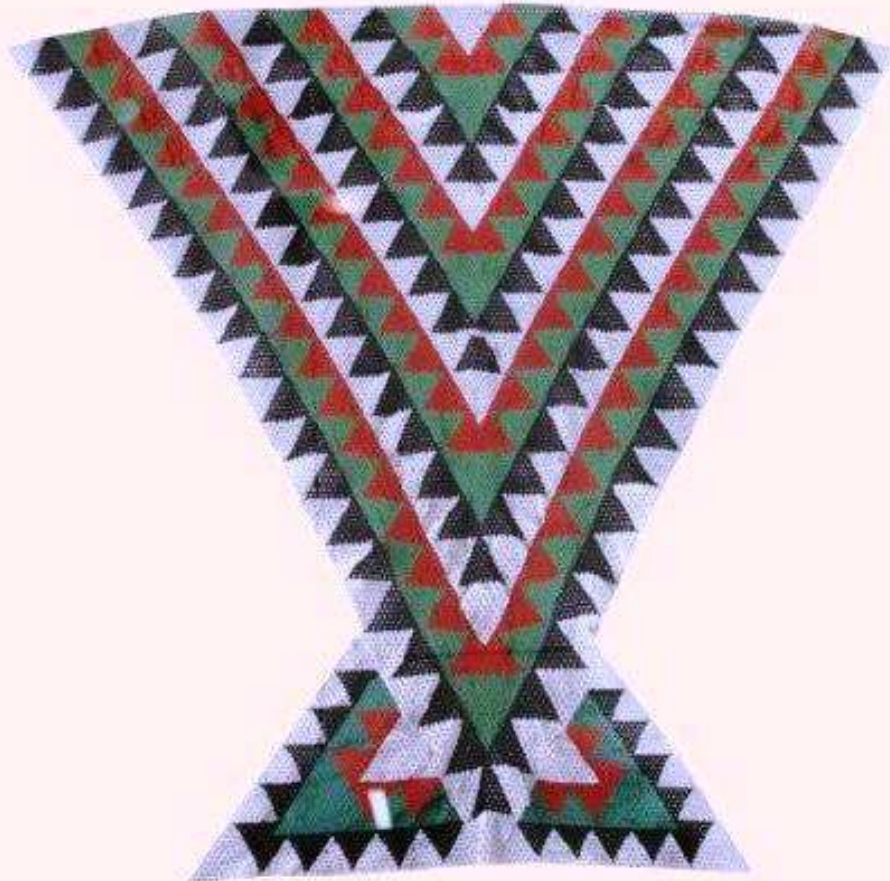


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Dear *Inkanyiso* readers,

I am pleased to present you with our first issue this year of *Inkanyiso*, Vol 3 No. 1, featuring nine interesting articles. The articles focus on librarianship, psychology, religion, philosophy, public administration/political science, and criminal justice/policing.

The focus in the first article by Natalie Burclaff, University of Baltimore, and Johannes Britz, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, is librarianship. Entitled "Alumni access policies in public university libraries", it explores the current library access policies for alumni in a public university system and recommends addressing alumni in policies as a separate user group.

Three articles are dedicated to psychology. The first is an article focusing on "The influence of yoga therapy on anxiety", co-authored by four authors from the University of Zululand: Lindsay Clarke, Stephen Edwards, Jabulani Thwala and Patricia Louw. The authors recognize that the stressful lifestyles that accompany modern living generate high levels of anxiety, and provide systematic evidence for yoga therapy as a significant and relatively cost effective intervention against stress and anxiety. The second article's focus is "Breath psychology", written by Stephen Edwards, from the University of Zululand. He explains that breath psychotherapy is an approach that makes direct use of breathing techniques in healing, discussing and providing examples of many forms of healing founded on breathing, and notes their use in the various spiritual traditions, including ancestor reverence, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam. Stephen clarifies that his present article is an appreciative inquiry into more recent forms of breath psychotherapy as promoted and used by modern authors and practitioners. The third article is co-authored by Yashica Prithiviraj from the University of Johannesburg, and Stephen Edwards. Entitled "An evaluation of a stress management intervention for parents of children with Attention-Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder", the two authors evaluate the experiences of parents' participation in a stress management programme for parents with children diagnosed with the Attention-Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). The results suggest that the programme was effective and the authors recommend the inclusion of a stress management counseling component for parents of ADHD children as a valuable adjunctive strategy in the overall comprehensive management of ADHD.

The next article on philosophy focuses on Ubuntu values, which are widely debated both within and outside the African context. Nonceba Mabovula from Walter Sisulu University discusses "The erosion of African communal values: a reappraisal of the African Ubuntu philosophy", by interrogating the African notion of a 'community' as embodied in the ideas of 'umntu ngumntu ngabantu' ('a person is a person because of other persons'). Using the philosophy of Ubuntu as a hermeneutic key, she argues that any member of a community whose personal life is guided by Ubuntu could be said to have embraced the core humanistic attributes - discussed in the article - of Ubuntu. Nonceba's study suggests that the values of Ubuntu, if consciously harnessed, can play a major unifying role in harmonizing South African and African nations.

Can religion and religiosity reduce risky adolescent sexual behaviour? Onipede Wusu from Covenant University discusses this problem in his article, "Religion, religiosity and adolescent risky sexual health behavior in Lagos Metropolis, Nigeria". The author's main concern is that the rate of premarital sex is alarming among adolescents in Nigeria despite its prohibition by a number of religious groups. He concludes that religious affiliation is not likely to play any significant role in combating adolescents' sexual behavior, but religiosity could be fairly effective in this battle among females in the study's setting.

Two articles focus on public administration and politics. In "Federal government financing of grassroots decay in Nigeria: The case of Edo State", Sylvanus Ebohon from the University of Benin, Nigeria, attempts to locate the failure of local government councils' promises to construct rural development poles in the context of patrimonial redistributive politics that greeted the emergence of the Nigerian petro-state. Likewise Joseph Imhanlahimi from Ambrose Alli University, Nigeria, writes about "Local government autonomy and the development of localities in Nigeria: Issues, problems and suggestions". Here the author examines the topical issue of local government (LG) autonomy in Nigeria in relation to the development of the localities, the *raison d'être* of local governments. His study concludes that inadequate autonomy has been found to be the main challenge among others such as inadequate finances, weak intergovernmental relations, fledgling democracy, and grand corruption. Some pertinent recommendations are provided by the author.

The last article on "Fear of crime and the role of the police" is co-authored by Linda Mayoyo, a retired police officer from Eastern Cape Province, South Africa, and Phillip Potgieter and Johan Ras from the University of Zululand. The authors suggest that social values, such as the safety and security needs of members of society, are necessary to ensure a sustainable quality of life for all, and should be guaranteed and protected by the Constitution. The study's focal points are aspects that exert the most influence on the lives of citizens: crime and fear of crime, and the role of the police.

Enjoy your reading

Dennis N. Ocholla,

Editor-in-Chief, *Inkanyiso: The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*

Inkanyiso

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- (f) Accepted authors should make the required corrections and email their final document to the Editor within the time specified.
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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.

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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.

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

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Works cited

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Alumni access policies in public university libraries

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This paper explores the current library access policies for alumni at a public university system using document analysis, observations and interviews. We found that alumni are specifically addressed in only two library access policies, and borrowing privileges through cards, on-site access and restricted access to electronic resources are common elements in the policies for community users. There are opportunities to expand and standardize services, and we recommend addressing alumni in policies as a separate user group.

Keywords: Library services, information access – alumni, university library services, public university libraries, university library policy.

Introduction

Nearly all public university libraries support life-long learning, but most seem to lose sight of an ever-growing user group: alumni. Students are shifted into community user status once they graduate, potentially weakening a tenuous relationship that public university libraries have with their students. As much time and effort is spent by libraries to attract student users, continuing a relationship with the students beyond graduation is a task left solely to the alumni relations department. Currently, most public university libraries are taking advantage of the online social networking boom, creating Facebook pages and Twitter accounts to connect with students (Harinarayana & Vasantha Raju, 2010).

In most cases the only ‘friend request’ an alumnus receives is to become a member of the Friends of the Library, which is also often their only portal into borrowing books and Interlibrary Loan Services. Library policies towards alumni certainly have room for improvement, and the idea that alumni can only become a ‘friend’ of the library through monetary donation creates an unhealthy exchange relationship, especially coupled with alumni expectations.

Certainly, some schools have a strong alumni connection, and their libraries reap the benefit (Konzak & Teague, 2009). It is worthwhile to examine successful libraries and their relationships with alumni. Public university libraries must overcome the misconception that universities are primarily subsidized by government funding. In the university system examined in this study, only around 20 percent of the budget is supplemented by public taxes, already down from nearly 35 percent in 2001 (University of Wisconsin System, 2000: 1; University of Wisconsin System, 2010: 1). In addition, public university libraries have the additional expectation of providing resources for the general public – an expectation that many private university libraries do not have.

Public universities and their libraries must look to other forms of income, and with strong negative reaction to tuition hikes, turning to private donations is one solution. Alumni need to feel a connection to the organisation – in this instance, the library – that they are supporting. Policies can provide that connection for public university libraries. They act as intangible products, offering access to quality information, that are important in building an exchange relationship with alumni. By implementing a library policy that addresses alumni users, the library sets a framework by which to attract alumni through the other marketing elements.

The purpose of this study is to explore alumni access policies in academic libraries. In particular, this study will look at alumni policies of public university libraries and discover themes and trends in access policies. At this time, a working definition for alumni is ‘students that have graduated from a university’, and alumni policies will for this purpose be public documents that outline those university graduates’ access to information.

While many parties can be involved in the development of alumni policies, including surveying alumni attitudes and beliefs, this study will focus on the administrative and library side of the alumni-library relationship. From the document analysis, observations and interviews, we illuminate common characteristics found in alumni policies to use as recommendations for an alumni policy.

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2. Johannes Britz is Interim Provost and Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA

Research objectives

Our research seeks to explore the access policies at public university libraries and the implications of alumni access. To that end, our research question is:

What components exist in alumni access policies at public university libraries?

This general research question allows for the exploration of multiple facets including different types of access provided for in policies, a comparison between written policies and observations in gaining access as an alumnus, and the relationship between alumni and the library in a micro-environment.

In order to explore these topics and answer our research question, this paper is structured as follows. A literature review provides a chronological overview regarding non-affiliated users' access to materials and services at university libraries, followed by the methodology, which outlines the research strategy, approaches and data analysis used for our research. The results and analysis section reports the information gathered using document analysis and observations to examine the components of access policies, and interviews, which take a narrative look at the relationship between alumni and the library. This is followed by the discussion section that seeks to answer our research question and provide further implications of alumni access policies in public university libraries by applying our research to Anderson's long tail theory (2008) and Caladini's theory of influence (2008). Our conclusion summarizes our main findings and suggests future research questions.

Literature review

Organizational policies, rules and regulations have shifted in libraries to accommodate advances in technology. Technology influences access, and in turn forces policy-makers to reexamine access standards, especially now that electronic access is a greater commodity than physical access.

Immediately following World War II, academic libraries sought to increase public relations and goodwill by allowing unaffiliated users access to material (Courtney, 2001: 473). Waggoner discussed trends he had observed at Duke University library, especially the increase of unaffiliated users at university libraries due to the budget shortfalls of public and school libraries (1964: 55-57). For the purposes of public relations, he believed access policies should support all types of users, as long as there are enough resources for academic libraries to support their primary users, which are defined as students and faculty (Waggoner, 1964: 55-57).

As university library budgets fell, some universities were forced to restrict access to their materials. Kaser (1974) focused on the problems that arise from what he calls 'scholarly mobility', which is when researchers or other scholars use the services of libraries with which they are not affiliated. The unaffiliated user is defined as a heavy user that has a higher than average service cost, based on the fact that this user has made a special trip to come to the library. Many unaffiliated users hold the belief that public information should be free and equally accessible, but in reality information always has a cost associated with it. Kaser proposed a more comprehensive interlibrary loan program as a solution that is aimed at both public and academic libraries. While Kaser stressed interlibrary access over interlibrary loan to save costs, he could not foresee the problems with database licensing and electronic journals (1974: 283). Academic libraries in the 1980s not only had physical access to contend with, but also electronic access as more and more databases were introduced to facilitate research and searching of journals (Courtney, 2001: 473).

Giving access to unaffiliated users became increasingly difficult as the budgets could not meet the demand for materials for primary and secondary users (Ferguson, 2000: 85-86). Surveys on access were frequent in the 1990s as many universities tried different policies (Mitchell, 1992; Russell *et al.*, 1992; Bobp & Richey, 1994). Three different responses to public demands were: continuing to provide open and equal access, closing the library completely to unaffiliated members, and creating tiered access policies (Bobp & Richey, 1994). Findings from the survey of California Public Universities found that although tiered access policies were the most beneficial, they were the hardest to implement (Bobp & Richey, 1994).

Mitchell gathered survey results from 49 library directors at four-year public academic colleges and universities in urban areas. The survey showed that virtually all libraries allowed on-site access, but external users were either not allowed to borrow books or had to pay a fee. The borrowing privileges, after a fee payment, were similar to those for undergraduate students. However, late fines and unreturned books were sought after more aggressively than those of affiliated members. Overall, 75 percent of library directors were satisfied with their external user policies (Mitchell, 1992).

Another survey was issued by Russell, Robison, Prather and Carlson (1992) to determine the level of access that nonaffiliated users had in 18 urban academic libraries. The survey asked questions about checkout privileges, in-house use of materials, reference assistance and library services for external users, defined as 'patrons with no affiliation with the

institution', which in this case does not include alumni. The authors concluded that these urban universities were strongly committed to meeting the needs of their external users as reflected in their policies and practices (Russell *et al.*, 1992).

However, not all users are satisfied. Cohn compared using a restrictive one-day visitor's pass to 'begging for one's intellectual food' (1993: 184). Another user saw cutting off alumni from interlibrary loan access as a form of information censorship (Groninger, 1995: 23). One recent concern has been distance education students, who may need to find resources locally when institutions fail to meet guidelines on providing distance education library materials (Barsun, 2002: 95). Many times, because the student is affiliated with a different institution, they have limited access at a local university.

Lynch (2003) proposed that institutions of higher education have fostered an environment of quality information, but completely cut off access after graduation. Alumni are no longer affiliated with a university and therefore do not have access to material post-graduation and content providers do not offer individual consumer packages (Lynch, 2003: 12). One solution is for libraries to create 'information resource homepages' for alumni that provides links to free resources on the Internet (Ferguson, 2000: 86). Most state-funded university libraries have policies that permit onsite usage for the public. Lynch argued that individuals will no longer be able to engage intellectually due to restrictive electronic access policies. He concludes that having access to printed journals and books is not sufficient in a digital age and calls for research to investigate how much access is lost outside the university (Lynch, 2003: 12-13). Britz and Ponelis (2005) used John Rawls's principles of social justice to argue that the right to information is a basic right. To avoid information injustice, people must have access to a minimum amount of information (Britz & Ponelis, 2005). While their paper is presented in the context of access to information guidelines in developing countries, it can also apply to the concerns of Lynch, that access to scholarly information is increasingly restricted after graduation (2005: 12-13).

As more universities have sought to provide access to their alumni or alumni associations, many descriptive studies on the implementation of access were published (Wells, 2006; Smith, Street & Wales, 2007; Horava, 2007; Wetherill, 2008). Around the United States, university libraries have various alumni access policies. For example, one gives remote access to library databases such as EBSCOhost to alumni, but does not offer print material check-out (Carlson, 2006: A43).

Smith, Street and Wales (2007) outline the Open University's project to give electronic access to alumni. Uniquely, because Open University is an online university, on-site access is not an option. After one year of studying the new electronic access service for alumni, the authors came up with four conclusions: first, some licensing agreements allow alumni access already, second, proxy servers should be used for authentication, third, libraries must create partnerships with alumni associations, and fourth, prior to providing service, a survey of alumni on their information needs is helpful, but their answers are not always conclusive. This study segments alumni needs and focuses on alumni of their MBA program, which may show that alumni of certain majors or colleges may have different information needs, and that a one-size-fits-all option may not be ideal (Smith, Street & Wales, 2007).

Another case study found that that funding, working with licensing databases, and advertising are important when giving alumni database access (Wells, 2006). The author believes, although does not prove, that alumni access to library information will strengthen the alumni-library relationship and contribute to 'lifelong learning' of alumni. Wells suggests that alumni as a user group are an untapped market for libraries and libraries should offer electronic access before vendors dominate this new market (2006: 413).

Horava (2007) used the long-tail phenomenon to explain the low appeal in giving alumni access to only one database. The long-tail phenomenon states that a lot of people will buy a few items, but a lot of items will be purchased by a few people (Anderson, 2008). In terms of purchasing information, this means that different users will be interested in a wide variety of information sources. Using a large database like ABI/Inform will certainly work for many users, but the rest (the tail) will have different information needs, which is an important consideration when looking at creating alumni access that takes a one-size-fits-all approach (Horava, 2007).

The motivation behind creating online access for alumni at Cranfield University Library was the demand from alumni to have continued access to these resources post-graduation. Second, Cranfield University was interested in maintaining the relationship that they had built between the library and the students (Wetherill, 2008). The reasoning behind providing online access to alumni was to brand them as a 'privileged' and 'special' user group, without giving preference to those within reach of on-site access.

Cranfield University Library sought to give online access to all alumni and not segment their market. Alumni could register using online application and renewal forms and online payment. Also interesting was the tiered package offered to alumni ranging from free services to paid subscriptions for full content. The author found former students often focus on what resources have been eliminated rather than the resources made available. The university concluded that this program was still important to their mission of life-long learning, and plan to continue it in the following years (Wetherill, 2008).

Most recently, Joseph (2008) discusses open access policies as a way to disseminate information to the general public. The author examines cost in a new way, since libraries' open access to all patrons is cost-prohibitive. Instead, policies are being created that allow academic researchers to place their material for scholarly publication in an organizational repository. Policies and petitions are being implemented at a grassroots level by researchers and librarians instead of coming top-down. Joseph concludes that publishing policies are becoming more flexible in terms of open access, which benefits both the institution and the user (2008: 105).

Alumni access has shifted as resource demands have changed in academic libraries. Although some research has been done on alumni access, none have explored access policies in terms of a marketing strategy to maintain the relationship between alumni and library. By examining the access policies, observing the policies in practice and interviewing three key policy makers in the library-alumni relationship, we provide insight in using access policies as a marketing approach to reach alumni.

Methodology

Research strategy

The research strategy is a qualitative approach to case study. A case study examines a particular program in depth and seeks to answer a research question within the context of its environment (Yin, 2003). Creswell defines a case study as a research method that 'explores in depth a program, event, activity, process or one or more individuals' and is constrained by the duration of activity or a specified amount of time (2009: 13). In this study, we explored present alumni access policies at libraries in a state university system. Case study is the best method in that it is exploratory research of alumni policies, constrained by the present day issue of electronic access. We used a multiple case study format to find general trends and themes in alumni access policies and then focused on one specific case, a public university library within that system that does not have any current alumni policies. Multiple case studies are used when multiple phenomena exist (Powell, 2004). In this case, many public university libraries have alumni access policies or different ways of approaching the issue of alumni access, making multiple case studies an appropriate method for this research.

Case study method is also useful when a phenomenon has not been well researched, and in this instance, alumni access policies have enjoyed little empirical research. In addition, using a qualitative method is especially useful since the overall intent of the research, after discovering trends and themes across multiple cases studies, is to create policy recommendations for the focus case study library. This purpose falls within applied research, which is most often done through qualitative measures (Creswell, 2009).

The case study is composed of document analysis, observation and interview methods. The document analysis using the content analysis approach will consist of alumni policies of the higher institutions in a state university system, known as System U for the purposes of this study. System U has 13 four-year public universities, with a wide range of demographics. In addition, a public university system was chosen because those libraries must also address the community user group that most private universities do not have.

Observations take place over the phone. We devised a scenario where we presented ourselves as alumni of each university and called to obtain information on how we could access a scholarly article from the database *JSTOR*. *JSTOR* was chosen because all 13 university libraries subscribe to this database and it consists of many full text articles. We observed the described actions and suggestions the reference worker did and offered, and the information was coded based on common groups of observations.

The case study specifically examines one school within System U, which currently does not have an alumni policy. University Library E is a four-year university located in a large Midwest city with student enrollment at close to 30,000. The number of current living alumni is at 97,000. Interviews took place with the director of University Library E, the library development director and University E Alumni Chapter Coordinator. The interviews with administrators provided further understanding in the area of alumni access policies not discernible from the content analysis. The interviews were used as supplemental support and to explore other areas of alumni access policies.

Methods of achieving validity

The use of case study as a research method has been seen as having low internal and external validity, which is why it is important to have at least three types of data collection (Powell, 2004). This triangulation in data collection creates validity by building coherent themes from several different sources of data (Creswell, 2009). We also removed potential bias by including data that is situated outside of the general themes to present a holistic picture to the reader. In addition, validity is added by presenting our results in detail, which presents a level of specificity in our findings and creates a deeper experience.

Participants

Using the multiple case study format, we selected our participants based on the population that aligns with our pre-specified criteria. Our criteria were four-year public universities within State University System U. It is necessary to use a state university, because unlike private universities, public university libraries often have to meet resource needs of community users in addition to their other primary user groups. A state university system was chosen because of the potential for related resources and policies to use as comparison. It was not required that these university libraries have a current alumni policy, nor any outreach programs with their alumni. This state university system has 13 four-year public universities.

The focus of this case study is University Library E situated in an urban city with a population of 500,000. Their student enrollment is close to 30,000 and the library does not have a current alumni policy. Since our primary form of data collection is document analysis, participants are the libraries themselves. We interviewed three administrators, since the purpose of our research is to explore the library side of the alumni-library exchange relationship through policies. We chose the most relevant people to interview, using a purposeful method of sampling: the director of the library, the library development director, who coordinates outreach events and works with donors, and the university alumni chapter coordinator.

Data analysis strategies

For the three methods of data collection – document analysis, interviews and observations – we used Creswell's six-step data analysis plan (Creswell, 2009: 185-190). First, we organized all the data we collected, including transcriptions, field notes and document analysis notes. We then read through the data to gather an overall meaning, followed by coding documents, transcripts and field notes by hand to illuminate trends. Because this is an exploratory case study, much of the coding cannot be mapped prior to data collection (Powell, 2004). Prior to coding the document analysis dataset, a similar external use library policy was coded based on certain themes as a pilot test for my criteria (Neuendorf, 2002). The coding provided a comprehensive description of the case study context and situation and highlighted themes. The last two steps of qualitative data analysis were applying the themes to theories and providing an interpretation of the data. We applied those themes to Robert Cialdini's influence theory (2009) and Chris Anderson's long tail theory (2008), both of which has implications for marketing and relationships. Cialdini's influence theory consists of seven major principles – reciprocity, commitment, social proof, liking, authority and scarcity – that influence our behaviors because they create an automatic reaction from us (2009). Anderson's long tail theory states that although many people buy a lot of one or two popular items, many niche items are bought by one or two people. This theory shows the economic viability of Internet-based stores that have little overhead but access to many specific items (Anderson, 2008). These theories will be able to demonstrate what importance, if any, alumni access policies can have on alumni-library exchange relationships.

Results and analysis

Policy content analysis

A content analysis of user policies on each university library website was conducted. The primary goal was to investigate alumni access policies, but because many libraries in this system lacked policies directed specifically toward alumni, any external user policy sufficed. To increase validity, two rounds of analysis were conducted two weeks apart to determine the solutions and code them. The audience for whom the 'external' access policies were created was also examined. Similar results were obtained in both cases. The location of policies on each website varied greatly. When information is not located under an intuitive label, it can be difficult for users to find the information. From the 13 public university libraries in this study, there were 14 links that conveyed basic policy information. Six of those links used the term *policy*, while six links addressed the user group using labels such as *community* and *visitors* – one of those was distinctly labeled *alumni*. Two links were labeled *borrowing*.

The content analysis revealed that 12 out of 13 libraries offer a user card to non-affiliated users. The cards primarily give borrowing privileges, but interlibrary loan, catalog and electronic resource access as well as physical access were all examined. Between the 12 libraries that offer a card, there are 18 different card names. Prices ranged anywhere from free to \$50. Generally, the pricier cards correlate to Friends of the Library cards, libraries in higher population areas, and cards for out-of-state residents. Within the list of card names, there are various pricing levels. Table 1 shows the different characteristics of each card. Whenever there were different pricing strategies for one card, levels were arbitrarily assigned.

Table 1

Name of card or group	Price	Renewal?	Stipulations
Special Borrowers card	Free	2 years	'Area residents may obtain a special borrower's card at the Circulation Desk on the main floor of the library by filling out an application and presenting one form of photo identification'.
Special Borrowers Permit	Free	1 year	Meet certain user groups
Library Special Borrowers (Level 1)	\$15	1 year	A state resident 18 years of age or older with valid ID
Library Special Borrowers (Level 2)	\$15	1 year	Local middle and high school students
Library Special Borrowers (Level 3)	\$30	1 year	Non-state residents 18+
County Public Library card	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Annual Fee Card	\$30	1 year	Two current forms of identification showing state residency (one must have a photo)
Community Borrow Card (Level 2)	\$50	2 years	18+, valid [neighboring state] library card
Community Borrower Card (Level 1)	\$25	2 years	18+, valid state library card or state property tax statement
Community Borrower Card	\$10 or \$25	1 year/3	State Residents 18 years or older with a valid state driver's license or state picture ID (and are not in high school)
Community Card	Free	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Cards are issued only to individuals. * Persons 18 years or older living or working in the following counties. * University Alumni, and Faculty Emeriti. * Local High School 'A' Honor Roll students. * Current State driver's license, or * State Identification card.
Community User Card	\$20	2 years	Photo ID, State resident
Corporate Card	\$30	1 year	Letter on stationary granting permission and responsibility from a corporation
Courtesy Card	Free	Unknown	proof of affiliation and ID photo (does not include alumni)
Friends of ___ Library	\$25	Unknown	None
Friends of the ___ Library	\$35	1 year	None
Friends of the Library Card	\$25	1 year	None
Guest card	Free	Unknown	'You must be eighteen years of age and present a valid driver's license or state identification card'.
N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NEW ERA	Free	1 year	18+, valid state ID
NEW ERA Card	Free	Unknown	Application form and present a valid state identification card, such as a driver's license
None specified: Community borrower	\$20	Unknown	Community borrowers must show some a picture I.D. to obtain a community borrower's card. If a picture I.D. is not available, a form of I.D. that shows a current address will be accepted, at the discretion of the Desk attendant.

Of the 20 known prices for borrowing cards, seven are free. Thus, the mean price is \$11.50, and median is \$17.50. Looking only at the libraries that do charge for borrowing access, the mean price is \$25.30 and the median is \$25. The renewal periods are known for 14 of the cards. Ten have a 1-year renewal, and four have 2-year renewals. One of the year-long cards has an option of paying a discount price for 3 years.

There is no stipulation for a Friend of the Library card – as long as a person pays, access is granted. For 15 card descriptions, it is indicated that a picture ID is needed. More libraries indirectly imply an ID is needed, such as borrowing cards that require proof of a certain affiliation. Seven require proof of state residency; for one library, state residency is optional as long as other requirements are met. One allows for a patron with a neighboring state ID to get a borrowing card, and one allows for anyone outside the state to get a borrowing card for a premium. Six require borrowing card holders to be over 18. Only one card stipulates that one possible affiliation can be alumni of the university.

For borrowing and loan privileges, one library was excluded because it did not address any external users in its policies, and three other libraries were excluded because although they had external user policies, no borrowing or loan privileges were listed. For the remaining nine, they all allow borrowing card users to check out books for 28 days, which is the same as undergraduate students. Four of the nine indicate that media materials can be checked out.

Access to services was examined in four areas: Interlibrary loan access, catalog access, physical access and access to electronic resources. Eight university libraries' policies explicitly inform external users that interlibrary loan services are

not provided. Five recommend using one's primary institution, whether it is a school or public library, to get access to materials. Only one library offers interlibrary loan to external users through a fee-based model, and one library gives interlibrary loan privileges to Friends of the Library at a \$150 giving level. While every university library catalog in this state university system can be accessed remotely by any user with internet access, only four libraries clearly reveal this information. Two mention accessing the catalog on-site, but not remotely, and one recommends using the public library to search the university collection. In addition, all of the libraries examined offer physical access to their library, but only six give this information in their policy. One library does mention restricted access, in that during overnight hours, from 11 pm to 7 am, the library is only for university ID holders.

As per the literature review, access to databases is one of the highly contested forms of access that non-affiliated users seek. However, the cost of databases and licensing is prohibitive and none of the 13 libraries in this state system offered remote access to external users. We closely examined the word choice used in library policies related to electronic resources. Our variables were: how the library described their electronic resources and described their audience, reasons given for limited access and the language used, and suggested solutions to restricted access.

While the specific terms used were never identical, seven referred to their electronic resources as databases, while five referred to them as resources. More important was the sense of ownership implied by the word usage. Five libraries used *library*, as in *library databases* or *library resources*. Additionally, the words *owned*, *licensed* and *subscription* were each used once. These words of ownership can convey that the electronic resources are privileged and not free. While rhetorical analysis can be unreliable (Neuendorf, 2002), examining the positive and negative connotations when addressing users provides insight to this study on alumni-library relationships. The same content analysis procedures were applied, and after multiple rounds, the results were the same. We acknowledge that no researcher is completely unbiased, that content can have various, simultaneous interpretations depending on the receiver (Krippendorf, 1980). Figure 1 summarizes the spectrum of how libraries address their audience in electronic access policies.

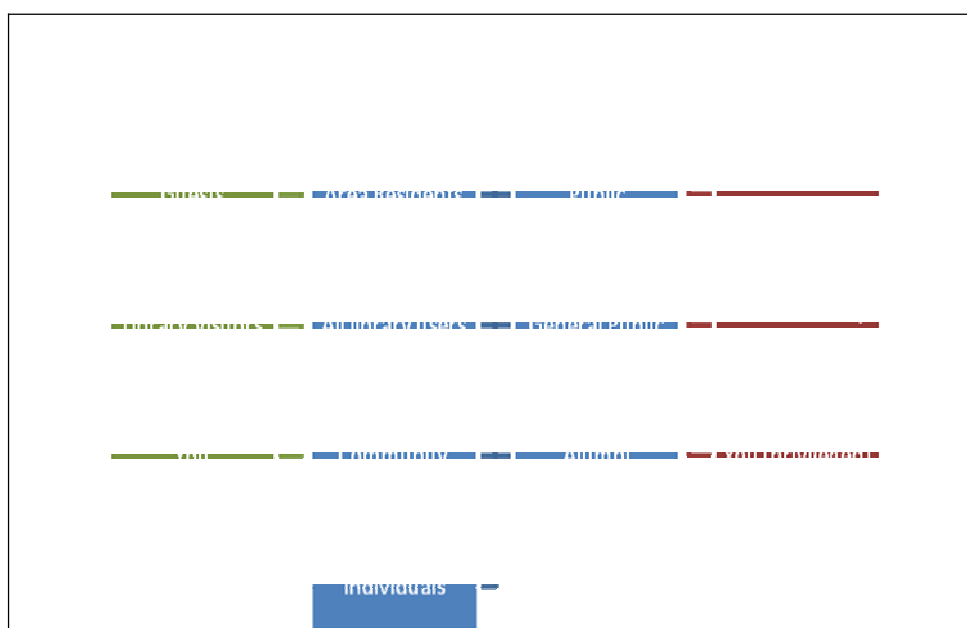


Figure 1 Audience coding

Two libraries did not have electronic resource policies pertaining to external users. Three libraries used two different audience terms. Two of those libraries used only neutral terms, while one library used a neutral and negative term. One library listed its electronic resource policies for external users in terms of what internal, or primary, users were allowed to do. This avoids a negative policy, which would state what external users are not allowed to do. Those internal users were addressed as 'you'. The 'you' title is a more direct and intimate way to communicate policies for the privileged, internal users.

Seven libraries do not give any reasons for restricted access. The remaining six give multiple reasons. *Licensing agreements* is used six times as an explanation for restricting resources. *Licensing restrictions* is used twice. One library uses *terms and conditions* without mentioning *licensing*, and another library that does not mention *licensing* explains that

'independent providers are protected by copyright and other laws'. Additionally, one library explains that access is restricted unless one has an alumni membership. The most unique explanation for a restriction of access is Library C, which states that electronic resource access is limited 'due to the demand on finite library resources', and does not mention *licensing* or other agreements. This phrase can imply the lack of funds the library has to give to secondary users, such as alumni, but because it is not explicit, this conclusion cannot be made definitively.

One library quoted their mission statement, and most interestingly, two referred to the University System Policy on Use of University Information Technology Resources. It raises questions on why not all of the university libraries acknowledge the System access policy to some degree, especially since many of them share similar electronic resources. It is understandable that, due to budget constraints and size of the institution, policies would be augmented for each specific library. Because the libraries in this university system unanimously do not offer off-campus access to external users, it is worth examining whether libraries offered solutions to restrictive access and what those solutions were. Figure 2 displays the general categories that 11 libraries offered as suggested solutions.

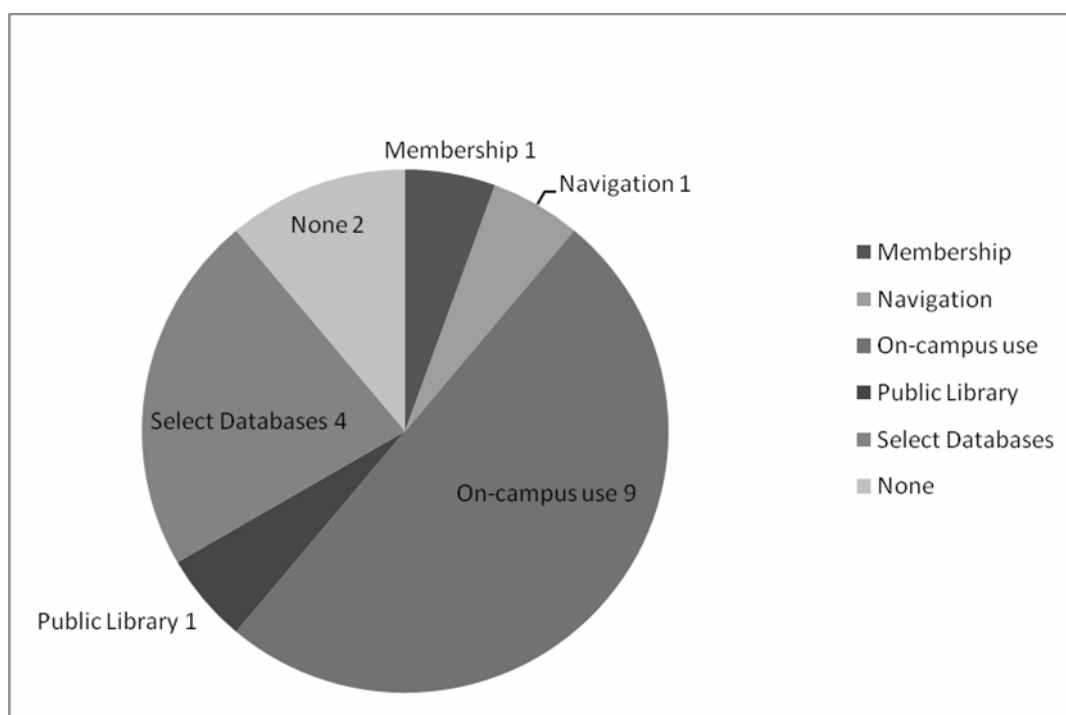


Figure 2 Suggested solutions to restricted access by type

The majority of libraries suggested that users come to campus for on-site use of electronic sources. The next most frequent suggestion was to look at a list of select databases that are publicly available through the state. Three unique suggestions were to become a member of the alumni association for access, navigate to another website about access, and use or request the material at your public library. The fact that all libraries with electronic resource policies have suggestions for external users to get access demonstrates a common quality of policies in this particular university system.

