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Dear Inkanyiso readers,

It is my pleasure to present *Inkanyiso* Vol 11 No 1, which consists of seven research articles and one short communication. The articles in this issue feature aspects of the disciplines social justice, political science, law, theology, information studies and linguistics.

Land ownership is a global issue that continues to raise controversial social justice debate and concerns, particularly in South Africa. The first article is by Ben Cousins from the University of the Western Cape, South Africa, and is titled 'Land reform, accumulation and social reproduction. The South African experience in global and historical perspective'. Ben links the land issue in South Africa to a capitalist economy. It is acknowledged that the challenges of land reform are global and linked to land ownership which has to be resolved with the uniqueness of context in mind. The second article is titled 'The Legislatures, Legislative Oversight and Crisis of Governance in Democratizing Nigeria: A Prebendalist Perspective', by Olusesan Osunkoya and from the Tai Solarin University of Education in Nigeria, and Adeniyi Basiru from the University of Lagos, Nigeria, focuses on political science. The two authors argue that the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic have made a minimal contribution in discharging their oversight roles, resulting in a crisis of governance. They conclude that as long as the legislatures, among other institutions of governance, are trapped in the prebendal orbit, the journey towards democratic accountability may continue to be painful. Christian street evangelism is widespread in Africa. In the third article, entitled 'Generic Structure Potential Analysis of Christian Street Evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria', Temitope Michael Ajayi from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, acknowledges the spread of Christian street evangelism in the country and examines the linguistic description of language use in Christian street evangelism. He concludes that it features five obligatory elements: songs, greetings, sermon, prayer and finis; and three optional elements: declaration of purpose, call for confession, and welcome to the unique fold.

The fourth article, with a focus on legal issues, is 'An Appraisal of the recruitment and selection process of the Judiciary (Chief Justice) in Zimbabwe', written by Sandiso Bazana and Charlene Jackson from Rhodes University in South Africa. They acknowledge the role of the judges or the judiciary in creating successful democracies and demonstrate the flaws in the last recruitment and selection process for the Chief Justice conducted by the Judicial Service Commission in Zimbabwe. They suggest that the recruitment of and selection process for judges should be done by eminent experts who understand law and the procedure for fulfilling the role without any bias and interference from the public. The development of Telecentres to enable the use ICT for the dissemination of information to the information deprived rural communities was considered by the World Bank to be "a powerful engine of rural development and a preferred instrument in the fight against poverty". The fifth article refers to 'Information services provided by Maarifa Telecentres to rural communities in ASALs in Kenya'. In the article, Catherine Chege, Joseph, Kiplang'at and Daniel Rotich from Moi University in Kenya explain the role of Telecentres and explore information services provided by two Maarifa centres to rural communities in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) in Kenya. They conclude that Maarifa centres have solved most of the community's information-related challenges through e-government services, e-commerce, agricultural development and knowledge creation, resulting in improved livelihoods. Related to the previous article, focusing on information studies, the sixth article examines the 'Social model of disability and Wilson's model of information behaviour in the academic library context'. Dorothy Eneya and Janneke Mostert from the University of Zululand, South Africa, argue that despite their respective weaknesses, using the social model of disability and Wilson's model of

information-seeking behaviour in the academic library context offers an opportunity for academic libraries to reconsider their systems and services in order to address the different barriers faced by students with disabilities in their daily information seeking. They acknowledge that access to any form of information is a fundamental human right that must be addressed by academic libraries to support equal information access and use. The seventh article is on linguistics. Yemisi Famakinwa from Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria, has contributed an article entitled 'Presupposition and sentence synonyms as semantic devices in selected Yoruba proverbs', analysing some Yorùbá proverbs to unravel not only their meaning equivalence in English but to infer from such proverbs their underlying assumptions and to proffer solutions to their inherent problems. Yemisi concludes by affirming that Yorùbá proverbs are not only genre sensitive, but user-dependent since circumstances or events relating to humans are involved.

The 'short communication' section of the Journal contains the article 'The intellectual project as a precondition for societal redemption', based on a keynote address by Prof. Siphoo Seepe presented at the annual Research Award ceremony at the University of Zululand where he is a Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Institutional Support. In his insightful speech, he referred to eminent world leaders and scholars to emphasise the role of scholarship and intellectuals in society and cautions that 'to escape this reality, universities and society, in general, should place the intellectual project at the centre of their everyday business. They should be transformed into incubators of ideas and cutting-edge knowledge. This is not possible without creating a vibrant intellectual culture that enables the free flow of ideas. Put sharply, the operative idea is that a university is obligated to ensure a free exchange of ideas'.

Enjoy the reading  
Dennis N. Ocholla  
Editor-in-Chief, *Inkanyiso*, JHSS  
[www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za](http://www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za)

# Land reform, accumulation and social reproduction: The South African experience in global and historical perspective

Ben Cousins<sup>1</sup>  
Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies  
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences  
University of the Western Cape  
*bcousins@plaas.org.za*

## Abstract

*The reality of capitalist economy, its inherent dynamics and contradictions, must be understood as central to policy debates about land reform in South Africa today. Progressive land reform should strive to promote 'accumulation' from below, through the redistribution of productive land to a large number of petty agricultural commodity producers. Supporting the social reproduction needs of the rural poor is also important, and securing their rights to communal land must be a key goal of tenure reform. Beyond South Africa, the experience of redistributive land reform more broadly suggests that southern Africa is a unique context in some ways (e.g. there is a need to break up large and productive farms) but not in many others. Many of the problems facing land reform in South Africa have been experienced elsewhere. Beyond land reform, the world is currently in the grip of several overlapping crises, notably the increasing precarity of working populations, ecological breakdown, large-scale migration, technological advances that threaten both jobs and democracy, and a swing towards right-wing and authoritarian modes of governance. Again, the centrality of the logic of capital to these simultaneous crises must be acknowledged.*

**Keywords:** accumulation, capitalism, crisis, land reform, social reproduction

## Introduction

Land reform in post-apartheid South Africa has promised sweet satisfaction: justice, redress, repossession of stolen land and, for some at least, real opportunities for enhanced incomes and livelihoods within a restructured and dynamic rural economy. In practice, it has been a thin and bitter lemon, juicy only with scandal and low in vitamin C. Why? Beyond 'sell-out' and 'state incapacity', however relevant, a deeper explanation is required, not least because deep-level understandings are the best guide to action.

A narrow, sector-focused answer is bound to be inadequate. The failures of land reform are rooted in the wider dynamics of our society as a whole, including the continuing reproduction of key structural features of the political economies of previous regimes.

But South Africa, however 'extreme' a case, also needs to be understood in the light of larger-scale processes and patterns at the global level, and in the context of longer-term histories and transitions. Hence the question: what does the experience of land reform in other countries and at other times have to teach us?

The past is important, no doubt, but what of the present and the immediate future? I argue that land reform now has to address radical environmental change precipitated by global warming and biodiversity destruction as a key priority, in order to be truly pro-poor, and not seen

1. Ben Cousins PhD is the DST/NRF Chair in Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies and Senior Professor, Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape. This paper is a revised version of a public lecture delivered in Cape Town on the 28th October 2019.

as a distraction from redistribution. This in turn requires us to respond to a series of inter-linked global crises: increasingly precarious livelihoods, large-scale migration, turns away from democratic and towards authoritarian forms of governance (and the violence that this often entails) ... and technological advancements that threaten rather than support human well-being.

Large questions, seemingly intractable, but necessary to think through. Remember that old bumper sticker: 'think globally, act locally' ... But: how to 'think', using what theories and concepts, is also a key question.

## Theories and concepts 1: capitalism

In my view, none of the ills of contemporary society can be understood without a theory of capitalism, the dominant economic system across the world today, framing and influencing every single decision we take. It is important to give a name to this particular and peculiar system, to understand its specificities, and not to conflate it with a chaotic notion of 'the economy' in general.

The most influential theorist of capitalism remains Marx, many of whose ideas remain relevant today.

The essential features of capitalism are (in an inevitably simplifying sketch):

- A fundamental class divide: those who own means of production and those who do not – and who must sell their capacity to work to the owners, in return for wages
- Private property allows owners to benefit from social labour
- Competitive markets discipline individual capitalist enterprises and require reinvestment of profit to survive
- This produces both technological dynamism and the drive to expand through capture of new markets for new products, within national economies and across borders
- Accumulation or expanded reproduction via reinvestment of profit is the central dynamic, the basis of economic growth
- When accumulation stalls, as in the post-2008 'Great Stagnation', the system goes into crisis, and 'creative destruction' is required to lay the basis for a new cycle of growth
- The source of profit is the production and appropriation of value (produced by labour and appropriated by capital)
- The portion of value appropriated by capital is over and above that required to reproduce the worker via wages, or 'surplus value'
- The other source of value is Nature – the direct appropriation of natural wealth, as when logging forests or catching fish
- Value under capitalism is 'abstract value', requiring continual expansion via reinvestment and growth
- Classes of labour are responsible for their own social reproduction, using wages to purchase goods and services, as well as their own labour (often feminised) to cook, clean and care for children, old and sick.

In the contemporary version of capitalism, many Marxists would argue:

- Globalisation of capitalist relations has been vastly extended
- Financial capital, essentially unproductive, leads and dominates
- The current 'Great Stagnation' is at root a crisis of low investment due to lowered profitability, rather than inadequate demand. No end is in sight, despite quantitative easing and zero interest rates
- Deepening inequality is the result: according to the recent Credit Suisse report, the bottom half of adults in the world accounted for less than 1% of total global wealth in mid-2019, while the top 10% possessed 82% of global wealth and the top 1% owned nearly half (45%) of all household assets.

Today, capitalism is undoubtedly in deep crisis, perhaps not terminally, but sufficiently so that even mainstream economists are beginning to call for fundamental reforms.

## Theories and concepts 2: Capitalist accumulation in agriculture

How do Marxists approach and understand the question of land reform? Issues of accumulation and social reproduction, class relations and the tensions these generate are as central as they are in the general theory. Driven by the logic of value, large-scale capitalist agricultural enterprises are similar in their functioning to manufacturing industries, mechanising their production systems and greatly increasing the productivity of labour. However, they also attempt to 'tame' the vagaries of nature (uneven soil fertility, drought, disease, etc.) by converting farming into factory-style, standardised 'throughput' operations, in efforts to increase yields and weight gains (physical productivity). Biotechnology is another key method.

### What about small-scale farming?

In one influential approach, small productive enterprises based on family labour are best understood as *petty commodity producers*. Such producers combine the class places of capital and labour: they possess the means of production, unlike landless workers, and are in this sense capitalists, but they also rely mainly on family labour (unlike capitalists) and have to meet their social reproduction needs as workers. Petty commodity producers thus exploit themselves within the production process – one way of understanding the labour-intensive character of small farming. And sexual divisions of labour also result in the exploitation of female and child labour by men, if they direct the production process – and in effect occupy the class position of capital.

Some agricultural petty commodity producers make use of opportunities to produce a substantial surplus over and above the amount needed to secure their subsistence, or simple reproduction, and can reinvest all or part of this surplus in extending the material base of production unit, e.g. cultivating more land, purchasing equipment, hiring more labourers. Such producers move beyond *simple reproduction* into *expanded reproduction*. Lenin termed these the 'rich peasants', some of whom indeed succeed in becoming fully-fledged capitalist farmers.

Other producers are unable to reproduce themselves from their own production alone, as a result of drought, crop and livestock losses, the death of a productive adult, etc., all of which undermine farming capacity. They may become increasingly dependent on the sale of their labour to survive (i.e. become wage workers), or rely on support from family members or the state (e.g. as social grants).

A Marxist view of the tendency of small-scale farmers to differentiate themselves into agrarian classes is sometimes disputed by those influenced by the views of the Russian agricultural economist, Alexander Chayanov. Chayanov argued forcefully that peasants are subordinated by capitalism, but are not themselves capitalist (van der Ploeg 2014: 15), and constitute a fertile source of resistance to the capitalist mode of production. I do not find this view persuasive. Surely no economic space exists 'outside' of global capitalism today?

This chronic instability of petty commodity production and its tendency to class differentiation thus derives from the inherent contradiction between capital and labour internalised within the household economy. As Henry Bernstein (1986) puts it:

*Petty commodity producers experience contradictions between reproducing themselves as **labour** (daily and generational reproduction, or social reproduction) and as **capital** (maintenance, replacement, and possibly expansion of the means of production). Reducing levels of consumption, and increasing or limiting numbers of children according to specific circumstances, in order to maintain, replace or expand the means of production (i.e. accumulation) is an expression of this contradiction.*

The degree to which agricultural petty commodity producers are able to successfully negotiate these contradictions is generally uneven. This has important implications for land reform, and in particular for the question of who benefits most from the redistribution of productive resources.

### Theories and concepts 3: Social reproduction

Efforts to theorise social reproduction are blossoming at present. Since the 1970s, Marxist and feminist scholars have engaged in fierce debates on how the reproduction of capital crucially depends upon the social reproduction of labour through a range of 'non-commodified' forms of production, and 'non-economic' relations. Although wages remain key for the purchase of consumer goods, social reproduction also relies on institutions such as marriage, households, and the state, and the governance of largely feminised unpaid labour, often under oppressive conditions.

Increasingly Marxist-feminists see social reproduction not as a separate and autonomous, non-commodified social sphere, but as an integral feature of capitalism. It is *not* about 'two separate spaces and two separate processes of production, the economic and the social – often understood as the workplace and home', but about understanding capitalism as a 'complex totality' or connected system (Bhattacharya 2017).

Capitalism both requires a sphere of non-commodified social reproduction, and tends to erode or destroy the relations that constitute it. In an era of financialised capitalism underpinned by neoliberal policies, the contradictions between accumulation and social reproduction have deepened, and been exacerbated in the period since the global financial crisis of 2007/08.

Nancy Fraser sees these contradictions as life-threatening. Capitalism's 'drive to unlimited accumulation threatens to destabilise the very reproductive processes that capital – and the rest of us – need'... If social reproduction is threatened, over time the effect will be that 'capitalism's accumulation dynamic effectively eats its own tail' (Fraser 2016: 103). She argues this for the ecological dimension too – natural processes renew the biological health of the planet, but are under attack as a result of capitalism's drive for endless growth.

In agrarian societies in the global South, production and social reproduction are also dynamically intertwined, but in a distinctive manner. Access to and control over land and natural resources, in conjunction with the labour required for production, are key. Given the generalised commodification of contemporary life, cash income is a necessity for subsistence, gained either through employment by others, locally or further afield, or from non-landed forms of petty production.

Bernstein locates the reproduction squeeze facing many small-scale farmers today within the global reality of the increasing (structural) fragmentation of 'classes of labour', by which he means people depending, directly and indirectly, on the sale of their labour power for their daily reproduction.

*The working poor of the South have to pursue their reproduction through insecure, oppressive and typically increasingly scarce wage employment and/or a range of likewise precarious small-scale and insecure 'informal economy' survival activity, including marginal farming ... livelihoods are pursued through complex combinations of employment and self-employment (Bernstein 2010: 111).*

'Fragmentation' refers in part to hybrid and diverse combinations of precarious forms of livelihood and sources of income available to classes of labour in global capitalism today, as well as the 'forms of differentiation and oppression along intersecting lines of class, gender, generation, caste and ethnicity' (*ibid*).

Over the past 10 years, together with two wonderful groups of PhD students, I have explored these issues in rural South Africa, in both communal areas and on land reform farms.

We argue (Cousins *et al.* 2018a) that social reproduction in these contexts has the following features:

1. Land and property rights are significant, despite the relatively small contributions of agricultural production to the incomes of most households: they are pivotal for the establishment of a homestead, the locus of daily and generational reproduction, and customary norms and practices offer guaranteed and free access to land;
2. Rural homes offer key advantages for South Africans belonging to ‘fragmented classes of labour’. The cost of living is significantly lower than in urban contexts, partly because homes are cheaper to build and maintain, and infrastructure has been improved by the state. Care of children and the old at rural homes helps to anchor family structures and kinship networks in a time when employment prospects are bleak and livelihood strategies are precarious;
3. Communal areas and land reform farms involve rights to landed resources, which offer important supplements to cash income and also some opportunities for ‘accumulation from below’, especially in fresh produce and livestock production;
4. Since access to productive land is mediated by either ‘customary’ norms and values (communal areas), or collective property institutions (land reform farms), incipient processes of accumulation generate tensions and conflicts over unequal benefits from shared resources;
5. Customary institutions give rise to a ceremonial economy with two key features: (a) considerable amounts of cash are spent in reproducing the interdependence of individuals within families, kin networks and ‘communities’, expressed in rituals surrounding marriage, death and celebrations; and (b) livestock play key roles in ceremonies, which support a large and lucrative market in live animals for slaughter.
6. Social institutions such as marriage are in flux, many women bearing children outside of stable relationships, and rural homesteads increasingly including adult females with children. This is leading to a range of tensions with ‘customary’ relations and identities both affirmed and subverted in processes of land allocation to female-headed households;

Land reform and rural development policies, we suggest, have to take these issues into account if they are to have traction – and communal tenure reform that secures the land rights of the rural poor, in particular.

## Policy debates

A key distinction we have employed in our work is between ‘accumulation from above’ and ‘from below’. ‘From above’ refers to extra-economic strategies to exploit labour or to secure state support, or support from existing capitals, in order to engage in expanded reproduction. ‘From below’ refers to economic processes of successful surplus production and its reinvestment into the enterprise. For Lenin, writing in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, accumulation from below, typified in the American path, was inherently more progressive and democratic than accumulation from above, as in Prussia. Here the Junker class, feudal landlords, transformed themselves into large-scale capitalist farmers.

(Note: The distinction does not imply that there is a Chinese Wall between these processes, as Mamdani (1987) emphasises in his well-known article on Uganda; in practice, they often complement one another to a degree.)

For Bernstein (1996), the transition to a highly productive capitalist agriculture in South Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries took the Prussian path, via massive state support for white farmers and the dispossession of indigenous populations. This resolved the classic Agrarian Question, which is about the nature of this transition and the class forces that benefit. This was the Agrarian Question of *capital*. But it did not resolve the Agrarian Question of ‘**the oppressed**’

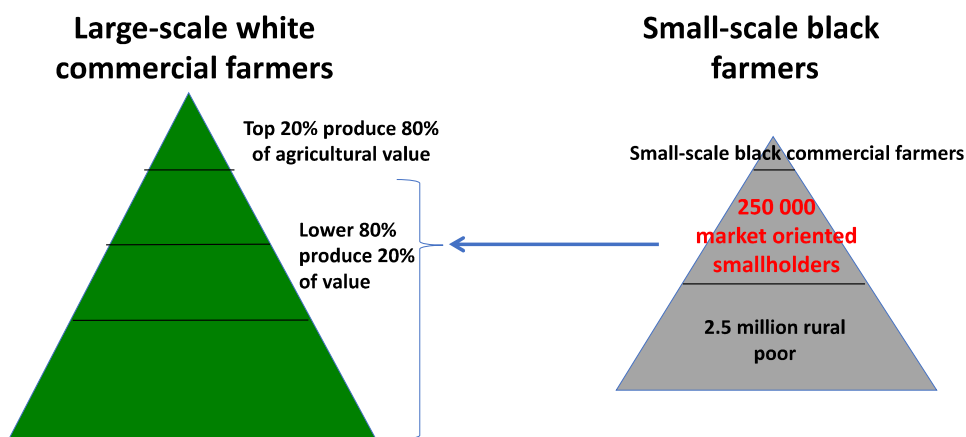


– or, as Bernstein asserts more generally, of **labour**, which helps explain the many popular struggles over land that continue to erupt across the Global South.

I have argued that in post-apartheid South Africa the fundamental rationale for a pro-poor rural land reform must be sought in the prospects for ‘accumulation from below’ by small-scale, market-oriented black farmers, who emerge from the ranks of the rural poor. If occupying profitable niches in the agricultural economy, they can make a small but significant contribution to reducing unemployment and poverty. A challenging task, no doubt, given the dominance of most value chains by large agribusiness capitals, in farming and in inputs supply, processing and retail. On the other hand, capitalist agriculture is also highly differentiated, with the largest 3 000 – 5 000 farming operations accounting for the great bulk of value – possibly 80% of the total (Cousins 2015).

My preferred policy option:

### Land reform that promotes ‘accumulation from below’



**Figure 1.** Proposal for pro-poor land redistribution

This is controversial, of course, and seems to be hated by mainstream agricultural economists in particular – perhaps because it threatens their (ideological) view that large-scale capitalist farming is the ONLY ‘viable’ option for redistributive land reform.

**What about the mass of rural residents? Can they benefit from land redistribution?**

One way to understand poverty in SA today is as a legacy of the cheap labour policies pursued by capital and the state under the colonial and segregationist eras. Under apartheid, however, as argued by Harold Wolpe, rural reserves became increasingly orientated to housing an African population ‘surplus’ to capital’s requirements. Giovanni Arrighi and his co-authors (2010) suggest that the unintended wider consequences of these policies were in fact negative for South African capitalism: a narrow domestic market was impeded by stagnant black wages, small-scale agriculture collapsed, and together with the racially exclusive character of social welfare, these limited the potential for import-substituting growth in the manufacturing sector.

Overcoming these legacies remains the major challenge to economic policy, and it seems to me that land redistribution can play only a relatively minor role in meeting that challenge –

generating, at best, around 1,2 million 'jobs' (if we include self-employment), that will be only modestly remunerated (Cousins *et al.* 2018b).

## Lessons from global and historical experience – a comparative analysis

What can South Africa learn from wider global and historical experience, especially of reforms in the 20<sup>th</sup> century? Most land reforms have involved transferring rights of ownership from wealthy landlords to poor, small-scale farmers working the land under various kinds of tenancy arrangements. These are often described as 'land to the tiller' reforms. Much less common are redistributive reforms that resettle small farmers on large, productive farms subdivided into smaller plots. Southern Africa, the Africa of 'settler states', is somewhat of an outlier in this respect.

### *Periodisation*

Changes in the distribution, character and legal status of rights to land and natural resources, as well as in the class character and productivity of the agrarian economy, have powerfully shaped the making of the modern world. Land reform has played a central role in the transition from pre-capitalist forms of economy, in which classes of unproductive landed property dominated the countryside, to capitalism.

#### *(a) 1900 – 1939: reform and revolution*

Two revolutionary convulsions in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Mexico in 1910 and in Russia in 1917, saw peasants play key roles in the overthrow of autocratic states and their replacement by popular democracy (Mexico), and socialism (Russia). In both cases the mass of the population were engaged in small-scale peasant farming, but power and wealth in the countryside were concentrated in the hands of a small land-owning elite. Radical redistributive land reforms were driven 'from below' and large areas of land were transferred to the rural poor. Subsequent developments in Mexico, however, saw the take-over of the agrarian economy by large-scale capital. The fate of the Russian peasantry was even more tragic.

#### *(b) 1945 – 1980: reform in the contexts of decolonization, national liberation and the Cold War*

After World War II, pressures for decolonisation and national liberation increased dramatically, and European colonial powers had to give up their direct control of large areas of the world. Tensions between the capitalist West and the communist bloc led by the Soviet Union heightened – the Cold War period.

A majority of the population in the former colonies was still engaged in small-scale farming, and land reform featured strongly in many national liberation struggles – described by Eric Wolf (1969) as 'peasant wars'. It also formed a key focus of post-independence policy. In most cases these were 'land to the tiller'-type reforms, but in some countries large estates were collectivised by socialist governments (Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba).

In China, with the mass of poor peasants and landless labourers under the domination of wealthy landlords, land reform initially involved 'land to the tiller'. Collectivisation followed, and from 1978, the Household Responsibility System, land ownership remained with the collective. Currently, of course, China is encouraging capitalist farming.

In Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, agrarian reform helped to consolidate capitalism and underwrote rapid industrialisation, with reforms driven from above by authoritarian states (backed by occupying United States forces) and designed to pre-empt a turn to communism. Powerful landlords were expropriated and their land redistributed to tenants. Technological innovation raised productivity, but administered prices, taxation and supplies of cheap rural labour to emerging industries meant that capitalist accumulation was subsidised by appropriation of the agricultural surplus.

### *(c) 1980s to the present: reform in the context of neo-liberalism*

The 1980s saw something of a hiatus in relation to land reform, as the 'developmental state' gave way to neoliberal, market-oriented reforms. In a few countries, however, political conjunctures created openings for radical reform – as in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, the Philippines and Zimbabwe, and in the 1990s, large-scale peasant mobilisations in Indonesia and Honduras.

From 1990, after the collapse of Soviet-style communism, 'new wave' land reform was promoted by the USA and the World Bank as a way to consolidate capitalist property relations. In Nicaragua and Vietnam, individual land titling formed part of the roll-back.

In contexts where redistributive land reform was necessary because of historical legacies (e.g. in southern Africa), the advocates of 'new wave' reform argued for policies based on market-friendly transactions between 'willing sellers and willing buyers', with expropriation avoided. This influenced negotiated transitions and land reform policies in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Since the 1980s and the rise of neoliberalism, many governments across the developing world have strongly promoted large-scale, commercial and export-oriented farming. With capitalism now hegemonic, the terrain on which land reform takes place has dramatically altered as a result.

These shifts have not been uncontested, however. Global social movements such as Via Campesina, the 'way of the peasant', have emerged to resist neoliberal-style reform and urge redistribution to the poor. At the same time, a range of new issues loom large within debates on land reform: gender equity, claims to resources by indigenous peoples, the unequal and often unhealthy character of global agro-food systems, and environmental sustainability.

### *Variable processes and outcomes*

Comparing these experiences, what can we conclude?

1. Agrarian and land reforms have often been driven 'from below' in the context of wider political struggles. In other cases, they have been driven 'from above' by state actors and their allies in pursuit of their own goals, or combined state power and resources 'from above' with the energies of mobilised interest groups 'from below'. It seems to me that South Africa's is pre-eminently a state-driven programme, and increasingly a state that has been captured by elite interests. Can this change?
2. It is clear that significant reductions of rural poverty have followed some cases of land reform (e.g. in China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Cuba and Kerala in India), increasing productivity, output and income, and making a significant contribution to development more generally. However, there have also been many disappointing outcomes (e.g. little or no rural poverty reduction; the benefits of reform being captured by the relatively wealthy). South Africa to date clearly falls in this category.
3. Issues of scale of production and farm size are always highly contested. Both neoclassical economists and Marxists are skeptical of populist claims for a generalised 'Inverse Relationship' between farm size and yield. Marxists, however, point to crises of social reproduction alongside the productivity of capitalist farmers. Radical populists argue that high yields can be achieved by peasant farmers, and point to the hidden or externalised costs of industrial farming systems.
4. Another core disagreement is around state vs. market-led reform. For mainstream economists, market-friendly mechanisms are key – although some acknowledge that markets cannot by themselves redistribute wealth. For radical populists, the exercise of state power is essential for promoting the interests of popular classes. For Marxists, state power has been crucial in enabling 'land to the tiller' reforms to replace parasitic land-owners with productive

farmers, both small and large – but the logic of capital remains a key determinant of outcomes, at least until socialism is achieved.

