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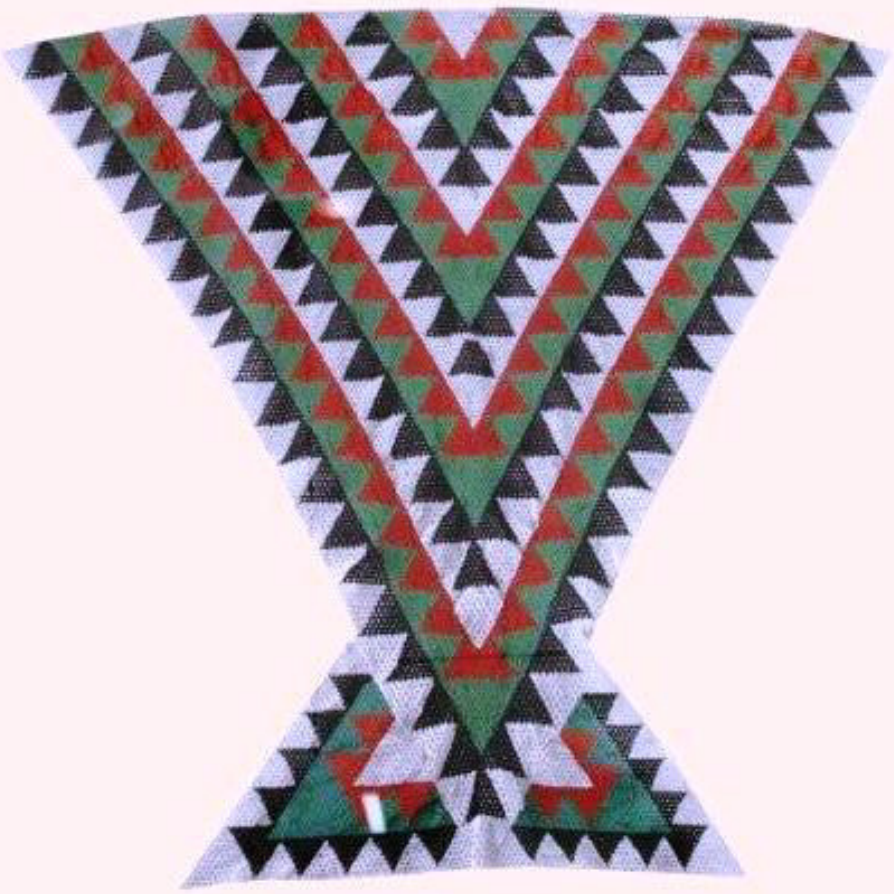
The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences



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EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* Readers,

It is again my pleasure, this year 2014, to present you with the first issue of our biannual journal, *Inkanyiso* Vol 6No. 1, that focuses on topical issues in the humanities and social sciences (see www.inkanyiso.uzulu.ac.za). The articles in this issue focus specifically on history, political science, sociology, linguistics and information studies.

The first two articles, by Maxwell Shamase of the University of Zululand, focus on Zulu royal history. In the first article entitled "The royal women of the Zulu monarchy through the keyhole of oral history: Queens Nandi (c. 1764-c.1827) and Monase (c. 1797-1880)", Maxwell argues that historians have typically chronicled events in a manner that relegates women to the background and confines their role to caring for homes and children. He notes that the Zulu monarchy in particular is replete with female dynasties, regents and rulers who took up positions of leadership through periods of nation-building and wars of resistance. The most important of the women in his view included Queen Nandi, the mother of Emperor Shaka, and Queen Monase, who contributed to shaping the Zulu monarchy behind the scenes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Maxwell uses the keyhole of oral history or indigenous knowledge to comprehend the nature and extent of their thinking, character traits and contributions. Quite related is his second article focusing on Princess Mkabayi Kajana, entitled "The royal women of the Zulu monarchy – through the keyhole of oral history: Princess Mkabayi Kajama (c.1750 -c.1843)" In this article, Maxwell recognizes the role of women in shaping history by different means during different epochs; he disagrees with historians who degrade women to the lower echelons of African history. Princess Mkabayi Kajama alongside Queen Nandi, the mother of Emperor Shaka and also Queen Monase contributed significantly in shaping the Zulu monarchy to what it became in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This article discusses the contribution of Princess Mkabayi KaJama to the Zulu monarchy. Unravelling the important role played by Mkabayi in the Zulu monarchy and nation is viewed by the author as the major contribution of this article.

The following three articles focus largely on political science and public administration. The Yoruba are an influential ethnic community in Nigeria. The third article, "Why they might have gone wild: the Yorubas of southwestern Nigeria and the politics of the First Republic" is written by Adeniyi Basiru from the University of Lagos. He argues that contrary to the general belief that the Yorubas or the westerners through their unconventional mode of politicking destroyed Nigeria's first republic, the seeds of destruction were first sown in 1914 when Lord Frederich Lugard, the British chief imperial agent, amalgamated the various autonomous communities into one capitalist state. The author recommends that revisiting the 1914 episode should be the major agenda for 'peacing' Nigeria together from the pieces. Nigeria is the largest oil producer in Africa but the management of this major resource for the benefit of all Nigerians is complex and shrouded in controversies. The fourth article, "Trust in government and the politics of fuel subsidy removal in Lagos, Nigeria" is by Johnson Ayodele from Lagos State University. Johnson uses exchange theory to examine how government's failure to meet the expectations of the governed has caused it to lose public trust in Nigeria and confirms this with a survey and findings of focus group discussions He concludes that non-fulfilment of promises by government erodes its trust by the public and recommends that for public trust in government to endure the culture of impunity should be uprooted from Nigerian politics. The fifth article is closely related to the previous one. In "Yoruba proverbs and the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria", Mohammed Ayodeji from Obafemi Awolowo University argues that proverbs as an embodiment of the distilled thoughts and wisdoms of a people can be applied to different human conditions for change. He focuses his article on the campaign for anti-corruption in Nigeria by drawing on Yoruba proverbs to persuade Nigerians to resist corruption.

The last three articles focus on information studies. The HIV/AIDs pandemic, although stabilising in Africa due to intensive interventions largely through citizen education and the rolling out of anti-retroviral drugs in Africa, is still widespread in the continent and continues to cause enormous human and developmental losses/sufferings in Africa. The sixth article, "Can Informetrics shape biomedical research? A case study of the HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa" is by Bosire Onyancha from the University of South Africa. Bosire argues that biomedical research is burgeoning as new dangerous diseases and healing methods emerge. He finds informetrics research suitable for tackilng research needs in the domain. His article focuses on the research evaluation and the pros and cons of using informetrics techniques to evaluate research performance, and addresses the application of informetrics to examine whether or not informetrics can be used to shape biomedical research, with special reference to HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa. He concludes that the application of informetrics, using various techniques or methodologies associated with it, to shape research in different fields/disciplines, is feasible. In the seventh article "Career information processing strategies of secondary school students in Osun State (Nigeria)" by Olusegun Adebowale from Obafemi Awolowo University, the strategies commonly adopted by Osun state secondary school students in processing career Information are examined. He

recommends career guidance collaboration between school counsellors and parents and also recommends that career marketing be intensified. The informal sector is one of the largest economic sectors in Africa. In the eighth and last article, Wakari Gikenye from the University of Nairobi writes on "The status and development of informal sector and ICT access in Kenya", provides an informative description and analysis of the sector in Kenya and recommends more research to gain a deeper understanding of the context and information needs of small business enterprises in order to offer a strategic framework for appropriate intervention in providing information and ICT access for MSEs.

Enjoy your reading

Dennis Ocholla

Editor-in-Chief, *Inkanyiso*: JHSS

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

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

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

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

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Contents

The royal women of the Zulu monarchy through the keyhole of oral history: Queens Nandi (c. 1764 – c.1827) and Monase (c. 1797 – 1880)

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Abstract

Historians, following typical chauvinistic tendencies, have chronicled events in a manner that relegates women to the background and confines their role to caring for homes and children. However, south east Africa in general and the Zulu monarchy in particular are replete with examples of female dynasties, regents and rulers who took up positions of leadership through periods of nation-building and wars of resistance. Zulu culture has a plethora of women, the most important of whom included Queen Nandi, the mother of Emperor Shaka, and Queen Monase, who contributed in shaping the Zulu monarchy behind the scenes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They were undoubtedly the heroines of the Zulu monarchy. The very mention of the word 'heroines' conjures up images of larger-than-life personalities, hearty souls who never backed down from danger. As much information as possible has been obtained for this article from resource material and interviews about these Zulu royal women. In researching the subject one could not find many written historical sources that give a detailed account of their influence except for brief references and descriptions. It was only through the keyhole of oral history or indigenous knowledge that one could comprehend the nature and extent of their thinking, character traits and contributions.

Keywords: Oral history, royal women, Zulu monarchy, Queen Nandi, Queen Monase

Introduction

Zulu royal women of the 18th and early 19th centuries, whether they were princesses, queens or members of the palace (*isigodlo*) had more privileges than responsibilities. This was attributed to the fact that they were always served by the court servants (*izinceku*) and slaves (*izigqila*) or prisoners of war. The lives of princesses were somewhat restricted in that they were discouraged from marrying commoners (Gunner 1991: 253).

The praise poems of royal women were not performed socially as were those of married women. These praises would be used rather as salutations or greetings by both men and women upon their arrival at the royal house. They would also be used by the women attending the queen. Furthermore, they would be bellowed as a way of expressing thankfulness by men after they had been served with the royal food.

In the latter case, it would not be necessary to repeat the whole praise poem; it would be considered sufficient to call out a single praise name, such as "Msizi"! Before embarking on an analysis of the praises of the individual royal Zulu women, it is imperative to provide a biographical outline of each woman to enhance a better understanding of the incidents and places alluded to in the praises. Msimang (1991: 51) concurred with this point of view when he attested that it was common knowledge that, due to their allusions to specific historical events and personalities, praise-poems were not always intelligible to people unfamiliar with the relevant history.

Zulu history is interspersed with oral traditions in the form of izibongo (praise poems). Praise-poems were and are still a form of history in which the world view of the rulers was expressed, and a vehicle for the expression of social disaffection. They were and still are the chronicles of individual lives, of both rulers and commoners, for praises were not confined to the scions of the royal houses (White 1991: 17).

A discernible contribution of women in the Zulu monarchy could be traced from the chieftaincy of Jama in 1771 who built his palace of Nobamba (the place of unity or binding together), near the Mpembeni stream. Jama had two wives, the chief of whom was Mthaniya, daughter of ManyelelaSibiya. Mthaniya begot twin girls, i.e. Mkabayi and Mmama, as well as a boy named Senzangakhona and finally a girl, Mawa.

The three daughters of Jama became heads of military harems (izigodlo) and evinced an aversion to matrimonial bonds, preferring to remain princesses. Mkabayi headed the ebaQulusini meaning: "where they pushed out buttocks"; Mmama ruled the Osebeni meaning "on the river bank", while Mawa reigned over Emperor Shaka's eNtonteleni. Jama died in 1781 and due to the minority of Senzangakhona, his heir, Mkabayi became regent.

It could be argued, however, that the evolvement of the ideal of nationhood among the Zulu people had its genesis in Senzangakhona's praises. When the court poet or praise-singer (Dingizwe 1984: 4) to Senzangakhona said:

A cord of destiny let us weave,
O Menzi, scion of Jama,

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That to universes beyond the reach
Of spirit-forms, we may ascend,

he was indicating that the destiny of the Zulu people was to traverse the universe and transform the human being into a conscious citizen of the cosmic order (in southeast Africa). The Emperor Shaka adopted this imbongi's (court poet's) ideal as the main inspiration for the revolution which he led after his father's death. It was the ideological blueprint on which he built the Zulu monarchy. The death of Senzangakhona, Shaka's father, in 1816 marked the end and the beginning of two distinct periods in East-Nguni political history. Under Shaka a new era in Zulu history was inaugurated.

The earlier system of countless clans would be gradually demolished, and out of its ruins would be built a grandiose nation ruled by an imperious emperor. Thus, the Zulu monarchy began with Shaka who reigned between 1816 and 1828. Shaka was able to fully apply his military and political genius. It was he who brought together the people from different clans as one mighty sovereign nation. It was during his twelve year rule that Queens Nandi and Monase (though the latter made more history during the times of Emperor Mpande) featured prominently.

Queen Nandi (c. 1764 – c. 1827): a biographical outline

The history of Nandi and that of her son Shaka, the great Zulu emperor and founder of the Zulu nation, has mostly been gleaned from oral sources and some written references from the diary of the African trader, Henry Francis Fynn (1883: 32-36). He spent a great deal of time with Emperor Shaka and was also present at the death of Nandi.

The subject, however, is fraught with inconsistencies. Some of the most crucial events leading to the establishment of the Shakan empire took place within a few kilometres of Melmoth, situated between modern day Eshowe and the Zulu capital Ulundi. The legacy of Queen Nandi is intertwined with that of her son Shaka and it would be impossible to compile a historical background on her without including references and a background to the rise and fall of Shaka, as Nandi played such a pivotal role in his life (Pridmore 1987: 86).

Queen (iNdlovukazi) Nandi (the sweet one) was the daughter of a minor eLangeni inkosi (potentate), Bhebhe (also referred to as Mbengi) Mhlongo and his wife Mfunda. She was born in 1766 at the eBozini homestead (umuzi) on what later became the Bull's Run estate on the banks of the Mhlathuze river (in close proximity to the present day Phobane Lake). Little is known about her early childhood, but one may presume she grew up according to Zulu customs and fulfilled the various chores a young girl would in the household (Stuart 1926: 18).

On her way with friends to visit relatives near the Babanango hills, she passed close to Senzangakhona's ikhanda (head) of esiKlebheni which was situated very near the area where the Babanango road turns off from the R34 Melmoth/Vryheid road. Taking the location of esiKlebheni and the various watercourses in the vicinity into consideration, there can be little doubt that a meeting took place between Nandi's party and a group of young men that included SenzangakhonakaJama.

This meeting took place south of the White Umfolozi river in the wooded bed of the Mkhumbane river (probably upstream from the bridge where the present Melmoth/Vryheid road crosses it.) It seems they met again on their return journey and this time the flirting between Nandi and Senzangakhona could not have been so innocent, as she fell pregnant by him (Shamase 1996: 32-38).

It is claimed that Shaka was born at Senzangakhona's household and that although Nandi was betrothed to Senzangakhona, they were not yet married according to traditional custom. This, however, appears unlikely, as the relationship was illicit and it is more than likely that Shaka was born 'esihlahleni' – (literally in the bushes or outside the normal social setting for a birth), in 1787 in the eLangeni territory at the Nguga homestead of Nandi's uncle. According to Zulu custom, in those days pregnant women who were not married were sent away with the child to live in obscurity; their children were never recognised as being of royal blood.

When Nandi first reported her pregnancy to Senzangakhona, the tribal elders claimed that she was not pregnant but suffering from a stomach ailment caused by the 'ishaka' beetle. This was an intestinal beetle on which menstrual irregularities were usually blamed. Nandi was said to be suffering from this because of her out-of-wedlock pregnancy. When the child was eventually born, the child and Nandi were taken to the Zulu capital with much shame and no welcoming festivities, as there were no ceremonial celebration for a woman already with child. Nandi took the child to Senzangakhona and presented him with his son and named him 'Shaka'. (Stuart 1926: 18-20)

Despite Senzangakhona's attempts to deny paternity, he eventually married Nandi and she was relegated to the lowly position of his third wife. According to Ritter (1995: 41-52), Nandi was not only a mother but also in interclan marriage, which was forbidden. This came about because Nandi's mother Mfunda was the daughter of Khondlo, a Qwabe chief, with whom clan intermarriage with the Zulu was unacceptable.