Reference observations

For the purpose of making observations in a natural work environment, we identified ourselves as an alumnus of each campus in a phone call to each library's reference department. Questions were posed from a scenario we created, in that we were trying to gain full-text access to an article in *JSTOR*. After noting the reference departments' responses and problem-solving statements throughout the telephone dialogue, we coded the audio observations into the following categories: Statements on whether full-text access was permitted, reasons given for allowing or not allowing access, any mention of physical access, potential solutions offered to get the article, and other observations. The category of physical access overlapped with potential solutions, but we thought it was important to make a note if physical access to the library was mentioned because of our prior knowledge that all the campuses observed allow community users to use their libraries on-site.

Ten of the 13 libraries observed via phone calls were direct in their reply of 'no access' for alumni. One library worker was not sure of the answer, one library replied with the stipulation that if we joined the university's alumni association, and one library answered in the affirmative, stipulating that we needed to be able to log-in with a valid ID. Only 9 libraries in the consortium gave reasons for the lack of access: Four of those explained that it was simply that fact that alumni are no longer students. In addition, one pointed out that alumni also do not have access to e-mail. The other five included financial reasons, such as the cost of databases or cost of licensing as barriers to access.

Another observation was that most universities assumed we were located outside of easy driving distance – this was concluded based on the fact that seven libraries did not explain on-site accessibility unless prompted. The other four used on-site access as a solution to the problem. Other solutions included offering to send the article as an attachment (2 libraries), going to a local public library to request it through ILL, going to a nearby university to get database access (2 libraries), or going to the alumni page to pay dues or explore alumni access (2 libraries).

There are some general observations that we noted when calling all the university libraries. First, the hours that the reference desk staff was available for questions vary. Many answers were dependent on the reference worker, such as librarian versus student worker. Frequently, librarians were not available on the weekend – either a recorded message was played or student workers answered the phones, with less knowledge about user groups and databases.

Interviews

Three semi-structured interviews were conducted at Library E, which currently does not have an alumni access policy. One researcher interviewed the library director, alumni association director and library development director. The interviews were voice-recorded and then transcribed. The purpose of the interviews was to further explore how alumni and the library interact, including past relationships, outreach initiatives and current relationships, and future aspirations. Because only three interviewees were selected at one library, the interviews were meant to provide a narrative, human element in a micro-environment. It was not possible to correlate the information gathered from the interviews to the other data collected but it gave further insight into alumni access policies.

Both the library director and the alumni association director in separate interviews discussed the changing definition of alumni at University E. Prior to 2005, to become part of the alumni association, dues were required. In exchange for these dues, access was given to library materials and borrowing privileges. After 2005, to expand the alumni membership, dues were no longer required. However, this uncoupled the library privileges from these new alumni. The alumni association director then mentioned high levels of membership within the association. At a price, alumni can gain library materials. The library director discussed the level of Friends of the Library membership. For \$35, 'a pretty reasonable amount', alumni can join the Friends of the Library and be able to borrow books from the library. At higher levels, they can also access interlibrary loan.

Currently, the alumni association director reaches out to alumni through newsletters and e-newsletters. The development director of the library mentioned that the library recently made a connection with the alumni association to include the library in their e-newsletters. Before that, only donors were notified of library events and other opportunities to support the library. In addition, according to both the library director and development director, the library is planning on sending Friends of the Library mailings out to alumni living in the zip codes closest to the library. This seems beneficial because at this time, the library can only offer on-site access to materials. The alumni association director also connects to alumni through the university alumni website and through the social network site, LinkedIn. The library director did discuss an ongoing suggestion in regards to creating an alumni page. The page would give a list of databases that are freely available either because they are public resources or because the state has purchased access for all of its residents. However, the alumni association has not actively started to create that site and the library director admitted that perhaps the library should take initiative on creating it.

The development director, by description of the job, is focused primarily on the donor relationship with the library. Development directors exist for every school or college within a university (i.e. the School of Business). Because the library is a university-shared place, alumni 'belong' to the development director of their graduating school. The key, according to the development director, is collaboration. When another development director finds their prospective donor also has a strong emotional connection or interest in the library, they 'share' the donor. In the end, the university, as a whole, benefits. The team of development directors and alumni association has the common goal to 'engage and bring back alumni to campus'.

In the future, all three interviewees mention collaboration as a way to best build the alumni-library relationship. The development director highlighted collaboration with the Friends of the Library, other schools within the university and the alumni association to reach out to alumni and to encourage them to give back to the library. The alumni association director found that there is a strong need from alumni to want to access library resources, especially immediately after

graduation. The hope is to collaborate with the library to provide those resources in the future, and to collaborate on events that specifically focus on alumni. The library director was also looking at collaborating with the alumni association, especially in terms of letting alumni know what materials they can access for free.

Discussion

Using our findings, we can now answer our main research question: What components exist in alumni access policies at public university libraries? Through our content analysis and observations, we found that most library policies in the University System U that were related to alumni access were actually listed under community or non-affiliated user policies. For the most part, they provided borrowing access through a library card that was often tied to a price or a location, such as state residency. All universities allowed for on-site access, but very few could provide electronic access to materials off-site due to licensing agreements. The written policies available on websites were often addressed in a neutral manner, but only two libraries used 'alumni'. Our observations confirmed our findings that alumni do not have access to electronic resources except in certain databases and confirmed the solutions to getting access, such as signing up for a membership card, that were noted in the written policies. Solutions seemed to be an important, positive component of policies that encouraged non-affiliated users, both from the community and alumni, to use library resources.

The interviews provided insight to underlying components of access policies, which is the relationship between the alumni association and the library. On a micro-level snapshot of one public university library in the studied system, the library would like to do more to reach out to alumni, both to make an emotional connection and financial support. While many methods of reaching out to alumni were mentioned by the library director and the library development director, including mailings and events, neither one saw policies as a primary tool to make a connection with alumni. It was noted by both the alumni association director and the library director that there was a strong connection due to the past agreement where alumni could get access to library materials and services by becoming a lifetime member of the alumni association. However, with the advent of electronic resources, it is difficult to meet all the needs of current alumni, who still request access to library materials. One potential solution is to highlight services that are freely available to alumni, mostly through state-funded databases.

Applying policies to the long tail theory

Public university libraries are forced to segment their user market in primary and secondary users. As is evident in many of the policies, observations and interviews, libraries in the university system in this study are striving to accommodate both groups. However, alumni can find themselves caught, or even lost, in between these two user groups as they transition from primary to secondary users. Chris Anderson's long tail theory shows that many people buy a lot of one or two popular items and a few people buy only one or two of many different, less popular items (2008). In a time where everything is customizable and online stores have nearly limitless storage and hardly any overhead costs, a supplier can segment its market to just one person. The long tail discusses the declining interest in mass market appeal and instead catering to the needs of a few (Anderson, 2008). This may mean that libraries have the opportunity to further segment or refine their user groups, and their policies should reflect this. Applying the long tail theory to answer the main research goal of this study, this means that the ideal access policy not only appeals to alumni as a whole, but different segments of alumni based on graduation year or major.

Additionally, where some libraries offer free borrowing cards and others cost money, the state university system could pool resources to support their alumni as a whole and offer a tiered system. Many alumni may opt for the free option where they have on-site access and the capabilities to check out a few books. Fewer alumni may decide to purchase access with additional benefits of virtual reference, longer loan periods and more books. Even less may decide to purchase, at a higher price, access to interlibrary loan and a select number of databases. At a certain point, however, is the problem with licensing. The library can never truly be a long tail market for alumni and other users because publishers and databases restrict their databases in ways that prevent the library from finding a model that would charge one person to access ABI/Inform, one person to access JSTOR and ten to access LexisNexis without a loss.

That one-to-one purchasing is usually because a person finds something specific that they are looking for. Alumni may come across information they need, perhaps an article they want in full text, and the university library can position themselves as resources or suppliers of that information. Libraries need to build a connection with alumni, and one message that does that is policies. By having open policies and marketing them to alumni, signaling them out from the rest of the community members, the message is that alumni are meaningful.

Applying policies to the theory of influence

Robert Cialdini (2009) presented a theory of influence to help business and organizations create an exchange relationship with its consumers. Cialdini studies how certain triggers, which he groups into principles, can cause reactions in human

behaviors. These 'click, whirr' responses can be applied to any one of six principles that Cialdini introduces: reciprocity, commitment, social proof, liking, authority and scarcity. Libraries can use Cialdini's theory to influence alumni into using and supporting the library. For the library-alumni relationship examined in this study, the two principles that best apply are liking and scarcity.

The liking principle is defined by several factors including familiarity and association that can have a subconscious effect on people (Cialdini, 2009: 170). This principle can be applied to library policies. First, users like things that are familiar, so it would make sense for libraries to institute policies that are familiar to alumni in terms of access and borrowing periods for materials. The factor of association can be difficult in this situation because in general policies can be associated with rules and restrictions. Wording library policies so that they focus on what the library has to offer alumni and giving potential solutions to restricted access will help to reverse the negative association users have with policies. In addition, frontline staff should also avoid using 'policy' as a synonym for 'restriction'.

Libraries can also use policies to influence alumni relationships through the scarcity principle. The scarcity principle states that 'opportunities seem more valuable to us when they are less available' (Cialdini, 2009: 200). Most recognizably, this principle is used in advertising to alert customers that there are limited supplies (Cialdini, 2009). However, the scarcity principle can be applied to library policies aimed at alumni. By positioning library resources as scarce commodities in policies, similar to how the libraries in this study explain the restrictions because of licensing, working with the library may seem even more appealing. Alumni can understand through policies that there is high demand and cost for scholarly sources, and therefore even minimal access can appear to be gracious.

Conclusion

Libraries in this university system have the additional pressures of balancing the needs of their primary users – students, faculty and staff – with the wants of their secondary users. The problem is that upon graduation, students become alumni and transfer into that second group of users, along with restricted access. While university libraries certainly cannot grant equal access to everyone in any place because of licensing agreements and cost, this study explored how these libraries position their policies to maintain the connection with past students. It was discovered that only two libraries in this system address alumni specifically. However, their policies towards external users all contain similar elements, such as borrowing privileges, interlibrary loan privileges, physical access and electronic resource access. Using the long tail theory of marketing and the influence theory to analyze the results, it is recommended that the libraries in this system rewrite their policies to maintain and build upon their relationships with alumni, which can benefit libraries not only through word-of-mouth recommendations and commitment, but also through financial support in the future. Future studies should examine policies across the country and a comparison between private and public universities may provide additional insights.

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Breath psychotherapy

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Breath psychotherapy is an approach that makes direct use of the breath in healing. There are many forms of breath-based healing: basic breathing and relaxation methods, with or without the practice of psychological skills such as imagery, centring and concentration; expressive physical and emotional techniques; advanced meditation, prayer and other spiritual exercises. Such an approach has been extolled for millennia in the form of various spiritual, wisdom and healing traditions, including ancestor reverence, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam which have holistically equated breath, consciousness, energy and spirit, as well as viewing breath as the vital link between body and mind. This approach distils into a perennial psychology, which recognizes a pre-reflective unity underlying and interlinking the various traditions and forms of breath-based healing and therapy. Accordingly, breath psychotherapy is based on an understanding and healing of the total psyche in the original, holistic meaning of this term. The present article is an appreciative inquiry into more recent forms of breath psychotherapy as promoted and used by modern authors and practitioners.

Key Words: Breath-based, psychotherapy, breath therapy, consciousness, spirituality, healing.

Introduction

Over a hundred years ago, a founding father of modern scientific psychology, William James, remarked that the stream of consciousness was only a careless name for what, when scrutinised, revealed itself to consist chiefly in the stream of his own breathing (James 1890). A widely travelled man, James was distilling thousands of years of knowledge of breath psychology stemming from the great spiritual, wisdom and healing traditions, as exemplified through African ancestral breathing (*umoya*) and the following words of BKS Iyengar.

“We give many names to God even though He is One. The same is true of energy. There is nuclear energy, electrical energy, muscular energy and mental energy. All these are vital energy or life energy, called in Sanskrit, *pranic* energy or simply, *prana*. *Prana* is called *Chi* in China and *Ki* in Japan. Some suggest that the nearest traditional concept of *prana* in the West is the Holy Spirit of Christianity, a sacred power that is both immanent and transcendent ... *Prana* is usually translated as breath, yet this is only one of its many manifestations. According to the Upanishads, it is the principle of life and consciousness. It is equated with the soul (Atman). It is the breath of life of all beings in the universe. They are born through it and live by it, and when they die their individual breath dissolves into the cosmic breath. It is the most essential, real and present feature of every moment of our lives and yet it remains the most mysterious. It is Yoga’s job, and especially *pranayama*’s, to enter onto the heart of this mystery. *Prana* in the form of breath is the starting point ...” BSK Iyengar (Light on Life, 2005: 65-66).

Although lengthy, this quotation is valuable for its description of that holistic, integral relationship between consciousness, breath and energy, which becomes particularly apparent during those times and events when some apprehension of the unity, eternity and infinity of the present moment break into ordinary awareness. Such unity experiences typically convey the interrelatedness of everything in the universe, where every part is a replica and/or reflection of the whole. In this context, Wilber’s (2000) comprehensive mapping of research into the terrain of mystical experiences, reveals Spirit as both ground and goal in a great nest of inter-being. For example, Spirit is conceived as the interiority of all material phenomena, and psychology becomes the study of the structures, states, modes, developmental, behavioural and relational aspects of consciousness and their manifestations in behaviour such as breathing (Edwards 2008; Loy 2007; Wilber 2000).

Such non-dual reality apprehended in unity experiences becomes the foundation of healing in its original meaning of integrating, transforming and bringing together separate or fractured parts into a new whole. While such healing typically becomes more immediately apparent during peak experiences, meditation, prayer, birth, sex and death, as Iyengar points out, it is also the most essential, real and present feature of every moment of our lives. For millennia the major spiritual, wisdom and healing traditions, including ancestor reverence, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam have holistically equated breath, consciousness, energy and spirit, as well as viewing breath as the link between body and mind. Except for a relatively narrow band of Western empiricism, there is broad consensus among diverse approaches that agree on little else, that unity experiences are valuable and can be related to breath.

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Acknowledgement of an original reality and morality in non-dual apprehensions is typically accompanied by recognition of a holistic, ethical obligation underlying healing and therapy of integrating rather than dividing, of gathering rather than dispersing this reality. It also implies original recognition of the therapeutic relationship as core catalyst with healers improving Spirit through helping nature to heal itself. This originally meant more focus on facilitating the energy balance and flow disturbed by disease than interfering with the disease itself, with healers typically functioning in their traditional role of therapists (from the Greek *therapeia*; attendance) in the undivided wholeness of the healing process (Graham, 1990). From a psychotherapeutic perspective this implies healing of the psyche in its original, holistic meaning as the breath, consciousness, energy, soul and spirit of life that leaves a people at death and continues in some other form (Hergenhahn 2001; Edwards 2008; Myers 1992; 1993). It becomes recognised that although the term 'psychotherapy' is European in etymological origin, and more Western than African and Asian in orientation, it reflects a universal process, which is both holistic and specific.

Earlier works provided empirical evidence for the effect of an African breath psychotherapeutic workshop on spirituality (Edwards, 2009a) and explicated a practical, theological, breath based perspective on the Holy Spirit (2009b). It was also noted that conscious breathing practices may be chosen for spiritual, psychological, combined or other reasons (Edwards & Sherwood 2008). For example, a spiritual choice may be to simply keep the focus on the breath. Should distracting images, feelings or thoughts come to mind, one simply witnesses them before returning to one's breathing. Continued practice, meditation and contemplation reveal Breath, Consciousness, Spirit and/or God. The psychotherapeutic choice is to consciously work through any distractions that arise. This path is similar to Psychoanalytic Free Association in that it allows the inner world to produce insights that transform ongoing experience and behaviour. The essential difference is choice with regard to level of consciousness involved along a spectrum, traditionally described as ranging from matter to body to mind to soul to spirit. Although the term 'breath psychotherapy' ultimately implies holistic forms of breath-based healing and therapy that includes all dimensions of reality, physical, psychological, social, spiritual and ecological, the main theme of the present article is on psycho-spiritual praxis with initial focus on the psychotherapeutic dimension of breath consciousness and/or conscious breathing

This article is a sequel to an earlier one on fundamentals of breath psychology, traced in terms of its origins in the spiritual wisdom traditions and breath-based applications, which included various specific breathing exercises and their related psychological skills such as imagery, centring and concentration (Edwards, 2008). The aim of the present article is an appreciative inquiry into the study and use of the breath in more recent forms of breath psychotherapy as promoted by modern authors and practitioners. In generalised form, appreciative inquiry gives similar recognition to the claims and strengths of any particular approach or author (Cooperrider & Whitney 2005). It is descriptive and exploratory rather than evaluative. All approaches are viewed as valid, with their different strengths and weaknesses. At a linguistic level, this implies the conscious use of language that does not discriminate against, but rather privileges equally the different approaches, whatever their evidential profiles, validity claims and respective strengths and weaknesses.

This inquiry concentrates on those approaches that are derived from spiritual practises or modern secular equivalents to these practices. It acknowledges, but does not include, a small but significant literature on retraining of breathing that occurs in some forms of cognitive-behavioural therapy that are very specific problem and solution orientated. Such approaches have little to no spiritual basis or implications, and thus do not always open up the practitioner to broader spiritual practices and development. However, it may be argued that acquisition of a tool kit of specific breathing techniques or breath-based, life skills will facilitate both more holistic psychological and spiritual practice if the practitioner does decide to use such retraining for enhancing mindfulness and/or spirituality.

The following simply constitutes a convenient, chronological sample of ten authors whose work provides some indication of the depth and breadth of breath psychotherapy. Although all approach breath psychotherapy from different perspectives; theoretical, conceptual, experimental, clinical, experiential and practical; all focus to some extent on essential themes of breath psychotherapy, namely breath, consciousness, spirituality, therapy and/or healing.

Carl Jung

Jung's lifetime preoccupation was the development of a psychology that gave proper recognition to spirit as the universal expression of soul and soul as the individual expression of spirit, "a psychology *with* the psyche – that is, a theory of the psyche ultimately based on the postulate of an autonomous spiritual principle" (Jung 1931: 344).

Jung insisted that the psyche is antecedent and a precondition for humanity (Brooke, 1991:59). The psychological moment in time for this realisation occurred during his visit to Africa and culminated in his experiences of dawn on Mount Elgon in Kenya where the world appeared as a shining temple (Brooke 1991; Burleson 2005). An Elgoni elder had described and demonstrated an ancient ritual ceremony of going out of the hut in the morning, spitting and blowing

vigorously on the hands before holding them up to the sun. For Jung this was a sacred offering to the sun, where the spittle and breath represented the life-force and spiritual healing power.

"If they breathe into their hands, breath is wind and spirit-it is *roho*, in Arabic *ruch*, in Hebrew *ruach* and in Greek *pneuma*. The action means: I offer my living soul to God. It is a wordless acted prayer, which could equally well be spoken; Lord into thy hands I commend my spirit." (Jung 1931b:72-73).

In his commentary on the Secret of the Golden Flower, Jung (1957) notes that the Chinese alchemical metaphors of 'diamond body' or 'holy fruit' refer to the purified, incorruptible breath-body or spirit-body sought by Taoist adepts in their search for spiritual immortality. For Jung this also covered an essential quest for all humanity of special relevance in the second half of life.

"Psychologically these expressions symbolise an attitude that is beyond the reach of emotional entanglements and violent shocks – a consciousness detached from the world. I have reason for believing that this attitude sets in after middle life and is a natural preparation for death ... Chinese yoga philosophy is based on this instinctive preparation for death as a goal. In analogy with the goal of the first half of life – procreation and reproduction, the means of perpetuating one's physical existence – it takes as the goal of spiritual existence, the symbolic begetting and birth of a "spirit body" or "breath body" which ensures the continuity of detached consciousness" (Jung 1957: 46).

Although he visited India, collaborated with Richard Wilhelm on the Secret of the Golden Flower, recognised that the transformational, healing, whole making processes inherent in Zen Buddhism were similar to individuation processes, introduced Eastern philosophy to the West and found that the rich symbolism of yoga provided "invaluable comparative material for interpreting the collective unconscious" Jung did not apply Yoga methods in or advocate yoga for Western persons. His reasons were the different lines of spiritual development, the much older and more advanced spiritual traditions of the East, greater emphasis on Christianity in the West, the principle that nothing ought to be forced on the unconscious by consciousness with its typical intensifying and narrowing effect, and need for Western civilisation to free itself from its barbarous one-sidedness and gain deeper insight into human nature. Jung identified a lack of concepts in Western psychology for stages of consciousness so clearly described in Buddhist texts and predicted that the West would ultimately produce its own yoga along Christian foundations (Bonadonna 2003; Jung 1936;957)

Jung's self-analysis brought deep insights into the splits within his personal psyche, as well as the related familial, communal and religious conflicts in the collective unconscious (Jung, 1961; Hayman, 1999). His yoga prediction has not come to pass fully as Yoga is popular throughout the Western world today and amalgamations of Christian meditative practice (particularly monastic) and Yoga are beginning to develop. Moreover his method of active imagination to help Western clients make the unconscious conscious and free it from its rigidity essentially uses a form of meditation and imagery recognised in both Yoga and Zen Buddhism. Central to this method is the focus on images arising as archetypes from the collective unconscious. In describing his method of proof for establishing the existence of the archetypes, Jung (1917) described the essential features of active imagination as follows:

"Another source for the material we need is to be found in 'active imagination'. By this I mean a sequence of fantasies produced by deliberate concentration ... the patient is simply given the task of contemplating one fragment of fantasy that seems significant to him – a chance idea, perhaps, or some thing he has become conscious of in a dream – until its context becomes visible, that is to say, the relevant associative material in which it is embedded. It is not a question of the free association recommended by Freud for the purposes of dream analysis, but of elaborating the fantasy material that adds itself to the fragment in a natural manner" (Jung 1917: 49).

Contemporary variations of this method of amplifying imaginative material use expressive techniques through concentrating on breath, inner images, voices, drawing, painting, movement, sculpture and automatic writing. The therapeutic value of the intensity of clients' emotional disturbance related to archetypal energy and the regulating and transcendent influence of the unconscious through creative formulation and understanding is thus given proper recognition and expression. Although care must be taken with the method so as not to unleash a psychosis (as is sometimes the concern in *kundalini* yoga), once clients have fully confronted and owned disturbing archetypal material, faith, trust and confidence to overcome similar future threats becomes established (Jung 1916; 1917).

Wilhelm Reich

Wilhelm Reich has only recently received proper recognition for his contributions to breath-energy healing in the West. An Austrian farmer's son, Reich completed a medical degree at the University of Vienna, studied under Freud, was a member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society from 1921 to 1934, practised psychoanalytical psychiatry, opposed the Nazi party and in 1934 fled to the USA where his research into the role and function of orgone energy attempted to provide some degree of natural scientifically orientated evidence for *prana*, libido theory and the psychodynamic role played by

life-breath-energy. In his "Vegetotherapy" he particularly worked to deepen and liberate breathing in order to improve and intensify emotional experience.

As an analyst Reich had observed that patients held their breath when they were resisting the full and free expression of their thoughts and that flourishing living was related to optimal use of their life-energy in general and sexuality in particular. His kinaesthetic insights into respiratory blocks and muscular armor, which formed a foundation for his later work on character analysis, are clearly apparent in the following psychodynamic perspective on diaphragmatic function in restricting depth of breathing and feeling.

"The reason for this strong resistance against the full pulsation of the diaphragm are clear enough; the organism defends itself against the sensations of pleasure or anxiety that inevitably appear with diaphragmatic movement" (Reich 1949:381).

Reich both somaticised and broadened Freud's libidinal perspective with an holistic approach which gave emphasis to full sexual experience, with health being associated with loving, uninhibited sexual exchange leading to thoroughly satisfying orgasm, not necessarily accompanied by the spirituality of Tantric yogic sexuality. Illness was therefore perceived as directly related to tension through blocked or damned up sexuality, leading to character and body armouring, which required full release in order to establish healing through heightened consciousness and free flowing energy (Dichtwald 1977). Reich's approach echoed some Hindu and Taoist methods and although they may vary in philosophical underpinning, many modern healing methods such as Bioenergetic analysis, the Alexander Technique, Gestalt therapy, Rolfing and Feldenkraus are direct descendants of his approach.

Tragically, much of Reich's research was ahead of its time, controversial and unacceptable to the USA Food and Drug Administration, who denied the existence of orgone energy and had some of his books burned. This campaign against Reich was instrumental in his eventual imprisonment and unhappy death of heart failure in the Federal Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. While many of Reich's ideas were useful and influential (e.g. the appreciation of body states), the orgone energy work has at the most received minimal, fringe acceptance (and some explicit rejection, as shown by the famous collaborative experiment Einstein did with Reich, with Einstein eventually rejecting the idea because there was a plausible alternative explanation). However his legacy continues today through the Internet and such institutions as the Wilhelm Reich Museum at Organon, Maine (<http://www.wilhelmreichmuseum.org/biography.html> retrieved 4-8-11).

Alexander Lowen

Mainstream development and expansion of Reich's work can be traced to Alexander Lowen, a lawyer from New York City, who was Reich's patient in 1942, continued as his student, trained as a psychotherapist, completed a medical degree through the University of Geneva and, with colleague John Pierrakos, founded Bioenergetic Analysis, a specific form of somatic-psychotherapy, based upon the continuity between body and mind. Bioenergetic Analysis is rooted in the work of Wilhelm Reich, yet also echoes Hindu and Taoist energetic understandings as to the linking, psychosomatic function of the breath as revealed in the following quotation:

"Breathing plays an important role in bioenergetics because it is through breathing deeply and fully that can one summon the energy for a more spirited and spiritual life" Lowen (1976: 66).

Lowen (1967) developed various manipulative procedures and special body exercises that have become standard techniques of getting in touch with and releasing body tensions through physical movement. His focus was on correct body alignment in order to allow problematic emotional experience to be released, the breath to flow naturally again through the body and consequently further enhance bodymind functioning. Following Reich's lead in exploring how bodily postures become structurally moulded by psycho-emotional experiences in illness and such emotions as joy, happiness and freedom relate to the free flow of bodily energy, Lowen also recognised the importance of spiritual dimensions for quality of living, stimulating the advent of various models of body-based psychotherapy, all trying to bring about a union of body and mind through the free flow of breath (Lowen 1990; Sherwood 2007).

Body-based psychotherapy is psychodynamic to the extent to which it allows previously avoided movement, feelings and experiences to be re-activated, thus allowing unconscious psychic material to come to light and become accessible for amplification and interpretation. The healing effect is thus based upon new opportunities for processing early experience, making possible their re-evaluation, completion and therapeutic integration through the mobilisation of healing energy by energetic activation on an immediate body level. Essential techniques in this respect are the deepening of the breathing, and the releasing of tensions by special breathing and muscle release interventions as well as other expressive techniques. Intellectual mental processes are temporarily suspended. Clients' newly gained access to deep emotional experience brings concomitant changes in intellectual and social functioning. In addition, through the practice of grounding, a physically secure but flexible stance improves phenomenological connection with reality and facilitates therapeutic work in all spheres of life; personal, familial and social (Gudat 1997).

Morningstar (1999) has advanced bioenergetic analytical breathwork, through his method of focus on the unique nature and wellness component of each type as in the following examples. Persons with Psychic Sensitive patterns associated with birth are encouraged to breathe freely, through unlocking their chests, giving vent to fear and rage, and expressing their artistic sensitive natures. Those with Empathic Nurturing patterns associated with issues of deprivation and abandonment in the first year of life are encouraged to find their true source within, to share empathy and give out love. Persons with Inspirational Leader patterns acquired in the first three years of life are encouraged to exhale, feel pleasure in vulnerable feelings and let go appropriately with others. Those with Steadfast Supportive patterns developed in their second to fourth years are assisted to exhale their experience of being under continuous pressure to please, so as to easily and comfortably stay with challenges and help others. Persons with Gender Balanced patterns acquired during their third to fifth year are encouraged to balance the inhale and exhale, feminine and masculine, vulnerability and strength. Energetic Grounded types overcome disappointments in intimacy and associated body armouring in back and torso regions through focus on integrating exhale and inhale, heart and genitals.

Stanislov Grof

Stanislov Grof's main research interest has been in the healing potential of non-ordinary states of consciousness. His research into psychedelic states associated with LSD lead to the independent practice of a form of breathwork called holotropic, which from its Greek roots 'holos' and 'trepein' means to 'move toward wholeness.' Inspired by shamanic breathing and rebirthing processes, holotropic breathwork comprises five elements: group process, rapid breathing or hyperventilation, evocative music, focused body work, and expressive drawing. This breathwork is usually done in groups, with pairs of persons taking turns as breather and supporter. Trained facilitators are also available to help if necessary. The general effect is an amplification of experience followed by healing, which is especially related to body, personal unconscious, birth process and transpersonal categories of experience (Grof 1988).

Grof and Bennett (1992) distinguished four stages of rebirthing; the amniotic universe of the womb, usually associated with blissful feelings of peace and joy in a healthy womb; cosmic engulfment and disturbance associated with contractions, which are related to an unbearable feeling of being stuck in hell with no way of escaping; the death versus rebirth struggle of the second clinical stage of childbirth with its intense struggle for survival and finally the death versus rebirth experience associated with intense ecstatic feelings of liberation and love as a new world begins. It has been hypothesised that holotropic breathwork operates via a biopsychological mechanism that results in experiential exposure to feared internal representations, extinction of covert avoidance behaviors and consequent catharsis (Rhinewine & Williams 2007).

Although many participants have attested to the healing qualities of holotropic breathing, others have found the method unnatural, artificial and intrusive. Grof (1988) himself observed that emotional and psychosomatic distress can develop, for which continued breathing usually brings good resolution. Disturbances include violent shaking, grimacing, coughing, gagging, vomiting, a variety of movements, and a wide range of sounds that include screaming, baby talk, animal voices and talking in tongues or a foreign language. In some cases, focused body work such as massage and acupressure is needed. Contraindications include: serious cardiovascular problems, glaucoma, previous psychiatric illness, pregnancy and epilepsy.

Holotropic breathwork has elicited various critical commentary in relation to: the necessity of regressing to the perinatal state to resolve birth trauma; professional concerns that hyperventilation can cause seizures or precipitate psychosis in vulnerable persons; the view that inspirational shamanic breathing methods can only be correctly understood in the context of their original cultures and the motives and wisdom of facilitators providing holotropic breathwork in a commercial context has been questioned. Grof (1998; 2003) has disputed many of the medical criticisms, arguing that they are based on misunderstandings of the physiological and psychological processes involved. He has stressed the adventurous nature of the method and concludes that rapid breathing is not in itself a pathological phenomenon and that with skillful support and guidance, the emergence of symptoms can result in healing of emotional and psychosomatic problems.

Deepak Chopra

Breath based psychotherapy has reached humanity on a large scale through Deepak Chopra's many popular, best selling books, based on an approach which combines modern quantum theory with traditional Ayurvedic and yogic healing. Although the entire book titled *Seven Spiritual Laws of Yoga* (Chopra & Simon 2004) may be viewed as breath psychotherapy, the laws relate in particular to the *chakra* patterns of breath-energy and their harmonious optimisation through *kundalini* yoga for example. By virtue of their breath-energetic locations from perineum to crown, the *chakras* *muladhara*, *svadisthana*, *manipura*, *anahata*, *vishuddha*, *ajna* and *sahasrara* are viewed as respectively associated with the

laws of karma, least effort, intention and desire, giving and receiving, detachment, insight and intuition, and pure potentiality. An example of the Law of Giving and Receiving follows.

“The Law of Giving and Receiving is in continuous play during the practice of pranayama breathing exercises. Conscious breathing means focusing your attention on the perpetual exchange that is taking place between your personal body and the extended body of your environment. You exchange ten billion trillion atoms with your surroundings with every breath you take. The atoms you inhale every day have traversed the bodies of living beings across the universe and across time. Within you right now you have carbon atoms that once inhabited the body of a Cheetah in Africa, a dolphin in the South Pacific, a palm tree in Tahiti, or an Australian Aborigine. Ultimately every particle in your body was stardust, created at the dawn of the universe. Your breathing is a continuous testimony to the Law of Giving and Receiving” (Chopra & Simon 2004:103).

Although there is no substitute for proper mentoring by a qualified yoga instructor, and other authors such as Judith (2004) have provided greater theoretical depth and detailed individual templates for each *chakra*, Chopra and Simon's book is an excellent self-help source with the general public being provided clear instructions for conscious breathwork and energy management through *pranayama* in the form of various breathing exercises in relation to the throat, chin and root locks; *moola bandha*, *uddiyana bandha* and *jalandara bandha*.

Edward Bynum

Edward Bruce Bynum, Director of the Behavioural Medicine Program at the University of Massachusetts Health Services is an African-American practitioner of Kundalini Yoga, who deserves special mention for promoting breathwork in relation to psi in two particular books, the *Family Unconscious* and the *African Unconscious*, which explicates the family collective unconscious and family behavior in documented case histories of telepathy, clairvoyance and second-sight. The *African Unconscious* presents in detail a unifying and healing vision of our deeper shared identity as a human species from our earliest days on to contemporary times. It links both modern and ancient psychology with the great enduring spiritual traditions in an inclusive future vision. Further excellent supportive theory for Bynum's work has been provided by Linda Myers (1993) from Ohio State University in her excellent book *Understanding an Afrocentric World View: Introduction to a Optimal Psychology*, which proposes a model of human functioning consistent with insights into that immanent and transcendent consciousness, which emerges from the interior moving, energetic, spiritual ground of all material existence, as explicated in the wisdom tradition of African deep thought, modern physics and Eastern philosophies (Bynum 1984, 1999; Myers 1993).

Bynum's breath psychotherapeutic writings are valuable for their explication of the ability of breathing techniques to increase awareness, co-ordination and control of the autonomic nervous system. For example as each inhalation stimulates the sympathetic system, and each exhalation stimulates the parasympathetic system allowing control, skilled practitioners first learn to gain increasing control over the autonomic nervous system, heart and brain functioning through regulating arousal levels, then exploring different levels of awareness ranging from denser to finer, increasingly subtle levels of body-mind consciousness in pre-personal, personal, interpersonal, familial, communal and wider transpersonal contexts.

Daniel Reid

Daniel Reid (1989, 1993, 1998, 2003) is a best selling author who deserves special mention for his role in communicating Taoist breathwork to a wider world readership. Born and educated in America, Reid studied Asian philosophy and lived in Taiwan for many years, where he studied and practised under Taoist masters, while researching and translating ancient and original sources. In the book *Chi-gung* (Reid 1998) he provides an inspired account of Taoist emphasis on movement and change based on the notion of dynamic patterns, continually forming and dissolving in the cosmic way of the Tao as exemplified in the *I Ching* (Book of Changes). *Chi-gung* is an ancient Chinese system of cultural therapeutics with medical, martial and meditative implications. *Chi* means breath and air and by extension, energy and vitality. *Gung* means work, skill or practice. Hence *chi-gung* refers to breathing exercises or energy work, based on the subtle skill of breath control. The word *chi* was used in ancient China, thousands of years ago to denote the vital breath or energy animating the entire cosmos and thereby predicting the discovery, in modern quantum physics, of the dynamic interrelatedness and continuous interactions between form and void, as particles condense, dissipate, collide and transform (Reid 1998).

Basic ways of moving energy through *chi-gung* include the following. *Shi-chi* (assimilating energy) involves drawing in *chi* through various vital energy gates and or chakras. *Shing-chi* (circulating energy) clears blockages, balances and harmonises energy in channels and meridians. *Pai-chi* (expelling energy) as in bellows breathing for example, cleanses the system of stagnant or toxic energy. *Huan-chi* (exchanging energy) refers to recharging one's human batteries through breathing exercises, which intermingle one's energy with pure forms found on high mountains or at the sea. *Yang-chi*

(cultivating energy) is a practise that stores energy in the lower abdomen or other organ energy systems. *Lien-chi* (refining energy) typically involves meditation, as in *kundalini yoga*, where evolutionary energy is slowly drawn up the spine. In an internal analogue of external alchemy, whereby solids are transformed into liquids then gases, essence into energy into spirit, *Hua-chi* (transforming energy) is the basic mode of changing bodily fluids into mental energy through breathing exercises. *Fa-chi* (emitting energy) is used by energy healers, typically through the *lao-gung* points in the palms of the hands (Hiew & Yap 2005; Reid 1998).