5. Issues of ecological sustainability in agrarian/land reform have not figured much in debates to date, an exception being the stress on environmental benefits in arguments for 'food sovereignty' advanced by radical populists in recent years. Climate change and the extreme urgency of efforts to address its root causes means that questions of the sustainability of systems of land use and food production are increasingly central in debates about land reform.
6. Land reform in southern Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Mozambique) is quite distinctive in some ways, and typical in others. Distinctive in its focus on breaking up large and productive farms, in its somewhat muted rural struggles and hence state-driven character (with Zimbabwe as a partial exception), and in its ambitions to undertake both redistribution and tenure reform on a large scale (and with the added complication of restitution in South Africa). It is not at all distinctive in the fate of land reform being closely tied to shifts in wider political economy, and hence class bias and elite capture, and in its turn away from small-scale farmers towards large-scale capitalist agriculture (Zimbabwe is again unique).

Everywhere, land reform in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is being forced to confront the overwhelming threat of ecological collapse. Although South Africa's rural reforms have not yet done so, asking questions about how to address this challenge is in fact an urgent task facing us now.

## Global crises

Crises of social reproduction amongst working populations are evident across the globe. These result from the extremely lopsided version of economic development that capitalism always entails, given its underlying logic, necessarily centred on exploitation, accumulation, and abstract value. This logic is also largely responsible for the gathering crisis of ecological collapse, as well as large-scale waves of human migration. Through these converging threats to livelihoods and ways of life, it is deeply implicated in the turn to right-wing politics and authoritarian state formations, and to violence, at micro- and macro-scales.

Even technological advance, once thought of as inherently benign, is assuming an ever more sinister character: social media are being used not only to gather personal data for targeted advertising but to send fake news on a very large scale, and thus manipulate politics and subvert elections. And artificial intelligence is putting the employment of very large numbers of people at risk, without any serious policy proposals to date on how to respond.

Systemic connections amongst these crises are easy to identify: precarious livelihoods and climate change are driving migration in pursuit of improved life chances – and the material insecurity of former working-class populations in the North informs their response to migrants, giving rise to right-wing forms of politics. Information technology undermines liberal democracy, but also contributes to global warming: data centres (the 'Cloud') across the world now use more electricity than the entire UK, and account for 2% of global emissions – around the same as the airline industry.

These interconnections can be represented as follows:

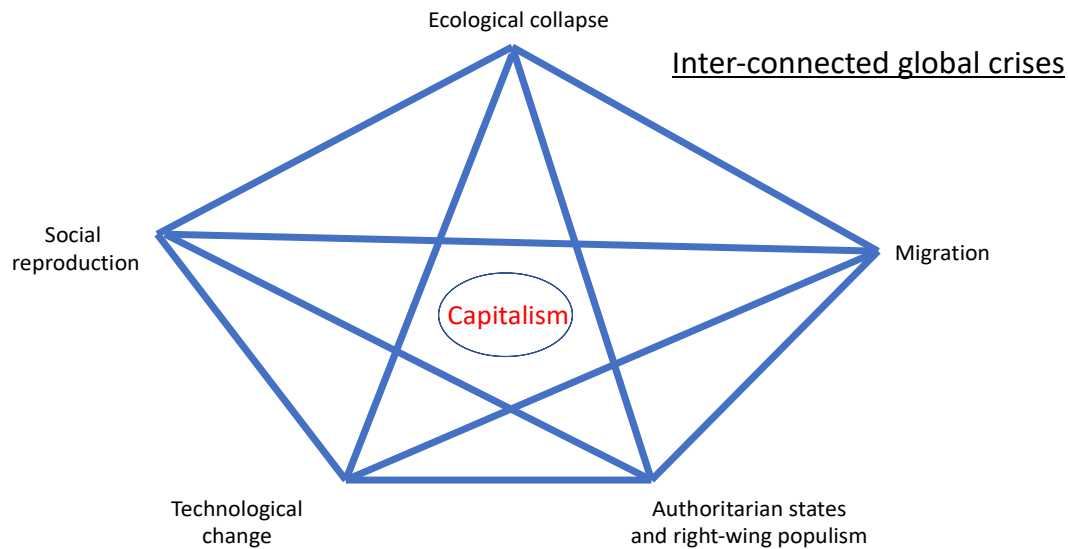


Figure 2. Interconnections between global crises

The problem with this kind of diagram is that simply tracing systemic interconnections does not by itself explain very much; causal connections can be obscured. Yet, to act effectively in the world requires of us an understanding of these – addressing symptoms rather than root causes does provide real solutions.

In my view, the underlying logic of *capitalism* is what is driving these multiple crises – as many are now beginning to argue. Here is Meehan Crist, an environmentalist at Columbia University, in a recent London Review of Books:

*... climate catastrophe has revealed global capitalist systems to be fundamentally bankrupt, as well as illuminating the inadequacy of liberal orthodoxy's tendency to valorize moderation and incremental change. Only immediate transformative change, including direct confrontation with the powerful global interests behind the carbon economy, will come close to salvaging the biological systems on which all human life depends ...*

Yet for many activists, the leap to identifying the logic of capital as at the root of global crises is a step too far. Why? Timothy Morton, the philosopher, defines a 'hyperobject' as something that surrounds, envelopes and entangles us, but is literally too big to see in its entirety ... hyperobjects are so close and yet so hard to see, and defy our ability to describe them rationally, or master or overcome them in any traditional sense. Examples include global warming, the internet, evolution, nuclear radiation ...

And perhaps *capitalism*? Although the reasons for the widespread failure to grasp the nature of the economic system that rules the world probably include the discursive hegemony of capital, the stigmata of failed versions of communism, and the unconvincing character of the arguments still offered by the traditional left.

In my view, to avoid collapse, decay and the violence that these will unleash, we have to move beyond capitalism and construct a completely different, post-capitalist economic system. A hopeful sign is that political mobilisations focused on this task are now in resurgence, alongside powerful re-assertions of democracy in response to increasing authoritarianism.

How would a post-capitalist economy be organised? I simply do not know, myself, other than that the logic of capital will have to be broken with, and replaced by one centred on the

fulfilment of human needs. I suspect, however, that property relations will be key, and that new forms of social property will have to emerge, including the commons and co-operatives, but also creative variations at different scales. On this question, critical agrarian studies might even have some insights to offer to this larger debate.

Post-capitalism, or socialism and communism, as we used to say once upon a time? The problem here is that systems so-designated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were for the most part both brutal and inefficient (with a few honourable exceptions). Perhaps a new political imaginary and terminology is called for.

At the end of Michael Moore's film 'Capitalism: a Love Story', made in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, he asks the question: since capitalism is self-evidently evil and has to be eliminated, what is the alternative? 'It's Democracy' is his answer.

This is both naïve, in some respects, but also potentially profound – if the implications are pushed all the way. The alternative we need must surely be based on the extension of the notion of democracy ('government by the people, for the people') into the heart of the economic system. This raises a host of complex questions about the role of politics, and its forms, in democratic post-capitalist systems, which I am not well equipped to answer.

## Conclusion

It is hoped that this paper will be of at least some interest to the readers. It is also addressed, of course, to my colleagues at PLAAS, suggesting an approach and a set of agendas that a university-based and socially-engaged research institute might adopt as a small contribution to the continuing struggle to survive and prosper in these difficult times.

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# The legislatures, legislative oversight and crisis of governance in democratizing Nigeria: a prebendalist perspective

Olusesan Osunkoya<sup>1</sup> and Adeniyi S. Basiru<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,

Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria

*sesanosunkoya@gmail.com*

<sup>2</sup> Department of Political Science,

University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria

*asbash72@yahoo.com*

## Abstract

*This article, which is based on desk analysis, examines the legislative oversight roles of the legislatures in democratizing Nigeria against the backdrop of the seeming crisis of governance. It observes that the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, especially at the national level, have performed abysmally in discharging their oversight roles, resulting in a crisis of governance. The essay concludes that as long as the Nigerian post-colonial rentier state and existing democratic institutions, the legislatures included, remain trapped in the prebendal orbit, the journey towards democratic accountability and by extension dividends of democracy, may continue to be a tortuous one.*

**Keywords:** Democracy, the legislature, horizontal accountability, neo-patrimonialism, prebendalism

## Introduction

*Every man invested with power is apt to abuse it, and to carry authority as far as it will go. To preserve political liberty, the Constitution should ensure that the power of one branch of government should not be exercised by the same person(s) which possess the power of another branch (Montesquieu 1976:4)*

The above quote from Baron Montesquieu, one of the pioneering thinkers on constitutional democracy, captures the pivotal role of the legislature in a democracy. Put differently, it highlights the fact that the legislature exists in a democracy to check the likely arbitrariness of the other two organs of government, especially the executive (Merkel 2006). Indeed, to Montesquieu and his contemporary heirs, a mono-centric concentration of governmental power, in one institution, as well as absence of the legislature, are not only injurious to the health of the body politik but also detrimental to the good life (Basiru 2014). Although, contemporary constitutional democracies may not exactly mimic the Montesquieuan framework *into to* but the various mechanisms embedded in most constitutions of the world today are further testaments that the Montesquieu doctrine, enunciated about three centuries ago, is still alive (see Jibo 2000). Indeed, in today's world the issue would no longer seem to be whether the legislature is a sacrosanct democratic institution or not, but rather would become of governance in the absence of the legislature (Saliu & Bakare 2016:1). To be sure, what would seem to distinguish an autocratic political order from a democratic one is the existence of the legislative arm of government.

1. Olusesan Osunkoya PhD is a lecturer in the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Tai Solarin University of Education, Ijagun, Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria.

2. Adeniyi S. Basiru is an independent researcher and a doctoral student at the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria.



In the post-Cold War era, the legislatures, especially in hitherto authoritarian countries, have not only emerged as major governmental institutions for watching over the activities of the executives, but also and most importantly, the enablers of good governance (see Fish 2006). However, while the legislatures are increasingly performing this historic role of curtailing the tyrannies of the executives, in addition to the roles of law-making and representation, in transitional states, what seems applicable in most African countries is the complete opposite of this state of affairs. In fact, a keen observation of the political scenes in Africa since the commencement of the democratic third wave, shows that, despite constitutional guarantees of legislative autonomy, the legislatures are, in most cases, caricatures of the powerful executives (Bakare 2014). Evidently, this development would appear to have had attendant implications for governance on the continent (Buadi 2002). As reported by the African Governance Report for 2005, “in terms of enacting laws, debating national issues, checking the activities of the government and in general promoting the welfare of the people, these duties and obligations are rarely performed with efficiency and effectiveness in many African parliaments” (UNECA 2005: 127).

In Nigeria, the focus of this study, the legislatures and their functionaries at both the centre and the peripheries of the federation since the rebirth of democracy in 1999, would appear to have acted in a manner not in line with the dictates of horizontal accountability (see Jinadu 2010).

It is against this background that this article examines the oversight roles of the legislatures in democratizing Nigeria. In the last few years, there have been a plethora of works by scholars on executive-legislature relations in general and legislative oversight in particular (Aiyede 2005; Okoosi-Simbine 2010; Momodu & Matudi 2013). However, while the majority of them may no doubt have enriched literature with illuminating perspectives, yet, scant attention would appear to have been paid to the prebendal context that tends to drive legislative behaviour. The significance of this study is therefore predicated on deepening the discourse in this area. Why do the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic tend not to be governance-oriented? What are the politico-historical forces that have nurtured such state of affairs?

This article critically engages these questions with a view to explaining the problematique and suggesting the way forward. In furtherance of this objective, the article is partitioned into six broad sections. This introductory preamble establishes the background and the rationale for the discourse. It is followed by Section Two which presents the conceptual framework of analysis. Specifically, the section clarifies and contextualizes the concepts that are germane to this study. This is followed by the third section which historicizes Nigeria’s legislative history. The aim here is to put in perspective the past constitutional cum political systems that might have influenced the character of the legislatures in the Fourth republic. The section that follows x-rays the terrains of executive-legislative relations at the federal level in Nigeria with special emphasis on public budgets. Section Five explains the politico-historical variables that have shaped legislative behaviour in Nigeria. The sixth section concludes the article.

## Conceptual framework

To avoid misinterpretation, certain concepts germane to this study are elucidated. In the words of Rubin & Babbie (1989:12), “we specify what we mean when we use particular terms for the purpose of facilitating their contextual operationalization and comprehension”. This study requires understanding concepts as a framework of analysis. Thus, of central significance to this article and chosen for elucidation are: “the legislature”, “legislative oversight” and “prebendalism”. As regards the first from the list, despite being generally described as an arm of government constitutionally charged with the function of law-making in society, it has been defined from various standpoints. For instance, Okoosi-Simbine (2010:1) views it as “the

institutional body responsible for making laws for a nation and one through which the collective will of the people or part of it is articulated, expressed and implemented”.

At another level, Ihedioha (2012:3) defined it as an assemblage of the representatives of the people elected under a legal framework to make laws for the good health of the society. In his contribution to literature, Farlex (2016:4) considers it as the source of popular sovereignty by which some representatives were elected to serve the people on the basis of their constituents' needs. However, the foregoing definitional perspectives point out the major definitional features of the legislature: law-making and representation — but other features are missing. In the light of this and also given the fact that the nature of the legislature, especially in pseudo-democracies, is often difficult to grasp. What is suggested here is that rather than searching for an all embracing definition of the 'legislature', efforts should be made to identify its defining characteristics. Polsby (cited in Omenka 2008:64) defines the legislature characteristically as follows:

- formal assemblies;
- official, rather than private bodies;
- members are popularly elected;
- members meet, deliberate and act collectively as formal equals;
- their formal enactments are officially binding on a population to which they are accountable and from whom their legitimacy emanates.

Capturing the Polsbyian perspective, Mezey (1980:6) conceives the legislature as a predominantly elected body of people that acts collegially and has at least the formal but not necessarily the exclusive power to enact laws binding on all members of a specific geopolitical entity. Flowing from the foregoing clarifications, it is clear that the legislature is defined by the cardinal functions that it performs in a democracy which includes: law-making, representation, oversight and budgeting. Piecing these together, Bakare (2016:4) writes, “the legislature is statutorily recognized by the constitution to make laws, represent the interests of the people, scrutinize policies and approve budgets among other functions for good governance”. It is however instructive to note that of the four cardinal functions of the legislature, only two connect it to the executive arm of government, namely oversight and budgeting. To be sure, it is by dispensing these two functions that it monitors and checks the activities of the executive. However, the concept of “legislative oversight” is of concern in this article.

## **Legislative oversight**

Suffice to stress that the concept of “legislative oversight” comes under the conceptual umbrella of “horizontal accountability”. Conceptually and broadly speaking, horizontal accountability encompasses any kind of control performed by state institutions designed to constrain arbitrary power, and to discourage abuses and illegalities perpetrated by the state itself. Simply put, it depicts how the three core organs of the state monitor and check the powers and the activities of one another (Basiru 2018:133). Specifically, legislative oversight, a sub-set of horizontal accountability, is depicted as the supervision of the executive's actions, for which legislatures can count on mechanisms, such as hearings, summoning of ministers, resolutions of inquiry, special investigatory committees, and confirmation process, among others (see Aberbach 1990).

To be sure, it is the power invested in the legislative arm of government to bring the executive and its functionaries to account. According to Osumah (2014:121), it is the process by which a legislative body takes an active role in understanding and monitoring the performance of government concerning the application of legislation to its other primary functions of law-making and public policy formulation, setting budgets, and raising revenues. What is being averred here is that legislative oversight involves the monitoring of the actions and conducts of the executive regarding the enforcement of legislations. Beyond this, as Osumah (2014:122) further notes, it also involves checking all acts of corruption and profligacy on the part of the executive.

Indeed, Section 88 (2b) of the 1999 Constitution for the Federal Republic of Nigeria stipulates: “expose corruption, inefficiency or waste in the execution or administration of laws within [their] legislative competence and in the disbursement or administration of funds appropriated by [them]” (FRN 1999). Viewed against the foregoing context therefore and for the purpose of this discourse, legislative oversight would suggest the act of watching over the executive for the purpose of ensuring that it is accountable to the constitution and the citizens of the country.

Specifically, Jibo (2000:1) surmises three mechanisms through which legislative oversight is instrumentalized in a democracy. One, by the ‘question time’ in the open assembly, in which case policy-makers are required to make explanations on certain policies made, or decisions or actions taken<sup>1</sup>. Two, the legislative committees could call government functionaries to account for their actions, conduct investigations on policies, and make recommendations either to the full house or to the government. Three, debates carried out within the legislative house itself serve to focus attention on the actions of the government and thereby make government act more transparently.

### *On prebendalism*

The concept of prebendalism<sup>2</sup> has been the object of different interpretations. However, it has to be stressed that it is often conflated with the concept of neo-patrimonialism which, as will soon be shown, has a different meaning. Therefore, given the tendency to conflate the two concepts, it is germane for the purpose of this discourse to first examine the concept of neo-patrimonialism. To be sure, since its first use by Eisenstadt (1973), the concept of neo-patrimonialism has been viewed from different standpoints by scholars (see Le Vine 1980; Médard 1982; Theobald 1982; Bratton & van de Walle 1994; Englebert 2000). However, while these various formulations are no doubt illuminating, those of Clapham (1985), Bratton and van de Walle (1997) and Erdmann & Engel (2006) are instructive for our purposes in this study. According to Clapham (1985:48),

*neopatrimonialism is a form of organisation in which relationships of a broadly patrimonial type pervade a political and administrative system which is formally constructed on rational-legal lines. Officials hold positions in bureaucratic organisations with powers which are formally defined, but exercise those powers, so far as they can, as a form not of public service but of private property.*

Contributing to the discourse on neo-patrimonialism, Bratton & van de Walle (1997:62) posit: “to characterize as neopatrimonial those hybrid regimes in which the customs and patterns or patrimonialism co-exist with, and suffuse, rational-legal institutions”. Relatedly, but in a more elaborate manner, Erdmann and Engel (2006: 18-19) write,

*neo-patrimonialism takes place within the framework of, and with the claim to, legal-rational bureaucracy or “modern” stateness. Formal structures and rules do exist, although in practice, the separation of the private and public sphere is not always observed. In other words, two systems exist next to each other, the patrimonial of the personal relations, and the legal rational of the bureaucracy. Naturally these spheres are not isolated from each other; quite to the contrary, they permeate each other; or more precisely, the patrimonial penetrates the legal-rational system and twists its logic, functions, and effects.*

What could be deduced from the foregoing definitional perspectives is that neo-patrimonialism is a political order characterized by the hybridization and inter-penetration of the traditional and legal rational modes of governance. Now, we turn to the concept of prebendalism. However, it

1. This mechanism is synonymous with the parliamentary system of government in which a cabinet minister who is also a member of the legislature is asked to explain certain policies, especially those pertaining to his department.
2. The concept had its genesis in medieval Catholicism and was first deployed by Max Weber to describe political practice in China and India in the middle ages.

has to be stressed that while the concept of neo-patrimonialism has received wide usage, this is not the case with the concept of prebendalism (Joseph 2013:7). This notwithstanding, the definitional perspective of Richard Joseph, who is credited as the first scholars to deploy the concept to describe the character of politics in Nigeria, is germane to this discourse. According to Joseph (1987:52),

*it is the pattern of political behaviour which reflects, as its justifying principle, that the offices of the state may be competed for and then utilized for the personal benefit of the office holders as well as that of their reference or support groups. To a significant extent, the 'state' in such a context is perceived as a congeries of offices susceptible to individual cum communal appropriation. The statutory purposes of such offices become a matter of secondary concern, however much that purpose might have been codified in law or other regulations or even periodically cited during competitions to fill them.*

Pointedly, Ugwuani and Nwokedi (2015) have presented us with the two lenses through which Joseph's classical definition of prebendalism could be navigated. The first according to them is a situation where political offices are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by their holders and actually used as such to generate material benefit for themselves. Secondly, they surmise that Joseph's view could also be construed as political clientele in which people ascend to political offices through the active support of powerbrokers (political God Fathers), ethnic or kin groups who must be rewarded in sundry ways including using the trappings of such office. Either way, what prebendalism would seem to suggest is a political practice in which public office-holders utilize and deploy their official positions to advance personal gains or to promote groups' interests. Summing this up, van de Walle refers to "practices in which important state agents unambiguously subvert the rule of law for personal gain" (quoted in Joseph 2013:14).

## The pre-1999 politico-constitutional development in Nigeria

The history of the legislature and by extension the history of modern politics and constitution-making in Nigeria could be better understood against the background of the evolution of the Nigerian nation-state (see Basiru 2010). Nigeria, a land of 374 ethnic groups (Nnoli 1995: 27), inhabiting an area of 913,027.64 square kilometers (Osuntokun 1979:92), like other post-colonial African States, was the creation of British imperialism. Indeed, British penetration of Nigeria began with the annexation of Lagos, in 1860, on the grounds of stopping the slave trade. It ended with the seizure of what is today known as Nigeria (Azikwe 1978:7). It must however be stressed that while the process commenced in 1861, it was not until 1914 that the process of constitutionalization effectively began<sup>1</sup> (see Lugard 1926; Coleman 1958; Oluyede 1992; Okon 2004).

To be sure, the advent of the constitution marked the arrival of the legislature on the country's political scene. Although the Lugard Council laid the foundation for legislative development in Nigeria, the real attempt at indigenizing legislative representation took place under the Clifford constitution of 1922, when elective principles were introduced to elect Africans into the central legislative council (Momoh 2000:56). Taking a clue from the Clifford constitution, subsequent constitutions did create legislative structures to make laws for order and government of the country. However, it is instructive to note that the character of each legislature, following each constitutional engineering effort, was mainly shaped by the manner in which the constitution itself was brought about on the one hand and on the other hand by the attitude of the regime that has midwived it (Basiru 2010: 105-116). The point being made here is that constitutions in Ni-

1. The legal instruments that laid the foundation for the formation of the Nigerian state were: The (Nigeria Council) Order-in-Council 1912, the Nigerian Protectorate Order-in-Council 1913 and Latent Patents of 1913.

geria, including the existing one, are not autochthonous as they were elite-driven rather than people-driven. Put differently, the ruling elites have always assumed the prime responsibility for drawing up constitutions for the country. In such endeavours, the tendency has always been to strengthen the executives at the expense of the legislatures<sup>1</sup>. This was noticeable during the transitions that ushered in the First, Second and Fourth Republics.

Instructively, the executives in these dispensations became omnipresent and acted, with the support of cronies, to pursue agendas that were not in accordance with the wishes of the people. For example, during the first republic, despite the embeddedness of parliamentary oversight in the 1960 constitution, the parliament hardly checked the executive. In the words of Mackintosh (1966:113):

*The legislature had only three working committees, which largely served administrative and business roles. There was little expertise in specific policy areas. The First Parliament was an anemic political body, never serving more than 54 days in any year. Both chambers were generally quiescent toward the executive and rarely initiated law.*

It is instructive to note that the same pattern, though with little institutional modification, was repeated in the Second Republic. During the Republic, the National legislature, though retaining its structure of representation, apportioned by state population in the House of Representatives, and by uniform seats for each state in the Senate, had a relatively weak structure. To be sure, executive preferences shaped the political agenda and more importantly, the legislature did not exercise significant oversight of the executive or other government operations (see Akande 1982). Suffice it to stress here that the Second Republic, with its constitutional edifice, collapsed on the 31 December 1983, following a *coup d'état*. This marked the end of the Republics. Why and how it collapsed needs no rehash here as gallons of ink have been spilled by scholars of Nigerian politics (see Falola & Ihonvbire 1985; Joseph 1987).

Consequently, between 1984 and 1999, the military rulers experimented with different political models, but General Babangida's model of a new political order was legendary and needs brief illustration. The General, in his first major address to the nation, on the occasion of the silver jubilee independence anniversary of the country on 1 October, 1985, announced his administration intention to "begin a most vigorous search for a new political order capable of ensuring sustained economic growth and social development ... With this in mind, we shall in the course of 1986 announce a political programme for the country" (*Daily Times* 02/10/ 1985).

True to his word, he set out to achieve this goal. The first step was the inauguration of the Political Bureau on 13 January, 1986 (*Daily Times* 14/01/ 1986). Aside from the Bureau, there were other transition agencies: the Constitution Review Committee (CRC), the Constituent Assembly (CA), the National Electoral Commission (NEC). With these institutions in place, the regime was able to convince both the public and the international community of its desire to hand over power to civilian rule in 1990; a date which the regime changed, first to 1992 and then to 1993.

With the successful implementation of the programme at the local and the state levels as well as the inauguration of the National Assembly, expectations were high that on 27 August, 1993, presidential democracy would gain a foothold in Nigeria. Thus, hopes were high on 12 June 1993, when Nigerians went to vote in a nationwide presidential election to choose between Chief M.K.O Abiola, the SDP flagbearer and that of the NRC, Alhaji Bashir Tofa (*Daily Times*, 13/06/93). At the end of polling, the unofficial result showed that Abiola had won a majority in nineteen states but while the nation awaited the official result, on 23 June 1993, a spanner was thrown in the works. On that day, General Babangida annulled the election that was adjudged the

1. The military rulers like their colonial overlords believed that the executive being the centre of patronage must be strengthened against the legislature.

freest in the country's history, for inexplicable reasons (Tell 26/06/1993). He did not only annul the election but also truncated the eight-year transition programme. Justifying his action in a nationwide broadcast on 26 June 1993, he had said:

*to continue action on the basis of the June 12, 1993 election, and to proclaim and swear in a president who encouraged a campaign of divide and rule amongst our various ethnic groups would have been detrimental to the survival of the Third Republic. Our need is for peace, stability and continuity of policies in the interest of all our people (Sunday Sketch 27/06/93).*

As expected, the cancellation of the election provoked nationwide condemnation and ignited protests and violence that lasted for weeks. In his reaction to the annulment, the 'undeclared' winner of the election, Chief Moshood Abiola, publicly declared, "I might embark on the programme of civil disobedience in the country. If those who make the law disobey the law, why I obey it? There is a limit to the authenticity one could expect from a military ruler who is obviously anxious to hang on to power" (TSM 11/07/ 1993).

Indeed, the orgy of violence prompted a mounting exodus from the major cities, as southern ethnic groups (most especially the Ibos), fearing a recurrence of the communal purges which had preceded the 1967 Civil War, fled to their home regions (Ojo 2004: 71). As recalled by Professor Ben Nwabueze:

*The annulment of the June 12 presidential election plunged the country into what indisputably is the greatest political crisis in its 33 years' life as an independent nation. Never before, except during the murderous confrontation of 1966-1970, had the survival of Nigeria as one political entity been in more serious danger. The impasse created was certainly unequalled by anything the country had experienced before (Nwabueze 1994)*

In the ensuing crisis, Babangida made an inglorious exit from office after swearing-in a hand-picked Interim National Government, headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan on 26 August 1993 (Ojo 2004:67)<sup>1</sup>. Strikes and protests however persisted, prompting another *coup d'état* led by General Sani Abacha who took power on 17 November, 1993. Needless to say, the advent of Abacha's regime marked the end of all constitutional structures erected by the regime of General Babangida. Under General Abacha, the politics of transition continued with new approach and styles (see Diamond *et al.* 1996; Oyediran & Agbaje 1999; Onuoha & Fadakinte 2002). Indeed, the politics of transition was replaced with that of self-succession. General Abacha used many strategies to remain in power but unfortunately he passed away on 4 June, 1998. The next regime, that of General Abdulsalam Abubakar, immediately began a process of confident building and it was not long before the regime began to enjoy the goodwill of the domestic constituencies and the international community (Fawole 1999).

