUNICATION

Profit vs public health: the crisis of liberal democracy and universal healthcare in Africa

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Introduction

A notable feature of a pandemic is that it quite quickly becomes common knowledge within national and global populations, and the novel coronavirus popularly known as COVID-19 is no exception. Indeed, even little children all over the world know of coronavirus/COVID-19 given its devastating impact not only on national economies, but also on all aspects of human existence. For example, it has impacted mainstream politics, governance, education, and social life generally. However, its economic impact has been more far-reaching given its effect on the workforce, an essential component of the productive sector which is the main source of a country's wealth, as we have always been made to believe. This is until COVID-19 made it more clear that the source of a country's wealth is its human well-being, not its economic well-being.

As the virus infected and demobilised all sectors of the populations of every country irrespective of class, race, gender, age or religion, most resorted to lockdowns, which also brought national economies to a standstill. Businesses were compelled to downsize, lay off workers or even close shop completely (Dodd 2020). As a result, the gross domestic product (GDP) of many countries all over the world fell, shrinking their economies with a good number, such as the United States and South Africa, going into a recession, with a growth rate of -51% for the latter. In a nutshell, the economic impact of COVID-19 forced national governments to choose between lives and livelihoods, or at best to balance both in their various responses to the public health security threat posed by the virus. However, as mentioned, this raises the question of what is more important between human well-being and economic well-being, and which should be the foundation of a prosperous society and state. This question is at the heart of the perennial debates between socialism and capitalism on how to achieve the common good, and *ipso facto* the best form of political system (social or liberal democracy) that is suited for attaining the common good, however defined.

What is clear is that irrespective of the economic or political system in place, a sound public health system is critical to the core national interest of any state; to its survival. Therefore, protecting and maintaining public health and safety is critical to the survival of a state including its economic and political systems. Studies show that states that practice social democracy, which focuses on social needs (i.e. quality education, universal public health), and values (social justice, equality and inclusivity) tend to do better in managing pandemics than liberal democracies which focus on individual and minority (elite) interests and prioritise profits over social needs (Wolff 2020). This is because social democratic states are usually better prepared

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for pandemics, as their social state system enables them to produce and stockpile everything needed for a viral pandemic such as tests, masks, ventilators, hospital beds, trained personnel, to manage dangerous viruses (Wolff 2020:1). This is not the case in liberal democracies where such medical and personal protective equipment are produced by private capitalist enterprises whose goal is profit. As such, in the case of the US, Wolff argues it was not profitable to produce and stockpile such medical products, nor did the U.S. government produce or stockpile them. Apart from President Donald Trump's poor leadership response to COVID-19, this is another major reason the US, in spite of its wealth, has failed to contain the pandemic, and is the worst affected state globally, with the odious record of having the highest infection (15.5 million) and death (over 293, 000) rates in the world relative to population.[1] This compares poorly with its social democratic neighbour Canada, which has 429, 035 infection cases and 8,547 deaths with far lower infection and death rates per million of its population to the US. A few other examples of social democracies that have done better than liberal democracies in managing and containing COVID-19 include New Zealand, Denmark, Sweden and Iceland. Is liberal democracy therefore in crisis, and will it serve the Global South, in this case Africa, better to devise and practice a social variant of democracy?

The crisis of liberal democracy

The history of democracy is one of crisis which predates the era of modernity. The ancients Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were no friends of democracy. Its final collapse in ancient Athens affirmed their reservations. In early modern times, this crisis manifested in the twin revolutions in England,[2] the American and French Revolutions, and democracy's struggles in an ideological rivalry against Nazism, Fascism, and Communism in the twentieth century – and its eventual victory after the collapse of the Soviet Empire. In liberal circles, this victory was referred to as "the end of history" (See Fukuyama 1992), which saw the global diffusion of a democratic form of governance with its free-market enterprise (capitalism) aggressively pursued by Western governments with the support of democracy promoting institutions. As a result, some observers have argued that "capitalism and democracy have proven themselves the most successful systems of economic and political order" (Merkel 2014:110). With China's unprecedented and phenomenal economic feat using a "state capitalist" approach, liberal democracy's "free-market" component became the global template for how best to order an economic system to achieve economic growth.

However, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, scholars started observing cracks in liberal democracy. Larry Diamond, a renowned political sociologist, revealed this prognosis quite trenchantly when he posited that "one can view the last decade as a period of at least incipient decline in democracy … and the decline in the functioning and self-confidence of the world's established, rich democracies" (Diamond 2015:100). This was further compounded by the sub-prime mortgage crisis in the US which ushered in the global economic meltdown of 2008 that required massive state bail-outs of private financial institutions and businesses with taxpayers' money in liberal democracies. This state interventionist act by government did not only reveal how incapable the famous "invisible hand" of the market can be in a time of economic crisis, it also revealed the contradiction of capitalism in *privatising profits* when the economy is in good shape and *socialising losses* when it gets bad.[3] The unfairness in this contradiction is seen in the growing social inequality in many liberal democracies. This triggered a series of protests in the

1. See *https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/#countries, accessed 09/12/2020.*
2. The Revolutions in 1640 and 1688.
3. Privatizing profits and socializing losses is the practice of allowing shareholders to benefit from company earnings, while making society responsible for their losses. See *https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/privatizing-profits-and-socializing-losses.asp.*

US, Greece, and Spain after the 2008 global economic meltdown. These were reminiscent of the tensions generated by the economic crisis of the 1960s and 70s that challenged the legitimacy of the Western liberal capitalist model which prioritised profit over human security (see Toplisek 2019). Over 40 years later, these tensions continue to mount and are causing disenchantment with liberal democracy across the world as, for instance, studies show that across North America and Western Europe people are increasingly expressing deep reservations regarding democracy in large numbers (Mounk 2018), with implications for the idea of the Westphalian state and its relevance. Simply put, at the heart of challenges to liberal democracy is the question of how much the state should be involved in providing public goods such as education, health and social security to its citizens. In essence, how thin should the state be? What are its responsibilities to citizens, and *ipso facto*, what is the essence of the state? Lastly, should the state assume more social responsibilities to make it more meaningful for the vast majority of citizens; what democratic system will be best for such a social state?