Besides emitted healing by energy healing masters *Chi-gung* is a marvellous form of self-care energy medicine to prevent illness and promote health. It basically consists of still and moving forms such as microcosmic circuit meditation and *tai-chi* respectively. In contrast to standing and moving forms (macrocosmic orbit, which include *tai-chi*) microcosmic orbit meditation refers to a still sitting form of meditation where energy is circulated through intentional imagery and focussed breathwork along governor and conception channels of the meridian system. Microcosmic orbit meditation is similar to Kundalini yoga. Reid (1998) has described the process as a form of internal alchemy where the three treasures of essence, energy and spirit and their external equivalents of body, breath and mind, located in the lower (under the navel), middle (solar plexis) and upper elixir fields (brain) are nurtured and transformed into that spiritual realm of pure radiant energy, whence we all came and will return.

As a form of health promotion, deep breathing and continuously moving meditation, *Tai Chi*, is the single most popular style of *chi-gung* found throughout the world today (Reid 1998). *Tai Chi* constitutes a low impact, low to moderate intensity exercise, incorporating elements of relaxation, flexibility, balance, and strength, in a series of continuous breath co-ordinated movements. Exercise features include continuous shifting of weight on left and right feet, with bending and flexion of knees, straight back and neck, trunk rotation and asymmetrical diagonal arm and leg movements, mostly in a semi squat position. The exercise intensity is variable and can be adjusted by the height of the postures, duration of the practise session and training style. It is suitable for all persons of all ages and fitness levels, and can be performed individually or in groups in any setting (Taylor-Piliae & Froelicher 2004). Recent comprehensive research reviews on *chi-gung* and *Tai Chi* have revealed substantial evidence for illness prevention and health promotion. Findings include significant improvements in aerobic capacity, strength, balance, flexibility, relaxation, mood, cardio respiratory functioning, longevity, blood pressure, osteoporosis, low back pain, arthritis, stress, anxiety, depression, quality of life, psychosocial and immune functioning (Gallagher 2003; Lan Lai & Chen, 2002, Taylor-Piliae & Froelicher 2004).

Joy Manne

Joy Manne deserves special mention for her academic and research role in founding an internet peer-review journal *The Healing Breath: a Journal of Breathwork Practice, Psychology and Spirituality* to contribute towards the creation of a professional literature of high standards and quality for Breathwork, its Practice, Psychology and Spirituality. On her website Joy writes that the Healing Breath was inspired by the creation of the International Breathwork Foundation and the International Society for the Advancement of Respiratory Psychophysiology. Joy has a PhD in Buddhist Psychology, has practised Vipassana meditation since 1965, was taught by Dhiravamsa and trained in Spiritual Therapy by Hans Mensink and Tilke Platteel-Deur in Holland, 1986-1988. Her excellent article on 'One breath' (Manne 1999) as well as extensive other contributions from joy and other contemporary breath therapists can be found in the Healing Breath Journal at the following website: www.HealingBreathJournal.org (<http://www.healingbreathjournal.org/index.htm>)

Ken Wilber

Ken Wilber (1977, 2000; 2007) has brilliantly included the various spiritual, wisdom and healing traditions into a holistic psychology based on an all quadrant all level (AQAL) model of consciousness development, which integrates four quadrants, intentional, behavioural, cultural and social; and all levels of the great nest of Being from matter, to body, to mind, to soul, to spirit; through which run various distinct developmental lines, cognitive, emotional, social, spiritual and so on.

Full continuous knowledge of the original oneness of pre-reflective consciousness becomes inevitably distorted owing to our inhabitation of physical bodies, with brains that have selective filtering and screening functions, producing ordinary dualistic consciousness, perceptions, repressions and projections. Wilber (1977) has defined these dualisms in terms of primary (space, self-other), secondary (time, being vs nonbeing), tertiary (body-mind) and quaternary (shadow) levels of amplifying distortions leading to the perceived diversity of our everyday gross waking levels of consciousness.

Recognition of the eternally infinite present moment of now and here is what Wilber (1977) has termed 'that which is always already'. He notes that while we can say really nothing about this reality, without logic and language polarising and dividing our expressions, it can be experienced through breath-based meditation, where this original reality has been given many names such as void, *sunyata*, pure pre-reflective consciousness, *prana*, *chi*, energy, absolute subjectivity,

immanent and transcendent spirituality, Brahmin, Tao, the Godhead and so on. Wilber has described this experience as a paradigmatic function of skilful experiments involving a form of do, discover and decide sequence that he describes as instrumental injunction, intuitive apprehension and communal confirmation or rejection. From this transpersonal base, he has distinguished at least four higher levels of inclusive and transcendent spirituality, which he has respectively termed nature, deity, causal and nondual mysticism (Wilber 1977; 2000).

Wilber (2000 : 113) has summarised his essential, integral healing principle as 'exercise body, mind, soul and spirit in self, culture and nature'. This takes into account all levels of the four quadrants of the integral psychology system. The inclusive and transcending functions of breath as and in consciousness development predict transformational effects of breath psychotherapy in all quadrants and at all levels in the great nest of being. For example, although breath-based meditation and breath psychotherapy is subjectively experienced as transformations of individual, subjective levels of consciousness, meditation research has shown how these experiences are intimately related with objective changes in brain chemistry and electricity, as well as social changes if experienced in groups as in the case of mass self-realisation through Sahaja Yoga, thus including all four quadrants of Wilber's model, intentional, behavioural, cultural and social. As well as all quadrants being intimately implicated, the transformational experience reaches from material levels into the highest contemplative states of the traditional *samadhis* at nondual levels of consciousness (Bajinath 2008; Wilber 2000, 2007).

Patricia Sherwood

Patricia Sherwood of Sophia College in Australia has pioneered a comprehensive approach to holistic counselling (Sherwood 2007). While the approach is mainly based on Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophical medical model, it also weaves in Husserlian phenomenological, Buddhist, feminist, new age, energetic, expressive therapeutic or other models of counselling. Steiner's spiritual scientific approach is relevant as it integrates Western perspectives with Eastern wisdom traditions in their focus on various forms of breath- energy healing. Steiner distinguished four main energy layers or bodies which surround the physical body; the etheric/health, emotional/astral, mental/I am and causal/I AM energy bodies. It is instructive to examine these interpenetrating energy bodies in relation to both earlier psychology schools of psychoanalysis, behaviourism, humanistic and transpersonal psychology as well as Ken Wilber's writings and maps on integral psychology.

To illustrate the somatic basis of the theoretical model, Sherwood draws on Pert's (1997) psychoneuroimmunological research on the influence of emotion on chemical responses of the body. In practice holistic counsellors encourage clients to breathe consciously and fully into the precise body part that has carried negative energetic imprints from the astral level into the etheric and physical body, experienced in terms of breath constricting trauma. A full range of expressive therapeutic techniques complement this breath-based grounding. By way of example, let us examine the following holistic anthroposophically based trauma counselling model, which has the potential to complement other trauma counselling models and assumes all usual relationship variables, microskills and therapeutic principles involved in trauma counselling are followed prior to the specific counselling sequence.

The model assumes that wherever there are imprints of trauma there are contractions in breathing. These contracted patterns of vibration can also be represented by sounds. Steiner described the role of sound pattern vibrations and proposed the theory that the dynamics of speech sounds provide the structure of the human constitution, with the physical body shaped by consonant forces, astral by consonant sounds, the etheric by vowel forces and the I by vowels. Sherwood has found that the appropriate sounds can release blocks through restoring breath flow by reversing the original breath contraction related to the initial trauma. Hard, earthy consonant sounds "b, d, g, p" are related to physical body trauma. Woody "n, m, ng, mg" sounds echo and express trauma to covering and nurturing tissues between solid and liquid such as ligament, muscle, cartilage and skin. Watery etheric sounds "l, w" most powerfully represent the life force and express liquid flowing gestured and/or emotional blocks. Fire sounds "f, fh, s, sh, v, h" can be used to warm body and psyche for astral imprints of coldness, abandonment or detachment. Air sounds "r and wh" have an energising and detoxifying effect on physical, etheric, astral and causal bodies. Vowel sounds are particularly valuable for energising and strengthening the I.

Artistic mediums valuable for differential trauma effects to physical, etheric, astral, contracted and expanded I's are respectively: architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry, which can be combined with the therapeutic effects of different colour, working with clay, drama, dance and various other physical activities. The essential expressive process involves a dramatic enter-exit-behold sequence. When ready, clients are encouraged to step into the imagined traumatic space, re-experience the breath constriction, gestures and sounds associated with the most recent traumatic experience, step back and describe/gesture the breath block associated with the trauma, then gain perspective on the experience through drawings, movements to shake off the trauma and verbal descriptions of qualities lost, which are then replaced

with new energetic healing patterns, experiences, qualities, resources, skills competencies, stories and relationships over time. Should the presenting trauma have activated previous traumatic experiences, a similar sequence is enacted for each successive past traumatic experience until the original imprint is removed. Therapeutic creativity is dependent on careful listening, observation and empathic intuiting of the client descriptions of their problems and the solutions needed. A special advantage of the model is its immediate propensity for non-verbal expression as well as pre and post-testing with drawings and or sculptures to leave clear evidence trails for future counselling and research.

The above is only a sketch of a trauma counselling sequence. The Sophia holistic counselling approach, which views breath as our first language and sign of presence in body, mind and spirit, is also concerned with larger and deeper issues. Along with appropriate critical commentary on contemporary humanity's desperate search for meaning in fragmented realities, addictions, consumerism, materialism, narcissism and cynicism, this approach impresses with its therapeutic depth, practical counselling suggestions and specific intervention sequences to prevent, manage, resource, empower and heal the inevitable accompanying panic, anxiety, anger, despair, alienation and other violent shadows of destructive and inauthentic living. At the same time, clear guidance is given of ways to recycle destructiveness into creativity, to reclaim an original birthright of meaning, social justice, personal integrity, flourishing health, moral strength, compassion, respect, love and enduring spiritual living. All of this is based on the premise that the degree to which harmonious consciousness is brought into the body through the primary form of breath, so will physical, mental, social, ecological and spiritual health and well-being be developed.

Conclusion

Breath psychotherapy refers to the direct use of the breath in the therapy and healing of the psyche. It has its foundations in what may be termed breath psychology, an ancient applied science concerned with the study and use of the breath in all its holistic connotations as implied by the original meaning of the term "psyche" i.e. as breath, soul, spirit, life-energy, consciousness, etc. that leaves a person at death and continues in some other form. The term "therapy" is complementary in its original meaning as attending/serving/caring for a person/society/ecology while allowing healing to take its course in transforming illness, a process of making a person whole again in all ways, physically, spiritually, morally, socially, ecologically, cosmologically, in recognition of the ongoing cyclic interconnectedness of everything, creatures, plants, animals, humans, in life, death, here and hereafter.

The central theme of this article may be concluded with the breath psychotherapeutic recognition that the same non-duality behind all the spiritual wisdom and healing traditions, the unity underlying all the diversity, the Spirit in matter, or to speak more metaphorically, the One Breath that breathes us, animating our everyday existences, underlies all modern healing and psychotherapies. There is recognition that in addition to the many applications of breath psychotherapy, its essence in the form of breath consciousness and/or conscious breathing forms the point of departure for further insights and spiritual development.

Furthermore this perennial theme running through the spiritual healing traditions is explicated and amplified by an appreciative inquiry into contemporary breath psychotherapists and forms of breath psychotherapy. As exemplified in Joy Manne's article, One Breath is the foundation for many modern applications: Jung's image of the breath-body and active imagination; Reich's Orgone energy; Lowen's bioenergetics, grounding and spirituality of the body; Grof's holotropic breathwork; Chopra's explication of *prana* and the spiritual laws of yoga, Bynaum's exposition of the relationship between breath-energy, psi family and African unconscious; Reid's insights into *chi gung* sitting and moving forms of breathing exercises and meditation; Wilber's Buddhist inspirations, AQAL model and clarity in mapping higher stages and states of consciousness development and Sherwood's body and breath based, holistic counselling model as well as her detailed, practical interventional sequences in trauma counselling.

As in all holistic forms of psychotherapy where therapists are ultimately working with the soul and spirit of a human being, the need for caution is important in breath psychotherapy, and needs to be continually emphasised. Breath techniques that involve much emotional induction can trigger crises. These are unlike Yogic techniques, in that they are practiced in order to produce an emotional state or emotional release (and thus may produce overwhelming emotional states), while yogic techniques are more about control. These emotional release techniques are more problematic when used in combination with touch, as Reich and Lowen have found in various controversial incidences. Professional ethical conduct, a *sine qua non* in all authentic and effective forms of psychotherapy, is therefore even more important in any such forms of breath psychotherapeutic practice.

It is hoped that this brief hors d'oeuvres of modern forms of breath psychotherapy and authors will serve to further promote breath psychotherapeutic theory and practice. All authors contributions and in particular Jung's images and Wilber's mapping models create space for recognition of Spirit-Breath as intrinsic context for harmonious Inter-being. In the sense that ever more meaningful inspirations, exhalations, psychotherapeutic interventions, personal, social and

ecological harmony may be realised through ongoing, diligent practise, breath psychotherapy may be regarded as one vital and necessary therapy for future universal health and wellbeing.

The practice of breath based meditation, contemplation and breath psychotherapy continually remind us that there is 'oneness from the word go'. It is simply a matter of returning to the Source, to the spiritual ground that forms the context for all our endeavours, of continually reclaiming our heritage, which was already there from the beginning. T.S. Elliot in "Little Gidding" provides one description of both the experiential journey and the breath psychotherapeutic moment of arrival in the immortal lines.

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

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The influence of yoga therapy on anxiety

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The stressful lifestyles that accompany modern living generate levels of anxiety that become a major concern in society. Psychopharmacological medication and psychotherapy for anxiety is expensive for government health departments as well as for individual consumers. Although the value of yoga as a beneficial and cost effective therapy for anxiety has long been advocated, there have been very few well designed scientific studies in this regard. Therefore the aim of this research was to evaluate the effectiveness of yoga therapy on anxiety perceptions and experiences. The research hypothesis that yoga could decrease such anxiety was investigated by comparing two groups, an experimental group of 18 participants that practised yoga and a control group of 19 participants that did not practise yoga, over a duration of three months. The research design included quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative results from the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) indicated that, although regular yoga therapy was associated with significant decreases in anxiety perceptions over time, these changes were not significant when compared with the control group. Therefore, no causative inferences can be made. Qualitative findings from thematic content analysis of participants' experiences suggested meaningful relief from anxiety over time, especially with regard to such themes as physicality, contentment, relaxation, breath control, mindfulness, transcendence and spirituality. Although further randomised controlled studies with larger samples are needed, this research provided some systematic evidence for yoga therapy as a significant and relatively cost effective intervention for anxiety reduction.

Key Words: Yoga, therapy, anxiety, stress.

Introduction

Anxiety is endemic to human existence (Khan, Singh & Salman, 2005). It may be defined as the experience of an unpleasant yet vague sense of apprehension. This is accompanied by autonomic symptoms such as a headache, perspiration, palpitations, tightness of the chest, stomach discomfort and restlessness. Modern scientifically orientated treatment, which typically involves psychopharmacology and/or psychotherapy, usually of the cognitive behavioural type, may be effective in the short term, but is limited, expensive and relapse rates are high (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Although the value of yoga as a more holistic, integral, beneficial and cost effective therapy for anxiety has long been advocated, there have been very few well designed, scientific studies in this regard (Forbes, Akturk, Cumber-Nacco, Gaither, GotzHarper & Hartsell 2008; Shankar, 2006; Streeter, Whitfield, Owen, Rein, Karri, Yakhkind, Perlmutter, Prescott, Renshaw, Ciraulo, & Jensen (2010); Wilber, 1991, 1998). Therefore the aim of this research was to evaluate the effectiveness of yoga therapy on anxiety perceptions and experiences.

From a modern scientific perspective, anxiety may be seen to be closely related to lower levels of the neurotransmitter, gamma-aminobutyric (GABA) in the brain (Forbes et al., 2008). Research by Streeter et al., (2007) has found that practising yoga has an association with increased neurological levels of GABA. Furthermore this latter study indicated that yoga practice resulted in greater improvement in mood and greater decreases in anxiety levels, in comparison to the metabolically matched walking intervention (Streeter et al., 2010). Such findings led to the present study research hypothesis of the effectiveness of yoga practice on anxiety.

The basic principles of yoga therapy

The general principles that guide yoga therapy are based on the ancient *Yoga Sutras* that were devised and codified by the Indian sage Patanjali approximately 2000 years ago. These principles are referred to as the eight-fold path of yoga, or the eight limbs of yoga. This was designed to create a sense of awareness that flows from the external universe to the internal self, while maintaining an awareness that the individual holistically is one (*Atman*) with the universe. Yoga embodies the Universal Spirit of *Brahman* (Wilber, 1981). The eight-fold path of yoga is constituted by the following: *Yamas*; universal morals and guidelines for engaging with others; *Niyamas*; personal disciplines; *Asanas*, bodily postures and attitudes; *Pranayama*, control and regulation over breathing; *Pratyahara*, withdrawing one's senses from the world and redirecting the senses inward to create awareness; *Dharana*, concentration on one's attention and intention; *Dhyana*, development

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and cultivation of inner awareness through meditation; and *Samadhi*, spiritual absorption and union with the Divine (Shankar, 2006). Apparent in the eight limbs is a hierarchical progression from the physical elements of life, to the mental, or conscious component, and through to the spiritual, where all components integrate into a unified state of being and/or consciousness.

Methodology

Design

The study used a mixed approach, in a quasi-experimental design with both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, which required repeated measures ANOVA and thematic content analysis as data analysis research techniques. Anxiety was quantitatively assessed using the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck & Steer, 1993), which is a standardised anxiety scale used to measure individuals' levels of perceived anxiety. A qualitative questionnaire was used to assess the experimental groups' anxiety experiences in relation to their yoga practice.

Ethical matters

With appropriate departmental ethical clearance, informed consent and guaranteed confidentiality, data was collected from an experimental group of yoga practitioners as well as a control group of students. All participants were informed as to the nature of the research, which involved pre-testing and post-testing, assured that they should participate only if they were happy and willing to do so, assured that they could withdraw from the study at any time and were requested not to write their names on any questionnaires handed in.

Procedure

Qualitative data was collected from the experimental group prior to the yoga therapy intervention. Quantitative data was obtained from the experimental group and the control group in the pre-test session on February 2010 and post-test session on May 2010. This was succeeded by the data analysis.

Participants

Participants in the experimental group were selected according to non-random convenience sampling. These 19 participants comprised selected practitioners of yoga from Zululand and the Eastern Cape, who practised yoga at least twice a week for the three month duration of the research project. Participants in the control group were also chosen according to non-random convenience sampling. This sample of participants who did not practise yoga for the duration of the research period was obtained from the counselling and clinical psychology masters class at the University of Zululand in KwaDlangezwa. Some of their family members were included in order to increase the sample size.

Demographically, the experimental group comprised 18 participants, 16 females and 2 males, with 15 English language speakers and 3 Afrikaans language speakers. These participants had a mean age of 41.6, an age range of 26 to 59 years old and an average of 15.8 years of formal education. The control group comprised 19 participants, 11 females and 8 males, with 10 African language speakers, 6 English language speakers and 3 Afrikaans language speakers. These participants had a mean age of 32.7, an age range of 22 to 59 years old and an average of 17.7 years of formal education.

Data collection

In addition to the abovementioned biographical information, before and after the yoga intervention, pre-test and post-test, quantitative data was collected from both the experimental group and the control group in the form of the Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck & Steer, 1993). The experimental group also completed a qualitative questionnaire which "attempted to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understanding of a particular situation" (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2008, p.264). In this case, the phenomenological data explored the yoga practitioners' perceptions and experiences of yoga. Of particular interest was their experience and perception of the influence of yoga therapy on anxiety.

Quantitative instrument

The Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI) (Beck & Steer, 1993) is a standardised self-report 21-item inventory designed to measure the severity of anxiety. Although the BAI has not been standardised on the South African population (Pillay, Edwards, Sargent & Dhlomo, 2001), the scale has established good internal consistency and reliability, as well as high concurrent validity with other measures of anxiety. It has also demonstrated the ability to differentiate anxiety disorders from other non-affective psychiatric disorders (Rybarczyk, DeMarco, DeLaCruz, Lapidus & Fortner, 2001).

Qualitative questionnaire

A qualitative questionnaire was developed to assess the experimental group members' experiences and perceptions towards yoga, and particularly their understanding and feelings towards the influence of yoga therapy on anxiety. The

questionnaire was rationally designed and prepared in a way that it gradually extended the enquiry of the participants' perceptions of yoga therapy.

Data analysis

The quantitative data from the BAI was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The researcher consulted a statistician to assist in the interpretation of the results from the quantitative outcomes obtained. Statistical analysis involving ANOVA with repeated measures and *t* tests was performed within and between the experimental and control groups. Thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret the qualitative data. Through this process the subject of the enquiry was examined by systematically identifying salient themes and common categories by reading and re-reading the scripts (Boyatzis, 1998); (De Vos *et al.*, 2008).

Results and discussion

Quantitative findings

Table 1 below reflects a summary of the means and standard deviations of the results of the Beck Anxiety Inventory.

Table 1 Summary of the means and standard deviations of the Beck Anxiety Inventory

Group	Age	Gender	Education	Language	T1	T2
Control	32.7 (14.0)	0.4 (0.5)	17.7 (2.7)	1.7 (1.1)	8.9 (5.3)	14.4 (9.3)
Experimental	41.6 (11.4)	0.1 (.03)	15.8 (2.5)	0.8 (0.4)	9.4 (8.5)	6.3 (6.6)
Total	37 (13.3)	0.3 (0.5)	16.8 (2.7)	1.3 (0.9)	9.2 (7.0)	10.7 (8.9)

Table 1 shows a summary of the means and standard deviations (in brackets) for the 19 control group members and 18 experimental group members with regard to the variables of age, gender, education, language, pre-test (T1) and post-test (T2) self-perceptions of anxiety as measured in terms of scores on the Beck Anxiety Scale. For all analyses, probability level was set at the conventional .05 level of significance.

Analysis of variance with repeated measures indicated no significant differences between the experimental and control groups with regard to any change in perceived anxiety over time as assessed on pre-test (T1) and post-test (T2) measures of Beck's Anxiety Scale ($F = 2.52$, $p = .012$). However, results are clearly in the hypothesised direction, reaching the 12% rather than the 5% level of significance. Examination of Table 1 indicates that this change was associated with both an increase in perceived anxiety in the control group and a decrease in perceived anxiety in the experimental group. Furthermore paired sample *t*-tests confirmed significant decreases in anxiety in the experimental group ($t = 2.55$, $p = .02$) as well as significant increases in anxiety in the control group ($t = 2.89$, $p = .01$).

Therefore although the main research hypothesis could only be partially supported, that is, regular yoga therapy was associated with significant decreases in anxiety over a period of three months, these changes did not quite reach the accepted 5% significance level when compared with a control group. Thus no causative inferences can be made. However, in view of the relatively small numbers and trends in the expected direction, it seems quite likely that further experimental interventions with larger numbers, over a longer period, may be associated with more significant between-group changes. The fact that 14 individual members of the experimental group's anxiety scores decreased or stayed the same whereas only 4 of the control group's anxiety scores decreased or stayed the same supports this prediction in future research with larger numbers of participants.

The repeated measures analysis of variance was performed with age, gender, education and language as covariates. This analysis revealed significant inter-group results for age ($F = 8.2$, $p = .008$) and education ($F = 5.5$, $p = .03$). These findings indicate that older and more educated participants' anxiety scores decreased significantly more than those of younger and less educated participants. In view of the small numbers, and the strong possibility that this particular type of yoga intervention was differentially biased towards benefitting older and more educated participants, further evidence-based research is needed in order to make any firm or generalised inferences in this regard.

Thus, in terms of these quantitative findings, the proposition that participation in yoga therapy would be associated with a reduction in anxiety levels over the three month test period was only partially supported. It did not show a statistically significant reduction in anxiety levels in the experimental group, as compared to the control group. The variances did, however, indicate an increase in perceived anxiety in the control group and a decrease in perceived anxiety in the experimental group. These trends may be associated with a number of factors, including the relatively small size of the two samples and the fact that the control group was "loaded" with Masters' students, who may have felt greater levels of anxiety as their course progressed.

Qualitative findings

In the qualitative questionnaire, the participants were asked to share their experiences of the influence of their yoga practice on anxiety.

Although all participants reported that they experienced anxiety relief through the medium of their yoga practice from different perspectives, recurrent themes were noticed throughout the responses. It was evident that numerous participants experienced a sense of relief from physical symptoms as a result of their regular yoga practices.

Physical manifestations.

The following responses represent the experimental group's experiences and reflect on some of the physical manifestations of yoga:

- *"I often gather my anxious feelings in my digestive system. Yoga has physically made a big impact on my anxiety by reducing it."*
- *"Regular practice certainly has a positive effect on my anxiety levels. I have also had medical/physical reasons for my anxiety. Yoga – particularly forward bends – seem to lower my heart rate."*
- *"A forward bend class will remove any anxiety I may have had at the start of the class"*
- *"My entire nervous system has a chance to recover during the session."*
- *"Yoga helps all the organs, glands etc. to function better."*
- *"I have also taught students that have been very anxious or stressed at the beginning of the class due to depression, bipolar, loss of a family member etc. By the time they have completed the class: their eyes are brighter, their skin is softer/ relaxed/ less frown marks, they walk taller and sometimes even with a spring in their step. They seem more interested and receptive to the other students interacting with them; there is a lightness about them."*

It is evident from the anecdotal responses quoted above that these participants have had positive experiences from their yoga practice, in terms of an effect on their anxiety levels in relation to their physical symptoms. Research by Smith, Hancock, Blake-Mortimer & Eckert (2007) supports the first quoted response above, suggesting that standing postures and supine (lying down) postures assist in improving digestive functioning in the body.

Two participants mentioned that incorporating forward bends into their yoga practice routine benefits them by means of lowering the heart rate and decreasing perceived anxiety respectively. Literature suggests that forward bends are known to promote calming and soothing effects within the body (Smith *et al.*, 2007). Da Silva, Ravindran and Ravindran (2009) suggest that controlled breathing has a positive effect on the autonomic functions within the body, such as heart rate, emotion, stress and cognition. This contention is borne out by respondents who said that yoga practice assists in letting the nervous system recover, and maintaining good functioning of the organs. Literature supports the participants' experiences. According to Forbes *et al.* (2008), yoga calms and balances the nervous system, and Young (1988) maintains that yoga techniques tone the organs and calm the emotions. Mastering *pranayama* techniques and *asanas* are integral to the practice of yoga, and so form the link between body-mind integration that is central to yoga (Chopra & Simon, 2004).

Contentment

Some of the responses pointed to feelings of well-being and health after their yoga class. Chopra and Simon (2004) explain that the central purpose of yoga is being aware of the integration of the environmental, physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual aspects of life. This accords with the observation of a teacher participant, that after yoga classes she notices a difference in the physical being of her students. Through the medium of yoga, this teacher participant appears to convey to her students this multidimensional aspect of yoga. The description of the physical state of her students conveyed a feeling of contentment.

According to Chopra and Simon (2004), contentment or *santosha* is an essential component of *niyama*; Patanjali's second branch of yoga. According to Patanjali, contentment is a complete acceptance and awareness of the present moment (Chopra & Simon, 2004). This significant component of the practice of yoga, consistent with the research hypothesis, evidenced itself as a salient theme within the participants' experiences of yoga and relief from their perceived anxiety, as indicated in the following responses:

- *"Yoga brings me down to earth. It helps me to stop thinking about small things that worry me and I can focus on the immediate moment."*
- *"My mind has to focus on something else."*
- *"Fully focussing on my postures ... I'm forced to keep focus."*
- *"I would say yoga is essential for anyone suffering from anxiety. It brings you back to the moment and helps you think clearly."*
- *"Yoga helps me to control my anxiety concerning future events helping me to focus on the present"*
- *"Yoga is a form of meditation because you cannot think about your problems while focussing on postures, breathing and*

balance. It therefore allows a respite from the worries of the world."

The common factor in these responses was a focus on the present moment and the experience of being in the "here and now." As stated above, this yogic experience of being fully present is fundamental in Patanjali's second branch of yoga, *niyama*, under the category of *santosha* or contentment.

Relaxation

As a means of managing anxiety, the participants stated that through yoga practice they are able to experience relaxation and calmness. The following responses revealed the theme of yoga being a means of relaxation:

- "Yoga has physically made a big impact on my anxiety, it helps me to feel more relaxed and in control."
- "After just one session I feel more relaxed, I am calmed by knowing I have consistent 'rest' in my busy schedule. During stressful moments in my day I enjoy knowing I will relax at yoga."
- "Relaxation time cures the anxiety for lasting effect until a good couple of hours after class."
- "I don't think I suffer from anxiety but am definitely a lot calmer that I can remember."
- "Regular practice certainly has a positive effect on my anxiety levels. Relax(es) and make(s) me feel less anxious."
- "Yoga practice has a calming effect, however it requires constant practice, discipline and determination."

These responses indicate that yoga practice assists its practitioners in terms of feeling a sense of calmness and experiencing relaxation. According to Chopra and Simon (2004), yoga embodies a sense of calmness about it, and through yoga practitioners are able to remain calm, centred and in touch with their environment. Forbes et al. (2008) suggest that yoga has the ability to promote mindfulness within the individual, and through this, calmness and balance are instilled within the practitioner. From the foregoing, it can be seen that relaxation comes through as an important outcome and benefit of yoga.

Breath control

Patanjali maintains that *pranayama* (the control and regulation of breathing) forms an integral component of yoga practice. It was therefore not surprising that this featured as a recurrent theme in the participants' experiences of anxiety. The following responses were noted in relation to *pranayama* and anxiety.

- "I have found that when I am in a stressful situation e.g. going to the dentist, yoga breathing and relaxing helps me to get through the unpleasantness of the dental procedures."
- "Breathing techniques are a simple way to calm mental activity at any time and in any circumstance throughout our daily lives."
- "Anxiety influences my breathing."
- "Without breathwork, yoga would simply be a gymnastics practice. Our breath influences our state of mind – a stressed, agitated mind is reflected in short, irregular breathing."

As stated by one of the participants, yoga would be just another physical exercise if it were not for the breathing techniques. It is the element of *pranayama* that distinguishes yoga from other physical activities. One of the participants stated that a stressed, anxious mind is reflected in irregular breathing. This response is affirmed by numerous sources. Gilbert (1999) suggests that one of the fundamental principles of *pranayama*, is that the nature of one's breath is a reflection of one's state of mind. Hence a distressed mind is associated with irregular breathing, while a calm mind leads to smooth and balanced breathing. Chopra and Simon (2004) agree that when the mind is still, the breath may remain steady, but when the mind is not at rest, then the breath becomes uneven. This concept of mind-breath interaction has been accepted by yogis and philosophers alike for centuries. Kariba Ekken, a seventeenth-century mystic, stated that "before attempting anything, first regulate your breathing on which your temper will be softened, your spirit calmed" (Iyengar, 1982, p. 44).

Two of the participants mentioned that they use the techniques of *pranayama* in managing daily-life anxiety-provoking situations such as going to the dentist. Chopra and Simon (2004) promote yoga as a lifestyle, and the incorporation of yogic principles, such as *pranayama*, into daily living. Forbes et al. (2008) agree, and suggest that *pranayama* techniques translate into the ability to practise mindfulness "off the mat." Thus the 'life force' of *pranayama* forms an integral part of yogic life practice and can reduce anxiety in stressful life situations. The above examples of relaxation and breath control also imply mindfulness and transcendence as discussed below.

Mindfulness

According to Chopra and Simon (2004), this fragrance of present moment awareness arises when one surrenders the need for control, authority and approval from others. Hence one's present moment focus or contentment is reflected in the absence of dependence on power, sensation and security. "Through the practice of yoga, your experience of the present moment quiets the mental turbulence that disturbs your contentment – contentment that reflects a state of being in which your peace is dependent of situations and circumstances happening around you" (Simon & Chopra, 2004, p.37). The experience of contentment, offered by yoga practice, allowed the participants to relinquish their thoughts and worries concerning the past and future, and it required them to focus purely on the present moment.

Acknowledgement of the present moment, during the participants' yoga practice, talks to the experience of witnessing awareness. This is reflected in Patanjali's seventh branch of yoga; *dhyana*. According to Chopra and Simon (2004), *dhyana* is the cultivation of a sense of awareness, where, in the midst of life's changing and unpredictable circumstances, it is the individual's being, the conscious soul that witnesses these goings on. Thus, through focussing on the present moment during their yoga practice, the participants were able to be centred, aware and conscious of their state of being.

Transcendence

This state of being "centred" in the moment during yoga practice, as means of transcending perceived anxiety, should be viewed from an integral perspective. According to Wilber (1981), the present moment may be understood as a no-boundary moment. This is because the past and the future do not exist outside of this moment, therefore there are no boundaries within this moment; nothing came before it and nothing comes after it. Thus, one never experiences a beginning to this moment, and one never experiences an end to it. It has been said by the *Platform Sutra* that

in this moment there is nothing which comes to be. In this moment there is nothing which ceases to be. Thus there is no birth-and-death to be brought to an end, thus the absolute peace in this present moment. Though it is at this moment, there is no boundary or limit to this moment, and herein is eternal delight (Wilber, 1981, p.69).

In the above quotation, the author conveys that awareness floats in the eternal present moment, where all time is embraced. One is not really bound by the past and future, because in essence the present encapsulates the past and future (Wilber, 1981). The participants' responses encapsulated this state in a simple manner, in the way that, through their yoga practice, they are able to be fully aware and experience the present moment.

In summary, Wilber (2000) suggests that awareness of the present moment enables one to dissolve boundaries and promote unification of facets of self and open up the field of awareness, moving away from restricting parts of life. This was conveyed through the participants' responses, that it was the experience of being focussed in the present moment that made their yoga practices sacred to them.

Spirituality

In terms of understanding the experience of the influence of yoga practice on anxiety, one of the participants, well-travelled on the yogic journey, provided a unique explanation that was different from the other participants' perspectives on anxiety. The following response was provided:

Anxiety is rooted in fear. The fear of death is a primordial fear – not only death of the body, but also death of the ego. The ego exerts great effort to remain in control of our realities and creates disassociation between mind, body and spiritual self. Yoga, on the other hand, creates a link between our mind, body and spirituality. Yoga is the antithesis to the ego. Yoga allows a person to reconnect all aspects of themselves in a way that results in a reality of wholeness. Yoga also helped me to realise that I am not this body and that, as a spiritual being, I will actually never die. The fear of death is simply a fear of the body dying. When one realises that we are not defined by our physical reality, then one is free of the anxiety that this physical reality will end.

In yogic terms, this response evidences an advanced appreciation of the author's being and someone whose self-perception is greatly influenced by yogic philosophies. That "anxiety is rooted in fear" shows an appreciation of the distinction between fear and anxiety. Sadock and Sadock (2007) convey that fear is an individual's response to a known, external threat, while anxiety is a response to an unknown, internal threat. The notion of the development of a higher deeper self through "death" or transcendence and inclusion of "ego" structures, understanding of the integrative effect of practice on body, mind and spirit, and belief in the principles of yoga seem to have provided the respondent with deep psychological and philosophical insights and realisations.