General Abubakar, in order to distance his regime from his predecessor, promptly dismantled all existing democratic structures already in place. This was to pave the way for the implementation of a revised transition programme. In the midst of all this, the regime sought and was given an audience in western capitals and this marked the country's slow and steady re-integration into the mainstream of world politics. With some modicum of legitimacy, the regime faithfully implemented a modest transition programme that culminated in democracy on 29 May 1999.

Of particular importance was the 1999 constitution which was largely modelled on the 1979 charter<sup>2</sup>, maintaining the presidential system with an expanded federal structure of thirty-six (36) states. The bicameral legislature was preserved, with single-member districts elected at four-year in-

1. It was estimated that General Babangida's aborted transition cost the Nation about 40 billion naira.

2. The process of making the 1999 constitution was not markedly different from those of the past. The majority of the citizens did not participate in its making.

tervals concurrent with the presidential vote. The House of Representatives was allotted 360 seats among the 36 states, with seats allotted by relative population, and the Senate had 109 seats, three per state and one for the Federal Capital Territory (FRN 1999). With the new constitutional order, the stage was set for another era of executive-legislature interaction at both the centre and peripheries of the Nigerian federation. It is to the discussion of these relations that the article now turns.

## Legislature-executive relations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: A conspectus

Prior to 29 May, 1999, the legislatures at both the federal and state levels, as Aiyede (2006:152) remarks, were shut down. However, the 1999 constitution, drawing inspiration from that of 1979, provided for a clear separation of powers and functions between the three arms of government. Section 5(1) primarily vests the executive power of the Federal Government in the president; such power extended to the maintenance of the constitution as well as all laws made by the National Assembly<sup>1</sup>. Sections 4 (1) and (2) of the same constitution confer on the National Assembly, the federal legislature, the power to make "laws for peace, order, and good government of the federation or any matter included in the exclusive legislative list of the constitution."<sup>2</sup> Additionally, Section 88 and 89 grant the National Assembly power to conduct investigation as well as the powers to take evidence and summon any person in Nigeria to give evidence.<sup>3</sup> Section 6 of the constitution vested the judicial powers in the courts.<sup>4</sup> Specifically, Section 6 empowers the courts to determine the legality and constitutionality of the other two branches.

With these constitutional provisions, the executive and the legislature at the centre, was expected, in the spirit of co-operation, to work harmoniously for the common good.<sup>5</sup> However, the optimism soon gave way to pessimism as the relationships between the National Assembly and the Presidency, the arrowhead of the executive, did not become acrimonious but were often influenced by prebendalist and clientelistic considerations (Basiru 2014:94). Although gridlock in executive-legislative relations, as Linz (1993: 108), remarks, is not pathological, the way and manner in which it played out in the Fourth Republic would appear to have made many observers doubt the country's claim to democracy (see Aiyede, 2005; Yagboyaju, 2010). Indeed, one area in which the acrimony has been most pronounced is public budgeting, as Eminue Okon remarked during the hey-day of the Obasanjo's presidency in 2006.

Since President Olusegun Obasanjo assumed (or resumed) the leadership of Nigeria in 1999, virtually no budget has been passed without altercation between the Executive and the Legislature. Passing the Annual Appropriation Bill when the year has literally run out has been a notorious practice under Obasanjo's democratic dispensation (Okon 2006:160-1).

However, it is instructive to note that though there are often other areas of conflict between the two organs,<sup>6</sup> in most cases, it centred on money (*The Comet* 28/05/ 2000). Indeed, since the return of the country to democracy on 29 May, 1999, there have been several instances in which the executive and the National Assembly engaged in needless gridlocks over the issue of budget. The first occurred barely eight months into the Fourth Republic. The first budget proposal that was prepared and submitted by the executive to the National Assembly, in December 1999, included a provision of 2.6 billion Naira out of a budget total of about 500 billion naira for the running of the Assembly during the 2000 fiscal year. However, the Assembly rejected this

1. Section 5(1), Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999

2. Section 4(1) & (2), *idem*.

3. Section 88 & 89, *idem*.

4. Section 6(1) *idem*.

5. In practice, the principle of separation of power hardly materializes. It has, thus, been modified by giving each organ the powers and functions, which are counterpoised.

6. The two actors also disagreed on the passage of ICPC and NDDC Bills in 2002. President Obasanjo vetoed the two bills but the National Assembly turned them into laws by a two-thirds majority.

because the proposal impinged on the principle of the separation of powers. As an autonomous body, contends the leadership of the National Assembly, it has the constitutional right to prepare its own budget without consulting with the executive (Tell 24/04.2000). The President, on the other hand, considered the actions of the Assembly a breach of the checks and balances principles.

Specifically, President Obasanjo queried the action of the legislature insisting that it is the responsibility of the executive to provide for the needs of the legislature. To be sure, each camp believed that it acted within the purview of the constitution. Interestingly, while the supremacy game lasted, each side deployed different strategies. On the part of the National Assembly, among the strategies adopted during Obasanjo's regime was the threat of impeachment (Omotola 2006). The Presidency, on the other hand, was alleged to have relied on inducement, bribes, co-optation and threats to deal with the Assembly (Tell 07/10/2002; *The News* 02/ 09/ 2002). Putting the President's tactics in the public domain, Pius Anyim, the Senate president, while delivering his valedictory address in 2003, stated that, "Ghana-Must-Go bags only came to the Assembly from outside whenever there was an effort to impeach the leadership of the Assembly" (Aiyede 2005:67).

Interestingly, similar trends have been observed in the relationships between the executives and the National Assembly since the exit of President Obasanjo from office in 2007. For instance, since 29 May 2015, when President Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressive Party (APC) assumed the presidency, every budget cycle, despite the fact that his party is in the majority, executive-legislature relations have been characterized by acrimony and oftentimes, brickbats over issues bordering on a breach of public trust. Indeed, it would appear that the National Assembly, even before the current dispensations, had always regarded the yearly budget exercise as an opportunity to engage in prebendal rendezvous. In the 5<sup>th</sup> Senate (2003-2007) for instance, the Senate President was alleged to have collected a bribe of 55 million naira from the Minister of Education for the purpose of inflating the budgetary allocation to the Education ministry (Osumah 2014:135). Indeed, in the aftermath, both the alleged bribe-taker and giver lost their positions.

In the 7<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2015-2019), the Hon. Abdul Mumim Jibril, the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee, in 2016 publicly accused both chambers of the National Assembly of annually engaging in "budget padding"<sup>1</sup> in conjunction with some senior bureaucrats (*This Day* 2016), perhaps lending credence to the position of Hon. Jibril as the first president in the country's Fourth Republic, Olusegun Obasanjo who, barely a month after Hon Jibril's expose, openly castigated both chambers of the National Assembly as being an assemblage of thieves and robbers (Awela 2016:1).

This state of affairs would appear to have generated various antinomies, chief among which was the tendency of the legislature and its functionaries to prebendalize with the executive. By so doing, the National Assembly, the supposed platform for charting national developmental agenda for the country, became mired in a cesspool of corruption and patronage and thus eroded the sanctity of the legislature from being an effective check on the executive (Olojede 2006:278). Put differently, as the legislative chambers became arenas of prebendalism and corruption, horizontal accountability as enshrined in the constitution became a luxury (Basiru 2018:133).

## The crux of the matter: the prebendal connection

As clearly demonstrated in the previous sections, the central legislature in Nigeria, like those at the sub-national levels, is weak and impotent. Instructively, there have been several scholarly attempts to explain the factors that may have been responsible for reasons the Legislatures have

1. This is a word made popular by Hon. Abdulmumim Jibril when he publicly accused the two Chambers of the National Assembly of prebendalism.



not really been central drivers of good governance in Nigeria (see Aiyede 2005, 2006; Omenka 2008; Ojo & Omotola 2014). However, what is proposed here is a perspective that links the problematic to prebendalization of politics. Put differently, this article recognizes this unique political model that tends to shape the behaviour of political actors that straddle state's institutions. The point here is that practices in legitimate state institutions in Nigeria and other neo-colonies tend to mirror neo-patrimonialism rather than legal-rationalism. Interestingly, this state of affairs had its roots in the country's colonial past. Put differently, the prebendal culture and other values that have tended to shape the character of politics and the behaviour of political actors running the legislatures and other democratic institutions in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa had their origin in the precursor to the colonial state.

To be sure, colonial overlords in Nigeria, aside from ensuring the mercantilist penetration and exploitation of resources for the benefit of the global capitalist core, created a state structure that did not only cage the erstwhile autochthonous ethnic groups into a single territory, but reinforced a non-hegemonic state which did not penetrate into the peripheries. Rather, it concentrated in the strategically and economically important regions with the result that there was an organic disconnect between the state and society (see Rothschild & Chazan 1988). In the words of Young (1988: 37), "the colonial state was alien to its core". Resultantly, it became engraved in the consciousness of the natives not only as "*force majeure*" as Ake (1981:62) sees it but a burdensome entity to be withdrawn from (Kawonishe 1992).

Consciously or unconsciously, the superintendents of the colonial state, in the process of opening the colonies up for capitalist penetration, liquidated the old social structures and values and in their stead invented new ones (Basiru 2013:75; Low & Lonsdale 1976:12). Ekeh (1975) in his "Two Public" thesis has demonstrated how colonialism in Africa created two conflicting values: the primordial values, embedded in the traditions of the natives and the civic values domiciled in the new states and bureaucracy. He contends that while the natives regarded the former as sacred and thus related with it, with respect, the latter was considered alien, anachronistic, and illegitimate. It was, thus, the realm to be looted and desecrated when the opportunities to do arose. In consequence, what was morally wrong in the primordial realm was considered morally right in the civic realm. As he puts it, "the apparent amoral disposition of members of the civil society in their dealing with the state in Africa is not underpinned by an inherent amorality in the people but a reaction to the amorality of the colonial state and its post-colonial successor".

The amorality of politics created by colonialism ebbed into the post-colonial era and had nurtured a prebendal political order and culture in which a few opportunistic elites that find themselves in state institutions, military, bureaucracy, parliament, etc., use the opportunity offered by the amoral state to engage in prebendalism not only for themselves and the networks of clients. Instructively, such ethos, during military regimes, in the absence of a written constitution, was affected via military logic, but under civilian regimes a new strategy was devised. Indeed, a new model of patron-client relationships where the members of the National Assembly, on the one hand, as the statement credited to the third Senate President in the Fourth Republic, referenced earlier indicated, prebendalized with the president. On the other hand, they deploy the power of oversight, granted them by the constitution, to plunder the nation's commonwealth for themselves and others in their patrimonial networks, in collaboration with other corrupt officers in the executive (Basiru 2014).

## Concluding remarks

This article set out to critically examine the legislative oversight roles of the legislatures in democratizing Nigeria. To achieve this objective, it clarified concepts that are germane, reviewed existing literature, historicized Nigeria's legislative history and provided an explanatory framework for understanding why the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria's Fourth

Republic often act to the detriment of the country. From these reviews and analyses, it was revealed that the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, especially at the national level, have performed abysmally in discharging their oversight roles, resulting in a crisis of governance. This is the converse of what is obtainable in advanced democracies in which the legislatures and legislators do not only make governance-oriented laws but also discharge the historic horizontal accountability roles of checking the executive in line with the Montesquieuan prescription.

The article further explained how abysmal performance in the oversight sector by the legislatures and their functionaries in Nigeria's Fourth Republic have been shaped by the prebendal character of the Nigerian state, whose foundation was laid under colonialism. A prebendalist political culture on which legislative corruption has thrived over the years was incubated within this colonial structure. The essay concluded that, as long as the Nigerian post-colonial rentier state and existing democratic institutions, the legislatures inclusive, remain trapped in the prebendal orbit, the journey towards democratic accountability and by extension, dividends of democracy, may continue to be a tortuous one.

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# Generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria

Temitope Michael Ajayi<sup>1</sup>

Department of Linguistics and African Languages,  
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria

*michealtemitope@yahoo.com*

## Abstract

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

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

**Keyword:** Christian street evangelism, Southwestern Nigeria, Generic Structure Potential

## Introduction

Evangelism is one of the doctrinal practices among Christians all over the world. In the Nigerian context, prominent among the biblical passages often reinforced to emphasise Christian evangelism are Mark 16:15-16 and Acts 1:8. Hence, various Christian groups have devised different means of evangelism, including sharing of tracts, organisation of open-air crusades, preaching in the bus, and early morning street preaching, among others; each with its peculiar structure and form. This study is a generic structure potential analysis of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria. Street evangelism, otherwise referred to in this study as street preaching, is one of the oldest forms of evangelism in the world whose root can be traced to the Bible as evident in (Gen. 3:9) where God 'went out to call on Adam and in the Garden of Eden'. According to Miano (n.d), street evangelism or preaching has to do with the proclamation of religious messages publicly. It involves the use of a voice louder than what obtains in a normal conversation (<https://carm.org/what-is-street-preaching>). In his observation, the act of street preaching is not peculiar to Christianity, as Islam also employs the phenomenon. Street preaching is a common practice among Nigerian Christians in Nigeria, particularly in the Southwestern region. In this region, it is very rare to witness a day one would not observe

1. Michael Temitope Ayayi PhD is a Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Christian preachers propagating the gospel through street preaching. These preachers are often seen early in the morning, some with bells, the Bible and megaphone (or public address system).

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

## Review of relevant literature

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

Ajayi (2017) examines language use in Christian funeral services and sermons, particularly among Christian preachers in Southwestern Nigeria. He identifies discourse features such as 'reference to the deceased as *body* and not *corpse*, reference to the good deeds of the deceased, reference to shared religious (biblical) belief about death and resurrection, deployment of songs of relief, and offering of words of prayers' (Ajayi, 2017) as pain-relieving strategies carefully deployed by Christian preachers at funeral services in Southwestern Nigeria. Akhimien and Farotimi (2018: 1-8) engage selected sermons of Pastor E. A. Adeboye, the General Overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria and one of the most popular Pentecostal preachers in the country, with a view to identifying and describing the discourse strategies and persuasive elements that characterise his sermons. Employing Schlegloff's model of conversational analysis, they observe that Adeboye's sermons manifest

discourse features such as feedback-call-response, adjacency pairs, openings and closings; repair mechanism, and selection of next speaker, complemented with non-verbal conversational features as pause, smile, laughter, and raising of the hands and head (Akhimien and Farotimi, 2018: 1).

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

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

### *Theoretical orientation*

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

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

What the above suggests is that, it is possible to spell out the totality of the range of obligatory and optional elements, as well as their order, in a manner that the possible structure of a text or genre can be exhaustively captured. This possibility is referred to as generic structure potential. The GSP spells out the possible features of texts belonging to a particular genre. For instance, in the argument of Halliday and Hasan (1989: 64), the following schema represents the obligatory and optional elements of shop interaction or service encounter:  $[(G). (SI) ^] [(SE.) \{SR^SC^ \} ^S^] P^PC (F)$ . This is explained thus: Greeting (G), Sale Initiation (SI), Sale Enquiry (SE), Sale Request (SR), Sale Compliance (SC), Sale (S), Purchase (P), Purchase Closure (PC), and Finis (F). The round brackets ( ) show optionality of the enclosed elements; the dot between elements indicates "more than one option" in sequence; the square brackets [ ] depict restraint on sequence; the braces with a curved arrow are an indication that the degree of iteration for elements in the square brackets is equal, and the caret sign (^) shows sequence. In their argument, Halliday and Hasan (1989) note that the obligatory elements of any interaction (text) define the genre of the interaction. In other words, without the obligatory elements, the text will not be conceived to belong to a particular genre.

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

[ ] obligatory element

( ) optional elements

^ sequence of elements



recursive elements

the first element in a sequence conditions the presence of the second element

## Methodology

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

### Data analysis

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

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

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

## Song (S)

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

### Excerpt 1

**He came from heaven to earth to show the way**

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

### Excerpt 2

You cannot just hide it from God (2ce)

You cannot just hide it from Him

Why not confess to Him today...

### Excerpt 3

m èniyàn rántí o, gb bo'lùgbàlà tí pee

Ó pè , rántí o, gb b'lùgbàlà tí pee. Wá nísinyii tì Kristi

pè ,wá iw l, wá gb ipè...wá nígbà tí Kristi pè ..

Son of man, remember, hearken as the saviour is calling

He is calling you...come right now

Christ is calling you sinner, come heed his voice...come now

that Christ is calling you

### Excerpt 4

ni tí ò kú fún mi Irún máà j ó jèrè mi (twice)

Jesu lókú fún ùn mi kì màà èsù

ni tí ò kú fún mi Irún máà j ó jèrè mi...

*Don't let who did not die for me to gain my soul (twice)*

Jesus was the one that died for me and not the devil

Lord, don't let who did not die for me to gain my soul

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

### *Greeting (G)*

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

### *Excerpt 5*

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

### *Excerpt 6*

**kààr o**, ìròyìn Jesu Kristi ni mo mú wá fún un yín...ti m Màrià tí ó kú fún m aráyé...

Good morning, I bring the good news of Jesus Christ to you...the son of Mary that died for our sin

### *Excerpt 7*

**kú ojúm yin èrò agbègbè yìí**, ìhìn rere Jesu Kristi ni amú wá fún un yin

*Good morning, I bring the good news of Jesus Christ to you*

### *Excerpt 8*

**Mo kí gbogbo yin tí ó wà ní agbègbè àti àyíká yìí ní orúkò olúwa...**

*I greet everyone in this neighbourhood in the name of the Lord*

In excerpts 5-8, the various preachers orientate towards the Yoruba socio-cultural practice of starting a social interaction with greetings. Even Excerpt 4 that takes place in English is not exempted. In particular, in accordance with the practice of the Yoruba to greet according to the various times of the day and generally, the preachers reflect the actual times of the day in their greetings as they begin their evangelism work (as evident in **Good morning**: Excerpt 5; . **kààr o**:

Excerpt 6; **kú ojúm yin èrò agbègbè yìí**: Excerpt 7; and **Mo kí gbogbo...**: Excerpt 8). This practice, even though observed to have been subconsciously practised by the preachers, must have been predicated on their understanding of the role of greetings in social interactions among the people, and that failure to fulfil this 'ritualistic' part of social interactions, even when the audience are not physically present, is like committing an abomination. Doing this pragmatically gives the preacher some sort of 'soft-landing' before the target audience, as an adage in Yoruba says '*ni dami síwájú, á t'l tútù*' one who wets the ground ahead of him/her would definitely walk on a cool ground. Greeting the people, more or less, serves as a precursory ritual required to get to their hearts. Interestingly, this is observed even in instances where the target audience are not physically seen by the preachers; as, in their (the preachers) imagination, the target audience are present.

## Declaration of Purpose [DoP]

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

### Excerpt 9

j ará ní orúk olúwa, **ìhìn rere ti Krísti ni mo mú wá ní òwúr yìí**. Ìhìn rere tí a rán mi sí , èyí tí Krísti fi hàn fún wa nínú ìwée mí m r, ìwé Isaiah, orí ogójì...

*Brethren in the Lord, I bring the good news of Christ to you this morning. The gospel sent to you through me is as found in the book of Isaiah, chapter 40...*

### Excerpt 10

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

### Excerpt 11

...A mú ìhìn rere Jesu t yín wà lónìí...  
We bring the gospel of Jesus to you today

### Excerpt 12

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

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

## Prayer (P)

Prayer is an obligatory element of Christian street evangelism in Southwestern Nigeria. Just like song, prayer is very key to Christian activities, including evangelism. Commenting on prayer and Christianity, Adams (2016: 271) submits that prayer is the Christian way of being in the world with God. In the opinion of Henry (1972:30), the lifeline of theology is prayer, because it paves the way for believers to know God. In the words of van der Merwe (2018: 8), prayer and the experience of God's involvement in a believer's life constitute human–divine dialogue, and therefore, the experiential knowledge of God in daily life can result in both planned and

unplanned prayers. In Christian street evangelism, prayer is a recursive element that features at different times. It can come up before the sermon itself, after the sermon or at the end of the whole preaching exercise. The forms of prayer observed in Christian street sermon include prayer of salvation, particularly for the souls of listening 'sinners'; prayer of breakthrough and others. Examples are presented in the excerpts below:

*Excerpt 13*

Mó gbàdùrà, bí a e pinu lónìí láti jw wa, Jesu á gbàwá,  
A ò ní padà sínú m lórúk Jesu. Ore f 't'a ó fi e ìf

Irun, Irun á yànda r sínú ayée wa ní orúk Jesu Kristi

I pray, as we are deciding today to confess our sins, Jesus will deliver us, we will not go back to sin anymore in Jesus' name. The grace to do the will of God, God will give to us in Jesus' name

*Excerpt 14*

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

*Excerpt 15*

Mó gbàdùrà fún , ní orúk Jészù, a mú idíw àti idènà kúrò Inà r...j mo gbàá l'ádúra láàár yíí, ànúú Olúwa kí ó wá rí. Àánú olúwa wá rí... mo gbàá l'ádúra láàár yíí gg bí ik àtí iríjù Irun, ìtura yòò dé bá lórí i r àti lórí k r. j lórí okòwò r, lórí ohun tí ò dáwélé, mo paá lá lórúk Jesu, ìtura yóò j tí r...

*I pray for you in Jesus' name, hindrances are taken away from*

*your path...I pray, the favour of God shall locate you.... the*

*favour of God locates you...I pray as God's servant, you shall*

*experience comfort in your engagements/dealings, business and all that you lay your hands on*

*Excerpt 16*

..jé gbogbo yin tí etán láti fi ayé yín fún Jesu, naw yín sókè...**mo gbàdùrà gbogbo agbàra , Dáfìdì ní Olúwa gbà mí lw bì , mo pà, mo gbàdùrà, gbogbo agbàra tí e tí , gbogbo èso nínú ayée yín, óyá máa gbiná snù..** Mo dúp pé Jesu ti gbà yín là. Lórúk Jesu Kristi ní mo gbàdùrà. Àmín.

*All of you ready to give your life to Jesus, raise your hands...I pray*

*every power of sin, David declared, Lord, deliver me from sin; every*

*sin in my life, I decree, I pray, all that represent sin in my life, attract*

*fire...I thank God that Jesus has saved you. In Jesus' name I pray. Amen*

## Sermon (Se)

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

*Excerpt 17*

Jesus is coming soon. Run away from your sinful ways. Give your life to Jesus. Jesus is coming soon. You cannot hide your sin from God,you cannot hide it from Him...Surrender your life to

Jesus today. Give your life to Jesus; let him wash away your sins. Give your life to Jesus, let him come and save you. Call on Jesus, and say Jesus, I am a sinner, have mercy on me...

### *Excerpt 18*

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

### *Excerpt 19*

Irùn retí r, kíe ewé lásán ni Irùn retí, kíe òdòdó tí a pè ní flower ni Irùn retí. Ggbí iwé Gálátíà ti s fún wa: Galatians 5:22. O ò rǎntí wípe kíràkítà asán nilé ayé yíí, a ò m'óhun k'óhun wá, a kò ní m'óhun k'óhun l. Ìgbà tí à b wá sínú, ihòhò la wá sínú ayé arákùnrin, ihòhò la wá sínú ayé arábìnrin...è é e tí yóó fi mú ègbé! Kí ló wà nínú ayé yíí ná? ...

God is expecting you, not leaves nor flowers. Just as the book of Galatians 5:22 has told us. You don't remember, upon all our activities in this world, we are taking nothing to heaven, just as we brought nothing. Brothers and sisters, we came to the world naked, why will you perish! What is in this world?...

### *Excerpt 20*

He is coming back again, our Lord Jesus Christ is coming back again. For God so loves the world that He gave His only begotten son to this world that he would heal us, save us. The Bible makes us understand that when the people were going towards destruction, God sent his word and it healed them from their destruction. You need Jesus; there is no any other way to succeed in life and the afterlife than Jesus. No matter who you think you are, no matter what you are passing through, you need Jesus...no matter whatever you are passing through in life, God will still have mercy on you, God will still deliver you. That is why you have to believe in Him. Some people will pass through some things in life, they begin to move into the world, they begin to enter the world, they begin to do artificial things of this earth...

### *Excerpt 21*

Ronú piwàdà lóníí iw alágbèrè, asklbatèniyànj, paágà, Abrià, mùtí,...Jesu pè lóníí kí o ronú piwàdà. la lè p jù fún ..

*Repent today you fornicators, gossips, adulterers, idolaters, the drunk,*  
Jesus is calling you today...

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

## Call for Confession (CfC)

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

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

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

### *Excerpt 22*

Ìw tóo etán láti fi ayé r fún Jèsù lónìí tàbí padà sí d r, I lórí ekún r, kí o sì kígbe sí Irún pé, Olúwa, gbogbo nà mi tí mo ti rìn, gba kàn mi, má j n ègbé srun àpáàdì, má j kí run àpáàdì ó jèrè lórí mi...Máà j kí pàdánù ilé ológo

You that are ready to give your life to Christ today or go back to him, go on your knee and cry to God that, Lord, all my sinful ways, save my soul, don't let me perish in hell. Don't let me be a candidate of hell. Don't let me miss the glorious home...

### *Excerpt 23*

j ní wákàtí yíí, tí a bá rí ni tí ó ti etán láti fi ayé r fún Jèsù, o ò e wí nínú àdúrà wípé Irún aláàánú, mo dúp lw r ní òwúr yíí fún àfàní, èmi I, dárìjì mí, fún mi ní iyè r, fún mi ní àlááfíà r, mo gba Jèsù gb ggbí Irún àti olùgbàlà mi...mo fi síwájú kí n lè rí iyè gbà níjba Irún ní j kiyìn.

If there is anyone that is ready to give his/her life to Jesus, why not say this prayer: the merciful God, I thank you this morning for the opportunity, I, a sinner, forgive me, give me life, I accept Jesus as my Lord and Saviour. I put you ahead of me so as to receive life in your kingdom in the end

### *Excerpt 24*

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

## 'Welcome to the fold' (WtF)

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

### *Excerpt 25*

j ní wákàtí yíí, mo kí kú oríire ìw tí o ti gba àdúrà yíí, ore f lrun yòò máa bá gbé. Ní orúk Jèsù o ò ní ks; ní rúk Jèsù o ò ní ubú dà á nù. Mo tún gbàdúrà fún ún lówùr yíí, bí a ti jáde l, tí a bá rí ìdánwò kí ìdánwò ní inú ìrìn àjò wa lóníí, mo gbàdúrà, gg bí iríjú lrun, a mú ìdánwò náà kúro ...

At this moment, I greet you congratulations if you have participated in this prayer (of confession). The grace of God shall abide with you. In Jesus' name you will not 'fall'. I also pray for you this morning, as we are going out, if there is any temptation on our way, as a servant of God, I decree such is taken away..

### *Excerpt 26*

j mo kí kú oríire fún ipinu r yíí. A ti k orúk r sínú ìwé iyé. Àwn agli sí y lóri ayèè r. Olúwa yòò mú délé lórúk Jesu.

