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EDITORIAL

Dear Inkanyiso Readers,

It is my pleasure to present to you *Inkanyiso* Volume 9 Number 1 of 2017, featuring eight articles, focusing on philosophy, political science, history, communication studies, information studies and education psychology. For the first time we have also included an article for general reading, focusing on decolonising education.

The first article, in the field of Philosophy, is entitled "The problem of consciousness: an assessment of Michael Tye's and David Chalmers' criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy". Written by Olanshile Muideen Adeyanju from Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, it presents a critical assessment of the two philosophers' work. The author defends phenomenal concept strategy against Tye's and Chalmers' arguments and posits that Tye's and Chalmers' criticisms misrepresent the stance of the phenomenal concept strategy. He maintains that the phenomenal concept strategy, if understood differently, still provides a plausible support for physicalism in addressing the problem of consciousness.

The second article, in Political Science, is by Emmanuel Oladipo Ojo from the Siberian Federal University, Russia. Entitled "Nigeria's democracy: the trilemma of herdsmenism, terrorism and vampirism", the article examines the content and context of Nigeria's democracy with specific reference to its 'trilemma'; the country's democracy is assailed by three 'isms'. The study concludes that Nigeria's brand of democracy is a rule by the few for the few and that this has drained many Nigerians of psychic energy and socio-economic strength. The analysis and narrative of the "trilemma" is quite intriguing.

Migration of Zimbabweans has been very challenging in recent years. The third article, "Contextual background to the rapid increase in migration from Zimbabwe since 1990" by Crescentia Madebwe and Victor Madebwe from Midlands State University, Zimbabwe, contextualises the background and causes of recent emigration from Zimbabwe, including inter-related factors ranging from political and economic instability, poverty, low returns to labour, unemployment, increased informalisation of the economy, fluctuation in prices of basic commodities and their erratic supply. The paper provides an important historical account of and clarity on this misunderstood socio-economic situation that has been affecting the southern African country for decades.

Mobile financial services – such as mpesa – are increasingly popular among the unbanked population in Africa. The paper by Aulelius Lema from the University of Dodoma, Tanzania, is entitled "Factors influencing the adoption of mobile financial services in the unbanked population". He employs six variables from the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) such as perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, perceived trust, perceived cost, perceived risk and social influence for the analysis and reveals that perceived usefulness, perceived cost and social influence significantly influence the adoption of mobile financial services. The implications of the findings form the basis for product or service development, pricing, marketing and policy formulation.

The fifth article, on communication studies, is entitled "A Cross-cultural analysis of communication patterns between two cultures in Southwest Nigeria". By Olugbenga Elegbe and Ifeoma Nnaji, from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, it examines Igbo and Yoruba socio-cultural relationships as they influence the management of their communication patterns. The study may play a significant role in the promotion of effective communication and peaceful coexistence among cultural groups.

In the sixth article, "Library and Information Science education in Anglophone Africa: past, present and future", Japheth Otike from Moi University, Kenya, provides a historical development of Library and Information Science (LIS) schools on the African continent from the colonial period to the present. He notes significant changes that have occurred during their development, that include an increase in numbers – student, LIS schools, libraries – curriculum reviews, name change of LIS schools and degree programmes, growth of local education in Africa as opposed to education elsewhere, access and use of ICTs in research, teaching and learning. He concludes that although the future of LIS schools is bright, it will greatly depend on how the library profession is marketed and copes with the rapid changes taking place in the information industry/sector. In the seventh article, "Applying the knowledge creation model to the management of IK research", Petros Dlamini, from the University of Zululand, South Africa, discusses the knowledge creation theory (KCT) as a theoretical framework for indigenous knowledge (IK) and while noting its weaknesses, argues in favour of the four components (modes) of the theory for application to indigenous knowledge management research.

The last research article focuses on education psychology. In "Strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State, Nigeria", Foluke Bolu-steve and Mary Esere from the University of Ilorin, Nigeria, reveal that deviant behaviour is caused by a lack of effective parental upbringing. The study recommends that counsellors should continue to provide correct information to in-school adolescents about the negative effects of deviant behaviors.

The final article is a non-research paper based on a keynote address at the University of Zululand graduation ceremony in May 2017 by Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah from the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASA), Cape Town, South Africa. In "Facing the future: between altruism and self-interest", Kwesi cautions that academics in Africa face new challenges defined in the voices and clamour of our students for decolonized education in our time, and such issues need to be pursued by the new generation of scholars and academics represented by the graduands of today and tomorrow. This enlightening speech provides an agenda of actions for a future focusing on the ongoing decolonisation of education debate that is worth attention, such as language and indigenous knowledge issues. He concludes that "the good life is the life which is devoted to the commonwealth; this requires that at all times and at all stages we maintain a heightened concern for the common good of humanity".

I wish you pleasant reading

Dennis N. Ocholla

Editor-in-Chief

Inkanyiso

The problem of consciousness: an assessment of Michael Tye's and David Chalmers' criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy

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This paper presents a critical assessment of Michael Tye's and David Chalmers' criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy. The assessment is done with a view to defend the phenomenal concept strategy against Tye's and Chalmers' arguments. The phenomenal concept strategy is a strategy developed by physicalists to defend physicalism in the attempt to address the problem of consciousness. For Michael Tye, who was previously an advocate of the phenomenal concept strategy, there is the possibility that two or more distinct phenomenal concepts can refer to the same phenomenal experience and this indicates that phenomenal concepts have no special status as claimed by physicalists and are, in turn, not concepts at all. David Chalmers, on the other hand, raises a dilemma for the phenomenal concept strategy by stating that it is either that the strategy cannot explain the epistemic reality (i.e. knowledge) of consciousness or that the strategy cannot explain this knowledge in physicalist terms. Any of these two indicates that the phenomenal concept strategy is unsuccessful. This paper posits that Tye's and Chalmers' criticisms misrepresent the stance of the phenomenal concept strategy. This paper maintains that the phenomenal concept strategy, if understood differently, still provides a plausible support for physicalism in addressing the problem of consciousness.

Keywords: Consciousness, conceivability argument, knowledge argument, master argument, phenomenal concept strategy, physicalism.

Introduction

The quest to account for the possibility of how events, substances or properties in the physical realm causally relate with events, substances and properties which are in the mental realm constitutes what is referred to as the mind-body problem. In this regard, there are two broad theories, namely dualism and monism. Dualism asserts the existence of both the body and the mind as distinct substances, while monism asserts the existence of either of the two. Further, and traditionally too, monism can either be idealism – the view that the one thing that exists is the mental, or physicalism – the view that the one thing that exists is physical. However, most of the recent discourses on the mind-body problem have been under the distinction and opposition between dualism and physicalism (Crane 2001:43).

Physicalism, in a general sense, is the philosophical position that the universe and all in it are entirely physical. It is the view that the world is constituted of materials and governed by regularities that the science of physics is in the best position to identify and describe (Pettit 1993:213). With regard to the mind-body problem, physicalism is the thesis that a "person, with all his psychological attributes, is nothing over and above his body, with all its physical attributes" (Nagel 1965:339). The core of a dualist theory is the position that there are mental phenomena and physical entities which exist separately. Dualism rejects the physicalist claim by holding that there is an aspect of the human psychology which arguably remains elusive to the approach of physicalism. This aspect is consciousness, which is the subjective character of experience. It is considered nonphysical and beyond what can be captured in the framework of physics. According to dualism, the reality of consciousness falsifies the claim of physicalism and remains an intractable problem (Nagel 1997:519). Philosophers who subscribe to this dualist view are antiphysicalists.

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Antiphysicalists, who are advocates of the reality of consciousness, hold that there is something it is like to be in a conscious state; that is, there is a phenomenal feel involved in seeing a rose, suffering from headache and so on. Any of such phenomenal feels, antiphysicalists argue, is non-reducible to anything physical nor is it explainable in physicalist terms. An experiencing subject's (i.e. a conscious being) knowledge of his/her phenomenal feel is *phenomenal knowledge* and the concepts that are used to express this knowledge are *phenomenal concepts*. On the other side of the divide are physicalists who are advocates of physicalism. Some physicalists have banked on the nature of phenomenal concepts to argue that phenomenal experiences are reducible to physicalist terms. Hence, the phenomenal concept strategy appeals to phenomenal concepts; that is, the concepts that conscious beings possess when they become aware of the qualitative character of their phenomenal experience via introspection.

The 'what it is like' to be in a phenomenal conscious state forms the phenomenal property of that conscious state which in turn is subsumed under a concept. Whenever one is in a phenomenal conscious state, one brings such state to bear under a concept and this is referred to as a phenomenal concept. According to physicalists, concepts of consciousness are special in a way that concepts of physical phenomena are not and this can be said to have informed the antiphysicalists' erroneous view about what phenomenal concepts pick out (refer to) (Alter and Walter 2006:5). It has been argued that phenomenal concepts are not *a priori* reducible to physical concepts. One way that phenomenal concept strategists have responded to this criticism is to argue that there are many concepts, such as 'the' and 'that', which are not physical concepts but do not refer to non-physical entities. Thus, the fact that phenomenal concepts are irreducible to physical concepts does not mean that phenomenal concepts are not explainable in physicalist terms. Proponents of the phenomenal concept strategy argue that, despite the special nature of the concepts of consciousness, an experiencing subject's possession of the concepts can be explained in physicalist terms (Chalmers 2006: 167). They hold that the puzzles of consciousness are mistaken for granting that the epistemic gap that is entailed in the view that phenomenal concepts are not *a priori* reducible to physical concepts implies a metaphysical gap, i.e. there is a difference between phenomenal consciousness and the physical in reality.

Michael Tye and David Chalmers have criticised the position of the phenomenal concept strategy. Tye (2009:53), for instance, argues that the phenomenal concept strategy does not allow for fine-grained individuation of phenomenal concepts and phenomenal properties. This means that the phenomenal concept strategy allows different concepts that have different conceptual individuation to refer to the same phenomenal concept. For example, the concepts 'morning star' and 'evening star' refer to the same entity (Venus) but the concepts play different conceptual roles which make them different concepts. In the case of phenomenal concepts and experiences, Tye argues that the possibility that two or more phenomenal concepts can apply to the same phenomenal experience indicates that phenomenal concepts have no special status and are not concepts in the sense in which physicalists conceive of them. Chalmers appeals to the conceivability argument and argues that if the complete macrophysical truth about the universe without the phenomenal features of human beings is conceivable, then it follows that the phenomenal features of human beings are not physically explicable. On the other hand, if the complete macrophysical truth about the universe without the phenomenal features of human beings is not conceivable, phenomenal features of human beings cannot explain our knowledge of phenomenal experiences (Chalmers 2006:174). This raises a dilemma for the phenomenal concept strategy.

In what follows, discussion in Section 1 will focus on a critical examination of the reasons behind physicalists' appeal to the phenomenal concept strategy. In Sections 2 and 3, I present a critical exposition and assessment of Michael Tye's and David Chalmers' criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy respectively. The last section will contain an attempt to rescue the phenomenal concept strategy by weighing its strength against some puzzles of consciousness which serve as the foundation of Tye's and Chalmers' criticisms of it. This is intended to show that these criticisms against the phenomenal concept strategy are inadequate.

Phenomenal concept strategy: a physicalist's solution to the problem of consciousness

One of the reasons that have been identified with physicalists' appeal to the phenomenal concept strategy is the puzzles of consciousness.[2] These puzzles include the explanatory gap, the zombie argument, and the knowledge argument. In the puzzle of the explanatory gap, it is argued that no amount of explanation of mental states in physical terms is sufficient and adequate to explain mental states (Levine 2002:354-361). The zombie argument maintains that if it is intelligibly conceivable that there is a possible world of zombies, which is in all microphysical aspects similar to our world but lacks the phenomenal consciousness of what it is like to be a zombie or to be in a conscious state, it follows that physicalism has no exhaustive explanation of all that is in our world. It shows that there are non-physical aspects in our world (Chalmers 1996:84). Frank Jackson's thought experiment about Mary in the black-and-white room popularises the knowledge argument which states that that given the complete knowledge of all physical facts, there are some facts of the world that remained unknown (Jackson 2002:273-280).

Advocates of the phenomenal concept strategy agree with the antiphysicalists' argument that there seems to be an epistemic gap between physical processes and phenomenal experiences but that this does not imply that there is an ontological gap between them. To admit of an ontological gap is to submit to dualism, but the physicalists hold that the concepts used to refer to phenomenal experiences are only conceptually different from concepts used to refer to physical processes; they refer to the same thing in the external world. This is likened to the way "H_2O" and "water" are conceptually different but refer to the same thing in the external world. Thus, for the physicalists, concepts may be dualistic; what they refer to is one.

Another reason is the failure of some versions of physicalism/materialism to successfully explain the oneness of reality. Some of these versions include behaviourism, mind-brain identity theory, functionalism, reductive and eliminative materialism. Among other criticisms that have been levelled against these versions of materialism/physicalism, is the accusation that they stand deficient in the face of the puzzles that the problem of consciousness presents to their thesis. For instance, eliminative materialism posits that we eliminate all talk about phenomenal experiences from our everyday vocabulary, everyday language-use, but how do we do this when confronted with the issue of Frank Jackson's Mary who learns a new thing after her release from the black-and-white room? How do we construct our language to avoid explaining Mary's post-release experience? Although, the implausibility of eliminative materialism is not to be solely hinged on its futuristic approach (since its advocates hold that science would soon develop to such an extent as to eradicate phenomenal language in the nearest future) (Churchland 1981:67), eliminative materialism seems hopeless in dealing with the puzzles of consciousness.

Considering the first reason listed above, the phenomenal concept strategy is adopted by physicalists as a tenable method for explaining the puzzles presented by the problem of consciousness. Brian Loar's paper "Phenomenal States" has been identified, arguably, as the source of the idea of the phenomenal concept strategy.[3] In the paper, Loar calls the conceptions of the phenomenal experiences that conscious beings have phenomenal concepts which are conceptually irreducible and do not *a priori* imply physical-functional concepts and that these features of the phenomenal concepts are what have blinded anti-physicalists into thinking that phenomenal states have distinct existence. But for Loar, the irreducibility of phenomenal concepts is compatible with the thesis of physicalism since it is possible to have it that way and also "take phenomenal qualities to be identical with physical-functional properties" (Loar 2002:295-

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2. Michael Tye argues that physicalists believe they can explain the epistemic gap in the explanatory gap argument, the conceivability thesis in the zombie argument and the knowledge status of post-release Mary by appealing to phenomenal concept so as to show that all these puzzles can be brought under the physicalist system. See Tye, M. (2009). *Consciousness Revisited: Materialism without Phenomenal Concepts*, London: MIT Press, p.42.

3. Daniel Stoljar acknowledges Loar's paper "Phenomenal States" as the *locus classicus* of the phenomenal concept strategy. See Stoljar, D. (2005). "Physicalism and Phenomenal Concepts", *Mind*, 20.

296). For him, when the special nature of phenomenal concepts is taken into consideration, it would be understood that they pick out the same referents as physical concepts (Loar 2002: 295-296).

For instance, in the knowledge argument, Mary gains no new fact. She only learns old fact in a new way, just like a person who has long known that "morning star" refers to the planet Venus and has come to know, newly, that "evening star" refers to the same planet Venus. This individual does not know anything new, but knows something in a new way. Likewise Mary, the phenomenal concept she uses to instantiate her post-release phenomenal experience of red is a new way of learning the colour-experience which she has had in her pre-release days under the physicalist-induced system. It follows that just as "evening star" and "morning star" are conceptually different but both refer to the planet Venus, so also are physical concepts and phenomenal concepts conceptually different but pick out the same thing which is explicable in physicalist terms.

In the case of the conceivability of zombies, the phenomenal concept strategy allows that the conceivability of zombies is coherent but rejects the reasoning that it is ontologically possible. The allowance for the conceivability of zombies is attributed to the conceptual difference between phenomenal concepts and physical concepts, but since this difference does not translate to an ontological difference between what these concepts pick out, the ontological existence of zombie is denied. More so, it is conceivable that water is not H_2O, but it is metaphysically impossible that this is so. The puzzle of the explanatory gap is dealt with, by phenomenal concept strategy, by drawing attention to the *a priori* irreducibility of phenomenal concepts to physical concepts. The relationship between phenomenal concepts and physical concepts is *a posteriori* and this explains why there seems to be an explanatory gap which does not in any way signify an ontological gap between physical processes and phenomenal experiences. It is when it is shown that referents of both phenomenal concepts and physical concepts are the same that one can know that they do not refer to ontologically different entities but are only different on conceptual grounds.

All of these notwithstanding, the phenomenal concept strategy has been subjected to criticisms by both physicalists and anti-physicalists alike. Physicalists who argue against it do so for different reasons while still holding on to the thesis of physicalism. Antiphysicalists who criticise it do so to maintain that the strategy does not solve the problem of consciousness. In the next two sections, I will examine some of these criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy headlined by Michael Tye and David Chalmers.

Michael Tye's criticism of the phenomenal concept strategy

Michael Tye, who used to be an advocate of the phenomenal concept strategy, in a turnaround, has become a critic of the strategy.[4] In his book, *Consciousness Revisited: Materialism without Phenomenal Concepts,* Tye disowns the specialness of phenomenal concepts, a position which he previously held, and claims that there are in fact no phenomenal concepts (Tye 2009: 39-53). He argues that there are difficulties with the idea of phenomenal concepts such that one is to conclude that there are no phenomenal concepts. This is a nihilist view about phenomenal concepts. To prove his point, Tye begins with a conceptual analysis of the terms "concept" and "thought content". He argues, for instance, that the concepts "coriander" and "cilantro" are two concepts that refer to the same thing (a spice) but the thought-content of a conscious being who thinks "coriander" to be a spice would be different from that of the conscious being who thinks "cilantro" to be a spice (Tye 2009: 39). This is to say that the phenomenal concept strategy does not allow for fine-grained individuation of phenomenal concepts and phenomenal properties. As concepts have different thought-contents, the phenomenal thought about a conscious experience maybe different if there are at least two concepts that refer to the conscious experience. Tye

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4. Michael Tye previously held a supportive position for the phenomenal concept strategy arguing that one of the puzzles of consciousness, that is, the explanatory gap, is an illusion if the features of phenomenal concepts are clearly understood. See Tye, M. (1999). "Phenomenal Consciousness: The Explanatory Gap as a Cognitive Illusion", *Mind*, 108(432):705-725.

argues that the possibility that two or more phenomenal concepts can apply to the same phenomenal experience indicates that phenomenal concepts have no special status (Tye 2009: 56).

He argues further, in rejecting the specialness of phenomenal concepts, that arguments for the claim of concept possession are uninformative. He samples two likely answers which advocates of the phenomenal concepts may give to the question: "What is it to say that one possesses a concept?" The first answer may be that one possesses a given concept on the condition that one can exercise that concept on one's thoughts. This answer suggests a full understanding of the concept, but Tye considers this not informative since one can have a grasp of a phenomenal concept even with partial understanding of the concept in question. For instance, he argues that one cannot have the concepts "fortnight" and "red" without a grasp of the fact that they are a period of time and colour respectively, (Tye 2009: 41). Another answer can thus be the partial understanding of a concept, which Tye considers intuitively more attractive. In other words, the claim that phenomenal concepts are concepts possessed by conscious beings under which they subsume their phenomenal experience need not require full understanding of the concepts in question. This, it must be noted, indicates another build-up to Tye's nihilist claim about phenomena concepts. In a further argument, Tye states that:

> There is really *nothing* special about phenomenal concepts. The concepts we use in forming conceptions of our phenomenal states via introspection are just like many other concepts. Sometimes we use demonstratives and sometimes we use general concepts. These concepts, I grant, are *a priori* irreducible to physical concepts … But this is true of many, many concepts that have nothing to do with phenomenal consciousness … (Tye 2 009: 56).

Tye's claim, here, is that phenomenal concepts, for being irreducibly conceptual or physical, are in the same category as many other non-phenomenal concepts and as such they are not special and also cannot do the task that physicalists tend to put them to in tackling the problem of consciousness.

This claim is one-sided. The fact that phenomenal concepts share some features with non-phenomenal concepts does not make them non-special. After all, Tye's arguments have only shown that phenomenal concepts share "some" exact features with non-phenomenal concepts but not "all". It could not have been the case that the formulation, the linguistic use, the reference-fixing pattern and some other features of phenomenal concepts are all in tandem with the same characteristics in non-phenomenal concepts. All of these notwithstanding, Tye still maintains a physicalist stand against the problem of consciousness. The only change is his position on phenomenal concepts, which he now claims are not special and as a result are non-existent in the sense in which physicalists appeal to them.

In the light of this, to start with, Esa Diaz-Leon rejects Tye's claim that because phenomenal concepts refer directly to the entity they pick out, phenomenal concepts do not have fine-grained individuation (Diaz-Leon 2011:161). She argues that the issue of a fine-grained individuation requires that two concepts which have the same referents can have different individuation conditions. Thus, the phenomenal concepts satisfy. More so, Diaz-Leon argues, there is a uniqueness in the way phenomena concepts present their referents such that one cannot *a priori* know that different phenomena concepts are co-referential. This argument (Diaz-Leon's) is more plausible. The reason for this is that Tye's new position betrays the uniqueness attributable to phenomenal concepts which make them different from other concepts. After all, what Tye sets out to do is to reject the phenomenal concept. This, however, should not becloud his impartial rationalisation of an account of the phenomenal concept.

In addition, Diaz-Leon also calls in question Tye's demand for the condition to be satisfied for phenomenal concepts to explain the conceivability of zombies. The condition stipulated by Tye is that phenomenal concepts must be distinct from physical concepts in a way different from the fact that phenomenal concepts are irreducible to physical concepts. This condition shows a misconstruction of what the phenomenal concept strategy aims to show and that there is no need for the phenomenal concepts strategy to be committed to the fact that phenomenal concepts must be radically distinct from physical concepts. Thus, Tye's condition that to solve the puzzle of the conceivability of zombie argument,

a phenomenal concept must be radically distinct from physical concepts does not hold water, because this is implicit in most accounts of the phenomenal concepts.

There is also the claim that phenomenal concepts must be perspectival to explain the reason Mary lacks a phenomenal concept in the black-and-white room. This, according to Tye, is because possessing a phenomenal concept about a conscious experience requires having that experience, and since Mary does not experience red in the black-and-white room, she could not have possessed the phenomenal concept "red". In response, Diaz-Leon states that the phenomenal concept strategy can still allow for this in a fashion that suggests that the phenomenal concepts of never-had-before conscious experience are complex phenomenal concepts that can be possessed by bringing together different basic phenomenal concepts that are related to them (Diaz-Leon 2011:163). I subscribe to Diaz-Leon's view on this. For instance, a conscious being who has had the experience of the taste of rice at time t_1 and also had the taste of beans at time t_2 and has developed phenomenal concepts for each taste experience can form a phenomenal concept for the taste experience of eating rice and beans together at the same time. This explains the claim of combining basic phenomenal concepts of certain experiences to form complex phenomenal concepts of experiences yet to be had. This also explains the fact that whatever phenomenal concept Mary deploys to refer to the phenomenal experience of red, it may be a combination of more basic phenomenal concepts of white-and-black colour experience she has had in the white-and-black room.

In all, Tye's argument against the phenomenal concept strategy can be summed up as one which turns a blind eye to more fundamental features of phenomenal concepts to create a straw man against the phenomenal concept strategy and base his position of the non-existence of phenomenal concepts on it. Some of these features which include the view that phenomenal concepts are *a priori* irreducible to physical concepts indicate that the relationship between these concepts (since they are said to pick out the same thing) can only be known through empirical investigation of the referents they pick out in the physical body.

David Chalmers' criticism of the phenomenal concept strategy

According to David Chalmers, one of the responses to the explanatory gap as one of the puzzles of consciousness is by those who admit the presence of an explanatory gap between physical processes and phenomenal processes but attribute the gap to the way human beings conceive of consciousness (Chalmers 2006:167-180). Against the backdrop of this phenomenal concept strategy-inspired response to the explanatory gap, Chalmers raises a dilemma which in either way proves the phenomenal concept strategy unsuccessful. He puts the dilemma as follows:

> … if the relevant features of phenomenal concepts can be explained in physical terms, the features cannot explain the explanatory gap. And if the features can explain the explanatory gap, they cannot themselves be explained in physical terms (Chalmers 2006:168).

In other words, owing to the claim of advocates of the phenomenal concept strategy that the possession of phenomenal concepts is subsumable under physicalist terms, Chalmers' dilemma argument suggests that it is either the case that phenomenal concepts have physicalist expression and fail to explain the explanatory gap or that phenomenal concepts can explain the explanatory gap but have no physicalist expression. To understand this claim, it is important to explicate Chalmers' formulation of the thesis of the phenomenal concept strategy. He presents the thesis of the phenomenal concept strategy thus:

> Proponents put forward a thesis C attributing certain psychological features – call these the key features – to human beings. They *(proponents of the phenomenal concept strategy)* argue (1) that C is true: humans actually have the key features; (2) that C explains our epistemic situation with regard to consciousness: C explains why we are confronted with the relevant distractive epistemic gaps; and (3) that C itself can be explained in physical terms; one can (at least in principle) give a materialistically acceptable explanation of how it is that humans have the key features (Chalmers 2006: 172, italics mine).

For Chalmers, the thesis of the phenomenal concept strategy seems a powerful approach in dealing with the problem of consciousness but it does not, in itself, appear to be a direct solution to the problem of consciousness. Thus, it can be seen from this preliminary conception of the phenomenal concept strategy that Chalmers only considers it to have solved some puzzles which arise as a result of the problem of consciousness and not the problem itself. One important question one needs to ask at this point is whether Chalmers' formulation of the phenomenal concept strategy is correct or not. If it is correct, is it correct of all versions of the strategy or only some? This I will examine presently.

Back to the formulations with the three elements which are considered essential to the phenomenal concept strategy: Chalmers argues that no account of the phenomenal concepts strategy can satisfy elements 2 and 3 at the same time. In this resides the dilemma because, according to him, if element 2 is satisfied, element 3 cannot be satisfied and if element 3 is satisfied, element 2 cannot be satisfied all at the same time. This is what Chalmers calls the *Master Argument* against the phenomenal concept strategy. The structure of the argument goes thus:

If P and not-C is conceivable, then C is not physically explicable.

If P and not-C is not conceivable, then C cannot explain our epistemic situation.

From the above, it follows that:

Either C is not physically explicable, or C cannot explain our epistemic situation (Chalmers 2006:174).

The argument states that for any thesis which attributes psychological features to human beings (C), it is either that the thesis is entailed *a priori* by the complete microphysical truth about the universe (P) or not. The conjunction of P and not C is conceivable. In other words, what will be the implication of having microphysical truths without psychological features? The consequence that would follow this antecedent conception is that psychological features of human beings are not physically explicable. The ground for this premise is the conceivability of some physical duplicate of human beings (say zombies) which satisfy all the P-condition of human beings but lack C-conditions. If this is the case, according to Chalmers, we would need further explanation why human beings in this world who satisfy the P-condition still exert the C-condition. The connection of this argument with the phenomenal concept strategy is that "if it is conceivable that P obtains without C obtaining, then we will have just the same sort of explanatory gap between physical processes and the relevant features of phenomenal concepts" (Chalmers 2006:175).

Chalmers cautions that the conceivability entailed in the first premise of the *Master Argument* has no relationship with possibility, for creatures conceivable in the light of P-condition and not C-condition may be metaphysically impossible. The conceivability in this is connected to reductive explanation which turns on the explanatory gap between consciousness and physicalism. Put differently, the kind of explanation required here is that which will show how microphysical truths/facts will *a priori* entail psychological features of human beings and since the conceivability of zombies has shown that this may not always be the case, then there is a need for additional explanation for the presence (or existence) of psychological features. Thus, the success of the phenomenal concept strategy lies in its ability to explain the epistemic gap that seems to exist in explaining how physical fact gives rise to conscious experience upon which phenomenal concepts are developed.

The first premise of the *Master Argument* appears like an argument which would crumble the position of the phenomenal concept strategy, but when examined closely it does not affect the thesis of the strategy. The first point to note in the *Master Argument* is the implicit agreement of the argument with the thesis of phenomenal concept strategy that the epistemic gap does not imply an ontological gap. This is owing to Chalmers' clarification of the connection between conceivability and possibility on the one hand and the connection between conceivability and reductive explanation on the other hand. Chalmers' argument does not affect the minimum claim of the phenomenal concept strategy. In a situation where it is possible to have microphysical truth and not have psychological features, one can as well argue that the

demand for an explanation will be asking too much of physicalism, which the phenomenal concept strategy has been developed to defend.

What is implied here is that a world where there are physical truths devoid of psychological features poses no threat to explanation of the presence of psychological features in this world. The claim of physicalism is that if there is anything that could be called a mental phenomenon, that thing is either physical or supervenes on the physical and if there is a world at all that lacks mental phenomena, then everything in there still remains physical.

The second premise of the *Master Argument* which states that if it is not conceivable to have microphysical truth without psychological features then it follows that our psychological features cannot explain our epistemic situation, can be simply understood as saying that microphysical truths do not *a priori* entail psychological features. Chalmers adds additional premises in order to drive home his point and they are as follows:

> If P and not-C is not conceivable, then zombies satisfy C.
>
> Zombies do not share our epistemic situation.
>
> If zombies satisfy C but do not share our epistemic situation, then C cannot explain our epistemic situation.

From these follows the conclusion that if P and not-C is not conceivable, then C cannot explain our epistemic situation (Chalmers 2006:176).

This second part of the argument assumes that zombies satisfy the C-condition, that is, zombies have psychological features; thus, it assumes an avoidance of the problem identified in the first part of the argument but comes with its own problem. The problem that would arise for the phenomenal concept strategy here is that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between conscious beings and zombies. How is this so? Chalmers' argument here assumes that human beings and zombies both satisfy the C-condition but only human beings satisfy the E-condition which is about the truth-values and epistemic status of the beliefs possessed by human beings, but lacked by zombies. One of the reasons given by Chalmers for this disparity in epistemic status is that:

> … zombies have a much less accurate self-conception than conscious beings do. I believe that I am conscious, that I have states with remarkable qualitative character available to introspection, that these states resist transparent reductive explanation and so on. My zombie twin has corresponding beliefs. It is not straightforward to determine just what content these beliefs might possess. But there is a strong intuition that these beliefs are false, or at least that they are less justified than my beliefs (Chalmers 2006:177).

In sum, the epistemic position of human beings is different from that of zombies; when a zombie displays phenomenal ability, it would be different in content from when a human being does same. The point of this argument then is that even if some phenomenal concepts yield to physicalist explanation (since it is assumed that zombies satisfy the C-condition too) such phenomenal concepts will fail to explain the epistemic gap between physical processes/concepts and phenomenal processes/concepts.

Esa Diaz-Leon (2010: 933-951) objects to this second part of the *Master Argument* by stating that the argument poses no serious threat to the phenomenal concept strategy since phenomenal concepts are only required to explain why there is a gap between complete microphysical truth (P) and arbitrary truth about phenomenal consciousness (Q) and not to explain the whole of human's epistemic situation. She goes further to argue that what Chalmers bases his claim of the failure of the phenomenal concept strategy on is not a strong ground. Chalmers' claim is that any account of a phenomenal concept of psychological features/conscious experience (say C) that follows *a priori* from microphysical truth (P) will fail in the explanation of how features of phenomenal concepts result in the epistemic gap since every being that has psychological features has epistemic situation and it is conceivable that zombies have psychological features but lack epistemic situation. Diaz-Leon's response to this is that the relevant features of epistemic situation which is the inability to infer truth about phenomenal consciousness *a priori*

from physical truths is also satisfied by zombies. Thus, the epistemic situation which Chalmers wants to use as the point for saying phenomenal concepts cannot explain is also satisfied at the minimum level by zombies.

Peter Carruthers and Benedicte Veillet (2007:212-235) also argue that Chalmers' *Master Argument* against the phenomenal concept strategy is unsuccessful. They premised their argument on what can be called Chalmers' mistaken conception of epistemic status. Following from the second part of the *Master Argument* where Chalmers argues that, if it is conceivable that a human being and his/her zombie duplicate can satisfy the C-condition (that is, have phenomenal concept) but do not share the same epistemic status, then phenomenal concepts cannot explain epistemic situation, they argue that zombies do share in human beings' epistemic situation. Their argument for this claim goes thus: a human being and his/her zombie duplicate do have concepts they develop to refer to perceptual states they experience, but these concepts differ in contents. The content of a human being's phenomenal concept will involve a phenomenal state but that of his/her zombie duplicate could be said to involve "schemenomenal" states. From this, it can then be said that a human being and his/her zombie duplicate have beliefs with the same truth-value even though their beliefs are about different things. This, in turn, shows that they both share the same epistemic situation (Carruthers and Veillet 2007: 224).

Chalmers (2006:185) already pre-empts this kind of physicalist reply when he states that asserting that zombies share the same epistemic status as human beings as discussed above will either deflate the phenomenal knowledge of a conscious being or inflate the corresponding knowledge of zombies. This means that the argument would imply that a zombie knows *as much* (inflationary) as a human being or that a human being knows *as little* (deflationary) as a zombie and this has counter-intuitive consequences. Carruthers' and Veillet's response to this is that there is no need to assume such inflationary or deflationary turns in the epistemic status of both human beings and zombies. What is needed is the fact of pointing out that the objects of the epistemic state are about different things. Where does this argument lead? Owing to their claim that Chalmers' view about epistemic status is wrong, Carruthers and Veillet, while trying to avoid this inflationary and deflationary charge, submit thus:

> In our view, zombies are still zombies in that they are not phenomenally conscious. Their perceptual states don't have phenomenal feels … Yet they have something playing a certain role in their psychology – a role analogous to that phenomenal consciousness plays in ours. They have something epistemically just as good as consciousness, but they don't have anything that is phenomenally as good … Even though their schenomenal beliefs are true when our corresponding phenomenal beliefs are, their beliefs are, sadly enough, not about the same good stuff as our corresponding beliefs – they are not about the feel of experiences (Carruthers and Veillet 2007:212-236).