Shaka and Nandi spent their early years at Senzangakhona's esiKlebheni homestead near the present day Babanango. Nandi appeared to have a fiery temperament but was devoted to her son. Although there were strong indications that the relationship between Nandi and Senzangakhona was never happy for long, she did bear him a second child, a girl

named Nomcoba. Nandi was apparently not very popular and found herself unwelcome and neglected. Fortunately Mkabi (the wife of Jama) to whom Nandi as Um-Lobokazi (young wife) was entrusted, was a close relative of Nandi's mother Mfunda. Queen Mkabi took Nandi under her care and displayed some sympathy towards her (Isililosika Nandi 1915: 6-8; 1917: 4-7).

The version given by Henry Francis Fynn differs from the above. Although he also wasn't present, the oral representation in time frame was much closer and he might also have gleaned information from Shaka. According to Fynn, Senzangakhona was uncircumcised at the time of his encounter with Nandi. Although a chief may have set aside a group of women, the women were not allowed to conceive before his circumcision was completed.

According to Fynn, Nandi was included in this group and within six months became pregnant with Senzangakhona's 'illigitimate' child. The other women in the group publicly charged Nandi with having illicit intercourse. Senzangakhona, to avoid disgrace in the estimation of his people, told the other women that she suffered from *'itshaka'*, a looseness of the bowels, and that that was the cause of the swelling. In due course, Shaka was born (Stuart 1926: 22). Henry Francis Fynn also gives more insight concerning the temperament of Nandi.

He describes her as being of a 'violent, passionate disposition' and states that 'during her residence with Senzangakhona she frequently got into fits of outrageous violence'. He claims that 'Nandi was a masculine, savage woman with a tongue like a rasp'. Fynn also states that Nandi and Shaka's expulsion from Senzangakhona's presence came as a result of Nandi striking one of his leading men over the head with a knobstick (Bulpin 1952: 105-33). In consequence of this, she was on the point of being killed, but Senzangakhona ordered her out from his presence and told her to never return.

Other sources (Perrett 1911: 34) described the events differently. When Shaka was six years old he had allowed a dog to kill one of Senzangakhona's pet sheep. A quarrel ensued between an arrogant Nandi and Senzangakhona when he threatened Shaka with a beating. As a result Nandi, Shaka and Nomcoba, Shaka's younger sister, were ordered to return to Nandi's own people, the eLangeni.

Senzangakhona married several other wives and appointed Bibi, daughter of Sompisi, chief of the Ntuli clan, as his queen. She bore him a son named Sigujana, who was to become king after Senzangakhona. Other sons, notably Mhlangane, Dingane and Mpande, were born to the other wives.

Nandi, Shaka and Nomcoba sought sanctuary in the Mhlathuze Valley with the eLangeni people, where they were apparently not welcomed. Shaka became a herd-boy at his mother's iNgugo homestead in the Elangeni area about 48 kilometres away from his father's homestead. It was obviously not a happy time for Shaka or Nandi, as she felt herself disgraced by Senzangakhona. Shaka himself was subjected to humiliation and bullying by the older boys who referred to him as 'the fatherless one' (Stuart 1926: 21-23). He became anti-social and unpopular. Few people liked the arrogant Nandi or her son.

This unhappiness could explain Shaka's subsequent lust for power and his hatred of the eLangeni. In Zulu chronicles Nandi is said to have soothed Shaka by saying: 'Never mind, my Um-lilwane (Little Fire), you have got the isibindi (liver, meaning courage) of a lion and one day you will be the greatest chief in the land.' *(Ritter 1995:43-47)*. A few adult women defended him and were kind to him. Among these were his grandmother, Mthaniya, Mkabi the chief wife of Senzangakhona and Mkabayi, Senzangakhona's sister (Mkabayi later played a pivotal role in the plot to assassinate Shaka).

Mkabi (Senzangakhona's stepmother) and Mkabayi, his older sister, visited Nandi throughout Shaka's childhood years. Shaka never forgot this and when he came into power he placed them in the highest positions in the land: they became reigning queens of his military homesteads and he maintained them there to his death. Shaka idolised Nandi and he had great resentment for the way she had been treated by Senzangakhona and the people of the eLangeni clan who mocked at his illigitimate birth (Isililosika Nandi 1915: 8-10; 1917: 7-9). On the one hand he exalted those who had treated his mother well, but took revenge on all who had slighted Nandi and ridiculed him.

According to the diary of Henry Fynn (Stuart 1926: 23), Nandi had married a 'commoner of the Langeni clan named, Gendeyana (Ngendeyana) and bore him a son called Ngwadi'. In about 1802 the eLangeni were affected by a great famine and Nandi, unable to provide food for her children, moved the family to the Mpahla flats, east of Eshowe near the Amatigulu River.

Nandi at this time went to join Gendeyana, by whom she already had a child and who lived among the Ama-Mbedweni people, a sub-clan of the Qwabes. She was well received, but Shaka felt no rightful place and was sent by Nandi to live with Macingwane waseNgonyameni of the Chunu clan (Ritter 1995: 67). Shortly afterwards, Nandi again sent Shaka to live with her father's sister in Mthethwaland north of the present day Kwambonambi.

Nandi and Shaka found refuge with her aunt in the mDletsheni clan which fell directly under the rule of the powerful Mthethwa and their ageing Emperor Jobe. Jobe was succeeded by his son Dingiswayo, *alias* Godongwane. Ritter stated that Nandi, Shaka and his siblings all went to live in the area presided over by Ngomane, son of Mqomboli of the

mDletsheni clan which paid homage to Emperor Jobe. This was in 1803 and at the Mthethwa home of her aunt, the first time in many years that Nandi and Shaka were treated with kindness and sympathy. Shaka became a herdboy for Ngomane and lived with Mbiya, who became a foster-father to him. In 1809, Jobe died and his son Dingiswayo returned home and became inkosi (potentate) (Ritter 1995: 70).

Shaka was about twenty-three years old when Dingiswayo called up the emDlatsheni Intanga (age group) of which he was a member, and incorporated it in the iziChwe regiment. All the young men of Shaka's age group were called up and Shaka became a soldier living at the Ema-Ngweni homestead under the leadership of General Bhuza. Shaka served as aMthethwa warrior for six years, and distinguished himself with his courage, rising to be a general (Ritter 1995: 71).

In 1815 inkosi Senzangakhona, Shaka's father, fell ill. Despite the fact that Shaka had made an impression on him and was a protégé of Dingiswayo, Senzangakhona nominated one of his younger sons, Sigujana, to succeed him. When Sigujana was killed by Ngwadi, Shaka's half-brother, the way was open for Shaka to return to eMakhosini.With the support and approval of Dingiswayo and the Mthethwa, Shaka was installed at eSiklebheni, his father's capital, and became the new inkosi of the Zulu clan.

He immediately selected a new site for his homestead as it was not customary to occupy the dwelling of a deceased inkosi. He chose a site on a ridge situated on the east bank of the Mhode stream near the present farmhouse of Koningskroon just below the Mthonjaneni Ridge (Isililosika Nandi 1915: 7-8; 1917:12). He had returned to a site very near the original settlement of his ancestor, Zulu.

Emperor Shaka immediately organised his army, calling up all the Zulu males between 20 and 40 years and forming regiments. He also built military settlements between his capital and the White Umfolozi River. His first military attack was one of revenge against his mother's people, the eLangeni clan. Shaka established a new royal palace, kwaBulawayo and a number of similar royal palaces known as amakhanda (of royal authority) were built around his monarchy (isililosika Nandi 1915: 9; 1917: 13). These served as centres of administration and regimental barracks.

Taylor (1994: 112) has argued that Shaka had a deep respect for his mother, Nandi, and his aunts, the princesses Mkabayi, Mmama and Nomawa. In 1816, Nandi had returned to live with Shaka as the Queen Mother. She held a reputedly cruel sway over her household and exercised a great deal of influence over the affairs of the Zulu monarchy. Nandi, with other women surrounding Shaka, was put in charge of military homesteads and given power to govern while he was on campaign. It is said that Nandi was a force for moderation in Shaka's life, suggesting various political compromises rather than violent action.

Each settlement had a selection of royal women usually headed by one of Shaka's aunts. According to evidence later given by Emperor Cetshwayo, the woman's work in a homestead consisted of cultivating and reaping crops, fetching wood and water, cooking, making matting for covering huts, making sleeping mats, making izilulu (a grass receptacle for corn), and cleaning house (Webb & Wright 1976: 12).

As Shaka swept through Zululand incorporating various clans into the Zulu, all the unmarried Buthelezi women – about 100 – aged from eighteen to twenty, became Shaka's crown property. They were divided into three equal groups . He appointed one group each to his military homesteads, the mBelebele (ruled by his aunt Mkabayi) and the Esi-Klebheni (ruled by his father Senzangakhona's first wife Mkabi and fourth wife Langazana (Webb & Wright 1976: 13). The third group formed the nucleus of the Um-Dlunkulu (those of the great house) under the watchful eye of Nandi. At Bulawayo Nandi was responsible for their good conduct and careful monthly inspections to ensure that they were not pregnant.

Laband (1995: 10-18), referring to Nandi, wrote:

> his mother was clearly of a most difficult, aggressive temperament however, and Nandi's praises refer to her physical unattractiveness and sexual frigidity, as well as to her violent temper: 'she whose thighs do not meet, they only meet on seeing her husband'.

After Shaka's great victory at the Umhlathuze river, he gave Nandi a herd of thousands of cattle and started the building of her own royal palace at Emkhindini not far from the Mfule river, halfway between present-day Melmoth and the Umhlathuze river. Early in 1821, six years before Nandi's death, Shaka built a new capital on the southern slopes of the Umhlathuze valley to the right of the present-day road between Eshowe and Empangeni. Like the first he also named it kwa-Bulawayo (place of the killing).

As soon as this was completed, Shaka built Nandi a similar palace but of lesser dimensions. That palace was situated on the broad flat summit of a hill five km south-west of the new Bulawayo. It was called the Emkhindini (girdle) after the name of her earlier one situated near Melmoth, and was almost encircled by the Emateku and Embuzane streams with the Empongo hill to the east. Nomcoba, Shaka's sister, now presided over the old Emkhindini palace (Marks 1969: 130).

The history of the death of Nandi is filled with contradictory statements and there are various views on how she actually died. It is difficult to separate fact from fiction as most information is by oral representation or from the diary of Henry Francis Fynn, which for the most part is a memoir. In the spring of the 11th year of Shaka's rule, in October 1827,

while hunting 130 km from Nandi's Emkhindini palace, Shaka received news that Nandi the iNdlovukazi (The Female Elephant, meaning the Great Queen) was gravely ill. He rushed to her palace between the late afternoon and noon the next day (Webb & Wright 1976: 277-278).

Henry Francis Fynn, who accompanied Shaka on the hunt, was asked to attend to Nandi. Fynn descibed Nandi's hut being filled with mourning women and smoke; he had to ventilate the hut to be able to breathe. Nandi was already in a coma and Fynn reported to Shaka that he did not expect her to live through the day. Soon Shaka was given news that Nandi was dead. Fynn attributed her death to 'dysentary' but persistent Zulu tradition has it that Shaka killed her. There is also the possibility, however, that Mkabayi spread the rumour of Shaka killing Nandi in order to turn people against him, and that she had been the one to order his assassination (Stuart 1926: 24-28).

Modern portrait of Queen Nandi kaBhebhe

In Zulu oral history, Shaka was said to have put women to death within his palace who he had made pregnant, in order to prevent the birth of rivals to his throne. Shaka, upon discovering that his mother had not told him that she had permitted a Cele woman (Mbuzikazi) to leave the palace with her son, was enraged and stabbed Nandi, 'with the sharp shank of a spear through her leather skirt and up her anus, as she stooped to feed the fire' (Laband 1995: 22-26).

Whether this is true or not, Shaka was overcome with remorse at the death of Nandi. In a public show of unrestrained grief people tried to outdo each other in their show of mourning as proof of their innocence of any complicity in Nandi's death. Two days after her death, Nandi was buried. Various personal attendants were killed and buried with her. According to custom, a person of her rank could not die alone, but had to have servants to cook and serve her in the underworld. Nandi was to be shown all the funeral honours of a royal queen.

In the book *A Zulu King Speaks – Statements made by Cetshwayo*, the king stated that beyond what he had been told he did not know what happened at Nandi's death but that the ceremony observed at the burial of a great person was more or less similar to that of a commoner (Webb & Wright 1978: 16). The only difference was that the grave of a great person was made into a nicer shape; a wooden fence erected around the grave and that every year when the grass was burnt, there were men to ensure that the grass on or near the grave was not burnt. After Nandi's death Shaka and his people were thrown into a general hysteria. Thousands of people and cattle were killed and there was an enforced year of mourning (Stuart 1926: 24-29).

Queen Nandi: through the keyhole of oral history

Quoted in Cope (1968: 175), Queen Nandi was praised thus:

USomqeni,
UMathangakawahlangani,
Ahlanganangokubon'umyeni.
UGedegedelwasenhlanenkundla.
UPhokophalalakuMaqhwakazi,
Angibonang' uphokoukuphalala.
UMboniwamabhuzengeuSontanti.
USontantionjengowakwaGwazana.
USontanti kayidl' inkom' ensizwana,
Udl' ubisi lwenkom' enezimpondo,
Ukwesab 'abayisegayo.
Intombi kaMbengi weNguga kaSoyengwase kaMaqamande,
UXebe woMhlathuze
Mfazi ontongande zingamadoda,
Uyishaye yenyus' iSabiza

UMathanga kawahlangani,
Ahlangana ngokubon' indoda.
Obengabafana baseNguga,
Abezabeluhayizana.
Father of troubles!
She whose thighs do not meet,
They only meet on seeing the husband.
Loud-voiced one from the upper part of the court.
She who rushed out to Maqhwakazi,
I did not see the millet rush out.
She who sees confusion, Sontanti,
Sontanti who is like the daughter of Gwazana;
Sontanti does not partake of a little hornless cow,
She drinks the milk of a cow with horns,
For fear of those who milk it.
The daughter of Mbengi of the Nguga homestead,
Son of Soyengwase, son of Maqamande
Sweetheart of the Mhlathuze valley.
Woman whose long staves are like those of men,
Who struck it and it went up the Sabiza River.
She whose thighs do not meet,
They only meet on seeing a husband.
She who was with the boys of Nguga,
Who came in a small group
(Cope 1968: 175)

Turner argued that Nandi's praises might have been composed long before she became Queen Mother. He stated that they reflected the attitude of both the eLangeni and the Zulu people. Nandi's praises pointed at her falling pregnant by Senzangakhona out of wedlock as a disgrace.

They also revealed that he had never accepted her as a real queen with full rights. The survival of her praises could therefore be attributed to her subsequent political influence within the Zulu monarchy (Turner 1990: 46).

Nandi was addressed in a manner akin to that of men. She was also addressed as USomqeni (father of laziness) which set the tone for the rest of the ensuing criticism, oaths and outright insults to her character. The following lines, 2 and 3 of her praises, were full of sexually ambiguous imagery:

UMathanga kawahlangani,
Ahlangana ngokubon' umyeni.
(Zondi 1996: 12)
She whose thighs do not meet,
They only meet on seeing a husband.

The ambiguity in meaning entailed the word *'hlangana'* which could also mean 'to have sexual connexion'. These lines might imply that Nandi had widely spaced thighs. This was undoubtedly an unattractive feature which meant that she conducted herself like a man.

Socialization, in terms of Zulu culture, took place very early in children's lives, from the time they started playing with dolls and mud cattle. Boys emulated adult males, visualizing themselves as possessing large herds of cattle, while girls played games that were aimed at improving their supportive role. The above praise lines therefore portrayed Nandi as "social deviant and non-conformist" (Mtuze 1990: 97).

Nandi was aware of the norms and values governing the behaviour of girls and women, but chose to ignore the rules. She sat as she pleased and this was an indication that she had a mind of her own. Nandi would do whatever pleased her in her personal space.