I greet you congratulations for your decision. Your name has been written in the book of life. Angels are rejoicing over your life. God will take you home in Jesus' name.

### *Excerpt 27*

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

## Finis (F)

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

### *Excerpt 28*

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

### *Excerpt 29*

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

### *Excerpt 30 (a song)*

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

### *Excerpt 31 (a song)*

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

### Excerpt 32

...Mo gbàdùrà, àlááfìà ni fún un yin (sings as he leaves)

*I pray, it is well with you*

## Conclusions

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

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

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# An appraisal of the recruitment and selection process of the judiciary (chief justice) in Zimbabwe

Sandiso Bazana<sup>1</sup> and Charlene Jackson<sup>2</sup>

Psychology Department, Rhodes University

*s.bazana@ru.ac.za*

## Abstract

*Societies that have accepted the notion of liberal modern democracy respect the role of the judges or the judiciary in making such democracies a success. As such, the drafting of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe was a particularly significant event because, amongst other things, it set out the judicial selection process to be followed in the future. Following the recent appointment of the new chief justice (Justice Malaba, appointed in 2016) there has been controversy regarding the Zimbabwean judicial recruitment and selection appointment process. While some renowned legal practitioners expressed the opinion that the process itself was somewhat commendable, the reality is that there were some major flaws, which must be addressed for future judicial selection and appointment. This study analysed documents to appraise the recent recruitment and selection process of the chief justice in Zimbabwe. This study collated data from the Zimbabwe Constitution, Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute, Zimbabwe Case law, legislation and journal articles. The findings from this study suggest that there were some flaws in the last recruitment and selection process of the Chief Justice that were conducted by the Judicial Service Commission. The paper demonstrates some of these flaws. Broadly, the results of this work suggest that the recruitment and selection process require the expertise of those who are skilled in the procedure to do it with utmost proficiency, with limited acrimony and as little hindrance from the public as possible.*

**Keywords:** democracy, recruitment & selection, judiciary, Zimbabwe

## Introduction

Societies that have accepted the notion of liberal modern democracy respect the role of the judges or the judiciary in making such a democracy a success (Schmitter & Karl 1991). For the judiciary to function properly, fit and proper individuals must be recruited and selected. This paper argues that the recruitment and selection process requires the expertise of those who are trained in the process to do it with utmost competence and with limited animosity and dissatisfaction from the public. In many countries, including Zimbabwe, the recruitment and selection of the judiciary tends to involve those who do not have the necessary competencies nor formal training in the core principles of recruitment and selection and often leaves qualified attorneys to run the process, unchecked. The word 'appraisal' is used in this paper to mean the process of carefully and systematically analysing the recruitment and selection procedure of the Chief Justice in Zimbabwe (Frijda & Zeelenberg 2001). Effectively, judges are professionals

1. Sandiso Bazana is a lecturer in the Department of Psychology, Rhodes University, South Africa.

2. Charlene Jackson completed an Organisational Psychology Honours degree. She is currently completing an LLB degree with the Rhodes University's Faculty of Law, South Africa

and are appointed, not elected, into their positions. As such, principles of recruitment and selection appear relevant to appoint human capital that helps a country uphold the 'rule of law', protect citizens' constitutional rights and promote democratic values. Allegations of unfairness and political interference bedevil the process in many countries, including Zimbabwe. In this paper, we aim to explore the process that is followed in the recruitment and selection of the chief justice in Zimbabwe and to explore the possibility of a professionally managed process.

The law regulates relationships between people by prescribing patterns of behaviour. It is also understood to essentially reflect the values of society (Barack 2002). Consequently, the role of the judiciary is to understand the purpose of law in society and to help the law achieve its purpose. In a democratic state, the judiciary has four major roles: formulating the rule of law through interpretation, application of the law, dispute resolution and checking the legality in state politics (Barack 2002). To accomplish these four duties, the basic principles of a democratic state must be guided by a judicial system that is fair, transparent and democratic. This is because the judiciary bears the burden of interpreting and applying the law along with the Constitution, to provide impartial adjudications of disputes between the state and individuals, between individuals, and between different levels of government within the state (Barack 2002).

Based on the aforementioned paragraph, it is evident that any liberal state or society must have a strong judiciary. This is because history has shown that a weak judiciary results in weak democracy. In Uzbekistan, among other examples, gross violations of human rights and religious freedom resulted from a weak judiciary and lack of democratic accountability during the rule of President Islam Karimov in 2015 (Human rights watch 2015). Therefore, this paper argues that to have a strong judicial system, the process of recruiting and selecting a judicial body must be meticulous, thorough and replicable for future selections. If the process is flawed, replicability becomes impossible, thus compromising the quality of the judicial body that is appointed from that point onwards. This, in turn, shows the importance of recruiting and selecting the best candidates. This paper will briefly look at the recent events in Zimbabwe that necessitated this kind of research.

## Background and problem statement

In October 2016, the Zimbabwean Judicial Service Commission (JSC) began its search for their next chief justice since Justice Chidyausiku was set to retire the following year. However, wary that the appointment procedures might cause problems, Chief Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku alerted the Executive to his concerns (Hofisi & Felote 2017, cited in *Newsday*). Nevertheless, he received no response, and he assumed that the Executive was comfortable with the process and was prepared to address its challenges (*Newsday* 2016; *Herald* 2017). As a result, the late former Chief Justice claimed that he was just as stunned to receive a statement informing him that an Executive order had been issued to stop the selection process just a few days before the interviews (*Newsday* 2016). In fact, the chief justice advised the executive that it was impossible to comply with the executive's directive without violating the constitution and, as such; the interviews would proceed in terms of the constitution.

A few days prior to the public interviews, Mr. Romeo Zibani, a private citizen (then a 4th-year law student at the University of Zimbabwe) brought an application before the High Court, challenging the legality of the appointment process of the chief justice. Pending the amendment of the constitution, Section 180 remained operational. Mr. Zibani claimed that the selection process violated the founding values of transparency and accountability in the constitution by creating the possibility of biased decisions (Hofisi & Felote 2016). This claim is perhaps one of the most outstanding flaws of the last judicial recruitment and selection process conducted by the JSC of Zimbabwe. The flaw was so inexcusable that Mr Zibani sought an interdict to stop the public interviews, pending the constitutional amendment of Section 180. Justice Hungwe granted the interdict in December 2016. Whilst agreeing that the process in Section 180 was lawful, the

learned judge found that the section was contrary to the constitutional values of transparency and accountability and was therefore unconstitutional (*Newsday* 2016). Justice Hungwe argued that:

*It occurs that where a lawful process leads to an absurd result, in the sense that colleagues select each other for entitlement to public office, as argued by the applicant, it cannot be sanctioned on the ground that it is provided for in the law (Hofisi & Feltoe 2016).*

Even so, in February 2017 the Supreme Court ruled that, according to Section 180, the chief justice interviews were lawful. In addition, the court ruled that according to section 180, the JSC had acted lawfully, hence overruling the judgment by Justice Hungwe (*Newsday* 2016). It is on this basis and the recruitment and selection process that followed, that this paper focuses its argument.

## Research purpose and question

Following Mr. Zibani's claim that the judicial selection process violated the founding values of transparency and accountability in the constitution by creating the possibility of biased decisions, of the recruitment and selection process, this paper is attempting to determine whether the current Zimbabwean judicial recruitment and selection process of the chief justice is flawed (Manyatera and Fombad 2014). In this instance, the process that this study is concerned with is the most recent one, of 2016 and February 2017 where the Supreme Court ruled that Section 180 of the constitution and the chief justice interviews were lawful and that the JSC had acted lawfully. This study asks the following two questions:

- In what ways did the process violate the Constitution?
- What were the flaws and possible solutions with regards to the established principles?

## Research methodology

The social constructionist epistemology was used in this study. Social constructionism is chiefly concerned with clarifying the processes by which people describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world in which they live (Gergen, 1985). Most social constructionist research manifests one or more of the following assumptions (Gergen, 1985). The first assumption is that what we take to be the experience of the world does not in itself dictate the terms by which the world is understood (Gergen, 1985). Second, it assumes that what we take to be knowledge of the world is not a product of induction, or of the building and testing of general hypotheses (Gergen, 1985).

This is a qualitative research that refers to a design that works to gain insight; explore the depth and complexity of a phenomenon (Maxwell 2012:3). Thus, qualitative research allows the researcher to familiarise him or herself with the problem or concept to be studied, and generate testable hypotheses (Golafshani 2003). The emphasis is on facts and causes of behaviour (Golafshani 2003; Bogdan & Biklen 1998). Due to the scantiness of government and juridical public records in Zimbabwe (Mpofu & Chimhenga 2013), this paper analysed limited publicly available documents, literature and media reports using a documents analysis approach (O'Leary, 2014). Among them were: Barak (2002), "A Judge on Judging: the role of a Supreme Court in a democracy", Du Bois (2006), "Judicial selection in post-apartheid South Africa" and Manyatera and Fombad (2014), "An assessment of the Judicial Service Commission in Zimbabwe's new Constitution." Document analysis is increasingly popular for such analysis (Bowen 2009).

As such, there are three primary types of documents, namely; public records, personal documents and physical documents (O'Leary, 2014, Bowen 2009). The study uses the first two because physical evidence refers to the analysis of physical objects found within the study setting (often called artefacts) (O'Leary 2014). This research utilises document analysis of public

records as it analyses the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013), newspaper articles, journal articles on the subject and the opening speech at the High Court judicial interviews.

This study explores purposively selected documents articles to determine its quality, value, and relevance in comparisons to other countries as widely recommended (Tongco 2007).

## Presentation and analysis of results

This section is divided by themes from the two objectives referred to at the beginning of the article. The outline will follow two stages. The first stage of this section is to outline the current recruitment and selection process in Zimbabwe and explore the problem/s identified above.

The second stage engages with the literature and explores the flaws and possible solutions for future judicial recruitment and selection processes in Zimbabwe, especially for the chief justice.

### Initial structure of the JSC for recruitment and selection

The primary basis of this Constitution is that one of the roles of the judiciary is that of enhancing and protecting human rights as provided in Section 189 of the Constitution. To begin with, Section 180 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides the procedure for the appointment of the judiciary. The section states that the JSC must declare the requisite number of vacancies, invite nominations then carry out interviews. In addition, Section 180 (2) of the Constitution states that for each judicial office which becomes vacant, the JSC must compile a list of three nominees and conduct public interviews to nominate the best-suited candidate.

Moreover, Section 189 of the Constitution requires that the JSC must include a chief justice, deputy chief justice and a person with at least 7 years' experience in human resources management who is appointed by the president, in order for the JSC to be a legitimate *ad hoc* committee. VERITAS watch reported, "There are two JSC vacancies that are puzzling, and have existed all along (VERITAS 2018). The missing members are a professor or senior lecturer of law designated by an association representing the majority of the teachers of law at Zimbabwean universities or, in the absence of such an association, appointed by the President and a person with at least seven years' experience in human resources management, appointed by the President" (VERITAS 2018). This paper argues that the absence of an HR person on the panel is problematic for several reasons, that shall be unpacked below.

### Mr. Zibani's concerns

In October 2016, *Newsday* (2016) reported that a law student from the University of Zimbabwe had made an application to the High Court of Harare in a bid to stop the 2016 chief justice interviews. The newspaper reported that Zibani claimed that the shortlisted candidates were "either friends, colleagues or bosses" of the interviewing panel and this could be best described as an "incestuous" relationship (*Newsday* 2016). Therefore, Mr. Zibani argued that in fact, the remaining members of the panel "ought to be saved the agony" of having to interview their own colleagues (*Newsday* 2016). In addition, Mr. Zibani's argument was that most of the members of the panel are junior to the four nominees, creating a most undesirable state of affairs that will actually destabilise the JSC and the due process (*Newsday* 2016).

In response to Mr. Zibani's claim, the Herald Newspaper (2016) reported that the outgoing Chief Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku had conceded that the current procedure of appointing the chief justice of the country is problematic. In fact, the newspaper reported that the outgoing chief justice had alerted the executive to this new procedure in the appointment of the chief justice as early as March 2016. However, he did not get a response and inferred from the conduct that the executive was comfortable with the new procedure. Despite the chief justice's concerns, the interviews went ahead, thus leading to the research questions in this study. This is another clear

violation of the procedure as prescribed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe that does not seem to concern the executive.

## Nature and procedure of the interviews and assessment

Moreover, the two tests that were used were a behavioural assessment test and a judgment-writing test. These were conducted on 21 October 2016. However, only 14 out of the 46 nominees passed the tests (Chidyausiku 2016). In fact, the speech stated that it would be a dereliction of the JSC's duty if it were to recommend for appointment anyone who failed these tests to the appointing authority. By stating this, the JSC, in fact, closed the door on all candidates but the 14 that passed the initial assessment. Not surprisingly, the majority of those who failed then subsequently desisted from attending the public interviews later held.

Nonetheless, the JSC, through a statement by the former chief justice on 24 October 2016 did not stop the failed candidates from attending the public interviews (Chidyausiku 2016). On the other hand, the former chief justice further expressed his disappointment in that out of the forty-three (43) candidates who turned up for the exercise, only fourteen (14) obtained a passing mark of five (5) and above out of a total of ten (Chidyausiku 2016:3).

Section 180 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) provides the procedure for the appointment of the judiciary. The section states that the JSC must declare the requisite number of vacancies, invite nominations and carry out public interviews. However, there was no actual provision for the public to make comments or participate in the call for nominations. Therefore, public participation is essential in this process considering that everyone has judicial interests, in that we (Zimbabwean citizens) all expect and rely on the judiciary to protect our rights (Barak, 2002). Based on the above, the judiciary is one 'organisation' where the principles of open systems apply (Cowen 2010).

Furthermore, the briefing suggested stated that during the interviews, JSC members would score candidates on each of nine qualities: competence, integrity, industry, independence, experience, good judgment including common sense, relevant legal and life experiences; commitment to the community and public service, the potential for the post applied for. However, it is important to note that these broad behavioural competencies were not clearly defined for all parties that were involved in the process to "sing from the same hymn book" (as it were). Therefore, this leaves the definition and interpretation of the competencies open to subjective interpretation.

## Public participation and pre-interviews

VERITAS (2016) suggested that the interviews be televised live because the briefing did not make mention of televising the interviews. In fact, this would be a desirable development because televising the interviews would enhance the transparency of the proceedings and cater for the wider public interest by enabling the whole nation, including citizens based outside Harare, to take an interest in the proceedings in line with the recommendations of the constitution of the state. VERITAS (2016) further argued that Zimbabwe must learn from South Africa because, in South Africa, the public interviews of judicial candidates by their JSC are televised live, and this is regarded as promoting citizens' confidence and pride in their judicial system.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the speech was that the former chief justice explained that the JSC regards the writing of judgments as the core competence of any judge (Chidyausiku 2016). The speech states that in view of the poor performance by most of the candidates during the pre-interview assessment exercise, it was important for all those who did not pass the elementary exercise to introspect and decide on whether they wanted to proceed with the interviews or will wait until they are ready and can pass this preliminary hurdle (Chidyausiku 2016). In addition, the chief justice argued that he believed that it will be "dereliction of duty on the part of the JSC" to recommend the appointment of a person who failed at the

elementary (Chidyausiku 2016:5). At this point, the speech also highlighted that it is the constitutional right of every qualifying candidate to be interviewed (S180(c)). This provision of the constitution thereby renders the role of the assessments obsolete, because even those who fail the assessment can still proceed to the interview stage. Therefore, those that did not perform well in the pre-interview assessment had the right to present themselves before the JSC and in the process, to persuade the JSC that “despite their poor showing earlier”, they should recommend that they are appointed to the High Court Bench (Chidyausiku 2016:5).

## Discussions

According to Section 191 of the constitution, the JSC is to act in “a just, fair and transparent manner.” As is common practice with organisations, there is a need to have a human resources manager or a psychologist within the organisation when conducting interviews. In fact, one of the major contributions of human resources management as a science in organisations is the meticulous and transparent process of recruitment and selection (Ekwoaba, Ikeije &Ujoma, 2015). However, as it currently stands (even during the appointment process) the JSC lacked that one person with at least 7 years’ experience in Human Resources Management (VERITAS, 2018). Therefore, the issue arises as to whether that JSC had the initial capacity to exist, let alone transact and conduct interviews for a chief justice. As it stands, the lack of the human resources manager means that the JSC had no capacity to act; hence, the appointment process of the chief justice was invalid and lacked transparency and did not fully comply with prescripts of the constitution.

When recruiting the judiciary, the JSC is required to declare the requisite number of vacancies. Section 180 (2) of the Constitution (2013) states that for each judicial office which becomes vacant, the JSC must compile a list of 3 nominees and conduct public interviews. In 2016, the JSC advertised 8 vacancies, which means that 24 names were needed to be submitted to the president (S180 (2)). Instead, 3 names were taken to the president to allow him to appoint one person as Chief Justice.

Furthermore, the JSC called for the nomination of candidates in October 2016 (*Newsday*, 2016) and only four candidates were nominated and were due to be interviewed on 12 December 2016 (*Newsday*, 2016). As a result, the JSC not only breached the constitution but it failed to execute proper steps to the selection process. This could have been avoided had the panel included a person with at least 7 years’ experience in human resources management as required by S189.

## Constituting the JSE and the question of fairness

The above results also illustrate that the JSC failed to reflect transparency in those undisclosed markers whose credentials and identities were kept a secret, marked the scripts (VERITAS, 2018). This means that the standards of testing were neither available nor verified. In addition, the scripts were not returned to the candidates for scrutiny, and there were no appeal procedures in place. This is because the exam. was written on Friday 21 October and on Monday 24 October 2016, there was a statement stating that the JSC would not recommend anyone who failed the exam. for appointment. This suggests that there was no external person who moderated the exam, given the short time frame between the day the tests were conducted and the day that the announcement was made. This leaves room for mistakes in marking or assessment to have gone unnoticed.

Second, there was no actual provision for the public to make their comments or participate in the call for nominations. Therefore, public participation is essential in this process, considering that everyone has judicial interests, in that we (Zimbabwean citizens) all expect and rely on the judiciary to protect our rights (Barak, 2002). Based on the above, the judiciary is one ‘organisation’ where the principles of open systems apply (Cowen, 2010). Contrary to Section

180 (2) of the Constitution (2013), the JSC, instead of basing its nominations on the public interviews, it conducted two pre-interview tests, which were then used to weed out some candidates. Therefore, in this case, the JSC went against the outlined guidelines for selecting its candidates for the position of chief justice.

Section 191 of the Constitution (2013) enjoins the JSC to act in a just, fair and transparent manner. The pre-interview assessment defeated the idea of fairness and transparency for the following reasons. Firstly, The JSC allowed junior lawyers to assess prominent and senior judges in this exercise in the absence of a human resources manager. According to the Employment Equity Act of South Africa, no organisation can perform assessment tests in the absence of a human resources manager or a psychometrician (Moerdyk 2009).

Furthermore, the assessment was a two-hour extempore judgment on decided facts as stated in the opening speech by the former Chief Justice of Zimbabwe (Chidyausiku 2016). The exercise was done in 2 hours, which is an unreasonable timeframe to write a good judgment considering that the average judge may spend up to a week to come up with a proper judgement (Barak, 2002). In fact, the judiciary is one of the most important organisations in the land, therefore “good” is unsatisfactory (Barak, 2002). Barak (2002) argues that the role of the judiciary is to determine the law and decide cases according to the rule of law. As such, he disputes the notion that judges merely state the law but do not create it (Barack 2002). Consequently, the role of the judge in courts such as the Supreme Court or Constitutional Court is more than just to correct the mistakes of the lower courts (Barak 2002). Moreover, their role is more about bridging the gap between the law and society, while protecting the democracy of the people (Barak 2002). Therefore, based on the above, it is essential that the process of selecting a judge, according to Barak (2002) must be thorough, transparent and foolproof to yield an effective judiciary rather than being based on their ability to write a “good” judgment.

Furthermore, the briefing suggested that during the interviews, JSC members would score candidates on each of nine qualities: competence, integrity, industry, independence, experience, good judgment including common sense, relevant legal and life experiences; commitment to the community and public service, the potential for the post applied for. However, it is important to note that these broad behavioural competencies were not clearly defined for all parties that were involved in the process to “sing from the same hymn book” (as it were). Therefore, this leaves the definition and interpretation of the competencies open to subjective interpretation.

## Pre-interviews and assessment

The Chief Justice states that in view of the poor performance by most of the candidates during the pre-interview assessment exercise, it was important for all those who did not pass the elementary exercise to introspect and decide whether they wanted to proceed with the interviews or wait until they are ready and can pass this preliminary hurdle (Chidyausiku, 2016). In addition, the Chief Justice argued that he believed that it would be a “dereliction of duty on the part of the JSC” to recommend the appointment of a person who failed at the elementary (Chidyausiku 2016:5). At this point, the speech also highlighted that it is the constitutional right of every qualifying candidate to be interviewed (S180(c)).

This provision of the constitution thereby renders the role of the assessments obsolete, because even those who fail the assessment can still proceed to the interview stage. Therefore, those that did not perform well in the pre-interview assessment had the right to present themselves before the JSC and in the process to persuade the JSC that “despite their poor showing earlier”, they should recommend that they are appointed to the High Court Bench (Chidyausiku 2016:5).

Although the Constitution (2013) provides that those who failed be allowed to proceed, it raises issues within the judiciary because it defeats the purpose of the selection process. Selection refers to the identification of qualified candidates from a pool of candidates, through



methods such as interviews and assessments (Du Bois 2006). This stage should lead to shortlisting; otherwise, there is no point of the pre-interview exercise if everyone will make it to the interview stage. As such, a classic illustration of the downside to this is illustrated when a renowned human rights' attorney who failed the pre-interview assessment, chose to continue to the interview stage. As a result, he failed to tell the panel the difference between a court application and a court action. This is information that most lawyers have at the tips of their fingers. Had the pre-interview process been used as a screening method, candidates such as the aforementioned would have been deemed incompetent for the position and would have been unable to proceed to the interview stage.

Fairness could be increased if the process of assessment stated explicitly that the candidate must have had some experience or training in writing judgments in their line of work to achieve to ensure that candidates are assessed on equal footing and perform better. Joppe (2000) defines reliability as the extent to which results are consistent over time. As such, if the different assessors can reproduce the same results after marking under similar conditions, then the assessment method is considered reliable (Joppe 2000: 1). Therefore, in this case, it would have been more reliable to have different markers to mark the scripts to see if they would have the same results, to increase inter-rater reliability (Joppe 2000).

Seasoned judges and registered assessors should be used as assessors since they have the experience and are trained in such complex assessments. Experience is essential in this regard because unlike the Zimbabwean Constitution, the South African Constitution of 1996 provides two (2) criteria for judicial selection in Section 174 (1). This is because the method of assessment is so complex and plays a major role in determining whether a person is fit for a job or not (Moerdyk 2009). On the other hand, the Zimbabwean process lacked expert assessors and used junior lawyers that have no experience in writing judgments, let alone in assessing a judgment writing exercise. This section states that judicial candidates must be appropriately qualified and must be fit and proper (Du Bois 2006). This means that there must be a standard that is used to determine whether one is fit and proper. Therefore, experienced judges who have been through the process before or who have experience in the selection of judges would be better qualified to interpret and measure these criteria to improve the Zimbabwean recruitment and selection of the judiciary. Consequently, this leads to the questions regarding the fairness and transparency in the marking by the assessors.

In doing so, the JSC could adopt the South African method of judicial selection, to engage with interest groups such as NGOs, and Pension groups as well as other interested groups for public comments and nominations of candidates (Cowen 2010).

## Conclusion and recommendations

The paper used a limited number of documents that helped to answer the questions that emanated from the most recent recruitment and selection process of the Chief Justice in Zimbabwe. The first important challenge of doing a study of this nature is the inaccessibility of government public documents in Zimbabwe. Perhaps, with the availability of these public documents, the research could be strengthened. The paper has identified many flaws in the current recruitment and selection process of Chief Justice in Zimbabwe. Second, the paper identified the problem and demonstrated through documents analysis, particularly how the process contravened some of the constitutional provisions. Considering the above flaws and suggestions, it is possible to have a fair, transparent and effective selection and appointment of the Chief Justice in Zimbabwe. It is important to remember that no single process of screening candidates is enough. Therefore, there is a need for a detailed and thorough job analysis so that the ad hoc committee is clear on what to look for in a candidate rather than just their ability to "write a good judgment". Moreover, having assessed the role of the judiciary, it is essential that a professional job analysis provide the JSC with key skills, qualifications, and knowledge that one

must possess to be the best candidate for the position. Nonetheless, possible solutions for the JSC include televising the public interviews to ensure transparency in the process. Furthermore, as already suggested, the JSC should follow the South African method of questionnaires to help to gather more information regarding the candidates' competencies and implement peer reviews so that peers are able to make contributions regarding a specific candidate's nomination. In addition, perhaps a competence-based assessment should also be used for effectiveness in the next recruitment and selection of the Chief Justice. This will ensure that that future judiciary selection is effective and promotes human rights as envisioned by the Constitution of 2013.

Taking the above into consideration, this paper suggests that Zimbabwe's JSC should follow the South African JSC process of selection that shortlists the candidates to ensure that only the suitable candidates for the judicial position proceed to the interview stage (S12 of the Judicial Commission Service Act of South Africa 1994). The South African method, unlike the Zimbabwean one, aligns more with a proper recruitment and selection process because the purpose of short-listing is to identify candidates who best meet the selection criteria for the post (Newell 2009).

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## Information services provided by Maarifa Telecentres to rural communities in ASALs in Kenya

Catherine W. Chege<sup>1</sup>

Department of Library, Records Management and Information Studies,  
Moi University  
*cngeci@yahoo.com*

Joseph Kiplang'at<sup>2</sup>

Department of Library, Records Management and Information Studies,  
School of Information Sciences, Moi University  
*jkngetich@yahoo.co.uk*

Daniel Chebutuk Rotich<sup>3</sup>

Department of Publishing and Media Studies,  
School of Information Sciences  
Moi University

Department of Information Science, University of South Africa  
*drotich@hotmail.com*

### Abstract

*Telecentres are established to provide information, to bridge the information and digital gap, foster development and confront the requirements of the poverty stricken in remote and isolated rural areas in developing nations. The purpose of this study was to explore information services provided by two Maarifa centres to rural communities in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) in Kenya. The specific objective was to establish the information needs of ASAL communities served by Maarifa centres; to explore information services provided by Maarifa centres to ASAL communities; to analyse the challenges and prospects of Maarifa centres in the provision of information to rural communities in Kenya and to make recommendations for the improvement of information services to ASALs communities in Kenya. The study employed a multiple case study research design as an overall strategy and drew upon multiple data sources to develop a triangulation of methods. Qualitative research was administered as a predominant approach. Data was gathered through interviews from a sample of 20 respondents from each Maarifa centre: Isinya in Kajiado and Ng'arua in Laikipia counties. In addition, two focus group discussions were administered with the respondents of the two Maarifa centres. Key informants included directors and programme coordinators of Maarifa centres and government agencies who provide infrastructural support to the telecentre project. This study was informed by the Department for International Development's (DFID's) theoretical framework namely: the 'Sustainable Livelihoods Approach' (SLA) framework. The findings of this study suggest that Maarifa centres are points of Arid Lands Information*

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1. Catherine Chege is a PhD student in the Department of Library, Records Management and Information Studies, School of Information Sciences, Moi University.
  2. Joseph Kiplang'at PhD is Professor of Library and Information Studies at Moi University, Kenya.
  3. Daniel Chebutuk Rotich PhD is Professor of Publishing and Media Studies, Moi University, Kenya and Research Fellow, University of South Africa, South Africa.