This is to show the fault in the second part of Chalmers' *Master Argument,* that it is conceivable that a human being and his/her zombie duplicate can satisfy the C-condition and still share the same epistemic status; thus it will follow that phenomenal concept can explain our epistemic status contrary to Chalmers' claim.

Phenomenal concept strategy and the puzzles of consciousness

Having discussed some of the criticisms of the phenomenal concept strategy and some of the flaws involved in the criticisms, I will proceed to examine the viability of the strategy against some of the puzzles in which the problem of consciousness manifests itself. This will involve assessing the phenomenal concept strategy against the knowledge argument and the conceivability argument. I will attempt an examination of the resolution of these puzzles through phenomenal concept strategy.

The knowledge argument is grounded on a thought experiment where Frank Jackson presents Mary who was locked up in a black-and-white room and had therein learned all the physical truths there are to be learnt about colours. On being released, Mary had her first experience of red and it is argued that such experience cannot be deduced from the physical truths about colours that she has learnt in the room, but

she rather acquires new phenomenal truths which are an indication of the falsity of physicalism that complete physical truth is the whole truth about the universe (Jackson 2002:273-280).

The success of the knowledge argument is one which will spell doom for physicalism and to avoid this, physicalists have found solace in the phenomenal concept strategy. The general assumption that runs through most versions of the phenomenal concept strategy is that the knowledge argument is mistaken in arriving at a metaphysical conclusion from an epistemological premise.[5] Now when dealing with the knowledge argument, some of the options open to a physicalist include (1) to reject the notion that Mary learns a new fact after her release; (2) to accept that Mary learns a new thing but that which she has learnt is subsumable in the physicalist system (see Loar 2002 and Balog 2012). These options are, however, not in any way exhaustive of what is available to the physicalist.

These two options are in tandem with the phenomenal concept strategy's approach to solving the Mary puzzle. The options are consistent with the physicalist claim that the knowledge argument embarks on a fallacious route of inferring an ontological gap between physical truth and phenomenal truths from an epistemic gap. The epistemic gap which the knowledge argument suggests exists in Mary's knowledge of physical truth and phenomenal truth is one which phenomenal concept strategists argue is derived from a mistaken idea of how we deploy concepts. The phenomenal concept strategists hold that the epistemic gap is a result of confusions about linguistic conceptualization. This confusion, as earlier stated, is in the wrong assumption that since phenomenal concepts are conceptually different, then their referents are ontologically different too. With regard to the knowledge argument, phenomenal concept strategists have also argued using identity-analogy to drive home their point that Mary, after her release, does not learn any new fact or even if it is to be accepted that Mary's post-release experience is novel, it can all be explained away on a contingent mode of identity case. Let us examine, for example, Brian Loar's take on the implication of the misconception about phenomenal concept and identities for the knowledge argument.

Brian Loar argues that phenomenal concepts are concepts conscious beings develop to instantiate the qualities of their phenomenal experiences and these phenomenal concepts are conceptually irreducible and do not *a priori* imply physical-functional concepts. This, for Loar, is where the anti-physicalist argument of an epistemic gap takes its root. These facts about phenomenal concepts seem endearing to the antiphysicalist's position, but Loar claims they are reconcilable to pursue a physicalist project as it is possible to accept "introspective concepts and their conceptual irreducibility, and at the same time take phenomenal qualities to be identical with physical-functional properties…"(Loar 2002:296). This is to say that the conceptual irreducibility of phenomenal concepts or the non-*apriori* deducibility of physical concepts from phenomenal concepts does not deny the fact that these two concepts refer to the same thing. To buttress his point, Loar samples two other instances that could serve as counter-examples to the claim arrived at in the knowledge argument. The first of these is the case of Max who learns that the bottle in front of him contains CH_3CH_2OH but does not know that the same bottle contains alcohol. At that time, Max has no concept to depict the concept "alcohol". When Max later comes to learn about the substance called alcohol, it can be said, on the reasoning of the knowledge argument, that he learns a new thing which is not identical with CH_3CH_2OH. Loar asserts that this does not follow. The second is the case of Margot who learns about the element *aurum* (the chemical composition of gold) but has never seen gold and when she later sees gold and forms a visual conception of it, following from the reasoning of the knowledge argument again, it can be said that she gets a new piece of information which is not identical with what she has learnt and known about *aurum*. This again, according to Loar, does not follow (Loar 2002:296-297).

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5. The feature of conception isolation or independence of phenomenal concepts allows that phenomenal concepts are understood to be conceptually different from physical concepts, which explains the epistemological ground that antiphysicalists base their arguments on. However, advocates of the strategy hold that this does not mean that what these concepts pick out are ontologically distinct. See, Loar, B. (2002). "Phenomenal States" in Chalmers, D. J. (ed.) *Philosophy of Mind: Classical and Contemporary Readings*.

One simple deduction from Loar's analogical counter-examples is that it can be erroneously held that Mary learns a new fact after her release given the nature of phenomenal concepts, but the fact remains that she learns a physical truth in a new way. The experience of red which Mary has in her post-release stage is just another way of conceiving the physical truths learnt in her pre-release stage.

Another puzzle of consciousness is the conceivability argument which poses a metaphysical challenge to physicalism. Premised on the logical possibility of zombies or a zombie world, the argument holds that it is consistent with reasoning to conceive of physical duplicates of human beings which lack the phenomenal experience of human beings. If this is the case, it follows that consciousness is not identical with physical features of human beings. This argument was popularised by David Chalmers (1996:95-96). One of the ways physicalists have responded to this argument is the denial of a logical connection between conceivability and metaphysical possibility. This argument holds that the conceivability of zombies or a zombie world does not entail their metaphysical possibility, hence what the conceivability argument proposes is an impossible ontological arrangement.

On the account of the phenomenal concept strategy, zombies or a zombie world are conceivable but their conceivability is one which is compatible with the thesis of physicalism. Katalin Balog (2012:8), while appealing to the constitutional account of phenomenal concepts, argues that the "reference of a phenomenal concept is determined by how it is constituted and not by any description that is *a priori* with the concept". From this, it can be understood that the directness of phenomenal concepts allows for zombies or a zombie world to be conceived but disallows that this conceivability entails an ontological difference between physical and phenomenal truths.

Another means of assessing the conceivability argument from the critical lens of the phenomenal concept strategy is to consider the conditional statement formulation of the argument posited by Chalmers. Let P represent a complete physical truth about the universe and Q represent phenomenal truth about the universe. Thus, a physicalist proposal can be represented by the conditional: if P then Q. But in a scenario where it is possible to have a world physically identical to our world but lacking on the phenomenal front, this can be represented as P and not Q. Given this further conjunctional statement, it would follow that physicalism is false and the conditional (if P then Q) it assumes is not *a priori* necessary (Chalmers 2006, pp. 172-176). Phenomenal concept strategists' response to this is that given the nature of phenomenal concepts the relationship between P and Q is necessary but *a posteriori*. What this means is that the conceptual but not ontological difference between phenomenal and physical concepts allows for the conjunction "P and not Q" but this does not translate to an ontological gap between P and Q.

Conclusion

From the arguments stated above, it must be noted that the criticisms raised by Michael Tye and David Chalmers against the phenomenal concept strategy take different logical paths. However, these criticisms fail in the bid to discredit the plausibility of the phenomenal concept strategy as a physicalist method developed in addressing the problem of consciousness. This is not to say that the phenomenal concept strategy is proof against flaws, but arguments in this paper have shown that the strategy does not falter in the face of the criticisms raised by Tye and Chalmers.

In the final analysis, it would be seen that Tye's and Chalmers' criticisms fail to capture the essential thesis of the phenomenal concept strategy. For the phenomenal concept strategy, when understood in its essential light, does not fall to the challenges raised by Tye and Chalmers. On another note, the phenomenal concept strategy has further been analysed in different ways to make up for challenges which has warranted different versions of the strategy. This is an indication that the physicalist project of developing the phenomenal concept strategy is being strengthened at every instance of being faced with challenges. Thus, the phenomenal concept strategy maintains its plausibility as a physicalist means of addressing the problem of consciousness.

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Nigeria's democracy: the trilemma of herdsmenism, terrorism and vampirism

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Since the 'invention' of democracy by the Greek City States in the first half of the 5th Century B.C. and its popularisation after the American War of Independence in the 17th century, democracy has remained the most famous form of government. Indeed, today, the presence or absence of democracy in a country seems to be the 'standard' by which such a country is measured – while countries that practise democracy are patted on the back; those that do not are pelted with all sorts of negative descriptions and categorisations. This outward approval or disapproval has taken centre stage to the extent that little or no attention is paid to the analysis of the content and context of a country's democracy. Yet, this is important for at least three reasons: one, it will help to show how people in the sidelines in a specific geo-polity perceive democracy. Two, it will most probably reveal that not all forms of government operating in the garb of a constitution properly qualify as democracy. Three, and perhaps most important, a study of the content and context of a country's democracy would reveal the type of democracy being practised by it – whether it is surface democracy, pseudo- or quasi-democracy or the rule by many for many. This study examines the content and context of Nigeria's democracy with specific reference to its 'trilemma' and argues that Nigeria's democracy is assailed by three 'isms'. The study concludes that Nigeria's brand of democracy is a system which enables rule by the few for the few and that this has drained many Nigerians of psychic energy and socio-economic strength.

Keywords: Nigeria, democracy, Africa, vampirism, Boko Haram, herdsmen

Introduction and contextual discourse

Democracy and Nigeria are like Siamese twins; though conjoined, they are uncomfortable and under very intense pressure. While democracy, either as a concept or a system of rule, may not be strange to an overwhelming percentage of Nigerians, what may be strange to them is the brand of democracy that invests, first and foremost, in human and material resources for the purposes of political stability, economic viability, scientific advancement, technological breakthroughs, educational development and life-enhancing social services. 'Rule of the people by the people for the people' is supposed to solve the problem of the people, be it political, social, economic, environmental or technological. Thus, the safety, protection, happiness and the general wellbeing of the people should normally and continually take centre stage and be on the front burner in the rule of the people by the people for the people. In other words, the 'occupiers of the democratic space' should spare nothing in their pursuit of 'better life' for the citizens of their country. However, this is an hypothetical situation that has rarely been experienced in practical terms in Nigeria. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine the content and context of Nigeria's democracy. Data for this conceptual study was obtained through secondary sources and interviews with some individuals the author considered sufficiently knowledgeable about the content, context, practice and workings of Nigeria's democracy. In addition to the interviews he conducted in Nigeria, the author interviewed some Nigerians residing in the Russian Federation. The study employed the descriptive and

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analytical method of data analysis. For the purposes of clarity and in-depth analysis, this article is broken into five sections. This introduction and conceptual discourse is followed by a brief examination of the threat the grazing activities of herdsmen pose to Nigeria's rural and farming communities and by extension, food security and the national economy. This is followed by an outline of the activities of two deadly terror groups and their impact on the Nigerian state. This is in turn followed by a brief description of 'Nigerian democracy'. The section draws a line of demarcation between the gains of the occupiers of the country's democratic space and the pain of the citizenry. This is followed by the conclusion.

Of the five main terms contained in the title of this article – democracy, 'trilemma', 'herdsmenism' terrorism and vampirism – only two (democracy and terrorism) are probably commonplace and could be understood without any further ado. Therefore, the contexts within which the remaining three are used in this article require qualification so as avoid ambiguity, misconception or misinterpretation. In his opening address at the World Economic Forum on East Asia held on 19 November 2014 entitled "The three big issues facing East Asia", Atsutoshi Nishida coined the word, 'trilemma' to capture and underline the three pressing issues confronting East Asia, which according to him, required urgent solutions. One was securing economic growth and accommodating population expansion; two was working with increasingly limited resources in the face of rapidly expanding population; and three involved raising environmental awareness in order to deal with devastating weather events linked to climate change. More than Atsutoshi's East Asia's 'trilemma', today, Nigeria's democracy is assailed by a more devastating 'trilemma' (three problems) – 'herdsmenism', terrorism and vampirism.

There is no dearth of literature on the challenges facing Nigeria's democracy. Indeed, literature on national challenges like insecurity, Boko Haram insurgency, Niger Delta crisis, corruption, mono-resource economy, unemployment, etc. is massive. However, a very careful examination of these works would reveal that they either altogether neglect, or only mention in passing, the challenge posed by 'herdsmenism' and the grave political, demographical, security and economic challenges it poses to the Nigerian Federation. Given the magnitude of the challenge 'herdsmenism' poses to the socio-economic and political stability of Nigeria, it deserves more than footnote reference. 'Herdsmenism' in the context of this study refers to the rather unprecedented forceful and violent grazing activities of Nigeria's herdsmen that have now almost completely driven farmers off their farms and which, if allowed to persist for a few more years, have the potential of precipitating nationwide severe food shortages and turning Nigeria into a food-import dependent nation.

The subject of terrorism and its attendant consequences is no doubt a well-researched one in Nigeria. However, again, a vacuum or mis-contextualisation exists in the extant literature on the Boko Haram terror group. While it is true that today a large number of ethnic terror groups exist in Nigeria; the most famous and dreaded of them in the annals of Nigeria's history is the Boko Haram group.[2] To date, scholars and commentators have treated the Boko Haram terror sect as an upstart group without drawing connecting lines with an earlier sect. A juxtaposition of Usman dan Fodio (the leader of the 1804-1810 Jihad in Hausaland) and Mohammed Yusuf (the leader and founder of the Boko Haram sect) will yield instructive historical lessons and parallels that will help put the Boko Haram terror group in a clearer context and perspective.

The last term that requires some contextual clarification is vampirism. A vampire is a folklore being that subsists by feeding on a life essence, particularly blood. In European folklore, vampires were 'undead' beings that often visited loved ones and caused mischief or deaths in the neighbourhood they inhabited while they were alive. Vampires are described in various languages and forms in different cultures

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2. Several ethnic militias perpetrated (and still perpetrate) terror acts in Nigeria. Since the country has a large number of ethnic nationalities and in view of the lopsided configuration of the Federation of Nigeria,j generally termed the 'national question', youths of most of the ethnic nationalities often form themselves into terror groups – some sort of pressure groups to force the federal government to accede to their request which most often involved the allocation of more resources or positions to them.

depending on the region and cultural beliefs. However, generally, the character, characteristics and traits of vampires are the same in virtually all cultures – they cause death, suffering, ill-health, ill-luck etc. Indeed, they represent everything and anything that contradicts wellness and wellbeing. Vampirism is used in this article to denote living by preying on others; making a living from the misery of others; or "the draining of psychic energy from one individual by another" (Webster 2017). Indeed, it means the unscrupulous exploitation, ruin, dehumanisation and degradation of others. Across all levels and without any notable exception, this is who and what Nigeria's political class is: a crop of vampires who, through their ineptitude, licentiousness, greed, obsession for material wealth and comfort, selfishness and utter disregard for human dignity, have not only 'politically conquered' and held their fellow Nigerians captive; but have brutally muzzled and cremated them economically. This assertion will be substantiated as this article progresses. Having attempted a brief contextual discourse of our major terms, we can now proceed to discuss each of them briefly and see how they individually and collectively impact on Nigeria's democracy.

'Herdsmenism'

The term 'herdsmenism' is almost exclusively associated with the Fulani people of Northern Nigeria. While pockets of non-Fulani possess a few herds of cattle, Nigeria's herdsmen are predominantly of Fulani, Peul or Fulbe origin and comprise a predominantly Muslim group scattered throughout many parts of West Africa, from Lake Chad in the east to the Atlantic Coast. Numbering between 20 and 25 million, they are concentrated principally in Nigeria, Mali, Guinea, Cameroon, Senegal and Niger.[3] They are said to be the largest nomadic people in the world and probably the first group of people to be converted to Islam in West Africa. The Fulani language, known as Fula, is classified within the Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo family language. People of the Fulani tribe probably rarely ever use artificial birth control methods; consequently, the tribe is a very fertile one hence their population and vast presence in almost every state of the Nigerian Federation (Guide to Africa 2016:5). The most important possession in the Fulani society is cattle, to which many traditions, beliefs and taboos attach. The number of cows a person owns is a measure of his wealth. Apparently, an average Fulani loves and cherishes his cattle much more than the life of a non-Fulani. This, as shall be pointed out as this study progresses, is responsible for the brutalities Fulani herders had meted on farmers elsewhere in Nigeria who attempted to stop Fulani cattle from eating up the farms and crops they had laboured so hard to cultivate.

The problem posed by Fulani herdsmen to Nigeria's political stability, economic prosperity and food security cannot be over-emphasised. This is because ongoing clashes between herdsmen and farmers have reached boiling point, with several thousands of farmers killed, maimed or wiped off their farms. This has drastically reduced the food producing capability of the country as well as creating mounting political tensions, particularly between the Fulani and other ethnic nationalities whose farmlands and crops are being invaded and eaten by Fulani herds daily. The Fulani/farmer clash is about two decades old; it is therefore not a new phenomenon in Nigeria. What is probably new is the vigour and intensity it has gathered in recent times. Initially, clashes between nomadic Fulani herdsmen and farmers were isolated events confined to the northern-most regions of the country, but due to the increasing desertification (to which Nigeria has not been able to respond, let alone attempt to tackle), overgrazing and lower rainfall; the nomadic herdsmen have been pushing farther and farther south and towards the middle belt in search of grass and water for their herds. In the course of moving from place to place and grazing their cattle, herders most times encounter cattle rustlers, consequently the herdsmen started to carry sophisticated arms. During their wanderings and journeys, herders frequently trespass farmlands owned by local farmers in their host communities, destroying crops and valuables. Attempts by farmers to safeguard their farms and prevent herders from feeding their herds on their farms are always met with stiff and violent

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3. Nigeria has the largest concentration of the Fulani with about 7.6 million; Guinea 2 million; Mali 2.5 million and Guinea Bissau 500,000.

resistance by herders. Most times, the farmers are overpowered, maimed, raped or killed and their houses or communities razed.

The most cursory glance at Nigerian newspapers and the social media will attest to the fact that 'herdsmenism' is probably the most pervasive socio-economic and security challenge facing the Federation of Nigeria today. This is because hundreds of farming communities have been sacked and thousands of people, mostly farmers, killed by herders. Chidi Oguamanam has rightly captured the socio-economic implication of 'herdsmenism' in Nigeria by observing that:

> crop farmers produce more than 80% of Nigeria's food. Leaving this critical lifeblood of the country's economic and cultural life at the mercy of herders and their cattle is not an option. Farmers, the majority of whom are women, constitute the bedrock of the country's informal economy. And the unofficial farming sector is the country's highest employer of labor. Now this key economic sector is under siege (*Newsweek* 13 March 2016:18)

Of course, it is absolutely impossible to compute the hectares of farms/farmlands that have been destroyed; the number of farmers that were maimed, raped or killed or the number of rural farming communities that have been sacked, pillaged and razed by herders. Today, due to the activities of herders in virtually all states of the Nigerian Federation, many farmers harvest nothing or only a miserable portion of what they sow. While an accurate computation of the demographical measurement of the psychological impact of 'herdsmenism' on Nigeria may be impossible; the headlines below, among several others, from both local and foreign newspapers and other publications, provide an insight into the colossal loss of manpower 'herdsmenism' has inflicted on the Nigerian state: "Drought worsens deadly battle between Fulani herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria" (Akinwotu 2017); "Benue: Fulani herdsmen have killed over 500 [and] 300,000 displaced" (Opejobi 2017); "Fulani herdsmen increasingly militant in killing 22 Christians in Kaduna, Nigeria" (International Christian Response 15 November 2016:3); and "2 herdsmen allegedly tied two sisters on a tree, rape them" (*Vanguard* 23 June 2017:8). The traumatic impact of the last is better imagined than experienced. Indeed, Zonov (2017) chronicled 'five gruesome Fulani herdsmen attacks since January 2016'. These were in the delta area,[4] Oyo, Taraba and Benue.

Herdsmen's attack on the Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State remains among the most tragic.[5] Several villages and farm settlements in the area were invaded by Fulani herdsmen leading to the maiming and killing of children, women and the elderly. Conservative estimates put the number of the dead at between 300 and 500. According to Emmanuel Mayah

> Between 2011 and 2014, herdsmen attacked dozens of communities in the four local government areas of Guma, Gwe-East, Buruku and Gwer-West ... burning houses, food barns and farmlands and killing scores in communities like Tse-Aderogo, Tse-Akenyi, Umenger, Angyom, Aondora, Anyiase, Adeke, Gbajimba, Tyoughtee, Gbaange, Chembe, Abeola, Abachoon, Tongov and Mbapuu ... Barely five days to the end of Governor Gabriel Suswan's administration in May 2015, over 100 farmers and family members were killed in villages and refugee camps located in Ukura, Per, Gafa and Tse-Gussa in Lago Local Government Area of the state (*Premium Times* 18 March 2016).

A conservative estimate by SBM Intelligence, an African-focused socio-cultural and communications intelligence agency, was that there were 389 incidents involving herdsmen and farming communities between 1997 and 2015. In its 2016 survey, SBM Intelligence found that

> "pastoralist conflict is the most deadly threat with 470 victims killed as a result of cattle rustling and 1,425 killed in attacks involving Fulani herdsmen. The average number of fatalities per

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4. About 23 persons, mostly rural farmers, were killed by herders during this violence. Indeed, the police recovered 20 AK-47; 70 locally manufactured guns; 30 double barrel guns and 1,000 rounds of live ammunition from the herdsmen.

5. Benue State is the Middle Belt of Nigeria, inhabited predominantly by the Tiv and Idoma peoples, speakers of the Tiv and Idoma languages respectively.

attack was high at 30 deaths per attack by Fulani herdsmen ...There were four times as many as attacks on communities by herdsmen than incidents of cattle rustling. Unlike Boko Haram insurgency, the majority of the deaths in the pastoral conflicts are not the belligerent herdsmen but residents of the attacked communities" (George 2017). These are very conservative estimates because, according to statistics provided by the Nigerian Institute for Economics and Peace, about 1,229 people were killed in herdsmen-related incidents in 2014 alone (Shuaibu 2016:4). An editorial opinion in one of Nigeria's most influential newspapers expressed grave reservations about herdsmen attacks on the country's rural farming communities thus:

Notably, the most gruesome killings by the herdsmen occurred in Agatu, Benue State, and Ukpabi Nimbo and Uzo-Uwani communities in Enugu, drawing anger from across the country. Despite the outrage over the activities of the herdsmen, however, there has been no let on their part. Indeed, their blood-letting has continued to rise in frequency and intensity in the land ... Barely a week ago, in Adamawa and southern part of Kaduna, some villages came under brutal attacks from the herdsmen in ways that left their victims in horror and the whole of Nigeria in shock. In Adamawa State, Kodomun was attacked and at the last count no less than 30 people were believed to have been slaughtered. Similarly, Southern Kaduna, traditionally at the receiving end of incessant attacks by herdsmen was again attacked with loss of lives in large numbers. Gada, Biyu, Akwa'a and Agwan Ajo villages were ... thrown into a theatre of killings by the herdsmen ... Recently, a traditional ruler, Lazarus Agai, the Saf Ron Kurele, in Bokkos town in Plateau State was killed while visiting his farm, by the same herdsmen (*The Guardian* 15 August 2016)

It must be pointed out that reprisal attacks and provocations exist on both sides. Cattle are sometimes stolen from herdsmen by criminal groups, and communities sometimes attack the herdsmen, assuming them to be a threat. The Nigerian economy has suffered immense loss due to the problem posed by 'herdsmenism'. As Mercy Corps has shown, Nigeria loses about $14 billion annually to herdsmen invasion and destruction of crops and farmlands (Ogundipe 2016). Unfortunately, as massive as the demographical and economic impacts of 'herdsmenism' are, in their characteristic manner, successive Nigerian governments have failed to take measures that could address the multi-faceted threats posed by 'herdsmenism'. This is one of the contents of Nigeria's democracy. As Paul Unongo (2017) rightly pointed out, "a government's primary function is to provide security and protection and create an enabling environment, for citizens to lawfully maximize the realization of all their potential"; however, most often Nigeria's democracy fails to fulfil this important legitimacy role, thereby encouraging the 'self defence' syndrome. The outcome has been the accumulation of illicit private arms with very grave consequences for Nigeria's democracy.

Terrorism

There are dozens of well-researched studies on terrorism in Nigeria, particularly since 2009, when Boko Haram first debuted. The origins, metamorphosis and activities of this terror group have been analysed by scholars. However, in addition to analyzing the impact of this terror sect on Nigeria's democracy; this section attempts to correct some misconceptions and wrong conceptualizations about the sect in proper historical perspectives. Since 2009, the Boko Haram terror group, like a tornado, has swept over north eastern Nigeria, damaging infrastructure and facilities; destroying properties and displacing hundreds of thousands of people with its attendant socio-economic challenges. In the annals of Nigerian history, apart from the 1967-1970 Civil War, Boko Haram's terrorist activities are probably the most important factor responsible for internal displacement and death of Nigerians. The group, *Jama'atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad*, the Arabic meaning of which is 'people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad', known all over the world as Boko Haram[6] is an extremist Islamic sect in Nigeria. It has caused or masterminded unprecedented dislocation and destruction of lives and properties in the north eastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. Its violent attacks on government offices,

villages, churches, mosques, schools, health facilities and other public utilities have led to the death of thousands of people and the collapse of hundreds of businesses (Walker n.d: 1 of 3). According to Amnesty International (Annual Report on Nigeria 2015/2016:3), the Boko Haram terror group has caused more than 10,000 civilian deaths since 2009; the abduction of more than 2,000 people mostly women and children and students including those from Chibok and Damasak; the forced recruitment of hundreds of men and the displacement of more than 2.5 million people in northeast Nigeria (Annual Report on Nigeria 2015/2016:3).

The impression one gets from some accounts on Boko Haram is that the sectarian movement was founded for the purposes for which it is now well known – terrorism. This view may not be entirely correct. The movement was founded in Maiduguri, capital of Borno State, north-east Nigeria, by Mohammed Yusuf, an Islamic cleric, in 2002[7] with the primary objective of establishing a state based on the strict application of *Sharia* law. The sectarian group launched its first attack in 2009, leading to nearly a week of fighting that ended with a military assault which left about 800 people dead. Yusuf was subsequently captured, imprisoned and killed when, according to the police, he was trying to escape from prison. Thereafter, the group went dormant for about a year only to re-emerge as a fatal and lethal Islamist movement; it has since caused widespread death and displacement in north-eastern Nigeria.

Perhaps the best way to conceptualize Boko Haram, an exercise which has not been considered by scholars before now, is by examining the convergences and divergences between it and the Usman dan Fodio's Jihad which swept through northern Nigeria between 1804 and 1809. It will be recalled that in 1876 Usman dan Fodio led a crusade for the revival of Islam and the establishment of a pristine state of Islam in northern Nigeria. An Islamic cleric and intinary preacherof high pedigree, Fodio condemned the anti-Islamic practices in the Hausa states; the prevalent corruption at the courts of the Habe kings as well as the various forms of oppression perpetrated by the Hausa aristocracy. Fodio's denunciation of the Hausa aristocracy appealed to his fellow Muslims, who sincerely desired Islamic reforms in Hausaland as well as the non-Muslim Hausa-Fulani reeling under the oppression and exploitation of Hausa kings. At this point, Fodio had probably not thought of taking up arms against the Hausa aristocracy as he felt that his preaching rather than violence would accomplish his mission and realize his dream of establishing a shari'a based government. Unfortunately, however, relations between him and the Hausa aristocracy deteriorated rapidly. Indeed, hostilities between the former and the latter climaxed during the reign of Yumfa, who attempted to kill Fodio in 1802. This forced Fodio to flee from Degel to Dugu. This flight, popularly known as the *hijrah*,[8] probably forced Fodio to the conclusion that violence, rather than preaching and attitudinal change, was inevitable, hence the declaration of the 1804 Jihad (Bugaje 1979).

Like Fodio, Mohammed Yusuf probably did not intend the initial version of Boko Haram to be violent and like him, Yusuf wanted to lead a crusade for the revival of Islam and the establishment of Quran-based (Shari'a) government in northern Nigeria "through preaching the faith (dawa'a) (American Foreign Policy Council n.d:1). Disillusioned by the massive corruption that characterized northern states (like their southern counterparts), in 2002, Yusuf and his followers embarked on a *hijira* by moving to Kanama, a village in Yobe State. In 2009, a seemingly trivial issue involving the enforcement of traffic rules led to violent clashes between the Nigerian security forces and Boko Haram members in the northern states of Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe, leading to the death of many Boko Haram members. Yusuf himself was

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6. 'Boko' in Hausa language, means 'book' or more broadly 'Western education' and 'Haram' means 'sinful'. Thus, Boko Haram means 'Western education is sinful'.

7. Some accounts trace the inception of the sect to the 1990s. At whatever point it may have been founded, the fact remains that it was in the 2000s that it began to attract the attention of the authorities.

8. Also spelt Hejira or Hijra, it means the 622 CE flight or emigration of Prophet Mohammad from Mecca to Medina to escape persecution or death. Till date, the Hijrah remains a dividing line in the activities of Muslim clerics who intend to push for the establishment of the Shari'a mode of government. It is crossing the Rubicon – from a non–violent to violent disposition.

arrested, imprisoned and later "killed by security forces in a shoot-out while trying to escape from prison" (Smith 2010). The divergence between Fodio and Yusuf therefore is that, while the former escaped the attempt on his life, the latter was killed. However, just as the attempt on Fodio's life marked the point of no return in his decision to declare and prosecute the 1804-1809 Jihad; the killing of Yusuf transformed Boko Haram from a non-violent to a fatally violent terrorist sect.

Some wrong conceptualizations have also been applied to Boko Haram. For example, Lanshie and Henry (2016:146) conceptualized Boko Haram as a fallout of the north/south or Islam/Christianity dichotomy. Obviously, as Lanshie and Henry rightly point out, what is generally referred to as the national question is a fatal reality in Nigeria. The lopsided nature of the Federation of Nigeria has not only exacerbated ethnic tensions but has prevented the two halves of the country from operating on the same political wavelengths since the 1914 amalgamation. However, the ethnic theory cannot be effectively deployed in the analysis of the violent and terrorist tendencies of Boko Haram, the most cursory glance at which shows that with the exception of a few attacks on targets in Abuja and Lagos, the sect's violence has, by and large, been confined to the north where residents are predominantly northerners and Muslims. Although, two southerners have served as presidents since the emergence of the Boko Haram sect,[9] so far, the victims of its violence and terrorist acts are predominantly northerners and Muslims. Therefore, neither the ethnic nor the religious theory could be effectively deployed in conceptualizing or rationalizing the violent activities of Boko Haram, because, as the Northern Youth Leaders Forum recently opined, "Boko Haram killed without thoughts for their victims' ethnicity, creed or geographical origin" (Asishana 2016). Apparently, in addition to a possible intention to rid Islam of heretic practices; the near institutionalized corruption that has robbed Nigerians of access to basic socio-economic facilities and the availability of a large army of unemployed youths who supplied (and still supply) the needed manpower for Boko Haram are some of the factors that gave birth and impetus to the movement. It is in this context that the violent activities of Boko Haram should be objectively and holistically understood.

Since it launched its first major attack on Bauch Prison on 7 September 2010, the Boko Haram sect has carried out hundreds of fatal attacks on places of worship, public utilities, educational and health institutions, motor parks and residential areas, leading to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. Amnesty International estimates that by October 2016 the Boko Haram insurgency had led to the death of several thousands of people and displaced well over 2 million persons in north eastern Nigeria.[10] This makes Nigeria home to the largest number of IDPs in sub Saharan Africa – 16 per cent of the about 12.5 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) on the continent. Of course, several factors could cause internal displacement of persons, amongst which are communal clashes and natural disasters. In the case of north-eastern Nigeria, the Boko Haram insurgency is clearly the most important factor responsible for internal displacement of people. The central place the Boko Haram insurgency occupies in the displacement of people in north-eastern Nigeria is evident in an assessment carried out by the International Organization for Migrations, Displacement Tracking Matrix Team in 207 LGAs in northern Nigeria between November and December 2015. It was found that while a geographically expansive and densely populated north western state like Kano had 3,331 IDPs, the comparatively sparsely populated three north eastern states of Borno, Adamawa and Yobe had 1,434,149, 136,010 and 131,203 IDPs respectively (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2015:8). Of these, 12.6% were displaced by communal clashes; 2.4% by natural disasters, while 85% were displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency. Thus, at present, there are probably more than 20 IDP camps in north-eastern Nigeria with the full complements of the rather overwhelming and life-threatening challenges often faced by IDPs.

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9. While Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, an Egba Yoruba, served as president between 29 May 1999 and 29 May 2007, an Ijaw, Goodluck Jonathan, was president between 6 May 2010 and 29 May 2015.
10. While Lanshie N. Edward and Henry B. Yenda (141-143) put the number of IDPs in north-eastern Nigeria at 3 million, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimated that there were approximately 2.2 million IDPs in Nigeria as at 31 December 2015.