In praise line 4, Nandi was referred to as:

UGedegedelwasenhlanenkundla.
Loud mouthed one from the upper part of the court.
(Cope 1968:175)

The line made reference to the ability Nandi had to stamp her authority on various matters to Senzangakhona and his councillors. It revealed her low esteem or her strong-willed and domineering character. This also exposed her

persistently deviant behaviour. People, especially women, were precluded from raising their voices at the upper end of the arena or courtyard – a place of assembly.

Zondi stated that Nandi was an ill-tempered and sensitive woman who was not susceptible to jokes. This might justifiably be ascribed to her early miserable life experiences. People occasionally gossiped and made insinuations about her falling pregnant out of wedlock. Even her son Shaka bore the wrath of society that kept reminding him of the impropriety of his mother's behaviour (Zondi 1989: 11).

Nkumane pointed out that:

> In any given cultural context, male and female behaviour patterns are fixed by norms. Anyone trying to break these rules can expect to meet with serious problems in the community in which the ruling group produces images and conceptions of the others to legitimise the *status quo*. This emphasises the connection between people and their social environment, underlining the reciprocity between the environment and personality. Personal and environmental factors do not function as independent determinants; rather, they determine each other (1999:118).

Nandi paid a high price for breaching the moral codes. In her quest to attain personal freedom, she violated the cultural norms. This included, among other things, submissiveness, which she was supposed to venerate as a bride in the presence of her in-laws.

About the outspoken woman, Schipper (1987: 46) argued thus:

> In all cultures, the woman who formulates her own claims or who protests against her situation is given the cold shoulder. If the woman who expresses herself orally is already labelled in a special way, the women who dare fix thoughts for eternity are criticised all more.

In lines 5 and 6, Nandi was praised as:

> UPhokophalalakuMaqhwakazi
> Angibonanga, uphok' ukuphalala
> She who rushed out to Maqhwakazi
> I did not see the millet rush out .

The court poet again levelled subtle criticism by conjuring up the image of the impulsive Nandi rushing out. Uphoko was a small species of millet used for improving beer and roasted by warriors when preparing for a journey. Phalala could mean to rush out in haste. The combination of the two conjured up a vivid image of the ever journeying Nandi (Vilakazi 1945: 88).

Line 7 praised her thus:

> UMboniwamabhuzenge uSontanti
> She who sees confusion, Sontanti

This contained an unflattering reference to Nandi as uSontanti, a drifter, again making special use of the masculine morpheme -so- emphasizing her behaviour of wandering around without fixed place of abode (Isiliosika Nandi 1917: 14; Zondi 1996: 12).

The above praises presented Nandi as a courageous and persistent woman. She did not give up hope, but forged ahead in the face of misery and impossible odds. Bemused as she was, Nandi appeared as a woman capable of facing life without support from the male partner. Her main strength could be seen to have been drawn from the fact that she had to be there for children. The happiness and well-being of children were of paramount importance to Nandi. One could also argue that as a single parent she assumed the role of guardian to her children. This was a status monopolised by men of her days.

Ongunyemi (1985: 73), a womanist scholar, has said that:

> A black woman is not as powerless in the black world as the white woman is in the white world; the black woman, less protected than her white counterpart has to grow independent. After each mental upheaval, the black woman knows in her subconscious mind that she must survive because she has other people without resources depending on her. In a positive about- face she usually recovers through a superhuman effort.

In Nandi's praises, lines 10 and 11 stated:

> USontanti kayidl' inkom' ensizwana,
> Udl' ubisi lwenkom' enezimpondo.
> Sontanti does not take part of the little hornless cow
> She drinks the milk of the cow with horns.

In these lines, the use of language has erotic ambiguity, as *ukudla* could mean to have sexual intercourse, as well as eat or drink, conquer, capture, annihilate, achieve or stab, etc. Thus, the inferred meaning of the court poet here could be

that Nandi had sexual intercourse with a chief of importance. At the same time it carried the meaning that she did not fool around with anyone who was unimportant, a shrewd reference to her burning ambition (Zondi 1996: 10-12).

Nandi was portrayed as a bold, wayward and uncompromising woman. She broke societal norms to achieve her goal of being married to a man of importance. She abdicated her role as custodian of mores of society in order to realize her wish. She gambled with her marriage by having an extra-marital affair with her son's arch-rival in the hope of becoming a queen. Her lack of decency and respect for her son Shaka presented Nandi as a woman who would eschew the norms and values of society to get what she wanted, at whatever cost.

In line, 13 Nandi was praised as:

UXebewoMhlathuze

Sweetheart of the Mhlathuze valley

The court poet openly criticized Nandi by referring to her as uXebe or flirt, a personalised noun derived from the class 5 noun isixebe, meaning a "concubine". This could also refer to her alleged romantic flirtation with inkosi Phakathwayo, one of Shaka's arch-rivals, and the paramount chief of the area in which she resided with her husband Gendeyana (Bryant 1929: 196). The affair was said to have incensed Shaka.

Nandi's unusual height earned her another slating comment in line 14 of her praises:

Mfaziontongandezingandoda

Woman whose long staves are like those of a man.

(Cope 1968: 175)

Fynn(1950: 12) described the physical structure and behaviour of Nandi as follows:

> She was said to have been masculine and a savage woman, ever quarrelling with, and so enraging her husband, that he was compelled to exercise some salutary authority and reprimand her for the impropriety of her conduct.

Turner explains that line 14 contained criticism of Nandi's fierce temper. In a fit of rage, Nandi was reported to have struck one of Senzangakhona's senior councillors in the face. The impropriety of her conduct was one of the reasons for her ultimate banishment from the royal court (Turner 1990: 44).

Nandi was portrayed as a bold, scornful and angry woman. A lot of depression and anger had built inside her. The only way to avenge herself and to make her voice heard was to resort to violence. She was angry at society for being critical and unsympathetic towards her. Her flawed behaviour during her teens caused her a lot of heartache and she lost societal respect.

Nkumane(1999: 162) states that:

> In traditional African societies, the role of each citizen is to perpetuate the *status quo*, to assume responsibility for the continuity of the clan, to work within the tradition and to maintain a closed society. Each member of the society has his or her mission which has to be fulfilled to ensure prosperity and survival. There is no room for change in the attitudes for girls. Freedom to choose one's destiny is characteristic of individualism, a concept which is not found in most African cultures.

Zulu society was seemingly hard and unflinching when it came to meting out punishment to women who had acted *contra bonos mores* (contrary to societal norms and values). The society neither tolerated nor accepted disgraceful antics displayed by women. Senzangakhona was not an innocent party, as he had impregnated Nandi. He was, however, not subjected to the same harsh judgement as Nandi.

This could be attributed to the position he occupied in society. Perhaps the society believed that it was the woman's fault for falling pregnant. Whatever the reason, Nandi was stigmatized as a "fallen woman" and her mistake turned her and her son into cold, sensitive and insecure beings. Nandi was not the only one to suffer shame; her children were constantly and nauseatingly reminded of their mother's unbecoming behaviour. Shaka's ruthlessness could be ascribed to the bitter life he experienced as a boy. Thus, he pledged his life to take revenge on those who ill-treated him and his mother.

On the issue of pre-marital sex in the Zulu society, Jili (1995: 28) has argued:

> Premarital sexual relations are allowed by the Zulu customary tradition. On the other hand virginal intactness is highly recommended. In what way may premarital sexual relations be permitted while at the same time affirming the values of virginity? In Zulu practice this was done through the practice of ukusoma.

Ukusoma involved a degree of sexual licence for the unmarried by allowing intercrural intercourse which was usually not coitus. Both boys and girls were intensively trained in this practice because laxity would result in pregnancy. Punishment was severe for premarital pregnancy and no one dared overlook this fact. Since many people knew which girl was in love with which boy, their premarital sexual relations were a matter of public knowledge (Jili 1995: 29).

Lines 16 and 17 of Nandi's praises were a repetition of those occurring in lines 2 and 3, and the last two lines made reference to Nandi's wedding:

ObengabafanabaseNguga,
Abezabeluhayizana.
She who was with the boys of Nguga,
Who came in a small group.

Cope aptly explained this as a reference to the wedding day when Nandi was quietly introduced to Senzangakhona's homestead, accompanied by a group of men from the Nguga homestead, where she lived then. She was installed quietly as Senzangakhona's third wife, there being no marriage ceremony for a pregnant bride. This was a mocking criticism, as Zulu custom dictated that a bride-to-be had to be introduced into the village of her fiancée in the company of a large group of men with much celebration and festivity (Cope 1968: 175).

It could be concluded that Nandi's erratic behaviour pitted her against the whole society. Her actions solicited great agitation and opposition from the community. Norms and values enforced uniformity among all women and men, since society eschewed individualism. Deviation from the mainstream norms and values led to ostracisation and stigmatisation. Nandi's erotic freedom came at a costly price. Pratt (1981: 120) explained erotic freedom as follows:

> When women heroes do seek erotic freedom, which we define as the right to make love when and with whom they wish, they meet all opposition of the patriarchy.

Jili (1995: 31) commented that virginity was highly valued in traditional Zulu sexual practices. This was the pride of each and every girl and to lose it was to lose self-esteem. He stated:

> A limit was set to those pre-marital relations by the rule that girl must not be deflowered, and some of the girl's puberty ceremonies (Venda, Zulu) included instruction on means to avoid this. Among some clans girls were examined periodically by their mothers or older women to see if they were virgins, and the virginity of a bride was a matter of great moment. If a girl was found to have been deflowered, a fine, in some instances a heavy one, was inflicted on the boy responsible and in the Nguni group this was increased if pregnancy resulted.

The value of virginity was crystallized in the African culture. Girls were encouraged to live virtuously as there were dividends derived from it. Mtuze (1990: 74) argues that it was important for women to live by an approved socio-cultural code of conduct. This was particularly so because men insisted on virginity to ensure that their heirs were legitimate off-spring. Men stressed strict virginity as far as women were concerned while the same rule did not rigidly apply to men. Philanderers were 'playboys' while women who did the same were labelled with all conceivable derogatory epithets.

Nandi's praises did not reflect any praiseworthy feminine features. Instead, they were composed in an exclusively personal and physical vein of pure criticism and disapproval.

Queen Monase (c. 1797 – c. 1880): A biographical outline

Vilakazi (1945: 50) argued and said that Queen Monase was originally one of the 'harem' girls of Emperor Shaka. Her palace, after becoming Prince Mpande's wife, was established at Mfaba hills on the south banks of the Black Umfolozi River. A section of Mpande's family presided over by Nqqumbazi (Cetshwayo's mother) resided on the South of Mhlathuze river. Thus, the two sections were about 80 miles apart, the palace of the king being between them, on the banks of the White Umfolozi River. Parties began gradually to associate themselves with either of these centers, and gave themselves the names of IziGqoza and Usuthu respectively.

Modern portrait of Queen Monase

IziGqoza and Usuthu were names of the adherents that formed respectively around Princes Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo when they became rivals for succession to the Zulu monarchy in the mid-1850s (Stuart 1926: 48-50). The name IziGqoza was derived from the fact that those threatened or about to be killed by Cetshwayo used to run off one by one to khonza (pay homage to) Mbuyazi at his Entengweni palace. This coming individually to khonza was said to be ukugqoza (Stuart 1926: 28-50). This view differed sharply from that of Maphalala (1985: 38) who argued that the word IziGqoza originated from Mbuyazi's adherents' war cry:

Laba!Laba! Lababayozebasibone!

(These! These! These we shall fix them).

According to Maphalala, these words were accompanied by the clattering of assegais and pointing in the direction of the "enemy."

Monase, however, featured during the outbreak of a civil war in the Zulu monarchy under Emperor Mpande KaSenzangakhona. The cause of the wrangle in Mpande's palace has been a bone of contention among historians. J.Y. Gibson (1911); R.C.A. Samuelson (1929); Brookes and Webb (1965); B. Roberts (1974); Jeff Guy (1979) and C. Ballard (1980) concurred with R.R.R.Dlomo (1951) and S.J. Maphalala (1985) that the main rivals to the succession were Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi.

Emperor Shaka had a romantic flirtation with Monase, the daughter of Mntungwa of the Nxumalo clan, born in 1797 (Dhlomo 1960: 59-60). He suspected Monase of being pregnant and presented her to Mpande. This was Shaka's tendency; his real motives could only be a matter of speculation. Thus, Monase became Mpande's honoured but not chief wife. She bore a son of Shaka called Mbuyazi, and gave birth to the following children of Mpande: Mkhungo, Mantantashiya, a girl named Hloyisile, Mdumba and another girl named Bathonyile (Okoye 1974: 93).

Shortly afterwards, Shaka sent a delegation to Tshana, chief (inkosi) of the Zungu clan, to pay ilobolo (cattle given to a girl's parents before a wedding) for his daughter Ngqumbazi to become Mpande's first order wife. She gave birth to Cetshwayo. Thus, Cetshwayo became heir to Mpande's throne according to Zulu customary law (Stuart 1926: 24-26).

In accordance with Zulu custom, Monase was a commoner. Her first-born son, therefore, could not normally become heir. That honour was reserved for the eldest son of the king's 'Great Wife' whom he would choose later. In Mpande's case, however, Ngqumbazi was his first order wife and a princess. This eventually justified Cetshwayo's contention that he was entitled to claim the rights of succession.

A few years later Mpande married Nomantshali KaSiguyana Ntuli of the Bheleni. She gave birth to Mthonga and Mpande loved her more than his other wives, including Ngqumbazi, who was held in high esteem by the Zulu people. Mthonga, realising that his mother was perceived as Mpande's favourite, thought that the realities of succession were likely to favour him. Thus, Mpande had three sons who, because of his vacillation, posed as possible claimants to the throne (Dhlomo 1960: 16).

To the Voortrekkers of the Transvaal Republic (especially in the Utrecht region), Mpande regarded Cetshwayo as his rightful successor. At his palace he publicly announced that Mbuyazi was the heir because his mother had been presented to him by Shaka. On the other hand, according to oral tradition, Mpande whispered the name of Mthonga, Nomantshali's son (Okoye 1974: 95).

The fact that Mpande had not yet named his 'Great Wife' (equivalent to queen) complicated matters. The progression of that state of incipient estrangement within the monarchy prompted Monase to encourage her son Mbuyazi to contest for the throne. This led to a growing antagonistic faction favouring Mbuyazi called iziGqoza.

Cetshwayo, enjoying a fairly large following of hot-blooded young men, assembled his adherents, called Usuthu. The Usuthu faction got its name from beautiful cattle captured from Swaziland in 1852. Because Cetshwayo had fought bravely in that campaign, these cattle were associated with him and became a symbol of Zulu pride (Maphalala 1985: 38).

Nevertheless, Mpande's skilful diplomacy, displayed in handling colonial establishments, proved ineffective in forging unity among his envious sons. This also stigmatised his dignity as the reigning monarch. A king he was, one may argue, but political matters in the 1850s were practically tabled before his sons Mbuyazi and Cetshwayo. Dhlomo (1960: 63) has argued that Mpande's extrication from public affairs was also due to his 'endless love' for his wife Nomantshali, with whom he spent long hours. Mtshapi (Stuart 1926: 61) one of James Stuart's informants, pointed out that the abantwana (princes) were set on to fight by the king himself, who said: 'Makhasana rejoices; let him see his rams butting each other.' Through Monase's nagging, he then set them on by cutting war-shields for them from the hide of a slaughtered beast. For Mbuyazi he cut a shield from the side with the wounds in it; for Cetshwayo he cut one from the opposite side (Pridmore 1987: 46). This infuriated Cetshwayo. In November 1856 Mpande gave Mbuyazi and his adherents territory on the Thukela southern boundary of the kingdom. Pridmore (1987: 47) argued that this was an attempt to gain support from Natal for his recognition of Mbuyazi.