*Networks (ALINs) engagement with communities living in ASALs. People appreciate Maarifa centres as places to access information, acquire ICT skills, and improve livelihood activities such as agriculture and businesses and for social communication. The challenges are mainly infrastructural such as poor connectivity and Internet access. This study revealed that Maarifa centres have solved most of the community's information related challenges through e-government services, e-commerce and agricultural development and knowledge creation, resulting in improved livelihoods. The study contributes to knowledge because it adopts a community-centred approach that focuses on the views of users of Maarifa centres.*

**Keywords:** Telecentres, Maarifa centres, information services, rural communities, arid lands, Kenya, economic development

## 1. Introduction

Telecentres are publicly accessible places where people can get help to use computers, the Internet, and other digital technologies that enable them to gather information, create, learn, and communicate with others while they develop essential digital skills. Telecentres, ICTs, Information access and community development are terms commonly used in telecentre studies and contextualisation (Mishra and Unny 2018). Telecentres are mainly non-profit information centres that offer access to computers to solve the problem of the digital divide, to serve the poor in remote areas. Telecentres have been considered the most successful projects for ICT diffusion in developing countries (Aji *et al.* 2016). Furuholt and Saebo (2017) explain that telecentres offer information services to marginalised and isolated communities to help them overcome problems of the digital divide and join the information society. Telecentres also provide space for rural community members to interact and share ideas on various issues important to their lives (Buhigiro 2012).

Sigweni *et al.* (2017) note that telecentre implementation has not always succeeded due to sustainability issues. Although there is a research gap on the cause of their collapse, this study focuses on a success story of Maarifa (tele)centres in Kenya. Although there is a growing perception that mobile phones will render telecentres irrelevant, Nemer (2018) and Arid Lands Information Network (ALIN) in Kenya acknowledge that mobile phones and telecentres complement each other in providing those who face digital inequalities a broader social technical experience. The benefits brought about by telecentres are: development of ICT skills, health, employment, education, governance, etc. (Sey *et al.* 2013).

ALIN is a knowledge driven, non-governmental organisation (NGO) that initiated and operates Maarifa centres. Information and knowledge act as its raw material, making ALIN a knowledge driven body. ALIN's mission is "To improve people's lives and livelihoods of arid lands in East African region. It relies on modern information technology to deliver practical information resources" (ALIN.net. 2019).

## 2. Brief literature review

This section highlights the research theoretical framework and provides a brief literature review in the following sections.

### 2.1 Theoretical framework

This study applied DFID's Sustainable livelihood Approach (SLA) framework. In operationalising SLA, the framework used a pentagon figure to demonstrate a range of capital assets that communities access and use to improve their lives and eradicate poverty. The pentagon depicts interrelatedness of the capital assets with:

**Social capital** representing social resources upon which people draw their livelihood pursuit (DFID 1999). DFID (1999) explains that social capital is important because it has a direct impact upon other types of capital; social capital can help increase people's incomes and rates of saving (financial capital) through the improved efficiency of economic relations; social capital can be effective in improving the management of common resources (natural capital) and the maintenance of shared infrastructure (physical capital). Kapondera and Namusanya (2017) explain that telecentres can enhance social capital by fostering communication through ICTs within the telecentres and providing space for workshop discussion and debates.

**Human capital** includes knowledge, skills, the ability to work including health to help people pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID1999). Telecentres achieve human capital through teaching computer lessons.

**Physical capital** includes basic infrastructure such as affordable transport, adequate water supply and sanitation, secure shelter and building, clean affordable energy, communication and production equipment and access to information that enables people to pursue their livelihood strategies (DFID1999).

**Financial capital** denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives (DFID 1999).

**Natural capital** includes the natural resources such as land and water used to generate means of survival. Natural capital is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods are derived (DFID 1999).

These assets are supported by an information system like telecentres (Parkinson and Ramirez, 2007, Soriano 2007) hence the choice of the framework in this study.

These capital assets helped to confirm the findings of this research. Heeks and Molla (2008) merge livelihood assets and information to realise livelihood outcomes as depicted in the diagram below:

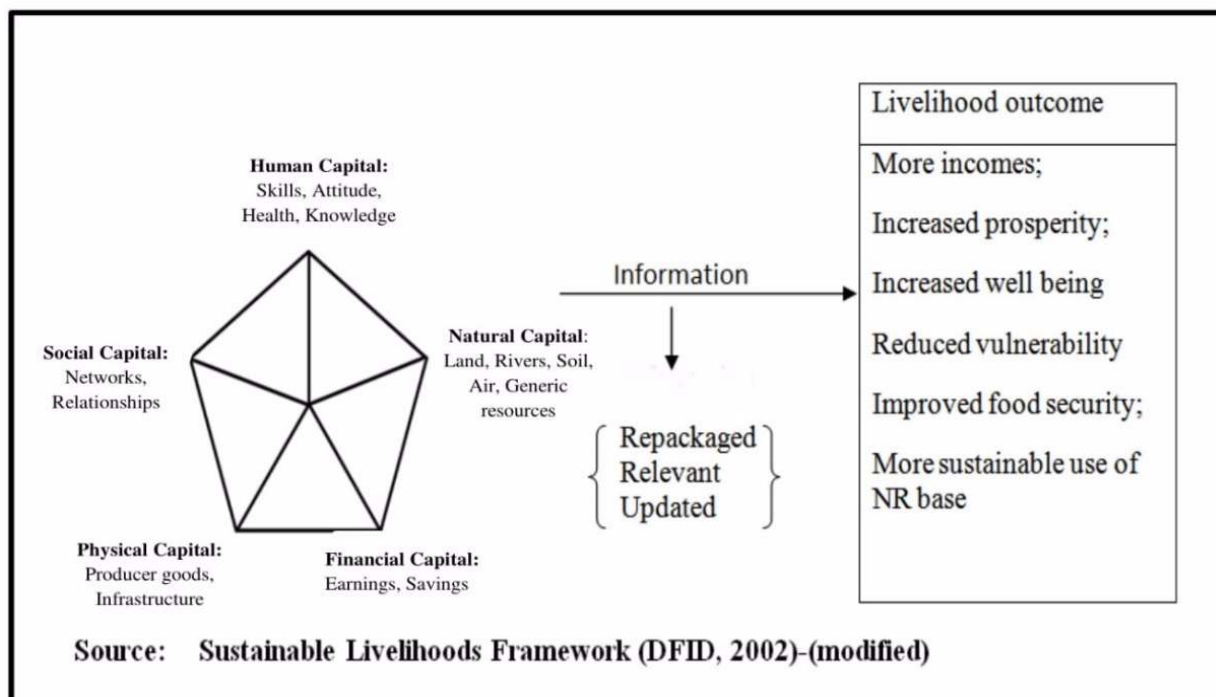


Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Livelihood outcomes identified in SLA include more income, increased prosperity, improved food security, reduced susceptibility; and more suitable exploitation of the natural resource base. Information is a key component that can enhance the benefits of this process. For poor people to use information and ICTs, information must be relevant to their needs; information must help them make informed decisions and choices. The whole process is expected to be interactive and user-centred. Telecentres are institutions that help the realisation of improved livelihood outcomes.

## 2.2 Information needs

Central to information for making informed decisions are specific information needs for those involved at different levels including those living in ASALs. Information needs assessment will also facilitate dissemination of the required information (Kapondera 2014). A community can only experience value added benefits accrued from a telecentre if they access information that corresponds to their information needs. Zulkhairi *et al.* (2017) offer an explanation that a telecentre ecosystem can transform Malaysian rural areas into communities that are capable of adding value as a result of the services offered. This ecosystem can be achieved based on information priorities presented by various stakeholders through expression of information needed to create socio-economic value.

Chilimo, Ngulube and Stilwell, (2011) defined information need as an instance when there is a problem that can only be solved through some information. Information can be sourced from an information service provider to satisfy that information need. BBC News (2017) described Malawi as an example of developing countries where the majority of the population live in rural areas and rely on agriculture. They therefore have enhanced agricultural information needs that can be satisfied through ICT public access telecentres. Mbangala and Samzugui (2014) reiterate that ICTs have the potential to enhance access to the necessary agricultural information. Other information needed by people living in remote rural areas across regions are educational, healthcare, government services, market prices and weather information to farmers (Buhigiro 2012; Kapondera *et al.* 2018), crop, livestock husbandry and value addition (Elly and Silayo 2013).

ASAL communities' information needs lean towards agricultural and marketing information that ALIN helps to solve through Maarifa centres.

## 2.3 Telecentre services

Telecentre services are crucial for telecentre existence; in other words, all that telecentres do is to offer services to users and satisfy their livelihood needs. Hassan *et al.* (2010) outline the range of information content and services provided broadly relating to the following areas:

1. To create a community knowledge centre in rural areas;
2. To educate and improve people's standards of living;
3. To facilitate online access to global information;
4. To open up markets for local products through the Internet and e-commerce; and
5. To provide e-government information services.

Development is realised through information services offered at the telecentre. Parkinson and Ramirez (2007) used SLA to assess the effects of Colombia telecentres on the livelihood beneficiaries. Soriano (2007) established a link between community telecentres and poverty reduction in Wu'an province of China.

Several research projects have been conducted on the information services offered by telecentres and their contribution to socio-economic development across African countries and in other parts of the world. There is however a noticeable gap in such research outputs for the Kenyan perspective. Some examples of such cases are: the link between telecentres and community development in Malawi's Vikwa community telecentre by Kapondera (2017);



Tanzania's Public Internet Access Points (PIAPs) by Furuholt and Saebo (2017); livelihood enhancement in agro-rural communities in Zimbabwe by Mago and Mago (2015); and telecentre sustainability in India by Mishra and Unny (2018). Much has also been discussed in these articles about the contribution of telecentres in poverty alleviation as well as relating telecentres to information needs and services such as e-government, e-commerce, and telemedicine for rural communities.

Ullah (2016) conducted a study in Bangladesh based on the Union Information and Service Centre (UISC), a telecentre model, and what came from the study is that 'UISC is the torchbearer of modernity, hope and opportunities that enhance one-stop public service delivery to the rural poor'. Ullah (2016) goes further and explains that besides being poor, people who require telecentre information services are illiterate, especially women and the elderly; they have very limited chances of accessing ICTs. The presence of UISC in their midst has enabled them to access ICTs particularly for e-government services; it has brought services close to people thus saving them time, cost (because services are either free or very cheap), minimising the distance and enhancing access to information. Government agencies have initiated ICTs to modernise their service for improved service delivery to citizens. They rely on telecentres to achieve this in the remote areas (Lin, Kuo and Myers 2015).

## 2.4 Telecentres in the age of mobile phones

Mobile phones have been embraced by telecentres to enhance their services to users. This is because access to ICT is widely and rapidly provided through mobile phones due to mobile phone penetration. Furuholt and Saebo (2017) observed that telecentres combine rendering services both through users visiting the telecentres as well as the use of personal mobile phones. Mobile phones are platforms for information sharing, marketing and financial transaction services. Mobile phones have enormous capabilities; they can create awareness, foster digital skills and provide access to many applications and content. Prasad and Ray (2012) explain that provision of basic services such as education and health for communities living in remote areas is offered through telecentres.

Furuholt and Saebo (2017) argue that a combination of both mobile phone services and use of telecentres for complex tasks such as university application and medical queries are performed through the Internet from telecentres. Ray and Prasad (2014) suggest that telecentres and mobile phones must play complementary roles in bringing connectivity to rural areas. Vannini, Nemer and Rega (2017) posit that mobile phones and telecentres are both primary tools that facilitate access to information.

Furuholt and Saebo (2017) observe that poor people living in rural areas are financially restricted from having expensive phones with Internet capabilities. Telecentres are therefore still important Internet access points.

## 2.5 General challenges faced by telecentres

Telecentre challenges are experienced both ways, by the telecentres and by telecentre users as well. A major challenge faced by telecentre establishments is in the effort to make telecentre content relevant to the users' needs (Colle 2004; Kapondera 2014). Telecentres are also required to justify their existence in the age of mobile technology because some services offered by telecentres are accessed using mobile technologies (Chigona *et al.* 2011).

Researchers have expressed other challenges including: cost of access that limit the number of services provided to the communities; unreliable and high cost of power supply, unreliable and slow Internet connectivity, etc. (Mtega and Melakani 2009; Kapondera 2014)

Users' lack of abilities to navigate the Internet to access the desired information and difficulties to analyse and synthesise the quality of information retrieved (Huerta and Sandoval-Almazán, 2007). This challenge is attributable to limited skills, especially when perceived users

fail to attend training sessions offered at the telecentres. Lack of searching skills will yield poor results and discourage people from appreciating telecentre services (Mtega and Malekani 2009).

Opening hours are a challenge because most telecentres operate within government working hours, which is a very short time for people living in the rural areas (Kapondera 2014). Chigalu (2009) and Gcora *et al.* (2015) suggest that telecentres should be open when people want to use them.

Physical facilities especially space make users of telecentres uncomfortable; they are unable to enjoy privacy when interacting with the computer (Etta and Parvyn-Wamahiu 2003). Telecentres do not have enough computers (Kapendora 2017). Squeezed space leads to other problems such as limited access, as only a few people can use computers at any given time.

Lack of information content written in local languages, web-based information written in a foreign language and in scientific jargon cannot be read and understood by local communities (Gomez and Ambikar 2008; Mtega and Malekani 2009). This situation makes the local illiterate members of the community perceive that telecentres are places for the educated (Etta and Parvyan-Wamahiu 2003).

The location of telecentres presents a problem of distance from some users who may have to incur transport costs. This discourages usage as most people in remote locations are poor and cannot afford transport to the telecentres (Coward, Gomez and Ambikar 2008).

### 3. Aim and objectives of the study

This study investigated how and to what extent Maarifa centres are providing information to communities in ASALs with a view to establishing the challenges and coming up with possible solutions for improving information provision.

The study was guided by the following three research objectives:

1. Establish and verify the information services provided by Maarifa centres to rural communities in ASALs in Kenya;
2. Analyse the challenges experienced in the provision of information in rural communities in ASALs in Kenya, and
3. Suggest recommendations for the improvement of services offered at Maarifa centres.

### 4. Methodology

This study adopted an interpretive paradigm that relies heavily on natural methods through qualitative research such as case study by use of interviews, observation and analysing existing texts. This research has a multiple case study exploratory research design; it investigated Maarifa centres as units that offer information services to people living in ASALs. There are eight Maarifa centres in Kenya, but this study selected two of the eight. Furthermore, there are other telecentres in Kenya such as the Pasha Digital villages at various locations, and religion-based centres such as the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) in Korogocho informal settlement in Nairobi.

The study used triangulation of multiple data sources to gather information and to enable in-depth investigation that helped capture the reality of events (Muganda, 2010). Both structured and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observation techniques were used for data collection. The use of data collection triangulation was important to compensate for shortfalls of the different data-gathering methods

The study population included: two Maarifa centres, each with 65 users amounting to a total of 130 users (respondents); 20 users were randomly picked to be interviewed and to participate in FGD. Key informants to be interviewed included 2 telecentre managers, 5 officers from the Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK); 3 from ALIN and three officers from the ICT Board of Kenya.

<b>Table 1:</b> Samplings.NO.	<b>Unit/ Category</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>
1	Communication Authority of Kenya Officers	5	5	Purposive
2	Arid Lands Information Network officials	3	3	Purposive
3	Managers of the 2 telecentre	2	2	Purposive
4	Users of the 2 telecentre	130	20 (31% of population)	Simple random
<b>6</b>	<b>Total participants</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>30</b>	

The study data were gathered from different interviews such as users of Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa centres (referred to as U1, 2, 3 etc. in the findings), managers of the telecentres (eg IM for Isinya and NM for Ng'arua), directors of the agency responsible for Maarifa centres' projects (ALIN) (referred to as D1, 2), and government agencies providing infrastructural support to Maarifa centres' projects. Two focus discussion groups and observation methods were used as well. This helped collate multiple data sources and therefore enhance the validity and reliability of the findings by investigating varied views of the situation under study (Taylor, Kermode and Roberts 2007).

Interview was the dominant method of collecting data in this study, with four sets of interview schedules. The interviewer followed a rigid procedure of written questions to ensure that no omission of pertinent aspects was experienced. The questions were semi-structured.

Focus group discussion (FGD) is a good way to gather people from similar backgrounds or experiences on a specific topic of interest. Seven participants in FGD were picked from among users of Maarifa centres under study; users formed a key segment of this study's respondents. Managers of the Maarifa centres participated in the FGD sessions. FGD facilitators posed questions from the focus group discussion guide. These questions were prepared beforehand in line with the objectives of the study. Data was also collected with the help of observation that involved field visits, writing notes focusing on people, situations and the environment as well as taking photographs of activities.

As far as data analysis was concerned, NUD.IST Vivo (Nvivo) which is a qualitative data analysis software package designed for handling data that are not in the form of numbers was used. Nvivo was considered ideal for this study because its data were majorly qualitative. SPSS was used to analyse data from the semi-structured interviews with users of Maarifa centres and other key informants that emanate from the set of closed-ended questions requiring processing using quantitative analysis. Quantifiable data is not reported in this paper.

## 5. Results and discussions

### 5.1 Introduction

This section provides an interpretation of the research findings on information services provided by Maarifa centres to rural communities in Kenya. The findings looked into ICT-based information services that aim at improving the ASALs communities' livelihoods. The research findings were derived from the analysis of the data collected from Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa

centres. Information from the literature review was used to support the interpretation of the research findings of the study.

The findings in this section are arranged by research objectives or themes mentioned earlier. The demographic description of users precedes the information needs of ASALs communities served by Maarifa centres followed by services provided by Maarifa centres, such as: training services, business support services, financial and social capital investment services and online communication, challenges that affect telecentre services and recommendations.

## 5.2 Demographics of Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa Centre

The demographic composition of users in this study helped establish whose livelihoods Maarifa centres support. The most popular user age group that visited Maarifa centres consisted of youth aged between 18 and 25 years, 60% (30) in Ng'arua and 45% (22) in Isinya. Observation confirmed a heavy presence of youth and male users. However, the Ng'arua Maarifa centre manager intimated that their "main targets are farmers, business people and civil servants." Most previous findings from the literature (Kpondera and Namusanya 2017; Mbangala and Samzugui 2014) reveal that youth comprised the dominant telecentre user group.

Users of both Maarifa centres responded to the demographic section by stating their age. The main explanation of the categories of users was given by the Isinya centre manager explaining that diverse categories of users are served by the Maarifa centres since services are offered free of charge to all; user groups consisted of local community members, high school students. High school leavers visited the telecentres to make university applications and those in institutions of higher learning use Maarifa centres to apply for higher education loans from the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB). Farmers, both men and women, visit the centres for capacity building; they are helped to do e-commerce and also gain access to marketing their products. Civil servants visit to look for their data such as access pay slips, download Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) forms and certificates for filing income returns and generally access work-related information. Teachers, business community members and others in informal sectors use the services as well. This means that Maarifa centres serve as a critical source of information to a diverse population of the rural communities in ASALs in Kenya.

A point to note is that Maarifa centre users gave almost similar responses to interview questions; the researcher picked some for discussion in Section 5.3.

## 5.3 Information Services in Maarifa Centres

As mentioned earlier, telecentres are facilities for development. They serve marginalised communities who cannot afford the services of ICTs individually. They bring the benefits of ICT to the people to bridge the digital divide. The director of ALIN (DI) confirmed that Maarifa centres consolidate and create relevant content to help satisfy users' information needs through needs assessment programmes. Users from both telecentres were asked what information services they employ at Maarifa centres in order to improve their lives. Prominent among reasons users visited Maarifa centres are:

*U4 -To acquire ICT skills: this is part of a human's assets.*

*U8 -To broadly access agricultural information and to find information on best farming practices. Farmers are able to regularly check prices for their farm produce, constantly communicate with buyers and the whole cycle increases their income as part of their financial asset management*

*U2 - To communicate with friends and relatives, thus increasing social interaction.*

*U10 - To access health information*

*U1- To search for jobs online after acquiring some training*

*U3 - Entertainment, etc.*

*The observation guide had asked them to 'check other sources of information'.*

*U13 – to borrow books – there are library shelves with books in Maarifa centres*

*U14 – to attend workshops.*

An ALIN Director (D1) offered background information of the origins, the aims and structure of Maarifa centres' initiatives:

*ALIN began as a network facilitating knowledge-sharing among people involved in agricultural and livestock extension through print magazines, then satellite radio to deliver information to remote places. When the Internet became widely available, they also evolved and created permanent centres where computers and Internet access were installed. Maarifa centres are now evolving into the use of mobile devices to link farmers with information and knowledge about agriculture and livestock through Sokopepe.*

Isinya Maarifa centre's manager (IM) explained the rationale behind the establishment of Maarifa centre in rural community as:

*based on the right to access information ... Maarifa centres were established to serve people in the remote area who would otherwise not have had access to information relevant to the livelihood needs; to get ICT infrastructure especially the Internet.*

One of the initial questions posed to the managers of both Isinya (M1) and Ng'arua Maarifa centres (NM) was on the aims, objectives and the structure of the Maarifa community knowledge centre (CKC) initiative. Both telecentres are projects of ALIN and are guided by similar aims and objectives.

Managers from Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa centres said the aim and objectives are:

*IM - To improve ICT skills through training, and open rural areas to opportunities such as e-learning, e-government, e-commerce and outsourcing.*

*NM - To provide access to information.*

*NM - To increase local content through documenting best practices and sharing to the network.*

*NM - To assist pastoralists and farmers through imparting knowledge on farming and how to improve as well as sharing information.*

*IM - To provide a platform for exchange of experience and their knowledge.*

*IM - Create linkages or liaisons between the farmers and other stakeholders e.g. Ministry of livestock development, ministry of agriculture and social services and NGOs such as Practical Action , Hand in Hand etc.*

The structure of Maarifa centres according to Isinya Maarifa centres Manager is

*IM - Telecentres are branches spread in ASALs, the occupants in the branches are field officers, focus groups and users of Maarifa centres. ALIN, situated in Nairobi is the headquarter where the directors, finance officers, project officers, administrative assistants, ICT officers among other workers sit.*

Telecentres are service providers and the first objective of this study was to understand how Maarifa centres support livelihoods. This was made possible by examining the range of services offered by Maarifa centres to people living in ASALs. The aim of finding out the services offered was to identify how Maarifa centres support livelihoods for the poor and marginalised communities.

The questions were guided by the fact that Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) such as Internet, e-mail and satellite technology have the potential to improve the livelihood opportunities for the poor and marginalised. The Director (D1) in charge of ALIN elucidated that the range of services provided by Maarifa centres has evolved with technological developments. A study conducted by UNCTAD (2007) reported that telephone services have been superseded by the emergence of mobile phones. ALIN director concurred with the UNCTAD report that communication systems have change and said:

*Maarifa centres as currently constituted will have to change both in functions and services they offer, because users can now access ALIN's' content through their mobile phone devices. They do not have to physically visit Maarifa centres and they are not restricted to 8 am – 5 pm opening hours. ALIN's focus is now on the use of mobile devices to link users through Sokoape.*

Telecentre business hours was one of the observation parameters in the observation guide. The researcher observed that Maarifa centres operated from 8 am to 5 pm.

Chilimo (2008) explains that mobile phones have made life easy; they can go for some time without requiring connection to electricity power sources, much better than other computer-related ICTs because mobile phone operators (Safaricom, Airtel, and Orange, among others) install masts and users are able to keep their mobile phones charged. Access to information via mobile phones is much easier.

The key services offered by Maarifa centres therefore include but are not limited to: computer training, dissemination of information, linking ASAL communities with new contacts through workshops by bringing together farmers and small business traders to narrate their testimonies, help farmers promote their brands and sell their products and services online through the Sokoape platform. Users use Maarifa ICT facilities for social communication (social capital), to do business transactions, to trade, i.e. buy and sell goods or services (financial capital), to do research and get assistance on administrative matters (human capital).

The finding established a substantial level of satisfaction with the telecentre services at 73.46% (36) of the users expressing satisfaction. Therefore, the level of satisfaction on information services offered at Maarifa centres was high, in line with DFIDs capital assets.

### 5.3.1 Training services

When asked to explain what “mechanisms are used by Maarifa centre to avail, train and sensitise people on ICTs.”

An Isinya centre manager explained that they use community networks such as social gatherings, churches, chiefs meetings, posters on notice boards, SMS to inform people that the centre is offering computer trainings. They also pass information through the Maarifa blogger site<sup>1</sup>. The Ng'arua centre manager added that they also use word of mouth by asking people to spread the word, by the use of social media and Google plus.

Training is at the heart of the telecentre. As earlier pointed out, a telecentre is equipped with computers and has Internet connectivity. It was observed that both Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa centres are connected to electricity and the Internet. People go to these telecentres to access the Internet and related digital technologies (Rahman and Bhuinan 2016). People use facilities offered at the telecentre to learn, gather information, and communicate at the same time gain essential skills. Similarly, this research confirmed that the main activity of Maarifa centres is to train users. Most respondents indicated that their main reason for visiting the telecentre was for 'computer training'. The UNCTAD report (2007) points out that training services helped develop competencies that helped users conduct economic activities; that is, human capital. Human capital will then be exchanged for financial assets. Training is supposed to be relevant to trainees' needs. This means that the existence of Maarifa centres is very important to communities living in ASALs.

Training of ICT skills at Maarifa centres contributed to boosting the human capital when people acquired skills that enabled them to secure employment that resulted in financial capital. Soriano (2007) reports that telecentres in China advocated e-literacy which enabled some learners to secure employment. Similarly, in this study, most users explained that they needed ICT literacy to benefit from ICT applications and secure employment. This suggests that people

1. [www.isisnyamaarifa.blogspot.com](http://www.isisnyamaarifa.blogspot.com) and [www.ngaruamaarifa.blogspot.com](http://www.ngaruamaarifa.blogspot.com).

in ASAL regions of Kenya rely heavily on ICT training at Maarifa centres to help towards bridging the digital divide. The training on skills to use *soko pepe.com* (a platform supporting farmers by offering market information and farm records management services) was very welcome as it formed the respondents' gateway to the information society. Chilimo (2008) points out that "mobile phone is a technology that has ushered rural people into information society" because mobile phone offer seamless access to information anywhere any time.

### 5.3.2 Business support services

According to responses from users, the business support services offered at Isinya and Ng'arua Maarifa centres included: access to professional sectors, job searching/advertising, buying and selling, training facilitation services, content development, access to government services, data storage and management, export-import/trade, tax filing and employment opportunities. The following were some of their statements

U5 -Training on how to use ICTs puts ASALs residents in a position to secure job opportunities

U13 -Training on information techniques e.g. advertising for their agricultural products

U11 -Train farmers

U1 - Job searching after training. Users visit telecentres to apply and track on the status of their applications.