The *Badoo* terrorist group, which debuted in the Ikorodu area of Lagos State south western Nigeria with the raping and killing of a Ghanaian woman on 5 June 2016, is a less well known but emerging security threat which the Nigerian government is still unable to tackle. The trademark of the group is the use of grinding stones in crushing the heads of their victims after brutally raping the female ones. Indeed, the gang's brutality is a step ahead of that of both the Fulani herdsmen and the Boko Haram sect. This is because the *Badoo* group often rips open the wombs of pregnant women and removes their foetuses (Usman & Undu 2017). This crude brutality apparently informed Adeleke's comparison of the operations of the group to those of Jack the Ripper who terrorised the largely impoverished areas of the Whitechapel District of London in 1888. Jack the Ripper made prostitutes living and working in slums of the east end of London his target, cutting their throats and mutilating their abdomens (Adesanya 2016). It has been estimated that the *Badoo* terrorist group killed 26 people in Ikorodu and its environs between 5 June 2016 and 27 June 2017 (Hanafi 2017). Like a lame duck, Nigeria's democracy is as yet unable to proffer a solution to this emerging security challenge; this terrorist group's heinous activities go beyond what the country's security outfits can curtail, as in the case of Boko Haram.

Ironically, as pointed out in the section below, while the occupiers of Nigeria's democratic space daily reap the gains of democracy far in excess of their fair share, the common man is daily subjected to the pain of a thoroughly inefficient system, ranging from herdsmenism and terrorism to corruption and vampirism. The Nigeria Police and the Army are poorly equipped. Indeed, a former Governor of Borno State (the hotbed of the Boko Haram insurgency) opined that the Boko Haram sect was better armed and better motivated than the Nigerian military (Onuoh 2014). This was corroborated by a former Lagos State Police Commissioner, Abubakar Tsav, who identified the outstanding features of the Nigerian state as insecurity ... corruption and waste of resources. The repudiation of these submissions by Nigerian Governments notwithstanding, a recent report has confirmed them. In its 2016 Report, the World Internal Security and Police Index International (WISPI) rated the Nigeria Police Force as "the worst globally in terms of its ability to handle internal security challenges".[11] In a survey of 127 countries, "Nigeria failed in all four parameters of capacity, process, legitimacy and outcomes," thus coming last behind African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Uganda. According to the Report, Nigeria "is fourth on the political terror scale" as "terrorism remains one of the greatest threats to internal security. Terrorism has increased dramatically in the last three years, with more than 62,000 killed in terrorist attacks between 2012 and 2014. The biggest rise [in the world] last year occurred in Nigeria" (Adepegba 2017).

Vampirism
'Vampirism' in Nigeria refers to how Nigeria's political elite suck the country's economy dry through their lavish lifestyle, outlandish salaries and allowances. Nigeria's democracy is probably the best in the world with respect to elaborate investment in the comfort of the holders of the structural framework rather than in national development and human and material resources (Oghonna 2017). While the ordinary or average Nigerian may lack access to power, health care, employment, education, potable water, good roads and other basic amenities, Nigeria's political leaders at all levels live in El Dorado (Aloma 2017). One or two examples will suffice to illustrate the democracy of waste and vampirism practised in Nigeria. Each year, a high percentage of budgetary estimates are allocated to the Aso Rock Villa (the official residence of the President) and the State Houses in the various states. Nigeria probably has the largest Presidential Air Fleet (PAF) in the world (Ajayi and Ojo:2014). While Ghana and Algeria each has only one aircraft in their Presidential Air Fleet and Japan and the Netherlands each has two, Nigeria has ten.[12] The cost of the

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11. International Body Rates Nigeria Police Force Worst Globally", *The Punch*, 12 November 2017. Singapore was ranked first in the Report, followed by Finland and Demark. Botswana, which ranked 47th globally was the best in Africa followed by Rwanda (50th globally). Other African countries surveyed included Algeria, Senegal, Tunisia, Egypt, Burkina Faso, Ghana, South Africa and Mali.
12. These are 1 Boeing Business Jet (Boeing 737–800); 1 Gulfstream 550; 1 Gulfstream 500; 2 Falcons 7X; 1 Hawker Sidney 4000; 2 Agusta Westland AW 139 helicopters and 2 Agusta Westland AW 101 helicopters.

aircraft in the PAF, which is larger than those of three Nigerian airlines combined, is estimated at over $390.5 million. Furthermore, it is estimated that about $58.5 million is spent annually on running the aircrafts in the PAF (Adetayo, Abioye, Falayi *et al*. 2013). Closely related to the above is foreign travel. In 2012, about $1.7 million was budgeted for President Jonathan's foreign travels, while over $3 million was earmarked for the same purpose in 2013 (Inyang 2012), whereas following nationwide protest against the fuel subsidy removal in 2012, the President had promised to reduce his foreign trips. On the contrary, foreign travels allocations to Nigerian Presidents continued to increase. Indeed, the Presidency's total allocation in the 2014 Budget of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was 33 billion ($110 million) whereas all Nigeria's federal roads got a paltry 100 billion ($33 million) (Nigerian Tribune 25 December 2013:12). Nigeria's political vampirism was only surpassed by Zimbabwe's. In 2016, President Robert Mugabe spent more than $50 million on foreign trips, double the amount allocated to the upgrading of Zimbabwe's hospitals and health facilities (Muller 2017). President Mugabe and his family's domination and control of the country's economy and wealth, however, came to a surprising halt in November 2017 when the military forced him to resign as president. A careful perusal of the 2017 budget of the Federal Republic of Nigeria indicates that 17 budget subheads with enormous allocations are directly linked to the Presidency. Yet, the Nigerian Airways – which once had 28 aircraft – is now defunct and is yet to be resuscitated.

Members of the Nigerian Parliament are probably the highest paid in the world. There are 109 and 360 members in the country's Senate and House of Representatives respectively. While a Senator in the United States of America earns $174,000 per annum and a member of parliament in the United Kingdom earns about $64,000 per annum; a Senator in Nigeria earns $80,555 per month, translating into well over $8.4 million annually, while each member of the House of Representatives earns more than $6 million per annum. While the US President earns $400,000 per annum; the Vice President earns $231,000; Members of Congress $174,000; Governors between $70,000 and $190,000; state legislators $81,078 (full time) and $19,197 (part time) (Murse 2017). Before the February 2014 marginal wage increments, the Canadian Prime Minister earned $327,400; Senators earned $135,200 per annum while the other members of Parliament earned $160,200 annually (Raj 2014).[13] In Sweden, the monthly pay of lawmakers is $7,707. This implies that a Swedish lawmaker will have to work for over 12 years to earn what a Nigerian Senator earns per month (Olufemi & Akinwumi 2014). In a recent public lecture, Nigeria's Chairman of the Presidential Advisory Committee Against Corruption, Itse Sagay, pointed out that, in addition to their basic salary, Nigerian Senators receive 15 categories of allowances.[14] He concluded his lecture by observing that "one common thread that runs through the attitude of [Nigerian] politicians borders on greed, avarice, self-service and accumulation of wealth at the expense of the country" (Sagay 2017).

The same culture of waste is replicated at the state and local government levels with respect to outlandish salaries and allowances of political office holders. One implication of the above, as pointed out by Isola Olomola and Julius Ogbonna when they were interviewed on 11 August and 5 September 2017 respectively, is the fact that well over 40% of Nigeria's annual budget is allocated to the payment of public officers' emoluments, yet the country probably has the largest number of people who live on less than $1 a day. While the minimum wage in the USA and UK is $1,257 and $1,883 respectively; that of Nigeria is a diminutive $50. Thus, as Animasaun (2013) has pointed out, "no one deserves that much money while ordinary people are scavenging to make ends meet. Nigeria has got a magnitude of deprivation, high infant mortality rate; maternal mortality rate; malnutrition; inadequate healthcare and transportation and lack of electricity; high crime rates; high number of young people not in education, employment or training ...

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13. The marginal wage increment raised the annual wages of Canadians MPs to $163,700 and $138,700 respectively.
14. Itse Sagay, "The Many Afflictions of Anti–Corruption Crusade in in Nigeria". Lecture Delivered to the Nigerian Society of International Law, 5 September 2017, p. 4. These allowances are Hardship, Constituency, Furniture, Newspaper, Wardrobe, Recess, Accommodation, Utilities, Domestic Staff, Entertainment, Personal Assistant, Vehicle Maintenance, Leave, Severance and Motor Vehicle Allowances.

ordinary Nigerians have been severely short-changed, cheated and insulted". Indeed, the annual budgetary allocation to Nigeria's Parliament surpasses the annual budgets of 21 of Nigeria's 36 states (*Quartz Africa* 4 June 2015). Thus, while the ordinary Nigerian lives on $1 per day; the Nigerian Parliament remains the poster-child of waste. Yet, apart from the Report on the Nigeria Police referred to above, another Report recently rated two Nigerian airports – Murtala Muhammed International Airport, Lagos (Nigeria's best Airport) and the Port Harcourt International Airport, Omagwa – among the worst 20 airports in the world. In a survey (2017) by the Sleep in Airport website (*sleepinairports.net*), Lagos Airport was ranked the fifth worst in the world while the Port Harcourt Airport was ranked the third worst globally. The criteria used by the site included comfort (gate seating and availability of rest zones), services, facilities and things to do, food options, immigration/security, customer service, cleanliness, navigation and ease of transit and sleepability. According to the Report, these airports "have the capacity to truly offend travellers ... in some cases, passengers are made to stand or sit on the floor as they await their flights. In others, the bathrooms don't have water, toilet paper, or any semblance of cleanliness" (Eze 2013).

To all intents and purposes, Nigeria's political leaders are political vampires who feed amply on the ordinary taxpayer who is in turn left economically emasculated and cremated. As the Editorial Opinion of *The Guardian* of 25 December 2009 rightly pointed out, while "many Nigerians are hungry, homeless and jobless", the political class daily expends billions of dollars on its comfort. It is in this context that the Emir of Kano's description of Nigeria's political class as selfish could be properly grasped. According to the Emir (Mohammed Sanusi II), "the bane of leadership in Nigeria is that the leaders are selfish, they only think of [themselves and] their families" (Kilete 2017:). Sanusi's view tallies with those held by about 98% of respondents interviewed by the present author. Of the 44 Nigerians interviewed in Nigeria and the Russian Federation at different dates and places, 42 held the view that the Nigerian political class has, through its selfish and greedy tendencies, underdeveloped the country and inflicted grievous socio-economic hardships on Nigerians (Ajose, Olorode, Olomola, Abegunde, Tolani *et al.* 2017). Unfortunately, in addition to the excessive wages they receive, Nigeria's political leaders still siphon billions of dollars of state funds annually. This has inflicted enormous financial haemorrhage on the country resulting in all-facet stagnation and cyclical underdevelopment. For example, China's GDP in 1980 was $341billion, while that of Nigeria was $143 billion. Today, China's GDP is $12 trillion; thirty times bigger than that of Nigeria (Adisa & Oderemi 2017). This probably informed the submission by Second Republic Governor of Kaduna State, Balarabe Musa (undoubtedly one of Nigeria's few political leaders who has served the country in the strict sense of that word) that he could only "single out three leaders of all the heads of government Nigeria has had – the First Republic Prime Minister, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, former Head of State, Yakubu Gowon and the late Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed" (*Nigerian Tribune* 1 October 2017:7). Since only the first was democratically elected[15] – the others being military heads of state – in Blalarabe's reckoning, weighed in the balances, Nigeria's democracy has not been beneficial to the ordinary citizen.

Conclusion and recommendations

This is probably the first appearance in print of three of the terms used in this study – 'trilemma', 'herds-menism' and 'vampirism' to capture and underline the gain of the occupiers of Nigeria's democratic space and the pain of the ordinary Nigerians who are daily confronted and tortured by challenges to which the Nigerian state does not appear to have solutions. The challenge posed by herdsmen is so enormous that thousands of hectares of farmland and crops are destroyed daily by the increasingly militant and warlike Fulani pastoralists. This is apart from hundreds of rural farming communities that have been pillaged,

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15. Tafawa Balewa's party, the Northern People's Congress, NPC, obtained 148 seats in the 12 December 1959 'independence election' while the Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe-led National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, NCNC and Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group, AG, won 89 and 75 seats in the Parliament respectively. The NPC and the NCNC eventually entered into alliance and formed the federal government.

sacked and razed. Evidently, 'herdsmenism' has led to the death of several thousands of farmers and villagers in several parts of Nigeria. As pointed out in the paper, the Nigerian economy loses about $14 billion annually to herdsmen's invasion and destruction of crops and farmlands while the psychological trauma of women subjected to vicious rape by herdsmen is beyond comprehension. Since 1999, Nigeria's democracy has yet to find solutions to these challenges.

Nigeria has had an upsurge in terror activities since 2009 when the Boko Haram terrorist group debuted. Thousands of people have been maimed or killed while more than two million persons have been displaced, particularly in the north-eastern part of the country with the usual overwhelming and life-threatening challenges often faced by IDPs. In addition to several other armed militia terror groups in the country, the *Badoo* has added a dangerous dimension to terrorism in Nigeria not only by crushing the heads of their victims with grinding stones but also by ripping open the wombs of pregnant women and removing their foetuses. While other countries of the world have made substantial progress in the fight against terrorism in their homelands, Nigeria is still at a loss. Recently, the Federal Government entered into a 'swap deal' by which very notorious Boko Haram commanders were released in exchange for some of the now famous Chibok girls, apparently because the government does not seem to posses the military and tactical machinery to defeat the Boko Haram sect. Nigeria's democracy is as yet unable to tackle the challenge of terrorism, 'herdsmenism,' a scarcity of water and shrinking grazing fields because of the absence of the political will and a functional national development framework. With a lack of technological innovation, it is able to allocate a substantial percentage of the national wealth to political office holders. Across the length and breadth of Nigeria, the supply of power is erratic – almost unavailable, pipe-borne water is a rarity, health and educational institutions are in a shambles, roads are in an abject state of disrepair while the national minimum wage stands at $50 per month, thereby turning an overwhelming percentage of Nigerians infrahuman. For all intents and purposes, Nigeria's brand of democracy is the rule of the few by the few for the few. This has drained many Nigerians of psychic energy and socio-economic strength: this is exactly what folklore vampires do.

With a substantial political will, considerable cut-down on selfish tendencies and conscientious planning, the three 'isms' assailing Nigeria's democracy could be redressed. Apparently, the herder/farmer crisis in Nigeria demonstrates the reality of climate change which is not peculiar to Nigeria. As pointed out earlier, one of the 'trilemma' that East Asia was confronted with was how to deal with devastating weather events linked to climate change. That part of the world has since made substantial progress in that direction. The scarcity of water and shrinking grazing fields in the arid north are forcing herders southwards – to the grasslands of the savannas and forests. Like elsewhere in the world, a national strategy based on solid research and technological innovation, rather than stark anti-grazing laws[16] will provide solutions to weather-related problems in Nigeria. The establishment and maintenance of ranches throughout the Federation will not only supply enough grazing fields for herdsmen; it will reduce farmer/herder conflicts to manageable proportions; safeguard food security and boost the nation's economy.

One of the factors that have fuelled terrorism in Nigeria is intractable unemployment. With a conservative estimate of an average of about 250,000 graduates from 129 universities and hundreds of

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16. In response to the fatal herder/farmer crisis, described by Paul Unango as 'earthquake of hostilities ... and massive killings', several states have enacted laws prohibiting open grazing by herdsmen in their respective domains. Ekiti State (south-west) was the first in the Federation to pass the law titled 'Prohibition of Cattle and Other Ruminants Grazing in Ekiti'. In Benue State (middle belt), the law is titled 'Open Grazing Prohibition and Ranches Establishment Law' while its variant currently before the Federal Parliament is titled 'National Grazing Reserve (Establishment) Bill'. However, the Maiyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, the umbrella Association of Nigeria's herdsmen, has consistently repudiated and rejected the anti-open grazing laws across the Federation, describing them as 'inimical, ill-intended, discriminatory ... a dangerous gambit ... oppressive and negative, a misplaced priority and an agenda designed to destroy [their] means of livelihood". Indeed, in Taraba State (north-east) the Association threatened that "there would be breakdown of law and order" should the law be implemented.

thousands from intermediate colleges, polytechnics and colleges of education entering the job market annually, Nigeria's job market is probably the most crowded in sub-Saharan Africa. It is therefore not surprising that the army of jobless Nigerians who have become socio-economic liabilities to themselves, their families and the nation at large engage in sundry illegalities and antisocial acts. Thus, there are enough unutilised or underutilised able-bodied men for politicians to recruit as thugs; others take to kidnapping-for-ransom while several others readily swell the ranks of Boko Haram and other terror groups. Indeed, a former Inspector-General of Nigeria Police opined that unemployment and poverty are responsible for the widespread insecurity in Nigeria. This view agrees with that of former British Prime Minister, David Cameron, who, while commenting on the increase of job opportunities in Britain said, "more jobs mean more security, peace of mind ... for the British people" (Dominiczak 2014). Nigerian Governments should enact appropriate legislations that would provide jobs for the teeming unemployed. The starting point, however, might have to be a substantial improvement on her present appalling and ridiculous level power generation and distribution. Stable power supply will lead to a resurgence in production and industrial activities, and the more industries spring up, grow and expand, the more manpower will be required to man them. This will divert the attention of hitherto terror gang members from gangsterism and terrorism to profitable and productive ventures.

Nigeria's democracy of waste needs a complete overhauling, while its culture of corruption requires a considerable if not major reversal. As Kabachi, Chukwu, Olorode and Babajide (2017) all pointed out when interviewed, the present arrangement that ensures that a significant proportion of the nation's resources is expended on the payment of the wages and allowances of the occupiers of the "structural frame" is the very antithesis of national development and fair play. Indeed, it has remained the harbinger of trouble in the Nigerian state. Only recently, the Chairman of the Committee on Media and Public Affairs of the Nigerian Senate, Aliyu Abdullahi, said that despite widespread public outcry for it, the Senate "cannot disclose its salaries and allowances" (Akinkuotu 2017). Yet, several non-governmental organisations have urged the leadership of the National Assembly to remove the tight lid on the income of the 'representatives of the people' while two have obtained court rulings compelling the National Assembly, by virtue of the Freedom of Information Bill, to make the salaries and allowances earned by its members public.[17] However, despite these rulings, the National Assembly is yet to comply – another feature of Nigeria's democracy. Chapter V, Section C(70) of the 1999 Constitution provides that "A member of the Senate or of the House of Representatives shall receive such salary and other allowances as the Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission may determine." The Constitution, rather than a politically-inclined body, should determine and fix the remuneration of political office holders. As pointed out by Yewande Tijani when she was interviewed on 23 August 2017, among other things, Nigeria should have a people-centred constitution and resource allocation formula that clearly prescribes moderate wages and allowances for political office holders, who preferably should be elected to serve on a part-time basis. This will not only make public office less attractive; it will engender rapid socio-economic development and judicious utilisation of public resources.

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Contextual background to the rapid increase in migration from Zimbabwe since 1990

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Abstract

This paper provides a contextual background to and causes of recent emigration from Zimbabwe. With an estimated quarter of the population currently living outside Zimbabwe, migration from the country is unprecedented. The country is now ranked as one of the top ten migrant-sending countries in sub-Saharan Africa that include Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Eritrea, Nigeria, Mozambique, South Africa, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Periods of migration are divided into sections, beginning with the war of liberation (1960-1979) to 1990; 1991 to 1997 and 1998 and beyond. Migration was caused by inter-related factors ranging from political and economic instability, poverty, low returns to labour, unemployment, increased informalisation of the economy, fluctuation in prices of basic commodities and their erratic supply. Migrants from Zimbabwe are a diverse combination of people of all ages that include professionals, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, documented and undocumented migrants dispersed in countries in the region, predominantly South Africa and Botswana, and far-flung countries like the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Whereas in the past male migration was dominant, by 2000 women have migrated in almost equal numbers with men.

Keywords: Zimbabwe, migration, causes, period, unemployment, political, economic and social instability

1. Introduction

Based on literature review, this paper chronicles migration periods and gives an overview of the contextual background to emigration from Zimbabwe in the period 1960 to 1998 and beyond. The country is one of ten top emigrating countries in sub-Saharan Africa that include Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Eritrea, Nigeria, Mozambique, South Africa, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (World Bank 2008). Intensive emigration from Zimbabwe in the last decade masks the fact that for over a century the country was both a migrant sending and receiving country (Maphosa 2005). Before independence in 1980, immigrants came to Zimbabwe from Zambia, Malawi, Asia and Europe attracted by economic prospects in agriculture and mining (Tevera & Zinyama 2002). This is because during the early 1980s following the victory of Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF party, Zimbabwe became the fourth most industrialised country in Africa south of the Sahara, with a middle-income status supported by a diversified economy (Nhema 2002: 127; Sachikonye 2002: 130).

Buoyed by a sound economy and under pressure to redress past social inequalities and to fulfil electoral campaign promises, the government adopted redistributive socialist fiscal policies (UNDP 2008). Apart from offering free access to primary education and health, the government also supported several social welfare programmes. Rapid expansion in these sectors created growth in public sector employment. Unfortunately, there was no corresponding increase in government revenue generation to pay for such an increase in government expenditure. Increasingly, such free social services were financed by domestic and international loans (Bond 1998). This caused the budget deficit to grow to unsustainable levels, such that by the mid-1980s the economy was in recession. The poor economic situation was exacerbated by the effects of successive/consecutive droughts during the 1982/83 and 1984/1985

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agricultural seasons, a fall in the demand for the country's exports and foreign investment (UNDP 2008). For these reasons, there was a marked decline in national foreign currency reserves.

2. Zimbabwe's migration periods

As a result of the above-mentioned developments, Zimbabwe has experienced substantial changes in the causes of migration dynamics as well as the composition of people engaged in migration over the last 30 years. Emigration from Zimbabwe has never ceased since independence and can be discussed in three phases spanning the period before and after independence in 1980 as outlined below. The phases are predicated on changes in the political and economic development of the country. The adoption and implementation of politically expedient policies in the decades following independence, especially the fast-track land reform programme severely undermined the economy. The political, social and economic instability that ensued caused an acceleration in migration from the country (Kanyenze 2004).

2.1 Migration during the period 1960 to 1990

Migration in the first phase encompasses the period spanning the war of independence (1960-1979) to the first decade after independence. Escalation of the war of liberation in 1972 caused an estimated 210 000 political exiles to leave the country. They went to various countries in southern and eastern Africa, notably Zambia, Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique. At various periods during that time 75 000 unskilled labour migrants went to South Africa to work in the gold mines and on farms (Makanya 1994). In the aftermath of independence, there was an outflow of a small number of black professionals and 142 000 white Zimbabweans to South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. They migrated because they were disconcerted by the loss of power and privilege. They were also generally pessimistic about the country's future under a socialist government. Furthermore, they also had general security concerns or feared retribution (Tevera & Crush 2003:34; Bloch 2005). To make up for the skills loss associated with the migration of white skilled workers and professionals, the government recruited expatriate workers on 2-5 year contracts. These expatriates filled positions where skills were in short supply, for example in medicine, engineering, architecture and maths and science in higher education (Tevera & Zinyama 2002). Apart from expatriate workers, other immigrants included Zimbabweans who had been living in exile and white Zimbabweans who had left the country after independence. Government also supported temporary migration to the United Kingdom, South Africa and former eastern bloc countries (East Germany and USSR) for the purposes of higher education (Chung and Ngara 1985).

Further migration during this period is attributed to political insurrection during 1982-1987 in Matabeleland and some parts of the Midlands Provinces. According to the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) (1997), in early 1982, Zimbabwe had serious security threats in several parts of the country, especially in the western part of the country. Groups of dissidents were killing civilians and destroying property. To contain the problem the government responded by launching a brutal army operation conducted by the 5th Brigade which was a North Korea-trained military outfit. The CCJP (1997) estimated that a total of 20 000 civilians were massacred in Matabeleland and the Midlands Provinces. Those targeted were accused of harbouring dissidents. Peace was only restored after the signing of the Unity Accord between ZANU PF and ZAPU in November 1987. This protracted violence caused the emigration of 5 000 people to South Africa, Botswana and Britain (Jackson 1994). Those who migrated were predominantly young male adults. They were especially harassed by soldiers of the 5th Brigade who accused them of being dissidents, supporting or sympathising with dissidents (Muzondidya & Gatsheni-Ndhlovu 2007).

2.2 Migration during the period 1991 to 1997

In the first decade after independence, the country was also bedevilled by economic problems that resulted in the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in October 1991. The ESAP was meant to facilitate trade liberalisation, reduce the budget deficit and deregulate prices and

wages (UNICEF 2011). Another objective of the ESAP was to reduce social spending by the government. This was to be achieved through the removal of price controls, food subsidies, cost recovery in education and health and reduction of the number of workers in the public service. However, the ESAP did not achieve the desired results. By 1995 the budget deficit was over eight percent of the country's GDP compared to the ESAP target of five percent of GDP. Furthermore, deregulation of wages caused income levels to fall below those of the pre-independence period (UNDP 2008; Chagonda 2010). For example, wages for civil servants declined by 65%, 56% for construction workers, 48% for farm workers and 62% for domestic workers (Bond & Manyanya 2003: 35). Concurrently, removal of food subsidies caused severe hardships. Once famed as the breadbasket of southern Africa, the country moved from having a vibrant economy at independence to a highly-fractured economy unable to provide basic public services. Government also deregulated the job market and, in particular, wage determination. Deregulation of the labour market allowed free collective bargaining between workers and their employers. These measures caused severe socio-economic problems and general discontent expressed in the form of food riots and strikes.

Continued poor performance of the economy caused many companies to relocate to South Africa. Others downsized operations citing viability problems. Export competitiveness was negatively affected by high production costs and negative climatic conditions. In the years following independence, domestic companies had not recapitalised or invested in new and efficient production technologies that would have enabled them to compete against imports following trade liberalisation under the ESAP (Bond & Manyanya 2003:30). Specifically, there was a contraction in key manufacturing sectors such as textiles by six percent in 1990 to 1995 and twenty percent in 1996 to 2000 (Ismi 2004). This resulted in considerable job losses, such that by 1997 unemployment was fifty percent (50%). The public sector and the private sector retrenched 18 000 and 50 000 workers respectively. Throughout the ESAP years the country was heavily reliant on international donor aid. The proportion of the population living in poverty rose to seventy percent (Moore 2003). Liberalisation of the economy had not yielded the desired objectives of reducing poverty and diversifying the economy. By 1997 the economic situation in the country was so severe that the ESAP was abandoned (UNICEF 2011).

As a direct consequence of the austerity measures associated with the ESAP, migration was adopted as a survival strategy (Gaidzanwa 1999; Chetsanga & Muchenje 2003; Bloch 2005; UNDP 2008). Apart from unskilled and semi-skilled workers, approximately 200 000 skilled professionals emigrated, frustrated by the introduction of wage restraints, deteriorating working and living conditions, as well as instability in food prices due to the removal of subsidies. However, the number of Zimbabweans escaping economic hardships associated with the adoption of the ESAP never reached the alarming proportions that were witnessed during the third phase of migration.

2.3 Migration during the period 1998-2015

In terms of volume, international migration from Zimbabwe peaked after 2000. For a country not at war, the volumes of migration were unprecedented. Because of the large numbers of people migrating from the country in the last decade, Crush and Tevera (2010) referred to such emigration as an 'exodus'. It was estimated that there was at least one emigrant per household (Tevera & Crush 2003). By July 2008, the Zimbabwean migration stock was estimated at four million (Orozco & Lindley 2008). Migration from the country continued even after the stabilisation of the economy through dollarisation in 2009. This is because the economy failed to create new jobs. Industries are undercapitalised, operate below capacity or remain closed. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG 2007: 2) since the year 2000, over 900 companies have closed or scaled down production causing industrial output to drop by thirty percent. The economy also suffered from liquidity problems, depressed investor confidence and a government policy environment pervaded by anti-market sentiments (Kanyenze 2006). For example, the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (No. 14 of 2007) mandates mining, manufacturing and financial businesses to sell fifty-one percent of their shares to indigenous Zimbabweans. Such policies create market

uncertainties and unpredictability on issues regarding property rights and pricing. Due to this and several other factors de-industrialisation has remained a major problem. Thus, inability to get jobs caused an upsurge in permanent and circular migration to regional countries (Crush, Chikanda & Tawodzera 2012).

Recent migration from Zimbabwe is notable on account of the scale of the migration, the composition of migrants, causes of migration and its impact, particularly on neighbouring countries. A potent mix of political, social and economic instability was the major driver of international migration during this phase (Tevera & Crush 2003). Migration from the country in particular from 2000 onwards is symptomatic of structural political and economic problems (Zinyama 2002; Bloch 2005). This migration is exceptional because of the large presence of non-refugee migrants (Betts & Kaytaz 2009; McGregor, Marazzi & Mpofu 2011). From 2005 to 2009, the Johannesburg reception centre registered an average of 3 000 Zimbabweans a day (Betts & Kaytaz 2009).

3. Causes of recent migration from Zimbabwe

3.1 The political context of migration from Zimbabwe after 2000

The fundamental cause of large-scale migration from Zimbabwe is political instability, which spawned social and economic instability creating a combination of factors that destroyed people's livelihoods. Political violence is now endemic in Zimbabwe's political landscape. Desire for monopolistic political power by the ruling party (ZANU PF) is a dominant determinant in the political violence that affected most parts of the country, resulting in internal displacement and migration. Political repression takes many forms, ranging from murder of opponents to rape, mutilation, violence, repression and intimidation. All these tactics aim to suppress opposing views (Maroleng 2008:23). The breakdown in the rule of law means that there is no recourse to justice even when perpetrators are known (Hammar 2008).

Political repression and intimidation is due to the ruling party's (ZANU PF) refusal to accept political pluralism. After decades of being the only political party in the country, the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in September 1999 was seen as a major challenge to the status quo (Mlambo & Raftopoulos 2010). The tipping point was in 2000 when the MDC-led anti-constitution campaign caused the defeat of the ruling party in a national referendum on a new Constitution. It was the first such political upset for the ruling party in twenty years. Inevitably, the party leadership was incensed by the opposition party. So, in order to thwart the opposition party from national ascendancy evidenced by the MDC's strong showing in the June 2000 parliamentary elections, ZANU PF resorted to intimidation and violence against political opponents and their supporters (Bond & Manyanya 2003). Since then with each subsequent election (in 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008) political violence has become entrenched in the ruling party's psyche. When the urban electorate overwhelmingly rejected the draft constitution and subsequently voted out ZANU PF in urban local government elections in June 2002, the seeds of conflict between the ruling party and the opposition party were sown. Until 2002 the ruling party had commanded a majority in national and local government elections. The political elite refused to accept democratic political pluralism. The people were no longer perceived as a political asset but as an electoral risk (Kamete 2002). Consequently, government unleashed ZANU PF-trained militia against them. It was predominantly the unstable political situation in Zimbabwe since 2000 that caused people to migrate (Bloch 2006:69).

Further displacement and migration is linked to the launch of the fast-track land reform programme in 2000. Under the operation, ZANU PF supported 'new farmers' who invaded mostly white-owned commercial farms. A total of 3 000 farms were earmarked for acquisition (UNDP 2008). The violent seizure of large-scale commercial farms spearheaded by a violent youth militia throughout the country's provinces caused the large scale migration of white commercial farmers. The white farmers were targeted for their perceived support for the opposition party that led to the rejection of the Constitution. In total over 2.5 million farm workers lost their jobs when commercial farmers lost their farms (Sachikonye 2003). Using the provisions of the Citizenship Act (2003) the government revoked citizenship rights to people

born in Zimbabwe to parents of foreign origin. This rendered many commercial farmers and farm workers stateless (Muzondidya 2007). As a result, many of these workers migrated and sought work in the Limpopo province of South Africa (Rutherford 2008).

Agriculture had always played a critical role in Zimbabwe's economy, contributing 11-14% of the Gross National Product, 45% of the country's exports and 60% of all raw materials used by Zimbabwean industry (Weiner, Moyo, Munslow & O'Keefe 1985). Agriculture was also the largest formal sector employer in the country. However, the chaotic implementation of the fast-track land reform programme ruined the livelihoods of many people (House of Commons International Development Committee 2010). Because of the knock-on effect that the fast-track land reform programme had on the national economy there was a decline in exports and inputs to agro-processing, textiles and other manufacturing industries. As a result, by 2007 capacity utilisation in industries fell to 18.9% (Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries 2008). Loss of income derived from exports caused the budget deficit to grow. There was also a severe foreign currency shortage. Since then farm seizures have been ongoing, albeit on a less intense scale than in the years immediately after 2000.

Further migration was also associated with the launch of Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order or Clear the Filth) in 2005. Following commercial farm seizures, the economy contracted and unemployment rose to 70%. In order to make ends meet, people in urban areas joined the informal sector (Bond & Manyanya 2003). However, in May 2005 the Government launched Operation Murambatsvina with the aim of limiting uncontrolled growth of the informal sector. There was a nationwide operation that destroyed informal settlements and illegal trading structures. It was evident that the ruling party had embarked on the clean-up operation out of revenge to punish an urban electorate that was perceived to have caused its electoral defeat by supporting the opposition party in the 2000 and 2005 elections. The operation displaced 70 000 people and ruined their livelihoods. During the operation goods and wares of informal traders were confiscated by the police and the army (Tibaijuka 2005). Many displaced people migrated in order to rebuild their lives and find livelihood opportunities elsewhere.

The largest number of migrants to date fled the country following the harmonised presidential, parliamentary and local government elections in 2008. The election results were disputed. Although the president and his party lost the elections, he did not cede power, claiming that the opposition party had less than 51% of votes as required by the Constitution. Consequently, a presidential run-off was undertaken as per requirements of the Constitution. ZANU PF ran a violent election campaign backed by the army, war veterans and youth militia that targeted opposition supporters, many of whom were arbitrarily arrested, forced into hiding, maimed or killed. Due to this, the opposition party was forced to pull out of the presidential runoff in June 2008, citing country-wide violence and intimidation of their supporters. The political polarisation and repression that followed caused many people to migrate to flee the violence.