While Monase appealed to the colonial establishment in Natal on behalf of Mbuyazi, Cetshwayo enjoyed considerable support from the royal amabutho and the leading amakhosi (potentates) Masiphulaka Mamba and Maphithaka Sojiyisa of the Mandlakazi (Stuart 1926: 62). They saw in the conflict a chance to set up Cetshwayo as their own candidate for the throne. Upon this Mpande (Stuart 1926: 63) said: 'Wewu! Go, Mbuyazi, cross the river and go to the country of the English. I too was brought to power by them.'

Mbuyazi crossed the river at Dlokweni. When he had reached the other side his brother, Mantantashiya (Mpande to Scott 1857: 1/6/2) turned and said: 'Why are you running away from one who is the same age as you? Is it because you listened to your father, who told you to go to the country of the English, saying that he too had been brought to power by the English? Are you going to become king by hiding among the English?'

Mbuyazi turned back, for he listened to the word of Mantantashiya that he had been afraid and was running away from his brother Cetshwayo, and rejected the advice of his father. He went back across the Thukela and went up the Ndulinde ridge. Mbuyazi, however, realised the hopelessness of his position and moved towards the Thukela with the entire IziGqoza faction. Such a move was based on two reasons, i.e. a conflict was imminent and he hoped for a measure of support from the colonial government of Natal, as Mpande and her mother, Monase, had advised.

Secondly, he would have placed his adherents within the reach of safety should the battle turn unfavourable for them. An emissary from Monase informed the colonial powers in Natal that Mpande had instructed Mbuyazi to solicit the assistance of the colonial establishment and traders. Mpande apparently felt that the traders, at least, were under an obligation to him for the protection which they had previously received from him against the Voortrekkers (Theal 1908: 251). Mbuyazi had also previously been to the Colony of Natal to visit Captain James Walmsely, whose Zulu name was Mantshonga (the man who walked rather strangely). Walmsely was the British Border Agent.

The Natal government therefore exploited Mpande's preference of Mbuyazi as his successor to the throne instead of Cetshwayo. But Cetshwayo was preferred by the majority of the Zulus, while being negatively viewed by the Natal government, especially because of his avowed antagonism towards Whites. On 15 November 1856 a meeting took place near the Msunduze River, where a delegation from Mpande reported that Masiphulaka Mamba was Mbuyazi's adversary. Monase suggested that her son's delegation hold discussions with Captain Walmsley for possible military assistance (Stuart & Malcolm 1926: 79-80).

These talks ended in John Dunn ('Jantoni') leading a contingent of 135 men in support of Mbuyazi. John Dunn was Captain Walmsley's interpreter and constable. Assured of military aid, Mbuyazi went back to Zululand accompanied by John Dunn's men armed with Enfield rifles.

Maphalala(1985: 6) argued:

> It was hoped that the force from Natal with the advantage of superior weapons would boost the morale of the iziGqoza faction which was numerically smaller than Cetshwayo's forces. Thus, the battle of Ndondakusuka took place on 2 December 1856. It started close to the homestead of Nongalazaka Nondela near the Mandeni stream. This was between the Ndulinde ridge and the Thukela River.

The Usuthu faction was given the order to advance at a bush at Ndulinde by Cetshwayo, assisted by Mnyamana Buthelezi. First the Ndabakawombe regiment was sent up the Mandeni stream. It was followed by the Dlambedlu regiment of Mpande and subsequently the isaNgqu, the iziNgulube, then the Sihlambisinye (i.e. the Mdlalose, Manqondo, amaNcube and the Dloko) – so called because Cetshwayo forced them to join him by attacking homesteads situated in the country that had been given to Mbuyazi by Mpande. Cetshwayo and his adherents camped on both sides of the Mhlathuze, high up. That was where the Sihlambisinye subsequently joined him. This was near Nomveve (a locality in the Mhlathuze valley, northwest of the present day Eshowe) (Schreuder to Walmsley 1857: 179/43).

The first clash took place west of Nongalaza' s homestead (Nongalaza was dead by the time of the battle). A younger brother of Mbuyazi, Shonkweni, supported him militarily. His ibutho (regiment) was the iziMpisi. The Mandhlakazi faction was Cetshwayo's 'left horn' and they launched an offensive southward along the beach. They defeated the iziGqoza on the left horn of the battle array. They clashed with the iziGqoza 'right horn' (Rutherford 1929: 348-359).

The other iziGqoza, who had defeated the Ndabakawombe, Dlambedlu, isaNgqu and iziNgulube began to retreat on seeing their 'right horn' defeated by the Mandhlakazi. They killed all women and children (Gouws 1856: 48/380), saying: '(Sibond' isijingi) we are mashing up porridge.'

In Zulu warfare, women were normally not allowed to escape, due to the fact that they bore fighting men. The Mandhlakazi fought the Mkhweyantaba, Khinya, and Thukela amabutho of Mbuyazi's iziGqoza. Maphitha KaSojiyisa defeated them and started retreating in planned order. This mode of orderly withdrawal continued until they reached the Thukela. They could see that the Mandhlakazi had defeated the other 'horn'. Cetshwayo's 'right horn' action took place to the west of Nongalaza's homestead, near Sithebe (the present-day Mandeni) (Gouws 1856: 48/380).

This is where one ibutho after another was defeated by the iziGqoza, viz. the Ndabakawombe, Dhlambedlu, isaNgqu, and iziNgulube. In the meantime, Maphitha, on the left, had caused Mbuyazi's 'right horn' to retreat. Only those warriors unable to keep up with the rest were killed by Cetshwayo's Usuthu until various places on the Thukela were reached. Many iziGqoza tried to escape and were eventually killed by the Usuthu (Shepstone to Fynn 1856: 1/1/6). The river carried their bodies away to the sea.

Then Cetshwayo caused the ingomane to be sounded. Ingomane was the noise made by the amabutho beating on their shields with their assegais. Mbuyazi was killed at Ndondakusuka together with five other sons of King Mpande. These were Shonkweni, Mantantashiya, Somklawana, Mdumba, and Dabulesinye. In fact, Cetshwayo's imbongi (Nyembezi 1983: 90) bellowed:

> Wadl' uShonkweni, obezalwawu Mpande,
> [You devoured Shonkweni son of Mpande]
> Amakhubal' adliwauyenakwabaka Mpande;
> [Medicines were eaten by him from Mpande]
> Wadl' uMantantashiya, obezalwawu Mpande,
> [You devoured Mantantashiya son of Mpande]
> Amakhubal' adliwauyenakwabaka Mpande;
> [Medicines were eaten by him from Mpande]
> Wadl' uSomklawana, obezalwawu Mpande,
> [You devoured Somklawana son of Mpande]
> Amakhubal' adliwawu Cetshwayo son of Mpande;

Morris (1968: 196) painted a rather dismal picture of the battle of Ndondakusuka:

> The stream at Ndondakusuka was marked for decades by a great white smear of skeletons, and was forever after known as the Mathambo – 'the place of bone'.

After this battle, Monase wept for her lost sons on the banks of uThukela River and crossed over to Natal where she lived in obscurity until she died in 1888 (Vilakazi 1945: 50).

Queen Monase: through the keyhole of oral history

Quoted from Vilakazi (1945: 50), Queen Monase was praised as:

> USidididi!
> Umbiliniwezinkabi,
> Udladlalikhangomkhonto,
> Amakhosikaziedlangezinqindi,
> Umfazionesilevunjengendoda.
> Creator of confusion!
> Like the entrails of oxen,
> Thy homestead dips with a stabbing spear/ one who occupies a prominent position
> While other women's homesteads eat with short-handled spears/ while others occupy less prominent ones.
> The woman with a beard like a man!

Monase's praises were devoid of important historical events and began with an unflattering reference to her size. This was a metaphor extended by emphasis into the second line, with the entrails of an ox used as an image to describe her endless proportions!

Lines 3 and 4 of her praises were taken from the praises of Songiya, King Mpande's mother. The use of the metaphor udladla also referred to a powerful or masculine person, which, taken with the last line, was further evidence of the court poet's wish to bring home the point of her masculine appearance (Turner 1990: 49). Beauty evidently played an important role in Zulu society. Cope (1968: 21) commented that in Zulu society:

> Broad face, broad hips, firm flesh, especially large firm breasts and buttocks are features that seem to enjoy special attention as far as women are concerned.

Thus a woman who was big, with a physical structure that resembled that of a man, was looked upon not with disdain, but rather with wonderment. According to Zulu social standards, women were supposed to be feminine and petite. Beautiful women played an ambivalent role in Zulu monarchy in that they were exalted for their beauty and were enjoyed merely as attractive beings. Women were, however, condemned if they used their beauty to deceive or topple men.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Queens Nandi and Monase unequivocally made an historic contribution in shaping the Zulu monarchy. Their praises provided an interesting contrast to what was normally contained in most of the traditional praises of royalty. They entailed extensive praising, in that they revealed the existence of a type of poetry that might be noted as satirical poetry. Nandi's praises detailed her favourable and unfavourable qualities in harsh reality, regardless of her royal status (Zondi 1996: 12). These particular praises, when considered as praises of royal *personae*, were not on the same elevated plane as those of their male counterparts. Rather, they were typical examples of the praises of commoners, remaining on the domestic level of criticism and complaint.

Despite the fact that Nandi's praises were not elevated, she was portrayed as strong-willed, ambitious, tenacious, bitter and a caring mother who wanted only the best for her children. Her tenacity of thought eventually paid off when her son was installed as king over the Zulu monarchy. In the case of Monase, the court poet placed emphasis on her physical attributes (Vilakazi 1945: 51). She was presented as a gigantic woman and her physical build was of interest to the court poet. These illustrious royal women of the Zulu monarchy, Queens Nandi and Monase, did in various ways clearly contribute to the history of the Zulu monarchy as we know it today. Their contributions were not the work of a novelist trying to amaze the world with super-human tales. Queens Nandi and Monase overcame giant obstacles to do the impossible, wrestled with doubt and struggled to overcome their own inconsistencies.

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The royal women of the Zulu monarchy – through the keyhole of oral history: Princess Mkabayi Kajama (c.1750 – c.1843)

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Abstract

Since the beginning of time, women have had a great share in shaping history by different means during different epochs. Historians, following typical chauvinistic tendencies, wrote about women in a manner that considered them as inferior citizens whose existence was limited to the confines of homes and the care of children. Despite this, Africa in general and South Africa in particular, are replete with examples of female dynasties, regents and rulers who took up positions of leadership through periods of nation-building and wars of resistance. Zulu culture is fraught with women, the most important of whom were princess Mkabayi Kajama; Queen Nandi, the mother of Emperor Shaka and also Queen Monase who contributed in shaping the Zulu monarchy behind the scenes to what it became in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the contribution of Princess Mkabayi KaJama to the Zulu monarchy. Historical and archival sources about the Zulu royal women provided information for this study. It was largely through the keyhole of oral history or indigenous knowledge that one could comprehend what their thinking, character traits and contributions were. Unravelling the important role played by Mkabayi in the Zulu monarchy and nation is assumed to the major contribution of this paper.

Keywords: Oral history, royal women, Zulu monarchy, Princess Mkabayi KaJama

Introduction

From a socio-economic point of view, Zulu royal women of the 18th and early 19th centuries, whether they were princesses, queens or members of the palace (isigodlo) had more privileges than responsibilities. This was attributed to the fact that they were always served by the court servants (izinceku) and slaves (izigqila) or prisoners of war. The lives of princesses were somewhat restricted in that they were discouraged from marrying commoners (Gunner 1991: 253).

The praise poems of royal women were not performed socially as were those of married women. These praises would be used rather as salutations or greetings by both men and women on their arrival at the royal house. They would also be used by the women attending the queen. Furthermore, they would be bellowed as a way of expressing thanks by men after they had been served with the royal food.

In the latter case it would not be necessary to repeat the whole praise poem. It would be considered sufficient to call out a single praise name, such as "Msizi"! Before embarking on an analysis of the praises of the individual royal Zulu woman, it is imperative to provide a biographical outline of each woman to obtain a better understanding of the incidents and places alluded to in the praises. Msimang (1991: 51) concurred with this point of view when he attested that it was common knowledge that, due to their allusions to the historical events and personalities, praise poems were not always intelligible to people unfamiliar with the relevant history.

Zulu history is interspersed with oral traditions in the form of izibongo (praise poems). Praise poems were and are still a form of history in which the world view of the rulers was expressed, and a vehicle for the expression of social disaffection. They were and still are the chronicles of individual lives, of both rulers and commoners, for praises were not confined to the scions of the royal houses (White 1991: 17).

A discernible contribution of women in the Zulu monarchy could be traced from the chieftaincy of Jama in 1771 who built his palace of Nobamba (the place of unity or binding together), near the Mpembeni stream. Jama had two wives, the chief of whom was Mthaniya, daughter of ManyelelaSibiya. Mthaniya begot twin girls, Mkabayi and Mmama, as well as a boy named Senzangakhona and finally a girl, Mawa.

The three daughters of Jama became heads of military harems (izigodlo) and evinced aversion to matrimonial bonds, preferring to remain princesses. Mkabayi headed the ebaQulusini, meaning: "where they pushed out buttocks"; Mmama ruled the Osebeni, meaning "on the river bank", while Mawa reigned over Emperor Shaka's eNtonteleni. Jama died in 1781 and due to the minority of Senzangakhona, his heir Mkabayi became regent.

It could be argued, however, that the evolvement of the ideal of nationhood among the Zulu people had its genesis in Senzangakhona's praises. The court poet or praise-singer (Dingizwe 1984: 4) to Senzangakhona said:

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A cord of destiny let us weave,
O Menzi, scion of Jama,
That to universes beyond the reach
Of spirit – forms, we may ascend

He was indicating that the destiny of the Zulu people was to traverse the universe and transform the human being into a conscious citizen of the cosmic order (in southeast Africa). The Emperor Shaka adopted this imbongi's (court poet's) ideal as the main inspiration for the revolution which he led after his father's death. It was the ideological blueprint on which he built the Zulu monarchy. The death of Senzangakhona, Shaka's father, in 1816 marked the end and the beginning of two distinct periods in East-Nguni political history. Under Shaka a new era in Zulu history was inaugurated.

The earlier system of countless clans would be gradually demolished; out of its ruins would be built a grand nation ruled by an imperious emperor. Thus, the Zulu monarchy began with Shaka who reigned between 1816 and 1828. Shaka was able to fully apply his military and political genius. It was he who brought together the people from different clans as one mighty sovereign nation. It was during his twelve (12) year rule that Princess Mkabayi KaJama became famous.

Princess Mkabayi KaJama (c.1750 – c.1843): a biographical outline

Oral history sources portrayed Princess Mkabayi as a callous woman. A twin born in 1750, she was destined to be obliterated from the face of the earth at infancy. Her compassionate father, inkosi (potentate) Jama, acted *contra bonos mores* (against the morals of Zulu society) when he refused to kill her. Thus, Mkabayi and her twin sister Mmama both survived, much to the displeasure and disapproval of the Zulu society (Stuart 1914: 46-47).

The continued existence of both twins kept gripping cardinal men and women of the monarchy with fear of ancestral wrath. This fear became a reality when the queen mother died before bearing the royal house an heir. Mkabayi, with a stronger character than her twin sister, bore the brunt of the people's disapproval and hatred. She was held responsible for all misfortunes of the royal family and the Zulu people at large.

In March 1777 Mkabayi realized that the Zulu people were still yearning for an heir and wooed Mthaniya for her rather uninterested father. However, the *inkosi* married Mthaniya and from this marriage came the long awaited heir, named Senzangakhona (or well-doer). Mkabayi was hailed as a heroine and her status elevated for having successfully courted Mthaniya for Jama (Zondi 1996: 5-6).This swayed the hearts of the Zulu people towards her, especially since the erratic Jama had offended his subjects in November 1776 by marrying an already pregnant Thonga woman who had given birth to Sojiyisa. There was fear that this 'illegitimate' boy would usurp the Zulu chieftaincy (Stuart 1914: 46-47).