This resonates with Chopra and Simon (2004), where in yogic terms the ego is referred to as the *ahankara*. The ego is essentially one's self-image, and the way that the individual projects who he/she is to him/herself and to the people around him/her (Chopra & Simon, 2004). This respondent's perspective also speaks to Patanjali's eight limbs of yoga, where the eighth limb, *Samadhi*, is the antithesis of the ego. Through experiencing *Samadhi*, one achieves an unbounded

sense of awareness, a reality that is beyond individuality, a sense of being One with the universe (Chopra & Simon, 2004). According to Wilber (1998, 2000), this state may be defined as *Atman-Brahman*; being One with the Universal Spirit. When this state of consciousness is achieved through regular yoga practice and meditation, one's internal point of reference is transferred from ego to soul to spirit and fear and anxiety cease to exist. (Chopra & Simon, 2004)

The participant professed that, through yoga, he has been able to rise above the ego. Furthermore, the participant reflects Chopra and Simon's view that yoga creates a union between the mind, body and spirit. It has been through the medium of yoga that the participant has realised that one is not one's physical body, but a spiritual being in a human body. This perspective is also conveyed by Chopra and Simon (2004). This participant's perspective of the fear of death as purely a fear of the body dying, and that one is not defined by one's physical body, suggests that he has travelled far down the yogic road and has a sophisticated grasp of the discipline. Reverting to the question of whether yoga offers the particular respondent a relief from anxiety, it would seem that he has a sound philosophical basis for dealing with anxiety. He seems to be close to Wilber's place of arrival where there is unity consciousness, where there is a holistic awareness of no-boundary and the awareness that one becomes involved in spiritual practice because one has seen the light, that enlightenment is practice (Wilber, 1981, 2000).

Limitations of the study

The relatively small samples were a limitation, and quantitatively speaking this prevented the study from making firm generalised inferences. As the sample "favoured" older and more educated participants, further randomised controlled studies with larger samples would be needed to make more transferable inferences. Other limiting factors were that the sample was representative of the ethnic spread in South Africa, included a preponderance of females over males, and participants with higher than average levels of education. More in depth qualitative outcome evaluation could have been included.

With the benefit of hindsight, perhaps further research in this area of interest should be directed along the following lines, aiming to explore whether yoga therapy may serve as a viable alternative to medication for the control of anxiety. The basic design would be as follows; secure commitment from a more substantial sample group who were in circumstances that are likely to induce anxiety, perhaps a volunteer group of honours students who may be registered for various courses; randomly allocate experimental and control groups, administer a test that is sensitive to the measurement of anxiety, as part of a broader battery of tests, aimed at "masking" the true intention of the test; secure the commitment from a significant portion of the sample to attend yoga classes for a given period of time; administer tests at the conclusion of the period.

While it may be a tall order to secure a test group that would spend time on yoga, an approach along these lines would have the effect of "filtering out" the seasoned students of yoga who perhaps have reaped the benefits of practising it, or who have preconceived views on its effects. Owing to such various limitations especially with regard to sample size, further research is necessary.

Conclusion

Despite the non-significant differences between the groups, and that the quantitative effect mitigates against definite causal inferences, as a whole the quantitative and qualitative findings indicate a significant link between yoga practice and alleviation of anxiety, suggesting that yoga therapy has the potential to reduce levels of perceived anxiety on numerous levels. The significant quantitative within-group experimental effect and definitive qualitative findings supported the hypothesis of this research, that is, that regular yoga therapy was effective in terms of decreasing perceived anxiety levels within the participants.

The participants specifically indicated that their yoga practice provided them with noticeable relief from anxiety, improved physical well-being, contentment, relaxation, breath control, mindfulness, transcendence and spirituality. They emphasised focus in the present moment, consciousness of their breathing, and relaxation. Patanjali's philosophical principles of yogic life practice were an encouragement to live ethical, healthy and spiritual lives. This study therefore provided empirical evidence for yoga therapy as a valuable and potentially cost effective treatment intervention for decreasing perceived anxiety. However, in view of various limitations, especially with regard to small sample size, further research with larger numbers of participants is needed.

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An evaluation of a stress management intervention for parents of children with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder

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The purpose of this study was to evaluate the experiences of parents' participation in a stress management programme for parents with children diagnosed with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). It was expected that the programme would lead to improved parent-child relationships and more positive child behaviour. The qualitative, phenomenological approach included thematic content analysis. The stress management group consisted of 8 parents, 5 mothers and three fathers, who met for 9 consecutive weeks. There were nine sessions focusing on stress, education, resources, problem solving skills, cognitive restructuring, communication skills, self care skills, behaviour management and wrap-up respectively. Process evaluation consisted of a session-by-session description of the programme. Summative evaluation consisted of an appreciative inquiry questionnaire. Additional experiential data was obtained from the ADHD children of participants via an interview with the researcher. The results of the study suggested that the programme was effective. Parents experienced the programme as bringing about empowerment, group cohesion, cognitive restructuring, behaviour modification, growth, development and change. Children viewed their parents as having become more relaxed, approachable, inclusive and loving. An independent psychologist evaluated the programme positively in terms of its quality, effectiveness, flexibility, adaptability and comprehensiveness. While widely acknowledged, the difficulties of parents of children with ADHD are seldom the focus of intervention. The inclusion of a stress management counselling component for parents of ADHD children is recommended as a valuable adjunctive strategy in the overall comprehensive management of ADHD.

Keywords: Stress management, children with ADHD, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, parents - ADHD

Introduction

Important indirect consequences of children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) include effects on parent-child interactions and, more generally, the family environment. The problematic relationship between such children and their parents is best described as a "negative-reactive" response pattern. According to Johnston (1996), this pattern develops when parents of ADHD children react to their child's disruptive behaviours by displaying more commanding behaviour, more disapproval, fewer rewards for compliant behaviour and more overall negative behaviour than parents of normal children. Kazdin and Whitley (2003) also found that the stress of the parent influences parent disciplinary practices which directly promotes and escalates aggressive and oppositional child behaviour; that is, the stress of parents appears to increase parent irritability and attention towards deviant child behaviour. Current research on parenting and ADHD has revealed that ADHD has important consequences to the sufferers, as well as their parents and siblings (Swensen, Birnbaum, Secnik, Marynchenko, Greenberg & Claxton, 2003). More specifically, there has been a discovery that parents experience greater stress with children with ADHD than other parents with children without ADHD because of the additional parenting challenges they face (Rabiner, 2002). A review of the existing literature on parental stress associated with children diagnosed with ADHD revealed a few quantitatively orientated studies, which were all conducted overseas. Very few published studies focused on parental experiences of parenting a child with ADHD (Anastopoulos, Shelton, DuPaul, & Guevremont, 1993; Weinberg, 1999; Wells, Epstein, Hinshaw, Conners, Klaric, Abikoff, Abramowitz, Arnold, Elliot, Greenhill, Hechtman, Hoza, Jensen, March, Pelham, Pfiffner, Severe, Swanson, Vitiello, & Wigal, 2000; Barkley, Guevremont, Anastopoulos, & Fletcher, 1992; Chronis, Pelham, Roberts, Gamble, Gnagy, & Burrows-Maclean, 1999; Treacy, Tripp, & Baird, 2005).

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present study was to explore and understand parents' experiences of participating in the Parent Stress Management programme for parents of children with ADHD. If the programme is effective in treating and

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managing parenting stress of the participants, then it is hypothesised that parent-child interactions would improve, resulting in more positive child-behaviours. This was investigated via a qualitative evaluation of the programme, using an appreciative inquiry method as well as incorporating aspects of process evaluation. Based upon these informed observations, multidimensional treatment programmes can be recommended for families with children with ADHD.

The critical questions that framed this research were:

- What are the respondent's experiences of the Parent Stress Management Programme for parents with children diagnosed with ADHD?
- What do the respondents appreciate about the Parent Stress Management Programme for parents with children diagnosed with ADHD?
- How can the Parents Stress Management Programme for parents with children diagnosed with ADHD be improved?

Methodology

A qualitative, phenomenological approach was adopted since the focus of this study was on the experiences of participants in the intervention programme. The study is based in the Umlazi District, Durban Central circuit, in the Ethekwini Region in KwaZulu-Natal. This area is a predominantly Indian suburb with residents falling within average to high socio-economic status. The sample was purposefully selected as the researcher was in private practice at the time of the study. The study was located at the researcher's practice as numerous referrals were made to the researcher via the local schools in that area pertaining to the focus of the study. Pamphlets were distributed to the local neighbourhood, detailing the nature, content and purpose of the study. Consent was also obtained from the participants for their feedback regarding the group to be used for research purposes. Permission to conduct this research was obtained from the researcher's University Ethics Committee.

The sample consisted of 8 participants, 5 mothers and three fathers, all of whom met the following criteria:

- 1) They had to be parents, either male or female.
- 2) They had to be parents of a child (6-18 years old) already diagnosed with DSM-IV ADHD.
- 3) They had to be experiencing difficulty relating to parenting their child/children with ADHD.

The parent stress management group met for 9 consecutive weeks. Each session was approximately two hours in duration. In summary, the programme itself was designed to address the characteristics of the child (ADHD symptoms, associated difficulties), the parent (mood, cognition, parenting efficacy), and the environment (parental relationship, available social support) thought to contribute to elevations in parenting stress. There were nine sessions focusing on stress, education, resources, problem solving skills, cognitive restructuring, communication skills, self care skills, behaviour management and wrap-up respectively. Session content focused on the provision of accurate information to assist parents in developing realistic expectations of their children together with skill training to reduce emotional arousal and to improve communication and problem solving. The group format, in addition to being cost-effective, offered parents the opportunity to discuss their concerns with others facing similar difficulties, potentially increasing their actual and perceived social support.

Process evaluation techniques were utilised in order to evaluate the processes occurring during the course of the programme itself. This was achieved via a session-by-session evaluation of the programme by the researcher. Summative evaluation consisted of an appreciative inquiry questionnaire administered to all participants and an independent psychologist after termination of the programme. The appreciative inquiry questionnaire asked the following three questions: Describe your experiences of the programme. What do you appreciate about the programme? How can this programme be improved?

Data triangulation was carried out by obtaining collateral data from the ADHD children of participants via an interview to concur with what the participants reported. All qualitative data was analysed using thematic content analysis.

Results

On close examination of the qualitative data, statements with similar, though not identical, meaning were gathered into categories. To enhance interpretation, key phrases were included. The following key themes emerged:

Empowerment

All participants in this study acknowledged the importance of the education and knowledge component of the programme. They believed it helped them feel "less guilty" for their child's condition because they now know what actually causes ADHD and what does not cause ADHD. This in turn helped them to have more realistic expectations for their children with ADHD. By better understanding their children's behaviour, they changed the way they approached and perceived problem situations. Parents believed that the knowledge and skills which they had acquired through this

programme, via the content covered in the sessions, made them feel “empowered and confident, not only in themselves, but in all situations, be it in their home, dealing with others, even at work.”

“I think it’s made me stronger as an advocate and as a parent. I feel more comfortable talking about things that I’m dealing with that might be really upsetting at the time.”

“I feel good knowing that I have so much of knowledge on ADHD and the necessary skills to deal with it, such as effective disciplining, dealing with my stress in a better manner, and to be a little more patient when dealing with problems.”

Group cohesion

Through this programme, parents gained increased skills, an increased sense of power and a sense of belonging. Participants were able to connect with each other and provided support and skills to deal with the day-to-day issues of raising a child with ADHD. Participants described the group as a place where everything they were experiencing with their child with ADHD was accepted and understood. The group was perceived as being an open place where participants could express their feelings about living with a child who has ADHD and receive support to help them learn to solve any problems that they encountered. Participants’ experiences of being a member of this group were viewed as extremely positive.

“I definitely appreciated the group sessions instead of individual sessions because I was able to learn not only from the facilitator, but also from the others in the group and some of the information I received from other group members was very useful.”

“By talking with people in similar situations, it fosters a sense of belonging and promotes hope for me.”

“Eventually the group felt like members of my family, we share a common bond so when we are together my problems just don’t seem so huge anymore.”

Role of facilitator

The role and skills of the facilitator are fundamental to the effectiveness of the group (Breakwell, Hammond, Fife-Schaw, 1998).

“The approach of our leader was very important in this parent stress management programme. It was her initiative and assistance that helped get us to where we are now, which is definitely a far better place than where we had been when we started this programme, and for that I thank her.”

“Our group facilitator created the perfect environment for our group. She accepted our differences, she never judged us, she placed no pressure on us to speak, she always listened to every one of our stories whether they pertained to the current session or not, she always emphasised the confidentiality issue, and she made us feel comfortable and responsible for the group.”

Cognitive restructuring and behaviour modification

The whole focus of this programme was to assist parents to identify maladaptive patterns of thoughts and behaviour and to replace them with more appropriate ones learned from the programme. The key to doing this was for each participant to think about how their thoughts about a situation or event would influence how they felt and behaved.

“The first thing that I changed was thinking of my child as ADHD, he is not ADHD, he has ADHD, it is a condition, it is not him. By doing this I managed to separate the diagnosis from my child, the bad behaviours from him, the rudeness from him, etc. and I began to love him and accept him again and became passionate that together he and I can fight this condition.”

“By changing the way I always think about my child as being wrong, the causer of problems and uncontrollable, I changed the way I dealt with problem situations in our home. I started understanding him, listening to what he has

to say and giving him a fair chance. This changed the way he responded and made the situation easier to resolve. Nowadays, we handle each problem as if it is new and unique, we have no pre-conceived ideas of who did what and who is always wrong, and this has made things so much easier and more peaceful at home."

Change as a parent and as a person

A common theme running through parents' experiences of this parent stress management programme was the idea of change. This reflects the idea that people are constantly changing in response to changing situations.

"The experiences of this programme have helped me become more assertive in my role as a parent and as a person."

"I have learnt to believe in myself and that nobody knows more about my child than I do and this empowers me."

"I was always blamed for our child's condition and felt maybe it really was my fault. Today, I can say that I am not to blame, there is nothing wrong with me. I may not be a perfect parent but who is?"

Responses of psychologist

The psychologist's responses follow:

Effective – *"The parent stress management programme appears to prove effective for mothers and fathers of children with ADHD."*

Comprehensive – *"This programme should be included in the comprehensive management of ADHD. It is easy to understand and user friendly as it involves working directly from the treatment manual."*

Adaptability – *"Although the group format may not be appropriate for all parents, the sessions can be adapted for use with individuals."*

Quality – *"It's nice to read a study that is not bogged down with quantitative measuring instruments and stats. I really enjoyed the qualitative aspect of your approach, to me that is where the real quality lies."*

Flexibility – *"As we discussed, the nice part about this stress management programme is that it is so flexible and comprehensive that it can easily be evaluated either from a qualitative approach (like you have done) or, quantitatively, like the psychologists in New Zealand have done."*

Children's responses of observed behaviour changes in parents

The children were asked only one question: *"You do know that your mum and dad/mum have been attending a parent programme for several weeks now. Have you noticed any changes in them, or the way they now interact/respond to you? Can you please tell me about them?"*

The children that were interviewed commented on the following improvements:

Relaxed

"I love my mummy the way she is now, she's calmer and more relaxed. Her headaches have stopped and she's not taking any more pills. She used to shout a lot at me and dad but now she's better. I hope she still comes to you."

"I can talk to mummy now without us fighting, she's more understanding and has stopped shouting at me for everything. Did you give her some pills to be calm? Can I have some for later, in case she starts getting cross again, I can give her the pills?"

Approachable

"Before, when I used to do something wrong, or get into trouble for something I would never tell my mum because she would make it worse. She would shout at me and make me cry, even when it wasn't my fault. Now, she speaks to me nicely and I feel I can tell her stuff."

Loving

"I always thought that I was adopted because I was different from my brothers and I knew that my parents didn't love me. These days I think they love me more than the others."

Included

"Now they care about me, they do stuff with me."

"We now have new rules at home which we all made together, me too, because I am also in this family, dad said that and we must follow the rules."

Participants also believed that the programme could be improved. They made several suggestions. These included separate groups for mothers and fathers, inclusion of a session with the child with ADHD, funding for childcare whilst parents attend the programme, more sessions, and inclusion of the school component in the programme.

Discussion

The suggestion for administering the programme to separate groups of mothers and fathers, which is based on the experience of a particular couple's discomfort in relation to another couple's family conflict, indicates that continual monitoring of the overall general group atmosphere is needed. While including both spouses in groups enables holistic assessment and intervention for interactions between all parents in relation to their children with ADHD, separate groups may become necessary if individual family conflicts become destructive for the group as a whole. Alternatively separate and/or additional couple counseling may be indicated for any particular couple.

In general, separate gender groups are contraindicated. Traditional family roles, in which mothers do all the nurturing and fathers withdraw into outside work activities, leave mothers overly responsible for the emotional health of all members of the family. Many family researchers recommend sharing the role of nurturing as they have found that traditional roles contribute to dysfunction due to the alienation of the father in the emotional life of the family and the over-functioning of the mother in an impossible attempt to make everyone happy. The advantage of including both spouses in groups encourages the sharing of group and parenting responsibilities in relation to differential parental reactions to stress around parenting of ADHD children.

While the more limited research orientated focus of the present study was on intervention for parental stress rather than behavioural change in children, the suggestion of including the child with ADHD in at least one session seems a valuable one for consideration in future interventions. Most of the research studies to date have focused on the child with ADHD with very few studies also intervening in relation to parental psychological and emotional well being.

Including a school component in the programme would also have addressed parents' concerns regarding their child and interactions with the school personnel. Some parents stated that their child's school is a major source of stress for them. By school personnel understanding ADHD and the impact it has on the child and his or her family, teachers can become more sensitive and empathic in their interactions with these families. Considering that education in South Africa has moved towards mainstream inclusion of learners with special needs, it also seems reasonable to recommend more training on ADHD in teacher training programmes.

One of the possible limitations of this study is that the researcher and the participants shared the same cultural context, therefore the results may not be as applicable to persons from different cultural groups. Little is known about ADHD on the African continent because of lack of resources, problems in access and various other social, economic and political factors. Future research focus on culture and ethnicity are extremely important in the development and management of ADHD, as culture shapes the environment in which behaviour is defined as appropriate or inappropriate (Madu, 2003).

No objective measure of parent functioning was included in this study. Given the significant improvements in parenting style, together with the reported links between parenting stress, parenting practices, and the parent-child relationship, future studies should include objective measures of parent-child interaction quality and parenting style.

Although the parent responses indicate that the programme was successful in achieving its goals, these results are appropriate for a single moment in time, immediately following the completion of the programme. To assess whether significant treatment effects were mainstreamed, six and twelve month follow-up data need to be collected and analysed.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the results of the study suggest that the Parent Stress Management Programme for Parents with ADHD children was effective in bringing about positive changes within parent-child interactions and within the parents

themselves and also within the children. The negative effects of elevated parenting stress on the parent-child relationship and parenting practices argues for the inclusion of such programmes in the comprehensive management of ADHD. Treatment for ADHD should focus on enhancing parents' coping resources as well as directly targeting the child's symptoms and associated difficulties. Reducing parent distress may also help increase the effectiveness of other treatment components, including parent management training.

The current study appears to be the first to target the parenting stress of parents of children with ADHD in South Africa. In doing so it makes two important contributions to the field. First, it draws attention to the needs of parents of children with ADHD. While widely acknowledged, the difficulties of parents of children with ADHD are seldom the focus of intervention. Secondly, the programme components together offer an innovative and promising addition towards the comprehensive management of ADHD.

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The erosion of African communal values: a reappraisal of the African Ubuntu philosophy

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The paper, which exploits conceptual analysis techniques, interrogates an African notion of a 'community' as embodied in the ideas of 'Umntu ngumntu ngabantu.' The problem the article seeks to address is the erosion of community values. The study intends to explore the question: How can we retrieve the communal cultural values of tolerance, humanity, respect and some of common elements of our cultural treasures of Ubuntu that African communities used to be proud of? Using the philosophy of Ubuntu as a hermeneutic key, I argue that any member of a community whose personal life is guided by Ubuntu could be said to have embraced the core humanistic attributes of Ubuntu. These are being caring, humble, thoughtful, considerate, understanding, wise, generous, hospitable, socially mature, socially sensitive, virtuous, and blessed: character attributes that veer away from confrontation towards conciliation. The paper is based on a small scale survey, which exploited an open ended questionnaire in its data collection. Data revealed that despite major constraints such as poverty and scarcity of resources, crime, substance abuse and many others, family members are still willing to help and support each other. Finally, the study suggests that the values of Ubuntu, if consciously harnessed, can play a major unifying role in the process of harmonising the South African/African nation(s).

Key words: Community, communalism, African humanity, African philosophy, *Ubuntu*,

Introduction

The term communitarianism is derived from the word 'community', and it refers to any philosophical standpoint that defines a person in the context of social bonds and cultural traditions rather than through individual traits (Daly 1994). Another community view which I am keen to highlight in this paper is the one put forward by Ramose (2002a), who maintains that an African community is an ongoing dynamic association of men and women, who have a special commitment to one another and have developed a distinct sense of their common life. The common life, in this sense, is perceived as any public discursive space which members construct through action – in concert. In this context, the history of a person's life is the story of his or her transactions with the community's material and moral worlds, which, in effect, is the story of his or her relations with particular sets of social goods. This is called a social contract in which an individual's choice of way of life is a choice constrained by the community's pursuit of shared ends.

Waghid, Van Wyk, Adams and November (2005: 108) maintain that the slogan "your child is mine [and] my child is yours" has a particularly African flavour to it and in many ways epitomises the sense of community so prevalent in African society. In this sense the child is held to be the property of the community and it is the community members who are expected to see to it that the individual child becomes a significant member of that particular community, an asset to all. Barber (1998) believes that people envisage civil society as complex social relations that tie people together. The initial social stratum is constructed first of all into families and kinship, associations like clans, and then into clubs, neighbourhoods, communities, congregations, and more extended social hierarchies. This is the central notion of a community where people work together to create peace and love.

Another essence of African cultural existentialism the study unravels is African communalism. Khoza (2005:266) describes communalism as "a concept that views humanity in terms of collective existence and intersubjectivity, serving as the basis for supportiveness, cooperation, collaboration and solidarity". In similar conceptual context, Gyekye (1987) defines African communalism as a kinship-oriented social order, which is informed by an ethic of reciprocity. In a communal social order one is brought up with a sense of solidarity with large groups of people. During the course of this "cohabitation" (Khoza, 2005:266)² Gyekye (1987) maintains that one comes to see one's interests as being bound up with the interests of the group over a great number of issues of life and well-being. This sense of community, according to Gyekye, is a characteristic of African life and indeed, to many Africans, this communal efficacy defines Africanness. In the context of Gyekye's definition, this form of communalism signifies the human person as an inherently communal being

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2. In his *Let Africa Lead*, Sunninghill: Vezubuntu, 2005, p. 266, Reuel J. Khoza defines 'cohabitation' as 'the proclivity to live with others harmoniously, not only in terms of shared space, but also accommodating other people's ideas and seeking to understand before proceeding to persuade.'

embedded in a context of social relationships and interdependence, and never as an isolated, atomistic individual. In African community, people view themselves and what they do as equally good to others as to themselves.

Traditional African cultural practices are performed by members, clans and relatives in their socio-ethical settings. Kwasi Wiredu (in Waghid *et al.* 2005) also observes that African traditional cultures are characteristically communalistic (or, if you like, communitarian). Wiredu further asserts that in the African context, communitarianism refers to a culture that is a form of life, exemplifying a certain conception of the role and significance of the community in the life of individuals in society. Gyekye (2002) notes that the communal or communitarian attributes of African socio-ethical thought are reflected in the communitarian features of the social structures of African society. This view is taken further by Waghid *et al.* (2005), who comment on Gyekye's definition of community. Waghid *et al.* (2005) postulate that Gyekye sees community not as a mere association of individual persons, whose interests and ends are contingently congruent but as a group of persons linked by interpersonal, biological and/or non-biological bonds. Gyekye concludes that the members of a community also consider themselves primarily as members of the group that have common interests, goals, and values. According to Mogobe Ramose (2002b), the notion of remaining in touch in a community is not merely a sociological perception but a moral viewpoint.

A good example one can think of is how things were (and still are) done in indigenous African settings in which people come together whenever problems arise, where ideas are shared, solutions are sought and found by all community members in a given real-life situation. The social supportive measures listed above are carried out so as to promote peace, love, respect, and working together in social harmony. However, community members no longer trust each other. Lack of discipline, violence, crime and aggressive behaviour in society become the accepted facts of life. Regardless of fluctuations in rates of incidence and categories, the erosion of traditional codes of humanism continues to create an ongoing challenge to African communities. For instance, the emergence of a new anti-traditional African phenomenon of xenophobic incidents among Africans has compounded the fast erosion of efficacy of *Ubuntu*. Statistics of cases of xenophobic violence are repeatedly reported by the South African media and researchers. These are not the only destructive factors that undermine African traditional values that promote harmony and a sense of pride in African cultural heritage.

The study conducted during the period 2004-2008 reveals that school children from different kinds of communities show very little respect for their principals in schools, parents, educators, elders, and friends. Many of them fail to meet commitments in school work; they do not keep time and promises, and fail to do their homework. Besides the above negative behavioural attitudes displayed by school children towards authority, they also carry knives and guns in school and in communities. The prevailing worsening deterioration of Africa's social fabrics outlined above is endorsed by Waliggo's (2005) study. Waliggo (2005: 9) observes that public morality is very weak in Africa. For him the contemporary African society does not take the current economic immorality and crimes which involve fraud, embezzlement of public funds, corruption and abuse of office seriously. Instead of exposing crimes committed against the state, Waliggo argues, many people tend to praise and protect their own relatives and friends who perpetrate economic crimes against the state to uplift their own areas and to enrich their people.

Besides the concealment of crimes and corrupt practices against the state by family members, recent reports in media further indicate a surge in shootings, stabbings, rapes and robberies. The South African media release statistics of cases of violence and crime committed in communities on a daily basis. In short, these incidences of violence, like violence in society, seem to run in cycles. These cycles appear to mirror the trends of violence in larger society and communities. In addition to incidences of violence, community members have now developed an individualistic philosophy, which tends to run counter to many traditional values. Khoza (in Roux & Coetzee 1994: 3) defines individualism as "that political and social philosophy that places high value on the freedom of the individual and generally stresses the self-directed, self-contained and comparatively unrestrained individual or ego".

This paper poses the question: *What could help bring back communal cultural values of tolerance, humanness, respect and some of the common priceless features of Ubuntu that the African communities used to be proud of?* I am conscious of the fact that the societal culture of tolerance does not develop in a vacuum. However, African communities used to and still advocate the advancement of *Ubuntu*. By writing this paper, I wish to promote the value system embodied in *Ubuntu* and hope that everyone who reads this paper revisits the *Ubuntu* concepts during these turbulent times in the history of our nation. This paper is aimed at examining the following objectives:

- To investigate the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*
- To explore the embedded conceptual features of *Ubuntu*
- To highlight the South African perspective of *Ubuntu* and its relevance to South African communities
- To unravel problems that hamper the implementation of *Ubuntu* and

- To suggest the way forward for African communities

How the *Ubuntu* philosophy shapes and informs African cultural values is the next preoccupation of this paper.

The philosophy of *Ubuntu*

Ubuntu is difficult to define and a plethora of definitions, each emphasising different elements of the concept, exist. According to Roux & Coetzee (1994: 135), scholars such as Reuel Khoza, E.N Chikanda, Joe Teffo, Nono Makhundu, Sisho Maphisa and Augustine Shutte all attempt to define *Ubuntu*. According to Battle (1996: 99) the concept *ubuntu* originates from the Xhosa expression 'Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu', which means that each individual's humanity is ideally expressed in relationship with others. *Ubuntu* consists of the prefix *ubu-* and the stem *ntu-ubu* evokes the idea of being in general. Thus, *ubu-ntu* is the fundamental ontological and epistemological category in the African thought of the Bantu-speaking people.

Khoza (in Roux & Coetzee 1994) describes *Ubuntu* as an African view of life – an African world-view. He argues that the distinctive collective consciousness of Africans is manifested in their behaviour patterns, expressions and spiritual self-fulfilment in which values such as the universal brotherhood of Africans, sharing and treating other people as humans, are concretised. His basic idea of universal brotherhood is echoed by other African thinkers in ideas such as sensitivity to the needs and wants of others, the understanding of others' frames of reference and man as a social being.

In his recent groundbreaking work *Let Africa Lead*, Khoza (2005:269) defines *Ubuntu* as "an African value system that means humanness or being human, a worldview characterised by such values as caring, sharing, compassion, communalism, communocracy and related predispositions." Khoza adds that "Although it [*Ubuntu*] is culturally African in origin, the philosophy can have universal application." The collective consciousness³ advocated by *Ubuntu* thinkers involves notions such as universal brotherhood and sharing which for Mbigi means "participation". From this view Mbigi (1997) develops a network of concepts such as "group solidarity", "compassion", "respect", "dignity", and "collective unity" to convey his idea of *Ubuntu*. This has been stated clearly in Khoza's view of "collective consciousness", which involves universal brotherhood, sharing and treating other people with respect. The sharing characteristic is very important for most *Ubuntu* philosophers – an attribute, which is also Mbigi's starting point in developing his views on *Ubuntu*. Roux and Coetzee (1994) assert that Mbigi bases his model on four principles which he derives from the *Ubuntu* view of life:

- Morality which involves trust and credibility.
- Interdependence which concerns the sharing and caring aspect that is co-operation and participation.
- Spirit of man which refers to human dignity and mutual respect that insists that human activity should be person-driven and humanness should be central, and lastly
- Totality, which pertains to continuous improvement of everything by every member.

In the context of the African spirit of *Ubuntu*, Khoza (2005:xxi) observes that *Ubuntu* "constitutes the spiritual cradle of African religion and culture [and] finds expression in virtually all walks of life – social, political and economic." In this sense, the African spirit of *Ubuntu* should then be regarded as one of the origins of the development of a human rights culture in South Africa and the rest of African continent. The philosophy of *Ubuntu* espouses a fundamental respect in the rights of others, as well as a deep allegiance to the collective identity. More importantly, *Ubuntu* regulates the exercise of individual rights by emphasising sharing and co-responsibility and the mutual enjoyment of rights by all. It also promotes good human relationships and enhances human value, trust and dignity. The most outstanding positive impact of *Ubuntu* on the community is the value it puts on life and human dignity, particularly its caring attitude towards the elderly, who played and continue to play an important communal role in consolidating *Ubuntu* values.

African societies place a high value on human worth, but it was humanism that found expression in a communal context rather than individualism (Teffo 1998: 3). According to Mbiti (1970: 108), "Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual". This leads to social harmony and cohesion starting at the family and cultural community, circling out to the global community (Le Roux 2000). By perceiving the individual as being in the centre of this greater whole, the philosophy of *Ubuntu* may perhaps be described as African humanism.

3. Khoza (2005:266) describes 'collective consciousness' as "a term coined by the psychologist, Carl Jung, which refers to the archetypal imagery that haunts the dreams and subconscious life of humankind. Communities manifest the collective unconscious by creating heroes: the underlying psychological archetype of leader."

Characteristic features of Ubuntu

(a) Humanity

The tenets of humanity/humanism shape and inform the African fight for emancipation from colonialism. The question that needs to be interrogated is what is the relationship between Ubuntu and humanity/humanism? Firstly, Letseka (2000) identifies the notion of Botho or *Ubuntu* (humanism) as pervasive and fundamental to African socio-ethical thought. Perceived as an important measure of human well-being or humanness flourishing in traditional African life, Ubuntu/humanism illuminates the communal rootedness and interdependence of persons, and highlights the importance of human relationships. Letseka treats Botho or *Ubuntu* as normative because it encapsulates moral norms and virtues such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence, courtesy, and respect and concerns for others (Letseka 2000).

According to Letseka, a person has a duty to give the same respect, dignity, value and acceptance to each member of the community. Moreover, the person who lives in accordance with the principles of *Ubuntu* in a community is said to embrace its major tenets. The core Ubuntu characteristics are being caring, humble, thoughtful, considerate, understanding, wise, generous, hospitable, socially mature, socially sensitive, virtuous and blessed – enduring humanistic attributes that move away from confrontation towards conciliation. The above qualities are the essential ingredients that enable people to work together.

Secondly, Ramose (2002a) argues that *Ubuntu* can be understood as being human (humanness). Key concepts used to describe *Ubuntu* are forgiveness, recognition, humaneness, being respectful and being polite. Ramose believes that interdependence, collective consciousness and a communalist worldview are of the utmost importance in the African way of life. For Ramose, community ethos requires tolerance, understanding and respect towards all individuals in interpersonal relationships, in relations between the individual and the group of which he/she forms part, between groups, between such groups and larger communities which are the component forces between different communities: interconnected social strata that eventually encompass all ties of humanity. In this context, Ubuntuism may thus be observed at its most basic level in individual interactions and in the operation of small groups (such as families): an interaction that reflects a view of humanity generally. The communal practice of black people is almost, but not all inclusively, similar to the universal notion.

Thirdly, *Ubuntu* has been called African humanism because it emphasises the value of human dignity irrespective of a person's usefulness. It expresses the idea that a person's life is meaningful only if he or she lives in harmony with other people because an African person is an integral part of society. For Chikanda as mentioned by Roux and Coetzee (1994), *Ubuntu*, which she sees as African humanism, involves alms-giving, sympathy, caring, sensitivity to the needs of others, respect, consideration, patience and kindness. Developing human potential requires, according to Nono Makhundu in Roux and Coetzee (1994), traits such as warmth, empathy, reciprocity, harmony, co-operation and a shared world-view, which make up the *Ubuntu* culture. Its spirit emphasises respect for human dignity, marking a shift from confrontation to conciliation.

Fourthly, humanity in this view is seen as a characteristic of the whole species because humanity signifies different elements of the human species. African humankind constitutes one family. Thus, one gains humanity by entering into this relationship with other members of the family. This means that to be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognising the humanity of others and, on that basis, establishing human respect with them. It is therefore logical to contend that to denigrate and disrespect other human beings is (in the first place) to denigrate and disrespect oneself, if it is accepted that oneself is a subject worthy of dignity and respect. A person's (own) humanity is seen to be a gift. These are some of the values we grew up with as Africans in our community.

The individual has a social commitment to share his/her relationship with others. The individual experiences that could be shared with others include his/her record in terms of kindness and good character, generosity, hard work, discipline, honour and respect, and living in harmony (Teffo 1998). The humanness referred to here finds expression in a communal context. However, while the values that the word *Ubuntu* encapsulates are not themselves unique to African thought, their significance for a society is arguably much more pronounced in African communities. The interdependence of community members in turn leads to the recognition that individuals not only exercise their rights communally, but also have certain duties towards the community as a whole as well as towards other individual members. According to Venter (2004), *Ubuntu* is a concrete manifestation of the interconnectedness of human beings and the embodiment of African culture and life style.

(b) Tolerance

Tolerance is a value to be achieved by deepening people's understanding of the origins, evolution and achievements of humanity on the one hand and through the exploration of that which is common and diverse in cultural heritage on the other. Disagreements need not cause harm if there is tolerance and respect for the other's viewpoint in the community

structure. Tolerance is the idea that one must not disregard other people's points of view (not even about important moral issues). In addition, the value of tolerance has become even more important now that we live side by side with people who are very different from us. If a society is not tolerant, then there cannot be true freedom. Highlighting the importance of tolerance does not suggest that it is the only value that community members should live by, or even that it is the most important. However, when communities make moral evaluations, it is important that these evaluations evolve from a continuous discussion and debate between various role-players in the community. Another important characteristic that nourishes the community structure is that of respecting each other.

(c) Respect

In the great context of ideas that best symbolises enlightened humanity, respect, in addition to intelligence and tolerance, is probably the most essential quality, more especially for people working together for a common cause. As a value, 'respect' is not explicitly defined in the Constitution but it is implicit in the way the Bill of Rights governs not just the state's relationship with citizens but citizens' relationships with each other. How can I respect you if you do not respect me? Respect is an essential precondition for communication, for teamwork and for productivity: a vital tool for addressing communal problems. An institution cannot function if mutual respect does not shape and inform its activities. In some of the most important international declarations that South Africa has ratified, and which are therefore legally binding on our country, South Africans have committed themselves to the values of respect and responsibility. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights also states that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

South African perspective of Ubuntu

In the South African context, *Ubuntu* is seen as a notion with particular resonance in the building of democracy. According to Le Grange (in Waghid *et al.* 2005: 131) the term *Ubuntu* has gained prominence in post-Apartheid South Africa. Justice Mokgoro likens *Ubuntu* to the English word "humanity" and the Afrikaans word "menswaardigheid", and argues that it embraces both section 9 (the right to life), and section 15 (the right to human dignity) of the Constitution's Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights was born out of a long struggle against colonial oppression and apartheid. In Makwanyane (1995), Justice Sachs said that the concept of *Ubuntu* should be invoked when the Bill of Rights is applied to restore dignity to ideas and values that have long been suppressed or marginalised. Born out of the African spirit of *Ubuntu*, the Bill of Rights is part of the African Renaissance, the rebirth of those African/South African values which have been suppressed or marginalised by colonial powers and institutions.