3.2 The economic context to migration from Zimbabwe after 2000

The seeds of the severe economic instability that affected the country after the year 2000 were sown in the late 1990s. In November 1997, a politically motivated decision was made to pay each of the 50 000 war veterans a belated and unbudgeted one-off payment of Z$50 000 and a Z$2 000 monthly pension for their participation in the liberation war (Mlambo & Raftopoulos 2010). From there onwards economic indicators dipped. Following such gratuity awards to war veterans, the Zimbabwe dollar shed 72% of its value against the United States dollar while the stock market crashed (Chimhou, Manjengwa & Feresu 2010). In 1998, the country participated in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. This further drained the economy of resources causing the government to run a large budget deficit (UNDP 2008). Seizure of white-owned commercial farms eroded investor confidence resulting in a lack of foreign investment. Farm invasions further hurt the economy by destroying a key sector of the economy. It also caused severe food shortages and loss of exports. As a corollary to the fast-track land reform programme agriculture production fell by an average nine percent a year, manufacturing eight percent and mining

seven percent (Zanamwe & Devillard 2010). Shortages of basic commodities spawned inflation, a black market and a foreign exchange parallel market.

The GDP fell by a third in the period 1999 to 2006, impacting negatively on the balance of payments situation, incomes and social indices (Sachikonye 2006; World Bank 2009; Adebajo & Paterson 2011). The country earned the infamous tag of having the fastest shrinking economy in the world outside of a war zone. Annual GDP growth rate fell from 3.9% during 1980-1998 to -14.1% in 2008 (McGregor 2006; Makochekanwa & Kwaramba 2010). This decline of the economy occurred at a time when other African countries, notably Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Madagascar, Malawi, Swaziland, Namibia, Tanzania and Zambia, were achieving reasonable rates of growth (UNDP 2008). This attracted Zimbabwean migrants.

Unemployment rose to 94% in 2008 (AFP 2009; Van Klaveren, Tijdens, Hughie-Williams & Martin 2010). Formal employment shrank from 3.6 million in 2003 to an estimated 480 000 by 2008. High unemployment caused informalisation of the economy where incomes are unstable (Simpson 2008; McGregor, Marazzi & Mpofu 2011). For all sectors of the economy the minimum wage[3] in 2009 of between US$20 to US$391 per month was below the poverty line (Van Klaveren *et al.* 2010). Although official sources claimed that inflation was 231 million per cent, the IMF (2009) pegged inflation at 500 billion per cent in September 2008 while Hanke (2009) thought inflation of 89.7 sextillion per cent was more realistic for the period. Such hyperinflationary conditions eroded incomes and caused instability in prices of basic goods. Price rises of basic goods of up to three times a day were common.

Difficult economic conditions caused a surge in poverty levels. For example, in 2003 the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) rose from 61% to 72% (Zanamwe & Devillard 2010). Inability to access money in the banks due to hyperinflation and shortage of bank notes made life particularly difficult for ordinary people. Such hyperinflation reduced economic competitiveness, forcing traders to demand payment for goods and services in foreign currency. Poverty and deprivation caused families to adopt migration as a survival strategy. During the economic crisis remittances became the primary source of income for the majority of households (Tevera & Zinyama 2002; Bracking & Sachikonye 2006; Van Klaveren et al 2010; Adebajo & Paterson 2011). A survey by Bloch (2008) in both the United Kingdom and South Africa found that 80% of respondents sent remittances to their families. Households were receiving an annual median amount of US$109.30 in cash remittances and US$54.90 in goods (IOM 2009). At the same time, remittances benefited the national economy through fees and taxes levied on formal remittances. By 2008 remittances were estimated at US$361 million or 7.2% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (IFAD 2007; Makina 2010b). So battered was the economy that the local currency ceased circulating in October 2008 (IMF 2009). Accordingly, government was forced to authorize the adoption of a multicurrency regime in February 2009 in order to stabilize the economy.

3.3 The social context to migration from Zimbabwe after 2000

Due to limited resources, the government reduced expenditure on health, education, housing and other public services. Thus, after 2000 service delivery systems became completely dysfunctional or collapsed. Hospitals closed due to a lack of drugs, medical and support staff. Apart from individual initiatives, foreign recruitment agencies facilitated the migration of doctors and nurses. By 2003 the health sector had lost over 2 100 doctors and 1 950 nurses (UNDP 2008). Schools suffered the same fate, as an estimated 15 200 teachers migrated to neighbouring countries because salaries were too low, having been severely eroded by inflation. For many people, it was no longer worthwhile to go to work when the purchase price of bread was Z$ 3 330 000. Furthermore, salaries could not be accessed from banks anyway due to the shortage of bank notes. In rural areas teachers perceived as opposition party supporters were evicted from their schools by ZANU PF militia.

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3. Minimum wages are government stipulated wages for each economic sector. Workers in the agriculture sector are the lowest paid workers in the country.

The lack of basic services in urban areas caused a serious cholera epidemic which killed 4 000 people out of the 100 000 infected with the disease. Urban local authorities attributed the cholera outbreak to the inability to purchase water treatment chemicals due to a lack of foreign currency. The problem was compounded by power shortages which reduced water pumping capacity (Makina 2010). There were also severe food shortages throughout the country (Simpson 2008). Altogether 7.5 million people were food insecure and depended on donor aid. This made Zimbabwe the only country in the world with over half of the country reliant on food aid. A combination of a worthless currency, lack of foreign currency and food shortages pushed people to migrate.

On account of HIV/AIDS and poor standards of living for the majority of the people, life expectancy fell from 61 years in 1992 to 43 years after 2000 (Sachikonye 2006; Simpson 2008; Mlambo & Raftopoulos 2010). The proportion of the population living below the poverty line rose from 57% in 1995 to 69% in 2002 and to 80% in 2005. Thus, rising poverty levels and limited livelihood opportunities pressured many people to migrate (Betts & Kaytaz 2009). High levels of unemployment and low wages left people with limited options for survival, hence the adoption of migration to diversify survival strategies. By 2000 Zimbabweans had become the largest group of people seeking asylum in the United Kingdom (Bloch 2005). The number of asylum applications rose from 230 in 1999 to 7 655 in 2002 (IOM 2005: 11). To tame the numbers the United Kingdom was forced to impose visa restrictions on Zimbabweans in 2002 (McGregor 2006).

4 Conclusion

Although there is no scarcity of research on migration from Zimbabwe, most such research has given a superficial discussion of the underlying causes of migration. This is unfortunate because understanding the causes of migration is critical for meaningful national migration policy formulation. This paper hopes to fill this gap by giving an overview of the contextual and background factors that led to emigration from Zimbabwe. While migration from the country has never ceased since independence, intense mobility from the country is a characteristic of the last decade. A severely ravaged economy, political and social instability are the major drivers of contemporary migration from the country. It is noteworthy that in the last decade the profile of migrants has changed from predominantly male to include an equal proportion of women. In addition, unaccompanied children are also taking part in migration. In light of the main challenges posed by high volumes of migration from the country, the government in recent years has adopted a proactive attitude towards the management of migration. Working with the IOM (Harare) and donor partners, the government drafted a national migration and development strategy which seeks to manage migration and enhance its development impact. Some of the migration management initiatives seek to recruit Zimbabweans in the diaspora to participate in skills-based transfer programmes. It is also making efforts to encourage Zimbabweans in the diaspora to return to the country to fill the skills gap created by migration and to urge them to invest in the national economy. However, the economy remains constrained by lack of money and low investment. Therefore, it has not created many new jobs. As such Zimbabweans in the diaspora are unlikely to consider return migration unless the economy shows significant improvements. Additionally, it will depend on the ability of the government to improve governance indicators in the short term and restore the political rights of Zimbabweans in the diaspora.

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Factors influencing the adoption of mobile financial services in the unbanked population

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Abstract

To deliver financial services to the poor has remained a challenge for many decades. However, the growth of technology has emerged as a key solution of financial service delivery to the poor. Financial services delivery through mobile phone platforms can be provided where formal financial institution like banks cannot reach. Despite these developments, the use of these services by the poor in the unbanked areas is very low. This study investigated the factors influencing the adoption of mobile financial services in the unbanked population. We employed a cross-sectional design by collecting data at a single point in time. We used six variables in the study based on the Technology Acceptance Model, TAM. The variables were Perceived usefulness, Perceived ease of use, Perceived trust, Perceived cost, Perceived risk and Social influence. The construct validity of the measurement items was established by using confirmatory factor analysis conducted using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) and the reliability was established by using Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. The hypothesis was tested by using multiple regression analysis. The sample size used was 250 respondents selected from the study area. The study revealed that perceived usefulness, perceived cost and social influence had a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Perceived ease of use, perceived risk and perceived trust were found to have an insignificant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. The implication of the findings forms the basis for product or service development, pricing, marketing and policy formulation. In this study we recommend a longitudinal research to be conducted in order to understand the influences of the adoption behaviour at different level of market maturity and points of time.

Key words: *Mobile financial services, Adoption, Tanzania*

1.0 Introduction

Mobile financial services in Africa have emerged as an important driver of financial inclusion and an innovative channel of financial services delivery especially to the unbanked population. It presents an enormous opportunity to overcome the dominance of banks in the provision of formal financial services because of its transformative power and ability to reach a large population (Cull, Demirgüç-Kunt and Lyman 2012). According to the World Bank (2012), 2.5 billion people do not have an account at a formal financial institution and most of them come from the developing world. Moreover, the World Bank, (2014) in the Global Findex database shows that three quarters of the world's poor do not have an account at the formal financial institutions, not only because they are poor but also due to costs of travel and paperwork involved, which are given by many as barriers to access (Hannig and Jensen 2010). Africa faces an even greater challenge of financial exclusion when compared with other continents like Asia. It is estimated that Asia has 25 percent of poor households who have access to financial services, while Africa has less than a quarter of adults who have accounts with formal financial institutions, and many use informal means to borrow and save (Demirguc-Kunt and Klapper, 2012).

Mobile financial services in Tanzania started in 2008 when Vodacom Tanzania launched Vodafone M-Pesa with the marketing campaign which targeted the rural, the poor and the unbanked population (Intermedia 2013). In the same year, Zantel launched its service called Z-Pesa which was later changed to EzyPesa in 2012 (Intermedia 2013). Tigo and Airtel followed later with their services called TigoPesa and Airtel money respectively. The banking sector has also adopted the mobile payment systems by commercial banks, like NMB Bank which has PesaFasta, CRDB Bank which has SIM Banking services.

The number of registered mobile money subscribers in Tanzania has reached 30.3 million; however, active users of mobile money services are 9.9 million people. This is far greater than the 12.4 percent of the population served by the financial institutions access points and branches (Komba 2013). According to Komba, (2013) there is a large gap in financial services access and usage whereby formal financial institutions access points and branches serve only 12.4 percent of the total population of Tanzania while the mobile agent network penetration serves 40 percent of the total population. Yet again, there is a large gap between registered and active mobile financial service users. Out of 30.0 million registered mobile financial service users only 9.9 million users are active users (Komba 2013). The situation is contrary to the expectation that high use of mobile phone and registration could result in high usage rate of mobile financial services. The reasons 20.1 million people have registered but failed to adopt such financial services are still not very clear. The recent financial sector developments such as the rapid diffusion of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) have resulted in more financial deepening but access to financial services has remained a challenge especially to the poor and those who live in rural areas (Ndulu 2012). Since literature in Tanzania is limited, this study seeks to explain the factors which influence the adoption of mobile financial services in the unbanked population.

2.0 Literature review

GMSA-mWomen (2013) identifies six stages of mobile money adoption by the unbanked, which provides a way of understanding the opportunities and barriers on the way to the adoption of mobile financial service by the unbanked. The stages include customers being unaware of the service, eventual awareness, understanding, knowledge, trial and regular use. Adoption or rejection of an innovation begins when the consumers become aware of the product or service Chitungo & Munongo 2013). Differences in economic environment determine the patterns of adoption of money transfer systems, that is the adoption in developed countries is not the same as in developing countries and the adoption in urban areas is not the same with that in rural areas (Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa 2013).

The study conducted by Intermedia (2013) in Tanzania identified the fact that differences in the understanding of how to use mobile money, gender, income levels and residence (rural or urban) affected the adoption and use of mobile financial services.

Several models and theories have been used to study the adoption of technology. These theories and models have been extended to be used in studying the adoption of mobile financial services and mobile banking. They include Technology acceptance model (TAM) (Davis 1989), Unified Theory of use and acceptance of technology (UTAUT) (Venkatesh & Davis 2000) and Roger's (1992) diffusion of innovations.

2.1 The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)

According to TAM, a user's adoption of new service or technology is determined by the user's intention to use the system, which is in turn determined by the user's beliefs about the system (Davis 1989).TAM further suggests that two beliefs, perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness, are important in explaining the variances in user's intentions. Technology Acceptance Models have been extensively tested and validated and are the widely accepted models used to explain a user's adoption of new technologies (Venkatesh and Davis 2000; Omwansa *et al.* 2012; Masinge 2010). These studies used the original TAM variables and other variables like perceived risk, perceived trust and perceived cost of mobile financial services. Omwansa, Waema, and Lules, (2012) in their study of the M-Shwari (mobile banking service) adoption in Kenya used the extended TAM. They argue that the original model with only two constructs were mainly used in the field of information system (IS) and applied in organizational context and not for everyday use like using to study mobile financial services. Because of this limitation, they argued that it is necessary to include other variables which influence the adoption of mobile financial services. In their study they added self-efficacy, perceived credibility, subjective norms and transaction cost. Alroaia, Hemati and Shahabi (2011) in their study on the application of TAM argue that the model is widely accepted because of its brevity and conciseness. Porter and Donthu (2006) identified that TAM explains

more variance in the attitude of customer adoption and a comparable percentage of variance in usage as compared with other models and that its constructs are more amenable to operationalization and empirical testing than are the concepts of Rogers (1995).

Munir and Idrus (2013) used the original TAM model with perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness to study the acceptance of mobile financial services in Makassar City. Their findings revealed that perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness have a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Perceived usefulness was found to have a greater influence on the adoption behaviour than perceived ease of use. Sayid, Echchabi and Aziz (2012) conducted a study in Somalia on mobile financial service adoption using the TAM. They included security, perceived risk and social influence and their study found that perceived usefulness and social influence are the only significant factors influencing the adoption of mobile financial services. But their finding on the perceived ease of use was inconsistent with many studies conducted on the basis of TAM which has shown a significant influence on adoption (Dass and Pal 2011). Masinge (2010) used the model which included trust, perceived risk and perceived cost in studying the adoption of mobile banking in the bottom of the pyramid in South Africa.

Dass and Pal (2011) also used TAM in exploring the factors affecting the adoption of mobile financial services by the rural under-banked in India. Their model has seven constructs which are: Demand for banking and financial services, Hardships faced in existing channels of banking, Perceived usefulness of Mobile Financial Services (MFS), Trust, Technology readiness, Ease of Use and Perceived financial cost. The study found that lack of trust, financial cost, and technology were significant barriers to mobile financial adoption in rural unbanked population.

Micheni, Lule, and Muke (2013) investigated the influence of transaction cost and facilitating conditions on the adoption of mobile financial services in Kenya. Their study revealed that transaction cost was not significant in influencing the adoption of mobile financial services. Facilitating condition was significant in influencing the adoption of mobile financial services. The findings are contrary to the findings of Omwansa, Waema, and Lules (2012) who found cost significant in influencing the adoption of mobile banking.

Aboelmaged and Gebba (2013) in the study on mobile financial service adoption integrated TAM and the variables of Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB). The theory of planned behaviour assumes that individuals are rational decision makers (Li 2010). Their decisions are influenced by three constructs, which are perceived behaviour control, perceived subjective norms and attitude (Azjen in Li 2010). Their combined model has five constructs, which are perceived ease of use, perceived usefulness, perceived behaviour control, perceived subjective norms and attitude. Aboelmaged and Gebba, (2013) found that attitude, subjective norms and perceived usefulness had a significant influence on the mobile banking adoption, while perceived ease of use and behavioural control indicated no significant impact on the adoption.

Chitungo and Munongo (2013) used the extended TAM in which they added other constructs in studying the mobile banking adoption among the unbanked rural population of Zimbabwe. They extended the original TAM by including relative advantages, personal innovativeness, social norms, perceived risk and costs. The findings reveal that perceived risk and perceived cost deterred the adoption of the service and have a negative relationship to the adoption of mobile financial services, but others have a positive relationship.

Lule (2008) in his study of mobile banking adoption in Kenya included perceived credibility, perceived self-efficacy, finance costs and perceived normative pressure in the original TAM model. The study also found that all variable except self-efficacy had a strong influence on mobile banking. Amin, Baba, and Mohammed (2007) using the same five constructs as used by Lule (2008) in Malaysia found perceived normative pressure to be a weak determinant of the customer's intention to use mobile financial services but the other variables were found to have a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Moreover, Amin, Baba, and Mohammed (2007) found perceived self-efficacy to be stronger than the original TAM construct which in many studies had been found to be stronger than other constructs.

The findings of Lule (2008) and Amin *et al.* (2008) are different in the result of perceived normative pressure and perceived self-efficacy.

Dahlberg, Mallat, and Öörni (2004) in their study of mobile payment solutions developed a trust enhanced technology enhanced model which included the original TAM model (Davis 1989) and the integrated TAM model (Venkatesh *et al.* 2002). The integrated model included intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation. The new trust enhanced model included disposition to trust and perceived trust. Yu (2012) in the study found that the intention to adopt mobile banking was significantly impacted by social influence, perceived financial cost, performance expectancy, and perceived credibility, except for perceived self-efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy did not have an impact on actual adoption behaviour, which is contrary to the findings of Amin *et al.* (2008); social influence was the most powerful factor in affecting the people's intention to use mobile banking.

Jeong and Yoon (2013) in their study conducted in Singapore using the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), with five factors which influence consumers' behavioural intention to adopt mobile banking: perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, perceived credibility, perceived self-efficacy, and perceived financial cost found all factors to have a significant influence except perceived financial cost, which is contrary to other studies like Masinge (2010) and Chitungo and Munongo (2013). Hamza and Shah (2014) in Nigeria introduced perceived compatibility and social norms; found social norms to be significant in predicting the adoption of mobile financial services, together with usefulness and ease of use. Trust, peer influence and perceived price levels were used together with the original TAM model to study factors influencing the adoption of mobile payments in Malaysia (Yan *et al.* 2009). The result revealed that trust and peer influence have a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Perceived price level, perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use were not a significant factor in predicting the adoption of mobile financial services, which is contrary to the empirical and theoretical expectations which identifies perceived usefulness and ease of use as the main factor influencing adoption. Li, Liu, and Ji (2014) in their study found perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness insignificant in influencing the adoption of mobile financial services in China. Moreover, their study found a significant influence of subjective norms, compatibility, individual innovation, system security and perceived behavioural control. Tobbin and Kuwornu (2011) investigated the adoption of mobile financial services in Ghana and found a significant influence of relative advantage, ease of use, usefulness, trialability, risk and trust on the adoption of mobile financial services except for risk.

Most studies have found that TAM methodology works but has to be modified to fit in the particular environment of study and the nature of the service adopted. The literature review also shows that most mobile payment deployments are country specific in terms of the service type provided, regulation, pricing, customer services and geographical coverage. Variation in these aspects causes differences in the adoption of mobile financial services from one country to the next and this creates the necessity for conducting studies in different countries or regions.

2.2 Research hypothesis

From the literature review and for purposes of this study, the study framework consists of the factors influencing the adoption of mobile financial services based on TAM methodologies which are Perceived usefulness, Perceived ease of use, Perceived cost, Perceived trust, Perceived risk and social influence as independent variable and adoption of mobile financial service as a dependent variable. The original TAM construct of perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use were adopted from Davis (1989) and its extension by Venkatesh and Davis (2000). Perceived risk, perceived cost and trust were adopted from Masinge (2010) and Lee (2009). Social influence was adopted from Jayasingh and Eze (2009).

2.2.1 Perceived usefulness

This is associated with productivity which comes from the use of technology (Amin *et al.* 2007). According to Davis (1989), perceived usefulness is the degree to which a person believes that using a particular

system would enhance his or her job performance. Several studies have found that perceived usefulness had a significant influence on mobile financial service adoption (Aboelmaged and Gebba 2013; Chitungo and Munongo 2013; Davis 1989; Li 2010; Sayid *et al.* 2012). Based on these studies the following hypothesis is proposed:

H₁ Perceived usefulness has a positive effect on the adoption of mobile financial services

2.2.2 Perceived ease of use

Davis (1989) defined perceived ease of use as the degree to which a person believes that using a particular system would be free of effort. Many studies have shown that the impact of perceived ease of use on a user's intention to adopt an innovation is either directly or indirectly through perceived usefulness. Chitungo and Munongo (2013) in their study on the adoption of mobile financial services in Zimbabwe found that perceived ease of use has a positively significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial service. Perceived ease of use has been extensively studied with perceived usefulness, and both have been found to have a positive influence on the adoption of mobile banking and mobile financial services (Yu 2012; Cheney 2008; Dahlberg *et al.* 2004; Dass and Pal 2011). Based on these empirical studies we propose following hypothesis:

H₂ Perceived ease of use have a positive effect on the adoption of mobile financial services

2.2.3 Perceived cost

Cost is defined as the extent to which a person believes that using mobile banking would cost money (Chitungo and Munongo 2013). The cost may include the transactional cost in the form of service charges, mobile network charges for sending communication traffic (including SMS or data) and mobile device cost (Chitungo and Munongo 2013). According to Lule (2008), the cost-benefit pattern is significant to both perceived usefulness and ease of use. Masinge (2010) posits that low income people have a low purchasing power and are price sensitive. Moreover, Micheni, Lule, and Muke (2013) posit that if consumers perceive that the cost of mobile money is acceptable they will adopt it more easily and then use it. Dass and Pal, (2011) found financial cost to have a negative influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Furthermore, cost considerations may prevent people from adopting mobile financial services if it is high, but if it is affordable it can be a motivation to faster adoption (Tobbin and Kuwornu 2011). Based on the literature review, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3 Perceived cost on mobile financial services will have a negative significant effect on the adoption of mobile financial service

2.2.4 Perceived trust

Dass and Pal (2011) define trust as a psychological expectation that a trusted part will not behave opportunistically. The higher levels of trust in a service provider will therefore lead to a greater intention on the part of the user to engage in mobile banking transactions (Masinge, 2010). Bångens and Söderberg, (2008) maintain that a financial system and its actors must be trusted and must act on the principles which promote trust to customers. Dass and Pal (2011) in their study on the adoption of mobile financial services among the rural unbanked found that villagers preferred channels which can be trusted to conduct monetary transaction. Studies conducted have found perceived ease of use to have a positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (Masinge 2010; Amin, Baba, and Mohammed,2007; Horne and Nickerson 2013; Chitungo and Munongo 2013; Lule 2008).

H₄ Perceived trust on mobile financial services have a positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services

2.2.5 Perceived risk

Perceived risk presents uncertainty, a potential loss or security compromise which may result in a financial loss (Chitungo and Munongo 2013; Lee 2009). Perceived risk may be in the form of financial risk, security or privacy risk, social risk, time risk and performance risk (Lee 2009). It is suggested that the adoption of mobile financial services creates concern that there may be financial losses, password security, network errors, hacking and loss of personal information. It is therefore stated that perceived risk has a negative influence on mobile banking adoption.

H_5 Perceived risk has a significant negative influence on the adoption of mobile financial services

2.2.6 Social influence

Venkatesh and Davis, (2000) claim that people adopt new technology because other people who are familiar use that technology. According to Venkatesh and Davis (2000) in TAM and UTAUT social influence includes subjective norms, normative pressure and image. In their model (TAM2) they theorised that social influence affects the adoption because people need to connect to one another by using similar technologies. They maintained that individuals often respond to social normative influences to establish or maintain a favourable image within a reference group. Social influence has been found to be the prime factor influencing the adoption of mobile financial services in the model that used four constructs (Sayid *et al.* 2012; Dass and Pal 2011). Hamza and Shah (2014) in Nigeria found social norms to be significant in influencing the adoption of mobile financial services. Social influence has been found be one of the factors with a positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (Yan *et al.* 2009; Mbele-Sibotshiwe 2013; Bhatti, 2007). The construct has been used in other studies with the same meaning as subjective norms, normative pressure and image (Venkatesh and Davis 2000). Based on findings of these studies the hypothesis for this variable will be:

H_6 Social influence has a positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services
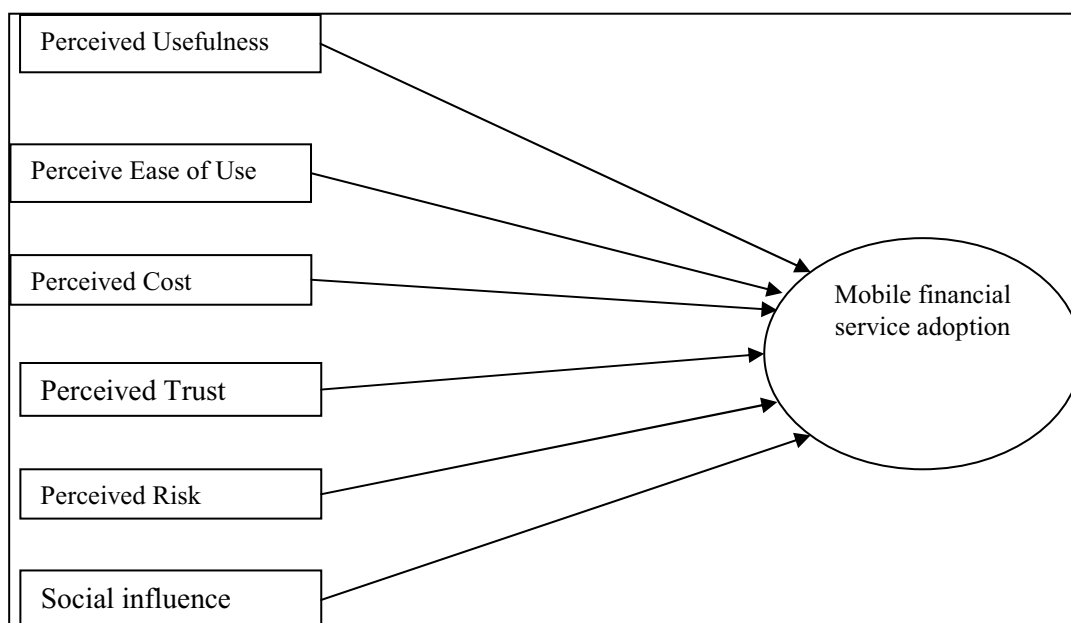
Figure 1: Conceptual framework indicating the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables. Source: Masinge (2010) and Mbele-Sibotshiwe (2013).

3. Research methodology and data

We employed a cross-sectional design by collecting data at a single point in time. In cross-sectional studies data collection is once-off and relies on existing variation between variables rather than intervention. The important thing for cross-sectional studies is to obtain a structured set of data to enable a systematic comparison of cases or group cases to account for the variation between cases.

The target population of this study includes users of mobile financial services in the Chamwino district. Access to formal financial services in the district is limited due to the absence or very scarce formal financial services providers like banks, savings and credit schemes, but there are active mobile financial providers that are used by the people (URT 2012).

We used a purposive sampling technique to select respondents for the study. We used this method to obtain respondents who have mobile phones and have subscribed to use a mobile financial service. Not all people in the targeted area of the study used mobile financial services. We used a sample size of 250 based on the rule of thumb that the number of variables and the sample size must be 1.5 or greater than 200 (Brown, 2006). We also referred sample sizes of other similar studies (Lee 2009; Amin, Baba, and Mohammed 2007; Chitungo and Munongo 2013; Aboelmaged and Gebba 2013; Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa 2013).

The study used primary data collected from the field. Data used was collected by using self-administered questionnaires which were distributed to respondents in different wards of Chamwino district. Respondents were asked to give their opinion on the statements measuring the constructs by using a five-point Likert scale measured from 1= strongly disagree, 2= Disagree 3= Neither disagree nor agree 4= Agree and 5= Strongly Agree. A total of 250 questionnaires were distributed to users of mobile financial services and 212 were collected. Of the questionnaires 6 were not included in the analysis because of incomplete data entry.

The study used six independent constructs, which are: Perceived ease of use, Perceived usefulness, Perceived risk, Perceived trust, Perceived cost and Social influence to measure factors which influence the adoption of mobile financial services. Each construct has been measured by using more than three indicators or items. According to Zikmund and Babin (2010) using more than one item to measure the studied constructs captures the complete meaning of the complex concept. The five-point Likert scale ranging from 1(str ongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) was used to measure the constructs.

The reliability of this study was established through the coefficient alpha. Alpha coefficient demonstrates whether or not the different items converge on the same point (Zikmund *et al.* 2010).The reliability of the construct for this study ranged from 0.703 to 0.793. This shows that our item used in the study has a good reliability.

Table 1: Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient for the Constructs				
Construct	Cronbach's Alpha	Construct	Cronbach's Alpha	
Perceived usefulness	0.703	Perceived risk	0.719	
Perceives ease of use	0.782	Social influence	0.793	
Perceived cost	0.721	Adoption behaviour	0.735	
Perceived trust	0.745			

Confirmatory Factor Analysis was used to establish if all the items were indeed measuring the same underlying construct or factor used in the study. Bernard (2006) posits that if all items measure the same thing they must have the same variable in common. Factor loading indicates a correlation between the measured and the underlying factor (Bordens and Abbott 2011). Factor analysis was conducted by Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) by using SPSS Analysis of Moment Structure 22 (AMOS 22). SEM shows how an observed measure correlates to a hypothetical unobserved factor (Mitchell and Jolley 2010). Given the nature of the construct used in the study SEM was chosen because it has the feature

required in the analysis of our data and it can be used to evaluate the measurement model by the fit indices.

The result of the confirmatory factor analysis in Table 3.3 revealed that the items used in the study have a factor loading above 0.5, which is regarded by many as a cut-off point, except four items have a factor loading of 0.31 to 0.493 (Mitchell and Jolley 2010; Bernard 2006).

Table 2: Summary of the CFA Factor loading for each item used to measure the constructs

Construct	Item	Factor loadings	Construct	Item	Factor loadings
Perceived usefulness	PU1	0.715	Social influence	SI1	0.604
	PU2	0.715		SI2	0.841
	PU3	0.493		SI3	0.770
	PU4	0.476		SI4	0.625
Perceived ease of use	PEU1	0.384	Perceived risk	PFR	0.521
	PEU2	0.757		PPR	0.581
	PEU3	0.592		PSR	0.668
Perceived cost	PC1	0.585		PTR	0.632
	PC2	0.693		PSEeR	0.554
	PC3	0.528	Adoption	BI1	0.678
Perceived trust	PT1	0.319		BI2	0.625
	PT2	0.697		BI3	0.736
	PT3	0.788		BI4	0.530
	PT4	0.725			
	PT5	0.542			
	PT6	0.323			

4. Results and discussion

Pearson correlation analysis was conducted between the variables to establish the relationship between the variables. In this study, coefficient correlation (r) was used to determine if there were positive or negative relationships between the variables under study. A correlation analysis is used to examine if there is an association between two variables or whether there is an observed covariance between two variables of interest (Howell, 2013). The correlation coefficient ranges between -1 and 1. The coefficient which is close to +1 or −1 indicates that there is a strong linear relationship between the two variables. The results of the correlation coefficient for this study are indicated in Table 3.

Table 3: Pearson Correlations

		PU	PEU	PC	PT	SI	PR	Adoption
PU	Pearson Correlation	1				.		
	Sig. (2-tailed)							
	N	206						
PEU	Pearson Correlation	.048	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.503						
	N	206	206					
PC	Pearson Correlation	-.106	.228**	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.134	.001					
	N	206	206	206				
PT	Pearson Correlation	.215**	-.200**	-.211**	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.004	.003				
	N	206	206	206	206			
SI	Pearson Correlation	.268**	-.084	-.095	.267**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.239	.182	.000			
	N	206	206	206	206	206		
PR	Pearson Correlation	-.021	.256**	.547**	-.263**	-.135	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.773	.000	.000	.000	.056		
	N	206	206	206	206	206	206	
Adoption	Pearson Correlation	.454**	-.011	-.294**	.253**	.464**	-.148*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.877	.000	.000	.000	.036	
	N	206	206	206	206	206	206	206
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation between independent variables ranged between r -0.021 to r 0.547. The highest correlation between the independent variable was observed between perceived risks (PR) and perceived cost, indicating a strong association between the variables. The result revealed that perceived usefulness has a significant positive correlation with perceived trust and social influence at the $p<0.01$. Perceived ease of use has a significant correlation with perceived cost, perceived trust and perceived risk at the $p<0.01$. Also, perceived cost has a significant relationship with perceived trust and perceived risk. The observed critical values (2-tailed) of the correlation between the dependent variable and the independent variable ranged from $r=$ -0.011 to $r=$ 0.464. The result shown in Table 4.5 revealed that perceived usefulness and social influence has strong and significant positive relationship with the dependent variable with r 0.454 and 0.464 at $p<0.01$ significance level respectively than the other independent variables. Perceived trust also showed a significant positive relationship to the adoption of mobile financial services at the $p<0.01$. Perceived cost showed a significant negative relationship with adoption at the $p<0.01$ significance level. Perceived risk showed a significant negative relationship with the dependent variable at the $p<0.05$

significance level. It was also revealed that the correlation between perceived ease of use and the adoption of mobile financial services was not significant.

Multiple regression analysis was done to examine the predictability of the dependent variable with the independent variable. The dependent variable was the adoption of mobile financial services which was measured by four Likert scale items. Independent variables were perceived ease of use (PEU), perceived usefulness (PU), perceived cost (PC), perceived trust (PT), perceived risk (PI) and social influence (SI). The result of regression analysis are provided in Table 4.