Modern portrait of Princess Mkabayi kaJama

However, Mkabayi soon lost that love of the people when, on the death of Jama in 1781, she declared herself regent for her brother Senzangakhona. This was unheard of in Zulu history, but men succumbed to her guile and domineering character.

Mkabayi's unscrupulousness shocked the Zulu people once again when in 1785 she instructed her army to destroy the powerful Sojiyisa, who posed a threat to Senzangakhona's reign. She was dubbed a blood-thirsty despot and a terrible woman of antiquity, whose primary aim was the continuance of the Zulu culture and traditions (Krige 1957: 64-68).

Nevertheless, when Senzangakhona came of age in 1787, she stepped down as regent. Unfortunately, Senzangakhona was not destined to live long. After a short reign he was succeeded in 1816 by his son Shaka, one of the most able emperors the world had ever known. Shaka, on ascending the throne, ruled his people without recourse to anyone for advice. It could be argued that this was one of the major reasons why Mkabayi plotted his assassination.

Despite Shaka's success, when he was accused of abusing power, Mkabayi did not hesitate to conspire against him. She, together with her nephews Dingane and Mhlangana planned the assassination of the emperor on 24 September 1828. Desirous of putting Dingane on the throne, she later murdered Mhlangana (Nyembezi 1975: 21-28).

Mkabayi remained unmarried, preferring to retain her independence and political influence as well as her position as head of the AbaQulusi military palace. She played a major role in the history of the Zulu royal family, deposing and promoting various monarchs to the throne. Mkabayi's power and influence were felt during this time of great historical importance to the Zulu monarchy.

In 1835 when Captain Allen F. Gardiner, Royal Navy, visited the Zulu emperor Dingane on missionary work, he found Mkabayi old, but still very powerful (Fynn to Shepstone 1857: 58/381). She died a lonely woman in 1843 during the reign of Mpande who succeeded Dingane to the Zulu throne. For her part in the assassination of Emperor Shaka, Mkabayi remains condemned to the present day.

Princess Mkabayi: through the keyhole of oral history

Praises were generally regarded as a male domain, both in composition and content. They were and are still associated with feats of bravery and battle. The analysis of Mkabayi's praises in this paper will determine whether she fits the description associated with feats of bravery. It should also be noted that Vilakazi, Turner and Cope are key among scholars that provided an in-depth exegesis of Mkabayi, Nandi and Monase through oral history. In their analysis they discovered a few facts worth mentioning here (Vilakazi 1945: 41; Turner 1990: 5; Cope 1968: 167).

Quoted from Cope (1968:173), the following entails Princess Mkabayi's complete praise-poem:

USoqili!
Iqili lakwaHoshoza
Elidl'umuntu limyenga ngendaba;
Lidl'uBhedu ngasezinyangeni,
Ladl'uMkhongoyiyana ngasemaNgadini,
Ladl' uBheje ngasezanuseni.
UBhuku lukaMenzi,
Olubamb'abantu lwabenela;
Ngibone ngoNohela kaMlilo, umlil' ovuth'intaba zonke,
Ngoba lumbambe wanyamalala.
Inkom'ekhal' eSangoyana,
Yakhal' umlomo wayo wabhoboz'izulu,
Iye yezwiwa nguGwabalanda
Ezalwa nguNdaba wakwaKhumalo.
Intomb' ethombe yom'umlomo.
Zaze zayihlab'imithanti zawonina.
UMthobela-bantu izinyoni,
Bayazibamba usezibuka ngamehlo.
UVula-bangene-ngawo-onk'amasango,
Abanikazimuzi bangene ngezintuba.
UMcindela kaNobiya,
UMhlathuz' uzawugcwal' emini.
Imbibakazan' eyaqamb' imigqa kwaMalandela,
Yathi ngabakwaMalandela,
Ithi yikhona bezoqananaza ngazo zonk'izindlela

Father of guile!
Cunning one of the Hoshoza people,
Who devours a person tempting him with a story;
She killed Bhedu amongst the medicine men,
And destroyed Mkhongoyiyana amongst the Ngadini,
And killed Bheje amongst the diviners.
Morass of Menzi,
That caught people and finished them off;

I saw by Nohela son of Mlilo,
he fire-that-burns-on-every-hill,
For it caught him and he disappeared.
Beast that bellows at Sangoyana,
It bellowed and its voice pierced the sky,
It went and it was heard by Gwabalanda
Son of Ndaba of Khumalo clan.
Maid that matured and her mouth dried up,
And then they criticized her amongst old women.
Who shoots down birds for her people,
As they catch them she is simply watching on.
The opener of all main gates so that all people may enter,
The owners of the home enter by the narrow side-gates.
Sipper of others of the venom of the cobra,
The Mhlathuze River will flood at midday.
Little mouse that started the runs at Malandela's,
And thought it was the people of Malandela
Who would thereby walk along all the paths.

The opening address of *Soqili*, 'father of guile' addressed Mkabayi as a male and the unmarried one of the royal blood. She was commonly referred to as Baba, indicative of importance and high standing among the Zulu people. This transformed her from the subservient and insignificant status of a woman to one of a prince and later a fatherly figure, commanding the utmost respect and obedience.

Turner (1990: 6), quoting Koopman's study of Zulu names, made note of the fact that 'the morpheme -so- does not necessarily mean father or owner of anything'. Doke recorded it as a contraction of the old Bantu form of *uyihlo* which could be used purely as a male marker. Koopman's interpretation, however, seems fitting here (Cowley 1966: 43-46).

In the first stanza Mkabayi was praised thus:

USoqili!
Iqili lakwaHoshoza
Elidl'umuntu limyenga ngendaba
Lidl' uBhedu ngasezinyangeni,
Ladl' Ubheje ngasezanuseni
Ubhuku lukaMenzi
Father of Guile!
Cunning one from Hoshoza
She killed Bhedu amongst the medicine men,
And killed Bheje amongst the diviners.
Morass of Menzi

The use of a powerful metaphor here deserves mention. Msimang (1980: 60) explained the idea of Mkabayi being likened to a morass as significant in that she was a dangerous and powerful woman responsible for the deaths of emperors (like Shaka) and commoners alike. She had the deceptive appearance of a shy person who remained unobtrusive.

Like a marsh, her presence was inviting, but her victims soon got themselves bogged down and died. Mbopha and Mhlangana were enticed by Mkabayi to take part in her plot to assassinate Shaka without any of the promises made to them being fulfilled. Another facet of this vivid metaphor which illuminated Mkabayi's character is the fact that she never actually wrestled with her victims, but rather connived and plotted behind the scenes. Mkabayi, like the marsh, was also passive and the more the victims resisted the inevitable, the more they submerged themselves leaving no evidence.

In most instances, women were portrayed as docile and helpless. On the contrary, Mkabayi assumed powerful attributes that were associated with men, thereby contradicting the stereotype that women were docile and submissive. She was a brave, quick-in-the-head woman who was prepared to take risks (Zondi 1996: 3; Schipper 1987: 15).

It could be argued, justifiably, that Mkabayi lived in a male-dominated traditional setting. She survived in a cut-throat environment where her decisions were questioned with cynicism because of her sex. She was in a position where men

were supposed to rule the country and women to obey the rules. Hence, as a survival skill, she resorted to shrewdness, plotting and conniving tactics to secure her position as key royal Zulu woman.

In the following lines, Mkabayi was presented (like Shaka) in the form of a beast, another very rich metaphor.

Inkom'ekhal' eSangoyama,
Yakhal' umlomo wayo wabhoboz' izulu,

Beast that bellows on Sangoyama,
It bellowed and its voice pierced the sky

This illustrates the fact that when Mkabayi spoke, monarchs, emperors and commoners alike listened in silence. This was due to her seemingly undeniable influence as a power behind the scenes in the affairs of the Zulu monarchy.

Mkabayi's association with a beast could be regarded as a great honour because possessing livestock was a male preserve and only men could make decisions as far as cattle were concerned. In terms of Zulu customs, cows had connotations of wealth, ritual values, legal value (with regard to lobola) (Zondi 1996: 2). They were regarded as life givers in terms of the meat, milk and *amasi* (sour milk) they provided. Cows possessed several other valuable properties, such as hide and horns used for clothing and by the *inyangas* (traditional healers). This implied that Mkabayi was awarded the status of a man, a powerful and skillful diplomat.

Eisenstein has argued that:

> The moment of truth, in consciousness-raising, came at the point where the 'exceptional woman' understood that to be told 'You think like a man' was to be told, 'You are not a 'real woman' and (simultaneously), 'Real women are inferior to men' (Eisenstein 1988:39).

It would have been an insult to Mkabayi to be told that she thought like a man, as she was indeed a man in deeds and thoughts.

Intomb' ethombe yom'umlomo
Zaze zayihlab' imithanti ezawonina.

Maid who grew to maturity and her mouth dried up
And then they criticized her amongst the old women

Zibani (1997: 28) argued that there were many possible interpretations that could be given about these verses, but two possibilities would be considered. Firstly, this could refer to her rejection of men who wanted her in marriage. The elderly people possibly scolded her, showing their disapproval of her behaviour. Secondly, this could refer to Mkabayi's venture and determination to be her younger brother's regent. The elderly people disapproved of a woman taking up kingship, which was regarded as a responsibility for men.

There is a Zulu expression which says '*Umuntu ukhuluma kome umlomo',* meaning she or he speaks clearly leaving no room for misunderstanding and misinterpretations. Possibly this is what Mkabayi did when she announced her intention of becoming regent for Senzangakhona, her younger brother, She could have meant that inby denouncing marriage and devoting her entire life to building the monarchy.

In traditional Zulu society, the old women in most instances symbolized female integrity. They were regarded as custodians of social values. The old women in this praise were appalled by Mkabayi's 'deviant' behaviour. Where women were expected to toe the line, Mkabayi seemed to have 'freed' herself from social expectations. Little (1980: 134) stated the following about a free woman:

> By free woman is meant one who flouts or disregards conventional beliefs concerning the proper role and position of the female sex. One of the common of these beliefs is that it is wrong for a woman on her own to take a major decision. This is a male prerogative. It is also wrong to undertake roles, including occupational ones, traditionally ascribed to the male sex. Perhaps the most common belief of all is that a woman's place is in the home and her duty is to marry and have children.

Society predetermined what role girls could play. Every child learnt these gender-linked roles from infancy; they were reinforced as she went through the various stages of her life. This ultimately left those affected with no real personal choice. This convention did not apply to Mkabayi, as she stood her ground with vehemence.

The following lines commend Mkabayi for her diplomatic skills, as she was easily approachable and able to settle problems facing the monarchy. She was an avenue of advancement for people, regardless of status, and they used her position as a go-between in providing commoners with access to the king.

Bayazibamba usezibuka ngamehlo
UVula-bangene-ngawo-onk-amasango,
Abanikazimuzi bangene ngezintuba.

They catch them and she looks at them with her eyes.
The opener of all gates so that people may enter,
The owners of the home enter
by the narrow side-gates,
(Zondi 1996: 4; Cope 1968: 174)

Mkabayi was portrayed in the above praise lines as a woman with good eye-sight. She was approachable as a woman-ruler and her subjects felt comfortable enough to air their grievances. She ruled by the precept Inkosi inkosi ngabantu (a monarch is a monarch by his subjects). A clever ruler would prioritise and make time for his or her subjects. Winning the hearts of the subjects through diplomatic skills was the ruler's indispensable attribute (Cope 1968: 175).

It could be argued that subjects liked to be in the company of their monarch. Mkabayi and emperor Shaka were always accessible during their rulership. Dingane, unlike his predecessors, recoiled from the public eye and kept to himself in order to, presumably, brood on his evil plots without disturbances.

This conduct did not meet with the approval of his subjects. They started comparing him to Shaka who was always in the company of his people, especially the royal council. This is why the bard indicated that the people enjoyed having an audience with their monarchs and communicating with them (Dhlomo 1960:20).

The following praise lines specifically referred to Dingane's recoil from the public:

Quiet one, he speaks not, he is mouthless;
He is unlike Shaka,
Who finished off the household by chattering
Turning away like elephants ...
Rise, O Sun, let the Zulus warm themselves [in you]
(Msimang 1991:57)

Interestingly, the following two stanzas indicated a difference of character between Mkabayi and Dingane:

UMcindela kaNobiya,
Mcindela, descendant of Nobiya.

Mkabayi was portrayed as a person who protected others from the displeasures of the monarch. She dealt with very tricky and dangerous situations, as reinforced by the image of the cobra. She was diametrically opposed to the abuse of power. This apparently revealed itself when it came to the protection of defenseless subjects from the wrath of the monarch. She knew how to handle most of the monarchs who ascended the throne because she had made most of them. In fact, arguably, Mkabayi's word was law.

Mkabayi ruled in accordance with womanist ideas. In this regard, Nkumane (1999: 28) argued:

> Womanists are concerned about the entire community and are holistic in approach, which means that both men and women can come together in a dialogue to define and address the needs of the entire community.

This holistic approach proved womanism as a non-elitist movement. It did not prioritize people's needs according to the particular class to which they belonged in society. Hence it was virtually classless. It considered all people in the community irrespective of gender. The recurrent humanist vision was central to black feminism. It was closely associated with human solidarity more than anything else (Nkumane 1999: 29).

The following praise lines portrayed another image of Mkabayi:

UMhlathuz' uzawugcwal' emini.
The Mhlathuze River will flood at midday.

Mhlathuze River was used as a metaphor to indicate qualities of size and importance and unpredictability in terms of unexpected flooding. This was similar to Mkabayi's moodiness and sometimes erratic behaviour.

About hysteria, Reber, as quoted by Nkumane (1999: 130) argued that:

> Hysteria is a kind of emotional outburst and was viewed as a psychiatric female disorder. Hysteria, was, until recently, assumed to be solely a dysfunctional of women caused by a wandering uterus.

He continued to explain that:

> … the link in psychoanalytic theory has helped in providing a more reasonable etiology but the link between gender and disorder has not been completely severed as males were rarely diagnosed (Nkumane 1999: 29).

This confirmed one of the many stereotypes attached to women. The stereotype that women reasoned with their ovaries was one stereotype intended to dishearten or demoralize a woman when faced with a difficult decision. Since it could not be proved that hysteria was a female attribute, it would be unfair to conclude that Mkabayi's temperamental behaviour was the result of her wandering uterus. Any person in any leadership position, male or female could be prone to temperamental behaviour since ruling a monarchy as huge as that of the Zulu people was a mammoth task.

These concluding lines contain an interesting metaphor used by an imbongi (court poet). Mkabayi was likened to a little mouse, elusive and secretive in its movements, an image which portrayed her as someone who concealed her true self and preferred to work in secrecy. We are reminded of her status as a mere woman, who was to be the guiding light and power behind the Zulu throne.

Imbibakazan'eyaqamb' imigqa kwaMalandela,
Yathi ngabakwaMalandela,
Ithi yikhona bezoqananaza ngazo zonk' izindlela

Little mouse that started the paths at Malandela
And thought it was the people of Malandela
Who would thereby command all the routes
(Zondi 1996: 4; Cope 1968:173)

Notable here was the complete lack of any physical references made to Mkabayi. This could be attributed to the fact that Mkabayi did not have any exceptional physical oddities, and therefore the court poet omitted this fact. It is worth emphasizing here that Mkabayi's praise poem did not mention any physical attributes like bodily beauty and most qualities expected from a Zulu woman. She was clearly never considered as a woman in the strict sense of women in Zulu society at the time.

The fact is that she shunned marriage and played an active role in the nurturing of the Zulu monarchy. She was regarded as being a prince, not a princess, and was accordingly addressed as Baba by all her subjects and her nephews who became the powerful rulers of the Zulu nation (Uys 1842: 37-39).

As a result, we find Mkabayi's praises being very similar in content to the large body of praises that were composed in honour of men and that she displayed qualities that were highly regarded among them as opposed to women.