The Bill of Rights should therefore be seen as the attempt to give expression to the values associated with *Ubuntu*. In the 1990s, *Ubuntu* received recognition, from the Interim Constitution and the post-preamble to the interim Constitution (1993) includes the following lines: "The adoption of this constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa and enables them to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles into violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge". In the postscript to the interim constitution for example, *Ubuntu* is explicitly mentioned as being the source of the underlying values of the new South Africa. It (*Ubuntu*) is listed along with the constitution, human rights and a legacy of hatred. In this formulation, *Ubuntu* is aligned into positive values of understanding and reparation, and contrasted with vengeance, retaliation, and victimisation. Justice Mokgoro cited by Makwanyane refers to *Ubuntu* as one shared value that runs like a golden thread across cultural lines and then proceeds to the following definition.

Generally, ubuntu translates as humaneness. In its most fundamental sense it translates as personhood and morality. Metaphorically, it expresses itself in *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person because of other people), describing the significance of group solidarity on survival issues so central to survival of communities. While it envelops the key values of group solidarity, compassion, respect, human dignity, conformity to the basic norms and collective unity, in its fundamental sense it denotes humanity and morality (Makwanyane 1995: 308).

The source of indigenous values to which the passage is referring is the concept of *Ubuntu*. In South Africa, *Ubuntu* has become a notion with particular resonance in the building of a democracy. In part, its prominence might be understood as an attempt to re-discover African cultural values eroded by both colonialism and apartheid. Although *Ubuntu* is part of the South African "rainbow heritage" and the society is multi-ethnic and multicultural, the *Ubuntu* philosophy might have operated and still be operating differently in diverse community settings of the "rainbow" nation.

Another South African perspective on *Ubuntu* is provided by Sebidi, who warns that the collective values of *Ubuntu* cannot be compromised. For him, *Ubuntu* is more than just an attribute of individual human acts that build the

community. It is a basic humanistic orientation towards one's fellow human beings. One of Brenda Fassies's latest ditties *Umntu Ngumntu Ngabantu* (a person is a person through other persons), has helped to popularize what forms the very kernel of Ubuntu (Sebidi 1998).

Methodology

This is a small scale quantitative survey to elaborate the ubuntu concept further. A survey is one of the most commonly used methods of data collection in social research. The participants were drawn from the university community where I work. Strategically located within the Eastern Cape Province, Walter Sisulu University (WSU)(<http://www.wsu.ac.za>) straddles a vast spectrum of the urban and rural divide of the region. The University perceives itself a part of a family of African institutions of higher learning, firmly committed to recruiting both national and international academics and students from all countries outside the borders of South Africa. Academics and a section of students from African countries and a handful from South Africa were targeted for the study.

A judgemental sampling technique was used to select the participants. Both national and international academics and students participated in the study. Three hundred (300) questionnaires were distributed amongst them but only 220 responses were received, computed and categorised as follows: Eighty five (85) South African students, Forty seven (47) international students, Sixty one (61) South African academics and twenty seven (27) international lecturers. The questionnaires did not cater for the categorisation of academics according to their respective ranks. It is worth mentioning that academics in managerial positions did not participate.

Consistent with the aim of the study, the focus of attention was on participants' perceptions of the concept *Ubuntu* and its relevance to their communities. The survey instrument used in this research was a questionnaire which was administered to participants for systematising data collection. Cantrell *et al.* (1993) posit that instruments are tied to the purpose of the study and the structure of the design. Five questions were asked. Although single response questions were preferred for their easy processing, unstructured questions were included to allow respondents to justify some of their responses and to allow them more freedom to articulate their feelings. This kind of questionnaire with both structured and unstructured open-ended questions served to structure the conversation between the researcher (who desired information) and the participants (who had agreed to give information). Findings in this paper are summarised below.

Results

In response to the questionnaire, the following questions were analysed and the results are tabled below:

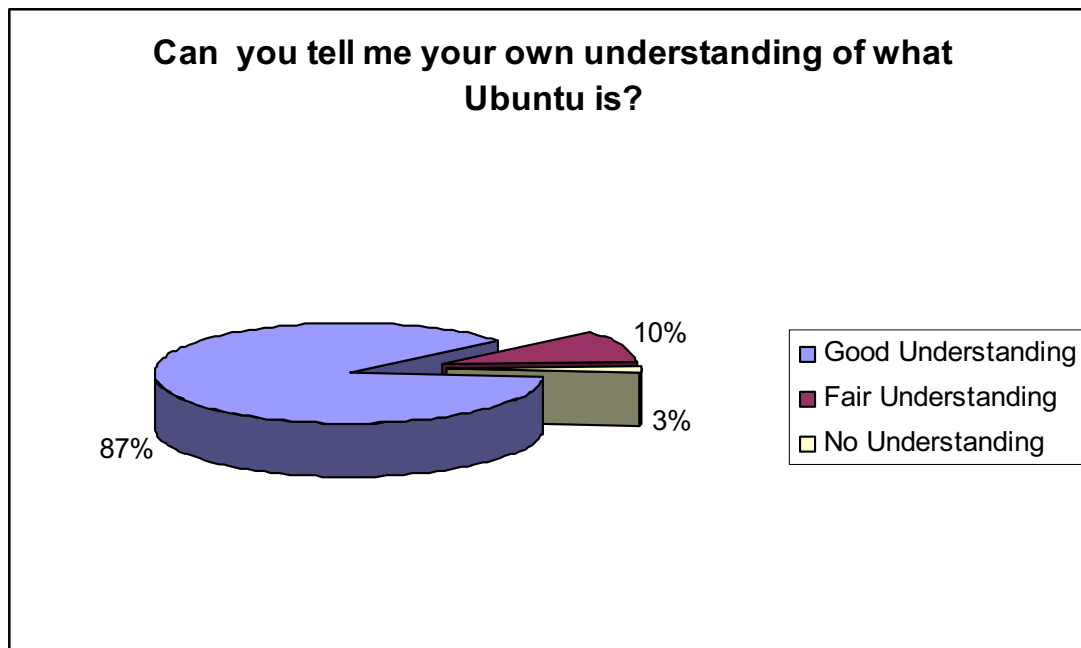


Figure 1 Understanding of Ubuntu

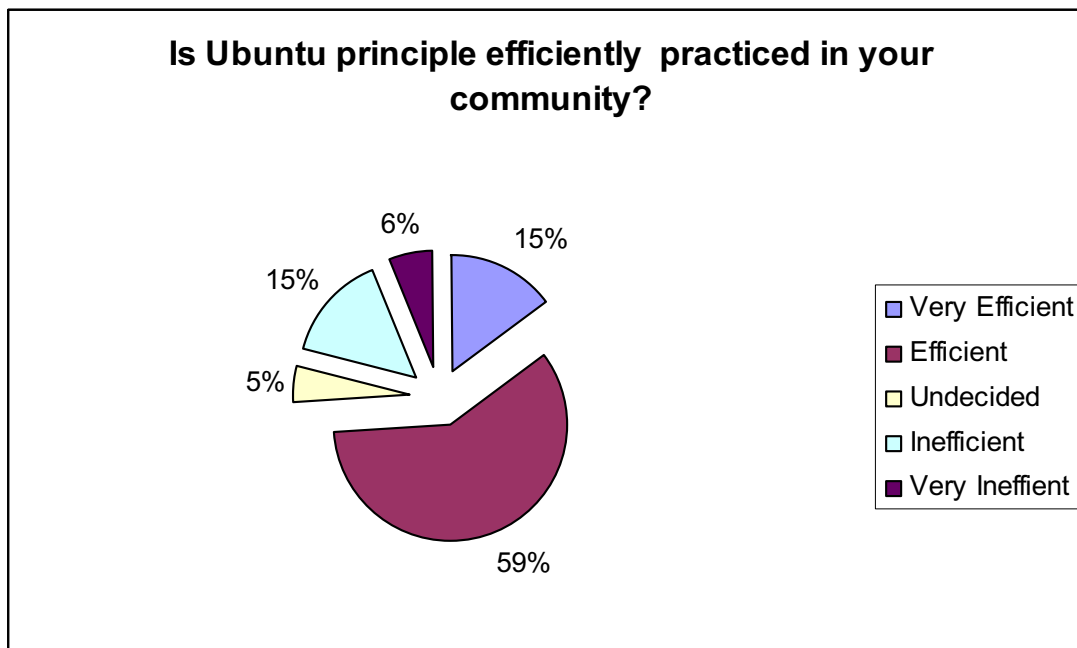


Figure 2 Practice of Ubuntu in the community

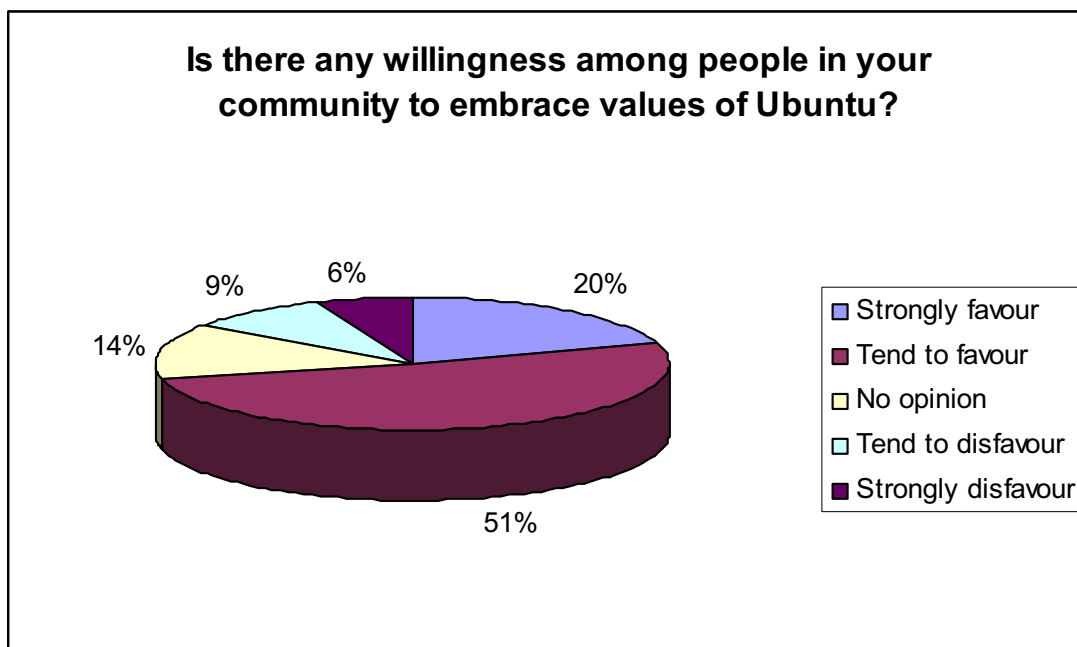


Figure 3 Willingness to embrace Ubuntu values in the community

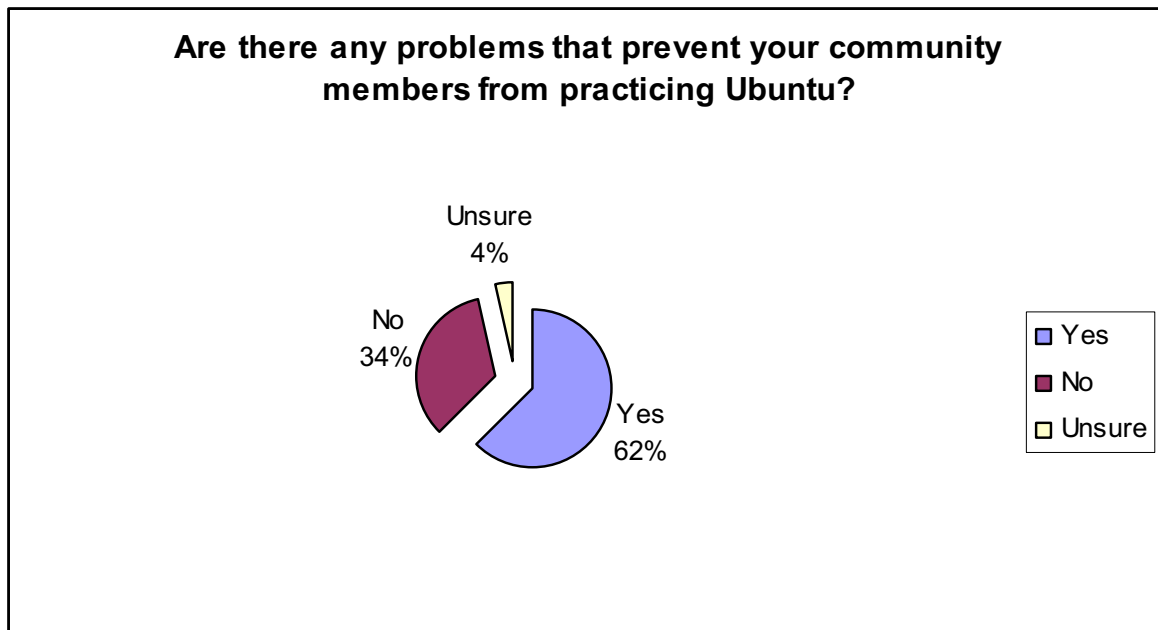


Figure 4 Problems preventing the community from practicing Ubuntu

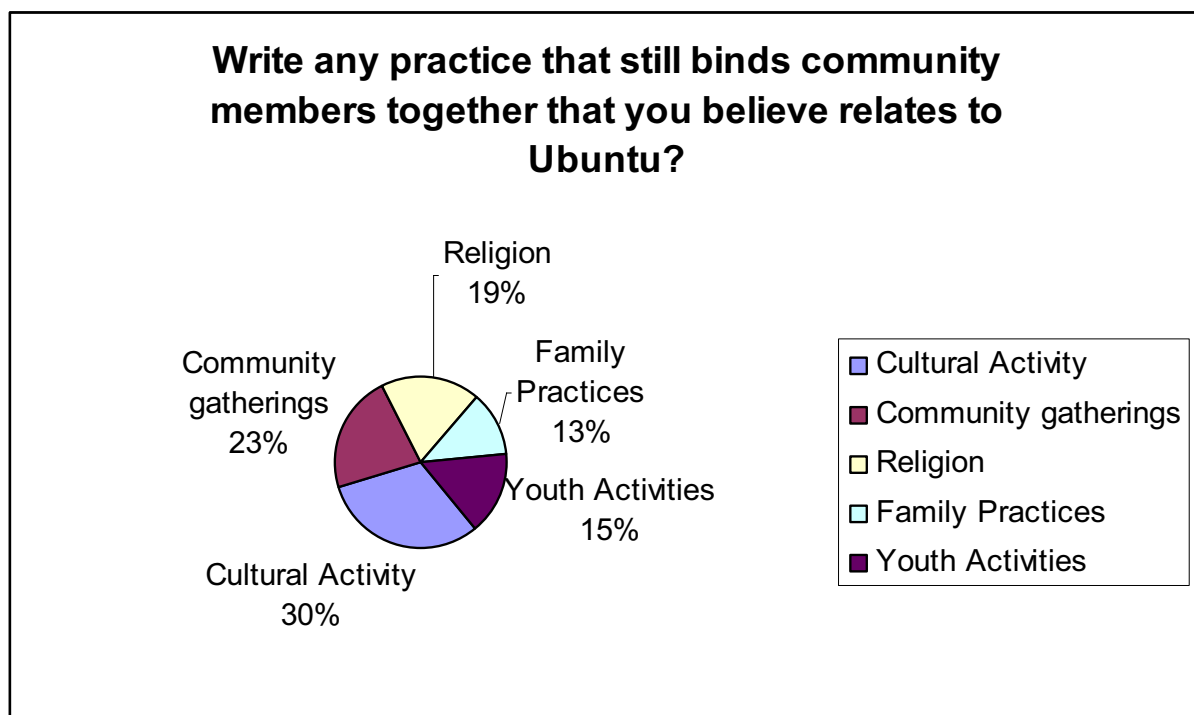


Figure 5 Practices that bind community members that relate to Ubuntu.

Discussions

The survey revealed that the participants perceived themselves to have a very good understanding of what *Ubuntu* is. This was shown by a huge percentage of people indicating their good understanding of *Ubuntu* and its values. Furthermore, it revealed that *Ubuntu* is still practised although not on a large scale by most communities and moreover, they are still willing to embrace values of *Ubuntu*. However, the survey also provided a long list of hindrances/obstacles that prevent people from practising cultural activities in their communities as listed below:

- Poverty and lack of resources
- Crime and substance abuse
- Lack of trust among community members
- Foreign cultures and religious beliefs
- Lack of knowledge and motivation

Conclusions and recommendations

The paper draws on *Ubuntu* as its theoretical framework. In the context of theoretical structuring, we argue for communitarian principles in a philosophical position that defines a person in terms of social bonds and cultural traditions, rather than through individual traits. The paper contends that traditional African cultural practices are performed by members, clans and relatives in their socio-ethical settings. Examples have been highlighted and supported – to some extent – by research data on how things were (and still are) done in indigenous African settings in which people come together whenever problems arise, where ideas are shared, solutions are sought and found by all community members in a given real-life situation. To re-affirm the constraints that confront strategies aimed at reviving and rekindling the spirit of *Ubuntu*, the obstacles that hinder cultural practices and communal values such as xenophobia, moral degeneration, crime, religion and individualism have been highlighted. Finally, the paper argues for the restoration of the philosophy of *Ubuntu* as it encapsulates moral norms and virtues such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence, courtesy, and respect and concerns for others. This author suggests the retrieval of *Ubuntu*, knowing fully well that African culture, just like all other cultures, has never been static. It is recognised that cultures grow with time. Hence, I do propose that people have to re-adjust to meet new challenges and demands brought about by modernisation.

This paper therefore, recommends the following measures towards the retrieval of *Ubuntu*:

- The revival of cultural activities. In some communities this is termed *Ibuyambo* (a Xhosa name for revival).
- The restoration of African culture. African culture is taken to mean the sum total of the ways in which a society preserves, identifies, organises, sustains and express itself.
- The restoration of a shared sense of morality. Within the African societies, there is a shared sense of morality that is similar in many aspects and based on the key concept of *Ubuntu*.
- The restoration of public morality. In African communities public morality regulates the behaviour and values of both the community and the individual who lives and achieves his or her full humanness within the community.
- The restoration of *Ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* includes the values of greeting everyone, sharing, generosity, hospitality, good manners, respect and protecting one's dignity and others' human dignity.

Although I do recommend the restoration of these cultural values, I am conscious of the fact that communities can never practise culture way it used to be practised in the past and culture and traditions are not static but change with time.

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Religion, religiosity and adolescent risky sexual health behaviour in Lagos Metropolis, Nigeria

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The rate of premarital sexual intercourse among adolescents in Nigeria is alarming, despite its prohibition by several religious groups. This contradiction prompted the question: what is the prevailing relationship between religion, religiosity, and adolescents' sexual behaviour in the country? This relationship was examined through survey data collected between December 2009 and February 2010 in the Lagos metropolis. A multistage sampling procedure was adopted in selecting 1026 adolescents between 12 and 19 years of age in the metropolis² and Logistic regressions techniques were employed in data analysis. Results reveal that religious affiliation is significantly related to only casual sexual relationships among boys at the level of² analysis ($p < 0.05$) but it is not significantly related to any of the indicators of risky sexual behaviour at multivariate level of analysis. Also, religiosity is significantly related ($p < 0.05$) to multiple sexual partnerships at both levels of analysis among females. The study concludes that religious affiliation is not likely to play any significant role in combating adolescents' risky sexual behaviour but religiosity could be fairly effective in this battle among females in the study setting.

Keywords: religion, religiosity, adolescents, sexual health behaviour, Lagos, Nigeria

Introduction

Over 22% of the population of Nigeria are adolescents. Adolescence is described as “a time of transition, change and heightened vulnerability during which adolescents feel pressured by and caught up between internal needs and societal demands” (Doswell, Kouyate, & Taylor, 2003: 195). Young people undergoing this period are characterised by risky sexual behaviour such as early sexual initiation, multiple sexual partnership and casual unprotected sex, in sub-Saharan Africa (Bankole & Malarcher, 2010). Consequences of these risky sexual practices include sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies, abortions and adolescent parenting (Morhason-Bello *et al.*, 2008). Such consequences undermine their sexual health. Behavioural change is therefore imperative to curb these health consequences. This paper examines the role religion and religiosity can play in this regard.

In the last three decades, there has been an unprecedented proliferation of religious outfits and a new wave of religiosity observable in all nooks and crannies of the country. Many denominations or sects have sprung up among the two popular religious groups – Christianity and Islam – in the country. The 2008 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) indicates that most Nigerians are involved in the two popular religious groups (Christianity = 54 % and Islam = 44 %) while only 2 % fall into no religious or traditional category (National Population Commission & ICF Macro, 2009).

In spite of the apparent pervasive religiosity in the country, pre-marital sexual practices that are prohibited by these religions are not abating among adolescents (Dorojaiye, 2009; Morhason-Bello *et al.*, 2008; Okonofua, 2007). The National Population Commission (NPC) notes that by 18 years of age, 49% of females and 36% of their male counterparts have had sex mainly outside marriage (<http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php>). Given this scenario, the question of interest in this study is: what role are religious affiliation and religiosity playing in the sexual behaviour of adolescents in the country? Can religious affiliation and religiosity be utilised as a channel through which risky sexual behaviour can be managed? These questions are critical in view of the growing evidence that behavioural change is essential to curbing the fast spreading HIV pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa (Genuis, 2009; Santow, 2009).

As pointed out by Fehring, German, Cheever & Philpot (1998), from a public-health angle, it is an important goal to devise ways of assisting young people to prevent unprotected sex. According to them, a way of driving this is to encourage their involvement in religious activities. The findings of that study re-echoed the proposition that religion is a key factor in shaping [sexual] behaviour in society (Olurode, 2000). Other studies testing this hypothesis have examined different aspects. Some studies examined the effect of religious affiliation on pre-marital sexual behaviour among adolescents and reported existence of causal relationship. Thus adolescents who identify with religious groups tend to refrain from premarital sexual permissiveness. This constraining effect of religious affiliation is reportedly very high among adolescents who attend Church or religious meetings (Morhason-Bello *et al.*, 2008; Nishimura *et al.*, 2007; Price & Granger, 2005; Thornton & Camburn, 1989).

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Religiosity is a crucial variable in studies that have considered the relationship between religion and adolescent sexual behaviour. It has been measured in various studies in terms of the frequency of religious attendance, level of involvement in religious activities and the level of spirituality. Available literature indicates that religiosity tends to exert a constraining effect on the attitude of adolescents towards involvement in sexual activity (Fehring *et al.*, 1998; Thornton & Camburn, 1989). Previous studies reported that higher level of religiosity is very likely to delay sexual initiation among young people (Barnett *et al.*, 2010; Etzkin, 2004; Hardy & Raffaelli, 2003; Rostoky, Regrerus, & Wright, 2002; Steinman & Zimmerman 2004).

However, the findings of these studies reveal three unresolved differences. First, that religiosity is only significantly related to adolescent sexual behaviour at the point of sexual initiation. In this light, once sexual initiation occurs, religiosity ceases to be a significant predictor of adolescent sexual behaviour (e.g. Hardy & Raffaelli, 2003; Rostoky, Regrerus, & Wright, 2002). Contrariwise, other studies have shown that a high level of religiosity still exerts constraining effect on adolescent sexual behaviour after sexual initiation (e.g. Fehring *et al.*, 1998; Odimegwu, 2005; Thornton & Camburn, 1989). The second unresolved difference is the gender dimension. Some studies report that religiosity is a significant constraining factor among males and females (e.g. Rostoky, Regrerus, & Wright, 2002). Conversely, others indicate that the suppressive effect of religiosity on sexual behaviour is significant among females and not among males (e.g. Meier, 2001; Rostoky, Wilcox, Wright, & Randall, 2004). Thirdly, some studies report that a significant relationship between religiosity and adolescent sexual behaviour is observed only when basic demographic characteristics are not controlled (e.g. Jones, Darroch & Singh, 2005) while some others indicate that the relationship is significant even when such characteristics are controlled (e.g. Steinman & Zimmerman, 2004).

The above unresolved differences point to the necessity of further studies. Hence the present study, which seeks to contribute directly to the second unresolved difference. Within this context, two hypotheses are tested. First, religious affiliation is likely to significantly influence risky sexual behaviour differently among male and female adolescents in the study population. Second, religiosity is likely to significantly affect risky sexual behaviour differently among male and female adolescents. Through these hypotheses, the study seeks to explain the likelihood that religious affiliation and religiosity would influence risky sexual behaviour among boys and girls in the study population.

Methods

Settings and sampling

This study was carried out in Lagos State, the commercial capital of Nigeria. Its natural harbour and the population have positioned the state since independence as the most industrial city in the country. The state has an estimated population of over 18.8 million (projecting with 2.6% growth rate). This projection was based on the estimate by Lagos State Ministry of Science and Technology in 2006. This baseline database has been used because of the availability of data for the 20 Local Government Areas (LGAs). The state is considered appropriate for this study on two grounds: it is the melting point for religious activities and it is typical of the religious diversity in the country. In addition, the population of the metropolitan part of the state reflects virtually every ethnic group in the country.

A multistage sampling procedure was adopted owing to the unavailability of a useful sampling frame in the city. In the metropolis, within the limits of available resources, two of the LGAs were purposely selected to represent high income, sparsely populated residential area (Ikeja LGA) and low income, densely populated residential area (Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGA). The two LGAs have a population size of 2.3 million representing 12.3 percent of the estimated population for the state. Permission to undertake the study in the two LGAs was sought and was granted by the management of respective LGAs.

In each LGA, the number of wards was identified and a list of all wards prepared. The wards are the political demarcations in the country for electoral purposes. Considering the resources available for this study, in Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGA, one ward was randomly selected out of 10 and one was also selected out of six in Ikeja LGA. There were 82 streets in the ward selected in Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGA and 32 in the one selected in Ikeja LGA. Five percent of the streets in Ajeromi-Ifelodun LGA were randomly selected leading to four streets that were used for the survey in the LGA. On the other hand, because the number of streets in Ikeja is limited 20% of the 32 streets in Ikeja were randomly selected owing to the fact that the population is sparsely distributed. Buildings on the selected streets were counted and thereafter selected through a random process. In each selected building, one household was chosen randomly and one eligible adolescent interviewed after obtaining their consent (parents of those in junior secondary school did on behalf of their children) after the purpose of the study had been explained to them. A face- to-face interview was employed by four field assistants in the administration of the questionnaires. In all, 1026 adolescents within the age bracket of 12-19 years were interviewed (see Table 1 for respondents' socio-demographic characteristics). The study population is situated in the

context of the generally agreed definition of adolescents as young people between ages 10 to 19 years, experiencing the period of transition from childhood to adulthood (Bankole & Malarcher, 2010).

Measurement

Data analysed in this paper were generated from structured questionnaire designed for a larger study. This questionnaire was pretested by administering 20 copies among young people. The analysis of the data elicited at this level assisted in ensuring the face validity of the instrument. Among other variables, questions were asked to measure religious affiliation, religiosity and indicators of risky sexual behaviour in the instrument. Religion/religiosity was measured through two questions: what is your religious affiliation and how regular do you attend to religious activities (options provided include once a year, once a month, once a week, twice a week and more than twice a week)? Risky sexual behaviour was measured through the following questions; have you experienced sexual intercourse before (yes or no)? How old were you when you experienced the first had sexual intercourse? Did you have a regular sex partner(s) in the last six months (yes or no)? Or did you have sex with just anyone who came your way (yes or no)? How many sexual partners did you have in the last six months (one or more than one)? Did you use a male or female condom during intercourse in the last six months (yes or no)?

From the last set of questions, the indicators of risky sexual behaviours were generated. These indicators include multiple sexual partnerships (how many sexual partner(s) did you have in the last six months?); in this case more than "one" response was classified as 'yes' and one as 'no', age at first sexual intercourse (how old were you when you experienced the first sexual intercourse?), casual sexual encounters (or did you have sex with just anyone who came your way in the last six months?) and unprotected sex (did you use the male or female condom last six months?).

Ethical consideration

Although an ethics committee does not exist in the University, ethical issues were adequately taken care of. The anonymity of the respondents was paramount in the design of the questionnaire. The face-to-face procedure adopted in the interview ensured that respondents' privacy, to a very large extent, was guaranteed. The respondents were free to decide to participate or not in the study.

Analysis

Data were entered into the SPSS 16.0 data editor directly, cleaned and necessary recoding was carried out. Bivariate analysis was conducted on the association between religion, religiosity and the indicators of risky sexual behaviour. The chi-square technique was used in testing associations between two variables. Religiosity was computed from the question on 'how regular do you attend to religious activities'? The five possible responses were collapsed into three on an ordinal scale: religious (once a year plus once a month), more religious (once a week) and most religious (twice a week or more).

Three logistic regression models were constructed at the multivariate level of analysis. Dependent variables for the logistic regression models were having more than one sexual partner within the six months preceding the survey, engaging in casual sex six months preceding the survey and did not use condom during sexual intercourse six months preceding the survey. All these variables were re-coded to read "0" or "1". At all levels of analysis, boys and girls were analysed separately in order to highlight gender differential.

Results

Table 1 shows percentage distribution of respondents by religion, religiosity and gender. Most of the respondents were Protestants (Male = 37% and Female = 41%) and Catholic Christians (Male = 29% and Female = 27%). Islam has the third largest membership among the sampled adolescents. The level of religiosity among the respondents was moderately high but female respondents appeared most religious. Over 90 % of both male and female respondents were never married. A large proportion of the respondents had completed secondary education – male (76%) and females (71%). As shown in the table, the majority of the respondents were living with their parents and were not consumers of alcohol, cigarettes and hard drugs. And a higher proportion of male respondents (35%) than their female counterparts (24%) were sexually active.

Table 2 presents the bivariate analysis (using the chi-square (X^2) technique) of the association between religious affiliation, religiosity and the indicators of risky sexual behaviour (casual sex, having more than one sexual partners, unprotected sexual intercourse and age at first sexual intercourse) among the respondents. In the table, religious affiliation and casual sex were significantly associated among males ($P < 0.05$). The incidence of casual sex is highest among males who were Traditionalist or of no religious affiliation (67%) and lowest among the Protestants (17%). Having more than one sexual partner was only significantly associated with religiosity among female respondents. Those who were most religious reported the lowest cases of multiple sexual partnerships (24%) compared to 73% among those who were just religious. Unprotected sex was only significantly associated with religiosity among males ($P < 0.05$). Surprisingly,

the data indicate that a positive relationship exist between religiosity and unprotected sex among the male respondents. More religious males engaged in unprotected sex than their counterparts who were less religious.

Table 1 Percentage distribution of survey respondents by socio-demographic characteristics and sex

Characteristics	Male	Female
	n=498	n= 528
Local Government Area		
Ajeromi-Ifelodun	48.8	57.6
Ikeja	51.2	42.4
Average age	16	16
Religious Affiliation		
None/Traditional	4.0	2.1
Islam	30.1	30.5
Catholic	28.5	26.9
Protestants	37.4	40.5
Religiosity		
Religious	12.8	10.9
More religious	50.0	45.6
Most religious	37.2	43.5
Marital Status		
Never married	93.8	92.7
Cohabiting	3.3	2.1
Married	0.6	3.9
Separated/divorce	0.6	0.4
Average age at first marriage	17	16
Education		
None	0.6	1.1
Primary school	3.1	4.6
Junior secondary school	18.4	22.8
Senior secondary school	75.7	70.7
Tertiary	2.2	0.8
Living with Parents		
Yes	80.7	80.4
No	19.3	19.6
Drink/Smoke		
None	71.1	81.6
Alcohol	17.5	8.3
Cigarette	6.0	3.2
Hard drugs	5.4	6.8
Experienced sexual intercourse before		
No	64.6	76.3
Yes	35.4	23.7

Table 2 Bivariate analysis of survey respondents on the association between religion, religiosity and indicators of sexual health behaviour

Characteristics	Casual Sex		More than one sex partner		Did not use condom	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	Percent					
Religious Affiliation						
None/traditionalist	66.7*(6)	na	80.0(10)	na	50.0(14)	na
Islam	27.7*(22)	na	44.4(45)	41.9(31)	49.0(51)	65.5(41)
Catholic	18.4*(38)	na	56.6(25)	50.0(26)	45.5(44)	54.3 (35)
Protestants	17.2*(29)	na	41.9(31)	31.0(29)	53.1(49)	59.5 (42)
Religiosity						
Religious	na	na	60.0(10)	72.7*(11)	33.3*(15)	42.9 (14)
More religious	21.6(37)	na	41.7(48)	50.0*(36)	40.0*(65)	55.1 (49)
Most religious	19.1(47)	na	53.1(49)	24.4*(41)	58.9*(73)	69.1 (55)

M = Males; F = Females; * = $P < 0.05$ (chi-square); na = less than 5 cases in cell and so excluded

Table 3 presents the X^2 analysis of respondents' age at first sex by religion and religiosity. Although it was only religiosity that was significantly associated with age at first sex and only among females ($P < 0.05$), it is apparent that majority of the respondents got involved in sex between age 12 and 14 years. The proportion was generally higher among females. The association between religiosity and age at first sex was highly significant among females ($P < 0.05$). In all categories of religiosity, majority of female respondents (ranging between 90.1% and 65.4 %) had sex within 12-14 age brackets.

Table 3 Percent of respondents by age at first sex and religion and religiosity, by sex

Characteristics	Males Have first sex			Females Have first sex		
	12-14	15-19	Number	12-14	15-19	Number
	%	%		%	%	
Religious Affiliation						
None/Traditionalist	85	15	20	90.9	9.1	11
Islam	81.9	18.1	149	88.1	11.9	160
Catholic	80.9	19.1	141	85.1	14.9	141
Protestants	86.5	13.5	185	87.3	12.7	212
Religiosity						
Religious	81.2	18.8	32	65.4**	34.6**	26
More Religious	84.4	15.6	218	85.4**	14.6**	213
Most Religious	82.7	17.3	234	90.1**	9.9**	273

** = $P < 0.01$ (chi-square)

In Table 4 the results of the logistic regression models are presented. As explained in the section on method, three categorical indicators of risky sexual behaviour (casual sex, more than one sexual partner and did not use condom) were regressed against religious affiliation and religiosity in three logistic models. The objective was to test the hypothesis that religious affiliation and religiosity are likely to significantly influence risky sexual behaviour in the sample. The result indicates that religious affiliation was not significantly related to any of the indicators of risky sexual behaviour in the models. Religiosity was significantly related to having more than one sexual partner among females ($P < 0.05$) within the six months preceding the survey. Females who were more religious were almost 14 times more likely while those who were most religious were over four times more likely to have kept more than one sexual partners than those who were

just religious (reference category). This finding suggests that middle level religiosity among female adolescents in the sample had more likelihood to engage in multiple sexual partnerships than less religious.