Table 4: Regression analysis result (test for hypothesis)							
Model		Unstandardized coefficients		Standardized coefficients			Colinearity statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
	(Constant)	1.128	0.430		2.625	0.009		
	PU	0.392	0.074	0.318	5.322	0.000	0.884	1.131
	PEU	0.048	0.046	0.062	1.040	0.300	0.896	1.116
	PC	-0.185	0.050	-0.253	-3.710	0.000	0.681	1.468
	PT	0.062	0.062	0.061	0.996	0.320	0.832	1.202
	SI	0.309	0.053	0.350	5.812	0.000	0.875	1.143
	PR	0.038	0.060	0.044	0.639	0.524	0.659	1.518
a. Dependent variable: Mobile financial service adoption								
Model summary								
R		R Square		Adjusted R Square				
.624[a]		0.389		0.371				
a. Predictors: (Constant), PR, PU, PEU, SI, PT, PC								

R Square in the multiple regression analysis provides an index of the amount of variability in the dependent variable accounted for by the predictor variables (Bordens and Abbott, 2011). To know if the R-squared is significant Mitchell and Jolley, (2010, p. 735) recommend looking at the significance of an F test of ANOVA. The correlation analysis and VIF indicates no evidence of multicollinearity between the variable of the study.

4.1 Perceived usefulness

The result from the regression analysis (Table 4.6) revealed that perceived usefulness has a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial service at $p<0.01$ significance level with â= 0.318. These findings support the hypothesis proposed for this construct: that perceived usefulness have a significant positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. The p-value is less than 0.05 which means that a null hypothesis, that perceived usefulness has no significant influence, can be rejected.

The results are consistent with the theoretical perspective of the technology acceptance model (TAM) proposed by Davis (1989), that perceived usefulness and ease of use are the prime factors which influence the adoption of new technology. This result supports the findings of other researchers like Chitungo and Munongo (2013) in Zimbabwe, Lule (2008) in Kenya, Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa (2013) in Zimbabwe and Dahlberg, Mallat, and Öörni (2004). These studies found that perceived usefulness is significant in predicting user adoption behaviour and it was tested with additional variables to the original technology acceptance model of Davis (1989). Therefore, people do test the service and when they realise it is useful they will start using the service.

4.2 Perceived ease of use

The result for this hypothesis revealed that perceived ease of use has no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services with â-0.062, p=0.30. Its correlation squared (r^2) also shows that only 0.086 of the variability in the adoption of mobile financial services is attributable to perceived ease of use of mobile financial services. The findings are consistent with the findings of Yan *et al.* (2009) in Malaysia and Sayid *et al.* (2012) in Somalia where they found that perceived ease of use has no significant influence on the adoption of mobile payment.

The result is not consistent or contradicts the theoretical perspective of the technology acceptance model which identifies usefulness and ease of use as instrumental factors which influence the adoption of a new technology. The results for this hypothesis are also inconsistent or contrary to the empirical findings of other studies that have been reviewed. Many studies indicate that perceived ease of use has a significant positive influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa 2013; Masinge 2010; Tobbin and Kuwornu 2011; Chitungo and Munongo 2013).

4.3 Perceived cost and mobile financial service adoption

For this construct the research findings revealed that perceived risk was found to have a significant negative influence on the adoption of mobile financial services at P<0.01 significance level with â = -0.253. This finding implies that people's intention to adopt and use mobile financial service is negatively affected by the cost of access. This finding suggests that high costs of mobile financial services is a barrier to mobile financial service adoption among the unbanked population. The result supports the findings of other studies which found perceived cost to have a significant negative influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (Tobbin and Kuwornu 2011; Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa 2013; Dahlberg, Mallat, and Öörni 2004; Dass and Pal 2011). The study conducted by Cheong, Park, and Hwang (2004) in Korea on mobile payment adoption, cost was classified into three categories as sunk cost, continuous cost and move in cost they found that move in cost was significant but continuous cost and sunk cost were not significant. Furthermore, Li, Liu, and Ji (2014) taking use cost as a facet of perceived behavioural control found use cost to have a significant influence on the adoption of mobile payment system with a â= -0.465, p<0.01 which is consistent with the findings of this study. However, this finding is contrary to the findings of the study conducted by Micheni, Lule, and Muke, (2013) in Kenya on transaction cost and facilitating condition as indicators of mobile financial service adoption. The study found transaction cost to be insignificant in explaining the adoption of mobile financial service. Also the study result on perceived cost does not support the conclusion reached by Jeong and Yoon (2013), who found that perceived financial cost to have no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial service. Jeong and Yoon (2013) conclusion may have been caused by the fact that his sample included those users and non-users of the service. This is because when the influence of perceived financial cost was investigated separately it was found that perceived cost for the group of users was significant but for non-users it was not significant. This may have caused the overall perceived financial cost to be insignificant. The finding of this study suggests that increasing the cost of mobile financial services can be a barrier to mobile financial service adoption.

4.4 Perceived trust

The hypothesis for this construct suggested that perceived trust can have a significant influence on mobile financial service adoption, but the result of the analysis revealed that perceived trust has no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (â=0.061, p=0.320). However, the correlation between perceived trust and adoption was significant at p=0.01 with *r*=0.253. According to Howell, (2013) the correlation coefficient may be significant but the beta coefficient of the multiple regression equation may be insignificant because multiple regression equation captures the partial effects caused by the correlation between the independent variables in the model. But perceived trust showed a significant negative correlation with perceived risk (*r*= -0.236, p=0.01) and a positive correlation with perceived with social influence (*r*=0.276, p=0.01) which suggest that perceived risk is an impediment to users' trust.

The result of perceived trust is consistent with the findings of Dass and Pal (2011), who found trust not significant with a very low coefficient (â=0.04) in India and the findings of Tobbin and Kuwornu (2011) in Ghana (â=0.19). Tobbin and Kuwornu (2011) expected trust to have a high coefficient for perceived trust because most of the respondents in their study used some form of money transfer regularly with most of it being through banks or friends and family. Moreover, Wiedemann (2009) in German testing the hypothesis by using multiple regression analysis found that perceived trust has no significant influence on the adoption mobile payment system. Wiedemann's (2009) findings were supported by the study conducted in Germany and the USA by Wiegard, Guhr, Loi, and Breitner (2012) who argued that trust's weakness in predicting mobile payments adoption was because of the fact that m-payment is not very well known in Germany. Moreover, studies by Chitungo and Munongo (2013) and Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa (2013) found perceived trust to have a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services. Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa (2013) found perceived trust to have a significant negative influence which is not consistent with the theoretical expectation and other empirical evidence that trust have a positive influence.

4.5 Perceived risk

The findings revealed that perceived risk has no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (â=0.044, p=0.524) but the correlation coefficient of perceived risk with adoption was significant at the p=0.035 with $r=$ -0.148 which suggests a negative relationship between perceived risk and adoption of mobile financial services

This result is consistent with or supports the findings of Tobbin and Kuwornu (2011) who conducted their study in Ghana where they found that perceived risk has no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (â=-0.02, p=0.69). The findings of this study are not consistent with the findings of other studies which found a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services (Marumbwa and Mutsikiwa 2013; Dass and Pal 2011; Dass and Pal 2011b; Dahlberg, Mallat, and Öörni 2004).

4.6 Social influence and mobile financial service adoption

The result of this study revealed that social influence has a significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services with â=0.35, p<0.01. In this study, social influence was found to be the most significant factor influencing mobile financial services. Its correlation coefficient also shows that it is strongly correlated with mobile financial service adoption with the $r=$ 0.464, p<0.01.The findings of this study corroborates the findings of Dass and Pal (2011) who in their analysis of factors which were either a strong determinant, potential determinant, weak determinant or insignificant determinant found that social influence was in the category of the strong determinant of mobile payment adoption. Sayid *et al.* (2012) in their study in Somalia using five constructs to study mobile money adoption found that social influence has a significant positive influence on the adoption of mobile money services. Moreover, Yan *et al.* (2009) found peer influence to be the most significant factor influencing the adoption of mobile payment. In their study, Yan *et al.* (2009) found that peer pressure was more significant than perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use where both in many studies were found to be significant. The result of this study also supports the findings of Mbele-Sibotshiwe (2013). Social influence findings also support the results of Bhatti (2007), Li, Liu, and Ji (2014) and Hamza and Shah (2014) who used the construct as subjective norms.

5. Conclusion

The study revealed that the adoption of mobile financial services by the unbanked is influenced by social influence, perceived usefulness and perceived cost. Social influence was a prime predictor of mobile financial services with â=0.35, p<0.01 followed by perceived usefulness with â=0.318, p<0.01. The findings on social influence from the study suggest that social pressure plays a significant role in promoting mobile financial services adoption. Perceived cost was found to have a negative influence on financial

service adoption with â= -0.253, p<0.01. This suggests that high costs of mobile financial services can discourage the adoption and use of these services. The study reveals that customers will accept mobile financial services which are useful, affordable in terms and products which are compatible with their social norms. The study also revealed that perceived ease of use, perceived trust and perceived risk have no significant influence on the adoption of mobile financial services.

Mobile financial services are still in the initial stages of their development and customer understanding of these services is changing. Using a cross-sectional type of study may give results which will not be applicable in the future because customers' perception changes as they progress in the adoption journey. Therefore we recommend longitudinal research to be conducted in order to understand the influences of the adoption behaviour at different level of market maturity and points of time.

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A cross-cultural analysis of communication patterns between two cultures in Southwest Nigeria

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Abstract

Communication scholars estimate that two-thirds of communications are influenced by the culture of the communicator. On this basis, this study examined the Igbo and Yoruba socio-cultural relationships as they influence the management of their communication patterns. Employing the mixed-method research design, the study revealed the cultural affinity in both ethnic groups' communication patterns in the use of honorific greeting, silence, expressiveness (direct or indirectness and touch) and eye contact. This shows that culture has a significant influence on some of the communication patterns of both ethnic groups (p>0.000) while gender also has an influence on both groups (r=20.7, df=1, p<.05). This shows a slight variation in both ethnic groups in relation to their culturally held values. The findings of this study will play a significant role in the promotion of effective communication and peaceful coexistence among cultural groups.

Keywords: Communication patterns, cultural norms, Igbo, Yoruba, Southwest Nigeria

Introduction

The development of human culture is made possible through communication, and it is through communication that culture is transmitted from one generation to another. In other words, culture and communication are intertwined (Olaniyi 2017:58). In the process of communicating, difficulties occur as a result of the differences between languages, beliefs or values of the interlocutors involved. All are aspects of culture. Moreover, communication scholars estimate that some two-thirds of communication are non-verbal, accounting for 65% of all communication behaviours (Gamble and Gamble 2002; Novinger 2008). These behaviours are greatly influenced by the culture of the communicator (Novinger 2008). Gudykunst and Kim (2003) emphasize that culture always affects the way interlocutors communicate, because competent speakers know what is or is not acceptable and appropriate in a given context. They know this because they have been socialised into a particular culture and have been made aware of the rules and expectations from an early stage (Olaniyi 2017:58)

Nigeria, as the most populous country in Africa, is estimated to have over 400 different languages and over 300 distinct ethnic groups (Awogbade 2004). In previous decades, especially before the coming of the British to Nigeria, different ethnic groups lived within their geographical territories. There was little contact among these groups. However, over the decades, Nigeria has experienced a rapid influx into new, culturally different territories across the country. Communication among these culturally different people is inevitable. Communication covers all activities that transfer meaning, whether through the spoken word, non-verbal actions or general body language. In transferring meaning, communicators must draw from such factors as their previous experience, cultural affiliations and the present communication environment (Novinger 2008). The communicative behaviour of individuals stems from what their culture has taught them. Novinger (2008) posits that people speak volumes through the behaviour their culture has drilled into them. Culture dictates when individuals may speak and how they may speak. From culture, individuals know when to keep quiet and when to maintain eye contact with an older person. They are

taught what is 'acceptable' behaviour in public and when eating. Moreover, the types of clothing worn are culture-bound. Novinger (2008) further asserts that most individuals assume that their culture is 'normal': their behaviour and communication patterns are the normal, natural order of things. With the mingling of people and cultures come various forms of communication conflict as culturally different people attempt to live together. Indeed, as Merkin (2009) points out, the mingling of culturally different people highlights the divergence of perspectives between members of different cultures. Careful considerations of these factors show that the individual cannot but see the world through the limited lens of his culture. He believes his learned behaviour is normal until he encounters a person from a different culture. Thus, when such individuals interact with people from other cultures and experience different behaviours and patterns of communication, a sense of irritation and even anger sets in. This is followed by a breakdown of communication.

Moreover, individuals bring certain social and cultural variables to the communication event, as postulated by the concept of ethnography. These variables represent their culture and affect their management of the communication event as seen in their use of certain communication patterns. This study seeks to assess the influence of culture on individual communication patterns among the Igbos living in the Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State. This approach will help in resolving various conflicts arising from individual communication patterns influenced by different cultural patterns.

Research questions

What are the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State?

What are the differences between the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State?

How do differences in communication patterns relate to their culturally held values?

How does culture influence the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Lagos State?

Literature review

Culture is a process learned formally or informally which encapsulates all societal behaviours. Culture is also people-specific and accounts for the variation in cultural norms among different people. Awogbade (2004) agrees with researchers on one explanation for the difference in culture across peoples. He states that culture is influenced by environmental conditions. This explanation suggests that the physical conditions of a place help to shape the culture of the group of people found there. This is evident among the Igbo people in Lagos State which is a Yoruba environment.

The Igbo people are one of the three largest groups in Nigeria. The population of Igbo people in Nigeria is about 30 million, out of the total population of Nigeria which is approximately 186.86 million (National World Population Review 2017; National Bureau of Statistics 2017). They are located in the east of the lower Niger valley. Their prominent neighbours are the Efik and Ibibio. The Igbo people did not have a large political group or kingdom. Historical accounts say little of the development of Igbo society. However, the linguistic evidence suggests that the Igbo language with other related languages (Yoruba, Edo, Igala and Idoma) evolved in the Niger-Benue sub-family of the Niger-Congo languages (Kwa subfamily) (Awogbade 2004). However, scholars such as Ugorji (2009) support the existence of communal life by stating that the traditional preference for gerontocracy, extended family and communal life is crucial to the definition of the people. The Igbo culture is expressed in the Igbo language, dressing, agriculture, values and beliefs, food, customs in childbirth, marriages and burial, as well as social norms and religion. Hence, this is directly or indirectly manifested in their communication patterns just as the culture of any other people around them.

The Yoruba ethnic group is one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The Yoruba constitute over 40 million people and they make up 21% of the country's population of approximately 186.86 million

(National World Population Review 2017; National Bureau of Statistics 2017, see above). The Yoruba people are located in Ekiti, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo states. They can also be found in Edo, Kogi and Kwara states. Linguistic evidence suggests that the Yoruba language evolved in the Niger-Benue sub-family of Niger-Congo languages (Kwa subfamily) (Awogbade 2004). The Yoruba language is spoken by over 20 million people in Nigeria as a first or second language. This linguistic group, part of the Niger-Congo family, can be further divided into three dialects: Northwest Yoruba, Southeast Yoruba, and Central Yoruba.

Villages in Yoruba land are headed by an *Oba* (King) who oversees all aspects of the community. The position usually runs through the royal family and is inherited. Tasks are delegated to men and women in accordance with gender. The Yoruba Cultural Orientation (2008) states that women are thought to be associated with *ero* or coolness, which is necessary for child rearing, while the men are associated with *lile,* or toughness. In addition, the male is the head of the household and women in the family are subordinate to him. Regarding the extended family, the senior male is the head of the family. Like other groups in Nigeria, the Yoruba people value communal life. They are collectivist, valuing the group over the individual.

In a study of cultural patterns, Awogbade (2004) highlights two major patterns of culture: the ideal and the real culture. The ideal illustrates the behavioural pattern which culture creates and expects of the people. It is how a culture expects individuals to react in given situations. However, ideal patterns may not always be what is acted out in the society, hence the place of real culture. The real pattern refers to the actual behaviour which members of a cultured display in real-life situations. For instance, the expected code of conduct in a particular culture may be to vacate a seat for an older person. However, a person may choose to retain a seat in the presence of an elder who is perhaps a stranger. The individual is aware of the expected behaviour in that setting, but does not comply with it appropriately. The ideal culture may be in the head, but the real culture is that which is acted out. People's reaction to issues is not always in accordance with established cultural guidelines, because humans are flexible and can adapt to different situations. Merkin (2009) asserts that factors such as globalisation have increased contact between people from different cultures. As people from different cultures relate, their communication will nevertheless influence their individual cultures. Giri (2003) states that communication and culture have a great influence on one another. An individual's culture certainly influences the way he communicates because of the huge impact that culture has on behaviour. He agrees with Novinger (2008) that a society's culture provides the members with knowledge of how to behave and interpret behaviour in different situations. He makes a relevant point when he explains that as culture advances, communication patterns change. Regarding the influence of cultural norms and values on communication, Merkin (2009) points out that Korean citizens will employ indirect communication because they tend to value Confucianism, which emphasizes harmony and impartiality. Hence, because harmony in relationships is an important Confucian value, Koreans will help others to save face when the issue is sensitive. They do this by ambiguous communication strategies that hide direct requests so that their peer is at liberty to accept or reject their statement.

Thani (2011) discusses the difference in communication styles as the main trigger of misunderstanding in the workplace in his study on the cultural impact on organisational communication. This especially happens between speakers from various cultural backgrounds. He views communication styles from two perspectives: direct/indirect and formal/informal. A traditional Oman saying, "advise me in private but don't embarrass me in public", shows the Oman preference for indirect communication. As stated earlier, certain cultures value people and warm relationships. These traits are categorised as feminine traits, hence such cultures fall under the feminine cultural dimension as classified in an earlier study by Hofstede (2011). The above Oman statement also reflects other feminine traits, such as sensitivity to insult, which induces face-saving behaviour and the unacceptability of public criticism. He further points out that the inability to adapt one's communication style to that of a fellow interactant from a different culture can result in conflict.

On cultural norms and their influence on communication, Thani's (2011) observation of Omani workers' attitude to work is relevant. The Omani worker is more relationship-oriented than task-oriented – a quality of the feminine cultural dimension. For the Omani worker, work is not as important as family and friends. This is evident in Omani employees' tendency to find it challenging to meet deadlines and to be punctual going to work. The study also reports them as being late for meetings and constantly requesting a break. Indeed, an Omani employee says, "Work to me is not everything. My private life and family are far more important." The study opines that Omani workers can discuss home-related issues during working hours. This demonstrates the low power distance present in an Omani work environment as well as the Omani society. Furthermore, family ties are considered important; hence, as an example, funeral attendance by Omani workers can be accepted as an excuse for leaving work. The study states that Omani workers show a preference for group work and are concerned with family relationships and the importance of face-saving. This outlook implies a strong affinity towards the collectivist as well as the feminine cultural dimensions. This study also affirms Hofstede's (2011) description of the Middle Eastern society as collectivist. Hofstede's (2011) theory of Cultural Dimension proposed five dimensions of culture: power distance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation. Cultures are multifaceted and dynamic; hence three dimensions of the theory were applied in the study: individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity and power distance.

The Individualism versus Collectivism dimension shows the strength of the ties people have to others within the community. Some cultures place a higher value on individual goals, but others value group goals more. Communities that value group goals are collectivist. In collectivist cultures, relationships are very important. Because the relationship is valued above the cause for discord, collectivist cultures usually avoid direct confrontation. The Masculinity versus Femininity dimension shows 'the extent to which the dominant values in society are "masculine" – that is, assertiveness, the acquisition of money and things, and not caring for others, the quality of life, or people' (Kirkman, Lowe, and Gibson 2006: 286). However, cultures that value behaviours such as nurturing and caring for others are feminine in nature. According to a study, achievement, accumulation of wealth and aggressiveness are dominant in masculine cultures while feminine cultures value interpersonal relationships, nurturing, service to and caring for others, particularly the poor and unfortunate (Maloney 2003:3). The Power Distance dimension described the extent to which the less powerful members of a society expect and accept that power is distributed unequally (Maloney 2003). When a society has a high power distance, it means that members agree that everyone has a specific position. The consensus is that not everyone is equal. Conversely, low power distance implies that the consensus is that everyone is equal and so should be treated equally. Maloney (2003) further states that people in high power distance societies believe in a defined order of inequality with everyone having their rightful place. People learn to respect those in certain positions. Researchers assert that such cultures tend to be more authoritarian and may communicate in ways that emphasize the differences between people.

Study methodology

The study employed mixed-methods research design, while it adopted the survey research method to gather data from the target population. The questionnaire (quantitative method) was used to explore the communication patterns of the study population. Focus group discussion guide and in-depth interview guide were employed to collect data the researcher used to assess the possible cultural source of identified communication patterns.

The study population comprises all the Igbo people living in Iba LCDA. While those of Igbo extraction supplied most of the data for this study, the study gained from relevant information derived from the host culture (the Yoruba people). The inclusion of the Yoruba people was to help distinguish communication patterns displayed by the Igbo people, which are different from those of the Yoruba people. The researcher believed that this distinction would help ascertain and categorise such patterns as culture-based. The study was set in Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State, an area subsumed under

Ojo Local Government. It is located off the Lagos/Badagry express road. The people in this area are predominantly Igbo people because of its proximity to the popular Alaba International Market, a vibrant Igbo-dominated electronics market. The nearness of the market has made Iba LCDA 'home' for the merchants who operate in the market.

Demographic information of sex, age and education level of participants in the study were shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic information of the respondents		
Characteristics	**Frequency**	**Percentage (%)**
Sex		
Male	150	47.3%
Female	167	52.6%
Total	317	100%
Age		
1-18 years	31	10.3%
19-25 years	131	41.3%
26-30 years	74	24.7%
31-35 years	29	9.7%
36-40 years	24	8.0%
41 years	28	9.3%
Total	317	100%
Educational level		
Educated below Secondary Level	99	31.2%
Educated above Secondary Level	218	79.3%
Total	317	100%

Information in Table 1 reveals that more female respondents (52.6%) participated in the study than male respondents (47.3%). The age distribution has most of the respondents (41.3%) falling in the age bracket 19-25 years while the least represented age bracket (9.3%) is 41 years and above. Additionally, the majority of the respondents (79.3%) have studied above secondary school level in their various categories.

The purposive sampling technique was adopted in selecting Iba LCDA in Lagos State, ensuring that only people from the target ethnic groups were picked. Hence, 400 respondents (200 Igbo people and 200 Yoruba people) who belonged to the target ethnic groups were selected to participate in the study. However, the convenience sampling technique was used to select respondents for the FGD and in-depth interview. The FGD session had 10 participants; six from the Igbo ethnic group and four from the host culture (Yoruba). In addition, the in-depth interview was carried out on four respondents from both ethnic groups. In the end, 317 duly completed copies of the questionnaire were used for analysis of the survey.

Data were collected using the questionnaire, FGD and the in-depth interview guide with the help of research assistants. All information collected through the FGD and in-depth interview sessions was recorded on tape for easy retrieval and transcription for analysis. Data from the FGD and interview sessions were analysed based on the responses derived, while the Friedman T. Test was used to analyse the quantitative data. The Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test was used to produce a Z-value derived from ranks of responses. The significant value $p < 0.05$ indicated a statistically significant difference in responses to the questions being compared.

Results

The three dimensions of the Cultural Dimension theory were applied to analyse the result of the study: individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity and power distance. However, all the findings are presented based on research questions to study the extent to which culture relates to the communication patterns of the two ethnic groups (Igbo and Yoruba).

Research Question One: What are the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State?

The research question is set to observe and highlight the communication patterns employed by the groups under study. Focus group discussion and the interview sessions were employed. Communication patterns here cover actions as well as choice of words and are sometimes situation-bound. The following are the observations from this study.

The study revealed that the communication patterns of both ethnic groups include greeting, use of honorific expressions, silence, expressiveness (direct or indirectness and touch) and eye contact. Both cultures agreed that greeting is a sign that one respects the person being greeted; it also helps to open the door for further interaction. Both cultures dismiss a handshake as a pattern of greeting, saying it is not African. While the Yoruba culture recognizes bowing, curtsying and prostrating, the Igbo culture recognizes a slight bow or at least some bodily movement that helps to indicate respect for the person being greeted. Also, both cultures strongly require the use of honorific expressions when referring to an older person and defaulters are usually scolded. The majority of the participants from both cultures believe that it is disrespectful to address an older person by name. However, in the case of addressing the younger with an honorific, two exceptions were made for the Yoruba ethnic group. First, if the younger is royalty, an honorific is used to address him/her. Second, women who join a particular family by marriage are required to address younger members of their new family with an honorific. Observation from the study revealed an immense importance accorded to age in both cultures, with more emphasis on the Igbo culture. Apparently, the cultural dimension of power distance is closely related to the place of "age" in the cultures under study. Silence may sometimes be necessary for peace, such that if speaking up would lead to chaos, it would be better to keep quiet. This opinion is in line with the collectivistic inclination to save people's face. It emphasises that the cultures under study value people and warm relationships and since these traits are categorised as feminine traits, the target cultures fall under the feminine cultural dimension.

The majority of the respondents from both cultures are subtle about airing their views if they disagree with another's opinion. As one person explained:

> if an elder is concerned, disagreement must be stated with subtlety. In this case, the individual may approach another elder, outside the formal gathering, to state the disagreement. That elder then presents the disagreement in place of the individual. Among age mates, however, disagreements can be made directly (A male Igbo participant).

Also, both cultures expect a high control of emotion. It was discovered that a high control of emotion is needed, as showing affection is hardly encouraged. It was pointed out that though emotions are to be restrained, men have no reservations about expressing anger openly, even though they are practically forbidden to cry openly. Hence, the premise: certain emotions may be expressed, but not some others. As one person put it:

> showing unnecessary emotion is not acceptable except perhaps between mother and child and pecking and hugging are strange to the culture. Culture expects high control of emotion even between spouses. The family arranges the marriage so the issue of love is hardly a factor for marriage as marriage is basically for procreation. The wife is usually under the care of her mother-in-law and is called upon whenever her husband needs her to satisfy his sexual needs (A male Igbo participant).

Another Yoruba interviewee observes that:

In Yoruba culture, a high control of emotion is needed as showing emotion is hardly encouraged and seen as a sign of weakling. Though emotions are to be restrained, men have no reservations about expressing anger openly even though they are practically forbidden to cry openly. Hence, the premise; certain emotions may be expressed, but not some others.

This shows the importance of men controlling their emotion in both cultures. Worthy of note is the demarcation made by the Yoruba ethnic group: when one is being reprimanded for a wrong action, one looks away. However, one is expected to look up when one is being advised. While maintaining eye contact in the first case may be interpreted as defiance or lack of remorse, looking away in the second case may communicate a lack of interest in what is being said. In addition, an Igbo interviewee maintains that eye contact should be intermittent when listening to an elder.

Research Question Two: What are the differences in the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Iba Local Council Development Area of Lagos State?
This question aimed to probe the differences present in the communication patterns of the ethnic groups under study. Tables 2 and 3 were used to indicate the responses received on the issue.

table 2: Friedman Test Ranking of interpersonal communication patterns			
S/N	Interpersonal communication	YORUBA	IGBO
1.	I believe greeting is a way of communicating respect	98%	96.4%
2	My culture considers it disrespectful to call an older person by name	95.1%	83.8%
3	My culture considers it disrespectful not to greet an older person	94.5%	94%
4	I consider it disrespectful not to greet an older person	90.2%	91.7%
5.	I believe greeting is an obligation	70.3%	77%
6	My culture considers a handshake not adequate as a greeting style (while encouraging bowing, curtsy etc)	84.6%	50%
7.	I consider a younger person disrespectful if he/she calls me by my name	63.4%	60.1%
8.	My culture accepts a handshake as a greeting style	23.8%	57.1%
	SD	20	16.6
	N=273, Chi-square= 12.9, df= 1, sig= 0.000		

Table 2 establishes the differences in the communication patterns of the ethnic groups using the Friedman nonparametric test. This shows a significant difference in communication patterns in the interpersonal communication relationship among the Igbo and Yoruba people (Chi-square= 12.9, df= 1, p.value<0.000). This shows that interpersonal communication has a significant role to play in both cultures. In essence, both share similar beliefs as far as interpersonal communication is concerned. However, there exist minute difference on the issue of a handshake as shown in item 8. This means that while the Igbo accept a handshake, the Yoruba may consider it as disrespectful.

Table 3: Friedman test ranking of verbal/non-verbal communication patterns			
S/N	Verbal/ Non-verbal communication	YORUBA	IGBO
1.	I keep quiet when I have nothing to say during a conversation	95.9%	95.9%
2	My culture considers it respectful to be quiet when older ones are having a conversation	93.1%	94.1%
3	My culture considers it rude to look directly at an elder during a conversation	83.3%	52.9%
4	Silence in conversation makes people uncomfortable	77.8%	82.8%
5	My culture equates silence with wisdom	73.6%	62.6%

6.	I find something to say even when I have nothing to say during a conversation	24.3%	35.9%
7.	My culture equates silence with ignorance	18.4%	28.0%
8.	My culture encourages direct eye contact with an elder during a conversation	16.7%	42.1%
	SD	14	12
	N= 273, Chi-square= 1.6, df= 1, sig= 0.202		

Table 3 establishes the communication pattern in the use of verbal and non-verbal communication among the Igbo and Yoruba people. The test shows a significant difference in communication pattern in the use of verbal and non-verbal communication in both cultures (Chi-square= 1.6, df= 1, p.value<0.202). This shows that verbal and non-verbal communication has a significant role in both cultures. In essence, both cultures share similar beliefs in the use of verbal and non-verbal communication.

Research Question Three: How do differences in communication patterns based on gender relate to culturally held values?

The question seeks to explore the relationship between communication patterns and cultural values based on gender; how culture shaped greeting styles and direct/indirectness in communication, and how it influences particular communication styles. The interview sessions revealed certain distinctions in the communication pattern based on gender.

The two ethnic groups show that there are distinctions in the gender communication pattern as revealed in the study. In the marriage setting, the wife is expected to address the husband in an honorific way. The woman is permitted to be expressive even though it is seen as an expression of weakness. The masculine gender is not permitted to be expressive (though a man has no reservations about expressing anger). Although age grade meetings are gender-specific, women do not talk in meetings that are not gender-specific – such as family meetings. In essence, if men are present, women are restricted from speaking. They may speak freely in meetings that are female-only. An interviewee added that whatever is served at those non gender-specific meetings gets to the men first, especially the eldest. Here, gender supersedes age in which younger men are served before older women.

On the matter of expressiveness, while males may disagree directly without any hitch, females may not. One of the Yoruba interviewees stated that:

> though anyone can express disagreement directly, the man may get away with it more easily than the woman. Women who react directly may be reprimanded for doing so while their male counterpart may not (A female Yoruba participant).

S/N	ITEMS	MALE	FEMALE
Table 4: Friedman test ranking of male and female interpersonal communication patterns			
1.	I believe greeting is a way of communicating respect	156.5	159.9
2.	I believe greeting is an obligation	149.9	156.1
3.	I consider it disrespectful not to greet an older person	153.4	157.3
4.	My culture considers it disrespectful not to greet an older person	150.0	152.6
5.	My culture considers a handshake not adequate as a greeting style (while encouraging bowing, curtsy, etc.)	152.8	155.4
6.	I consider a younger person disrespectful if he/she calls me by my name	151.7	162.9
7.	My culture considers it disrespectful to call an older person by name	140.6	157.1
8.	My culture accepts a handshake as a greeting style	135.6	173.6
	SD	7.9	5.2
	N=135, chi square=20.7, df=1, sig=0.000		

Table 4 shows the mean rank of the responses from respondents of both ethnic groups; that the differences in the interpersonal relationship of male and female respondents is significant (chi square=20.7, df=1, p<.05). This shows that gender has an influence on interpersonal communication in both cultures. Participants in the FGD and the interview sessions revealed some of the differences in the communication patterns between the females and the males. Based on the issue of wives addressing their husbands with an honorific, in Yoruba a wife may not call her husband by his name. Because the culture teaches that he is lord of her, she must use an honorific to address him. Another difference is the liberty of the males to disagree directly while females may not. An interviewee from the Yoruba group stated that:

> although males and females could disagree directly, the female had a higher chance of being reprimanded for being so vocal. Hence, over time, females may adopt an indirect pattern of disagreeing or airing their opinion (A female Yoruba participant).

The Igbo members of the FGD stated that Igbo culture requires the females to "be seen and not heard" hence they may not air an opinion without being called upon to do so. They will also adopt an indirect pattern of disagreeing or airing their opinion. Moreover, males may not be expressive (except for emotions like anger) while females are at liberty to be somewhat expressive of their emotions. An interviewee asserted that:

> while the males will be considered weak if they cry in public, females feel no restrictions in that regard. A woman is permitted to be expressive even though it is seen as an expression of weakness; thus, the discreet relationship between women and weakness. In meetings, where women are present, they do not talk. Also, any refreshment shared in such meetings gets to the men first even if the women present are older than any of the men. Here, gender supersedes age (A male Igbo participant).

Having considered the cultural placement of women in both cultures and observed some imbalance, it is not unusual to find that communication patterns such as the use of an honorific, the use of silence and expressiveness will be utilised differently by the two cultures. Hence, gender influences communication patterns to a large extent.

Research Question Four: How does culture influence the communication patterns of the Igbo and the Yoruba people living in Lagos State?

This question seeks to assess the level of influence culture has on the communication patterns of the study population. Using the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test, the study compared respondents' responses to questions about their communication patterns versus questions on what their culture expects of them.