Mkabayi was presented as a larger-than-life personality in that Emperor Shaka shared his praises with her. Shaka's praises were composed in similar style to those of Mkabayi. This is a clear indication that Mkabayi had a massive influence on Shaka. This was best exemplified by the following lines from Mkabayi's izibongo:

Elidl' umuntu limyenga ngendaba
Lidl' uBhedu ngasezinyangeni
Ladl' uMkhongoyiyana ngasema Ngadini
Ladl' uBheja ngasezanuseni

Who devours a person tempting him with a story;
She killed Bhedu amongst the medicine men,
And destroyed Mkhongoyiyana amongst the Ngadinis
And killed Bheje amongst the diviners
(Zondi 1996: 4; Cope 1968: 173)

The above praises of Mkabayi were comparable to the following praise lines extracted from Shaka's praises:

Wadl' uNomahlanjana ezalwa nguZwide eMapheleni
Wadl' uMphepha ezalwa nguZwide eMapheleni
Wadl' uNombengula ezalwa nguZwide eMapheleni
Wadl' uDayingubo ezalwa nguZwide eMapheleni

He devoured Nomahlanjana's son of Zwide of the Maphelas
He ate up Mphepha's son of Zwide of the Maphelas
He killed Nobhengula's son of Zwide of the Maphelas
He destroyed Dayingubo son of Zwide of the Maphelas
(Dhlomo 1960: 8; White 1991:95)

The second stanza tended more towards an ode, which recorded her in true heroic fashion, as one who determined the course of history for the Zulu monarchy. Mkabayi's praise-poem had qualities that overlapped both Shakan and pre-Shakan epochs. She defied all odds and placed herself on a par with men and the elite group that governed the Zulu monarchy. It took a radical and strong personality to venture into such a patriarchal territory. On radical ideology, Moore (1992: 25,27.30) has stated that:

> The radical feminists argue that the most fundamental of oppression is patriarchy. In order for women to be free from oppression, the patriarchal structures of society must change. They argue further that women's oppression is biologically based since women are tied to childbirth and childbearing processes, which

> continually place them in position of dependence on men to survive. They call for the women's movement to participate in a "biological revolution", freeing women from their biological oppression.

Male and female behavioural patterns, in any given socio-cultural context, were fixed by norms. Mkabayi was presented as a radical, hardcore feminist. She flaunted the conventions of her society, such as marriage and child bearing, obedience and submissiveness.

It could be argued and concluded that Mkabayi's praises determined the course of history for the Zulu monarchy. They possessed unique indices that overlapped both Shakan and pre-Shakan epochs. According to Turner, Mkabayi's praises could also be said to have represented a more acceptable form of the praise poem (Turner 1990:50), containing a more balanced picture of Mkabayi's favourable and unfavourable qualities, despite Cope's (1968: 32) assertion that:

> The purpose of the praise-poem is to present the chief as an object of admiration, and there is consequently a tendency to maximize praise and minimize criticism. The praiser may mention weaknesses, but otherwise he prefers to overlook faults.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Princess Mkabayi made an historic contribution in shaping the Zulu monarchy. Her praises were modelled in form, content and style on those of the great Zulu kings (iziNgonyama) and potentates (amaKhosi). Queen Nandi (see previous article in this issue) was the rallying point in Emperor Shaka's life and greatly influenced the course of events within the royal house during the reign of her son. Nandi's praises, however, did not qualify for the term 'praise poem'. They were entirely devoid of anything praiseworthy. Similarly, the rather short praises of Queen Monase (see previous article in this issue) did not follow the format of praises of kings, but dwelt more on her physical character and antics in a derogatory sense.

This paper has also demonstrated that Mkabayi was portrayed as a strong, ruthless, manipulative yet approachable, elusive and secretive princess. Her praises were composed in a laudatory, eulogistic vein and presented her in way akin to the heroic/epic poetry (praises) of the royal men. Mkabayi's praises were unequivocally in line with her elevated social position (Stuart 1918: 95). She was held in high esteem by both men and women and was never regarded as a woman, as her praises did not allude to her physical appearance.

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Why they might have gone wild: the Yorubas of southwestern Nigeria and the politics of the First Republic

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Abstract

This paper argues that contrary to the general belief that the Yorubas or the westerners through their unconventional mode of politicking destroyed Nigeria's first republic, the seeds of destruction were first sown in 1914 when Lord Frederich Lugard, the British chief imperial agent amalgamated the various autochthonous communities into one capitalist state. Drawing from the frustration-aggression theory as discernible in the works of Gurr (1970, 2000; Feierabend and Feierabend, 1972; Louis and Snow, 1981; Ellingsen, 2000; Stewart, 2000, 2002), the paper submits that if other ethnic groups had found themselves 'trapped' in similar conditions, their reactions could have not have more been different. The paper recommends that revisiting the 1914 episode should be the major agenda for 'peacing' Nigeria together from the pieces.

Keywords: Yorubas, South Western Nigeria, Politics, Nigeria, First Republic

"The west is now wise wise west" –
Atiku Abubakar, 2003

Introduction

The statement above by the Nigeria's second executive vice-president, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, epitomizes the misconception which many politicians and people, mostly from the non-Yoruba areas had, over the years, about the Yoruba's approach to politics. Indeed, prior to the 2003 general elections, in Nigeria, which in democratization literature, constitute the 'second election' (see Omotola, 2004); there were deep apprehension in government and security circles, that the fourth republic like the previous ones might be violently consumed by political wild fire. Especially, the South-west, the territorial base of the Yoruba ethnic group, was recognized by the federal government, controlled by the People Democratic Party (PDP), and its agencies especially the security section, as the likely area of violence (Odion-Akhaine 2003;Ukoh, 2003:12).

However, as it turned out, the region never witnessed violence of unimaginable proportion before and after the election. In fact, the people of the region peacefully and 'wisely' voted for the parties and candidates of their choices (Ogunsanwo 2003:C8). As one source puts it, "the people of the region proved pundits and political soothsayers wrong by becoming 'wiser' and not 'wilder' (Basiru, 2012). What accounted for this paradigm shift? Were the people of the southwest really violent politically? What might have accounted for their violent actions in the country's first republic? Answering these and similar questions inform this study. Specifically, we interrogate, in retrospective fashion, the undercurrents of the political crisis that engulfed the western region of Nigeria in the first republic. In an addendum, we will probe into why similar patterns were not replicated in 2003.

To achieve this objective, the study is composed in a number of sections. Section Two chronicles the pre-colonial politics of the Yorubas. The third section looks at the political evolution of the Yoruba nation prior to independence in 1960. Section Four examines the genesis of the western region's crisis of 1965. The fifth section attempts a parallel between the politics of the era and that of the present in an attempt to obtain valuable lessons. Section Six concludes the paper with a number of submissions.

Yoruba's politics and society in pre-colonial Nigeria

As once remarked by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BC) in his famous book *Politics (*1962:28), "man is by nature is a political animal". The implication of Aristotle's remarks is that man as a gregarious being cannot exist in social vacuity. Inevitably, he must associate with others in the community in order to realize his objectives. Aristotle theorized that people can only express their nature as reasonable, virtuous beings in an institutionalized setting. Specifically, the Athenian *polis* of his time symbolized such a setting. What can be inferred from Aristotle's classical thesis is that politics pervades everywhere and is conducted within the confines of the state. In other words, the state is the area of politics. These views were re-echoed by an American political scientist, David Easton (1965). He asserted that politics encompasses every human action because it involves the authoritative allocation of values.

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The positions of these thinkers affirm the inevitability of authoritative institutions, or states in human societies. These institutions, no matter how rudimentary, give order and coherence to social formations. As Yakubu (2006:16) lucidly remarks: 'We would like to say that all societies, regardless of their levels of sophistication must, perforce, have a form, if not substance of, in a more technical sense, a system of governance'. In Africa, contrary to the positions of some Eurocentric and racially-biased historians that pre-colonial African societies were stateless (Mangut, 2012:369), radical African historians and social scientists have contended that some great kingdoms in Africa had sophisticated systems of administration (see Otite,1978; Nugent and Asiwaju,1986).

If African societies were devoid of a state structure as claimed by these racialists, the poser is: why did the British through Lord Lugard choose to preserve the existing political institution? Answering this question is outside the scope of this paper; much ink has been spilled on it elsewhere (Lugard, 1926; Coleman 1958; Faston, 1963; Ejiomofor, 1987; Young, 1994).

The point being made here is that politics in Africa before the colonial imposition of the Weberian state was played in an institutionalized setting. This was exactly the case of the Yoruba people of the present-day Nigeria before the advent of colonialism. To begin with, the Yorubas, who occupy the south western part of modern day Nigeria and speak a language called Yoruba, trace their origins to a common ancestor known as Oduduwa.

In fact, myth had it that Oduduwa founded the city of Ile- Ife, in the present day Osun state, one of the federating units in Nigeria. Today, the city is still regarded as the cradle of Yoruba civilization or simply the source. The founder of the ancient city, Oduduwa, we were told, dispatched his sons to establish cities and kingdoms around Ile-Ife. As Oyeleye (2010:272) remarks:

> by the end of the sixteenth century, the political organization of most Yoruba kingdoms were complete and broadly similar. Each kingdom consisted of a capital town, a number of subordinate towns, villages, markets and farmlands and kingdoms whose rulers claimed descent from Oduduwa and ruled a clearly defined territory.

However, with the passage of time, some of these cities became very large and even surpassed Ile-Ife in terms of power and prestige. At this point in history, Ile-Ife, like Rome of antiquity, became the spiritual rallying point for all Yorubas. As it waned in prominence, Oyo, one of the cities founded by the children of Oduduwa, became the most powerful and prominent (Falola, 1999:20). Records had it that it came into existence in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Ade-Ajayi 1998:12). Its capital was old Oyo, which was located in the savannah area close to the River Niger. Interestingly, through wars and conquests, the Oyo empire expanded in all directions. By the sixteenth century, it had evolved a unique political system under the rulership of Alaafin, who was assisted in the day-to-day administration by a council of state called the Oyomesi.

Apart from the institution of Oyomesi, other organs that assisted the paramount head, the Alaafin, in the daily administration of the empire were: secret societies, age grades, war councils, etc. Within the city, the Alaafin-in-council was complemented in the discharge of its administrative duties by sectional/ward heads. These subordinate chiefs were in charge of the various peripheral provinces.

It should, however, be noted that at these peripheries the same form and substance of governance were replicated. Indeed, in each of the established kingdom, the Oba, assisted by the council of chiefs and other agencies, administered each kingdom. However, the peripheral Oba had to pay homage to the Alaafin through tributes and taxes.

Flowing from this illustration, it can be said that the political system was pyramidal in nature. In other words, the authority of the Alaafin was not only limited to the city centre where he reigned, but permeated all the nooks and crannies of the empire. Oyeleye (2010:273) described the scenario in this way: 'There is no doubt that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Old Oyo was the dominant political power because it succeeded in incorporating all kingdoms in Yorubaland into a single political system'. However, by the early nineteenth century, things fell apart, the empire like the great Roman Empire, disintegrated due to a combination of internal and external factors (see Johnson 1921).

The disintegration of the empire had monumental implications for its people. Specifically, it led to population displacement which ultimately altered the demographic pattern of the area. During the period, the Old Oyo city centre became desolate. In the process, new towns developed.

In the absence of the 'head' following the collapse of the empire, the whole of Yorubaland was embroiled in war as each tribe attempted to ensure its supremacy over others. Records have it that the sixteen years of inter-tribal war disrupted the socio-political and economic fabric of the area. However, by 1886, a treaty facilitated by the British authorities brought a truce among the various warring groups.

By this period, the socio-economic and political landscape of the area began to be transformed, first by the British traders and later by the colonialists. Precisely on January 1, 1900, the whole of Yorubaland in addition to other areas

around the Niger came under direct British colonial control. This development launched the Yoruba into a new form of politics.

Living with colonialism: The Yorubas under Indirect Rule

Colonialism, an imperialist project *a la* Lenin, no doubt altered the socio-political lives of communities it had encountered (Young 1988; Wilson 1977; Mangut and Wuam 2012).Wherever it found a foothold, it brought exploitation (Griffith 1995:91; Yandaki 2012). In the case of Nigeria, the British state, as we know, was the arrowhead of this exploitation (Basiru 2010(a)).

In fact, British colonial penetration of the Niger area began from the annexation of Lagos in 1861 on the grounds of stopping the slave trade. The assignment ended with the seizure of what is today known as Nigeria by 1900 following the defeat of one indigenous community after another (Azikwe 1978).The strategies adopted by the British to achieve this goal have been well documented in literature; they need no rehash here (Osuntokun 1979;Crowder1973).

As stated earlier, by 1900, the territories of the north, east and west had come under colonial administration. In 1906, the vast territory had been constituted into two entities: the northern and the southern groups of provinces (Ballard 1971:334). By 1912, the two disparate entities were placed under one man, Sir Fredrick Lugard, with the instruction to unite the two entities (Basiru 2010: 109).

With the amalgamation in 1914, the Yorubas found themselves in completely new socio-economic and political environments. Indeed, it was a new system of administration, broadly referred to as indirect rule, a model of administration totally alien to them. The Governor-General Lord Lugard had probably thought that the system that he had earlier introduced in the north would work elsewhere, but as it turned out, in the Yoruba territory it was not very successful. Some of the factors for its dismal record in the area are given below.

1. No Yoruba Oba had an absolute authority in the mould of Louis XIV of eighteenth-century France.
2. The Yoruba political structure, as explained earlier, was a delicate balance of power between the King and the chiefs, to the extent that a tyrannical King could be deposed by his chiefs.
3. Its frameworks of regulation were not consistent with the Yoruba traditional system.
4. It was observed with the passage of time that the policy generated conflicts between the traditional elites and the emerging educated elites in Yorubaland.

It is instructive to note that despite the weaknesses in the Lugardian administrative projects, the people had no choice than to live with it. Aside from living in the imported system, the Yorubas were also confronted with the challenges of living with other groups in the Weberian-modelled entity. Prior to this period, they had only related at non-political levels with other groups. Thus, between 1914 and 1946, they had no choice but to mix politically not only with the Igbos, a majority ethnic group, but with other minorities in the southern protectorate (see Usman, 1994). At this juncture, a question is apt: did the political interaction produce positive outcomes?

To begin with, the British colonial system described as one of indirect rule did not aim to unity disparate groups but to divide them. In fact, it was a deliberate British policy to prevent people of Africa from forming a united front against it. In the case of Nigeria, between 1914 and 1945 the two protectorates were prevented from mixing politically (Nwosu 1977:28; Ikelegbe 2005:79. For example, while the Clifford Constitution of 1922 empowered the Legislative Council (LEGCO) to make laws for the southern protectorate, where the Yorubas habituated, the northern protectorate was governed through the Governor's proclamation (Ezera 1960; Egwemi 2009; Iroleke 2010).

Also, when the democratic torch was being lit in Lagos and Calabar, other areas were excluded from such a process. As it would soon be seen, this had implications for subsequent political developments in the country. As Nnoli (1995:47) succinctly remarks:

> Colonial policy ensured that the various parts of the country did not share a common experience for a long time. In fact, from the time of the amalgamation of the north and south of Nigeria in 1914 until 1946 when the Richards constitution was introduced, the two sections of the nation were only tenuously linked in law. They maintained political identities and separate administrations.

Even by 1946, when the two disparate entities were brought together for the purpose of interaction, the 1946 constitutional order reinforced regionalism and sectionalism (Albert 1998). Rather than attempting to really unite the various groups, it further divided the country into three entities: the north, the east and the west (Coleman 1958; Afigbo 1989).This arrangement set the stage for the regionalization and ethnicisation of politics. With the new order, each region came under the political dominance of a major ethnic group. In real terms, the Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba became the political champions of the north; east and west respectively (Nnoli 1980; Egwemi 2012:296). The minorities in these regions soon resented the majority ethnic groups and even sought to work with like-minded groups in other regions.