Table 4 Logistic odds ratios on religion, religiosity and three indicators of risky sexual behaviour by sex

Characteristics	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Religious Affiliation						
Islam	8.077	na	9.395	0.977	0.933	1.863
Catholic	1.836	0.842	0.981	3.347	0.739	1.1
Protestants	1.024	na	1.764	2.165	0.761	0.76
None/Traditionalist (r)						
Religiosity						
More religious	1.039	na	0.513	13.750**	0.356	0.333
Most religious	1.263	1.418	0.57	4.021*	0.455	0.569
Religious (r)						

M = Males; F = Females; model 1 = Casual sex; model 2 = More than one sex partner;

model 3 = did not use condom; * = $P < 0.05$; ** = $P < 0.01$; na = not included in the model

Discussion

As mentioned earlier, the study has tested two hypotheses: religious affiliation is likely to significantly influence risky sexual behaviour among adolescents and religiosity is likely to significantly affect risky sexual behaviour among adolescents. In attempt to test these hypotheses, bivariate and multivariate analyses were carried out. The analysis shows that at the bivariate level, out of the four indicators of risky sexual behaviours, religious affiliation was only significantly related to casual sex among males. The relationship paints a picture that is consistent with some aspects of the literature that association with protestant Christian religion is likely to have restraining effect on casual sex among male adolescents (Morhason-Bello et al., 2008; Nishimura et al., 2007; Price & Granger, 2005). Traditionalist and those who did not belong to any religious groups were more vulnerable to engaging in casual sex. This suggest that young people who do not identify with any of the popular religious groups (Christianity and Islam) were more likely to be exposed to casual sex which has been identified as a behavioural practice that breeds sexual health problems. This observation is critical in view of the fact that a higher proportion of them did not practise condom use. Thus the risk of sexual infections is very high among males that were less religious compared to their more religious counterparts. At this level, it is obvious that religion and religiosity play some significant role in determining the sexual health status of male respondents. On the other hand, just religious affiliation did not play any significant role in female sexual health behaviour. It was religiosity that was significantly related to unprotected sex. In this case, the relationship implies preponderance of unprotected sex among more religious girls. This may not be unconnected with the anti-contraceptive position of some religious leaders. The fact that most of the girls had had sexual intercourse very early (age 12-14 years) indicates a very devastating situation among them with respect to sexual health. Also, although the association was not statistically significant, the percentages indicate that the more religious the girls the more they engaged in unprotected sex which further strengthens the submission that female adolescents are more vulnerable.

At the level of multivariate analysis, the four models indicated that religious affiliation did not have any statistically significant relationship with the four indicators of risky sexual behaviour. In view of the fact that the bivariate association was relatively scanty in terms of the number of the indicators and the gender dimension of it, and the complete disappearance of the relationship at the multivariate level of analysis, it is vivid that the first hypothesis was not valid. This implies that religious affiliation in the context of the study population cannot be considered as a significant predictor of risky sexual behaviour among adolescents in the study population if religiosity is controlled for. Conversely, religiosity was significantly related to having more than one sexual partner among females and unprotected sex among males, and age at first sexual intercourse among females who had sexual initiation at an age above 14 years. At the multivariate level, religiosity was only significantly related to having more than one sexual partner among females. Thus religiosity was only related to one indicator of risky sexual behaviour at both bivariate and multivariate levels of analyses among female adolescents. On the basis of this indicator, the second hypothesis was valid only among female adolescents.

In light of these findings, this study has made some contributions towards resolving the first two of the unresolved differences as highlighted earlier. In the first case, the study found that religious affiliation did not have any significant influence on sexual health behaviour of adolescents in the present context. Analysis of data reveals that majority of the

adolescents have had the first sexual intercourse at age 14. It is likely that a vast majority of the respondents who had experienced sexual initiation was responsible for the absence of significant relationship between religious affiliation and risky sexual behaviour among them as pointed out in previous studies (Hardy & Raffaelli, 2003; Rostoky, Regrerus, & Wright, 2002). In addition, this study supports one aspect of the gender dimension of the unresolved differences which states that the constraining effect of religiosity on adolescents' sexual behaviour was only significant among females (Meier 2001; Rostosky et al., 2004). The fact that the relationship was sustained at bivariate and multivariate levels only among females implies that that religiosity plays a significant role in risky sexual behaviour among females in the context of the study.

Conclusion

The findings suggest that religious affiliation is not likely to play any significant role in shaping sexual behaviour of young people owing to the fact that it did not manifest any statistically significant relationship with the indicators in the study area. The study indicates that simply identifying with a religion would not be sufficient to influence adolescents towards reducing risky sexual behaviour in the population. However, flowing from the statistically significant relationship between religiosity and having more than one sexual partner among females, religiosity is likely to be a significant channel through which the menace of risky sexual behaviour among female adolescents could be confronted. Therefore, to shape adolescent sexual behaviour, religiosity in terms of regular attendance of religious activities and such like and not just identification with a religious group, should be encouraged among them.

The study suffers some limitations. Firstly, just like any other study on sensitive areas of human life, investigating sexual behaviour among young people is a very difficult task. So, the likelihood of under-reporting or over reporting sexual experiences among males and female respondents respectively, is usually very likely. This problem may have influenced the findings. Secondly, this study adopted a purely cross-sectional design. It is generally agreed that cross-sectional studies are limited in measuring the impact of independent variables on dependent variables. The analysis is also limited because of the use of one item indicator of independent variable. The measurement of religiosity adopted may also have affected the result. Thirdly, generalisation of result about the country is also difficult given that the sample was generated only within one city. However, given that the findings do not deviate significantly from that of previous similar studies, especially in other settings, including those that made use of longitudinal designs, it suggests that the findings provide reliable estimate of current likely influence of religious affiliation and religiosity on the sexual health behaviour of young people in the study setting.

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Federal government financing of grassroots decay in Nigeria: the case of Edo state

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In this research article, an attempt is made to locate the failure of local government councils to construct rural development poles in the context of patrimonial redistributive politics that greeted the emergence of the Nigerian petro-state. The failure of the third tier to transit into a local pole of development, controverts the assumed linkage between grassroots development and creation of more local government councils. Empirical evidence from Edo state has demonstrated 'reverse resource flow' in favour of urban and semi-urban locales. In this process, enhanced revenue flow through federal statutory allocation is 'reverse transfer' to the centres through the mechanisms of urban extractive ratio. The de-poling so engendered creates more decay than existed pre-fragmentation. By the character logic and organization of these new local governments (political post); they mediate the crisis of rural-urban exploitation and rural-locale depoling, in a self-reproduction project typical of patron-client politics. In this context, it is assumed that phenomenal growth in statutory and allied revenues accruing to rural locales has not produced the desired development, but undesired decay.

Key Words: Nigeria – Federal financing, Edo State, public administration, political science, Nigeria, University of Benin

Introduction

The centrality and attraction of the locale; the community, the village, the ethnic and sub-ethnic units in the construction of the colonial state apparatus was celebrated with the adoption of the dual mandate: (a) non-interference with native institutions and culture; (b) the preparation of the colonial peoples for self-rule. This was a response for the challenge of constructing a multi-centric national state that could accommodate divergence and stimulate a development profile driven by local peculiarities and challenges. This context and thrust were re-enacted in the post-colonial society at the Cambridge Conference on Local Government in Africa (1961)

'... it was observed that most African countries are heterogeneous and thereby contained within them potentially disruptive minorities which if not handled with care will constitute a threat to national unity. Consequently, this threat to national unity can be greatly reduced or entirely removed by the institution of Local Government ...

It was assumed that when Local Government are properly organized, they can serve as the best vehicles for taking into account, the interest of minorities and bringing them into a general or broader framework of national unity (quoted in Aghayere, 1995:275).

Cast in this mood, the Nigerian state, colonial and post-colonial, imbibed one fundamental conception of local government as the building block of national unity and development. It is in this context that the notion of grassroots development strategy is situated. This conception of development from below is organized around the institution of the government (Aghayere 1995, Ademolekun 1983, Oduola 1981). Three objectives of the Nigerian local government are (a) Participation (b) Resource mobilization, and (c) Provision of essential services. It is in line with government's firm persuasion in the centrality of local government that a third tier status was granted to the local government level as in Brazil (Erero 1998). Certain checks and balances which do not allow the state to exercise absolute control over the local government council in its operation as a third tier government include its guaranteed existence as in Section 7 of the 1999 constitution; financial allocation from the federation account; and the involvement of the local government council in economic planning of the state government (Imhanlihi and Ikeanyibe 2009:77).

There are various phases of the local government system in Nigeria. These are (1) the colonial phase, (2) the local government reforms of the 1950s, (3) the military coup of 1991 and the 1976 local government reforms. With the anti-local authority system mobilization against the colonial state by Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the West and Dr. Zik in the East, a reform process that created a three tier local government system via: (a) county or division (b) district and (c) local council was institutionalized in 1950. During the post-coup and post-war years, this new structure was differently understood and applied by the military governors either as "Native Authority, local government authority" development

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area", development administration, etc. in various states without the needed uniformity. The confusion triggered the need for unification of the Nigerian local government system which was implemented by the Murtala Muhammed Administration in 1976. With the 1976 reform, the country adopted a single-tier system of local government which must be operationalised all over the federation. The focus of this reform was uniformity of:

- (a) The functions of the local government;
- (b) The structure of local government;
- (c) The financial resources of local government;
- (d) The place of traditional rulers in local government;
- (e) The relationship with the state government; and
- (f) Law enforcement.

This uniformity was further promoted by the Civil service reform of 1988 which enabled Babangida to radically transform and professionalise the service and the local government system.

In doing this, the presidential system which had been applied at the federal and state levels was introduced at the local level for clearer separation of power and checks and balances at grassroots. In this system, the chairman is not a member of the council but the executive head, with the entire L.G.A as his constituency. In the same vein, the executive supervisor without legislative responsibility was now introduced at the grassroot as it applied at the state and federal levels. With these reforms, the Nigerian local government system has come a long way. Issues that are now emerging are (1) how has the spate of reform patronage translated into grass roots governance as an arena of development process. What does the reform mean for the government at the state and federal levels in terms of grassroots instrumentality of governance and development? What has happened to grassroots resource Profile in the context of institutional leverage? Can the grassroots drive rural development? In addressing these issues, the paper is discussed in five sections. Section one address introductory and background issues while rural resource retention capacity as our framework of analysis is articulated in section II. Section III presents the resource profile of Edo state local government councils while section IV presents resource utilization as development cost. The theme, Edo drama of development is articulated in the concluding section.

The framework: local resource retention capacity.

The primary goal of creating a third tier is to switch development backward through the construction of new local poles of development. The mission is propelled by the need to de-concentrate development resources around the center and around the urban locales with a view to arresting the rising trend of rural-urban disarticulation and incoherence, characteristic of the Nigerian Spatial development profile. This traditional character has been marked by reverse resource transmission, rural resource depletion, rising rural poverty, rural infrastructural under development, urban over population, urban unemployment, rising urban social segmentation, and the attendant social maladjustment manifested in increased crime wave, declining moral value and social decay.

The creation of new local government is not necessarily synonymous with the creation of new resource domain or new poles of development in culturally multi-centric society, based on diverse and competing centers of external loyalty. The capacity to retain local resources or local surplus value depends on local availability of critical infrastructure. The creation of local resource domain depends on the local government's capacity to locally retain surplus value. The evolution of a local development pole within the LGA is dependent on the LGAs local resource retention capacity. In the absence of a local development pole, reverse resource transfer to alternative centers of development outside the local government take root. In the process, the L.G.A suffers from the crisis of runaway development. Local resource retention capacity therefore is the measure of the absorptive capacity of the L.G.A. to locally retain the values appropriated by the newly created L.G.A. Such appropriated values find their way back to their origins; state or federal in the context of low local absorptive capacity. Enhanced local absorptive capacity is therefore a necessary condition for the evolution of local poles of development. Figure 1 below captures the possible relationship between rural (LGA) local development poles and urban (external) competing development pole.

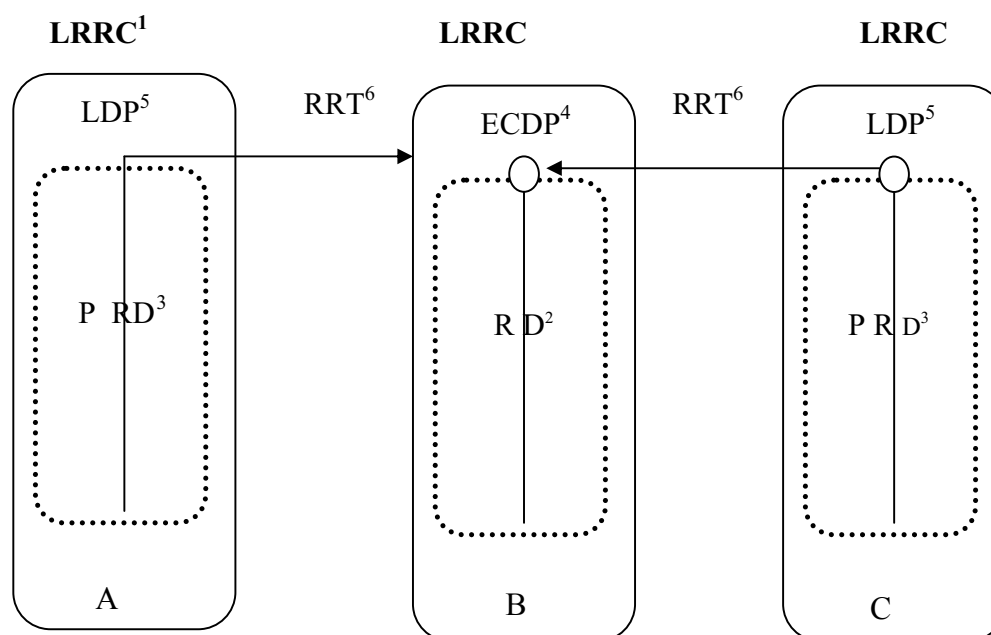


Figure1 Outcome possibilities of differential LRRC for Local Government Councils in Edo State
Source: Ebohon (2008)

Key:

LRRC:	Local Resource Retention capacity	-1
RD:	Resource Domain	-2
PRD:	Partial Resource Domain	-3
ECDP:	External competing Dev. Pole	-4
L.D.P:	Local Dev. Pole	-5
R.R.T:	Reverse Resource Transfer	-6

As presented in Figure 1, LRRC captures the capacity of a local government to retain resources locally (i.e. within) the local government, around development poles A, B, C, LPD as in A & C are local poles of development while ECDP is an external competing development pole, attracting resources from LDP in a relationship of urban extractive ratio that exploits the rural LGAs through resource centralization around urban development pole. RRT is the process of rural resource transfer from underdeveloped rural enclave to a developed urban enclave, i.e. ECDP, while the three poles are development poles drawing resources from the centre. A & C transfer their weak resources to B. In this process, B strengthens as a resource domain while A & C degenerates into a partial resource domain. The concepts of vertical departmentalism, resource domain, rural retention capacity and reverse resource transfer have been articulated in Ebohon (1995:320-322)

Situation analysis:

The human and financial resources available to councils have been in steady increase since 1999. This trend has not been felt in terms of the development dreams that informed the demands for the creation of local government councils. The failure of councils to play such developmental role is informed by their inability to retain resources locally for development. Some observations will suffice in this respect.

- (a) while average monthly statutory allocation for each council in Edo state has risen from N10m in 1999 to about N50m by 2008, the development index has suggested decay or at best stagnation;
- (b) The earnings of 75-85 percent of senior staff which account for more than 80 percent of wage bill is not utilized or invested in the local economy; it is rather transferred to the metropolitan Benin-City economy where they live with their children;

(c) This figure is as high as 10 percent from the south senatorial district who worked in Benin, where all staff of the rural local government-Uhunmwode, Orhionmwon, Ovia south west and Ovia North east domicile in Benin City, with their families.

(d) The trends towards increased appropriation for recurrent and overhead expenditure, which averages 60 percent-70 percent of council's budget and which is controlled by the same cadre, further escalates the rising incidence of urban extractive ratio and reverse resource flow.

(e) The fact that 100 percent of the major contractors handling capital projects are domiciled in Benin City, even when they are indigenes of the local government area, further questions the structure of opportunity utilization and the urban extractive ratio;

(f) The movement of the young youths and successful rural dwellers to Benin City, who accumulate through the councils, for building of modern urban structure as a first home concept, and functional rural structure as a second home concept to the neglect of their ancestral homes and shrines, clearly mark the failure of rural LGAs as development poles;

(g) The high incidence of reverse resource flow, so engendered has spelt runaway development and runaway opportunities in the context of rural LGAs. This crisis must be situated in the context of low resource retention capacity, and the absence of a local development pole within the rural local government areas;

(h) The incidence of runaway opportunities and runaway development does not only strengthen the urban development pole, it also depletes the rural enclave.

The functions of local government councils:

The 1976 local government reforms which created unified local government councils for the first time in the history of Nigerian grassroot government also identified and classified local government functions into three categories. This is in line with its new scope and responsibilities. These functions were later recaptured under schedule four of the 1979 constitution and schedule four of the 1989 constitution which was actually never operational. The 1999 constitution also outlined similar functions for the third tier under the fourth schedule (1999:LL196-097) section 7. These functions are often locally and environmentally circumscribed. They include:

- (a) Those functions which require detailed local knowledge for efficient performance.
- (b) Functions in which success depends on community's responsiveness and participation.
- (c) Functions which are of personal nature, requiring close to where the individual's affected live; and
- (d) Functions in which significant use of discretion or understanding of individuals is needed (Local Government Gazette 1980; Agahyere 1995:295).

I. The main functions of a local government council are as follows:

- (a) The consideration and making of recommendation to a state commission on economic planning or any similar body on,

I The economic development of a state particularly in so far as the areas of authority of the council and of the state are effected and.

II Proposal made by the said commission or body:

- (b) Collection of rates, radio and television license;
- (c) Establishment and maintenance of cemeteries, burial ground and home of the destitute or infirm;
- (d) Licensing of bicycles, trucks (other than mechanically propelled trucks).canoes, wheelbarrow and carts;
- (e) Establishment, maintenance and regulation of slaughter houses, slaughter slabs, markets, motor parks and public conveniences;
- (f) Construction and maintenance of roads, streets, street lightings, drains and other public highways, parks, gardens, open space, or such public facilities as may be prescribed from time to time by the house of assembly of a state;
- (g) Naming of roads and streets and numbering of houses;
- (h) Provision and maintenance of public convenience, sewage and refuse disposal;
- (i) Registration of all births, deaths and marriages;
- (j) Assignment of privately owned houses or tournaments for the purpose of playing such games as may be prescribed by the house of assembly of a state; and
- (k) Control and regulation of:

I outdoor advertising and hoarding;

II movement and keeping of pets of all descriptions;

III Shops and kiosks;

IV Restaurants, bakeries and other places for sale of food to the public;

V Laundries; and

VI Licensing, regulation and control of the sale of liquor.

2. The function of a local government council shall include participation of such council in the government of a state as respect the following matters.

- (a) The provision and maintenance of primary, adults and vocational education;
- (b) The development of agriculture and natural resources, other than the exploration of minerals;
- (c) The provision and maintenance of health service; and
- (d) Such other functions as may be conferred on a local government council by the house of assembly of the state.

Grassroots resource profile

Grassroot resource profile in Nigeria has been undermined by the unstreamlined and uncoordinated history and structure of the Nigerian local government from the early days of the local authority to 1981. In effect, even in the face of the great reform of 1976, financial arrangement for the third tier remained either a pittance or a token or an unstable gesture from the central government. This development undermined the claim and pretensions of creating an autonomous local tier. The situation was not helped by the paucity of independent revenue available to the local council (Ebohon 1995:308) As Wraith (1972:119-120) observed: 'In many other countries, among them Canada and the United States, New Zealand, Sweden, West Germany and Switzerland, the average amount raised locally is about 70 percent and local government is proportionately more independent' (Also quoted in Imam, 1990).

Two observations informed by empirical evidence are germane on the issue of grassroots financing by the center. The first is that the early history of local financing has been characterized by epileptic disbursement not based on a regular sharing formula. When the third tier gained recognition through the reform of 1976, allocation was an ordinary token, not matched by policy proclamation and the dream of local transformation (see table 1).

Table 1 Statutory allocation from the federal government to local government 1976/77-86

YEAR	TOTAL FEDERAL GOVT. REVENUE (N MILLION)	AMOUNT ALLOCATED TO LOCAL GOVT. (N MILLION)	%
1976/77	6,765.9	100.00	1.48
1977/78	8,042.4	250.00	3.11
1978/79	7,469.3	150.0	2.01
1979/80	11,809.1	344.3	2.92
1980	11,859.8	278.0	2.34
1981	14,757.7	1,085.0	7.36
1982	10,617.7	1,018.7	9.59
1983	10,947.4	996.8	9.10
1984	11,738.5	1,061.5	9.04
1985	15,041.8	1,327.5	8.82
1986	14,189.9	1,166.9	8.22

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the various years listed. Also see Ebohon (1995).

Thus, the structure took the profile of window dressing constructed to legitimise authoritarianism at the grassroots. However, rising from a poor level of 1.48% of federation account allocation of 1976/77 to the current level of 20% implies a remarkable improvement, although capacity for rural transformation is still being tested. See Table 2 below for federal account structure 1st half 2001 to 1st half 2005, for Edo state.

Table 2 Allocation to Edo state local government & VAT pool account. N.M. 1st half 2001 – 1st half 2005

	1ST HALF 2001	1ST HALF 2002	1ST HALF 2003	1ST HALF 2004	1ST HALF 2005
State	4,202.3	4966.8	6,967.4	9,381.1	10,864.2
18 L.G.A	3,002.6	3,287.0	4,541.8	5,644.8	6,136.4

Source: Adapted from CBN Economic report for first half of 2005.

Table 2 above suggests a speedy increase in local government revenue profile since 2001. However, it tells nothing about state statutory revenue contributions that accrue to the L.G.A from the state internally generated revenue. This revenue source has ceased to be a feature of the external revenue profile of Bendel State and later Edo state since 1991. Throughout the first 10 years of the 4th republic, the 10 percent was never disbursed to local government councils in Edo state. Since the present Edo state administration, this negative profile has risen to 20 percent in the light of the monthly deduction of 10 percent by the state government from the federal allocation due to the LGA. In effect a council losses 20 percent of its statutory revenue on a monthly basis to the state government.

Closely related to the federal and state allocations is the issue of internal revenue generation and performance by the Local Government Council. Internal Revenue performance is generally poor and of course on a steady decline due to rising reliance on federal allocation by local government councils.

The internal revenue performance of the 18 local government councils in Edo state since 1999 is captured in table 3 below. This table must be viewed as couplet with table 4 which captures the national profile. The general downward trend suggest a demobilization and under employment of local resources, extraversion of local accumulation logic and the political and economic de-empowerment of the local people. Although table 3 shows some unstable pockets of performance, the general picture is gloomy threat of decay.

Table 3 Internal revenue contribution as percentage of total revenue

s/n	Local govt. Council	1999	2000	2001	2006	% Difference 1999 - 2006
1	Akoko-Edo	2.72	1.78	1.13	1.2	-126.7
2	Egor	6.3	2.79	2.92	2.4	-162.5
3	Esan Central	0.001	1.25	1.82	1.2	99.9
4	Esan North East	3.46	2.44	2.16	4	13.5
5	Esan South East	1.6	1.1	0.8	0.6	-166.7
6	Esan West				6.5	
7	Etsako Central	3.15	0.4	0.37	0.7	-350
8	Etsako East	0.001	0.91	0.15	0.4	99.8
9	Etsako West	3.77	4.09	4.05	2.5	-50.8
10	Igueben	1.08	0.88	1.5	0.8	-35
11	Ikpoba – Okha	4.9	4.07	4.94	1.7	-188.2
12	Oredo	39.09	29.8	22.4	8.3	-370.9
13	Orhionmwon	2.22	1.63	0.8	0.3	-640
14	Owan East	1.89	1.25	2.08	3.8	-50.3
15	Owan West	1.26	1.83	1.32	0.6	-110
16	Ovia North East	3.53	1.61	3.69	0.5	-606
17	Ovia South West	3.19	3.62	3.38	0.9	-254.4
18	Umunwode	0.92	0.44	5.9	0.8	-15
Average		4.652	3.523	3.663	2.067	-125.1

Source: Computed from the returns of the 18 Local Government Councils to Edo State House of Assembly Committee on investigation of revenue profile of Local Government Councils in Edo State for the period covered.

Table 4 % Contributed to local government's finances 1993-2006

Sources	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2006
Fed. Rev. All	93.4	88.8	89.5	91.5	95.5	93.8	95.3	96.0
State Rev. All	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.5
L.G. Inter. Rev.	5.1	8.7	8.3	7.9	3.5	5.6	4.6	3.5
Other funds	1.2	2.0	1.5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Imhanlahimi and Ikeanyibe (2009:87).

Table 4 shows a massive state default in disbursement of constitutionally recognized receipt. In addition, internal revenue performance is on speedy decline.

The super story of local decay is not told without capturing the expenditure profile of overdeveloped local bureaucracies. The prospects for improved revenues remain high as table 2 has shown. Not much is however on ground to show for the improved earnings from the federation account. Expenditure pattern is generally tilted towards recurrent and overhead spending with little left for capital project. Tables 5 and 6 which must also be viewed in couplet, capture the super story of bureaucratic over development at the Edo grassroot and the wider national space.

Table 5 captures the relationship between recurrent and capital spending in 18 local councils of Edo-state 2004/2005 and 2005/2006. on the average 60 to 65% is appropriated for recurrent expenditure.

Table 5 Average Local Government Council Expenditure Profile in Percentage

S/N	Local Govt. Council	Items / Expenditure	Percentage 1999-2001	2004 -2006
1	Akoko Edo	Capital Recurrent	30.39 69.61	32.73 65.27
2	Egor	Capital Recurrent	49.2 50.8	46.20 53.80
3	Esan Central	Capital Recurrent	20.85 79.15	33.3 66.7
4	Esan North East	Capital Recurrent	28.7 71.3	28.85 * 64.15
5	Esan South East	Capital Recurrent	24.6 75.4	51.57 64.15
6	Esan West	Capital Recurrent	29 71	32.8 * 66.9
7	Etsako Central	Capital Recurrent	52.8 * 42.7	40.6 * 59.0
8	Etsako East	Capital Recurrent	52.8 47.2	33.05 66.94
9	Etsako West	Capital Recurrent	34.3 65.7	39.51 60.49
10	Igueben	Capital Recurrent	39.2 60.8	39.28 60.56
11	Ikpoba-Okha	Capital Recurrent	34.9 65.1	45.83 54.17
12	Oredo	Capital Recurrent	15.6 84.4	36 64
13	Orhionmwon	Capital Recurrent	25.1 74.9	40.03 59.97
14	Owan East	Capital Recurrent	49.2 50.8	51.19 48.81
15	Owan West	Capital Recurrent	55.5 44.5	55.26 44.62
16	Ovia North East	Capital Recurrent	38.2 61.8	41.32 58.68
17	Ovia South West	Capital Recurrent	51.02 48.98	39.66 * 59.24
18	Umunwode	Capital Recurrent	30.3 69.7	42.63 57.37

*Difference due to transfer to G.R.B. (General Reserve Balance)

Source: Adapted from the returns of local government councils to Edo State. House of Assembly Committee on Investigation of Revenue Profile of Local Government Councils in Edo State, for the period covered.

Table 6 LGS' recurrent expenditure in relation to capital expenditure (percent) in Nigeria, 1993-2006.

Year	Recurrent Exp	Capital Expenditure
1993	71.8	28.2
1994	77.9	22.1
1995	72.8	27.1
1996	72.5 72.3	27.7
1997	72.5	27.5
1998	58.6	41.4
1999	68.9	31.1
2000	61.0	39.0
2001	71.6	28.4
2002	73.4	26.4
2003	58.5	41.5
2004	64.1	35.9
2005	63.7	36.3
2006	59.8	40.2

Sources: Nigerian Government sources (1999, 2001, 2003, 2006) also see Imhanlahimi and Ikeayibe (2009:90).

Edo drama: the political economy of rural locale de-poling.

Ikelegbe (2005:54) summarized the new grassroots optimism when he declared that there is tremendous strengthening of local government funding, structuring, autonomy and democratization. A number of questions however being asked are (1) is this rising federal revenue profile reflected in the performance of councils? (2) are council funds well managed? and (3) are councils constructing local poles of development?.

Can the local councils construct local development poles that can attract development to the grassroots within the existing frame work of limited local retention capacity? What is the character of the development drama that has played out in Edo state in the context of rising revenue profile? In this part of the paper, we want to observe that increased funding and the institutionalization of grassroots, command-type democracy may not limit the constraint of an anti-developmental fragmentation unleashed by prebendalization (Joseph 1991).

Thus in the context of the peculiar development of the drama that has been played out in the contemporary Edo grass root development profile, a number of observations are instructive. The arrest of 18 possible grass root poles of development following the creation of the existing LGAs is one disappointment of a failed development dream unleashed by a constructivist illusion. Edo state experience has shown consistent rural decay in the face of increased revenue. Only four poles of development; Benin City, Auchi, Ekpoma and Uromi have emerged as new development poles and resource domains.

In deploying the advantage of urban extractive ratio to tap resources from rural LGAs, rising urban poles have reduced the rural LGAs into enclaves of partial resource domains in a reverse transfer relationship that stunts the prospects for the growth of rural local development pole.

In the context of Edo-south senatorial district, reverse resource transfer relationship is actualized in several forms. All senior staff of the four local government councils-Uhumwode, Ohriomwon, Ovia South-West and Ovia North East reside with their family members in Benin City; Oredo, Egor and Ikpoba Okha. They are part of the Benin urban metropolitan economy and development system and not of the rural local government of origin or place of work. The cultural expectation that Benin City is the ultimate home of Edo people tends to predispose them towards Benin property development platform. Local shrines and deities are abandoned while new urban statuses and identities are acquired. This change is enhanced by improved personal and family finances as every one is accepted into Benin as son of the Oba (Obhio – Oba); Similarly, more than 95 percent of the major contractors working for councils also live in Benin City with members of their families.

A similar but less centralizing process is also taking root in the other two senatorial districts. While Esan beneficiaries are likely to be pulled towards Ekpoma and Uromi central development poles, North senatorial district beneficiaries are likely to be pulled towards Auchi-North development pole. However, beneficiaries are likely in all cases to build a primary/first home in Benin City and a secondary home in beneficiaries' home-town. In this process, two layers of development poles are under construction in Edo state; central pole around Benin city; and secondary poles around Auchi, Ekpoma and Uromi. These poles are the economic and development poles competing with the partial rural local development poles envisioned in the fragmentation project of local government creation. Urban poles as resource concentration centres also attract labour force (skilled and unskilled); attract critical infrastructure; increase polar tax base and resource profile. The absence of rural poles engenders runaway jobs and opportunities and facilitates rural decay through rural-urban migration. Observation shows that the higher the revenue from the center, the higher the capacity of the urban domain to attract rural beneficiaries to urban polar opportunity.

The logic of the new construction produced a phenomena growth in the number of LGAs from about 301 in 1984 to its current size of 774 nationwide. This growth is no doubt exponential. It has been driven not by the grassroots, but by a rentier culture provoked by the oilification of the national economy. The development has given rise to prebendalization of state and politics, seeking grassroots corollary in oiling patron/client structure. In this process, the political economy elites of power, seeking integration and co-optation into a complex national system of power emerged to move for fragmentation at the grassroots (Joseph, 1985 & 1987).

The central objective in the agitation for the creation of more local governments was to create grassroots access to the oil economy and the rentier system for personal transformation. Fragmentation, instead of bringing development to the grass root was a prebendal structure for primitive grassroots accumulation. Thus, while the clamour was for grassroots transformation, the motive was for local elite's access. In a vast majority of cases, it was also a system of patronage and settlement for the local political classes for services rendered during the legitimation challenges faced by the praetorian state. Such prebendal project creates political post not development pole. The post is a patronage system funded with federal allocation. This may explain while states are not sanctioned for default in remittance of state 10 percent statutory allocation to local government councils.

This may also explain why the calls for accountability sound strange at the grassroots. The form and organization of grassroots governance have predicated the collapse of rural infrastructure. It is indeed, an arena of a beastly primitive accumulation driven in contemporary times with an overdeveloped grassroots political bureaucratic machine. Ebohon (2005:209) observed:

Ley's concept of overdeveloped post-colonial state has a bearing on the patterns of development in the Edo state Local government system. Empirical evidence suggests that a vast proportion of centrally and locally derived resources is deployed for bureaucratic ends like salaries and wages, training, touring advances, media patronage and related overhead expenditure.

Tables 5 and 6 illustrate the gross imbalance in the relationship between recurrent and capital spending; this is to the detriment of capital spending. The two immediate implications of this imbalance are (i) the development of rural infrastructure, tend generally to lag, leading to rural-urban migration, rural poverty and rural decay; (ii) the deployment of a vast proportion of grassroots revenue (recurrent) for bureaucratic/political projects, facilitates rural runaway resource towards the centre. The recurrent largesse in the hands of the grassroots political/administrative executives and other senior professional executives who are attracted to the urban development pole, because of their social background characteristics and upward mobility aspirations, often constitute the executive machine for draining the grassroots. In fact, recurrent budgeting has become institutionalized process for constructing grassroots rogue aristocracy with fundamental vested stake in the urban development pole. These rogue aristocrats constitute the rural corollary of the urban central rogue aristocrats and executive political directors of state, who have perfected the art of politics of the belly (Jean-Francois, 1993). In this process, the constructed imbalance between recurrent spending and capital spending has become part of what Aluko (2002) dubbed the institutionalization of corruption in Nigeria

Conclusions and recommendations

A number of issues that derive from the body of empirical evidence here adduced are observed in this concluding discourse. The first is that the fragmentation of grassroots centres of development into 774, has not produced 774 grassroots development poles. In Edo state, the entire project has played out 18 local political posts that reverse transfer Federal Statutory allocations to four development poles to the detriment of the rural locale. The de-poling engendered creates more decay than what existed pre-fragmentation. By the character, logic and organization of these political posts;

they mediate the crisis of rural-urban exploitation and rural-locale de-poling in a self reproduction project typical of patron-client politics. In this context, phenomena growth in statutory and allied revenues accruing to rural-locale has not produced the desired development but undesired decay. Thus, exiting the rural locale rural/LGA for urban sojourn remains the bane of the Edo development profile. Trapped and held hostage by the grassroots rogue aristocrats what alternative options are available?.

Policy target

1. The initiation of a policy and an administrative programme for the construction and articulation of a mandatory local pole of development in Edo state local government area by January 2011;
2. The articulation of a policy programme on the creation of critical infrastructure, which can keep officers and youths on ground within the local government area to stem the incidence of reverse resource flow. This must be in process by January 2011;
3. The institution of an administrative regime that would concede 70 percent budgetary allocation to capital projects to facilitate the provision of basic amenities. This must happen not later than the first quarter of 2011;
4. A policy of deliberate increase in rural retention ratio and deliberate reduction in urban extractive ratio. This must be operational by January 2011; and
5. Local government councils must be centrally directed to contribute through internal revenue effort at least 25 percent of expendable revenues, starting January 2011 to the funding and running of a Rural Enterprises Development Authority for nurturing rural entrepreneurship in Edo State Local government areas.

Strategies

1. The creation of necessary infrastructural support schemes in the local government headquarters to stimulate the growth of a new pole of development in each local government area. This must include a housing scheme.
2. A massive and aggressive campaign that aims at attracting private investors to be part of the opportunities that abound in each local government area.
3. Reaching and partnering with indigenes of the LGA in major Nigeria cities and Diaspora on the challenges and potentials of this new strategy and essentialities of a new growth pole;
4. The adoption of a programme of economic restitution for the LGAs by federal and state government, to right the decades of under funding and consequent decay within a new grassroots philosophical and political framework of rural developmentalism. In this context, fiscal federalism that recognizes peculiar environmental development challenges is imperative; and
5. The establishment and construction of a Central Rural Enterprise Development Authority (REDA) to which each local government council must deposit at least 5 percent monthly allocation as seed money for development of rural entrepreneurship in agriculture and small scale industrialization. Access must be based on local indigenship and proven entrepreneurship in proposed project area. This will fast track and sustain the rise of local development poles.