Table 5 shows the result of the test. "Ties" are for responses that are the same for both questions whereas "negative" and "positive" ranks represent the cases where the responses did not tally. It produces a Z-value which is derived from ranks of responses. The significant value p<0.05 indicates a statistically significant difference in responses to the questions being compared. This difference illustrates that individuals' communication pattern is significantly different from their culture's expectation.

Table 5: Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test for Yoruba& Igbo respondents

	Yoruba				Igbo			
Questionnaire Items		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks			N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks

Question		N	Mean Rank	Sum		N	Mean Rank	Sum
Question 4/3 My culture considers it disrespectful not to greet an older person/I consider it disrespectful not to greet an older person.	Negative Ranks	6	4.00	24.00	Negative Ranks	10	8.50	85.00
	Positive Ranks	1	4.00	4.00	Positive Ranks	6	8.50	51.00
	Ties	134			Ties	150		
	Total	141			Total	166		
	Z	-1.890			Z	-1.000		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059			Sig. (2-tailed)	.317		
Question 8/7 My culture considers it disrespectful to call an older person by name /I consider a younger person disrespectful if he/she calls me by my name.	Negative Ranks	45	24.00	1080.00	Negative Ranks	44	25.00	1100.00
	Positive Ranks	2	24.00	48.00	Positive Ranks	5	25.00	125.00
	Ties	94			Ties	110		
	Total	141			Total	159		
	Z	-6.272			Z	-5.571		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000			Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		
Question 21/17 My culture prefers subtle disagreement/ If I disagree with somebody, I find a subtle way to say so.	Negative Ranks	22	32.00	704.00	Negative Ranks	34	30.00	1020.00
	Positive Ranks	41	32.00	1312.00	Positive Ranks	25	30.00	750.00
	Ties	72			Ties	91		
	Total	135			Total	150		
	Z	-2.394			Z	-1.172		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.017			Sig. (2-tailed)	.241		
Question 20/18 My culture prefers direct disagreement/ If I disagree with somebody, I say so directly.	Negative Ranks	12	25.00	300.00	Negative Ranks	26	32.50	845.00
	Positive Ranks	37	25.00	925.00	Positive Ranks	38	32.50	1235.00
	Ties	90			Ties	91		
	Total	139			Total	155		
	Z	-3.571			Z	-1.500		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000			Sig. (2-tailed)	.134		

Table 5 revealed that the Yoruba group's responses to questionnaire items 3/4, 8/7, 21/17 and 18/20 were significant ($p<0.05$), while for the Igbo group, only items 8/7 were significant ($p<0.05$). Hence, the Yoruba group culture has a significant influence on the individuals' greeting pattern ($p>0.000$), a way of showing disagreement ($p>0.017$), how individuals show disagreement and manage conflict ($p>0.000$). The similarity to questions 8/7 in both culture, shows that their communication style here may not conform to the culture's expectation as they will permit younger ones to address them using their names. It could be inferred that the communication pattern of the Igbo people is, to a higher degree, affected by the culture in comparison to the Yoruba.

Discussion

Greeting as a communication pattern was shown in the interaction of the cultures. Abioye (2011:72) stated that, "... greeting is regarded as a social interaction facilitator and a precursor for enhanced positive results ..." Ayanleke (2013:142) confirmed further:

> One of the aspects of Yoruba traditional education is greetings. It is one of the most important virtues of the Yorubas which they always pass on to their children is respect for elders and

reverence for one another. This is clearly demonstrated in greetings. As a child grows up, he will be taught how to greet people. A boy prostrates while a girl knees down when greeting to show sign of respect. As the child grows up, he/she becomes used to this tradition.

Both cultures strongly support the use of honorifics when referring to an older person, which is however influenced by age. Moreover, Ugorji (2009) affirmed that the use of honorifics is a form of respect. Hence, the younger greets first and the older responds. Observation from the study reveals an immense importance accorded to age in both cultures with more emphasis on the Igbo culture. Nevertheless, Nwoye (2011) hints at the importance of age because, from the Igbo ethnic group, age is highly valued. Elders are recognized through their caps which carry a number of eagle feathers; the more feathers, the higher the age/level of the elder so that respect is accorded appropriately. This assertion agrees with Ugorji's (2009) report that violation of the address requirements offends the cultural sensibilities of the society. Hence, offenders are usually rebuked and expected to make necessary adjustments. This is respect for elders with the traditional gerontocracy practised by the Igbo where leadership is by elders, suggesting an interrelationship among the variables of authority, age and status. However, Elegbeleye's (2005:21-25) study reveals that the Yoruba and Igbo culture have very similar belief and attitudes towards greeting. He, therefore, asserts that greeting behaviour as it is construed by the two ethnic groups serves similar social interactional purposes, even though the scripting symbols or emblems may be different.

The address requirements include addressing older ones by their title, praise name or the generally accepted "Dede/Dada". This communication pattern seems to be less enforced among the Igbo people than among the Yoruba people. This little difference between their communication patterns shows the better inter-ethnic relationship between both cultures. Regarding expressiveness and cultural values, Ene's (2000) view on the Igbo traditional creed shows they demand unflinching fidelity to family and friends making individualism unattractive in the Igbo society. Lozanski (2010) presents West Africa (Nigeria inclusive) to be ranked 20% on the individualism scale. This shows that Nigerian society is far more collectivist than individualist.

Several studies confirm that in collectivist cultures, relationships are very important. Because the relationship is valued above the cause for discord, collectivist cultures usually avoid direct confrontation. Thus, a person will prefer to wait for the tension to subside before presenting a matter that can cause discord. The implication is that elders will not confront another elder in front of a younger person so as to save the face of the older one. The relationship is more important than the discord, so usually people can wait before presenting their argument. Both cultures show a collectivist approach to the relationship which suggests that there will be cordial communication between both cultures. This is supported by Awogbade (2004) who acknowledges that the Yoruba are known to be diplomatic in their dealings among themselves and with the outsiders. This may relate to their penchant to be very expressive whether in showing gratitude or other emotions. An interview of Yoruba origin claims that the Yoruba are effusive in their greeting style. This diplomatic tendency may be responsible for their ability to turn on such expressiveness as suits the particular situation. This assertion can be linked to Ayanleke's (2013:143) views that:

> Yoruba traditional education revolves around good character (iwa), Yoruba lay more emphasis on Iwa and it is the end product of all training that one gets from both home and society. If one in called 'Omoluabi' (a well-behaved person) such person is regarded as a highly responsible person. It means such as person is from a good home, has a good character and has all it takes to be associated with.

The communication pattern based on gender shows some distinction. The women are expected to address their husbands with an honorific; they are not permitted to be expressive in a male gathering. Women do not talk in meetings that are not gender-specific – such as family meetings, gender supersedes age such that younger men are served before older women and females who react directly may be reprimanded for doing so while their male counterparts may not. This may be due to the women's economic

power in relation to gender and the cultural value system in Nigeria which affirms that women are economically disadvantaged because most ethnic groups in Nigeria do not allow the Nigerian woman to be economically independent. Nwankwo (2001) established that, in the Igbo society, a woman is not permitted to inherit her husband's estate. Instead, she is inherited along with the estate by another male in the family Nwoye (2011). This further supports that masculinity dominates the gender ideology among the Igbo. Regarding the Yoruba society, Familusi (2012) notes that it is not impossible for single women to inherit property (from their fathers), but this is not always the case for married women because of the belief that they belong to their husbands. This economic disadvantage may manifest in communication styles that restrict women from talking when men are talking, permit the man to disagree directly without fear of being reprimanded, while the woman must be cautious of direct disagreement, addressing males (mostly husbands) with an honorific and other such communication patterns that suggest the subordination of the female. Having considered the cultural placement of women in both cultures and observed some imbalance, it is not unusual to find that communication patterns such as the use of an honorific, the use of silence and expressiveness will be utilised differently by the two groups. Hence, gender influences communication patterns to a large extent.

This can be linked to Familusi's (2012; 300) study which states that

> The Yoruba nation like many other African societies is essentially patriarchal; hence men are understood to be more privileged than women. Such a society is described (Ubrurhe 1999:82) as that which is characterized by male superordination and female subordination … Men show superiority over their women counterparts, who are usually relegated to the background. This has consistently manifested in various ways …

This assertion hints that the ethnic societies under study are patriarchal. As a result, men are more favoured than women. This privilege has manifested in various ways including the communication patterns of the male and female groups. Regarding interpersonal relationships, it is clear that these two groups have different styles of communicating. One cultural dimension from the working theory is the masculinity/femininity dimension. In highly masculine cultures, social roles between men and women are more clearly defined. While males are more likely to undertake task-related roles, females will take on socio-emotional roles. In such societies, males are usually dominant in the society and occupy the power structures. Regarding age and cultural values, Ugorji (2009) notes the "traditional gerontocracy practised by the Igbo where leadership is by elders". This statement helps highlight the value of age in the Igbo society. Also, the Yoruba Cultural Orientation (2008) states that the elderly are always respected in the Yoruba society.

The reason is that the Yoruba believe that knowledge comes with age. Hence, these societies honour the elderly and its young look forward to growing old as there is an evident relationship between age and authority. Indeed, Nigeria is ranked (alongside other West African countries) at 77% on the power distance scale and this apparent distance between the young and the old is evidence of this ranking. Also, the disparity in a culture's expectation and individual's behaviour may not be unconnected with the assertion from Merkin's (2009) study to the effect that globalisation and an increased level of cultural integration have a significant effect on prevailing cultural beliefs and practices. On the other hand, responses that corresponded with cultural expectations further conform to Merkin's findings that despite widespread global influences, cultural values still have some impact on communication. "Thus, even though global forces appear to be strong, so are our traditions". Previous studies opine that collectivist communities such as the groups under study will favour the indirect approach in communication to avoid conflict, save others' face and build warm relationships. As Merkin (2009) says, substituting direct communication with indirect communication is considered to be an important way to help others save face. Thanni's (2011) study explains that Omani workers are concerned with family relationships and the importance of face-saving; an outlook that implies a strong affinity towards the collectivist cultural dimension. The ethnic groups under study – being collectivistic – have this outlook of face-saving. This is

advanced by an interviewee's view that a subtle way of expressing disagreement is preferred because "anger may be fresh" at the point of conflict so time is given to let the anger dissipate.

Conclusion/recommendations

The study established that culture has a significant influence on the people's communication patterns based on gender, greeting, honorific, silence, expressiveness (direct or indirectness and touch) and eye contact and others. The intercultural relationship among people opens doors for various forms of communication conflict as culturally different people attempt to live together. This inter-relationship of different people highlights the divergence of perspectives between them based on their different cultures. The smooth interpersonal/cultural relationships between both cultures (Yorubas and Igbos) was based on their cultural affinity which eventually affects their communication relationships. Hence, with globalisation and an increase in intercultural relations through political, economic and educational connections, it is important that cultural differences are studied and harnessed to work for the good of ethnic groups. Such knowledge will surely help in checking disasters that can result from poor intercultural communication ethics and possibly reduce the inclination toward ethnocentrism. Regarding family relationships, family members should make an effort to understand some of these cultural norms that drive patterns of communication. This is especially relevant even in intercultural marriages so that potential conflict situations are reduced as much as possible. Hence, understanding variations in the Igbo/Yoruba cultural communication will help ethnic groups anticipate probable areas of communication conflict while promoting effective communication and peaceful coexistence among cultural groups. We note more commonalities than differences in communication behaviour among communities with similar cultural traditions.

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Library and Information Science education in Anglophone Africa: Past, present and future

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to describe the historical development of Library and Information Science (LIS) schools on the African continent from the colonial period to the present. It highlights the factors that contributed to the growth of library schools and challenges experienced in their development. This study was based entirely on literature review and the author's extensive knowledge, teaching experience and research in LIS education in Africa. Information was obtained from both published and non-published sources. Colleagues in LIS education also contributed immensely to the outcome of the work. It was found that the earliest schools were initially known as library schools. The term changed to LIS schools much later, after independence. Library schools started in the colonial era, initially in South Africa, moving all the way through West Africa to East Africa. The curricula used in the schools were based on programmes prevailing in the mother country. Unesco played an important role in the development of library schools on the continent. It came up with the concept of regional library schools. Public and academic libraries were instrumental in agitating for the establishment of library schools. With the onset of independence on the continent, the concept of regional schools died, giving rise to self-sufficiency. Currently, LIS schools are mushrooming all over the continent. It is concluded that if this trend is not checked, it could have a serious effect on the quality of the graduates. Although the future of LIS schools is bright, it will greatly depend on how the library profession is marketed. LIS schools will need to match the rapid changes taking place in the information industry.

Keywords: Africa, East Africa School of Librarianship, Library and information science education, library schools, library education, schools of information sciences

Introduction

This paper provides an overview of the development of Library and Information Science (LIS) education on the African Continent. However since it is next to impossible to cover the entire continent, the discussion will be confined to the English-speaking parts of Africa. The reason is that librarianship and in particular LIS education on the continent has been influenced by the situation in the countries that colonised Africa. Each colonial power approached librarianship differently; this greatly affected the discipline in the colonies, Africa inclusive. In terms of library development, Africa can be divided into four language blocks, namely, Anglophone, Francophone, Arab, and Lusophone.

LIS education in the past

Until after independence, LIS education in most African countries was more concerned with training in librarianship. LIS education aimed at producing competent librarians to manage all types of libraries in the country. Other information related disciplines such as documentation, archives and records management were relatively unknown; where they existed, they were not accorded prominence. Librarianship in Africa owes its origin to colonialism. Colonialism introduced reading and writing among the indigenous people. Until then, the two activities were alien. Colonial governments introduced Western education which entailed among others, reading and writing. In an attempt to boost the two activities, a need was felt to

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provide the new literates with information materials, basically books, to further their reading and writing skills. The best institution to offer this service was no other than public libraries.

In addition to the above, institutions of higher learning, too, sprang up to provide education and training essential in the development of the new colonies. Most of these institutions had libraries which needed to be adequately staffed. The majority of the librarians manning these libraries were expatriates who were also required in the mother country. Their tenure could therefore not be guaranteed.

In an attempt to develop the colonies in an effort to ensure their sustainability, the governments endeavoured to set up departments and organizations to exploit the economic potential. As a result, research and other specialized organizations were established to realize these objectives. Most of these organizations set up libraries to provide the necessary back up. This development led to the proliferation of special libraries in the colonies that equally required trained library personnel.

In some colonies, the government established schools to provide primary and secondary education to the white residents. Most of the schools were modelled on the curricula prevailing in the mother country which emphasized, among others, well-resourced libraries. In South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya, a number of these schools were established. These schools like other organizations and institutions mentioned earlier, had to scramble for the limited supply of librarians emanating from the mother countries.

To promote reading culture, books had to be made available. Since books were fairly expensive to an ordinary person, libraries became necessary. As more libraries were established on the continent to provide information support, a need was expressed for trained librarians to run the services. Initially, the early libraries were manned by expatriate librarians educated in the West. However, with increased demand for librarians both in the colonies and mother countries, it became obvious that overseas training could not sustain this heavy demand. Something had to be done to train librarians locally.

The above situation was made worse with the departure of expatriate librarians immediately after independence. Many librarians left because the independent states could not continue supplementing their salaries. Others left because of the security situation in the host countries.

It was therefore felt that the only way to accelerate the development of libraries in Africa was to establish local training facilities. In addition, it was argued that overseas programmes did not meet the needs of African states because of the kind of environment the trainees went through. A local facility would address the manpower needs of African states compared to overseas programmes. It was argued that while some people will, and must, continue to be sent abroad for leadership training for some time to come, and some foreign librarians will, and must, continue to provide essential library leadership here, it is important that leadership-level training of professional librarians for Africa be provided in Africa.

In South Africa, LIS education programmes started as early as 1933. The South African Library Association (SALA) started a librarianship course on a correspondence basis modelled on the English system. The graduates of this programme were awarded an Associateship of the Library Association (ALA). In 1952, the course was taken over by the University of South Africa (UNISA) and formed part of UNISA's distance learning programmes. In 1938, the Department of Librarianship was started at the University of Pretoria. It initially offered a diploma programme in librarianship. In 1951, bachelor's and master's degrees were started in librarianship. In 1939, the University of Cape Town followed (Hood 1962). The need for LIS education programmes in South Africa emanated from university, college and public libraries.

In addition to the above institutions, other universities sprang up to offer librarianship education. Among these were Potchefstroom, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand and the University of Western Cape. Despite the big number of universities offering librarianship at this time, only a handful, including the University of South Africa, allowed black South Africans access to their programmes.

In East and West Africa, it was public more than any other types of libraries that pressurized governments to establish LIS education programmes in the 1960s. In East Africa, a number of public

libraries existed that expressed a demand for trained librarians. The East African Literature Bureau established in 1948 had established three libraries in the three capital cities in the region. The British Council, too, had libraries in the three cities. In addition, other institutions of higher learning existed in the region. These included Makerere University College, Royal Technical College, Egerton College and a handful of research institutions run by the then East Africa High Commission, a predecessor to the former East African Community. The need for a local training facility was also supported by a British library consultant in 1960 (Hockey 1960).

In West Africa, the British Council had established libraries in most of the British colonies. Nigeria, for instance, had two branches each in Ibadan and Enugu. Higher institutions of learning also existed in the region.

In Ethiopia, library education started in 1956 but became fully developed in 1960 (Pankhurst, 1989). The programme was based at the University of Addis Ababa. As in Anglophone countries, library education was started at diploma level. In 1988 a bachelor of arts degree was introduced to meet the growing needs for personnel with this qualification.

In 1990 a regional postgraduate programme was started at the University of Addis Ababa to complement the BA programme in library science. The programme Master of Science in Information Science was run by a new school, the School of Information Science for Africa (SISA). SISA was initially funded by Canada's IDRC. It was hoped that the Ethiopian authorities would take over the running of the programme after the IDRC exited. This did not, however, work out and when the initial funding ended, the programme, too, came to an end. During the few years it existed, the school provided training in information science for a number of people in the East African region.

The role of Unesco in the establishment of LIS education programmes

Unesco played a leading role in the establishment of LIS education programmes in Africa and in particular Anglophone sub-Saharan Africa. The pressure emanated from public libraries. Unesco was convinced that illiteracy in sub-Saharan Africa could only be eradicated with the support of libraries.

A number of regional seminars were held between 1953 and 1963 on the African continent to sensitize colonial governments on the need to establish public libraries in their colonies to speed up socio-economic development.

In an attempt to develop public libraries in Africa, a need was felt to establish library schools to provide adequate manpower to staff the libraries. As a result, library schools were established in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal, Algeria and Egypt. Since it was not cost effective for each state to establish its own library school, Unesco recommended setting up regional schools to cater for the states in the region. In addition, it proposed that library schools be affiliated to universities. This was a departure from the practice in Britain where LIS education programmes were conducted outside university. It was felt the affiliation would improve the quality of the graduates. The result was the establishment of the following library schools to serve their respective regions:

a) Ghana Library School to serve the English-speaking countries of Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

b) East African School of Librarianship to serve Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Mauritius

c) Library School in Dakar in 1960 in Senegal to serve Francophone states of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Gabon, etc.

d) Library School in Algiers to serve the Arab North.

South Africa was not considered, simply because it had ceased to be a member of Unesco in the 1950s and 1960s; and partly because it was self-sufficient in manpower training.

Establishment of Ghana Library School

Library training started at Achimota college in Ghana in 1945 with assistance from the British Council. The students studied for the Associateship of Library Association (ALA). This was considered an equivalent qualification to a university diploma offered by some universities at that time. It was a two-year programme. Being a regional programme, it catered for the needs of Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Following the move by Nigeria to start its own school at the University College in Ibadan, Ghana opened its own school in 1960 affiliated to the University College of Ghana.

Establishment of Library School at Ibadan, Nigeria

The postgraduate Diploma programme was started in 1960 with the assistance of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The applicants were required to hold an undergraduate degree from a university. Most students came from Nigeria and a few from other English-speaking states of Africa. The postgraduate programme was geared to meet the high level manpower needs of university and public libraries in the region. This school has since advanced to incorporate both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes. A number of leading scholars in Nigeria have completed their programmes at Ibadan. It is considered by many Nigerians as the mother of LIS education in the country.

Establishment of the East African School of Librarianship (EASL)

Until 1963, practically all LIS education programmes were conducted overseas, mainly in Britain. The people who were privileged to pursue these programmes studied for the ALA qualification. Towards independence in the early 1960s, there were very few trained librarians in the region. However with more libraries coming up in the region, a need was felt for the establishment of a regional library school. In 1963 the East African School of Librarianship was established at the then Makerere University College, a constituent college of the University of East Africa (Saith 1973). The school was set up with the financial assistance of Unesco (Abidi 1980). It was charged with training library personnel for the entire East African region. The school started with two programmes: a certificate in librarianship course started in 1963 and lasted six months; and a diploma in librarianship course started in 1965 and lasted two years. During its early beginning, the diploma course was equated to the British ALA qualification. The graduates were considered information professionals and in some countries such as Kenya, the diploma holders were put on a par with university degree graduates. In 1977, the school instituted a postgraduate course lasting one year to cater for managerial positions in large libraries such as university and public libraries.

As the school had the mandate to train students from the three East African states, each state was allocated equal slots on the course. In 1971, when Idi Amin took over the reign in Uganda, his rule had a serious effect on the academic programmes. A number of academic staff and students left the country. The school was no exception. In 1976 Kenya withdrew all her students from Makerere. From that time on, EASL ceased to serve as a regional training ground for librarians.

Programmes offered in regional schools

The majority of the courses were modelled on the programmes prevailing in the mother country. In Anglophone Africa, the programmes offered were at non-degree level, essentially, the ALA qualification for people with either first degree or non-degree holders. Fellowship of the Library Association (FLA) was an advanced qualification. It was equated to a masters degree. Later, diploma programmes were introduced in universities.

In the US, LIS education was offered at degree level in universities. Those who trained in the United States did the programme at postgraduate level and obtained a masters degree in library science (MLS). The majority were employed in university libraries.

Most staff manning libraries in Anglophone Africa were trained in Britain.

Concept of regional library schools

Reasons for regional schools

a) Scarcity of students. There were few people working in libraries in need of these papers. Furthermore, the number of people taking up places in universities was too small. The few who went to universities opted for high profile courses such as law, medicine, agriculture and engineer*ing. No person wanted to be associated with shelving and stamping books, a perception associated with librarianship! Equally, there were fewer libraries to warrant self-sufficiency in this area.*

b) Inadequate lecturers to serve the schools. There was a serious shortage of staff to serve as lecturers in universities. The few that existed were expatriates. Even the mother countries could not guarantee a steady supply of qualified staff.

c) Need to maximize donor funding from organizations such as Unesco, Rockfeller, Ford, etc. Most of the library schools were established through funding coming from more than one source. Since donors were fewer, it was more appropriate to establish regional programmes to maximise donor funding. Donors, too, supported this approach.

d) Scarcity of funds. Few states had the financial ability to start their own schools. It was more appropriate to pool the resources to make the programme more cost effective. Even with the concept of regional schools, few states contributed to the programme. At the East African School of Librarianship, for instance, the partner states did not contribute a penny to the programme, leaving Makerere University to foot the cost of hosting the programme.

Failure of the concept

a) The need for self-sufficiency in manpower development. Some states did not like the idea of sharing resources. Nigeria, for instance, pulled out of the regional programme to start her own school at the University College in Ibadan. We believe she had the resources to go it alone.

b) Distance. Geographical or distance from the nearest regional institution, as was the case between Nigeria and Ghana, making it hard to access LIS education programmes. In West Africa, there was the case of distance. To access Ghana from Nigeria, one had to pass through two French-speaking countries.

c) Political instability and ideological differences characteristic of the 1970s. This period was characterized by many events. Among these is the Idi Amin rule in Uganda which greatly affected security in the country. Hundreds of lives were lost. Hundreds of people became refugees. In addition, the ideological differences make it hard for regional states to agree on joint projects. This was made worse by the Cold War characteristics of the 1970s.

d)Failure to accept changes. Failure to adapt to changes in the information profession, e.g. sticking to diploma programmes even when the situation has changed. For instance, it was not until 1989 that EASLIS started a degree programme, long after a similar programme had started at Moi University in Kenya. It is argued that had EASLIS started an undergraduate degree earlier, possibly in the late 1970s, the programme at Moi University would have taken a bit longer to start.

e) The high demand for library professionals in regional states, making it harder for regional schools to address them.

Present situation

Currently, library schools are mushrooming in many states. Nigeria has by far the largest number of library schools on the African continent, followed by South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Ghana. The rest of the states have at least one school each. Although Nigeria can boast the largest number, the quality of the programmes offered varies markedly from one school to another. Much of the curricula in these schools is not based on any serious market survey. South Africa has perhaps the best schools, a majority that have undergone serious quality checks where quality and not quantity is used to benchmark them.

In East Africa, Tanzania has the lowest number of LIS schools.

Establishment of LIS Schools in East Africa

LIS schools in Uganda
Uganda has established a number of LIS schools. Among these are the East African School of Library and Information Science (EASLIS). EASLIS, formerly EASL, was established in 1963 with a certificate programme in librarianship lasting six months. Students were solicited from the entire East African region. A diploma programme lasting two academic years for holders of an advanced level school certificate or holders of a certificate course in librarianship was started in 1965. Unesco was instrumental in its establishment. During its early beginning, the school was run by the Council for Library Training in East Africa (CLTEA) in collaboration with Makerere University (Kigongo-Bukenya & Musoke 2011). CLTEA comprised heads of national public library networks and university libraries in East Africa. It acted as a policy formulation body for the school.

The problems at EASLIS
The school faced a number of problems during its early beginning. Among these were:
a) Financial provision for the school. The school relied heavily on external assistance. Regional states were reluctant to assist until Makerere took over the school in 1970.
b) Space was a major problem at the beginning until a new building was put up for them in 1971 with funding from the Swedish Government.
c) The security problem in Uganda from 1971 discouraged regional states from sending their students to the school.
d) Shortage of staff arising from the exodus of expatriate staff from 1972 seriously affected teaching at the school.

The weakness of the Makerere diploma programme
a) It lacked continuity. Although the diploma programme admitted people with minimum university entry qualifications, it was a terminal qualification. Graduates of the programme were unable to continue with higher education in LIS education unless they enrolled for another undergraduate degree. In Tanzania, Kaungamno (1979) cited a case where a staff member from TLS on scholarship in Australia had to re-do the programme to qualify for a BLS degree. In addition, instead of upgrading the diploma programme after a public outcry in East Africa, Makerere worsened the situation by introducing a postgraduate diploma programme to address the needs of university libraries.
b) It was considered a para-professional programme. Until the mid-1980s, the Makerere diploma was considered a professional qualification. Later, it was downgraded to a para-professional qualification. This development seriously affected its marketability in the region (Otike 1989). With the exception of Makerere University which employed its graduates as senior library assistants, other universities in the region did not employ them. Instead they opted to employ fresh graduates, send them overseas for postgraduate training and engage them as assistant librarians on completion. University librarians considered the Makerere diplomates as para-professionals, suitable to work in public and special libraries.
c) The conservative attitude of the school management. Despite the concern expressed by professionals in East Africa, the school did not introduce an undergraduate degree programme until 1989, long after other LIS schools in the region had been established. By the time an undergraduate bachelor of library and information studies (BLIS) was started, a number universities in the East African region had started LIS education programmes both at bachelors and postgraduate level with far superior programmes. Among these were the School of Information Sciences at Moi University, Department of Library Studies at the University of Zambia, Department of Library and Information Studies at the University of Botswana and Department of Library Science at the University of Addis Ababa. Since then, EASLIS has not been able to reclaim the regional market it commanded in the 1960s.

The school has since recovered from some of the problems mentioned and now has programmes ranging from undergraduate to doctorate programmes.

Since then, a number of LIS schools have been established in Uganda. Among these are:
a) Kyambogo University,
b) Uganda Christian University
c) Kampala International University.
d) Kabale University
e) Ndejje University

b) LIS Education in Kenya
Kenya has perhaps the highest number of LIS schools in the region. Among these are:
i) Moi University
ii) Egerton University
iii) Kisii University
iv) Laikipia University
vi) Kenyatta University
vii)Technical University of Kenya
Among private universities, Kenya hosts the following schools:
i) Catholic University of East Africa
ii) Kenya Methodist University
Among LIS schools in Kenya, the School of Information Sciences, Moi University at Eldoret has by far the most superior and established information-related programmes in East Africa. It has an academic establishment of over 40. Of this number, 15 are PhD holders. Its programmes range from BSc to a PhD degree in Information Sciences. These programmes are offered in the following specialised disciplines:
i) Department of Library and Information Studies
ii) Department of Records and Archives Management
iii) Department of Publishing and Media Studies
iv) Department of Information Technology
In addition to local students, the school receives a great number of students annually from many African countries, namely, Tanzania, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and South Sudan.

LIS education in Tanzania
Tanzania has the least LIS schools. Tanzania has tended to rely, to some extent, on LIS schools in her immediate neighbourhood to complement what she has. Among the schools are:
a) University of Dar-Es- Salaam. Dept. of Information Studies. The department carries both masters and doctorate programmes in LIS.
b) Tumaini University, Dar-Es-Salaam. This is a private university sponsored by the Lutheran Church. It is the only institution providing undergraduate programmes in the country.
c) Library School at Bagamoyo. This school is run by the Tanzania Library Service. It offers both certificate and diploma programmes in LIS. The programme is not accredited by any university in the country.

Effect of mushrooming of LIS education institutions
The proliferation of LIS schools has both positive and negative effects. It enables as many people as possible to access LIS education. People in distant areas are likely to be reached. The negative side is that if this trend is not checked, it can affect the quality of the graduates. This practice is prevalent in institutions where lecturers are advised to minimise on the number of failures as this is likely to discourage potential students.

Another effect is the branding of institutions by employers. With diminishing employment opportunities in the future, potential employers are likely to prefer products from institutions they feel meet their need. This development can lead to blacklisting of some institutions. If a graduate does not come from an institution of the employer's choice, then he cannot be employed (Otike 2007).

The quality of library services is likely to diminish and this could affect the ability of libraries to market themselves.

Change from Library to LIS schools

As stated elsewhere, library schools have had to review their programmes to include other related programmes such as archives and records management, information technology, publishing, knowledge management, etc. Among schools that have pioneered in this direction are Moi University School of Information Sciences, EASLIS, University of Pretoria, University of KwaZulu-Natal and University of Zululand. Some schools in South Africa have moved away from library science to the area of knowledge management (Ocholla & Bothma 2007).

Reasons

a) To keep abreast of changes taking place in the information field. Most schools offering LIS education used to be known as schools of librarianship, or simply, library schools. This name used to be very restrictive. The revision of the name to incorporate library and information studies or library and information science allows other disciplines to be brought on board such as archives and records management as in the case of Botswana. EASLIS at Makerere has brought on board the third discipline, publishing. Previously, it was known as the East African School of Librarianship.

b) To remain competitive. This has been brought about by the increasing number of schools. A number of LIS schools are coming up with more modern descriptions such as schools of information management, information science, department of knowledge management, etc. These descriptions appear to appeal to the youth. In Kenya, for instance, two new schools have come up with these names and are attracting a number of students: Schools of Information and Knowledge Management at Kisii University; and University of Kabianga.

c) Dislike for *librarian*. Many young librarians do not like the term. To them *librarian* is a term closely associated with shelving, stamping and issuing books. They argue that the kind of work they do does not justify this description. They are more comfortable with new terms such as information manager, information specialist, documentalist, knowledge manager, etc.

Current trends in LIS education

LIS programmes have become more sophisticated in line with market demand. The latest concepts have been incorporated in the LIS curricula. These include:

i) Information and Communication Technology. Libraries are seeking graduates who are IT compliant in line with the concept of libraries without walls. The paperless society is knocking at our door!

ii) Emphasis on multi-media. The print media is no longer the centre of attraction. Modern libraries require graduates who can handle all forms of media. In many schools, the curricula have been reviewed to address this challenge.

iii) Concept of knowledge management. LIS education now includes knowledge management. However, there is a need to investigate this issue to ascertain the present and future demand for graduates of knowledge management.

iv) Need for distance education in LIS. We must complement the effort of UNISA by incorporating the programme in LIS curricula. Kenyatta University in Kenya has ventured into distance learning. This development should be followed by other schools in an effort to take LIS education to remote areas of the continent.

Conclusion

The future of LIS education and by extension, LIS schools, will greatly depend on many factors:

a) Changes taking place in the information field. These will be influenced by new concepts and innovations.

b) Changes in technology. New technologies are occurring every day. LIS education curricula will need to adapt to these changes.

c) Support for the information profession. This will greatly depend on the perception of policy makers towards information and for that matter, the information or library profession. Policy makers have a great influence on the information profession. This will greatly depend on how they perceive information.

d) The attitude of the youth towards the library profession. How the youth will perceive the library profession. Do they love the library profession?

d) The future will also depend on how the library or information profession is marketed. The library profession can only be effectively marketed if librarians have interest in the library profession. In Africa the youth who happen to hold the future of the profession have no passion for the profession. For instance, many young librarians do not like to be referred to as librarians. They consider the term archaic. They would be more comfortable with terms such as documentalist, information scientist, information specialist, information manager and the like.

LIS schools of the future will need to adapt to changes taking place in the information industry in the West. The days of the printed book are virtually gone. Information now exists in many formats. The library profession will need to adapt to these changes to survive the stiff competition.

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Applying the knowledge creation model to the management of indigenous knowledge research

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Abstract

In present-day society, the need to manage indigenous knowledge is widely recognised. However, there is a debate in progress on whether or not indigenous knowledge can be easily managed. The purpose of this paper is to examine the possibility of using knowledge management models like knowledge creation theory in the management of indigenous knowledge. The paper defines knowledge creation as a process that stems from accumulating information, while knowledge transfer refers to "the transfer of knowledge to places and people, where it is needed to be used to fulfil some activity or task".