Given this political reality, the Yoruba leaders responded by forming a political party that could in the real sense articulate and aggregate their interests in colonial Nigeria. As a matter of fact, the Action Group was formed in 1951 solely as a Yoruba party. Strategically, it was to serve the interest of the Yorubas. During the same period, another ethno-regional party, the Northern People Congress (NPC) was formed in the north; the Igbos in the eastern region of the country embraced the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), originally formed by Herbert Macaulay, a Yoruba man. With the electoralisation of politics by the colonial authorities in the 1950s, these ethno-regional parties contested and won regional elections and formed regional governments (Nnoli 1995).

In the western region, where Chief Obafemi Awolowo held sway, politics in the beginning was characterised by serious inter-ethnic horse trading. This form of politics may probably have laid the foundation for the mutual hatred and animosities that characterized future politics in Nigeria. For the sake of emphasis, they need a brief account here. The first was the cross-carpeting drama in the western region in 1953, when the leader of the NCNC, Dr. Nnamidi Azikwe, was betrayed by the Yoruba NCNC parliamentarians. He was prevented from becoming the premier of the western region (Fani-Kayode 2012). Obafemi Awolowo who in a normal situation ought to have been the opposition leader, through "ethnic cross-carpeting" became the premier of the western region. After the imbroglio, Dr. Azikwe relocated to his ethnic base, and subsequently became the premier.

The second event was the independence motion crisis that culminated in the Kano riots of 1953 which seriously threatened the unity of the country. Taken together, these two main events, together with some minor events sowed the seed of distrust between the North and the South on the one hand and between the Yoruba and the Igbos on the other hand. As it would soon be established, they laid the foundation for the events of the first six years of Nigeria's independence.

However, as independence approached, constitutional conferences were held in both Lagos and London to prepare the country for self-rule. By this time, the Yorubas, conscious of their identity and of what might befall them should they lose power at the centre, sought accommodation with minorities, mostly from the North. Indeed, for the purposes of the 1959 general elections, the Action Group (AG) sought alliances with the northern minority parties, notably the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) of Sir Joseph Tarka (see Sklar, 1964; Osumah and Aghemelo, 2010).

As it turned out, the AG like other parties could not win a majority in the federal parliament. At this stage, political alliance among the parties became inevitable. Dr. Azikwe's NCNC, rather than teaming up with Awolowo's AG, chose to rather work with the NPC. The direct outcome was that the AG was relegated to becoming the opposition party; its leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, became the chief opposition leader in the Federal parliament (Dudley 1968).

On October 1, 1960 the country entered the post-colonial era with a federal parliamentary constitution. This new order required politics to be played at both the horizontal and vertical levels in the most civilized way. Did this happen?

The western region crisis of 1965

In literature on Nigerian government and politics, the epithet 'wild wild west' symbolizes the outcome of the western region crisis of 1965 and paints the Yorubas as violent people. Going by the turn of the events, the question is: are the Yorubas really a violent people? This section seeks answer this question in the context of the western region crisis of the early 1960s. To start with, violence, one of the instruments for resolving conflict in a social formation, can be deployed by any group (be it ethnic, religious, racial, etc.) when forced to do so by the prevailing socio-economic and political conditions (Gurr 1970, 2000; Feierabend, and Feierabend 1972; Louis and Snow 1981; Ellingsen 2000; Stewart 2000, 2002).

For example, in most countries of the world today, violent conflicts are a product of socio-economic and political deprivation (Lemarchand 1993; Adekanye 1995). The point is that no social group is immune from violence when conditioned to act in such a fashion. Thus, the Yoruba people of western region prior to 1965 may have been faced with conditions that made violence inevitable. Before we examine these conditions, it is apposite to put the crisis in perspective.

On October 1, 1960, the Nigerian State, as stated earlier, emerged as an independent state with a tripartite federal structure, i.e. western, eastern and northern regions. The head of the federal government was centered in Lagos. Although on the surface this seems to be the best arrangement for the country at the time, the northern region in both geographic and demographic terms was bigger than the two southern federating units put together. In essence, this had implications for national politics. At the parliamentary level, this meant that the northern region could dominate the federal parliament. Similarly, at the inter-governmental level, it also made the same unit able to lord it over the remaining units (Elaigwu 2007).

In the end this was exactly what took place in Nigeria in the First Republic. Between 1960 and 1963, the federal government, an alliance between two core regional parties, the NPC and NCNC, sought to weaken the third region.

Eventually, they succeeded in balkanizing it. The AG government in the west, aware of this lopsidedness, campaigned for the redress of the imbalance in the federation. For daring to promote such an agenda, the region seemed to have suffered immensely as a new region, the mid-west region, was created out of it in 1963.

The creation of the mid-west made the region the weakest in terms of power. As the region struggled to reclaim its relevance, crisis erupted within the AG and the party became factionalised into the Awolowo and the Akintola factions. In 1962,an intra-parliamentary dispute broke out in the western House of Assembly when the faction loyal to the party leader and the chief opposition leader at the federal level, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, attempted to remove premier Chief S.L. Akintola and replace him with a new premier, Alhaji D.S. Adegbenro. In a swift reaction, the loyalists of the premier in the house became violent and parliament became a battlefield (Mackintosh 1966).

The crisis gave the federal government under Alhaji Tafawa Balewa the opportunity to declare a state of emergency in the western region and appointed his personal physician, Dr. Majekodunmi, a Yoruba man, as the sole administrator on May 29, 1962. With the declaration, constitutional government was temporarily suspended in the region. and emergency rule was lifted on December 31,1962; power was restored to Chief Akintola who by then had allied with the NPC through his newly formed party, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP). With this development, the people of the region may have felt alienated from the country (Ekiran 2006:299).

At this historic moment, there was no clear leadership direction as the main regional leader, Chief Awolowo, and others had been put out of circulation for alleged treasonable felony. Perhaps the only option probably left for them was to kick Chief Akintola, the out-of-favour premier, out of office via the electoral process. Thus as the western region election beckoned, expectations were high that the day of reckoning had finally come for Chief Akintola.

In December 1965, the much-awaited election was held, but people's hopes of voting Chief Akintola out of power were dashed due to electoral fraud and malpractices never before recorded in Nigeria's political history. The people, having been denied the golden opportunity by the forces from within and without, frustratingly reacted in a manner that was least expected by the perpetuators of the fraud. For almost four weeks, the entire region was turned into what can be safely described as resembling the Hobbesian state (see Dudley 1982).

The federal government in a determined move to curtail the violence often tagged "weti e", ignoring Samuel Huntington's advice about the danger of using the army for quelling civil strife, deployed the army to quell the riot in Yorubaland (see Huntington 1968). In the end, the army capitalised on the unfolding events to intervene in Nigeria's politics, marking the end of the First Republic on January15, 1966.

The foregoing narratives have presented the background that set the pace for the crisis in the western region in 1965. Therefore, it may be safe to argue that it was not the Yorubas that caused the collapse of the First Republic but the political structure bequeathed to the imperfect union by the British colonial power. Aside from this inheritance, the culture of mistrust also contributed to the crisis (Osaghae 1998). By way of digression, the European experience has shown that effective nation-building was *a sine qua non* for political stability and development. Britain, like other colonial powers in Africa, did not promote this ideal.

As presented earlier, the colonial state in Nigeria via the policy of divide and rule, rather than promoting nation-building, divided the people at both the elite and mass levels. Politics was characterised by ethnic chauvinism and the so-called nationalists became tribal barons. In specific terms, they did not see the entity they aspired to rule as a united entity. For example, to Chief Awolowo, 'Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographic expression. There are not "Nigerians" in the same sense as there are "English", "Welsh" or "French". The word "Nigerian" is merely a distinctive appellation to distinguish those who live within the boundaries of Nigeria from those who do not'. (Awolowo 1947).

Similarly, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a leader of the Northern People's Congress (NPC), during one of Nigeria's constitutional conferences, asserted that: 'Since the amalgamation of the north and the south provinces in 1914, Nigeria had existed as one country on paper. … It is still far from being united. Nigerian unity is only a British intention for the country' (West Africa 1994: 255). At independence, rather than embracing a new model of political engagement that could spur development, the leaders continued to play the ethnic cards; politics rather than becoming routine became all-round war among the various ethnic groups in the country (Ake 2001, Odukoya 2006). This was perhaps the crux of the matter.

The Fourth Republic: a paradigm shift?

In May 29, 1999, Nigeria returned to democratic government after almost fifteen years of military autocracy. People's expectations were high that the new federal democratic order would bring the best in terms of governance and development, both at the centre and the peripheries of the Nigerian Federation (Ojo 2004:77). Prior to this era, the nation had suffocated under various aconstitutional regimes that repressed, suppressed and denied the people the rights of representation (Aiyede 2006:152). The new dispensation was therefore expected to usher in an era of political

tolerance among different groups in the country. Indeed, an era was expected that would be remarkably different from those of the first and second republics. As it turned out, political liberalisation unleashed the centrifugal forces that were once suppressed under military rule (Duruji 2008).

Although the orgy of ethno-religious violence cut across all geo-political zones in the country, it was obvious that the Niger-delta zone was the major arena of violence. In this zone, the Ijaw ethnic group, through various militia groups, deployed violence on two fronts before 2009. The first was against other groups within the region (e.g. against the Ilajes and Urhobos in Ondo and Delta states respectively); secondly, and disastrously, against the Nigerian state which they engaged in fierce battle until the amnesty deals of 2007 (Allen 2000; Omeje 2004).

This development may have made some observers to equate democracy or free society with violence (Agbu 2004). At this juncture, the question may be asked: is democracy synonymous with violence? In our view, this may depend on the model of democracy being practised in a given social formation. Basiru (2010(b)), argues that liberal democracy in a plural society like Nigeria, where structural violence is rife, may unleash the hidden violence in such societies. Similarly, Adekanye (1995) in his insightful studies on Rwanda and Burundi, demonstrates how political liberalisation imposed on the governments of the two countries in the early1990s contributed to the genocidal violence in 1994.

To be sure, when a particular ethnic group sees its access to power and resources as being blocked by the other group in power and where there is no alternative route to achieving its objectives (e.g. true federalism, resource control, power devolution, etc.), such an ethnic group(s) may become violent. The risk for such behaviour is high in democracy where certain rights are guaranteed. This may have been the situation the in the post-military Nigeria (Badmus 2003)). For instance, at the peripheries of the Nigerian federation, violence has characterised inter-group relations. In Plateau state, the indigenous groups (Berom, Anaguta, Afizere) and the settlers (the Hausa-Fulani) have since 2001 engaged in fierce struggles to control the soul of the state.

The above illustrations show that violence and ethnic suspicions have not disappeared from Nigeria's democracy. Thus, these groups like the Yorubas and the Tivs, in the first republic, may have considered violence the best way to present their cause.

Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated, in a narrative fashion, the contrary to the belief in some quarters that the Yorubas of the southwestern Nigeria engineered the collapse of the first republic. It is the contention of this researcher that the ruined republic had its foundation, laid in 1914 by the British chief imperial agent, Lord Fredrick Lugard. The central thesis then is that if other groups had found themselves 'trapped' like the Yorubas, they would have gone wild as well. In other words, the event could have been tagged 'wild wild north' or 'wild wild east' as the case may be.

On why the outcome of the 2003 general election in Yorubaland did not follow the same pattern as those of 1965 and 1983, the explanation lies in the fact that power at the centre had shifted to the zone. Even though the elections were marred by irregularities (Okoh 2005:40), the fact remains that a Yoruba man, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, was in charge at the centre. Probably, the story could have been different if a non-Yoruba figure was in charge. The 2011 post-election violence in the northern part of Nigeria may have validated our thesis here (Obi 2011; Ogunwale, 2011).

In all, Nigeria is not a civic nation but a primordial one where critical issues are defined not only in ethno-regional terms, but occasionally resolved on the streets and, in the case of the Niger-delta, in the creeks. Obviously, these developments are not healthy for growth and progress.

Given the foregoing, what can be done? We submit that if the country must move with the rest of the world, some fundamental actions must be taken. First, there is a need for the politico-economic decentralisation of Nigerian federal system so as to guarantee greater harmonious intra- and inter-ethnic relations, social justice, equity, stability, and security. Second, there must be a convention for a national dialogue where all groups in Nigeria would engage in genuine "talks" devoid of official interference. In the final analysis, such dialogue, we hope, would produce a new charter of engagement among the various Nigerian groups. By so doing, a new nation, civic in all ramifications, would emerge.

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Trust in government and the politics of fuel subsidy removal in Lagos, Nigeria.

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Abstract

Government's incompetence causes public restlessness; nevertheless, it overlooks how this shapes public trust. This paper examines how government's failure to meet the expectations of the governed has caused it to lose public trust in Nigeria. Using exchange theory as its theoretical framework, the survey research design, involving the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, was adopted. It covered the three senatorial districts in Lagos using data obtained from 220 respondents selected through a multistage sampling procedure. Three focus group discussions were conducted for complementary qualitative data. Data analysis involved the use of simple percentages, chi square and content analysis. The findings indicated that 90.0% of the respondents said subsidy proceeds were poorly managed by government, that they distrust government (85.0%), equate trust with votes (60.0%) and that dishonesty reduces public trust (60.0%). To develop trust in government, 80.0% of the respondents suggested transparency. The paper concludes that non-fulfilment of promises by government erodes its trust by public. Therefore, the paper suggests that for public trust in government to endure, the culture of impunity should be uprooted from Nigerian polity.

Keywords: Democracy, trust, fuel subsidy, politics, Lagos, Nigeria

Introduction

It was as if Bentham (1999) had Nigerians and their government in mind when he posed the seeming rhetorical question: whom should he be wary of if not the government who wields great power with great temptations to abuse it? The Nigerian government gave credence to the foregoing fears when on the first day of 2012 it withdrew the fuel subsidy without considering its consequences for its subjects. Government advanced a series of seemingly powerful justifications to convince its distraught citizens that it wanted to 'liberate them from frustration'. Nigerians doubted government's excuses. Unfolding events now appear to have proved that public anxieties had a firm root in conventional wisdom. The approach which Nigerians adopted may seem uncooperative, even if repugnant; it has shown them as a people who are not pathologically docile but demonstrably articulate and capable of independent clear thinking over issues that border on their collective development. Even though the government has hitherto refused to pitch its tent with the people, it is aware that Nigerians still disbelieve its arguments for the fuel subsidy withdrawal. This is especially so because Nigerians see government's keeping the cost price of crude oil secret as overly suspicious. All that Nigerians are annually inundated with is the selling price. Going by past records of government's betrayal of the Nigerian people, most Nigerians believed that government should no longer be trusted to do anything helpful for the common man. Here, the nexus between public trust in government and people's access to the dividends of democracy became a legitimate security issue.

Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English (2003:1781) defines trust as a "strong belief in the honesty, goodness, etc. of someone or something". For as long as trust hinges on reputation, someone who has a good reputation is very likely trustworthy. It could be argued, therefore, that trust is a virtue engineered and passed on by the family (Frazier 2007). On the other hand, while Asiwaju (2003) has observed that a subsidy is an assistance paid to a business or economic sector, Bakare (2012) has noted that it is unrecovered costs in the public provision of private goods. However, Oladipo (2012) identified subsidies given to producers or distributed as subventions in an industry to prevent the decline of that industry (e.g. as a result of continuous unprofitable operations) or an increase in the prices of its products or simply to encourage it to hire more labour (as in the case of a wage subsidy) as veritable instances in which the need to incur this cost by government is inevitable. Though Asiwaju (2003) holds that subsidies are often regarded as a form of protectionism or trade barrier by making domestic goods and services artificially competitive against imports, such action is often fraught with implications as subsidies may distort markets and impose large economic costs on production.