U12 - Access government services such as KRA's tax filing, application of PIN,

U10 - ALIN links farmers with trader for their agricultural products.

The telecentres open rural areas for opportunities to ICT-related services such as marketing and accessing competitive prices of their agricultural produce. From the responses above it is evident that Maarifa centres support economic activities through business support services. The findings show that Maarifa centres are a strategic source of business information that helps the rural communities in ASALs to learn and access opportunities that may assist them in improving their livelihoods. The Manager of Ng'arua Maarifa centre confirmed that they *achieved this by providing information and knowledge that is related to farming i.e. Maarifa centres provide best farming mechanisms of getting more yields.*

Concerning the relationship between the services offered and socio-economic development, Isinya Manager confirmed that:

*The main socio-economic activities that support livelihoods in ASALs are agro-pastoralist. Maarifa centres align their services to these socio-economic activities, needs and problems with the aim of improving their socio-economic status.*

### 5.3.3 Financial and social capital investment services

The five types of capital assets in the SLA pentagon are applied to ICTs and their interaction to improve livelihood outcomes. For instance, how does the community use the Internet to realise *social equity, improve education, agriculture and marketing* and, at what cost? This study established that services at Maarifa centres are offered free of charge. This proves that Maarifa centres have enabled rural communities in ASALs to access information considering that the majority of the community members are economically challenged. Maarifa centres are therefore very important sources of information and have been helpful for human capital. Users 1, 3, 4 and 7 confirmed that Maarifa centres reduced the amount of money that the rural communities use to cater for their information needs, for instance travelling costs, cyber costs and the cost of purchasing textbooks, magazines and newspapers. Money saved and knowledge gained can be used to improve their livelihoods and satisfy other household needs. Users 8, 1, 2 and 13 attested to receiving up-to-date information from the field officers on farming through research the field officers conducted from the Internet at Maarifa centres.

These changes translate into improved quality of life, improved income levels, access to public goods and services, coverage of basic needs like health, housing and nutrition, social relations and confidence levels. Most of the respondents such as Users 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 cited behavioral change due to confidence gained in the use of ICTs. Users 7, 8, 9, 10 and 13, cited improved income levels as a result of getting employed or job promotion after acquiring computer skills from Maarifa centres.

Users 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 cited improved provision of information services especially distance learning students and agricultural extension workers. Users 10 and 12 cited improved public services like access to digital KRA information e.g. iTax, university enrolment and HELB application forms. Agriculture and marketing information is critical because it helps increase income through better prices and people in ASALs can in turn afford food, shelter, health facilities and education.

#### 5.4.4 Online communication

Users were asked to demonstrate how their investment in the exploitation of the Internet had been beneficial for social communications (social capital). A common response from users 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 was that they have been able to connect and interact with friends through social media like Facebook, Twitter and e-mails. The same users said that it had also helped them in linking up with the extension officers and sharing of knowledge on better methods of farming and income generating activities to boost their livelihood; and in sharing knowledge and ideas with their friends. Users 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 further said they had learnt how to use the Internet to apply for scholarships, get access to strategic information such as jobs, e-government services, and agricultural advisory services, ability to make online applications, skills to qualify for new jobs, the and ability to access online information. Users 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 who were form four school leavers showed increased interest in studying IT-related subjects at advanced level after interacting with the basic training at the telecentres.

The finding established that the most common purposes of using Maarifa centres were personal communication. This concurs with a study conducted by Etta and Parvyn-Wamahiu (2003) who noted that telecentres were mainly used for communication and entertainment rather than for economic activities. Users 10, 12 and 13 were engaged in business and agricultural activities, they make more business communication rather than personal communication, for example, selling farm produce through *sokopepe.com*. Those in employment like the agricultural extension officers users 11 and 13 communicate to solve administrative matters like writing and sending reports to their head offices.

### 6.0 Challenges in the provision of information

Respondents explained challenges that existed before the establishment of Maarifa centres in ASALs as:

U5 - Problem of accessing/using computers and the Internet

U13 -There were few cyber cafes if any;

U9 - ASALs community is financially disadvantaged and therefore lacks money to access information services

U 8 and 9 -They lacked computer skills,

U13 -They had to travel long distances to get information.

The establishment of Maarifa centres by ALIN have addressed most of the above challenges. However, concerning the facility, respondents from both Ng'arua and Isinya expressed certain issues about Maarifa facility that require improvement. Some of their responses were:

U 1 - *Expand to accommodate more people*. A Maarifa acentre has been described as a room or a '*fabricated shipping container*' where communities access information resources. The



Community Knowledge Centre captured below is a clear indication of how small they are. the sizes of rooms that house Maarifa centres were seen to be small. Some users had to wait outside for their turn to gain access to the room.



U 1 - *Increase number of computers*; Maarifa centres are small rooms equipped with computers and Internet connectivity. Only a few computers can be fitted in each.

U11 - *Increase attendance*; since ALIN deploys only one manager per centre. This was observed upon the researchers' visit.

U 3 and 5 - *Improve Internet speed/efficiency*. Most of them were subscribing and relying on Safaricom modems at the time of this research. Safaricom Internet data plans were slow unlike the current 4G+ wifi option. Modems were expensive and were increasing the operating the cost of running Maarifa centre; they were sim-locked meaning that one could not migrate to other cheaper options like Orange or Airtel.

U10 - *Enhance security*. Security is likely to be compromised because Maarifa centres are public spaces which all can access. Due to the fact that services are free of charge it is likely that, people with ulterior motives can easily gain entry.

U 8 - *Buy a photocopying machine*. It was noticed from observation that although a telecentre is supposed to be equipped with machines as recommended by users, Maarifa centres are scantily equipped. Machines such as photocopiers, fax machines, even printers were not physically visible.

U9 - *Install a standby generator or install solar panels*. This was recommended due to frequent power outages experienced especially during the rainy seasons. Electricity is also very expensive to maintain.

An ALIN director (D1) outlined the following impediments to the implementation of Maarifa centres including Isinya and Ng'arua centres:

- *Poor infrastructure particularly in ASALs*: poor infrastructure which hinders the functionality of the Maarifa centres' full operationalisation. Inadequate equipment and scarce connectivity. Unstable power supply is an obvious primary constraint. However, power generators can be used if electricity is not available. Poor roads limit access to the telecentres by communities who are geographically isolated. They suffer from inadequate access to physical markets and inadequate market information

- *Low levels of literacy*

Illiteracy presents a problem because most of those targeted in rural areas are illiterate; this presents a problem of slow uptake of technologies by agro-pastoralists served by the Maarifa centres. The language barrier hinders access to information, especially if information is packaged in scientific jargon. Besides, information on the Internet is mainly in English which is not a common language for the rural communities

- *High levels of poverty*: poor people are more concerned about basic needs, especially food. They spend most of their time looking for basic items and may find it inappropriate to visit Maarifa centres.
- *Cultural barriers* such as those that bar women from participating in certain forums where new knowledge is acquired. Maasai women in Kenya for instance are not allowed to mingle with men; they are therefore constrained in exploiting resources at Maarifa centres.
- *Declining interests in telecentres among donors*: donors can support a programme for a specific period of time. ALIN is then forced to look for other donors and come up with innovative fundraising strategies to sustain Maarifa centres' progress.

The Isinya Centre Manager (IM) confirmed that the challenges expressed still persist and there are more such as negative perceptions of computers by the older generation. These major constraints need to be addressed so that the telecentres can perform better and improve livelihoods of people in ASALs. Notable is the fact that no respondent mentioned anything to do with telephone service; this is attributed to mobile phone penetration (85%) even in the rural areas. ALIN realised this and the director explained that they have remained relevant after:

D1 - Having reached its peak in 2012, ALIN felt that there could be a mismatch between technology trends and the idea of having fixed means of accessing knowledge. The future is mobile, and hence ALIN's move to consolidate Sokopepe to use the online space by accessing it through mobile devices, particularly the mobile phone. In a sense, the mobile phone has become a "Maarifa in your hand".

This is not to say Maarifa centres have been rendered irrelevant by mobile phone technology. As we have seen, they are active in training and assisting users in various ways. The Director said:

D1 - *ALIN's work is mainly field-based. Maarifa centres are physical spaces out of which the work takes place. In a sense they are like ALIN's field offices which operate as the points of ALIN's engagement with communities.*

Some of the challenges mentioned cannot be solved within the management of ALIN and Maarifa centres. To counter these challenges, ALIN has deployed several strategies. The director explained that:

*They are involved with communities in running Maarifa centres.* A Maarifa centre is managed by 5-8 committee members drawn from local community stakeholders. A volunteer who manages the telecentre works with a local person known as a Community Knowledge Facilitator (CKF) representing local interests. A hosting institution (partner) supervises the volunteer who works at the centre.

*They work with hosting organisations;* all Maarifa centres are hosted by institutions, for example Isinya is hosted by the Masaai Rural Training Center (MTRTC) while Ng'arua is hosted by Laikipia Centre for Knowledge and Information (LACKIN). Locating field officers to run the day-to-day operations at Maarifa centres: the director confirmed this by explaining in detail that:

D2 - ALIN's approach to involve communities in the management of Maarifa centres and to work with hosting organisations in some areas has been highly successful, winning several national and global awards. These include the 2011 Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation's Access to Learning Award (ATLA); and UNESCO's International Prize for Rural Communication given under its International Programme for Development of Communication (IPDC) – 2012.

Working with hosting institutions has the advantage of walk-ins, those who visit the institution for other reasons may drop in to read e-mails, to read newspapers, to pass the time as they wait for their appointment or even print document copies at the telecentre hence increasing patronage. D1 further explained that ALIN has built networks and partnerships with Government, the private sector, civil society and communities in running Maarifa centres. For instance, ALIN sources for material from Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK) and ICT board of Kenya.

Provision of expertise and skills; publicity, outreach, goodwill and solidarity: the government is the author of the National ICT policy of Kenya.

The policy subscribes to enhancing rural access to ICT infrastructure and according to the respondent from the ICT board of Kenya, they:

ICT 1- provide support in infrastructure such as energy and rural access to the Internet.

ICT 1 - Ensure affordability of ICT support; they provide adequate resources to the ICT sector.

ICT 1 - provide incentives for service providers to deploy services in rural and under-served areas.

*CAK 2 said – CAK provides infrastructure to ALIN who has sufficient experience in rural ICT development.*

## 6. Conclusion

This study explored the information services provided by Maarifa centres to rural communities in ASALS in Kenya. From the findings, it can be deduced that telecentres are agents of development for the communities they serve. The main outcome from the study is that Maarifa centres are improving human skills and knowledge through computer training. Telecentres are also enhancing access to a large pool of electronic information resources. Access to the Internet has strengthened social life since users are able to communicate easily with relatives and friends who live away through e-mail and social media. The finding reveals bridging of digital gap and geographical barriers through provision of ICTs at Maarifa centres, a service that was initially scarcely available in the urban centres. The study further revealed that Maarifa centres have helped ASALS communities increase their financial capital through improved access to agricultural and market information with the help of ALINs *Sokopepe* application. Farmers are now realising increased farm production and increased sales of their produce. Furthermore, people are finding gainful employment after computer training received at Maarifa centres; this generally contributes to improved livelihoods. The study revealed further importance of Maarifa centres: they provide relevant information to the communities they serve, which has enabled people living in ASAL to make informed decisions and informed choices concerning their livelihoods. Information obtained is expected to and indeed does fulfil information needs for socio-economic development. This study makes the overall conclusion that, despite the challenges experienced, Maarifa centres have realised the objectives stipulated by ALIN.

Above all, Maarifa centres' initiative has ushered ASALS communities into information and knowledge society. There are many positive outcomes from Maarifa centre initiatives; Maarifa centres are actively participating in rural development thus helping the country overcome rural-urban migration due to the availability of employment in small and medium sized enterprises. Food security is assured due to improved farming practices. Enhanced access to a wide range of information contributes to improved health.

This study investigated the provision of information for actual users of Maarifa centres, Collecting data from non-users in ASALS would give a broader perspective to the study. It is the researchers' desire that investigation from non-users' perspective is highly encouraged to fill the gap.

This study recommends that Maarifa centres widen their areas of operation to serve communities outside ASALS. ALIN may take advantage of the evolved methods of rendering services in view of the advent of ICTs; the use of mobile phone technology can reach not only ASALS but far and wide. Lessons learnt can be shared by more Kenyans and even globally for socio-economic advantage.

Beside expanding services, another recommendation from this study is that more telecentres be set up in convenient areas closer to the people. There are only eight Maarifa centres in Kenya, that can only serve a limited number of people in ASALS; this study further

recommends more concerted joint efforts with the government and other stakeholders to support the expansion of telecentres in Kenya.

ALIN has good livelihood programmes that are useful and can be of help to many even in other marginalised communities; this study recommends that they repackage information and share it widely.

Publicity to raise awareness of the existence of Maarifa centres should be enhanced. This is because most of those who were asked how they got to know about Maarifa centres said they were told by friends; this is not bad, but a very rudimentary method of creating awareness. Better still, communities in ASALs should be enlightened on the value of information for their sustained economic growth. This study recommends the aggressive use of community media to create awareness; for instance local FM radio stations and use of social media: it has been established that there is a heavy penetration of mobile phone services in ASALs among other places.

This study recommends a programme that will encourage even older people to patronise the telecentres; probably introduce more flexible business hours instead of the 8am – 5pm standard hours to enable patrons visit Maarifa centres when they can and want.

Based on the conclusions, the study recommends that ALIN undertakes aggressive seminars and sensitisation programs to influence the community to relax some of their cultural beliefs that restrict women to mingle with men in forums such as trainings at the telecentres. This will also help in making the goal of universal access to information a reality.

For long-term sustainability, this study recommends the introduction of lenient and aggressive income-generating activities to ensure Maarifa centres' continuity should the donors withdraw their support.

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# The application of the social model of disability and Wilson's model of information behaviour towards effective service delivery for students with disabilities within an academic library context

Dorothy Eneya<sup>1</sup> and B.J. Mostert<sup>2</sup>  
 Department of Information Studies  
 University of Zululand

*deneya@poly.ac.mw; mostertB@unizulu.ac.za*

## Abstract

*This paper explores the applicability of the social model of disability and Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour for effective service delivery to students with disabilities in the context of academic libraries.*

*The paper is based on a literature review based on Oliver's social model of disability and Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour in relation to service provision to students with disabilities in academic libraries. The literature review provided a background to the two models and their criticisms and implications to academic libraries.*

*This paper shows that despite their respective weaknesses, using the social model of disability and Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour in the academic library context offers an opportunity for academic libraries to re-look at their systems and services in order to address the different barriers faced by students with disabilities in their day to day information seeking. As libraries acquire and organise their resources, the needs of students with disabilities should always be prioritised. Academic libraries as a key information source in any academic setting have a responsibility to provide information in various formats using various facilities for easy accessibility and use by their diverse users.*

*Access to any form of information is a fundamental human right. Academic libraries must identify and remove barriers that may inhibit information seeking for students with disabilities. Additionally, academic libraries should use multiple facilities to provide information. This will ensure that information needs for users with disabilities are catered for.*

**Keywords:** Social model of disability, Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour, students with disabilities, academic libraries

## 1 Introduction and background

Information helps people to flourish. For students in higher education, academic information is key to their success. Academic libraries are key providers of academic information in higher education. It is for this reason that they have been described as the heart of the university and the hub of teaching and learning (Nawe 2004: 381). Research has shown that library use increases student success (Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) 2016: 1), and all students, including those with disabilities have the same academic goals (Mutula and Majinge 2016). Therefore, academic libraries should provide services that are accessible for all users, including those with disabilities.

Disability models are key to the understanding of disability as they provide a basis for particular attitudes displayed by society (Sullivan 2011). It is important that library staff should be

1. PhD student, Department of Information Studies, University of Zululand, South Africa and Director Library Services, University of Malawi.
2. Retired Professor and Research Fellow, University of Zululand, South Africa.



acquainted with disability models in order for them to develop positive attitudes and perceptions about library users with disabilities in order to create an enabling environment for such users. Herriot (2006: 53) emphasizes that services quality and satisfaction should also apply to users with disabilities. Similarly, librarians' knowledge of information seeking behaviour of persons with disabilities is critical to the development of accessible library systems and services.

This paper discusses Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour and the Social model of disability, which are instrumental to the understanding of information seeking behaviour of students with disabilities and how academic libraries can identify and remove barriers that may hinder them in accessing library and information services. Our motivation for using the two models in combination lies in our understanding that while it is important to understand and explain information behaviour for students with disabilities, we also need to identify barriers to information access.

## 2 Disability models

There are a number of disability models discussed in literature. These include, but are not limited to the moral/religious model, medical model, welfare/charity model and social model (Durham and Ramcharan 2018; Retief and Letsosa 2018). Moral/religious model conceives disability as punishment from God for lack of adherence to his principles, or a test of faith. This model leads to a feeling of shame in the person with a disability. The Medical model views disability as a sickness and a tragedy. It leads to perceiving persons with a disability as pitiable and their condition as a tragedy, with no expectation of them making a valuable contribution to society. The welfare/charity model views persons with a disability as victims for their impairment who require special assistance, services and institutions. This model differs from the moral model because it aims at benefiting persons with disabilities by encouraging compassionate treatment towards them (Retief and Letsosa 2018: 6). The social model, being the model of choice for this study, is discussed in more detail below.

### 2.1 Social model of disability

The social model was developed in reaction to the medical model which had become firmly rooted in society. The fight for emancipation by disabled people through disability organisations such as the Union for the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) (1976) in Great Britain in the 1900s led to the shift in focus of disability focusing on the individual to societal barriers that prevent full participation of disabled people, from which Oliver (1990) developed the concept of the social model of disability. UPIAS defined disability as:

“... A disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities” (Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation 1976: 20).

From the above definition, it is clear that the Social model separates impairment from disability and that impairment is considered as an attribute which results from injury, genetic make-up or disease; while disability is a socially constructed phenomenon. The Social model argues that people are disabled by society which was designed for able-bodied people, without any consideration for persons with disabilities hence it discriminates against them (Oliver 1990). Societal attitudes and culture create a disadvantage for persons with disabilities as they are labelled as incapable and nobody questions the societal barriers which hugely discriminate against them. Such barriers, being socially created require social solutions.

### 2.2 Criticisms of the social model of disability

A number of authors have illuminated the limitations of the social model. Watson (2004) claims that the social model has not essentially replaced the medical model of disability, rather, it has

increased the emphasis on addressing disability as a social issue. This view is shared by Lourens (2015:29) who argues that the social model “over-socialises” disability by placing too much emphasis on barrier removal. Lourens argues that a change in attitude does not translate to the disappearance of an impairment. No matter how much reconstruction can be done to society, elements of “biologically informed” disability will still be visible. People would still experience considerable effects of impairment.

Watermeyer (2006) argues that in an attempt to put up a unified political front against oppression, the social model divorced disability from the impaired body. As a result, individuals lost their unique lives. Some disabled feminists (Wendell 1996; Thomas 1999) have also questioned the social model’s disregard for unique and diverse lives, which has resulted in some theoretically oppressive identities being invisible and unacknowledged. The two authors argue that the model should have included other oppressing identities such as class, gender and race to make them visible. In the same vein, Goggin (2008) states that a disabled body or mind is also one that is raced, gendered, aged, sexualised and classed, hence disability is intertwined with other sets of different experiences of peculiarity and forms of political engagement. However, Oliver (2009) asserts that the fact that the divisions have not been incorporated does not signify the incapability of the social model, but is due to the non-use of the model by analysts in those divisions.

In his analysis of the social model, Woods (2017) points out that the social model of disability excludes neurodivergent labels, as evidenced by the wide use of the medical model of disability in autistic studies, leading to harsh treatment of autistic individuals, resulting mainly from the language used to describe autism, among the numerous reasons. For this reason, Woods (2017: 78) argues for the wide application of the social model to cover neurodivergent labels in order to delink autism research from causes and biological effects on services and social issues, subsequently enabling autistic individuals to explore the impact of living in a predominantly neurotypic society.

## 2.3 Application of the social model of disability in related studies

Despite the criticisms levelled against the social model, its use is still dominant in the subject literature.

Table 1 below shows an analysis of social model application to studies related to the current one obtained from SCOPUS database over a 10-year period, 2008-2018.

<b>Table 1</b> Application of social model in related studies (2008-2018)		
Author(s)	Title	Findings
Anderson (2018)	Autism and the academic library: A study of online communication	Autistic students are underserved by academic libraries. Their needs which are complex, are usually ignored.
Kavishe and Isibika (2018)	Provision of library services to users on wheelchairs at Ardhi University and University of Dar es Salaam libraries	Both libraries are not accessible for users on wheelchairs in terms of infrastructure and services

Majinge and Mutula (2018)	Access to electronic and print information resources by people with visual impairments in university libraries: A review of related literature	Globally, libraries lack capacity to provide effective information services to people with visual impairment
Majinge and Stiwell (2014)	ICT use in information delivery to people with visual impairment and on wheelchairs in Tanzanian academic libraries	ICTs facilitated information provision for people with these disabilities but that there was no adaptive or assistive equipment in Tanzanian academic libraries for them
Easton (2013)	An examination of the Internet's development as a disabling environment in the context of the social model of disability and anti-discrimination legislation in the UK and USA	The virtual environment continues to discriminate against people with disabilities despite having ant-discrimination legislation in place. Considering the needs of people with disabilities from the design stage is key to creating an accessible web environment.
Ellcessor (2010)	Bridging disability divides: A critical history of web content accessibility through 2001	Web developers should shift their focus of accessibility from accommodation to variation and integration to achieve accessible web development for the disabled as well as the aged population.

Table 1 above shows that social model of disability is widely used in studies on library service provision to people with disabilities. It is noteworthy that other similar studies exist in the database but did not use social model. SCOPUS database (Elsevier B.V 2019) was used based on Tabacaru's (2019:7) finding that SCOPUS is the largest database in social sciences, biomedical research, natural science and engineering. The first two fields are the major contributors to the social model. Table 2 below shows number of publications per publication type, country and subject, as presented by SCOPUS database, over a 10-year period.

<b>Table 2</b> Number of publications per type, country and subject					
Publication Type	No. of publications	Country	No. of publications	Subject	No. of Publications
Article	308	UK	141	Soc. Science	290
Book Chapter	55	USA	99	Medicine	114
Review	42	Australia	25	Health	78

Book	9	Canada	22	Arts & Humanities	69
Conference Paper	6	Israel	15	Psychology	64
Note	3	Spain	14	Nursing	38
Editorial	1	Ireland	12	Business Management Accounting	13
Letter	1	New Zealand	10	Computer Science	10
Undefined	5	South Africa	10	Environmental Science	9
		Germany	9	Engineering	7

Table 2 above shows that social model of disability is used across disciplines. Social sciences and medicine are the disciplines that make the most use of the model.

## 2.4 Application of the social model of disability to academic libraries

The strength of the social model lies in its focus on the removal of barriers in society which prevent access to services by people with disabilities. As an integral part of society, libraries should remove barriers that hinder access to information. Library buildings and websites must be accessible to people with disabilities.

According to Albert and Hurst (2004: 2), the social model offers an analytical framework for understanding why and how discrimination occurs. Albert and Hurst (2004: 4) further state that from a human rights perspective of the social model, continued exclusion of people with disabilities from mainstream services promotes discrimination, which is an ultimate violation of human rights. Hence, from a human rights perspective, academic libraries have a legal obligation not to exclude students with disabilities in the way they provide services.

Ellcessor (2010:292) contends that the social model acknowledges the physical differences in individuals; however, individuals experience a disability in the context where society does not accommodate their needs. In the same vein, academic libraries have a social responsibility to remove barriers that may stand in the way of users with disabilities. Ellcessor further states that conceptualising disability in terms of rights assists in the formulation of legislation and policies that incorporate a rights-based approach to disability and promotes the use of language that depicts social construction. This approach can help academic libraries to address accessibility requirements for students with disabilities.

This view is shared by Croft (2010: 4) who states that the social model helps governments to formulate policies that focus on removing barriers that prevent people with disabilities from participating fully in society.

By viewing people with disabilities as valuable members of the society, the social model of disability recognises them as being capable of making meaningful contributions to social and economic development; and accepts that society is responsible for imposing cultural, structural and attitudinal barriers that prevent them from realising their full potential. This model therefore promotes equal rights and opportunities for people with disabilities in terms of access to such public services as education, health, employment, libraries and others (Babalola and Haliso 2011: 143).

Again, in the light of the social model and in the higher education perspective, academic libraries should remove all obstacles that hinder access to information and create an environment that enables equal access to information in physical libraries as well as that

contained in library websites. To achieve this, libraries should provide lifts and other assistive devices, modify library buildings to allow people with disabilities to navigate easily, provide information in alternative formats and ensure that library websites are accessible.

## 2.5 Implications of the social model to academic libraries

The social model of disability has several implications for academic libraries. First, an individual's experience of disability is influenced by his or her environment, and an inaccessible environment is a barrier to participation and inclusion. Access to academic libraries is critical for students with disabilities, more especially those with mobility and visual impairment. Inaccessible library facilities exclude students with disabilities from full academic participation.

Second, the unavailability and inaccessibility of information materials restrict educational opportunities for students with disabilities. Information and communication technologies play a significant role in breaking information access barriers for students with disabilities.

Third, stigmatising attitudes towards students with disabilities, perceiving them as incapable, creates a loss of sense of achievement. The availability and awareness of support services and reasonable accommodations increases participation and creates a sense of belonging (Tugli, Klu and Morwe 2014: 334).

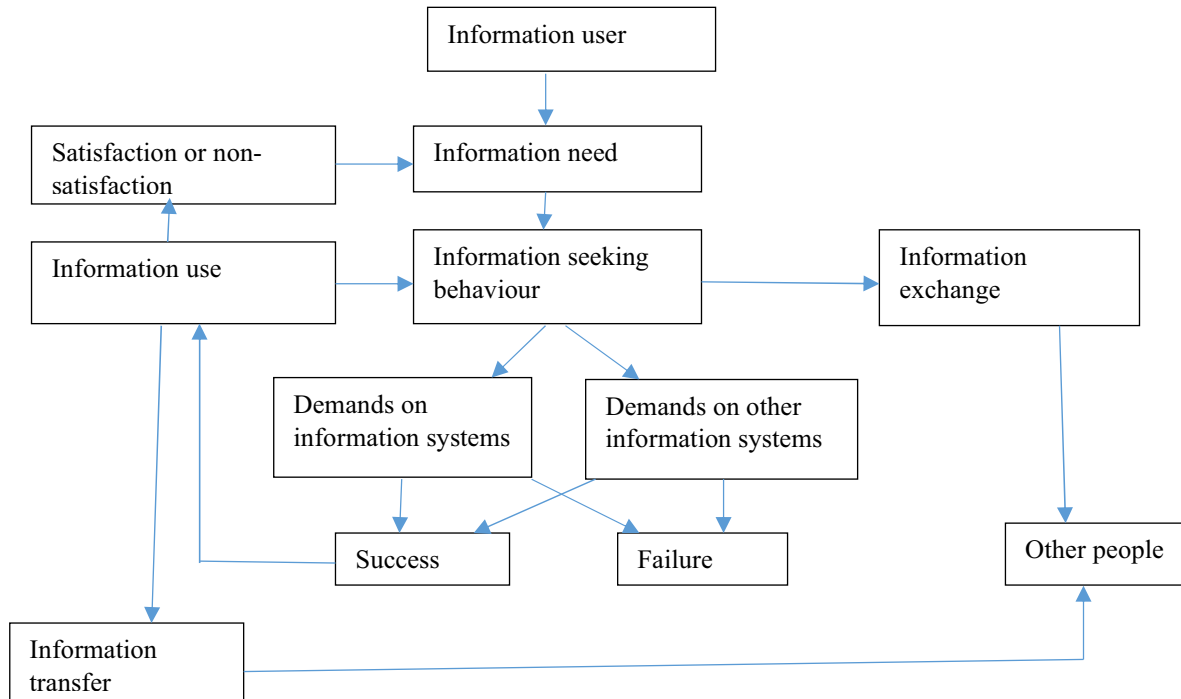
Fourth, overdependence reduces one's dignity and is counterproductive. Academic libraries should address access issues, adapt their facilities and provide assistive technologies for independent access by students with disabilities.