This paper presents the literature which was used to review and to explore previous studies in the IK and knowledge creation Model (KCM) particularly on the possibility of using knowledge creation theory to inform the management of indigenous knowledge. Despite criticism of KCM, the model/theory can potentially be applied to link tacit and explicit knowledge and by extension IK through four modes of the knowledge creation: socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation as revealed in the wide use of the model in knowledge management in society and organisations.

Keywords: Knowledge creation theory, indigenous knowledge, ICTs, knowledge management.

Introduction

Nowadays, organizations and communities recognize the importance of managing tacit indigenous knowledge using knowledge management models. This is elaborated by Ngulube (2003) who states that encoding indigenous knowledge into information is one of the keys to its successful management. This raises a lot of debate; for instance, how do we capture tacit indigenous knowledge? How do we preserve and disseminate IK? As indicated by Ngulube 2003, these questions are not easily answered but can be partly addressed by knowledge creation theory. This paper was informed by Nonaka's (1994) knowledge creation theory on the possibility of managing tacit knowledge such as indigenous knowledge.

This paper starts by throwing light on the concept theoretical framework. Firstly, it is widely understood that the road map of any research or scientific project should be based on theory or a theoretical framework. Kumar (2014: 67) views a theory as a set of systematically interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that are advanced to explain and predict facts. Kumar adds that a theory can be explained or defined by the framework of assumptions and concepts in which it is embedded. Khan (2010) notes that a theoretical framework serves to guide a researcher in his or her investigation in a broad field of expertise by expounding on an underlying principle, rationale or foundation with respect to the research topic. Neuman (2000: 59), on the other hand, construes theoretical frameworks as providing collections of assumptions, concepts, and forms of explanation. Awang (2011) explains that a theoretical framework is a systematic diagram showing how the research believes the variables should relate to each other. According, to Ocholla and Le Roux (2011), a theoretical framework is objectively geared towards enhancing clarity, appropriateness and effectiveness in research. The two authors define a theoretical framework as that part of a research proposal or study that sets out to describe the research question (hypothesis) and the line of inquiry and methodology used to answer it. For Ocholla and Le Roux (2011), a theoretical framework refers to the agenda, outline, and theoretical construct of a research approach and normally precedes a literature review. Thus, concepts and constructs are used at a theoretical level while

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variables are used at the empirical level as explanations or interventions. As such, theories are generalizations about variables and the relationships between them.

The concerns of this paper lie with indigenous knowledge management and a framework that can be used to share and document it for future generations. The objectives of the study required a theoretical framework that has components of knowledge creation and knowledge management. The Knowledge Creation and/or Transfer theory, commonly known as Nonaka's theory, was identified as the most suitable framework for managing tacit indigenous knowledge. This theory can potentially be applied to four modes of knowledge creation and/or transfer; that is, socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation (Nonaka 1991). Nonaka (1997) argues that the strength of the theory lies in recognizing, generating, transferring and managing tacit knowledge across time and space. In other words, knowledge creation is predicated on building both tacit and explicit knowledge and the interchange between them through internalisation and externalisation. The four modes of knowledge creation are briefly explained as follows: the process of tacit to tacit transfer is called socialisation. In this regard, experiences, ideas and skills are shared. Tacit to explicit transfer is called externalisation. In this process, ideas and narratives are transformed into formats that may be transmitted easily. Moreover, combination as the third element is known for explicit to explicit transfer. This is achieved when combining different sets of explicit knowledge using, for example, databases and web-based tools. The last one is internalisation which is explicit to tacit transfer. It is learning by observation and from face-to-face meetings (Nonaka 1994). For Nonaka, knowledge creation theory has been widely applied in organizations to manage knowledge. Bratianu and Orzea (2010) posit that in a knowledge creating firm, knowledge is created through dynamic interactions with the environment. With the above in mind, this paper examines various indigenous knowledge management theories and focuses on the applicability and relevance of the knowledge creation theory.

Indigenous knowledge management theories

Ocholla and Le Roux (2011) observe that Library and Information Science research is informed by a number of theories (see *www.is.theorize.org*), most of which originate from other disciplines. Previous research on indigenous knowledge management has been informed by several of these theories, including but not limited to:

The Three Knowledge Facets (Yang 2003) or holistic learning theory, which defines knowledge as a construct with three distinct and interrelated facets – implicit, explicit, and emancipatory knowledge;

Earl's model (Earl 1989), which concentrates on the stages through which organisations pass in planning their information systems. The theory was revised a number of times, first in 1983 and undergoing revisions in 1986, 1988, 1989, and 2001;

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Bandura 1977), which examines the processes of cognitive experiences and values in the assessment and/or judgement of individuals;

The Three Pillars of Knowledge Management by Wiig (1997). Wiig's framework is based on three pillars and the foundation of KM. KM, as it is referred to here, is the way knowledge is created, used during problem solving and decision making, and manifested cognitively as well as in culture, technology and procedures. The three pillars are: the exploration of knowledge, its value assessment, and its active management;

Information-Space Model. Boisot (1998) proposes that individual knowledge is the sum of our mental models and through these mental models we process data and information to bring about actions and change; and

Knowledge Creation Theory (Nonaka 1994), which deals with four components, namely socialisation, internalisation, combination and externalisation. This theory is used in organizations to manage knowledge.

Evidently, the theories are diverse and would be very difficult to address at the same time. Their diversity and degrees of appropriateness makes it possible for researchers to apply them in different

contexts depending on the research topic and their perceived relevance. In the next section, the knowledge creation theory is discussed.

Knowledge creation theory

Nonaka (1994) defines knowledge creation as the process that stems from accumulating information, while knowledge transfer refers to "the transfer of knowledge to places and people, where it is needed to be used to fulfill some activity or task". Knowledge essentially stems from belief, skills and experience. Nonaka (1997) conceptualizes knowledge creation in terms of two types of knowledge: tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge. Bennet and Bennet (2008) are of the view that tacit and explicit knowledge are not mutually exclusive entities. They further argue that people cannot truly understand without experience. In other words, unless one tries to convert tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge, one cannot reflect upon and share it organizationally or in a community. Additionally, through the dynamic interaction between the two types of knowledge, personal knowledge becomes organizational and/or community knowledge.

Notably, tacit knowledge is considered as personal, context specific, embedded in individual experience, difficult to communicate, and shared within the community and organization (Nonaka & Von Krogh 2009; Aman & Nicholson 2003). Thus, it has to be converted into words or numbers that others can understand. Tacit knowledge is essentially uncodified knowledge that is not easily visible and expressible. It is argued that tacit knowledge is highly personal and hard to formalize, making it difficult to communicate or share with others (Mir & Rahaman 2003; Nonaka & Von Krogh 2009). A study by Nonaka and Von Krogh (2009) in particular, considers tacit knowledge as a cornerstone in organizational knowledge creation theory and covers knowledge that is unarticulated and tied to the senses, movement skills, physical experiences, intuition or implicit rules of thumb. Explicit knowledge, on the other hand, is easily communicated and shared. For Nonaka and Von Krogh (2009), explicit knowledge is uttered and captured in drawings and writings. Mir and Rahaman (2003) refer to explicit or codified knowledge as knowledge that is transmittable in formal, systematic language. Mir and Rahaman further explain that explicit knowledge can be expressed in words and numbers, and easily communicated and shared in the form of hard data, scientific formulae, codified procedures, or universal principles.

It is therefore in this sense that knowledge creation encompasses tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge (Nonaka and Konno 1998). Nonaka (1997) argues that unless people try to convert tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge, they cannot reflect upon and share it organizationally. However, through this dynamic interaction between the two types of knowledge, personal knowledge becomes organizational knowledge.

Nonaka and Konno (1998) further point out that the interaction between the two types of knowledge brings about four modes of knowledge conversion: socialisation (from individual tacit knowledge to group tacit knowledge), externalisation (from tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge), combination (from separate explicit knowledge to systemic explicit knowledge), and internalisation (from explicit knowledge to tacit knowledge). These modes of knowledge creation are theories of Nonaka's in managing the tacit and explicit knowledge of an organization. Nonaka (1994) argues that tacit knowledge in an organization is acquired mainly through the socialising and externalising skills and experiences of employees for the benefit of the organization. This means that the tacit knowledge of employees is captured, preserved and disseminated to be used by the organization to increase its production. In that regard, the process of the four modes of knowledge conversion is thoroughly explained in the following diagram.

Articulating key elements of the knowledge creation theory

The four elements of knowledge creation, as pointed out by its founder Nonaka (1994), are illustrated in the figure below.
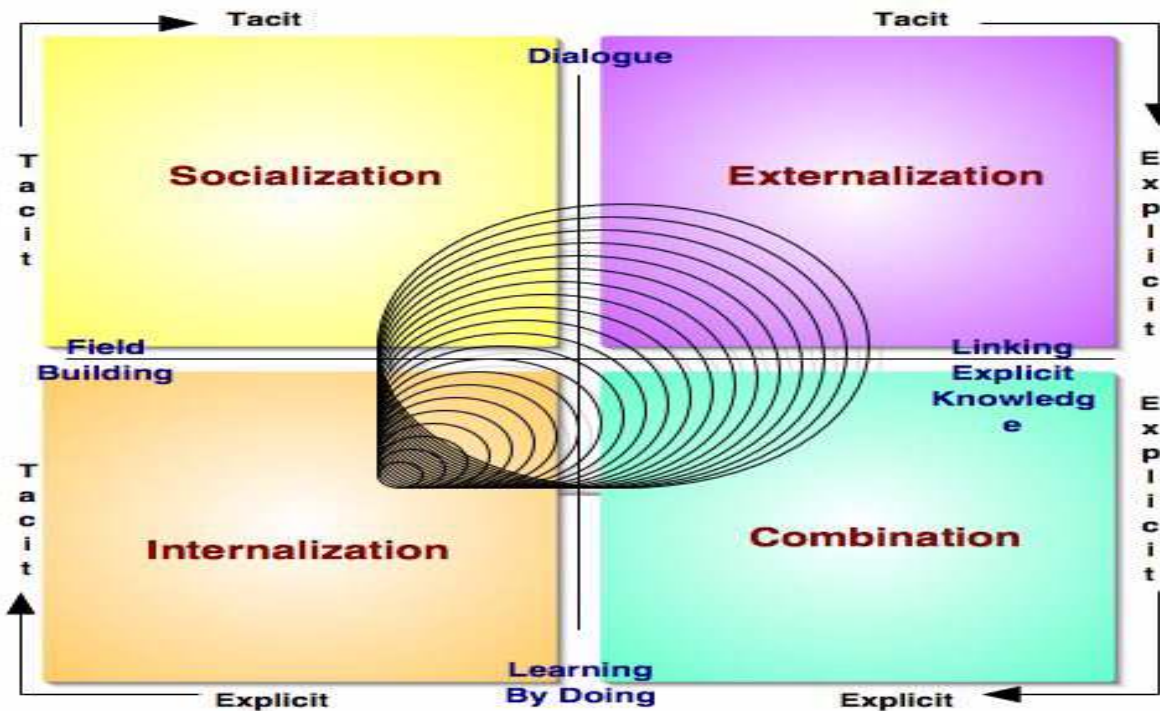
Figure 1: Key elements of the knowledge creation theory
(Source: Nonaka 1994)

Discussion of the four elements of the knowledge creation theory

Socialisation

Nonaka (1994) defines socialisation as the process of creating common tacit knowledge through shared experiences. In order for socialisation to be effective, people need to build a 'field' of interaction, where individuals share experiences and space at the same time, thereby creating common unarticulated beliefs or embodied skills. As such, socialisation yields new tacit knowledge that is built through informal interaction, that is through the exchange of tacit knowledge (Hoegl & Schulze 2008; Marley 2012). Nonaka and Konno (1998) explain that tacit knowledge that cannot be formally articulated between individuals may be exchanged through joint activities. This may involve being together for some time or living in the same environment, which allows newcomers to understand others' ways of thinking, skills, feelings, and experience. Mosoti and Masheka (2010) emphasize that during socialisation the conversion is tacit to tacit (for example watching somebody doing something, then copying it). Socialisation, according to Bratianu and Orzea (2010), is an opportunity for participating individuals to share their experiences and to learn through the direct exchange of tacit knowledge. Hemmecke and Stary (2003) and Holmqvist (1999) assert that knowledge sharing within communities is embedded in their practices, which is considered to be tacit knowledge. In that regard, Holmqvist (1999) and Marley (2012) argue that experience is the primary driver of this form of knowledge conversion. This kind of knowledge sharing among communities corresponds with the process of socialisation.

It is argued by Hemmecke and Stary (2003) that knowledge sharing within and between communities only occurs when the socially embedded tacit knowledge is at least partly converted into explicit knowledge. Nonaka and Konno (1998) are of the view that this is the process of transferring one's ideas or images directly to colleagues or subordinates in sharing personal knowledge. In this process, individuals share feelings, emotions and experiences, and this removes barriers and increases trust and commitment (Nonaka & Konno 1998). According to Nonaka and Konno (1998), in order for socialisation to take place, individual people should share face-to-face experiences, which then makes it possible to transfer tacit knowledge. Clark (2004) concurs with Nonaka and Konno (1998), adding that socialisation includes

observation, imitation, and practice. Clark thus concludes that sharing experiences is the key, which is why the mere transfer of information often makes little sense to the recipient.

It is emphasized that the effectiveness of the socialisation process depends on the organizational culture and the balance between individual competition and group cooperation. Moreover, it is emphasized that socialisation must go beyond the everyday dialogues and exchange of neutral phrases. In other words, it must stimulate deeper layers of experiences and stored knowledge (Bratianu & Orzea 2010; Holste & Fields 2010; Marra 2004). In order for socialisation to be effective, Hong (2010) suggests spending prolonged hours every day attending social events and working under a team structure, and developing a close and enduring working relationship with other colleagues. It can therefore be deduced that the company is not only a place of work but also a coherent social community with profound emotional attachments and common identity. In other words, it is a place where hidden knowledge is shared among employees who might be interested in increasing their knowledge and learning new skills. As argued by Nonaka and Konno (1998) tacit knowledge can only be shared if the self is freed to become the larger self, that includes the tacit knowledge of the other.

Externalisation

The second knowledge creation element is externalisation (Nonaka 1994), defined as the conversion of tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge (Bratianu and Orzea, 2010; Marley 2012; Nonaka 1994). According to Nonaka and Konno (1998); Clark (2004), the process of externalisation is supported by two key factors: the conversion of tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge that involves techniques to help express one's ideas or images as words, concepts, figurative language (e.g. metaphors, analogies or narratives) and visuals, and translating the tacit knowledge of customers or experts into readily understandable forms.

A study by Scharmer (1996) regards externalisation to be the process of articulating tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge as concepts and/or diagrams, often using sketches. The advantage of externalisation, according to Marley (2012), is that it makes tacit knowledge transferable to others, and makes it useful and applicable in a wider context. Authors such as Nonaka and Konno (1998), Mosoti and Masheka (2010), and Marley (2012) consider externalisation to be the conversion of tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge (that is, doing it and then telling it). Bratianu and Orzea (2010) note that once the knowledge becomes explicit, it can be shared, disseminated, and transferred to others through verbal and non-verbal language. However, Nonaka (1997) adds that dialogue is an important means of exchanging ideas in externalisation. For instance, during face-to-face communication, people share beliefs and learn how to better articulate their thinking through instantaneous feedback and the simultaneous exchange of ideas. However, Hemmecke and Stary (2003) regard externalisation to be the method of converting implicit knowledge into tangible knowledge. They argue that it is not usually acknowledged that the vocalisation of intangible knowledge is really possible. On the other hand, Nonaka and Konno (1998) and Marley (2012) are of the view that the results of the externalisation process enable people with different backgrounds to share gained or acquired tacit knowledge.

According to Marley (2012), tacit knowledge needs to be codified and converted into an understandable format, such as words or images. It is further indicated that some technologies, such as groupware, databases, radio, television, the Internet, flash drives and many others, assist in the externalisation of tacit knowledge. It is worth noting that this is an area where ICT tools are applied to safeguard traditional knowledge for future use. Finally, the methods of externalisation entail capturing the personal, historical, social and material contexts of knowledge, including both the individual and collective work practices. It also involves being adaptable to and reflecting the dynamics of knowledge in work activities and in various organisational settings, in particular between communities and various stages of knowledge-management maturity. A study by Bratianu and Orzea (2010) concluded that externalisation reduces the entropy of total knowledge by structuring and integrating new created knowledge into the existing explicit knowledge structures. The following discussion involves that combination.

Combination

Nonaka (1997), Sarayreh, Mardawi and Dmour (2012) assert that once knowledge is explicit, it can be transferred as explicit knowledge through a process that the authors refer to as 'combination'. Nonaka (1994), Scharmer (1996) and Bratianu and Orzea (2010) define combination as the process of assembling new and existing explicit knowledge into systematic knowledge, such as a set of specifications for the prototype of a new product. Combination is the process of converting tangible knowledge into more multifaceted sets of tangible knowledge (Nonaka & Konno 1998). Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), Mosoti and Masheka (2010) and Marley (2012) are of the view that the combination of new explicit knowledge with existing information and knowledge generates and systematises explicit knowledge throughout the organisation. They identify three important phases of the conversion process, namely: capturing and integration, dissemination, and editing and processing.

In a study by Marley (2012), it is noted that capturing and integrating involves collecting essential data from both internal and external sources and combining data or knowledge. During dissemination, new knowledge is spread and shared amongst members. This can be achieved in various ways, for example, during presentations or meetings. Lastly, during the editing and processing phase, the knowledge that has been created is made explicit in the form of documentation, which is then put through a process of justification. In order for the knowledge to be justified, it needs to correlate with the knowledge vision of the organisation. According to Nonaka and Konno (1998), the aforementioned process makes information concrete and useful.

According to Nonaka (1997) and Sarayreh, Mardawi and Dmour (2012), combination is where information technology is most helpful because once tacit knowledge has been converted into explicit knowledge, it can be conveyed again through documents, e-mails, databases, as well as through meetings and briefings. Nonaka and Konno (1998) add that mechanisms for explicit knowledge conveyance include the use of on-line networks, group-ware, documentation and databases for storing valuable assets. Thus, a newly created concept is combined with existing knowledge to materialise it into something tangible.

Combination, according to Nonaka (1997), allows not only for knowledge transferral among groups across organisations, but also for the collection of relevant internal and external knowledge towards dissemination, editing and processing, in order to make it more usable and accessible to the organisation. It has been argued by Marley (2012), that the combination of external and internal knowledge is facilitated or triggered by coordinating teams and their activities, as well as by means of the documentation of existing knowledge. The next step under discussion is internalisation.

Internalisation

Nonaka (1994) considers the fourth element in the knowledge creation theory to be internalisation. Internalisation, according to Nonaka and Konno (1998), Marley (2012), and Sarayreh, Mardawi and Dmour (2012), involves the conversion of explicit knowledge into tacit knowledge that is shared at an organisational level. During internalisation, individuals identify and acquire explicit knowledge that is created during the externalisation and combination phase. This knowledge is then explored by means of practice, following which individuals acquire and understand the tacit dimension of this knowledge (Nonaka & Konno 1998; Marley, 2012). It is argued by Nonaka (1997), that knowledge in its personal form is demonstrated by only its owner. In that regard, Bratianu and Orzea (2010) posit that the advantage of internalised knowledge is that it increases the level of individual understanding and absorptive capacity.

Authors such as Clark (2004), Hong (2010), and Sarayreh, Mardawi and Dmour (2012) concur with Nonaka (1997) by regarding internationalisation as the exchange of explicit knowledge with tacit knowledge. Clark (2004), in particular, clarifies that internalisation is learning by doing. Likewise, Marley (2012) and Nonaka (1994) emphasise that internationalisation is generated by "learning by doing or using". This means that tangible knowledge that is documented as manuscripts, sound, or in video format, enables the internalisation process. Therefore, booklets, a quintessential example of tangible knowledge, are broadly used for internalisation. Sarayreh, Mardawi and Dmour (2012) conclude that internalisation is

largely experiential and that it actualises concepts and methods, either through the actual doing or through simulations.

To summarise, internalisation is the process of understanding and absorbing explicit knowledge into the tacit knowledge held by an individual. In the process of internalisation, the experiences of experienced workers in an organization are transferred to the tacit knowledge of the individual. Additionally, knowledge in its tacit form is actionable by the owner while others are observing.

Critique of Nonaka's theory

There has been some criticism of this theory. For instance, Andriessen and Boom (2007), Glisby and Holden (2003), Bratianu and Orzea (2010), Harsh (2009), Lwoga and Ngulube (2010), and Ngulube (2003) reveal that Nonaka's model has various shortcomings. Glisby and Holden (2003), for example, argue that Nonaka's knowledge-creating theory has been indiscriminately applied across contexts and cultures as inherently superior to other systems of knowledge management. However, while Nonaka's model of knowledge dynamics in organisations can be very well understood and used in the context of Japanese culture, it is unlikely to produce successful results in other cultures (Bratianu, 2010; Gourlay 2006; Kaplan, 2008; Snowden 2007). The basic cornerstone is the concept of *Ba,* which can hardly be understood in a culture where the Cartesian dualism has produced such a gap between rational and non-rational worlds (Bratianu 2010:195).

Snowden (2007) also considers Nonaka's knowledge creation theory as only relevant in the Japanese context, and states that it cannot be applied in a different setting. The author laments that implicit knowledge and explicit knowledge are dimensions which cannot be transformed from one form to the other. Andriessen and Boom (2007) and Harsh (2009) likewise argue that the Eastern knowledge perspective is very different from the Western. The three authors provide an example of the Western perspective where emphasis is placed on explicit knowledge, while in the Eastern perspective the emphasis is put on tacit knowledge. This is an indication that people from different cultures differ widely, and their methods of communication may not be the same, due to the influence of culture.

The four processes of knowledge creation have also been heavily criticised. For instance, Bratianu (2010) postulates that by integrating the four basic processes of knowledge dynamics, namely socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation, into a pattern of knowledge conversion, Nonaka is blurring the lines between individuals and groups. The author asserts that according to the epistemological dimension (Nonaka 1994; Nonaka and Takeuchi 1995), knowledge conversion – from tacit to explicit and from explicit to tacit – is clearly a process developed at the individual level. Bratianu (2010) is of the view that there is no reason for such a process to be developed between the tacit knowledge of a given person and the explicit knowledge of another person. He argues further that if the entire spiral of knowledge creation were to be limited to only two individuals, it could perhaps be understood. However, the author posits that if we consider a group of people, it is difficult to explain and demonstrate how knowledge conversion works, because of the sequential interplay between strictly individual processes and group processes.

In discussing the four modes of knowledge creation between tacit and explicit, Nurse (2001) argues that what the knowledge creation theory lacks is the context of the process and the kind of knowledge it is envisaging through this process. The author believes that the knowledge creation theory has failed to describe how the conversion of knowledge leads to the creation of new knowledge. This raises the question of whether having knowledge transferred between one person and another is, in fact, knowledge creation.

According to Gourlay (2003), while many authors and writers acknowledged Nonaka for recognising that the capacity for corporate action depends on ideas and beliefs as much as on scientific knowledge, Gourlay concluded that his subjectivism tended towards a dangerous relativism because he made justification a matter of managerial authority, and neglected to consider how scientific criteria relate to corporate knowledge. In the study by Gourlay (2003), Nonaka's theory does not clarify how fresh ideas

are formed, nor how deep understanding (necessary for expertise) develops. The author perceives Nonaka's model of knowledge creation to be unconvincing, and claims that it makes collaborative work a mystery.

A theory, according to McLean (2004), must be clear and precise if it is to be understandable, internally consistent, and free from ambiguities. In other words, a good theory must have precision and clarity. For McLean (2004), in the operational phase, Nonaka's model must be interpreted, or transformed to noticeable, provable components or elements. The author argues that knowledge creation theory is very difficult to understand due to the relatively abstract nature of the subject matter. Thus, it is understandable why the concepts included in the theory are difficult to operationalise. For him, the authors of the knowledge creation theory attempt to operationalise the concepts through case examples, conceptual models, and general statements about it. The author posits that many of the concepts are somewhat abstract, leading to a certain amount of ambiguity. McLean emphasises that the work to operationalise this theory appears to lack explicit, testable hypotheses that would show how the concepts relate to each other beyond these general statements.

However, McLean (2004) admits that Nonaka's theory was able to identify and describe the knowledge creation process through concepts such as modes of knowledge conversion, conditions for knowledge creation, and levels in the process. In doing so, Nonaka made this process easier to understand. Therefore, while the theory has cultural and other criticisms leveled against it, there is still considerable potential in the application of knowledge creation theory to the management of indigenous knowledge. Ngulube (2003) emphasised the need to adopt knowledge management theories; such as knowledge creation (KC) as a tool for managing indigenous knowledge that is embedded in rural communities of developing countries. In that regard, the following section is a discussion of how knowledge creation theory has been applied by previous studies and the current study in the management of indigenous knowledge.

Application of knowledge creation to the management of indigenous knowledge

The first part of this section looks at how other studies applied knowledge management theories like knowledge creation in the management of indigenous knowledge. We have used some of examples of studies conducted in this context in Africa which include Lwoga (2009); Marley (2012) and Ngulube and Lwoga (2007), just to mention a few.

Lwoga (2009) used Nonaka's theory in her study entitled "Understanding indigenous knowledge: Bridging the knowledge gap through a knowledge creation model for agricultural development knowledge". She applied knowledge creation theory which encompasses socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation and allows interaction with each other to create knowledge. The findings revealed that socialisation was effective among farmers where new knowledge is created through interactions, group meetings and observations. Externalisation was also useful among farmers where carvings which included toys, drawings from clay pots, utensils, etc. were used in externalising their tacit knowledge into explicit knowledge for the benefit of the community. On the other hand, combination was also useful because they shared their explicit knowledge with others through village meetings, group interactions as well as in print formats and ICTs such as cellphones and emails. Lastly, internalisation showed that even though explicit knowledge was available on ICTs, the findings showed that farmers were receiving information from tacit sources compared to explicit sources of knowledge. Lwoga (2009) concluded that some knowledge management theories like knowledge creation were applicable in the management of indigenous knowledge in rural areas.

Marley (2012), applied Nonaka's theory in a study entitled, "Investigating the appropriateness of the theory of organisational knowledge creation as a management model for practice-led research". Marley (2012) also used knowledge creations which proved to be useful tools in practice-led research.

Ngulube and Lwoga (2007) used Nonaka's theory in their study entitled, "Knowledge management models and their utility to the effective management and integration of indigenous knowledge with other

knowledge systems". The authors emphasized the possibility of using knowledge management models like knowledge creation theory in the management of tacit indigenous knowledge. Additionally, it was evident in their study that there is a need to utilize knowledge management models in the management and preservation of indigenous knowledge. Their findings gave us confidence that it is possible to manage indigenous knowledge using selected knowledge management theories like knowledge creation.

Ultimately, tacit indigenous knowledge needs to be managed because it is at risk of becoming extinct if appropriate measures are not taken to preserve and manage it. According to Lwoga, Ngulube and Stilwell (2010), IK needs to be managed by using knowledge management theories because much of IK is preserved in the memories of elders, thus gradually disappearing due to loss of memory and death. Mosoti and Masheka (2010) sum up the drive to manage knowledge in African culture with an old African proverb that states, "In Africa, when an old man dies, the entire library is burnt." In this sense, knowledge management models, such as knowledge creation, can be used to manage and share IK in communities that recognize its relevance and its importance. Authors such as Eftekharzadeh (2008), Lwoga and Ngulube (2008), Marley (2012), Mosoti and Masheka (2010), and Ngulube and Lwoga (2007) recognize that knowledge management models can be useful strategies for managing and integrating IK into other knowledge systems. These frameworks provide the possibility of creating knowledge that is relevant to local communities. Mosoti and Masheka (2010) add that there is a need in Africa to capture tacit indigenous knowledge and share and transfer it by networking between countries. However, Ngulube (2003) argues that tacit indigenous knowledge should not be separated from the individuals who possess it. He suggests that efforts should be made to enable the communities to innovate, create, and manage their own knowledge and to adapt other knowledge systems for a sustainable variety of indigenous knowledge practices like agriculture, medicine, artwork, etc. In this regard, knowledge management models such as the knowledge creation theory provide an opportunity to manage but not alter tacit indigenous knowledge.

Conclusions

We note that the Knowledge Creation (KC) model can be appropriate for IK management, which is confirmed by various studies that have used the theory in IK research investigations. The four elements of KCM namely socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation seem to fit well, largely for tacit knowledge management such as indigenous knowledge. Thus these four elements of knowledge creation are also fundamental to exchanging knowledge, not only within organisations, but also in the affairs of life. Further, despite the criticism of this theory, it is still widely applied in recent studies as discussed in previous sections. The criticism – though – define the gaps in the application of the theory worth noting for future research. This article contributes to the increasing reviews of IK and KCT that are essential for advancing IK research, including a recent PhD study by this author(Dlamini 2016) in which theory, methodology and findings are discussed in detail and disseminated widely *(http://uzspace.uzulu.ac.za/ handle/10530/1563*; Dlamini 2017)

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Strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State, Nigeria

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This study investigated strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State. The study adopted the descriptive survey research design method. The target population for this study consisted of secondary school counsellors in the state. Purposive sampling technique was used to select 70 respondents from each of the three senatorial districts in Kwara State. The questionnaire titled "Strategies for Managing Deviant Behaviour Questionnaire" was administered to the school counsellors. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used for the data analysis. The findings revealed that deviant behaviour is caused by a lack of effective parental upbringing. Also, the major strategy employed by counsellors in handling behavioural problems is the reinforcement technique. The findings revealed that there were no significant differences in the counsellors' perception on the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents on the basis of years in service, religion and type of school. To this end, counsellors should continue to provide right information to in-school adolescents about the negative effects of deviant behaviours. The findings of this study will be of benefit to school administrators, teachers and counsellors as it will give them an insight into handling deviant behaviour exhibited among in-school adolescents.

Keywords: deviant behaviour; in-school-adolescents; counsellors; secondary school

Introduction

Education remains one of the tools for the transformation of an individual and society at large. It is one of the most powerful instruments for social change, which plays a crucial role in nation-building. According to Idowu and Esere (2007), education helps to develop people's intellectual and functional capabilities. The school is a place where students acquire needed competencies for various vocations. The place of the counsellor in schools cannot be overemphasized. Counselling is a personal relationship between the counsellor and the client with the aim of assisting the client to understand themselves, effectively take decision and also solve their problems. Duroasro (2016) noted that counselling is oriented towards facilitating effective learning skills, acceptable habits and appropriate behaviour. The National Policy on Education (2013) edition clearly stated that "in view of the apparent ignorance of many young people about career prospects and personality maladjustment among students, counsellors will be appointed in post primary institutions". Hence, it became compulsory for secondary school administrators to employ professional counsellors. An effective counsellor is a good listener, empathic, warm and sensitive to the needs of others. Counsellors are also trained in modifying maladaptive behaviour.

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Adolescence is often described as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood. In some societies the beginning of this stage is marked with celebrations. Adegoke (2003) noted that adolescence begins with the onset of puberty. At this stage, there is rapid growth in the organs of the body. Akinpelu (1998) described adolescence as a built-in necessary transition period for ego development. The World Health Organization (1976) defined adolescence as a period during which an individual progresses from the point of initial appearance of the secondary sexual characteristics to that of sexual maturity. This period is accompanied by various changes that are significant in physical, intellectual, social and emotional areas. Ibrahim (2009) described an adolescent as someone who is unstable, angry, moody, self conscious and inexperienced in handling emotional problems. Adolescence, from a psychological point of view, is a period dominated by stress and tensions due to inner emotional instability and as a result of conflicting external influence (Oni 2010).The researchers noted that the problems of adolescents are many and the pressure to conform to peer influence becomes very strong during adolescent years. Also, at this stage the adolescents engage in activities that are perceived to be contrary to the norms and values of the societies.

Deviance is generally defined as any behaviour that does not conform to the established rules of a group of individuals or the society at large (Idris 2016). At this stage, an adolescent finds it difficult to conform to the norms of the society. Deviant behaviours are actions which conflict with the societal norms (Hirschi 1995). It could also be referred to as the engagement of people in criminal offences, illegal, antisocial and unethical behaviour. In a nutshell, any behaviour that violates the norm or social standard of the society is deviant. Deviant behaviour could also be any form of behaviour that contravenes the rules and regulations or even laws that govern an establishment. Some researchers have identified the different types of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents; these include truancy, examination malpractice, substance abuse, bullying, vandalism, and sexual immorality (Odunmuyiwa 2001; Esere 2008). Goode (2007) further stated that behaviour that is deviant in one society may not be in another. Even within a society, what is deviant today may not be deviant tomorrow. Suleiman (2011) noted that a particular behaviour is antisocial if any of these three criteria are seen; when behaviour does not allow a person to function effectively with others as a member of the society, when such behaviour does not permit the person to meet his or her own needs and when behaviour has a negative effect on the wellbeing of others.

Boyd (2015) reported that a lot of youths are involved in the use of tobacco, amphetamines, bartiturates and heroin. In the same vein, Gordon (2001) revealed that smoking and drug use are basically societal problems among in-school adolescents. Gordon also recorded that 90% of adolescents who are involved in smoking started at an adolescent age. Idris (2016) explained that there are many cases of cultism, sexual abuse, acts of vandalism, blackmail, threats and intimidations reported by classroom teachers as well as school principals. Idris affirmed that there is an increase in the rate of moral decadence among youths as a result of the lack of discipline. Such indisciplined acts among students have culminated in juvenile delinquency. Many researchers have identified some causes of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents.