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Local government autonomy and development of localities in Nigeria: issues, problems and suggestions

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The topical issue of local government (LG) autonomy in Nigeria in relation to the development of the localities, the raison d'être of LGs, has been examined in this paper. Proceeding from theoretical framework and conceptualizations for clearer understanding, the paper discusses some dominant autonomy issues. These include representative LGs, the size of LGs, revenue, and personnel. The paper found that inadequate handling of virtually all the above issues has posed some challenges for LGs' developmental efforts in the localities. Inadequate autonomy has been found to be the independent variable in the challenges. Other challenges include inadequate finances, weak intergovernmental relations, fledgling democracy and grand corruption. These must be adequately tackled for LGs to make more positive impact in the localities. Some pertinent recommendations are as follows. LGs need adequate autonomy, hard work rather than verbal institutionalization, democratic consolidation, reduced corruption, increased discipline and application of the rule of law.

Keywords: Local government autonomy, Nigeria – local government, Nigeria

Introduction

The definition of local government (LG) by the Nigerian Federal Government leaves one with no iota of doubt that it is largely both theoretically sound and service oriented to the people. It talks of representative councils with substantial control over local affairs, for the provision of services and implementation of projects in their areas, to complement the activities of both the State and Federal governments. The definition also amply recognizes the need for LG autonomy as the substantial control of local governments (LGs) is aimed at staff, institutional and financial matters, among others (Nigeria, 1976).

In addition to the above, the Nigerian Federal Government is one of the few governments in the world perhaps in addition to Brazil (Erero 1998) that have elevated LGs to a third tier of government. By so doing, the State governments do not exercise absolute controls over LGs. As we shall also observe later, there are many checks and balances that have been formulated by the Nigerian Federal Government, to facilitate the effective operations of the local government councils (LGCs). Some of such checks and balances are guaranteed existence of LGs in section 7 of the 1999 Constitution, financial allocation from the Federation account and involvement of LGs in economic planning of the State governments (Nigeria 1999a).

In spite of the said establishment of the twin relationship of LG autonomy and the service and development rationale of the LGs in Nigeria, the latter, as shall be shown below, are full of stories of woes about their problems. These are largely hinged on inadequate autonomy especially in vital areas such as staff and institutional management and development, as well as financial matters, etc. which greatly hinder their development efforts in their localities.

The above paradoxical situation is what this paper has examined, to find out the missing links between LG autonomy and the development of the localities in Nigeria. The missing links are important for identification. This is because as we have stated earlier, the encouraging documentary provisions on LG autonomy and the rationale for the LG system in Nigeria are hinged on the provision of services and development projects in the localities. Specifically, the paper carefully, critically and objectively examines operational definitions, resource allocations, and development and opinion of the people expressed through the print media about the impact of the LGs in their areas.

And of course, germane recommendations which emanate from the study are provided for the improvement of LG autonomy and the development of the localities.

Both the bench work and content analysis of the people's opinion expressed in the mass media are approaches that have been adopted in this paper. A careful, logical and rather detailed analysis of existing general literature and government publications on LG autonomy and development of their localities constitutes part of the bench work. The government publications include those of the Federal Office of Statistics (now renamed National Bureau of Statistics – NBS), and annual reports of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). Also utilized are some performance indicators of LGs. In addition, content analysis of the opinions of the people on LGs' performance in the localities was also undertaken.

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Structurally, this paper is presented as follows: the first section contains the introductory, problem statement, and methodological preliminaries. Section two provides the theoretical framework and conceptual issues. These are followed in section three by an examination of dominant issues, such as different types of resources, provided and generated by the LGs themselves for deployment. Section four discusses LGs' development efforts in the localities, and the attendant problems are presented in section five. The recommendations for improvement in the promotion of LG autonomy to facilitate adequate or acceptable level of development of the localities in Nigeria follow in section six.

Theoretical and conceptual issues

The theory which informs our discussion of LG autonomy in Nigeria is the general systems theory. It is a theory that has been contributed to by a number of writers, such as Almond (1960); Easton (1965); Adamolekun (1983) and Offiong (1996). A synthesis of the definitions of a system given by various writers, some of whom are listed above, can be stated as follows. It is a phenomenon of whatever type, including physical, biological, social, political, etc., which is an organized whole with identifiable, interrelated structures delineating it from the environment (supra system) in which it is located and with which it interacts, processing the inputs from it into outputs for it.

The general systems theory seeks to argue that every system, including political system, has subsystems which make up the entire system. They are assigned functions and provided with enabling empowerment, including resources, appropriate authority, etc. to enable them discharge their responsibilities optimally. Or as Ibeanu(2000) states, from a structural-functionalist perspective, there is harmony where existing social structures perform their functions adequately. Where this is the case, there is said to be homeostasis (stability) in the political system. On the other hand, instability reigns in the political system where the contrary is the case and the subsystems and entire system are also unable to function optimally.

Input and output analysis of a political system is very important. A political system is said to obtain its inputs (demands, supports, liberty or autonomy, cooperation, criticisms, resources, information, direct labour, etc.) from the people (Adamolekun 1983., Imhanlahimhin 2000). It may be pointed out that some of these inputs, such as liberty or autonomy, cooperation, and direct labour, were not specified in the original or earlier analysis of the general systems theory, but they are considered important for this paper. These inputs are what the subsystems employ to discharge their responsibilities, so that the political system can send out its outputs into the environment and obtain further inputs for its operations.

Applying this brief exposition of the political systems analysis to the Nigerian LG system, the LGs in the country constitute the subsystems. They must be well handled in terms of being fed with adequate inputs, as provided for in the constitution (e.g. Nigeria 1999a), so that they can contribute appropriately to the optimality of the Nigerian political system, as well as its homeostasis. If the reverse is the case, that is, if the LGs do not have the required inputs to operate, two important things may happen. First is that there might be instability and the second is that there might be discontent amongst the citizenry. The two are intertwined,

It is therefore very useful to realize the importance of the systems theory in the handling of LG autonomy in Nigeria. This means the realization of the sub-systemic nature of LGs which are an integral part of the overall Nigerian political system. They have their assigned responsibilities to perform to the benefit of the people, not as appendages of either the Federal or State Governments. Failure to treat the LGs as such could send frustration through their veins, disenchantment and inability to perform and hence dissatisfaction amongst the populace.

For space constraint, we cannot render the various definitions of LG offered by scholars and writers. What we observe in many of them is that they contain words or phrases that tend to give the impression that local administration and local government are synonymous. For example, the United Nations cited in Ola and Tonwe (2005) admits of local selection of persons (instead of only election) to constitute local government councils (LGCs). The Nigerian government's definition contains 'devolution of functions' (which borders on administrative relationship with a higher authority) to the councils (Nigeria, 1976: para. 3)

One of the most acceptable definitions of LG to us is offered by Mawhood (1993: VII & 2). He defines LGs as bodies ... separated by law ... (and have) local representatives (and) ... formal power to decide on a range of public matters Their right to make decisions is entrenched by the law and can only be altered by a new legislation. They have resources, which subject to the stated limits, are spent and invested at their discretion.

Our only small observation in Mawhood's definition is the failure to specify the mode of local representation in LG councils, that is, whether by selection or election. A definition of LG that is very acceptable to us is offered by Imhanlahimi and Ikeanyibe (2009:82). For them, a LG has a defined area and a popularly elected democratic council. It has formal powers derived from the laws or constitution of the land, to decide on a range of public matters in consultation with other stakeholders, including traditional rulers, for the locality. The formal powers can only be altered by a subsequent

legislation or constitutional amendment. The LG has personnel, financial and other resources, from whatever sources, which are deployed, spent and invested at its own discretion for the execution of legally or constitutionally assigned and mutually agreed functions for the overt development of the area.

This definition captures the essential characteristics in LG that we are interested in, in this paper.

These include elective representation, legally or constitutionally recognized functions and adequate powers over personnel and finances, subject to the environment of autonomy.

The LG autonomy we have in mind is the one that is adequate, not absolute, for the LGCs to perform their responsibilities optimally. Two types of autonomy appear to have been canvassed in the literature: absolute and adequate/relative. Chaturvedi (2006:19) represents the absolutist school as he states that 'in local autonomy, the local body has financial and management autonomy' to decide and determine its own course of action. There is no rider whatsoever. Mawhood (1993:8) straddles both schools because he insists that there is relative separation of central and local spheres of government on the one hand. On the other hand, he says that the central government should only 'monitor the activities of local authorities without intruding into their domain'

For these writers, autonomy for the LGs in Nigeria, as indeed in all the emerging or less developed countries (LDCs) of the world, should be relative, not absolute. The rationale for this is that there is in fact one territory that is being developed by all the three tiers of government in, for example, Brazil, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. The resources for development in the LDCs are very scarce and should therefore be cooperatively managed for optimality, in the interest of the localities. Indeed, it has been gradually recognized that politics – administration cooperation in the LDCs, for example, Nigeria, appears to be healthier than the dichotomy which Wilson (1887) had stressed. And it has also been gradually agreed that active, competitive and cooperative intergovernmental relations (IGRs) (Erero 1998) in the LDCs, for example, Nigeria and Brazil, seem healthier than Wheare's (1946) absolute separation of responsibilities and powers (Mackenzie 1967; Idahosa and Igbineweka 1996). This means that the atmosphere of cooperative competition denoted by adequate autonomy is healthier than the one of conflictual competition represented by absolute autonomy.

We therefore define the relative/adequate autonomy that LGs in the LDCs, Nigeria inclusive, should obtain to enable them perform their functions optimally in the people's interests. It is freedom to the LGs to exercise authority within the confines of the law or constitution. This is to enable them to discharge legally or constitutionally assigned responsibilities satisfactorily, but without undue interference or restraint from within or higher authority. This definition argues for adequate autonomy for LGs within the law for the purpose of performance, which actually guarantees it. Without performance, the law or constitution may not be able to guarantee even adequate autonomy for LGs as the people yearn for development. Autonomy operated within a democracy must be limited as indeed democracy limits the use of power.

Dominant issues in LG autonomy in Nigeria

The important issues in LG autonomy in Nigeria started to emerge with the 1976 far reaching LG reforms. Before 1976, local administration, rather than LG, could be said to have existed in Nigeria. This is because from the colonial era up to 1975, administration at the local level was an appendage of the Regional and later State governments. This was in spite of previous reforms by the Regional governments at the local level in the 1950s and in post-independence era by the State governments up to 1975 (see, for example, Gboyega 1993; Ola 1984; Ola and Tonwe 2005; and Ikelegbe 2005).

It was from the 1976 LG reforms that some dominant issues in LG autonomy could be easily appreciated. These include the setting up of representative councils, determination of population size of LGs, direct allocation of funds to LGs and review of personnel administration. We briefly discuss each of these below.

Representative LGs. – The guidelines on the 1976 LG reforms started the autonomy of LGCs when they stated that 'membership of Local Government Councils should be predominantly elected either by direct or indirect elections from local communities ...' (Nigeria 1976; para. 25). The fledgling autonomy of LGs was driven into the 1979, 1989 and 1999 Nigerian Constitutions. In section 7 of each of the constitutions, there is a clause that states 'the system of local government by democratically elected local government is under this constitution guaranteed'. The constitution extended this guarantee in section 8 to 'the establishment, structure, composition, finance and functions of such councils; by directing the States to enact a law to the above effects. And the State governments have been doing so through the enactment and amendment of LG laws since year 2000, even though scant respect has been extended to this and other enactments on LGs as we shall observe below.

The importance of democratically elected LGs could only be under emphasized (Ola 1996). Our conceptualization of democracy also supports this view. In terms of autonomy of LGs, democratically elected LGCs simply means that the councillors would no longer be the candidates of State governments as was the case in the past. It further means that councillors would be sure to serve out their terms without fear or favour, except a councillor acted unlawfully.

Size of LG – The 1976 LG reform guidelines also contained issues aimed at promoting the autonomy of Nigerian LGs. These included ensuring that LGs can execute ‘all types of functions reasonably economically ... by having population of between 150,000 and 800,000 ... limits (which) may be varied in exceptional geographical circumstances (Nigeria 1976: para. 8).

This well intentioned policy has not been abrogated since then, although the practice as Table 1 shows has been greatly compromised. The rationale for the maximum population size policy derives from the general minimum population figure or strength that can support a viable community. Promotion of viable community spans issues such as dynamic social, economic, political and cultural matters. These are more adequately or satisfactorily handled with minimum population in the community. With little or small population, the dynamic nature of the above issues is greatly reduced.

Table 1 shows that contrary to the well informed intention of the Nigerian government on minimum population for LGs, out of 774 LGs in the country, following the 2006 census, 105 (13.57%) LGs have less than 100,000 population each. 242 (31.27%) LGs have less than 150,000 population each. This means that 347 (44.84%) LGs have less than the minimum 150,000 population size to carry out ‘all types of functions reasonably economically ...’ (Nigeria 1976: para. 8). 427 (55.16%) LGs have 150,000 or above population each. The 347 (44.84%) LGs that have less than the minimum of 150,000 population constitute a large and rather disturbing number or percentage. Hence Gboyega (1993) described the situation as fragmentation of LGs.

It is interesting to observe that in the less politicized period of the 1970s, when mineral oil had not made Nigeria a rather monolithic economy, a good number of LGs had the minimum 150,000 population. For example, only 35 (11.63%) LGs had below 150,000 population out of 301 LGs in 1976. 252 (83.72%) LGs had a population of between 150,000 and 800,000 each, while three (0.99%) had over 800,000 population (Ola and Tonwe 2005). There was no information in respect of 11 (3.65%) LGs. This means that 255 (84.71%) LGs had a population of 150,000 or above each in the 1970s when revenue derivation principle still had a little meaning in the revenue sharing formula of the country.

With little population size against what had been considered a reasonably supportive population during the less politicized period of the 1970s, we now tend to have what may be described as cap-in-hand LGs. They can hardly depend on their population but on external funding as we shall observe later. The implication is that LG autonomy in this regard has been greatly whittled down.

LG finances – It is in this issue that the Nigerian government seems to have done quite a lot to promote LG autonomy, no doubt, for the purpose of their greater development impact in the localities. The government has contributed to the promotion of LGs’ financial autonomy in two basic ways. First is through direct financial allocations to them as Table 2 shows. And second is through constitutional provisions for many of their revenue sources as enshrined in, for example, sections 149 and 162 of the 1999 constitution.

The literature on this matter (see, e.g., Aghayere 1991; Aghayere 2008; Nchuchukwe 2003; Ikelegbe 2005; Imhanlahimi and Ikeanyibe 2009) and Table 2 agree that the LGs have not been doing enough to protect their financial autonomy. Table 2 shows that LGs have been receiving the bulk of their funds from external sources, that is, the federal government. For example, between 1993 and 2006, the Nigerian federal government’s finances to the LGs have ranged between 88.8 per cent in 1995 and 96 per cent in 2006. From 1999, the federal government’s financial allocations to the LGs have not been below 91 per cent.

On the other hand, the LGs have contributed paltry sums between 1993 and 2006 as their internally generated revenue (IGR) to their financial needs. These have ranged from 3.5 per cent in 2006 to 8.7 per cent in 1995. Table 2 also actually shows that LGs’ IGR in Nigeria has been going down since 2001, ranging between 3.5 and 5.6 per cent as against 5.1 and 8.7 per cent between 1993 and 1999. This is an average of 5.83 per cent which is even higher than the average of about 4.18 per cent that Aghayere (1997) found in respect of LGs in Edo State, which much emphasizes low internal revenue generation by LGs.

The State governments as another external revenue source have not been very helpful to the LGs as their contributions have ranged between 0.3 and 0.9 per cent between 1993 and 2006. More disturbing, as Ola and Towe (2005) and Aghayere (2008) have reported, is that the State governments interfere with federal government’s financial allocations to the LGs. This is addition to the said default in State governments’ statutory contribution of 10 per cent of their IGR to the LGs.

Table I Population base of 774 LGs in Nigeria, 2007

States (I)	No. of LGs below 100,000 population (II)	No. of LGs below 150,000 population (III)	Sub-total (ii-iii) (IV)	No. of LGs with 150,000 or above population (V)	Total No. of LGs (VI)
Abia	3	5	8	9	17
Adamawa	2	8	10	11	21
Akwa Ibom	9	16	25	6	31
Anambra	1	4	5	16	21
Bauchi	2	3	5	15	20
Bayelsa	-	1	1	7	8
Benue	3	3	6	17	23
Borno	7	10	17	10	27
Cross River	2	3	5	13	18
Delta	2	12	14	11	25
Ebonyi	-	5	5	8	13
Edo	3	6	9	9	18
Ekiti	3	7	10	6	16
Enugu	-	7	7	10	17
Gombe	-	2	2	9	11
Imo	3	13	16	11	27
Jigawa	4	10	14	13	27
Kaduna	-	4	4	19	23
Kano	1	11	12	32	44
Katsina	1	10	11	23	34
Kebbi	4	6	10	11	21
Kogi	3	10	13	8	21
Kwara	5	5	10	6	16
Lagos	-	2	2	18	20
Nassarawa	3	7	10	3	13
Niger	4	6	10	15	25
Ogun	5	4	9	11	20
Ondo	2	4	6	12	18
Osun	11	13	24	6	30
Oyo	2	16	18	15	33
Plateau	2	4	6	11	17
Rivers	1	3	4	19	23
Sokoto	2	8	10	13	23
Taraba	8	4	12	4	16
Yobe	4	8	12	5	17
Zamfara	-	2	2	12	14
FCT*	3	-	3	3	6
Total	105 (13.57%)	242 (31.27%)	347 (44.84%)	427 (55.16%)	774 (100%)

Source: Calculated from Nigeria (2007)

* FCT = Federal Capital Territory. It has Area Councils which are treated like LGs.

Table 2 Local Governments' finances, 1993-2006

Sources	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2006
Fed. Rev. All.	93.4	88.8	89.5	91.5	95.5	93.8	95.3	96.0
State Rev. All.	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.5
LGs Inter. Rev.	5.1	8.7	8.3	7.9	3.5	5.6	4.1	3.5
Other funds	1.2	2.0	1.5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Imhanlahimi and Ikeanyibe (2009).

Key: Fed. Rev. Allo. – Federal Revenue Allocation

State Rev. Allo. – States Revenue Allocation.

LGs Inter. Rev. _ LGs Internally Generated Revenue (IGR).

Perhaps more important at this juncture is a consideration of the adequacy of the total revenue profile of LGs, from all sources, for their operations. The literature (e.g. Nchuchukwe 2003; Ikelegbe 2005 and Aghayere 2008) is not agreed that LGs obtain adequate revenue for their operations. However, as Ikelegbe (2005:54), for example, puts it, there is 'tremendous strengthening of local government funding, structuring, autonomy and democratization' But the use to which the LGs have put their funds will be instructive later, but for now we consider LGs' autonomy in personnel matters.

LGs' Personnel – Personnel administration is an area in which LGs' autonomy in Nigeria seems weakest. It is one area that is not covered by any constitutional or legal, but administrative, provision. This perhaps accounts for why the State governments through their Local Government Service Commissions (LGSCs), all over the country, claim monopoly of personnel matters in LG administration as we shall observe below. The 1976 guidelines on LG reforms had only stated mildly that LGs shall have 'substantial control over local affairs and staff ...' (Nigeria 1976: para. 3).

Two positions were canvassed on the personnel administration powers of LGs. First is for LGs to eventually exercise determinant powers or substantial control as stated above. And second is for LGs to work under the superintendence of the LGSCs of the various State governments. The second option has been the choice of the LGSCs who have been reluctant to move over to the first option (Gboyega 1993). They, in fact, overtly claim that all LGs' personnel are under the administration of the LGSCs. For example, Edo State LGSC stated in one annual report that it has responsibility 'to appoint, post, promote and discipline employees of the Local Government on salary grade level 01 and above (But) aggrieved officers on grade level 07 and above shall have the right to appeal to the Governor' (Edo State 2005: 1-2). The LGSCs also undertake LGs' staff training. It is largely a situation in which the end users of personnel have little say in their administration. It is antithetical to modern personnel administration process in which the end users are now active participants.

What obtains in one State applies in virtually all other States with respect to LG personnel, especially by virtue of the meetings of the LGSCs all over the country. Also the LGSCs exchange their annual reports, so as to know what others are doing. To make the matter brief, the LGSCs with the tacit connivance of the State governments have put personnel administration squarely under their control. In spite of the merits of this option, including uniformity and reduced politicization in personnel administration, the autonomy of the LGs in the matter is greatly limited and it can affect their development impact in their localities.

Local Government autonomy and development of local areas

The areas in question in this discussion are those of each LG which are therefore to be found in both the urban and rural sectors, but predominantly in the latter. The issue of interest to this paper here is an overview of how LG autonomy or the lack of it has impacted on the development of the locality, in particular the rural localities.

Quite some work has been done on the development of the rural areas by the Nigerian LGs. The critical aspects in the local or rural development issue include availability of network of earth or tarred roads, electricity supply, pipe borne water, schools, health centres or cottage hospitals, mass transit system, telecommunication, political development, etc. The literature on LGs' efforts to develop the local areas in Nigeria shows that the respective LGs have been showing varying concerns of development efforts to make positive impact on the lives of the local people. The efforts may have been rather low, but all over the country, LGs have tried in varying degrees to meet the needs and aspirations of their localities in three main approaches.

First, some LGs have established Development Area Councils or Committees, so as to take governance closer to the people. Such LGs include those in Lagos, Yobe, Bauchi (Yobe State 2003., Bauchi State 2004). The second approach adopted by some LGs is the appointment of Ward Committees to handle or supervise some development projects which are being executed directly by the LGs or executed by them on behalf of the Federal or State governments. The third approach is the use of community development associations (CDAs) (Akoptor 1995) or Town Improvement Unions as critical agents in community development even though they have been less utilized (Ikelegbe 2005). There are also extension workers who are located in the third category. They are used by LGs especially for agricultural purposes. They move within and between ward or village areas educating farmers, advising and assisting them on the application of newly introduced seedlings, the use of insecticides and irrigation farming. Irrigation farming is predominant in many LGs in the Northern States of Nigeria where Fadama farming has been largely successful. That is, taking farming to the local farmers through bio-technology of improved seedlings, insecticides, extension services, irrigation and micro credit schemes. And the LGs have been uncompromising in asking for democratically elected LGs as part of their holistic development efforts.

Using any of the approaches, the LGs, subject to the financial, personnel and other resource autonomy granted to them, have been rehabilitating earth roads, culverts, local or community markets, renovating school buildings and erecting new ones. They have been establishing cottage hospitals or health centres, refurbishing pipe borne water structures, sinking or refurbishing bore holes, executing rural electrification projects, providing improved seedlings with respect to yams, cassava in particular, maize, oranges, coconut, tomatoes, rice, millet, etc. They have also been promoting political participation and governance.

As already stated, these projects are executed in different localities having regard to the priorities of the people. The number of projects executed varies from one LG to another. But the literature, some interviews conducted by these writers and Table 3 show that the impact of LGs on the localities is rather sparse or lean and the people of each locality cannot but be full of complaints of inadequacies and dissatisfaction in the development strides of the LGs (Aghayere 2008; Omoruyi 1995; Mukoro 2001; Ikelegbe 2005).

Table 3 LGs' recurrent expenditure in relation to capital expenditure (per cent) in Nigeria, 1993 – 2006

Year	Recurrent exp.	Capital exp.
1993	71.8	28.2
1994	77.9	22.1
1995	72.8	27.2
1996	72.3	27.7
1997	72.5	27.5
1998	58.6	41.4
1999	68.9	31.1
2000	61.0	39.0
2001	71.6	28.4
2002	73.4	26.6
2003	58.5	41.5
2004	64.1	35.9
2005	63.7	36.3
2006	59.8	40.2

Source: Calculated from Nigeria (1999b, 2001, 2003, 2006).

Table 3 shows that except in 1998, 2003 and 2006 when the recurrent expenditure took between 58.6 and 59.8 per cent respectively, all the other years gulped between 61.0 and 77.9 per cent respectively. This left the capital expenditure during the period at between 22.1 per cent and 41.5 per cent per year, or an average of 32.4 per cent during the period.

A plausible explanation for the rather acceptable capital expenditure situation in 2003 is that the military government led by General Abdulsalami Abubakar demonstrated a strong intention to hand over political power to a democratically elected government in 1999. The government was taken seriously by all and sundry. All levels of government, including

the government parastatals like the universities, seemed to have informally agree not to engage in any act that could precipitate a renege on the federal government's promise to hand over power to a democratically elected government in the country.

The plausible explanation for the 2003 situation could have been the Federal and State elections held in 2003. As for 2006 the Federal government's disciplinary machineries and measures, with special reference to the activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) established in 2004, became tougher on corruption in government in the second half of 2005 and much more so in 2006. Public officers at all levels of government became a little more careful. The EFCC made a number of arrests and prosecutions and also made many threats of possible arrests and prosecution of serving Governors at the end of their tenure. Some citizens and the Nigerian press in particular engineered the EFCC to extend search lights to the LGs. All these tended to put the nerves of all government functionaries, including LGs, on edge. This perhaps partly explains why the LGs had to plough more funds into capital expenditure in 2006, thus bridging the gap between it and recurrent expenditure and no doubt making a little more impact on the ground too.

Of course, with the above information and situation, little impact could only have been made by the LGs in the localities with such low capital expenditure and little respect and shaky autonomy being the dividends for LGs. It should be possible for the LGs to sustain the capital expenditure of 1998, 2003 and 2006, by shedding some of their recurrent expenditure in the spirit of the liberalization, commercialization and privatization policy, due process, transparency and accountability "war" efforts being waged by the Nigerian government. These initiatives could result in more revenue for the development of the LG areas and hence more respect and autonomy for the LGs in Nigeria.

There is a dearth of published data by the appropriate institutions (e.g., Federal Office of Statistics now renamed National Bureau of Statistics, and the Central Bank of Nigeria – CBN) on LGs' development efforts in the localities. Stolpher (1966) and Yesufu (1996) are among other writers who have documented the dearth of data for research in Nigeria as worrisome. So there is lean statistical evidence to argue about the development efforts of the LGs in the localities in Nigeria. One of such evidence is indicated in Table 4. It presents the establishment of health facilities between 1987 – 1991, which shows that the LGs owned between 6,679 and 7,412 of such facilities during the period. The provision of such facilities is a primary responsibility of LGs.

Table 4 Ownership of health establishments in Nigeria, 1987-1991

PROVIDERS	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Fed. Govt.	157	201	205	204	205
State Govt.	2,982	3,251	3,277	3,353	3,355
LGs	6,679	7,087	7,149	7,412	7,267
Private Owners	1,905	2,058	2,058	2,295	2,295
Community	-	-	-	-	140
Christian Missions	-	-	-	-	601
Total	12,531	13,427	13,345	14,103	13,872

Source: Nigeria (1999b)

With 301 LGs in existence by 1987, Table 4 shows that each LG provided only an average of 22 health establishments. In 1984, with 449 LGs in the country, each LG could provide only an average of 16 health establishments. With 589 LGs in existence in 1991, each LG owned only an average of 12 health establishments. This trend tends to illustrate the declining, poor development performance of the LGs which has continued to be the lot of their areas. On the other hand, with 21 state governments in existence in 1987, each state government owned an average of 142 health facilities. In 1991, there were 30 state governments and each owned an average of 112 health facilities. With respect to sheer number, what each LG could provide was rather very small evidence of development impact in the health sector.

Our concern in the section on LG autonomy and development of the localities in this paper, is to try and provide some empirical evidence about LGs' development impact in the localities, as a basis for some objective assessment of their performance. And because of the said dearth of data, we did some content analysis of some newspapers in Nigeria to determine people's feelings about the LGs' development efforts in the localities. The analysis is presented in Table 5.

The approach to the content analysis was simple. The various newspapers published between 2003 and 2007, that were available to these writers in the University of Benin Library, Nigeria, and in their homes, were content analyzed.

The copies analyzed numbered 645. The purpose was to determine people's feelings as reported by the newspapers about the development impact of the LGs in the localities. People's feelings were differentiated broadly into two: praises and criticisms. Praises were operationalized or identified in the newspapers by words of praise used by the communities. Pictures of jubilations about LGs' activities, recounting of development activities of LGs in the newspapers, offering of direct free labour to assist LGs, and exercise of vigilance, especially at night, over LGs' facilities provided for the communities were also admitted as praises. Donation of parcels of land, reportage on commencement of development projects, and partnerships by LGs were also accepted as praises. Issues bordering on criticisms of LGs were operationalized or identified as follows: critical statements of blame or failure of LGs and pictures of demonstrations against LGs. Petitions, appeals to higher authorities on LGs' activities, sack of LG staff and road blockades by communities to protect the roads they repaired as a result of the ineffectiveness of the LG's constituted part of the criticisms. Each praise or criticism was taken through a tally whose aggregate per newspaper is reported in Table 5.

Table 5 Content analysis of some newspapers about people's views of LGs' development efforts in Nigeria, 2003 – 2007.

S/No	Newspaper	No. of copies analyzed	No. of praises	No. of criticisms
1	Independent	52	3	10
2.	Mirror	15	-	5
3.	Nation	49	3	8
4.	Punch	60	5	12
5	Sun	35	4	10
6	The Comment	19	1	4
7	The Guardian	109	2	17
8	This Day	85	4	11
9	Tribune	66	2	18
10	Vanguard	155	6	32
	Total	645	30	127

Source: Content Analysis of Some Nigerian Newspapers (2003-2007).

The Table shows that a total of 645 newspapers were sampled. Out of the 157 views expressed on local governments developments efforts nationally, only 30 or about 19.1 per cent of the people's feelings were praises for the LGs in the period 2003-2007. The number of criticisms was 127 or about 80.9 percent. Although people's feelings apparently were less reported in the newspapers, it nevertheless shows that they were by far disappointed in LGs' development efforts in the localities. This evidence tends to support the general view in the literature about LGs' unsatisfactory development efforts in their areas in Nigeria (see for example, Mabogunje 1980; Mukoro 2001; Omoruyi 1995; Ikelegbe 2005. The LGs, no doubt, experience some challenges.

Local Government autonomy and development of localities: some challenges

Quite a number of challenges have confronted LGs in Nigeria, in their bid to utilize their autonomy in the task of developing the localities. These include structural, operational, financial, patron/godfather pressure, unstable democracy and corruption Since they have been discussed in sections of this paper, they are presented briefly below.

Worried by the poor performance of the LGs, in spite of their empowerment through what Ikelegbe (2005: 48) called 'increasing autonomy' since the 1976 LG reforms, the government set up the Dasuki Committee in 1984. Its report expressed confidence in government's structural, financial and personnel arrangements for the LGs, among other matters. It however noted that the problems of the LGs were basically operational, 'arising directly from the behaviour and attitudes of the persons who operated the system' (Nigeria 1987: 120). Yet there is quite some agreement in the literature that LGs in Nigeria encounter all the above problems.

Structural – Structurally, Nigerian LGs encounter some kinds of inferior recognition by the Federal and State governments. It appears that LGs, by virtue of the recognition of a federation as being generally governed by the Central and State governments, are barely treated as a tier of government in Nigeria. Thus, in spite of the legal and constitutional provisions, LGs have been scrapped by both democratic and military regimes. The apparent structural inferiority of the LGs vis – a – vis the Federal and State governments, in spite of constitutional provisions, is a reality of disturbing

importance. These belittling attitudinal relationships of the higher level governments to the LGs actually, to a degree, erode LGs' autonomy. Interactions are bound to be skewed against the LGs.

Finance – LGs' financial problems appear to be more of their making as well as those of the State governments. Table 2 shows that LGs' finances are largely sourced from the federation account, which accounts for not less than 80 per cent. The State governments also contribute a little, below one per cent, to the LGs' financial needs. LGs have vast opportunities to increase their financial standing and hence autonomy through aggressive financial mobilization. But they hardly do, especially as they shy away from the collection of personal income tax from the citizenry and tenement rates. One of the reasons for the LGs' failure to collect such tax and rates appears to be the onerous task in the collection. Another reason seems to be the avoidance of harsh criticisms from the people who might pry much more closely into the deployment of the funds at the LGs' disposal. In other words, LGs realize that people are more critical of the government if they pay taxes and rates whose impact is very little on ground.

Another aspect of the financial matter which affects LGs' autonomy is the deployment of the funds at their disposal for development. Table 3 reveals that LGs, except in about three out of 14 years, 1993 –2006, spent vast proportion of their funds, on the average of 70 per cent, on recurrent expenditures. This left small proportion of the funds for capital projects which normally earn LGs praise and autonomy enhancement. As the popular saying goes, by thy fruits ye shall be known. LGs' fruits, that is development impact in the localities, have not made them to be well known.

Personnel Problems – The virtual centralization of the personnel administration function of the LGSCs all over the country is not only now old fashioned but out of mood. This is in spite of the said values of the LGSCs. Some of them are uniform personnel administration and less politicization. But the problems include depreciation of autonomy and structural appendage of LGs to the State governments. LGs are not allowed to exercise their discretion and undertake competitive personnel administration. In this scenario, LG staff could actually give more service loyalty to the LGSC than the LGs and get away with it, to the detriment of the localities.

Patron/godfather – The problem of patron/godfather in the LGs affects LGs' autonomy and hence the ability to make the desired development impact. The concept of political godfather is well known in Nigerian political scene (Ikelegbe 2005; Imhanlahimi and Ikeanyibe 2009). A political patron/godfather is the sponsor of the political office holder, e.g., the LG Chairman. The latter has little autonomy before his patron/godfather. He takes dictates from the godfather and acts accordingly, especially if he wants a second term or peace in his office tenure. The sponsorship by the godfather is usually financially based, and so he has to recoup his expenditures from his political stooge. While the political office holder meets the demands of the godfather and his personal political interests, the funds left for development are lean. The localities suffer and LG autonomy is further questioned.

Democracy – Democratic consolidation process poses a problem for the LGs more than other governmental levels in Nigeria. This is because democracy has not taken firm roots due to the long years of military involvement in Nigerian politics. Its limiting positive effects are therefore hardly in place. Democracy is supposed to be rule-bound, respecting due process. The Federal and State governments seize the opportunity of fledging democracy to disregard the elective representative principle and constitutionally guaranteed existence of LGs.

At the least opportunity, for example, in 1980, 2002 and 2007, LGs have either been scrapped by higher level governments or had their democratic elections delayed. In their place, all manners of bodies such as development Committees, Sole Administrators and Caretaker Committees had been set up. Such policy reversal situations have had implications for the development of the localities, including loyalties to the State governments by the appointed functionaries, alienation of the people from unrepresentative governance, and diminutive development of the localities.

Of course, all of the above smack of corruption, which is a big challenge of LGs in Nigeria. The literature is replete with screaming headlines about alarming corruption in the Nigerian LG system (See, e.g., Newswatch Magazine 2001; Vanguard Newspaper 2007). They carry headlines of massive corruption and quizzing of LG functionaries by the respective anti-corruption bodies in the country. But very unfortunately, the LG corruption is the type that the World Bank (2001: xiii) has called 'grand corruption'. It does not cohabit with development.

Recommendations

These recommendations are made to promote the LG institution that the Political Bureau Report (Nigeria 1987: 120), a foremost report that the vast majority of well meaning Nigerians contributed to, called 'Local Government for development'. LG areas in the country are in dire need of real development.

Autonomy – LGs in Nigeria need adequate autonomy that can facilitate their operations and development of the localities. This should emanate from institutionalized democratic process of elections for representative LG councils as and when due. This should be in line with what obtains at the State and Federal government levels where elections are timely conducted. More will be said about democratic consolidation below.

Adequate autonomy should be manifestly accorded LGs in other areas such as finance, revenue generation and expenditure, personnel administration and development matters. The literature that has largely, if not indeed entirely, agreed about poached LG autonomy will recognize adequate LG autonomy when it is granted by higher level governments. Adequate LG autonomy will forestall the current alibi that LGs make with inadequate autonomy for their diminutive development impact in their areas. In this study, LG autonomy for development has been taken as an independent variable, an overriding factor.