Fifth, the social model implies that university libraries should develop policies that address information services for students with disabilities, including the acquisition of information resources in alternative formats, assistive technologies and adaptive equipment for use by students with disabilities as well as staff training. A lack of policy impacts negatively on library service provision (Mutula and Majinge 2016). In addition, policies are vital in emphasising the recognition of students with disabilities as potential users of the library services.

## 3 Wilson's (1981) model of information seeking behaviour

Wilson's (1981) model was the first to recognise informal channels of information transfer by acknowledging that other people are also involved in information seeking behaviour through information exchange (Case and Given 2016: 139). The model presents a triple view of information seeking: the context of an individual seeking information, an information system which can be either manual or electronic, and information resources that might be consulted. Academic libraries exist to meet the needs of users by acquiring, organising and providing relevant information sources supported by suitable and familiar facilities (Oladunjoye, Omiunu and Yomi-Owojori 2018). We chose Wilson's model of 1981 for this study because its focus on information need, the person seeking information and the context in which information is sought complement the social model of disability, whose main focus is barrier identification and removal. Figure 1 below shows Wilson's 1981 model.

According to Wilson's model, to satisfy an information need, an individual consults an information system. This action may result in success or failure. If it's successful, the information is used, which in turn satisfies the need either completely or partially. When the information fails to satisfy the need, the individual repeats the process. According to Wilson's model, information behaviour also extends to other people, in that an information seeker may pass on information that is perceived to be useful for the need at hand; this is shared with other people through information exchange. The model underscores that information seeking is dynamic in nature and is a continuous process. The academic library is an information sources the user. Similarly, librarians are also an information source as some users may consult them directly.



**Figure 1.** Wilson's 1981 model of information seeking behaviour. Source: Wilson (1999: 251)

We used Wilson's model to illuminate information seeking behavior of students with disabilities in the context of academic libraries both from an individual perspective as well as socially constructed barriers. Students with disabilities as the user in context, are confronted with numerous barriers in their information seeking efforts (Šehi and Tanackovic 2014: 4). These barriers can be classified as personal, interpersonal and environmental (Babalola and Haliso 2011: 142). Personal barriers include unawareness of existing information services and type of disability which influences information seeking preferences. Secondly, students with disabilities in higher education rely on interpersonal sources more than institutional play a significant role in information seeking behaviour for students with disabilities in higher education. Studies have shown that students with disabilities depend on interpersonal sources that they do on institutional sources. In their study on inclusive education at tertiary level, Strnadová, Hájková and Kvtová (2015) found that students with disabilities mostly counted on support from their peers in accessing library information services, which is informal, with little or no formal support from academic libraries. Similarly, Seale (2015: 127) affirms that students with disabilities value formal sources of information, however, they are not conveniently available to them and instead they turn to their able-bodied peers to fill the gap.

The social, political and economic environment of students with disabilities also presents barriers to their access to library information services. Students with disabilities face social discrimination and cultural bias which can potentially impact on their information seeking behaviour. Ingstad and Eide (2011: 8) concur that students with disabilities are disadvantaged from the outset and they need more assistance for equality to be achieved.

### 3.1 Criticisms of Wilson's model

There have been both negative and positive viewpoints regarding the model. Case and Given's (2016: 173) argue that Wilson's model is too general and its components such as context of the person and information need are not specified. Similarly, Knight and Spink (2008) and Garg

(2016) fault the model for its lack of clarity as to how the person seeking information interacts with an information retrieval system in order to find and retrieve information

Potnis (2015:103) states that Wilson's model does nothing more than define and solve a problem. Perhaps Potnis draws this from Wilson's (1999:251) own confession about the limitation of the model that "it only provides a map of the research area" and illuminates research gaps without suggesting factors that cause information behaviour.

Nevertheless, the strengths of the model have also been identified.

Wilson (1999: 251) mentions that the 1981 model raised awareness about the little attention that has been given to information use. Wilson further states that the same applies to informal transfer of information between individuals.

Secondly, Potnis (2015: 103) states that Wilson's model clearly depicts the inter-relationship between information behaviour, information seeking and information retrieval. In addition, Potnis states that the model gives a framework for explaining "goal oriented information seeking."

Finally, Potnis (2015: 106) asserts that the fact that Wilson's models continue to be adapted and used as theoretical frameworks to explain the information behaviour of a broad range of groups of users across the world speaks volumes about their consistency, applicability and usefulness. Further to this, the application of Wilson's model to study the information behaviour of disadvantaged populations and different professions from developing countries is encouraged for the diversity of information behaviour research.

### 3.3 Implications of Wilson's model to academic libraries

Wilson's model has several implications to academic libraries. Firstly, marketing and promotion of library resources and services to students with disabilities have a significant impact on information seeking behaviour for students with disabilities. Library promotional materials should include information on disability services. They should also be available in different formats to ensure accessibility to all students, including those with disabilities. Furthermore, academic libraries should design information literacy programmes that do not discriminate students with disabilities. Secondly, interpersonal relationships influence information seeking behaviour of students with disabilities. Wang and Yu (2017: 14) state that interpersonal networks for marginalized communities such as students with disabilities are usually small and unconnected as they are restricted to the disabled community. Therefore, academic libraries should rise up to break interpersonal barriers as per their professional ethos. Providing them with accessible internet facilities is a sure way of opening them up to the outside world. In addition, academic libraries should stock information in different formats to cater for the diverse preferences of students with disabilities as dictated by their disability types and degree of impairment. Academic libraries should also provide assistive technologies for students with disabilities to access information. Šehi and Tanackovic (2014:5) affirm that assistive technologies play a significant role in facilitating information seeking for students with disabilities.

Thirdly, discriminative attitudes and rigid policies can have a negative impact on information seeking by students with disabilities. Academic libraries should train all staff to develop positive attitudes towards students with disabilities. The world report on disability (World Health Organisation 2011) acknowledges that knowledge and attitudes are critical environmental factors in service provision and social life. Increasing awareness and improving attitudes and training staff about serving students with disabilities improves service delivery. In the same vein, flexible policies that account for information seeking barriers of students with disabilities should be created. Students with disabilities need more time and effort in information seeking and use than their non-disabled counterparts.

## 4 Conclusions

In the earlier sections, we have demonstrated how academic libraries can apply the social model to identify and remove barriers to information access for students with disabilities. Similarly, Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour predicts the information needs and information seeking behaviour of students with disabilities. Academic libraries' understanding of such information needs and seeking behaviour is critical to identification and removal of access barriers and development of information systems and services that reflect the various information media preferences of students with disabilities.

Academic libraries play a critical role in teaching, learning and research. The social model provides a framework for academic libraries to examine their services, facilities and systems for accessibility to students with disabilities. Furthermore, the social model stimulates academic libraries to start thinking of non-discriminating policies aimed at enhancing participation of students with disabilities in higher education.

Wilson's model of information seeking behaviour presents academic libraries with an essential tool for designing and implementing accessible library systems and services for students with disabilities.

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## Presupposition and sentence synonyms as semantic devices in selected Yorùbá proverbs

Yemisi M. Famakinwa<sup>1</sup>  
Department of English  
Obafemi Awolowo University  
Ile-Ife, Nigeria  
*yemifamakin27@yahoo.com*

### Abstract

*Proverbs are witty expressions precipitated by warranted situations. These situations can be likened to certain occurrences or events which took place aforetime to invoke a proverb match. In other words, whenever there is an occurrence or event, an appropriate proverb that suits such an occurrence, is employed. The paper therefore considers some Yorùbá proverbs with a view to unraveling not only their meaning equivalence in English, but to infer from such proverbs, their underlying assumptions and proffer solutions to their inherent problems. Employing the appraisal theory of J.R. Martin (2000) through the resources of Semantics, the study intends to consider the ways we can express our personal views while reacting to the views of others. The paper analyses fifteen Yorùbá proverbs based on the semantic devices of presupposition and sentence synonyms inherent in them. The fifteen Yorùbá proverbs are translated from the source language, Yorùbá, to English in order to unravel the intended meanings of the proverb. Thus, the paper reveals that certain Yorùbá proverbs do not only serve as antidotes to correct morals or societal ills, but that they are basically employed to elicit information regarding the veracity or otherwise of some facts relating to humans and invariably, certain inanimate entities with human attributes. The identified Yorùbá proverbs are shown to attract diverse meaning possibilities and/or sentence synonyms. The paper therefore concludes by affirming that Yorùbá proverbs are not only genre sensitive, but user dependent since circumstances or events relating to humans are involved.*

**Keywords:** presupposition, sentence synonyms, Yorùbá proverbs, selected Yorùbá Proverbs, English translations, proverbs' resolution.

### Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss sentence synonyms of selected Yoruba proverbs and unravel their meanings and underlying assumptions. Remarkably, proverbs are folk oriented. This means that proverbs, like 'human language', are passed from one generation to another. Hence, a speaker's belief can be expressed in his/her language use. It should be noted that every human society possesses proverbs or folk experiences for one reason or the other. Bryan & Mieder (2003:20) see proverbs as manifestations of folk speech, relatively short and functional. Owomoyela (2005) also remarks that Yorùbá proverbs are contextually based in terms of the trio of culture, social and linguistic backgrounds. Little wonder, Smith (2002:176) observes that proverbs are elements of conversation; pithy expressions laced up with ancient constructions and lexemes.

Burton (1981:84) equally defines proverbs as "... shorthand frame of reference on the moral and ethical inclinations of a people." These proverbs are, however, laced up with not only

1. Yemisi Famakinwa PhD is a lecturer in the Department of English at Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria.

ancient constructions and lexemes as noted by Smith (2002:176), but with truths (Ogunwale 2014:97-98). The truths can be likened to certain underlying assumptions in the proverbs.

Mieder (1985:119) defines a proverb as follows:

*... a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.*

Folly (1991:35-36) also defines a proverb as follows:

*Structurally we are examining a traditional linguistic unit with tendencies toward certain identifiable characteristics, e.g. topic/comment and single statement. Functionally, proverbs are typically conversational and spoken; and often through metaphor, they offer a solution to a particular problem .*

*They can be viewed as a rhetorical strategy for resolving a problem by creating a metaphorical scenario in which the same type of problem is solved. They tend to be impersonal, didactic, and sometimes humorous.*

Folly (1991:35-36) and Mieder (1985:119) therefore, believed that proverbs are not only passed from one generation to the other, but can also be orally transmitted since they are 'typically conversational and spoken'. Remarkably, the conversational nature of Yorùbá proverbs has made it possible to be employed as utterances among people of the same tongue. However, while ordinary everyday language may not necessarily impact, Yorùbá proverbs do so in a variety of ways.

Similarly, Coker A. & Coker O. (2008:47-58) and Ademilokun (2014:41-48) opine that among the Yorùbás, Yorùbá proverbs are prioritized because of its rich values; which antagonise corrupt practices in order to bring out the inner beauty of the Yorùbá culture. Little wonder, Yorùbá proverbs comprise certain inanimate entities that share human attributes. The study discusses the semantic devices of presupposition and sentence synonyms as the bases for the analyses.

## 2. Presupposition and sentence synonyms

First, what is presupposition? Palmer (1996:166-173) sees presupposition as a linguistic device which unravels a fact about the truthfulness or falsity of a sentence. To Palmer (1996:166-173), if the entities used within a sentence or proposition do not exist or are false, then there is 'presupposition failure'. As a result, a sentence/proposition is neither true nor false. Whatever is the case, Palmer (1996:166-173) believes that there is a 'truth-value gap' about the kind of judgment that can be passed in relation to a sentence/proposition. In consonance with Saeed (2003:104-110), there are presupposition triggers that can assist in knowing the truthfulness or falsity of a sentence/proposition. These triggers function as 'It' clefts or 'Wh' pseudo-clefts syntactic construction. Based on contexts therefore, a sentence/proposition is assumed to be true or false. Worth knowing, presupposition involves entities as referents. Such referents, which can be the names of individuals or demonstratives like 'this' or 'those', when used within a sentence, exist. As a result, a speaker assumes that a fact is believed to be true and known by a hearer. The act is termed pragmatic presupposition which can overlap with semantic presupposition (Grundy, 2008:48). On the contrary, Yule (1996:131-132) noted that presupposition remains 'constant under negation'. For instance, the sentences, '*I once have a wife*' and '*I do not have a wife now*' presuppose a fact; '*I have a wife.*' It should be noted that beliefs and attitudes are tied to presupposition (O'Grady *et al.* 2011:225).

Second, what are sentence synonyms? Two sentences with the same meaning are termed, sentence synonyms. Consider the example; *I gave the Trophy to Team X-One.*

Paraphrase/Sentence Synonym: *I gave Team X-One the Trophy.*

From the example(s), it shows that both paraphrase and entailment are interwoven. In other words, the truth of one sentence guarantees the truth of the other (O'Grady et al 2011:200-201). Thus, sentence synonyms express sameness in linguistic construction such that the meaning of one is the same as the meaning of the other (Schmitt, 2010:129). The point just made illustrates the connection between Pragmatics and Semantics. The example of Denham&Lobeck's (2010:293); *He is going uptown*; (Intended utterance—Pragmatics) entails or means the same as its paraphrase *He is going downtown*; (Actual utterance---Semantics). The two instances in a way, explains the role of culture in language use. Further examples feature in synonymous words like *Professor/Instructor* when used in sentence construction among people of different tongues/ languages. Thus, synonymous sentences or paraphrases express the same entailment (Denham & Lobeck 2010:297-325). Remarkably, presupposition is a type of entailment because *we infer, assume* certain propositions based on a particular sentence albeit, presupposition may not look like entailment. The argument is that a particular sentence will always express the same entailment(s) but not always the same presupposition (Denham & Lobeck 2010:327). The example below illustrates the attitude expressed towards a completed thesis:

*She cried before she finished her thesis.*

*Entailment: She was working on her thesis.*

*Presupposition: She finished her thesis.*

(Denham & Lobeck 2010:327).

Following from the example, therefore, the study sees proverbs as synthetic propositions because they are facts of the world which can also have sentence synonyms based on shared attitudes and beliefs among users within the same society. Moreover, the study discusses the conversational nature of Yorùbá proverbs (as utterances) by locating it within the appraisal theory given its close similarity (affinity) to the understanding of Yorùbá proverbs.

## Yorùbá proverbs as utterances

Grundy (2008:48-69), avers utterances as having their meanings triggered by one linguistic form or the other. Malinowski (1923:307) in Verschueren (2003:75) also noted that, "... the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation." By implication, Yorùbá proverbs, as utterances, can only make meaning in context. As earlier remarked, Yorùbá proverbs as utterances, are conversational; the said utterances involve the utterer (the speaker) and the interpreter (the listener). Undoubtedly, both participants are surrounded by myriads of experiences which will reflect in the application of the proverbs. In addition, the shared experiences will also enhance the context of situation for the utterance. As many Yorùbá proverbs abound, the choice is that of the utterer and the interpreter to decide which proverb(s) to be employed for a situation and why. To Verschueren (2003:77), the practice is termed; 'utterer's production choices and 'interpreter's production choices' respectively. Verschueren (2003:77) further noted three worlds central to the production of an utterance: the physical, the social and the mental world and since language is cognitive, one world leads to the other thus, making the three worlds inseparable and interrelated. Being justifiably and tacitly permissible as a means of communication, the Yorùbá proverbs employed for this study have been carefully selected in order to know the opinions of the Yorùbás on their applications. It is on this premise the study kicks off its discussion on the adopted theoretical framework.

## Theoretical background

The appraisal theory of J.R. Martin (2000:145) emphasizes the "semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgments alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations". Three main components are central to the appraisal theory: attitude, engagement and graduation. At the level of attitude, utterances are subject to aesthetic assessments with entities painted negatively or positively within a proposition. At the level of engagement, linguistic

resources like modality, concession, polarity and various adverbials are subject to evaluation on the part of both the speaker and the listener as to whether a fact is meaningfully negotiated as expected or not. At the level of graduation, judgment is passed across concerning a text; whether the message conveyed in a text; the instance of Yorùbá proverbs as utterances, is intense or less intense. However, at each of the levels, it is expected of the language user to know when the intended message in a text is meaningfully negotiated. The concern of this study is therefore, the need for the language user to proffer solutions to the less intense meanings of a text as it draws insights from the feminist theory. The feminist theory over the years, concentrates attention on analyzing gender inequality. Several themes like discrimination, sexual objectification, stereotype, oppression, patriarchy among others are explored. Feminists like Mary Wollstonecraft, Nancy Cott and Toril Moi to mention but few, all averred that women in the society are portrayed negatively since they differ in the following respects: sex, race and class. The differences, as discovered, have made women or the female gender, incapable of living above societal expectations. Worth knowing, the data for this study which comprise fifteen different Yorùbá proverbs randomly selected from Sheba's, *Yorùbá Proverbs with Feminine Lexis*, espoused the themes of feminism like oppression, discrimination, stereotyping and sexual objectification. Hence, majority of the selected proverbs are gender biased in order to know the attitudinal response of the Yorùbás towards the two sexes on one hand and their different expected roles on the other. The selected Yorùbá proverbs also have the following features: possession of at least a sentence synonym; underlying assumptions (presupposition); and the fact that each proverb invokes negative feelings basically to correct individual or societal ills. Employing the semantic devices of sentence synonyms and presupposition, the selected proverbs are analysed in the next section

## Representation and analysis of the proverbs

### 1. À tètè ló bìnrin kò kan omo bíbí.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 1):** The proverb employs the feminist theme of sexual objectification by using 'lò bìnrin' to imply marriage. This is because among the Yorùbás, having a woman, ('lò bìnrin') implies marriage because a woman is seen as a sex object. However, the proverb is out to enjoin spouses in late or early marriages to be hopeful and accept fate.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 1):** Being early to have woman, does not concern childbirth / Early marriage does not imply having children early.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 1:

(a) Ài tètè ló bìnrin kò ní kí a má bímo, àrèmo ló màa kéré.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 1(a)):** Being late to have woman, does not concern not having childbirth; it is just that one's first born will be younger / Late marriage does not prevent one having children; it is just that one's eldest child will be younger.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *À tètè ló bìnrin* (Early marriage), *Ài tètè ló bìnrin* (Late marriage) and *omo bíbí* (Child bearing). Interestingly, *À tètè ló bìnrin* (Early marriage) and *Ài tètè ló bìnrin* (Late marriage) are Yorùbá antonyms which, in their applications, convey the same meaning.

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 1):

(i) There is an early marriage and a late marriage.

(ii) Early or late marriage has nothing to do with early/late childbearing. In fact, it is possible that in both cases, of early and late marriage, there is an absence of a child/absence of children.

### 2. A f'èni ló bìnrin kò ro ire sí ni.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 2):** Proverb 2 is simply the Yorùbás' societal response to the female gender. From the composition of the proverb, the female gender is oppressed. The

feeling of oppression has led to the need to seek a redress of value. The proverb's intention is to clarify the reason(s) behind certain inadequacies. Thus, the proverb enjoins one of the spouses to identify the concerned/or the theme i.e., the *A f'eni lo binrin/A-ba-ni-lo binrin sun* (One/He who shares one's wife), and make peace thereafter.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 2):** He who befriends one's wife, does not think good of one/He who shares one's wife does not wish one well.

The sentence synonyms of Yorùbá Proverb 2:

(a) *Af'eni lo binrin kò f'ojú rere woni.*

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 2(a)):** He who befriends one's wife, does not cast good look at one/ He who shares one's wife does not wish one well.

(b) *A-bá-ni-lóbìnrin sùn kò f'ojú ire woni.*

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 2(b)):** He who sleeps with one's wife, does not cast good look at one/He who sleeps with one's wife does not wish one well.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *A f'eni lo binrin* (One who shares one's wife), *kò f'ojú rere woni* (does not wish one well), *A-bá-ni-lóbìnrin sùn* (He who sleeps with one's wife) and *ko f'aju ire woni* (does not wish one well).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 2):

(i) There is someone who shares or sleeps with one's wife.

(ii) The same does not wish one well.

### 3. Bí obìnrin r'ojó oko fálè, k'òlè ro ti àlè f'óko.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 3):** Proverb 3 is gender biased. This is because the proverb is silent on the waywardness of the male gender in marriage i.e., whether the man or husband has a concubine too. Thus, the proverb sees the female gender as a sex object with no shame. On the contrary, the proverb calls for caution on the part of a married woman to be sincere or faithful to her spouse and to desist from any negative activity that may ruin her marriage (an extra marital affair). This point is clearly enunciated in the antonymous relationship of 'oko'(husband) and 'àlè'(concubine) in the proverb's composition.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 3):** If a woman tells about her husband to her concubine, she cannot tell about her concubine to her husband/If the woman gossips about her husband to her concubine, she cannot gossip about the concubine to her husband.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 3:

(a) *Ìrò t'óbìnrin r'ojó oko lódò àlè, kò jé r'ojó àlè béè lódò oko.*

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 3 (a)):** The type of things the wife says about her husband in the presence of the concubine cannot be said of the concubine in the presence of the husband.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *obìnrin* (woman), *r'ojó* (gossips), *oko* (husband) and *àlè* (concubine).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 3):

(i) *There is a married woman with a concubine.*

(ii) *The same gossips about her husband to the concubine but cannot or dare not gossip about the concubine to her husband.*

### 4. Eni fé arèwà fé iyonu, gbogbo ayé ló bá won tan

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 4):** Just like proverb 3, proverb 4 is gender biased. This is evident in the use of 'arèwà'(a word used in the female Yorùbá world to mean a beautiful lady/woman). Again, the same proverb is silent on the male gender's 'handsomeness' i.e., whether or not it is a problem to the female counterpart or the society at large. The point notwithstanding, the proverb hopes to reconcile physical beauty. Thus, the word 'beauty', as employed in the proverb, goes beyond the physical beauty of appearance. It implies the inner beauty of kindness and wit

needful to save embarrassing situations. Hence, the proverb calls for the implied beauty (the *person and quality*) to exercise patience, caution and wisdom in her dealings with not only men, but fellow human beings.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 4):** One who marries a beautiful woman or beauty, marries trouble, everyone is a kinsman or relative/One who marries a beauty, marries trouble because she claims to be related to everybody.

The sentence synonyms of Yorùbá Proverb 4:

(a) Eni fé arèwà l'òbìnrin fé ìyonu, eni gbogbo ní bá won tan.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 4(a)):** Whoever marries a beauty or beautiful woman marries trouble, everyone or everybody is a relative.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *arèwà* (a pretty woman/beauty), *iyonu* (trouble),

*gbogbo ayé/eni gbogbo* (everybody) and *tan*(related/kin).

(b) Eni fé arèwà n'iyàwó, ti fé iyàwó gbogbo ayé.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 4(b)):** Whoever marries a beauty, has married everybody's wife.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *arèwà* (a pretty woman/beauty), *iyonu* (trouble),

*gbogbo ayé/eni gbogbo* (everyone/everybody) and *tan*(related/kin).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 4):

(i) *There is a beautiful/pretty woman or a beauty.*

(ii) *The same has trouble with her beauty because the beauty makes her everybody's relation or kin.*

## 5. Bí obìnrin ò jowú, obè kíí dùn.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 5):** The proverb is another dimension to the theme of oppression. This is because the implied wife or woman in the proverb must have been pushed to the level of 'owú (jealousy/envy) by the husband or man. Thus, the proverb intends to correct anomalies either in cooking or otherwise. Worth knowing, the same proverb is a display of the males' tricks in making the soup/cooking of the woman or wife delicious or more delicious than before.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 5):** If a woman is not jealous, her soup will not be tasty / delicious.

The sentence synonyms of Yorùbá Proverb 5:

(a) Bí obìnrin ò pè méjì, obè kíí dùn.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 5(a)):** If women are not two in number in the house, the soup will not be tasty /delicious.

(b) Bí obìnrin kò bá ní orogún, obè oko kíí dùn .

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 5(b)):** If a woman has no rival, the husband's soup is will not be tasty /delicious.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *obìnrin* (woman), *obè*(soup), *dùn* (tasty/delicious), *oko* (husband), *obìnrin ... méjì / orogún* (two wives/second wife or a rival).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 5):

(i) There is a married woman who is jealous.

(ii) The reason is due to the fact that the husband has brought into the home/house, a second wife or a rival and so, the husband's soup tastes more delicious than before due to jealousy.

## 6. Bí obìnrin kò dò okó méjì, kíí mo èyí tó dùn jù.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 6):** The proverb sees the female gender as a sex object and as promiscuous. Though negatively implied, the proverb admonishes a married woman. A married



woman, according to the Yorùbá tradition, should not be wayward or promiscuous, otherwise she may end up not appreciating men and especially her husband. Thus, the proverb seeks to address the issue of promiscuity by appealing to the sexual urge of a promiscuous woman. The proverb sees the need for a decent married woman to stick to 'one husband' which is understood in the language of Yorùbá proverb 6 as, 'one penis'. The same proverb encourages contentment.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 6):** If a woman does not have sexual intercourse or sexual affair with two husbands or two penises, she will not know which one is sweeter.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 6:

(a) Bí obìnrin ò bá dán ilé oko méjì wò, kò ní mo èyí tí ó sà̀n.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 6(a)):** Unless a woman tries two husbands, she will not know which one is better.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *obìnrin*(woman), *oko méjì /okó méjì* (two husbands/two penises) and *èyí tó dùn jù/ èyí tí ó sà̀n*(the one that is sweeter/better).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 6):

- i. There is a woman.
- ii. The same has two husbands/has an affair with two husbands/penises.
- iii. The same woman therefore realizes which one is sweeter or better.

## 7. Oko gbégbá kí n gbágbòn ní mú àibalè okàn bá obìnrin.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 7):** The proverb voices out the need for gender balance and of course, every gender to his/her own duty and responsibility. Thus, the proverb encourages division of labour that is, sharing of responsibilities. The practice, according to the proverb, will yield positive result: there will be peaceful co-existence in the home.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 7):** Husband; do this, so that I will do that, create anguish for the woman.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 7:

(a) Oko gbégbá n gbágbòn ní múlé gún.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 7(a)):** Husband; do this, so that I will do that makes the home peaceful.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Oko* (husband), *obìnrin* (woman), *gbégbá kí n gbágbòn* (do this, I'll do that), *ní mú àibalè okàn bá obìnrin* (creates or brings about anguish for the woman) and *ní múlé gún* (makes the home peaceful).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 7):

- i. There is a married man and woman; husband and wife.
- ii. The couple in (i), engaged in the act of 'doing this and doing that' together.
- iii. The practice leads to; first, anguish on the part of the woman and second, a peaceful home.