Africa's need for the social state, social democracy and universal healthcare

Apart from the centrality of a sound public health system to the economic well-being and survival of a state, another significant lesson COVID-19 has forced home is the connectedness of the human race. That a virus emanating in Wuhan, China in December 2019 could spread to the entire world in four months by March 2020 and cause a complete shutdown of the world by April 2020 is testament to the connectedness. It is clearly foolhardy for the wealthy states, who constitute only 14% of the world's population, to engage in vaccine nationalism by already purchasing over 54% of vaccines which they will hoard for themselves at the expense of poorer states who are in the majority. The lack of complete knowledge of how COVID-19 presents itself makes this vaccine nationalism more untenable. This is why French President Emmanuel Macron's comment that "there will be no effective response to the pandemic unless it is a global response"[1] is apt. To this end, the G20 resolved that it "will spare no effort to ensure the affordable and equitable access for all people to coronavirus vaccines worldwide, and support poor countries whose economies have been ravaged by the crisis".[2] However, beside this kind of support from the wealthy states, Global South states themselves, especially the poorer ones in Africa, need to commit to making public healthcare a right for all citizens and not a privilege of the elite few. This will require governments on the continent to rethink and redesign their state systems to make them better oriented to social service delivery and thus make them more meaningful to citizens. As presently constituted, the state in Africa is perverse, as it was never designed by its colonial designers to be an instrument of development in the same manner that the state in Europe was designed to be. Rather, the colonial state was designed specifically as an instrument of legitimising the colonial exploitation and oppression of African resources and peoples. That perverse idea of the state produced a perverse notion of public governance which was inherited at independence and continued to manifest long after colonialism. This explains the absence of development on the agenda of many Africa states: as Ake (1996) puts it, the looting of state coffers and personalisation of the state by political operators masquerading as leaders. It explains their political assassination of opponents to get power, and the mentality of Christian politicians, for instance, going to church for thanksgiving celebrations after winning elections instead going to God for wisdom to serve, as King Solomon did in the bible. Governance is not understood as an opportunity to serve but as an opportunity to self-enrich. With this perverse notion of state and governance, it is also no surprise that Africa continues to dominate the wrong end of the human development ladder as it is worse plagued by human

1. President Macron made this comment on 21 November 2020 in the wake of the G20 summit hosted by Saudi Arabia.
2. G20 leaders pledge fair distribution of coronavirus vaccine. See *https://medicalxpress.com/news/2020-11-g20-equitable-access-coronavirus-vaccine.html.*

security challenges such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease which are root causes of armed conflict and civil wars prominent in the continent. Although no state in the world was quite prepared for the sudden stress COVID-19 put on their public health facilities, the full depth of decay of Africa's public health infrastructure was further exposed by the pandemic even though the continent was far less hit by COVID-19 than initial prognosis. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA 2020), Africa's health care system is the weakest in the world, with an average of 1.8 hospital bed space per 1000 people. This is made worse by its "Out-of-Pockect Model" of public health where "the rich get medical care, and the poor get sick and die" (Reid 2009:18). These are signifiers of a public health decay which is a consequence of neglect and underfunding by "democratic" leaders who have always sought healthcare for themselves and their families abroad.

Conclusion

Amongst others and in the context of this article, the novel coronavirus pandemic has taught us two important lessons. One, human well-being is foundational to the economic well-being of a state; and two, the connectedness of the human race. It is evidently unhelpful to prioritise profits over public health anywhere in the world, as a health injury to one will eventually amount to an injury to all given how interdependent the world has become. In the face of the failure of liberal democracies to provide universal healthcare for their citizens, the idea and practice of a social variant of democracy becomes appealing, especially given its value for containing pandemics. However, this is a challenge for developing states such as those in Africa where the state is perverse both in its conception and manifestation as we have seen in its decayed public health system. Therefore, to arrest the decay in public health infrastructure in Africa, its leaders now need to commit to rethinking why the state and government exist, and for whom. Human security for all citizens needs to be the vision of the reimagined and redesigned state in Africa, and this includes health security as a right of all citizens. Such a social state will require a social democratic system to prioritise and deliver healthcare for all citizens, as human well-being is the foundation of economic well-being, not vice versa. This is why for states such as South Africa that have some semblance of a social contract with its citizens (CODESA),[1] the National Health Insurance (NHI) is important and its implementation should be fast-tracked. As a public health financing system designed to pool funds to provide access to quality affordable personal health services for all South Africans based on their health needs, irrespective of their socio-economic status, the NHI will help to ensure universal health coverage for South Africans and give meaning to the idea of a developmental state to which the country aspires.

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