LG Finances – Three aspects of LG revenue need representation in our recommendation here. First is that State governments should extend the rightful financial allocations to LGs as the Federal government does. State governments should also totally eliminate all forms of interference with LGs' revenue from the federation account, an interference that is well documented by many writers (e.g., Aghayere 1997; Omoruyi 1995; Ola and Tonwe 2005). LG autonomy is no doubt promoted by such policy adherence. The second aspect is that LGs must work hard to shore up their autonomy themselves through more internal revenue generation (IRG). This recommendation agrees with the recommendation of the Political Bureau Report (Nigeria 1987). The ripple effect of this recommendation could be that the citizenry would have more stake in governance. They would be more sensitive to governmental activities and developmental efforts. This increased sensitivity could also encourage the LGs to engage more in the development of the localities through enhanced transparency. All this in turn could culminate in more appreciation from the people and greater autonomy from higher level governments.

Action – not verbal – institutionalization

This recommendation dovetails into the last one above. The concept of 'action – not verbal – institutionalization' is meant to strongly remind the LGCs in Nigeria about their developmental responsibilities to the people. This is because positive or development responsibilities are the *raison d'être* for the creation of LGs. A popular slogan says "by thy fruits, ye shall be known". As at now virtually all the LGs in Nigeria try to institutionalize themselves verbally and in the media, especially in the electronic. They marginally institutionalize themselves through sparse or lean developmental impact on ground. Road works (rehabilitation or construction), pipe borne water, electricity, health care delivery, good learning environment and functional education are few and far apart in the LG areas. Hence the importance of this recommendation that LGs should do less of verbal, but more of action, institutionalization. A lot of advertisement, jingles, posters, political solidarity rallies, etc. rather than developmental activities as conceptualized in section two of this paper are carried on by the LGCs. There should rather be more developmental activities on ground at the local area, which would constitute the bastion of action institutionalization. The latter actually carries with it the verbal one in the spirit of the popular adage that "action speaks louder than voice". In deed, any developmental action for a community is known by the community concerned and hardly needs any advertisement on television for the locality to know about it. Development activities, in fact, advertise LGs to the host community as well as to other communities and persons more than LGs do electronically.

Action-institutionalization would earn the LGCs all the respect, protection and autonomy they need from the locality, the people and higher level governments. It may completely eliminate the spate of dissolution of LGCs in Nigeria. To be able to earn the above, the LGCs can hardly succeed through sycophancy or abiding by the whims and caprices of the higher level governments. Such has been the situation which has not taken LGCs far. To be sure, more developmental activities from the LGCs will, no doubt, do the trick.

Need for democratic consolidation

Nigeria needs democratic consolidation as a formidable partner with the rule of law that can help to entrench the constitutional provisions on LGs. As we have seen in this study, there are many provisions in the 1999 Constitution that are disregarded. For example, section 7 of the 1999 Constitution guaranteeing, 'The system of local government by democratically elected local government councils' has not been respected by the State and Federal governments. Such provisions, including that on the establishment of a joint State – Local government account, can have easy recognition, acceptance and utilization by the Federal and State governments if a democratic culture is in vogue in the country. In it, the political leaders or elite will be afraid or respect democratic tenets. This is because they realize that failure to do so will earn them the wrath of the electorate who can exercise the right to change their leaders. The power of the electorate is weak in a non-consolidated democracy, the type which presently operates in Nigeria as at 2007. It is the one in which the political leaders select rulers instead of the electorate electing their leaders. The strengthening and application of largely acceptable democratic culture will reduce arbitrariness. It will enhance respect for orderliness, the rule of law to the advantage of the LG system and hence its autonomy. All this is expected to have a rippling effect on the development of the locality by the LGCs to the benefit of the people.

Corruption, discipline and rule of law

The great deal of corruption in Nigerian LG system should be properly handled by the appropriate institutions, including the ICPC and EFCC. The grand corruption described by the World Bank as not cohabiting with development is the intolerable type that should be excised from the LG system.

Discipline should also be emphasized. The Political Bureau Report had emphasized discipline in the polity as a necessary ingredient for development (Nigeria, 1987). Discipline helps to eliminate corruption and, of course, any LG functionary who is corrupt and infringes on the law should be dealt with according to the law. This is the symbiotic relationship between corruption, discipline and rule of law. Corruption must reduce through discipline and operation of the rule of law. These and sustainable democratic process can also eliminate the canker worm of patron/godfather politics in the LG, to the enhanced development of the localities and great autonomy of the LGs.

Conclusion

Ascertaining the extent of LG autonomy in Nigeria with a view to determining how far it has impacted on the development of the localities has been the main focus of this study. This is because the local areas are critically in need of development projects and better life from the LGs. To scientifically undertake the above purpose, this study traversed theoretical framework, conceptualizations, and discussed dominant issues in LG autonomy. These were followed by analysis of critical issues in LG autonomy and development of local areas. These issues bordered on some of the achievements of the LGs, such as roads construction, provision of health facilities, and pipe borne water. The study established that LGs have only made marginal impact in the localities.

The study took a deep look into the challenges of the LGs that might have contributed to their lean impact, and dealt with the dominant ones for space constraint. These included the structural problems which arise from domineering relationships between the LGs and the higher level governments. They have impact for dimmed autonomy of LGs. Financial and personnel matters were also considered and found to be sour points in the quest for LG autonomy in Nigeria. Other challenges to LGs' autonomy that were found out in the study are godfather notoriety and fledging democracy. Democracy, which is supposed to be due process-bound, is easily brushed aside in Nigeria, culminating in unconstitutional abrogation of LGs from time to time.

Some of the suggestions to reverse the problems of LGs for development were as follows. The shoring up of LG autonomy to an adequate level by the higher level governments, through proper intergovernmental relations and constitutionalism. The LGs themselves should work harder at their autonomy through more IGR and overt development impact in the localities, rather than verbal electronic institutionalization and autonomy laundry. Democratic consolidation and reduced corruption were also canvassed in the recommendations.

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Fear of crime and the role of the police

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Social values such as safety and security needs of members of society are necessary to ensure a sustainable quality of life for all; guaranteed and protected by the Constitution. If this envisaged tranquility is disturbed or negatively affected by crime and fear of crime resulting from criminal victimisation, then both crime and fear crime become public concerns. The study presents two focal points: crime and fear of crime as well as the role of the police, which all exert a significant influence on the lives of citizens. Criminal victimisation may cause physical harm, feelings of anxiety, emotional instability, mistrust of the formal control structure, alienation, etc., that promotes fear of crime. Such factors may result in a break of social cohesion, curtailment of daily activities and withdrawal from society. Policing, on the other hand, personifies social order and the guaranteed protection of people in a manner consistent with democratic principles. A non-parametric survey research method, incorporating a closed-structured questionnaire has been implemented to capture data from two arbitrarily selected Eastern Cape samples: Mthatha and Butterworth, primarily to explore and describe perceptions pertaining to crime, fear of crime and the role of the police in terms of gender (N=300). Gender is an appropriate predictor of fear of crime. Having rated seven selected serious crimes, female respondents are significantly more fearful of criminal victimisation than their male counterparts. Cooperation with the police to report and prevent crime, call upon them in emergency situations, etc., is on a sound footing, with females virtually outnumbering the males in all those functions. This finding is further vouched for by the fact that females had more positive and less negative 'police contact' compared to male respondents. Improved police-public relations and dedicated police service delivery will become more and more inevitable.

Keywords: Crime, Police, South Africa

Introduction

Fear of crime is one of the more adverse social and psychological consequences of crime, leading to anxiety, mistrust in the criminal justice system (police, courts and corrections), social disruption and the deterioration of the quality of community and social life in general. When crime takes place the mass media would, in most instances, be the first agent to focus on the victims' pain and suffering, material losses (motor vehicle, cash, cell phone, etc.), and perhaps the emotional and psychological traumatising they had to endure during their ordeal (Mayoyo 2009:1). These observations are what Moore and Trojanowicz (1988:1-18) referred to as the concrete signs of criminal victimisation. Following recovery from a criminal attack, victims usually accept their fate in a spirit of 'being lucky to be alive', or 'just having been in the wrong place at the wrong time', etc. However, subjacent to the concrete impact of criminal victimisation, *fear of criminal harassment* may persist long after the real harm caused to victims took its course. For instance, xenophobic attacks on foreigners from neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Nigeria, Kenya and Mozambique, not only reverberated throughout the South African socio-political spectrum, but also drew attention from people in overseas countries that vehemently condemned such deviant behavior (The Mercury 2008:1). During that time, more than fifty innocent people (believed to be foreigners), were either set alight and burnt to death or killed with knob sticks or other dangerous weapons (kangaroo court-style). Fear of further criminal harassment eventually forced some crowds to take refuge in a Johannesburg Methodist Church (The Star 2008:3). In juridical sense, the police are directly or indirectly part and parcel of the *crime and fear of crime* equation, brought about by the type of contact respondents had with their local police and, among other, a willingness to report crime to the police when they are personally victimised, their willingness

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to prevent crime, or to assist the police in this endeavour, and whether respondents feel at liberty to lodge a complaint at a police station, etc. (Van Velzen 1998:199-200; Mayoyo 2009:131-133).

Rationale for the study

With the exception of a few studies into different dimensions of people's fear of crime, e.g. Glanz (cf. 1989) and Van Velzen (cf. 1998), measurement of this phenomenon in South Africa appears to be still inadequate. This may be ascribed to the fact that criminals' *modus operandi* may vary over time and space or criminals may become more and more brutal and sophisticated. Despite all the rhetoric around several crime prevention plans recently released by members of political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) contended that "... there is general public discontent with the government's inability to curb violent crime" (The Times 2008:12). It also transpires that no study into the concrete influence of policing in reducing fear of crime among law abiding citizens has been undertaken in the Eastern Cape during the past decades. The primary aim of the present study resides, therefore, primarily in bridging the gap in our substantive knowledge of and insight into fear of crime in the Eastern Cape. The notion of police presence, calculated to create the illusion of omnipresence and feelings of safety and security among people is added to this discussion to better understand the underlying dynamics of policing in both proactive (crime prevention) and reactive (law enforcement) contexts (Lyman 2003:6). The prevalence of fear of crime, mainly among the female respondents in the two Eastern Cape towns, forms the basis of the research question of the present study. A brief exposition of the research design, which facilitated the analysis and description of the research problem, *fear of crime*, is discussed below.

Conceptualisation

Concepts are described or highlighted purely to exploit their relevance to the social phenomenon being investigated. It also creates an opportunity to eliminate any possible confusion which may arise from interpreting the meaning of each concept.

Crime

Briefly, *crime* has a dual meaning: in *juridical* sense, it refers to a violation of the law for which the state (courts) may impose a punishment; in *criminological* terms, crime includes all forms of criminal acts as well as deviant behaviour that are not necessarily regarded juridical in nature (Van der Westhuizen 1977:38). The present study relies on the juridical definition of crime.

Crime prevention

Crime prevention simply points to the elimination of the opportunities that may exist to precipitates criminal actions leading to crime commission. The police, through their role visibility (or omnipresence), together with the active involvement of members of the community as co-producers of safety and security, should serve as capable 'agents' to prevent or at least reduce crime.

Fear and fear of crime

Physiologically, *fear* alerts the human body against potential danger (cf. Van Velzen 1998) that may create feelings of anger, outrage, frustration and powerlessness. *Fear of crime* becomes more specific when it points to the anticipation of the occurrence of one or other criminal event that may result in the potential of being victimised. Researchers usually distinguish between *formless* and *concrete fear* of crime. Formless fear points to an observation and subsequent perception of being vulnerable to criminal acts, either in terms of a physical, socio-economic nature or a general feeling of being not safe, while concrete fear entails a perceived risk of victimisation and the type of crime likely to take place or fear of specific crimes (e.g. murder, rape, hijacking, etc.) (cf. Van Velzen 1998).

Police and policing

Van Heerden (1982:13) conveniently informs us that the term *police* originally derives from the Greek words *polis* (city) and *polites* (citizen of the state), the Latin word *politea* (state authority), and the French word *policer* (power of the people). The word *police* officially received recognition in Ireland round about 1787, but only in 1829, did Sir Robert Peel establish his first organised police better known as the *Bow Street Runners* (Van Heerden 1982:25-26). In modern terms, *police* refer to individuals appointed by law (statute) to maintain law and order and to ensure the protection of human rights under the Constitution. Policing has a more functional meaning, "... the personification of [social] order and a guarantee that the constitutional rights of every individual ... will be protected ..." (Van Heerden 1982:15).

Policing and fear of crime

More than two decades ago, Mark Moore and Robert Trojanowicz (1988:1-18) wrote an informative monograph on fear of crime and policing on behalf of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), suggesting that whenever crime occurs, it does not take place in isolation. Usually, people directly or indirectly get involved with crime victims and/or their families

through sympathising with them because their "... wounds, bruises, lost property, and inconvenience can be seen, touched and counted" (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:1). People who fall prey to criminals, fear crime because of its impact on their lives as victims; the lasting effect of such feelings may remain with them for years. People who have been victimised may even decide to move to other places because of their fear that their assailants may return (which often happens). Irrespective of rape victims being traumatised emotionally and psychologically, the criminal justice process often engage in plea bargaining with criminals without any real input from the victims. Criminal trials are often protracted for too long (Lyman 2003:2; 12). It further transpires that forensic criminal investigations as well as the absence of a proper scientific DNA profiling system in serious criminal cases like rape, murder, etc. are still not fully functional in South Africa (Rapport 2010:6).

Fear of crime may not be totally counterproductive, because its positive effects may be observed in: (a) citizens who have been inspired to become more cautious about their safety by minimising crime precipitants, (b) people who may decide to share ideas relating to mechanical crime prevention (installation of locks and electronic alarms, erecting concrete walls around properties, etc.), and (c) people who are inspired to support the police in crime prevention initiatives, e.g. by attending Community Police Forum (CPF) meetings and interacting more regularly with police officers and even volunteering to be appointed as police reservists.

Research design

Research design is "... the blueprint according to which data are to be collected to investigate the research hypothesis or [research] question in the most economical manner" (Huysamen 1994:10-11). A research design depends on two pillars: *designing* and *planning*. Design (in the present context) refers to the vital decisions the researcher has to make when 'planning' a research inquiry. The idea of designing a research project is of utmost importance in a structured social survey like attitude measurement. It suffices to say that the research design in the present inquiry encompasses all the phases of the research process without which the research outcomes would have been seriously flawed.

The present study is based on a typical general scientific research approach with positivistic undertones, primarily to allow for the quantification, analysis, interpretation and explanation of statistical outcomes relating to the fear of crime and perceptions about the police role. This approach suggests that "... the same approach applicable to studying and explaining physical reality can be used in social sciences" (Hagan 2000:19). Positivism actually refers to positivistic or *philosophical epistemology* (theory of knowledge underlying the nature of social phenomena) and the *ontology* (the philosophical view of the 'world as it is'), which could be established, among other, through attitude measurement (Alant, Lamont, Maritz & Van Eeden 1981:199).

A quantitative research approach has been followed in the present study and takes the form of non-parametric statistical analyses to *summarise* (quantify) data and *describe* relationships/associations forthcoming from respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards the referent object. Other important research techniques which need to be briefly put into perspective are: the literature study, survey instrument and measuring scale, sampling, statistical tests, data management, etc.

Academic textbooks dealing with fear of crime, policing issues and crime prevention, supported by scientific research articles, existing research reports contained in dissertations and theses, have been consulted to gain a better understanding of the present research question. A great deal of effort has also been devoted to consulting the written media, especially newspapers, to provide greater clarity of the referent object. In particular, written media hype, is being regarded the most widely image-producing sources creating public impressions and perceptions – positive or negative – about police performances and criminal events and fear of crime, of national interest (Lyman 2003:26).

The data gathering phase implemented a pre-coded, closed-structured questionnaire with a typical 5-point, Rensis Likert-summated rating scale for ordinal measurement. Response calibration of a Likert-type scale is of special importance in attitude measurement, primarily to determine the degrees or latitudes of *acceptance* (strongly agree/agree), *non-commitment* (uncertain) and *rejection* (disagree/strongly disagree) of the operationalised variables or statements contained in the questionnaire. Such latitudes constitute the *essence of perceptions, opinions or attitudes* (cf. Sherif, Sherif & Nebergal 1965).

A non-probability sampling technique in the form of purposive (judgmental) sampling has been utilised during the data collection phase. Two medium-sized, rural towns in the Eastern Cape (previously the Republic of Transkei), viz: Mthatha and Butterworth have been arbitrarily selected as suitable research sites. An expected frequency (f_e) of 250 questionnaires in respect of each town has been set. Four trained field workers (two for each town) have been appointed to hand-deliver and again recollect the questionnaires from the respondents (sampling units). All the field workers have obtained an undergraduate degree in Criminology at the Walter Sisulu University for Science and Technology (WSU) at Mthatha. They were not allowed to suggest any possible answers or outcomes to the questions or variables contained in

the questionnaire and to refrain from attaching their own prejudices and/or viewpoints to the study in general. They were, however, free to clarify uncertain terms or words when required to do so. The selection of two separate research sites, in no way suggests that the present inquiry implies a comparative study. At the conclusion of the data collection phase, all the questionnaires were carefully edited. The observed frequency (f_o) for Mthatha accounted for 168 (56.0%) and for Butterworth 132 (44.0%) responses. Data collection extended over a period of approximately five months, commencing in March 2008 during the first academic break and was concluded during the third week of July, more or less at the end of the second academic semester at the WSU. A combined response rate of 60.0% (both observed frequencies) has been achieved. Possible reasons for the somewhat low response rate could be attributed to: (a) a large quantity of the questionnaires contained insufficient information (especially in the case of Butterworth) which totally ruled out accurate codification, (b) an apparent careless attitude on the part of selected sampling units to complete and return their surveys, and (c) quite a number of the questionnaires have been lost through negligence on the part of some field workers (Table 1). A tabular presentation of the demographic particulars of both samples is presented in Annexure A.

Table 1 Questionnaire distribution among two rural, Eastern Cape populations (N=300)

Research site	Expected frequency		Observed frequency	
	n	%	n	%
Mthatha	250	50.0	168	56.0
Butterworth	250	50.0	132	44.0
Total	500	100.0	300	100.0

Statistical tests: Chi-square and level of significance

Pearson's Chi-square (χ^2), which is a test of the *independence of the relationship* between nominal (or categorical) variables, e.g. gender, and fear of crime has been utilised to determine if significant differences are present between independent and dependent variables and whether any observed statistical differences are due to sampling error or simply due to chance or that it is "... highly improbable that they [differences] have been due to sampling error and thus considered statistically significant at a given probability level" (Hagan 2000:381). Chi-square is calculated according the following formula: $\chi^2 = \sum [(f_o - f_e)^2 / f_e]$. The level of significance has been set at $p \leq .05$ (unless indicated otherwise).

Data analyses were performed with the assistance of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 15.0. The transfer of data from questionnaires to both data and variable files has been facilitated by means of keyboard entries using a coding sheet, especially designed for this purpose. This procedure was followed by a data cleaning process (cf. Hagan 2000) until a functional data deck has been obtained.

Results

It must be reiterated that no previous research (locally or abroad), has been undertaken to empirically assess the *relationship* between *fear of crime* and *policing* (per se) as a fear of crime reduction agent. It is, therefore, not the aim of the present study to unveil whether such relationship does indeed exist or not. The role of *policing* in the present context merely serves to complement the research question in a theoretical fashion. Table 2 reveals two levels of contact with the police: *voluntary* (positive) and *involuntary* (negative) contact. Voluntary contact entails situations where the respondents show their willingness to associate with the police while involuntary contact is not an option. Altogether 186 (62.0%) of the total sample indicated *no contact* with the police. A frequency breakdown indicates that female respondents (106 or 35.3%) had no contact with the police compared to their male counterparts (80 or 26.7%). It further transpires that 69 (23.0%) of the sample had *positive contact* with the police (witness/informant) while 45 (15.0%) had *negative encounters* with the police (accused/suspect). Similarly, 16 (5.4) percent females were involuntarily involved with the police, while 29 (9.7%) of the males had voluntary contact with the police. On the positive side, 45 (15.0%) female respondents had voluntary contact with the police, compared to 24 (4.7%) males. No significant differences have been observed in the scores.

Table 2 Type of contact with the police, by gender (N=300)

Type of contact	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
As accused/convicted	5	1.7	3	1.0	8	2.7
As accused/acquitted	13	4.3	5	1.7	18	6.0
Suspect and detained	11	3.7	8	2.7	19	6.3
Witness – criminal case	21	3.7	38	12.7	59	19.7
Informant to the police	3	1.0	7	2.3	10	3.3
No contact at all	80	26.7	106	35.3	186	62.0
Total	133	44.3	167	55.6	300	100.0

(p≥.05)

Table 3 Reporting crime to a police station when victim(s) are personally victimised, by gender (N=300)

Response categories	Males		Females		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Always	33	11.0	41	13.6	74	24.7
Often	14	4.7	20	6.7	34	11.3
Sometimes	48	16.0	41	13.6	89	29.7
Never	38	12.7	65	21.7	103	34.3
Total	133	100.0	167	55.6	300	100.0

(p≥.05)

Asked whether respondents feel at liberty to report all crimes to the police, about one-third of all the respondents (103 or 34.3%) indicated they would never visit a police station for that purpose, even if they are personally victimised (Table 3). In this regard, female respondents are somewhat more unwilling (65 or 21.7%) than the males (38 or 12.7%). Closer scrutiny of the raw scores reveals that the remaining two-thirds of the respondents would either report crime *always* (74 or 24.7%), *often* (34 or 11.3%) or *sometimes* (89 or 29.7%) to the police. Female respondents are slightly more eager to *always* report crime to the police (41 or 13.6%), compared to the males (33 or 11.0%). The differences in perceptions are not significant (p≥.05).

Table 4 Respondents feel at liberty to call upon the police for assistance when personally victimised, by gender (N=300)

Gender	Yes		No		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	83	27.7	50	16.7	133	44.3
Female	106	35.3	61	20.3	167	55.7
Total	189	63.0	111	37.0	300	100.0

(p≥.05)

Table 4 reveals the extent to which respondents would feel at liberty to call upon the police to provide emergency services in the event of personal victimisation. In this regard, about two-thirds (189 or 63.0%) of the total sample (N=300) positively indicated such willingness. The remaining one-third (111 or 37.0%) of the respondents are not prepared to facilitate mutual interaction with the police in cases of personal victimisation. Female respondents appear to be more inclined (106 or 35.3%) to call upon police protection should danger strike, compared to their male counterparts (83 or 27.7%). The differences of opinion are not significant (p≥.05).

Table 5 discloses data reflecting the extent to which all the respondents would be willing to honour their *duty* and *obligation* in respect of crime prevention, while Table 6 reveals the degree to which respondents would be willing to execute such obligation by means of physically *assisting* the police in their endeavours to combat crime and reduce people's fear of crime and, by doing so, take responsibility of becoming co-owners of safety and security in a typical proactive manner. Although the majority of the sample (170 or 61.2%) would *always* or even *often* be willing to honour their duty to prevent crime, it seems that female respondents (29 or 10.4%) are significantly less prepared to get involved in this task ($p=.020$) than the males (12 or 4.3%). Just over half of the male respondents (68 or 24.5%) feel they should *always* be willing to prevent crime, and for this reason, they are slightly more aware of this obligation than females (62 or 22.3%). However, females (41 or 14.7%) would *sometimes* be more inclined than the males (26 or 9.4%) to take up this duty. Table 6 shows more or less similar trends ($p\geq.05$).

Table 5 Frequency distribution of respondents' attitudes towards their duty to prevent crime, by gender (N=278)

Response or attitude	Males		Females		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Always	68	24.5	62	22.3	130	46.8
Often	21	7.6	19	6.8	40	14.4
Sometimes	26	9.4	41	14.7	67	24.1
Never	12	4.3	29 ¹⁾	10.4	41	14.7
Total	127	45.8	151	54.2	278²⁾	100.0

(1) $\chi^2=11.625$; 4df; $p=.020$; (2) Uncertain/undecided score not calculated.

Present-day policing in South Africa faces a unique challenge when it comes to crime prevention and reducing people's fear of crime. People should be aware of the extent of crime in their respective provinces as well as the role the police have to fulfill – first, in preventing crime and second, detecting and investigating it. People should also understand the relationship between crime, fear of crime and policing within the framework of democratic principles. Therefore, people experiencing an overbearing and abusive police system, may believe that stricter institutional control (discipline) of police power would be an urgent consideration for policy-makers. On the other hand, people who are most fearful of crime may think that more police officers who are afforded more authority to address the criminal elements in society are necessary to more effectively protect law-abiding citizens, in an attempt to positively reflect on their fear of crime (Lyman 2003:24). Such views present a conflicting dichotomy. Democratic police effectiveness dictates to the police to be proactively responsive to both crime and fear of crime as well as reactively suppressing criminal behaviour through law enforcement (Lyman 2003:24).

Table 6 Frequency distribution of respondents' attitudes toward their responsibility to assist the police in crime prevention, by gender (N=282)

Response or attitude	Males		Females		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Always	81	28.7	88	31.2	169	59.9
Often	13	4.6	13	4.6	26	9.2
Sometimes	21	7.5	42	14.9	63	22.3
Never	8	2.8	16	5.7	24	8.5
Total	123	43.6	159	56.4	282¹⁾	100.0

(1) ($p\geq.05$) Uncertain/undecided score not calculated.

Whatever the institutional outcome, the police are statutorily called upon to protect and serve the public (*Servamus et Servimus*), 24 hours per day and seven days a week. To ensure efficiency in this regard "...the police must be responsive to the public's fear of crime while counterbalancing that response with a fair application of the law" (Lyman 2003:6). The police are often perceived as being too quick to rush to judgments, police response time may be too slow or even absent, do not care about public concerns relating to crime and fear of crime, are brutal and dishonest. Crime and fear of crime

are becoming continuing political issues used in national political campaigns and debates. Politicians often promise recruitment of more police officers, but "...no matter how many police officers are employed, citizens' fear of crime remains constant" (Lyman 2003:8).

Gender and fear of personal victimisation

Based on a three-pronged measuring scale, various researchers (Garofalo 1979, Toseland 1982, Glanz 1989 & Van Velzen 1998) identified the gender-variable as the most powerful predictor of fear of personal victimisation. More particularly, female respondents appear to be more fearful than the males: (a) when walking alone in their neighbourhood at night, (b) being alone at their homes or apartments at night and (c) when visiting shopping centers/malls alone. Significant differences resulting from a cross-correlation between gender and fear of personal victimisation, are reported in Table 7.

Table 7 Gender and fear of crime (N=300)

Measures of fear crime	Feel safe				Feel unsafe				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Walking alone in neighbourhood at night	30	10.0	16	5.3	103	34.3	151 ¹⁾	50.3	300	100.0
Alone at home or apartment at night	38	12.7	23	7.7	95	31.7	144 ²⁾	48.0	300	100.0
Visiting shopping centres alone	36	12.0	26	8.7	97	32.3	141 ³⁾	47.0	300	100.0

(1) Significant: $\chi^2=14.91$; 3df; $p=.002$; (2) Significant: $\chi^2=13.41$; 3df; $p=.004$; (3) Significant: $\chi^2=10.78$; 3df; $p=.013$.

A frequency distribution of the data shows positive relationships between gender and fear of crime as far as the following variables are concerned (Table 7):

- Walking alone in the neighbourhood at night causes females to feel significantly more unsafe and fearful (151 or 50.3%) than the male (103 or 34.3%) respondents ($p=.002$).
- Female respondents are significantly more unsafe and fearful (144 or 48.0%) of being alone at their homes/apartments during nighttimes, compared to their male counterparts (95 or 31.7%), ($p=.004$).
- Visiting shopping centres/malls alone tend to make female respondents (141 or 47.0%) feel significantly more unsafe/fearful than their male counterparts (97 or 32.3%), ($p=.013$).

These findings are congruent with that reported by other researchers, indicating that females are likely to be more fearful than males because they tend to feel more powerless and lack self-defense skills (Garofalo 1979, Toseland 1982:203), Glanz 1989 and Van Velzen 1998:107). All these empirically-based studies, the latter two are South African, confirm the expected: women are obviously more fearful of criminal victimisation than men, because of their apparent passive physical features and emotional vulnerability.

Table 8 Gender and personal fear of selected crimes (N=300)

Type of victimisation	Most fearful				Least fearful			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Murdered at home/apartment	97	32.3	146	48.7	31	10.3	29	9.7
Being raped	27	9.0	139	46.3 ¹⁾	106	35.3	28	9.3
Assault (with serious injuries)	85	28.3	144	48.0 ²⁾	48	16.0	23	7.7
Armed robbery	90	30.0	150	50.0 ³⁾	33	11.0	17	5.7
Vehicle hijacking	103	34.3	141	47.0	30	10.0	26	8.7
Vehicle stolen	94	30.0	140	46.7 ⁴⁾	39	13.0	27	9.0
Property stolen	83	27.7	133	44.3 ⁵⁾	49	16.3	34	11.3

(1) Significant: $\chi^2=152.890$; 3df; $p=.000$; (2) Significant: $\chi^2=22.316$; 3df; $p=.000$; (3) Sig.: $\chi^2=27.147$; 3df; $p=.000$;

(4) Significant: $\chi^2=8.029$; 3df; $p=.045$; (5) Significant: $\chi^2=11.944$; 3df; $p=.018$.

The respondents have rated those crimes they fear most and those they fear less, in Table 8. Data indicate that female respondents are disproportionately more fearful than males of all the crimes listed in the table. Although females fear *murder* (146 or 48.7%) and *rape* (139 or 46.3%) significantly more than the males (97 or 32.3% and 27 or 9.0% respectively). Whereas Van Velzen's study (1998:107) discloses a higher rating for fear of *rape* ($F=432.61$) by female respondents than for *murder* ($F=347.15$), the present study reveals an inverse rating for these type of crimes. Data show that *armed robbery* at their residential premises, in neighbourhoods and in shopping centers (see Table 7) is the type of crime significantly feared most by female respondents (150 or 50.0%) compared to males (90 or 30.0%) – $p=.000$). Armed robberies at shopping centers (especially jewellery stores and ATMs) usually receive high profile coverage in the written and electronic media because of: (a) the use of sophisticated weapons during such raids (like R5's, AK 47's, semi-automatic pistols and even explosives in the blowing-up of automatic transmission machines), and (b) the violent nature of such robberies which, more than often, ends up in a shoot-out with the police resulting in loss of human lives.

Assault to inflict grievous bodily harm also appears to be of much greater concern to female respondents (144 or 48.0%) than it is to males (85 or 28.3%). This difference is significant ($p=.000$). Women abuse appears to be widespread in South Africa and although this type of crime is not separately provided for in the annual police statistics, it is included in the category *assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm* which show an increase of 0.7% (compared to the previous year, 2008-09) or 'common assault' which increased by 2.3% (www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2010). It should also be noted that sexual assault and rape of a male person by another male person now statutorily qualifies as 'male rape' in terms of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, no. 32 of 2007 (cf. Booyens 2008). Having their motor vehicles ($p=.045$) and property stolen ($p=.018$) also produced significant differences in opinion by female respondents, compared to the males. Vehicle hijacking appears to be of great concern to both male (103 or 34.3%) and female (141 or 47.0%). This difference is not significant ($p\geq .05$).

Prevention of crime and fear of crime

Bayley (1994:123-142) asserts that policing in the United States did not always satisfy people's expectations about crime prevention and the reduction of fear of crime, simply because the "... police do not prevent crime. This is one of the best kept secrets of modern life. Experts know it, the police know it, but the public does not know it" (Bayley 1994:3). The same observation may perhaps be true for contemporary policing in South Africa, because of the apparent absence of acceptable proactive measures in the form of visible role fulfillment; both as far as crime control and crime prevention are concerned. Just as criminal victimisation by means of armed robbery becomes more violent, so the police react with more vigour in terms of Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act (Act 55 of 1977), by reverting to 'shoot-to-kill'-practices.

Police crime statistics for 1 April 2009 till 31 March 2010, released during September 2010, clearly show modest decreases in certain crime categories such as murder (-7.2%), attempted murder (-4.9%), armed robbery (-6.3%), and all categories of sexual offences (-3.1%). During the same statistical period, however, 'residential (house) robbery' increased by 1.9% and robbery at business premises with 4.4% (www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2010/crime_stats.htm).

It would appear that increasing police numbers do not visibly affect prevailing crime rates because criminals are capable of changing their *modus operandi*, sporadically. Further, the application of Section 49 of Act 55 of 1977 (right to kill) by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to curb prominent violent crimes, do apparently not show the desired effects. Police statistics released by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) show that fatal violence on the part of the police, increased with 102% over the past five years. This observation may have caused great concern among government officials and the broader public – perhaps because of the police's "...shoot first"-interpretation of Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act. It may have also served as some kind of 'motivation' to subordinates to answer 'fire' with 'fire' (Beeld 2010:8).

National Commissioner, General Bheki Cele, further justifies his decision by indicating that criminals do not carry broomsticks or sjamboks (Sunday Tribune 2010:1). And yet, the public still remain concerned about shoddy police work in the form of inadequate criminal investigations owing to inefficiency that deprives the optimal functioning of the necessary criminal justice processes (Sunday Tribune 2010:31). Worldwide, police are obliged to maintain law and order in a democratic fashion by not killing suspects before they could be held accountable in a court of law. The first ten months of 2010 already show that the SAPS have shot and killed 257 people *during the arrest-stage* compared to 2008-2009 (+20.1%). People shot and killed *in the act* by the police during the same period has, however, shown a slight decrease of 3.8% (Beeld 2010:8).

It is often argued that communities deserve the crime that prevails in their particular police jurisdictions, simply because of a lack of constructive police crime prevention strategies like *random street patrolling*. Police role visibility

provides symbolic protection to people and creates opportunities to deter would-be law violators, thereby lowering people's fear of crime because of its proactive inclination and the fostering of the 'police-are-omnipresent-illusion' in the minds of law-abiding citizens (Lyman 2003:23-24).

A need for balance?

Fear of crime persists as a social concern and is more than often intensified by media reports about crime. Mindful of the shortcomings of the criminal justice system and its processes, media hype portraying violent crime scenes, for instance, may perhaps further exacerbate people's skepticism about the abilities of the police to successfully deal with crime and the fear of crime among innocent law-abiding citizens. On the other hand, fear of the police (as the protectors of human rights) and their involvement in serious law violations such as the abuse of power and authority, showing disrespect for human dignity, etc., on the other hand, may even further increase people's fear of crime. Continual media bombardment of police inefficiency may contribute towards inducing people into believing that they are indeed not up to the successful execution of their obligations relating to the democratic maintenance of law and order and may thus easily overshadow the heroic deeds of the police.

The police feel that the public are quick to point fingers at them, apparently for being ignorant when it comes to attending to calls for police service, being brutal and dishonest, unable to police themselves, abusing their power and authority, having been accorded too much discretion under minimal control and supervision, being involved in large scale corruption, nepotism, etc. (Lyman 2003:25-28). Having been transformed into a democracy may elicit public expectations of a disciplined and efficient policing system under the auspices of bureaucratic rules, primarily designed to avoid any similarities with a *police state*.

Conclusions

Since 27 April 1994, South Africans are living in a free society; not only free from police and government oppression, but also free of criminal victimisation and fear of crime, because "...[w]ith freedom, all democrats know, comes responsibility" (Sowetan 2010:16). Members of the public are dependent upon a police institution that is capable of ensuring their safety and security as well as the fair and impartial enforcement of the laws of the country, firmly based on constitutional principles.

Gender has emerged as the most powerful predictor of fear of personal victimisation and for obvious reasons, female respondents appear to be considerably more fearful than their male counterparts, whether alone at home at night, in the neighbourhood or whilst doing shopping at shopping malls. The findings of the present study therefore partially supports previous findings in this regard (Cf. Van Velzen 1998), with the exception that women fear murder (48.7%) more than rape (46.3%), apparently because of the fatal nature accompanying armed robbery-attacks at residential premises – usually after midnight. The present study merely outlines the nature and extent of fear of crime and the role the police to ease the public's concerns about their safety and security. Every possible precautionary measure to prevent and keep the escalation of serious crime under control should be seen as a step in the right direction. Police *force* is a necessary ingredient of efficient policing, but should be 'blended' with a fair balance of *police service* where members of the public could assist the police in the prevention of crime and fear of crime, either through Sector Policing or attending Community Police Forums (CPF's).

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