## 8. Ìlèkùn tí ò ní gbàgbé kó jókòó è jéé, omo tí ò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní jèbi ejó mo.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 8):** With the combination of animate (motherless child) and inanimate (door with no jamb) entities, the proverb is gender balanced. This is evident in the use of 'omo tí ò ní ò ní' (motherless child); who could be male or female. However, the proverb sees the need for human caution and security. Hence, the proverb addresses not only a motherless child but a child as adult on the need to exercise caution and be accountable for any deeds; good or bad. In addition, the proverb encourages individuals to desist from trouble in order to avert court cases.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 8):** A door with no jamb should sit quietly or be still and not available for use, a motherless child should not be judged guilty.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 8:

Ìlèkùn tí ò ní gbàgbé kó jókòó è jéé, omo tí kò ní ò ní ò ní ò ní jìjà èbi

mo.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 8(a)):** A door without jamb should be still, a child with no mother should not be found fighting unreasonably.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Ìlèkùn*(a door), *Ìlèkùn tí ò ní gbàgbé*(a door with no jamb/lock), *kó jókòó è jéé* (should be still/not available for use), *omo*(child), *omo tí ò ní òyá / omo tí kò ní òyá* (a motherless child), *iwòn níí jèbi ejó mo* (should not be judged guilty) and *iwòn níí jija èbi mo* (should not be found fighting unreasonably).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 8):

- i. There is a door with no jamb and the same door with no jamb is compared to a motherless child.
- ii. The door with no jamb is not fit for use, likewise a motherless child should not be found fighting unreasonably or found guilty of a crime.

## 9. A sùn kaàkà kíí gb'òfé.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 9):** Though explicit of the gender, the feminist theme of stereotyping is implied. This is because the Yorùbá society believes that females sleep around for money. On the contrary, the proverb seeks to address the negative attitude of some women towards money or material possessions. There is therefore the need to know that for every work/task, 'nothing comes from nothing but that something must come from something' and not through foul or immoral means. In the proverb's composition, it is believed that nothing goes for free in the implied feminine world of prostitution or promiscuity.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 9):** She who lies down carelessly does not admit free of charge.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 9:

(a) A-ta-ikaàkà kan kíí gba òfé.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 9 (a)):** A carelessly lied woman does not do so for free / No woman lies supinely for free.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Asùkaàkà/A-ta-ikaàkà* (one who lies down carelessly/supinely) and *kíí gb'òfé/kíí gba òfé* (does not admit free of charge/ does not do so for free)

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 9):

- i. There is someone that is, a woman who lies down carelessly or supinely.
- ii. The same woman that lies down carelessly/supinely does not do so for free or does not admit free of charge.

## 10. Obìnrin tí kò ní iwà, òyá rẹ ní bá sorogún.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 10):** The proverb is gender biased. This is because the concept of *iwà* (morals or good character) has been unjustifiably employed in the proverb to run down the female gender. The concept of morals cuts across all gender; male or female. However, on morals, the Yorùbás believe that the home is meaningfully run by a woman, the stereotypical inclination of the proverb hinges on a woman's character that is, not to be characterless. This, according to the proverb, becomes necessary so that she does not become useless or blame her luck/ her mother for her bad manners.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 10):** A woman with bad manners is doomed to live with her mother as a rival.

The sentence synonyms of Yorùbá Proverb 10:

(a) Bí obìnrin dára tí kò níwà, asán ló jé.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 10 (a)):** A pretty woman who is ill-mannered is a useless woman.

(b) Obìnrin so iwà nù, ó ní òun kò mú orí oko wáyé

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 10 (b)):** When a woman is ill-mannered, she will conclude that she has bad luck at choosing a husband.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *obìnrin* (woman) *tí ko níwà, /so iwà nù* (is ill-mannered/ has bad manners), *asán ló jé* (is a useless woman), *iyá rè ní bá sorogún* (is doomed to live with her mother as a rival) and *ó ní òun kò mú orí oko wáyé* (says, she has bad luck at choosing a husband).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 10):

- i.* There is a woman who has bad manners.
- ii.* The same is of the opinion that she has bad luck at choosing a husband.
- iii.* The same woman, due to her bad manners, is considered useless and may end up being her mother's rival.

## 11. 'Èmi kan lónì, èmi kan lánàá', ní íse iyàwó òdèdè tó poko rè.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 11):** The proverb is also gender biased. This is because the reverse can be the case in marriage that is, the husband may end up getting rid of the wife. On the contrary, the proverb hopes to encourage married women especially, to exercise caution. The proverb shows the attitude of the Yorùbá women in marriage; fond of boasting of their marital status and their husbands. Thus, the proverb enjoins women to be careful of such boast since it could invoke a negative feeling liable of putting an end to the man's life or the marriage.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 11):** 'I am the one yesterday and today', as the crying of the wife who killed her husband.

The sentence synonyms of Yorùbá Proverb 11:

(a) 'Èmi nikan lánàá lónì', bi ekún apokoje.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 11(a)):** 'I am the one today, and the one yesterday', gives room for over confidence that makes a wife kill her husband.

(b) 'Ìwo lónì, iwo lánàá', bí ekún apokoje.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 11(b)):** 'You today, you yesterday'; as the wailing of someone who killed her husband.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Èmi* (I), *lónì* (today), *lánàá* (yesterday), *iyàwó òdèdè* (married woman/housewife) and *ekún apokoje* (crying of a husband murderer). Interestingly, *lónì* (today) and *lánàá* (yesterday) are Yorùbá antonyms with remarkable meanings.

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 11):

- i.* There is a married woman/ housewife.
- ii.* The same makes a cry of boasting; yesterday and today.
- iii.* The cry of the same woman is likened to that of a husband's murderer.

## 12. Eni fún ni lómo parí oore.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 12):** The proverb is gender balanced. This is evident in the use of 'omo' (a wife who is a child of someone). In its composition, Yorùbá Proverb 12 encourages an act of gratitude which signifies magnanimity/favour.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 12):** He who gives one a wife has shown enough magnanimity.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 12:

(a) Eni tó fúnni lómo saya parí oore.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 12(a)):** He who gives a child for one to marry has shown enough magnanimity.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Eni* (he/she/whoever), *fúnni* (gives), *lómo* (a precious child/wife) and *parí oore* (shows magnanimity/favour/blessing).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 12):

- i.* There is a person or an individual.
- ii.* The same gives out a precious child as wife to a man (husband).
- iii.* The act or practice is that of generosity or magnanimity/ favour

### 13. Bí aya bá m'ojú oko tán, alárinà a yèba.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 13):** The proverb is also gender balanced. In fact, the proverb is employed to encourage a man (oko) and a woman (aya) in marriage, to know or understand each other. The act, from the proverb's composition, would prevent a third party that is the 'alárinà' (an intermediary) from knowing their plans or be part of their sacred relationship.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 13):** As soon as the wife is familiar with her husband, the intermediary steps aside.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 13:

(a) Bí oko bá m'ojú aya tán, alárinà a yèba.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 13(a)):** When the husband becomes familiar with the wife, the intermediary steps aside.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Bí* (as soon as/when/if), *aya*(wife/married woman) *bá mojú oko tán*(is familiar with her husband and vice-versa) and *alárinà a yèba*(the intermediary steps aside).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 13):

- i.* There is a wife and a husband in marriage.
- ii.* The couple in (i) seems to be at the stage of familiarity in order to know each other very well.
- iii.* During the stage or process, the intermediary is expected to step aside.

### 14. Omo osàn ní kó kùmò bá iyá rẹ̀.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 14):** The proverb is both gender balanced and gender biased. On gender balance, the use of 'omo'(a child; male or female) is evident in the proverb's composition. On gender bias, the implied child causes trouble or hardship in the proverb to the mother and not the father. The stereotypical inclination is that a good child is the father's; a bad child is the mother's. Employed to correct bad manners, the proverb enjoins a child to be calm/respectful and not troublesome/quarrelsome. While a quiet child may not cause trouble, the quarrelsome child causes trouble to the mother. Worth knowing, 'a child' in the proverb is likened to a kind of a fruit; 'osàn'(orange). The same child as fruit is thus, enjoined in the proverb to be calm so as not to cause hardship to the mother.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 14):** It is the orange (hanging on the tree) that invites hardship to its mother.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 14:

(a) Omo osè ní kó kùmò báiyá rẹ̀.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 14(a)):** It is the offspring of baobab tree that usually invites cudgel to its mother.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Omo* (a child/offspring), *osàn* (orange), *osè* (baobab tree) and *ní kó kùmò bá iyá rẹ̀* (causes or invites hardship/cudgel to its mother). It should be noted that 'orange' and 'baobab tree' are used interchangeably to mean the same thing. The two are 'fruits' and 'fruits' as children, are brought forth by mothers within the context of the Yorùbá proverbs.

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 14):

- i.* There is a mother and her child.
- ii.* The child in (i), usually causes or invites trouble/hardship/cudgel to the mother.

## 15. A kii lé elénu rírùn nídíí ìkòkò iyá rè.

**Resolution (Yorùbá Proverb 15):** The proverb, though explicit of the male gender, concentrates on stereotyping. The implied gender is the male and not the female. This is because the Yorùbá society believes that the male is responsible for the mother's care and upkeep. Though gender biased, a child is expected to know his/her rights. On the contrary, the proverb hopes to make the Yorùbá male child sensitive to his role as a male (patriarchy).

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 15):** We are not to send a dirty-mouthed child away from his mother's cooking or drinking pot/A filthy child cannot be sent away from his mother's drinking pot.

The sentence synonym of Yorùbá Proverb 15:

(a)Elénu rírùn ló làmù iyá rè.

**English equivalent (Yorùbá Proverb 15 (a)):** The person with a smelling mouth owns his/her mother's drinking pot.

The word expressions in the proverbs include: *Elénu rírùn*(a filthy child/garrulous offspring) and *ló làmù iyá rè*(is the owner of his/her mother's drinking pot).

The sentences of presupposition (Yorùbá Proverb 15):

- i. There is a mother and her child.
- ii. The child is filthy because he has a smelling mouth; a garrulous child.
- iii. The same child, despite his/her smelling mouth, must not be stopped from drinking in his/her mother's pot.

## Discussion and conclusions

The study discussed some Yorùbá proverbs that are laden with gender-related lexemes in order to see the Yorùbás' societal responses to the idea of responsibility and duty on the part of both sexes. The study aside generating sentences of presupposition and sentence synonyms to the identified proverbs; also provided resolutions to the proverbs in order to settle gender-related conflicts. Thus, Yorùbá proverbs though orally transmitted because of its conversational nature, employed different lexemes which in the selected Yorùbá proverbs, made meaning both in isolation and when in association with other words. The instance of the lexeme, 'obìnrin', has several meanings in isolation: *female, woman, lady, or girl*. The same lexeme, when in association with other words within a context, would assume a different but related meaning. The instance of the lexeme, 'obìnrin', in **Yorùbá Proverb (10)**:

'Obìnrin' tí kò ní iwà, iyá rè níí bá sorogún (A woman with bad manners is doomed to live with her mother as a rival) had the meaning, 'a bad mannered or ill-mannered woman.' Another instance of a lexeme with multiple meanings in **Yorùbá Proverb (12)** was, 'omo' which though means 'a child', assumed the meaning of 'a wife' in the proverb based on context. In other words, a lexeme has other meanings aside its inherent meaning more so, when in association with other words. Also discovered in the study was the similarity in meaning involved between certain lexemes which though were opposites, yet conveyed the same sense/meaning when in association with other words. The instance of **Yorùbá Proverb (1)** showed a case of opposition between the lexemes, *À tètè ló bìnrin* (Early marriage) and *Àì tètè ló bìnrin* (Late marriage) respectively. It was discovered that the two lexemes when in association with different words, could 'presuppose the same idea' as featured in the proverbs: (i) *À tètè ló bìnrin kò kan omo bíbí* (Early marriage does not imply having children early); and (ii) *Àì tètè ló bìnrin kò ní kí a má bímo, àrèmo ló màa kéré* (Late marriage does not prevent one having children; it is just that one's eldest child will be younger). By implication, the two proverbs re-affirmed the point made by Yule (1996:131-132) on presupposition that; presupposition remains 'constant under negation'. Thus, early or late marriage, the presupposition in both cases of the proverbs was that, 'there was a marriage'. Remarkably, the opposition in **Yorùbá Proverb (1)** had led to two facts: first, there was an overlap between sentence synonym and presupposition. **Yorùbá Proverb (1)** and its

sentence synonym presupposed that there was a marriage whether 'early or late', and of which had nothing to do with early/late child bearing. Second, the presupposition in the same proverb(s) had paved way for the resolution of conflicts i.e. the need for individuals to accept fate. The study thus averred that though Yorùbá lexemes could make meaning in isolation, the same could make more sense or meaning when in association with other words within a context. Notably, the different meanings conveyed by the different lexemes in the selected proverbs, gave room for certain inherent themes of feminism. The instance of **Yorùbá Proverb (2): Af'eni ló bìnrin kò f'ojú rere woni** (He who befriends one's wife, does not cast good look at one/ He who shares one's wife does not wish one well); portrayed the lexeme, 'obìnrin'(a female/wife), as a sex object oppressed by another male aside the husband. However, **Yorùbá Proverb (2)** and other selected proverbs with inherent feminist themes like oppression, stereotyping and others, have strengths and weaknesses. **Yorùbá Proverb (2)** and other selected proverbs with inherent feminist themes, intended to create positive awareness. The different proverbs which were gender biased, hoped to make the female gender be conscious of their weaknesses and thereafter, correct societal prejudice on promiscuity, ill-manners among others. Hence, the different lexemes employed in the selected proverbs were culture bound with a view to correcting individual or societal ills. On the contrary, the Yorùbá society, through the application of the different Yorùbá proverbs, expects and encourages both sexes/gender to be responsible. The instance of **Yorùbá Proverb (7): Oko gbégbá n gbágbòn níí múlé gún**(Husband; do this, so that I will do that makes the home peaceful); vividly portrayed the societal expectation of the two sexes/gender that is, to be 'responsibility carriers'. In other words, the Yorùbá society sees 'responsibility' in marriage, home and the society at large, a collective affair involving both sexes in order to make peace reign. The paper concluded by recommending that the choice of lexemes in Yorùbá proverbs be meaningfully negotiated in order to avoid misrepresentation of ideas. The implication was that failure to incorporate a detailed definition of lexemes in Yorùbá proverbs would be tantamount to gender bias. Thus, in the application of Yorùbá proverbs devoid of gender bias, prominence could be placed on certain Yorùbá lexemes with a view to making both sexes correct wrong impressions or make amends as situation demands.

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## The intellectual project is a precondition for societal redemption

Sipho Seepe<sup>1</sup>  
University of Zululand  
SeepeS@unizulu.ac.za

Albert Einstein famously opined that "we can't *solve problems* by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them." This observation is at the heart of the failure of many experiments. Arguably the South African democratic experiment seems to have suffered the same fate. Far from ushering in a dispensation of equality and prosperity as envisaged in the country's constitution and the aspirations of the majority, the system seems to be reproducing itself.

Echoing what many analysts have said on the state of the South African economy in 2019, columnist and television host Justice Malala writes. "... the new season did not herald hope and renewal. It was a spring of despondency. The country had plummeted into the foulest mood ... The crime statistics were horrendous. Economic indicators showed we are a country in crisis. The currency was plummeting new depths ... Business confidence indices sealed the cocktail of pessimism, saying the mood was the bleakest since the 1980s" (Sunday Times 20<sup>th</sup> October 2019).

As early as March this year, a newspaper sympathetic to President Cyril Ramaphosa noted its disappointment with the prevailing economic performance. It pointed out that "economic growth in 2018 came in at a paltry 0.7%. Not only is this far from the levels of about 5% that are needed to make inroads into the country's unemployment crisis, it is only just more than half the rate achieved during Zuma's last year in office, when the economy expanded 1.3%" (Business Day March 4<sup>th</sup> 2019).

The situation is not any different in the political and socio-cultural sphere. If anything, the country remains trapped in the reality of two nations best described by the former President Thabo Mbeki in 1998. Mbeki (29<sup>th</sup> October 1998) observed:

*South Africa is a country of two nations. One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. This enables it to argue that, except for the persistence of gender discrimination against women, all members of this nation have the possibility to exercise their right to equal opportunity, the development opportunities to which the Constitution of '93 committed our country. The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general, and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. It has virtually no possibility to exercise what in reality amounts to a theoretical right to equal opportunity, with that right being equal within this black nation only to the extent that it is equally incapable of realisation."*

Mbeki continued:

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1. Sipho Seepe PhD is Professor of Physics and Deputy Vice Chancellor Institutional Support, University of Zululand, South Africa. This article is based on his Keynote at the Annual University of Zululand Research Award ceremony in November 2019.



*This reality of two nations, underwritten by the perpetuation of the racial, gender and spatial disparities born of a very long period of colonial and apartheid white minority domination, constitutes the material base which reinforces the notion that, indeed, we are not one nation, but two nations. And neither are we becoming one nation. Consequently, also, the objective of national reconciliation is not being realised.*

Echoing Mbeki's statement but taking a more circuitous route, Steinberg (2014) observed:

*The freedom South Africans acquired in 1994 was mercurial and slippery. Politically, the changes were dramatic. The electorate expanded overnight to include every adult. But the structure of society stayed much the same. And white people remained white people, doing what white people had always done: running the professions, the corporations, the universities. Expertise, wealth, technical knowledge, social confidence – all of these remained deeply associated with whiteness.*

The reproduction and perpetuation of racial inequalities can be traced to the general poverty of thought and lack of imagination. The new dispensation was built on the edifice of apartheid's geopolitical imagination. Ingrained within the system was the reproduction of racial inequalities. The think tanks and powers that be under apartheid had managed to achieve what they so hoped to do even as they were caught on the back foot. What prevails is basically apartheid in action without apartheid in name. Until this internal logic is disrupted and uprooted, the system can only reproduce itself.

The situation has not been different at the South African universities. This is despite policy prescriptions that envisage a different dispensation from that which was informed by the architects of apartheid.

The Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of the Higher Education System (DoE 1997) envisaged that a transformed higher education system that will "promote equity of access and fair chances of success to all who are seeking to realise their potential through higher education, while eradicating all forms of unfair discrimination and advancing redress for past inequalities".

Failure to escape the apartheid designs and machinations can be traced to the failure of the intellectual project in both society and South African universities. With regard to universities, Mahmood (1999) was crystal clear:

"Both the white and black institutions were products of apartheid, though in different ways. The difference was not only in the institutional culture, that the former enjoyed institutional autonomy and the latter were bureaucratically driven. The difference was also in their intellectual horizons. It was the white intelligentsia that took the lead in creating apartheid-enforced identities in the knowledge they produced. Believing that this was an act of intellectual creativity unrelated to the culture of privilege in which they were steeped, they ended defending an ingrained prejudice with a studied conviction. The irony is that the white intelligentsia came to be a greater, became a more willing, prisoner of apartheid thought than its black counterpart."

To escape the trap of apartheid geopolitical imagination would require nothing short of a leap into a new cultural imaginary. It is about making a clear break and escape from the tyranny of thought control. Bernard Shaw famously proposed, "Some men see things as they are and ask why I dream things that never were and ask why not."

Put differently, as suggested by the Einstein quote above, no escape from apartheid ideological entrapment is possible without an intellectual leap. The role of intellectuals in history was perhaps best articulated by Edward Said when he averred:

"There has been no major revolution in modern history without intellectuals; conversely there has been no major counter revolutionary movement without intellectuals. Intellectuals have

been the fathers and mothers of movements, and of course sons and daughters, even nephews and nieces" (Representation of Intellectuals).

There are many ways in which the centrality of intellectuals has been stated by others. But what is of value is the centrality of ideas in shaping reality and the future. Writing on *The Intellectual Legacy of Pan-Africanism*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997) notes, for instance that in both the struggle against slavery and colonialism "the role of the intellect, of the mind, of the idea, a caring idea, a committed idea, ideas that capture the essence of the historical moment, was an important, often decisive ingredient " (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1997:142).

For her part Hooks (1996), the African American scholar, comes closer to not only integrating both Said and Ngugi wa Thiong'o but also demythologising and disrobing the intellect [[or intellectual work] from the elitist portrayal they have come to represent. Hooks (1996) claims that "intellectual work differs from academic work precisely because one does not need to undertake a formal course of study or strive for degrees to live the life of the mind. Formal education can and often does enrich an organic intellectual process but it is not essential to the making of an intellectual mind. At the heart of intellectual work is critical engagement with ideas. Intellectual work can itself be a gesture of political activism if it challenges us to know in ways that counter and oppose existing epistemologies (ways of knowing) that keep us colonised, subjugated, etc."

In a sense, Hooks forces us to ask: what are the necessary conditions for the term 'intellectual' to be ascribed to a particular individual? From what has been said about intellectual work, the following conditions must be factored in describing one as an intellectual: (i) the ability to think critically about ideas, (ii) the ability to be self-reflectively critical (i.e. not to cling to out of date and unworkable ideas/positions just because one has held them, but to have the ability to be persuaded by the latest evidence and information), (iii) the ability to challenge existing ideologies, theories and practices, (iv) to be actively engaging in a struggle to bring about material change.

Conditions (i) to (iii) could be seen as constituting the necessary and sufficient conditions for the use of the term 'intellectual'. Condition (iv) is an attribute that we may wish an intellectual to have, but is not essential for the ascription of the term. As the notion 'intellectual' suggests, the important features involve a critical engagement with ideas. If a person meets the conditions (i) to (iv), the correct ascription here will be that of 'activist intellectual' or the socially engaged intellectual.

There is a sense that universities have abdicated their role in contributing to the nurturing and unleashing of the creative energies of both students and academics. This has occasioned a rather scathing comment by Ngugi wa Thiong'o: that "post-independence has been [to have led to] the devaluation of African unity and Pan-Africanism, the devaluation of intellect and intellectual achievement, and worst of all, the devaluation of African lives" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1997: 144).

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is not alone in his observation of the seeming abdication of intellect in the affairs of African society. Jansen (2005) cautions that the abdication of intellectual activity is tantamount to the death of a university. He opines that a "university ceases to exist when the intellectual project no longer defines its identity, infuses its curriculum, energises its scholars, and inspires its students. It ceases to exist when state control and interference closes down the space within which academic discourse and imagination can flourish without constraint."

Former President Thabo Mbeki had earlier expressed the same sentiments when he challenged university academics. On the occasion of the Investiture of the late Professor Hugh Africa as Vice-Chancellor of Vista University, Mbeki (1998) noted:

*There seems to be a paralysis of thought or withdrawal from an open engagement of the burning issues of the day among this important section of our population, which is difficult to explain ... Clearly, the black intelligentsia, including those who work in this University, needs to ask itself whether it is discharging its responsibilities to*

*itself, to the country and to the students for which it should set an example by its own activity and conscious social engagement.*

Dismantling the apartheid ideology would require the dismantling of its internal logic. Mere tinkering with the system here and there, as has been done over the years, has demonstrably failed to change reality. As a result, South Africa remains in a permanent state of Gramscian limbo in which the “crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear”.

To escape this reality, universities and society in general should place the intellectual project at the centre of their daily business. They should be transformed into incubators of ideas and cutting edge knowledge. This is not possible without creating a vibrant intellectual culture that enables a free flow of ideas. Put sharply, the operative idea is that a university is obliged to ensure the free exchange of ideas. Few descriptions do better than Yale University’s (2003) take on intellectual freedom when it states that intellectual freedom is

*the right to think the unthinkable, discuss the unmentionables, and challenge the unchallengeable. To curtail free expression strikes twice at the intellectual freedom, for whoever deprives another of the right to state unpopular views necessarily also deprives others the right to listen to those views.*

Back to the future. As matters stand, South Africa seems to be held captive in a prison house of thought. South Africa’s future begins and ends with Einstein’s argument that “we can’t solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them.” At the centre of the resolution of the historical challenge is the restoration of the intellectual project. This is critical if the country aims to step out of the malaise of a frozen moment in which history looms large and replays itself, each time with worsening prospects, before its very eyes. The country cannot afford to remain trapped in the cultural imagination of the past. It cannot be a mere spectator that is reduced to watching as opportunities for real freedom flit by. The heightened restlessness that has been expressed by the youth and political organisations on our campuses is a call for a new political consciousness. This is a call for the ushering in of a consciousness that reaffirms the previously oppressed to dream anew and in the language that speaks to their existential realities. It is a call for the reclamation for cultural affirmation in which participants set the terms and the terrain for engagement.

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- (c) The referees will comment on the papers' eligibility for publication in *Inkanyiso*, taking originality into account as well as the quality of research, argument, use of sources and writing style. Each referee will be granted not more than one month for this process.
- (d) The Reviewers' Evaluation Form will be enclosed with each manuscript for the reviewer's guidance. It will require a referee to classify her or his response to a paper in one of four categories: acceptance as is; acceptance with specified changes; rejection with the possibility of revision and resubmission for another issue; and rejection.
- (e) After receiving the referees' reports, the Editor-in-Chief will verify manuscripts for publication in *Inkanyiso*. Selected parts of these reports will be sent back to the authors (without disclosing referees' identity) in order to explain the Journal's acceptance or rejection of the paper and in order to guide revision either for the upcoming issue or to help the author rewrite for future submission.
- (f) Accepted authors should make the required corrections and email their final document to the Editor within the time specified.
- (g) The Editor, after verification, compiles all the manuscripts into an issue with the addition of an appropriate introduction and then sends the issue to the publisher.
- (h) Publication is normally expected within the specified dates that will normally be June and December each year.
- (i) It is our policy to encourage and support novice and established authors. However, in order to improve on the quality of publications, manuscripts that are unanimously recommended by at least two reviewers for substantive revision or rejection may not be published.

### *Page fees*

Page fees may be levied to cover the costs of publication once the Journal is SAPSE accredited.

### *Manuscript requirements*

#### Length of articles

These should comprise 4000-8000 words, including the list of works cited and notes. Shorter essays (500-2000 words) such as book reviews and debates on topics introduced by specific papers may be accepted.

### *Format*

Papers should be submitted electronically, as email attachments formatted in a recent version of MsWord or Rich Text Format. While each article should be accompanied by a note in which the author provides his

or her full names, personal telephone number and email address, the article itself should be stripped of all references to the author's identity. This is in order to assist the blind review process.

### *Style of articles*

*Inkanyiso* uses a specific version of Harvard style. Authors should make sure that their papers are already formatted in this style before submission to the journal.

An *abstract* of the paper comprising a single paragraph of no more than 300 words should precede its first paragraph.

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

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

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

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

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

Please note that the 'place of publication' *must* be a town or city; it may not be a country, province, state or other area. The place of publication must *precede* the publisher's name and be separated from it by a colon. A list follows that demonstrates the required punctuation and arrangement. If an author uses a type of text not included in this list, a more comprehensive handbook of Harvard Style should be consulted.

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