The environment in which adolescents live can influence them, especially when there is lack of parental guidance. The school is a major and important environment where a child develops during the formative years. When parents do not consistently react to the undesired behaviour of an adolescent, the child might continue to engage in more deviant behaviours in the school (Suleimen 2011). Poor academic performance also predisposes youth to deviant behaviours. Olawale (2001) emphasized that behavioural problems are common among children of lower intelligence. Babatunde (2016) noted that some children resort to antisocial behaviour due to their inability to cope with the academic rigours of the school.

The home is an agent of socialization. This is the place where values and morals are transmitted. The poor moral conduct of parents can result in broken homes which negatively influence the students' behaviour. According to Goode (2007) many parents have lost their leadership roles in the home and poor home training causes students to engage in deviant behaviours. On the other hand, Gbadamosi (2003) observed that the causes of deviant behaviour are linked to faulty curriculum plans, administrative

deficiency, inadequate school facilities, harsh school rules and societal problems. Individual differences in personality and psychological problems encountered by students are believed to be some of the reasons some in-school adolescents engage in deviant behaviours. Many of these students cope with their problems by getting involved in behaviours like vandalism, stealing, involvement in illicit sex activities, drug abuse. All these risky behaviours negatively affect public order and the sense of safety of youths (Ibrahim 2012).

Sociological theory explains that peer group influence, lack of parental supervision and support for client's needs are links to delinquency in any race. Biological theorists believe that deviant behaviour is hereditary. They believe that if an area of the brain has the properties that predispose people to deviant behaviour, such students are likely to develop more severe deviant attitudes. The psychological theory suggests that people are predisposed to deviant behaviour when they are fixated at any stage of development (Omotosho 2009).

The psychological explanation of deviant behaviour was developed by Sigmund Freud. The theory explained that the initial five years of an individual's life is very important; they determine adult behaviour. Freud explained that the sexual impulses (libido) which can be referred to as instinctive drives are powerful determinants of one's behaviour. This is largely controlled by the unconscious. The theory believes that there are three3 different structure of personality. The conscious deals with what human beings are aware of. Preconscious thoughts are not part of the conscious but can be brought to reality, while the unconscious according Freud categorically determines our behaviour. Freud believed that most of our thoughts, sensation, craving and memories exist in the unconscious. The unconscious contains the major driving force behind our behaviour. Human personality consists of the id, ego and the super ego. Id is the biological component of personality and the primary source of psychic energy and the seat of all instincts. It is ruled by the pleasure principle. The ego mediates between the id and the super ego. It is conscious and logical. It develops as we interact with our environment while the super ego is the moral branch of personality. It strives not for pleasure but for perfection.

The psychosocial stages of personality according to Sigmund Freud include the oral stage (0-1 year), when the child derives pleasure from sucking. He believes that when a child sucks it is not only to take in food but also for the pleasure of the sensation. This can lead to over-dependency in personality. The anal stage is from1-3 years; at this stage, the pleasure shifts to the anal zone. When the child is given strict toilet training, the child might grow up to be stingy because he/she is fixated at the anal stage. The phallic stage (3-5 years) is when the child develops pleasure at the genital stage. The oedipus and electra complexes develop. At the latency stage (5-12 years), the child diverts his/her attention to developing skills. The genital stage (12-14 years), is when the child begins to develop an interest in the opposite sex. The individual transforms from a self-loving individual into a socialized adult (Alao2000).

According to Sigmund Freud, all human beings have natural drives and urges that are repressed in the unconscious. He also believed that all human beings have criminal tendencies and their behaviours are curbed through the process of socialization. A child that is not well socialized can develop antisocial behaviour impulses and when such a child gets fixated at any of the psychosocial stages, such an individual can engage in anti-social deviant behaviour. Freud emphasized the importance of early years of childhood fixation in determining the adult personality.

Deviant behaviour in the class room increases the stress level of teachers and at the same time changes the classroom dynamics. The use of the psychological principles are the various ways in which deviant behaviours are managed in schools. This approach is based on some systematic application psychological principles. Behavioural modification can simply be defined as the systematic application of principles derived from learning theories and experience in psychology (Asonibare 2016). The techniques are used in extinguishing unwanted behaviour and at the same time helping to increase existing positive behaviours. It can also be used to teach new behaviour patterns. In extinguishing unwanted deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents, there are many strategies that can be employed. The behavioural

approach is based on the assumption that negative behaviour can be unlearned and replaced with positive ones (Esere 2002). In schools, counsellors use different behavioural modification techniques in managing deviant behaviour.

The use of reinforcement can help curb undesired behaviour among school children. Winkielman (2005) defines reinforcement as a stimulus that strengthens behaviour and increases the frequency of its occurrence. It involves reinforcing one's positive response which in turn blocks the appearance of undesirable behaviours. There are different types of reinforcement; these are intrinsic reinforcement (that is when a behaviour strengthens itself e.g. eating and playing music), extrinsic reinforcement (this is when the behaviour is strengthened by external consequences), primary reinforcement (things that are important to life such as food, water) and secondary reinforcement (things like money and praise). Counsellors help in improving students' behaviour by also using some certain verbal reinforcement principles. The counsellor can praise those who obey rules and regulations, thereby ignoring those that are found guilty. Psychologists affirmed that the use of reinforcement helps to provide an explicit model of what is expected among in-school adolescents (Asonibare 2016). Okobiah and Okorodudu (2006) noted that disruptive behaviour can persist if only verbal reinforcement is used by the counsellor on the management of deviant behaviour. Garber (2006) opined that reinforcement strategy in classroom instruction promotes academic achievement. Other strategies for behaviour modification include:

i   Premack Principles. This can also be called "grandma's rule". This is when the counsellor uses preferred behaviour to reinforce less preferred activity.

ii   Token Economy. This is when positive behaviour is reinforced with an exchange for goals.

iii Contracting. Behaviour contract is a negotiated agreement between two parties. In signing this contract, the counsellor states clearly the purpose of the contract (Alao 2000). The reward is carried out immediately the counsellor observes the positive change.

Punishment can also be used in reducing deviant behaviour. Punishment refers to the use of aversive stimuli to decrease undesirable behaviour. This is often used when all other techniques have failed. There are two major types of punishment: positive punishment (when the counsellor applies aversive consequences like kneeling down and flogging) and negative punishment (this involves the withdrawal of certain privileges) (Asonibare 2004). Adesina (1984) explains that punishment must be retributive; it should serve as a deterrent and must be reformative. Punishment should be applied immediately after a negative behaviour. Other forms of punishment are;

i Satiation: This is a way in which the counsellor allows the student to continue with negative behaviour until they are tired of doing it. For example, a child who likes stealing students' underwear in the hostel can be helped by encouraging the parents to buy more than enough underwear for the student until it pisses the student off (Alao 2000).

ii Reprimand: This is when a student is rebuked for misbehaviour. Soft, private reprimands are done quietly while a loud public reprimand is when the counsellor or the teacher speaks to the offenders loudly in the presence of others.

iii Social Isolation: This is often used to decrease undesirable behaviour. The counsellor might decide to set the student aside for the meantime as a result of a particular misbehaviour. The counsellor must be careful when using this method so that other negative behaviours are not strengthened (O'Leary, Kalfman, Kass & Diabman 1970).

iv Constructive confrontation: this is a way in which the counsellor confronts the client about a particular negative behaviour (Bolu-Steve & Adeboye 2016).

Life skill training involves self-management procedures programmes that can be used by the counsellors in managing deviant behaviour. These include:

i Assertive training: Non-assertive students that are trained to be assertive may not get involved in deviant behaviours. Assertive training can also be called resistance training (Asonibare 2016).

ii Decision-making strategies: It is important for in-school adolescents to develop appropriate decision-making strategies. This will help them choose the right alternatives.
iii Peer group cluster involvement: This can be in the form of organising peer group counselling in the school. The clubs and societies within the school can engage peer cluster to modifying norms and attitudes (Adegoke 2003).

Goode (2007) has noted that the psychological and social experiences of the child during this transitional period call for the attention of the counsellor. Toward this end, this study investigated strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State, Nigeria. This study becomes necessary especially in the wake of increased anti-social and deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents in Kwara State.

Study problem and purpose
The rate of involvement of in-school adolescents in deviant behaviour is of great concern to stakeholders. Dunapo (2002) stated that at this period adolescent children go through a lot of challenges as they engage in behavioural experimentation and deviant behaviours. Students' unruly behaviour has continued to disrupt school academic programmes to the extent that teachers are unable to cover the contents of the school curriculum. This has often resulted into turning out half-baked graduates (Jimoh, 1990). Omotosho (2009) notes that indiscipline in schools has reached an alarming rate; this could be traced to the home, society and the attitude of students towards schooling. These in turn have contributed to poor academic performance of many in-school adolescents. In order for these students to perform well in external examinations, they resort to examination malpractices. Gbadamosi (2003) states that the high incidence of deviant behaviour among secondary school students in Kwara State have become public concern and despite government intervention, they are yet to resolve the problem.

Mbuthia (2013) worked on perceived factors influencing deviant behaviour among the youth in Njathani Community Nairobi, Kenya. Ali, Dada, Isiaka and Salmon (2002) carried out a research on the management of indiscipline among secondary school students in Shomolu Local Government of Lagos State, while Babatunde (2016) looked at the influence of reinforcement technique in reducing students' undesirable classroom behaviours as expressed by secondary school teachers in Ilorin metropolis. None of these previous studies has specifically examined strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State to the best of the researchers' knowledge. This is the gap the current study has examined. Kwara state is the gateway between the North and South western Nigeria. It is multicultural and multi-ethnic therefore represents the various cultural units within Nigeria. The state also has a teeming youth population and moderate employment rate.

The main purpose of this study was to identify the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among In-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State, Nigeria. Specifically, the research responds to the following questions:
1. What are the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State?
2. What are the causes of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State?
3. How do male and female counsellors differ on the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents in Kwara State?
4. What are the perceived best strategies employed by counsellors for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents?

Methods
The descriptive survey design was adopted for this study. Descriptive survey enables researchers to gather information from a representative sample (Daramola 2006). There are three senatorial districts in

Kwara State, including Kwara North, Kwara North and Kwara South. The public and private schools with large populations of students were purposely selected. The researchers selected 70 respondents from these schools in each of the senatorial districts (forty counsellors from public schools and thirty counsellors from private schools). This is because there are more public than private schools in Nigeria. Thus a total of 210 respondents participated in the study. Data were collected through the administration of an instrument titled "Strategies for managing deviant behaviour questionnaire". The researchers developed the items on the questionnaire through a review of related literature. The validity of the instrument was determined by giving the draft of the questionnaire to some experts in the related field. The modification and comments made by these experts were considered in the final selection of items on the questionnaire. To ensure the reliability of the instrument, the test re-test method was adopted. The researchers administered the same instrument on twenty (20) respondents at an interval of four weeks. The two groups' scores were correlated using Pearson Product Moment Correlation; a coefficient of 0.70 was found. The questionnaire was divided into three sections. Section A contained the demographic. Section B was designed to elicit information on the causes of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents. Section C contained items on strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents. The data gathered were analysed using frequency count, simple percentage, while t-test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were used to analyse the hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance. Responses were obtained as reflected in Table 1.

Table 1 Percentage distribution of respondents based on gender, years in service, religion and school type

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	97	46.2
Female	113	53.8
	210	100
Years in Service		
1-5 years	113	53.8
6-10 years	35	16.7
11 years and above	62	29.5
	210	100
Religion		
Christianity	153	72.9
Islam	54	25.7
ATR	3	1.4
	210	100
School Type	120	57.2
Public School	90	42.8
Private School	210	100
Senatorial District	70	33.3
Kwara South	70	33.3
Kwara Central	70	33.3
Kwara North	210	100

Table 1 shows that 97 (46.2%) of the respondents were male, while 113 (53.8%) of the respondents were female. Based on years in service, 113(53.8%) of the respondents had between 1-5 years' experience, 35 (16.7) of the respondents had between 6-10 years' experience, while 62 (29.5%) had been in service for 11 years. Based on religion, 153 (72.9%) of the respondents were Christians, 54 (25.7%) of

the respondents were of the Islamic religion while 3 (1.4%) of the respondents were practising African Traditional religion. Based on school type, 120 (57.2%) of the respondents were from public schools, while 90 (42.8%) of the respondents were from private schools. Based on senatorial district, 70 (33.3%) of the respondents were randomly selected from each of the three senatorial district of Kwara state (Kwara South, Kwara Central and Kwara North).

Results

The results are organised by research questions 1 to 4 .

Research Question 1: What are the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State?

S/N	**Table 3** Mean and standard deviation on the counselling strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents			
S/N	**As a counsellor, I manage deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents through:**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Remark**
1	reinforcement methods	3.37	.652	Agreed
4	reprimands	2.83	.755	Agreed
3	cognitive restructuring	2.77	.911	Agreed
2	signing of undertaking on behavioural change	2.60	.733	Agreed
5	assertive training	3.56	.594	Agreed
7	training on decision-making skills	3.52	.620	Agreed
8	helping students to select personal values from the values of others	3.11	.636	Agreed
6	peer group cluster method	2.98	.691	Agreed
9	advising parents on how to cope with adolescents' life	3.31	.762	Agreed
10	bibliography method (providing students with books that can enhance their lifestyle	3.26	.764	Agreed
11	organizing seminar on how to enhance positive behaviour	3.18	.675	Agreed
12	provision of accurate moral education	2.97	.747	Agreed
14	playing intermediary counselling role between students and the school authority	3.38	.559	Agreed
13	organizing individual and group counselling for at risk students	3.17	.600	Agreed
15	attending all disciplinary meeting in order to counsel students	2.94	.862	Agreed
16	creating students counselling-friendly programmes	2.90	.738	Agreed

Table 3 revealed responses on the counsellors' expression on the strategies used in managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents. All items recorded the mean score ranging from 3.56 to 2.60. All the items were found to be above the cut-off point of 2.50 on Four Point Likert Type scale. This indicates

that counsellors agreed that all these strategies can be used in managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents.

Research Question 2: *What are the causes of deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents as expressed by secondary school counsellors in Kwara State?*

Table 2 Mean and standard deviation of the respondents' expression on the causes of deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents

S/N	Deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents are caused by:	Mean	SD	
1	poor parental upbringing	3.47	.657	
2	family instability	3.13	.831	
3	over-pampering of children	2.94	.981	
4	*laissez faire* leadership style of the school administration	2.67	.740	
5	learning environment	3.07	.853	
6	exposure of students to negative information on the social media	3.11	.555	
7	nonchalant attitude of parents to the needs of their children	2.95	.817	
8	negative peer group influence	2.98	.923	
9	non-assertiveness of the students	2.67	.707	
10	psychological problems	2.97	.904	

Table 2 shows the mean score and standard deviation of respondents' expression on the causes of deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents. The mean scores ranges from 2.67 to 3.47. Specifically, item 1 had the highest mean score of 3.47, while items 9 and 4 had the lowest mean with 2.67. The mean scores were above the criterion mean of 2.50. Therefore, all the items were accepted as the causes of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents in Kwara state.

Research Question 3: How do male and female counsellors differ on the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents in Kwara State?

Table 4 Mean and standard deviation of male and female respondents on strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents

Variable	Gender		N	X	SD
	Male	1-5 years	70	2.22	1.29
		12 years and above	27	5.77	3.33
		1-5 years	43	4.49	1.93
		6-11 years	35	5.51	2.37
Years in Service	Female	12 years and above	35	5.51	2.37

School Type		Public	66	2.00	.710
	Male	Private	45	4.25	1.51
	Female	Public	54	3.00	1.07
		Private	69	1.91	.679
Religion		Christianity	82	1.45	.566
	Male	Islam	12	9.92	3.87
		ATR	3	3.96	1.55
	Female	Christianity	71	1.92	.683
		Islam	42	3.26	1.15
Senatorial District		Kwara North			
	Male	Kwara Central	26	7.58	2.75
		Kwara South	48	4.10	1.49
		Kwara North	23	8.57	3.10
	Female	Kwara Central	44	4.61	2.05
		Kwara South	22	9.23	4.10
			47	4.32	1.92

Table 4 showed that male respondents with 1-5 years in services had the mean score of 2.22, while those with 12 years and above have the mean score of 5.77. Female respondents with 1-5 years in service have the mean score of 4.49 while those of 6-11 years have the mean score of 5.51and those of 12 years and above have 5.51mean score. This shows that male and female counsellors agreed on the strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents. The male counsellors with the mean scores of 2.00 and 4.25 were from public and private schools, while their female counterparts had the mean scores of 3.00 and 1.91 respectively. This indicates that both male and female counsellors agreed on the strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents. On the basis of religion, Table 5 shows that male counsellors who were practising Christianity have the mean score of 1.45, those of Islamic religion have the mean score of 9.92, while those of African Traditional Religion ATR) have the mean score of 3.96. The female counsellors who were Christians have the mean score of 1.92, while those practising Islamic religion have the mean score of 3.26. The male and female respondents also agreed on the strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents. On the basis of senatorial district, male counsellors from Kwara North have the mean score of 7.58, those from Kwara Central have the mean score of 4.10, while those from have the mean score of 8.57. On the other hand, female counsellors from Kwara North have the mean score of 4.61, those from Kwara Central have the mean score of 9.23, while those from Kwara South have the mean score of 4.32. This also indicates that male and female respondents from three senatorial districts of Kwara State agreed on the strategies for managing deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents.

Research Question 4: What are the perceived best strategies employed by counsellors for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents?

Table 5 Strategies commonly used by counsellors in handling deviant behaviour		
Methods	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
	80	38.1
Behaviour modification	34	16.2
Life development skill	33	15.7
Information service	63	30.0
Counselling programme	210	100

Table 5 indicates that 80 (38.1%) of the respondents used behaviour modification, 34 (16.2%) prefer a life skills development method, 33 (15.7%) use information service method while 63 (30.0%) used

counselling programme. This shows that behaviour modification strategy was the most preferred method used by counsellors in handling deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents.

Discussion of findings

From the findings of this study, it is obvious that the major strategy used by counsellors in managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents is the reinforcement method. Babatunde (2016) agrees that reinforcements are important strategies that influence school learning. It is evident that this strategy positively affects the behaviour of students when applied appropiately. Adeoye (2016) explains that one of the basic functions of the school counsellor is to provide necessary information; the counsellor can provide information to the teachers on the different types of reforcement schedules that can enhance in-school adolescents' behaviour.

Male and female counsellors differ in their views on the strategies for handling deviant behaviours among in-school adolescents in favour of female counsellors. This can be due to the fact that one's gender has a way of influencing an individual's perception. This corroborates the view of Ajiteru (2013) who discovered that male and female students differ in their biological and physical makeup and this has a way of influencing their perception. Female counsellors are likely to be more understanding than their male counterparts because of their biological makeup. Irrespective of the counsellors' opinion, Okobiah and Okorodudu (2006) confirmed that these strategies are effective in reducing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents.

Despite their years of experience, the counsellors agreed in their view on the strategies for managing deviant behaviour. This might be a result of the fact that counsellors were exposed to similar courses during their professional training years as recommended by the National University Commission. Olowonirejuaro (2006) stated that the school counsellors are trained to understand students' behaviour with a view to predicting the students' character and set standards of conduct for students under their tutelage. Gbadamosi (2003) suggested that in handling deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents, the school administrators and the counsellors must be involved in guiding students on what they are expected to do.

Without prejudice to their different religious convictions, counsellors also have similar opinions on the strategies for managing deviant behaviour. Irrespective of the counsellors' religious affirmation, Asonibare (2016) confirmed that one of the most effective approaches used in managing both individual and classroom behaviour, which has gained tremendous support from parents, clinicians, psychologists and counsellors is behaviour modification techniques.

There was no significant difference in the strategies for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents as expressed by the school counsellors in Kwara State on the basis of school type. Coogan *et al.* (2007) revealed that there are various strategies which can be used by the counsellors in public and private schools in enhancing positive behaviour among in-school adolescents. These strategies of behaviour management and self-monitoring skills give the students the opportunity to reflect on their own behaviour. Ojo (2009) explains that counsellors assist clients to improve their wellbeing, alleviate distress, resolve crises and apply counselling strategies in correcting maladjusted behaviour among students.

Counselling is a helping relationship between the counsellor and the client. It is important to note that students need to be assisted in handling contemporary challenges. The professional counsellor should be ready to identify students who have behavioural problems in order to expose them to these strategies for behavioural change. The counsellor is in a position to teach the students life skill strategies; this will help to enhance positive behaviour among in-school adolescents. The counsellor should orientate the teachers on the importance of using different management strategies to reduce deviant behaviour.

Conclusions

The findings of the study revealed that the experience of the counsellors did not differ on an appropriate strategy for managing deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents irrespective of their years of service,

religion and school type.The gender of the counsellor tends to modify the stategies applied in the mangement of deviant behaviour among in-school adolescents.

Therefore, it is recommended that the school administrators should clearly spell out the rules and regulations guiding the expected behaviour of students within the school environment. This will enable counsellors to apply an approriate strategy to manage deviant behaviour. A regular reminder of these rules is expected to further reinforce compliance.

The training of counsellors on emergent strategies to manage deviant behaviour should be recurrent. Information-based intervention is an effective strategy in handling deviant behaviour, so counsellors should always provide right information to in-school adolescents about the negative effects of deviant behaviours. The establishment of counselling centres in every secondary school should be complemented by training and curriculum reviews on techniques of managing deviant behaviour.

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Short communication

Facing the future: between altruism and self-interest

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Distinguished Guests, Colleagues, Graduands and Students, Ladies and Gentlemen:
I have been honoured with the task of offering a Keynote Address for this year's Graduation Ceremony (University of Zululand). I accepted the assignment with humility and mindfulness concerning the gravity of the occasion; the need to say something meaningful for the graduands, the principal constituency in this gathering for whom this occasion is a supremely momentous rite of passage in life's journey. I am persuaded by experience to believe that your friends and relatives who are here to rejoice in celebratory happiness with you have great expectations for your futures.

Many of you have spent three or four years of your young lives at this university and been put through the rigours of the disciplines of science, humanities and social studies. Through these processes you have acquired the skills of organized and disciplined thought, writing and the ability to discuss and hold forth with logically organized arguments. Hopefully, many of you will carry on and build on the skills that you have learnt as academics and other types of scholars, but most of you will be deployed into all areas of the society to serve purposes for which your studies have given you facilities of mind and action which will enable you to carry out your tasks and duties to good effect. There are also some who may go off in directions which are totally different from what you have been taught and acquired in the past few years. But, if the efforts of the university have been effectual, then by and large, whatever you have learnt should place you on better footing to deal with the myriad challenges you will face and the demands that society makes on you.

Those of you who in your turn become academics and who then carry forward in the same line of learning and activities that your lecturers and professors have taught you will be a small minority, who will hopefully be incessantly and obsessively challenged to produce work of keen scholarship in the service of society. The numbers who move in this direction will be small, but crucial to the maintenance, consolidation and development of scholarship and tertiary education in the region and beyond.

We currently as academics in Africa face new challenges defined in the voices and clamour of our students for decolonized education in our times. The issues that these matters throw up need to be pursued by the new generation of scholars and academics represented in you, the graduands of today and tomorrow. Every society in every generation defines its outstanding and nascent problems afresh and the new generation is supposed to conceive and craft better solutions and novel answers to the old and new problems.

Those of you who move into responsibilities in wider society will also need to be fired by inspiration and imagination to produce answers which will serve to ameliorate the existential conditions of society at large. It is a well-known fact that youth in general are always more idealistic, earnest, challenging and willing to confront issues which the older generations have given up on or are perceptively too ready to acquiesce in. Indeed, we can say that we expect the youth to champion and advance new causes for the benefit of all. Youth must be altruistic, generous, hopeful and expectant that the society of tomorrow will

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be better than today; that the provisions and welfare of all should not be left unattended to. It is our hope that you the young of today, the intellectuals of today and tomorrow, will see that it is your task to take care of those who have no voice and little sustenance. They need to be provided with the means to keep body and soul together in society. In other words, your "hearts should be in the right place." You should be as it were, in conscience, your sisters' and brothers' keepers. In order to do this, you will need to be methodologically dispassionate, analytically cold and impartial in your approach to the organization and dispensation of social justice. You will need to be able to speak without fear and if necessary confront authority when you think fairness, justice, equity and social provisions are not evenly distributed to all and sundry. You need to maintain clear conscience and treat matters of public concern with honesty and perspicacious candour.

Socially and universally, in pursuit of the material needs of life there are two directions; two contradictions that are permanently at play and in contestation. The first is the direction of altruism; caring, sharing, the allocation of goods and services on principles of equality and egalitarianism. This direction for its execution requires public spirit, interest, generosity and concern for your brother, sister and neighbour. It is an ethos which places the common good above all else. The second direction, is narrower in substance and is pointed towards the fulfilment of individual needs and concerns of the person. It is in origins and psychological derivations close to primal instincts. It is true that to survive, a person must have enough self-centredness and self-respect to deal with the challenges of everyday life. But, it is without doubt inadequate and societally unrewarding if one lives a life of dogged self-centredness, the unbridled pursuit of self-interest, the drive towards single-minded greed and the lack of concern for the interests of others. What I can confidently say is that a life which is lived for the benefit of oneself alone is a meaningless and empty life of narcissistic self-aggrandizement. It does not take a person beyond him/herself. On the other hand, a life which is lived in the service of others is an enlarged, forward-looking and ennobling existence which makes one strong in mind and disposition and fearless in action. The choice is yours.

You must not allow yourselves to forget that much as you have achieved your present stations through your individual hard-work and self-application, your families and indeed society at large has heavily invested in you. South African society has put in tax-payer's money and other resources to get you where you are and you are duty-bound to reciprocate in service to society, for the benefit of all.

This occasion and event will remain marked in your minds and memories for the rest of your lives. Of course, you will forget many things, and as you get older your memories will play fast and loose, hide and seek, with you; that is "the way of all flesh." But, what is happening to you today is something which will stay with you, stored up in the recesses of your minds, but readily available at beck and call. You must savour it and make it a positive milestone in your life's journey. You have been through your educational experience here been bestowed with enhanced human capital which no one can take away from you.

The object of education is to inculcate in us habits of mind and action which enable us to act on the basis of skills and attitudes in an intelligent fashion and in agreement with understood societal precepts. Education equips us to fit into the general purposes of society and act on the basis of our applied knowledge and skills in different slots which go towards the maintenance of the social order and its collective prosperity. What we educationally learn is acknowledged and also, most importantly, societally rewarded. Our educational equipment comes with acknowledgement by society with status and social positions which our qualifications allow us, in the social order. If education socializes us and fits us into an existent order, it is also important to point out that education in its refinements must enable us to question, challenge and oppose ideas, views and practices, which revolt our conscience or are clearly opposed to the larger good and ethical order of society. We must not selfishly cling to the established order and abominate change in order to preserve privilege and narrowly based social benefits.

In all societies, theft, lies and misappropriation are not uncommon but are regarded as contrary to the common good of the society. Some societies may agree that the accumulation of capital, organized and

legalized greed is acceptable, and not only acceptable, but instrumentally desirable in the organization of social life. Whatever the case may be, the ultimate value of our education is that we have a voice and are able therefore to question the tenets which underlie our social order; that we are able to interrogate assumptions that are issued by authorities and the powers that be; that indeed the ability and the trained quality of our interrogation is a gift of education. In other words, we owe society the need to maintain voices of tolerance, rationality, civilization and even-handedness. If we respect the heritage and the benefits of the order that we live in, if we value the achievements of the past, then we must add an educated and enlightened voice to all the laws, practices and precepts which underlie the maintenance of the social order. In matters of integrity please remain inflexible and resolute. The cheap and easy discounting of character and integrity, and the markdown of one's moral compass is the surest road to ethical perversion. Honesty and incorruptibility are time-tested universal values. This would be an invaluable contribution not only in the first instance to ourselves, but also to society at large and the sustained betterment of the existential circumstances of subsequent generations.

In the course of your education here and in our times, some issues of relevance to education and society in general have assumed prominence in public and private discussions. Whether you remain in education or not and at whatever level of education you operate, some of these issues will continue to deserve your attention because of their long term societal relevance and their importance to the formation of succeeding generations.

Currently, a significant point of discussion and public debate in education is about the need to decolonize education and move decisively beyond the inhibiting legacy of colonialism. Most people agree about the need to rid our education of the heritage of the culturally dismissive, anti-African and oppressive baggage of colonial intent and purpose, which continues to affect the educational process in form and substance, and hence the product of the educational system. But, what does decolonizing education really mean? What should it mean? What will be required for us to be able to achieve this end? Answers to these issues have so far tended to be superficial and emotive. Often, the articulation of the issue and attendant matters do not seem to go beyond simplistic one-liners, a few slogans and superficial observations. I have had occasion to point out that: the decolonization of knowledge and the overhaul of the structural edifice of the education system does not and should not mean the facile rejection of Western-derived epistemologies and their modes of construction. It means stripping and replacing Western specificities from our modes of knowledge construction, and the production of knowledge to suit and speak to our cultural/linguistic particularities. It means in short cultural consistency and societal relevance. It means in practice shifts in the class basis of knowledge production and deposition.[2]

It seems to me important to point out that a leading issue in the whole discussion is the question of language of instruction. We need to appreciate that all societies which make progress in the world today make progress on the basis of their own languages, not the colonially inherited languages. We need to go forward with confidence in the attitude and belief that without the full usage of our languages in education, media and the rest of our social lives, progress for Africans will be impossible. In my estimation, based on an experience of teaching and researching at the tertiary level in nine African countries, I am convinced that the most constricting problem African students' face in their studies derive from having to learn in these colonial languages. Too many, indeed the majority of African learners at all levels of education first and foremost battle with the problem of learning in languages which are not their home-language or mother-tongue. There is an important relationship between language facility and school success. Students who write well are also generally above average in speaking and reading.

In the course of the last two years, we have witnessed clamorous student protests and stormy proceedings emerging out of the "Rhodes must fall" campaign at the University of Cape Town. In the country as a whole, these initial events triggered in their wake sympathetic student reactions. Down the

2. K.K. Prah. Has Rhodes Fallen? Decolonizing the Humanities in Africa and Constructing Intellectual Sovereignty. The Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAF) Inaugural Humanities Lecture. HSRC, Pretoria. 9th March 2017.

road, at Stellenbosch University, the students also raised their voices and took to the streets. The Stellenbosch protests, however, had a linguistic pivot. African students in the university were demonstrating in advocacy for a bi-lingual language of instruction policy in the institution, which would create space for the instatement of English in supplement to Afrikaans. Most ironically, African languages as languages of instruction did not feature in the ardently expressed entreaties of the students.

The experience and historical profile of post-colonial Asia in particular may offer us a great deal that we can learn from. Nowhere in former colonial Asia was the language of the colonizer elevated in the post-independence order to the status of a national language. This reality contrasts fairly sharply with the records of the large majority of the former colonies in Africa. What Asian countries have succeeded in doing is that they have replaced the superior role of the colonial languages in education and development in their societies with the languages and cultures native to themselves; the languages spoken by the overwhelming majorities. It is this shift from working under Western linguistic and colonial tutelage to the use of an autonomous indigenous language or languages of education and societal communication, which has enabled the development and transformation of Asian societies towards modernity that we see today. Certainly, in countries like Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and Korea, the indigenization of the language of education has opened the door towards development and emancipation. These countries have really broken through the neocolonial cultural barrier regarding language policy and its implementation, in favour of the interests of mass society.

Another area of interest which preoccupies the minds of many African academics in South Africa today is the question of indigenous knowledge systems; the fate of the autonomously derived knowledge which has been inherited and handed down in changing fashion from generation to generation in our societies. What is the status and what are the prospects for this heritage? What is happening to it? Again, although there is often extravagant expenditure of testy emotion on this matter, few draw attention to the fact that when we point to indigenous knowledge, we are indeed pointing to knowledge in African languages, not in English. It is not possible to access indigenous knowledge in colonial languages. Knowledge ultimately belongs to the cultural world of the language in which it is held. What is possible and is the practice and experience of the rest of the world is that through translations of scientific work and knowledge into the indigenous language, new and important knowledge becomes part of indigenous knowledge. The moment externally derived knowledge is translated into the indigenous language it becomes part of the constituency who own the language.

Language is the most crucial element in culture and education. It is that which enabled the emergence of *homo sapiens sapiens* from its antecedents and it is in language that everything we have and know is captured and socially transacted. Nothing exists which is not defined in language. The history, the collective memory of people and societies are all represented in language. We therefore cannot learn well or skilfully create in somebody else's language.

By way of summation, I want to draw attention to the fact that education in the final analysis is not only the prosaic acquisition of facts and knowledge; it is not only passing examinations and the learning of factual compendia which are handed down in books and articulated in lectures. Furthermore, it is also not the simple acquirement of techniques and how to make, handle or manage techniques. Education must qualitatively affect the character of the product of the system. Education civilizes, it refines the tastes, attitudes and sensibilities of the educated. It must make us better people, more cultured and refined; with greater ability and sensitivity to art, music, philosophy, thought and the other aesthetic areas of social life. There is undoubtedly a sense in which an educated person, whatever the societal and historical base of his formation may be, assimilates a degree of refinement and character which is universally recognizable. In other words, at the highest qualitative level a well-educated person is a universal type.

I counsel you to go forth from here in clear and good conscience; the good life is the life which is devoted to the commonweal, this requires that at all times and at all stages we maintain a heightened concern for the common good of humanity.

Inkanyiso

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