But placing the claims of some concerned Nigerians that there is, in fact, no such subsidy (Agbakoba 2012) side by side with statements by the government which insists that even the current price of petrol at N97 per litre includes a subsidy of about N55 per litre (Abimboye 2012), a healthy basis for suspicion appears to have been established. This indicates that a litre of fuel without any form of subsidy costs N152. With the pattern of fuel subsidy politics in Nigeria, it is doubtful

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if Nigerians agree today to pay N152 for a litre of fuel, the cost will not become an issue within the next twelve calendar months. It is uncertain if Nigerians who are convinced that government exploits them through essential utilities such as stable electricity, affordable fuel supply and motorable roads, will find a suitable reason to trust it. The primary objective behind fuel subsidy policies in many emerging economies has been the promotion of industrialisation, such as Nigeria (Adenikinju 1998) or Brazil (De Oliveira & Laan 2010); its removal without any suitable alternative is inconsistent with the ideals of social contract entered into with the Nigerian electorates at elections.

As illustrated in a study by Clements *et al*. (2007) on effects of oil-subsidy reform in Indonesia, the increase in petroleum prices has ripple effects on production costs and incomes in the economy. While the literature suggests that a lack of trust in federal government and politicians is driven by particular events and scandals, concerns about poor government performance, excessive control and power, and lack of honesty and ethics (Job 2005), withdrawal of subsidy in the atmosphere of mass poverty is probably one of such related events because it has generated widespread discontent with and lack of trust in the Nigeria government. Studies in political science have unveiled the role of trust in the formation and maintenance of a political system (Conteh-Morgan 1997). Governments all over the world are probably aware that trusting persons, groups or institutions will be "freed from worry and the need to monitor the other party's behaviour, partially or entirely" (Levi & Stoker 2000:496). Given the theoretical importance of trust in government, a significant body of research has examined both the determinants and consequences of the relatively low levels of trust observed in recent decades (Chanley 2002). None of these earlier empirical activities has found that efforts ostensibly taken by government to improve the lot of vulnerable members of society could generate such dimension of public resentment as were seen nationwide in Nigeria in January 2012.

Who does not know that when the individual's experiences are largely good, he or she tends to trust the state (Kumlin 2002; Rothstein & Steinmo 2002)? In reality, trust has even deeper merits. Trust encourages voluntary compliance (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992), creates effective government and makes democracy work (Putnam 1993), creates economic prosperity (Fukuyama 1995) and is a major factor in compliance with law and government regulation in nursing homes, taxation compliance, policing and the court system (Braithwaite 1995, 1998, 2003; Braithwaite *et al*. 1994; Tyler 1984, 2001, 2004); facilitates private businesses (Maxfield & Schneider 1997; Cai, Chen, Fang & Zhou 2009). From detailed survey data in Africa, there is a significant impact of trust in government on citizens' beliefs that government is right to make people pay taxes (Levi & Sacks 2009). Little wonder then that on New Year's eve, government removed its subsidy on petroleum products, more than doubling the price of fuel in a country where 90 percent of the population live on $2 or less a day. As a result, anger cannot but rise nationwide as the cost of transport and food increased dramatically, especially against the background of the government's declaration that the issue of bombing is one of the burdens we must live with (Herskovits 2012).

A Gallup poll conducted among Nigerians confirmed that 94% of Nigerians distrust government because they believe that it is corrupt. It is a paradox that though Nigeria is a very rich country, her people are very poor and distrustful of government because of a cycle of broken promises made by their government (Amuwo 2012). All these do not sum up to promote the kind of patriotism that will encourage distressed citizenry to trust government. That the motivations and actions of political leaders cannot be known with certainty in advance (Przeworksi 1991) now seems to have more meaning to Nigerians in the light of their political expectations that failed to match evolving realities.

This study used Exchange Theory as its theoretical framework. With it, Blau focused his early writings towards the economic and utilitarian perspective that emphasised technical economic analysis (Emerson 1976). Blau's utilitarian focus encouraged actors in exchange engagements to look forward as what they anticipated the reward would be in regard to their next social interaction (Cook & Eric 2003). Blau felt that if individuals focused too much on the psychological concepts within the theory, they would refrain from learning the developing aspects of social exchange (Emerson 1976). When people engage in these behavioral sequences, they are dependent to some extent on their relational partner. In order for behavioral sequences to lead to social exchange, Blau (1964) identified two conditions that must be achieved: first, it must be oriented towards ends that can only be achieved through interaction with other persons, and second, it must seek to adapt means to further the achievement of these ends.The concept of reciprocity which derives from this pattern refers to the mutual reinforcement by two parties of each other's actions (Ekeh 1974). The process begins when at least one participant makes a "move"; if the other reciprocates, new rounds of exchange commence. Once the process is in motion, each consequence can create a self-reinforcing repetition. Through his microsociology of strategic interaction, Blau explained how actors are stimulated in the context of aspirations and expectations. Even though the norm of reciprocity may be a universally accepted principle, the degree to which people and cultures apply this concept varies (Zafirovski 2005) from one cultural setting to the other.

To the extent that Blau saw that social structures are essentially driven by norms and values, the level of mutual confidence in any exchange interaction dwindles with any party to that exchange attempting to renege on the expressed

terms of the exchange. This is the case with the Nigerian government and Nigerians in the context of perennial fuel hikes because one of the functions of trust in a government is the establishment of legitimacy which causes uninhibited interactions between the government and the governed. If members of the public are apprehensive of their government because it fails to keep faith with its agenda of development, individual and collective aspirations are threatened. Therefore, public trust in government is one process by which modern societies respond to their governments through their assessment of governance.

Problematic as public distrust in government is, it is not an exclusive Nigerian predicament. Edelman Trust Barometer noted that public trust in government has suffered a severe breakdown across the world. As a result, in 17 of 25 countries surveyed, governments are not trusted to do what is right by less than half of respondents (BBC Business News 2012). Though it is a matter of course in all decent civil societies, democracies are conceived as regimes of regulated and institutionalised political conflict (Dunn 1988; Braithwaite 1998; Strompzka 1999; Thompson 2004), anywhere ideal democracy is in practice, democratic governance requires the sceptical deployment of checks and balances which calls for accountability and the negotiation of conflicts of interest in the political arena (Dunn 1988; Warren 1999a). Therefore, some scepticism about government is in order if its legitimacy is to rest on its programmes and policies and not solely on ethnic or patrimonial connections (Cook, Levi & Hardin 2005). The only non-criminal way a distraught citizenry can express a repudiation of governments and politicians who are perceived as deceitful and corrupt, or negligent and inept, and who, in each and every case, are suspected of brazenly favouring the 'top 1% while remaining astonishingly aloof from popular distress (Perugorria & Tejerina 2013), is to deprive them of public trust. This study therefore answered the following questions: (i). Why are Lagos residents distrustful of their government? (ii). Why did Lagos residents spontaneously respond to the fuel subsidy withdrawal of January 2012? (iii). How is the fuel subsidy withdrawal protest related to decreasing public trust in government among residents in Lagos? (iv). How can public trust in government be improved for the sake of the sustenance of Nigeria's nascent democracy?

Data and methods

The study was conducted in Lagos. The survey covered all the state's statutory 20 Local Government Areas. The study is purely an empirical inquiry in which qualitative (focus group discussion) and survey (questionnaire) methods were used to measure the impact of the subsidy removal protest on public trust in government among Nigerians resident in Lagos. Each questionnaire for the study has three sections and each of those sections contains an average of five questions. One local government was randomly selected from the twenty statutory local government areas in each of the three senatorial districts making up Lagos. From each of the local government areas, one ward was randomly selected. From each ward, twenty streets were randomly selected. Finally, from each street, four households were randomly selected. In each of the households, a copy of the questionnaire was administered on the household head, whether male or a female. In all, two hundred and twenty copies of a questionnaire were administered on the respondents for the study in Lagos. The study area was chosen for its level of urbanisation and diverse characteristics. Lagos derives its demographic significance from being a premier city with considerable social, political and economic functions.

It has a population of 17.5 million. These figures are however disputed by the Nigerian government and judged unreliable by the National Population Commission of Nigeria (Lagos State Government 2011). The UN estimated Lagos's population as 11.2 million in 2011. The *New York Time*s estimates that it is now at least 21 million, surpassing Cairo as Africa's largest city, making Lagos the largest city in Africa (Campbell 2012).It is clear that whatever the size, and however the city is defined, Lagos is the centre of one of the largest urban areas in the world. With a population of perhaps 1.4 million as recently as 1970, its growth, ever since, has been stupendous. Though Rice estimates that Lagos generates about a quarter of Nigeria's total gross domestic product, in the face of oil subsidy politics, the centre of Nigeria's modern economy, Lagos has many millionaires, while approximately two thirds of the population are slum dwellers (Rice 2012). Metropolitan Lagos is the most heterogeneous city and remains the economic nerve centre of the nation and most industrialised city in Nigeria.

Quantitative data collected were subjected to three levels of analysis. The first level was univariate analysis. It addressed the description of the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of respondents, and the incidence of various forms of crime reporting as well as indicators of crime reporting practices. This is anchored on the assumption that the behaviour of individuals in society is, to a large extent, determined by their personal characteristics as well as those of the environment in which they live. For this reason, it is expected that public trust in government will be greatly determined by individuals' background characteristics such as education, age, marital status, occupation, income, place of residence, ethnic origin and religion. To this end, simple percentages were employed to describe these variables. Here, frequency distribution tables and graphs were used to provide a general overview of the various socio-economic variables that affect respondents' crime reporting practices. The second level of analysis is bivariate analysis. It involved the

examination of the pattern of relationship between the dependent variable and other independent variables. The third level of analysis is multivariate analysis. It involved the use of advanced statistical techniques to test the formulated hypotheses and the pattern of relationship between dependent and independent variables. The regression technique was used to test these relationships. Specifically, logistic regression was used to show the relationship between the dependent variable and other independent variables.

The focus group discussions were conducted in both English and Yoruba. During the exercises, data were recorded using hand-written notes and tape recorders. The principal researcher transcribed the tapes from the various discussions and they were compared with field notes from field assistants. Both the transcribed tapes and the field notes were utilised for the purpose of data analysis. The principal researcher cleaned and structured the qualitative data into themes according to various headings representing the key issues raised in the discussions using the research objectives and purpose of study as guides. Simple descriptive and narrative technique was used to report the discussions. The analysis was focused on comparing the responses of respondents from the three selected senatorial districts to see whether a similar pattern of responses existed among them. The analysis involved the categorisation of data collected into the objectives of the study. The information included was arranged in line with the responses of male and female respondents.

Results

The results consist of demographic variables and responses to the four research questions.

Demographic variables

Table 1 Socio-demographic variables

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Sex		
Male	100	50.0
Female	100	50.0
Total	200	100.0
Age		
Less than 20 years	20	10.0
21-25	50	25.0
26-30	50	25.0
31-35	40	20.0
36-40	20	10.0
41 and above	20	10.0
Total	200	100.0
Education		
Primary education	10	5.0
Secondary education	30	15.0
OND	40	20.0
HND	30	15.0
BSc	70	35.0
MSc and above	20	10.0
Total	200	100.0
Marital status		
Single	50	25.0
Married	150	75.0
Total	200	100
Ethnicity		
Ibo	90	45.0
Hausa	10	5.0
Yoruba	80	40.0
Others	20	10.0
Total	200	100.0
Religion		
Christianity	180	90.0
Islam	20	10.0
Traditional/Others	0	0.0
Total	200	100.0

Table 1 shows socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Data showed that gender representation in this study was equal, as 50.0% male and 50.0% female respondents participated. Respondents whose ages were below twenty

years were 10.0%, 21-25 and 26-30 years (25.0%) each, 31-35 (20.0%), 36-40 and 40 years and above each (10.0%). About 25.0% of respondents are married, single (75.0%). A bulk of respondents (35.0%) hold a first degree, HND and WASC each (15.0%), OND (20.0%), MSc and FSLC (10.0%) and (5.0%) respectively. In terms of ethnic origin, 45.0% of the respondents are from Igbo, Yoruba (40.0%), Hausa (5.0%) and other groups (10.0%). About 90.0% of the respondents are Christians and Muslims (10.0%).

Reasons for Lagos residents' distrust of their government

Table 2 General background of citizens' trust and government

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Meaning of trust in government		
To vote	120	60.0
Not to criticise	40	20.0
Others	40	20.0
Total	200	100.0
Benefits enjoyable from government		
Good health	10	5.0
Jobs	20	10.0
Justice	70	35.0
Participation	60	30.0
Others	40	20.0
Total	200	100.0
Benefits influence trust		
Yes	80	40.0
No	120	60.0
Total	200	100.0
To develop trust in government, look at		
Freedom of speech	30	15.0
Public security	20	10.0
Empowerment	100	50.0
Equitable distribution of resources	20	10.0
Others	30	15.0
Total	200	100.0
Indicators of trust in government		
Vote	70	35.0
Criticise usefully	30	15.0
Obey laws	60	30.0
Avoid protest against government	10	5.0
Others	30	15.0
Total	200	100.0
Nigerians trust their government		
Yes	30	15.0
No	170	85.0
Total	200	100.0
Government officials not honest		
Yes	120	60.0
No	80	40.0
Total	200	100.0
Access to better roads		
Very satisfactory	10	5.0
Satisfactory	70	15.0
Very unsatisfactory	30	35.0
Unsatisfactory	90	45.0
Total	200	100.0
Access to better health care		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	60	30.0
Very unsatisfactory	60	30.0
Unsatisfactory	80	40.0
Total	200	100.0

Table 2 reveals that more respondents (60.0%) understood trust in government to mean willingness to vote at elections, reluctance to criticise government (20.0%) and other identified meanings (20.0%). On the benefits which citizens can enjoy from government, 35.0% of respondents said it is justice, participation (30.0%), jobs (10.0%), good health (5.0%). On whether the benefits which Nigerians derive from government improve their level of trust in government, 60.0% of respondents said no while 40.0% of respondents said yes. Identifying the indicators of trust in government, 35% looked at the direction of voting; constructive criticism (15.0%), obedience of laws (30.0%), other indicators (15.0%), avoidance of protest against government (5.0%). More (60.0%) respondents said the level of trust will continue to decline because government officials are dishonest, while 40% of respondents think otherwise. Focus group discussions indicated a unanimous condemnation of the attitude of government in respect of the sudden and unsympathetic withdrawal of the fuel subsidy. They doubted if government is actually subsidising fuel. What does it cost government to tell Nigerians how much it spends to refine a litre of petroleum so as to know whether government is sincere or not in its frequent price regimes? The three focus groups concluded that unless government plays its cards facing up, the generation of public trust may remain a mirage in the Nigerian context, as the basis of trust is honesty and singleness of purpose.

Justifications for Lagos residents' spontaneous response to fuel subsidy withdrawal

Public reaction to government's announcement of the withdrawal of the fuel subsidy was spontaneous. Therefore, assessing public trust in government based on indices of infrastructural development, access to better roads, 45.0% of the respondents said it was unsatisfactory, very unsatisfactory (35.0%), satisfactory (15.0%) very satisfactory (5.0%). Doing an evaluation of public trust in government in terms of government's delivery on better healthcare, 40.0% of the respondents said it was unsatisfactory, satisfactory (30.0%) and very unsatisfactory (30.0%). As if harmonised, the consensus of the three focus group discussions is that the government is blameworthy for being too irrational and insensitive in the instance of subsidy removal. They maintained that government could reform Nigeria without compromising the wellbeing of the present generation of Nigerians on the altar of salvaging the future generation. They agreed that there are other painless methods that could achieve the same desired end without causing so much tragedy to the citizenry.

Table 3 shows that on public access to better education, 45.0% said it was unsatisfactory, satisfactory (40.0%), and unsatisfactory (15.0%). Focus group discussion participants agreed that the task of government in the modern time is acceptably onerous; nevertheless there should be noticeable signs of achievement which are not anyway very widespread. It is probably against this background that 50.0% of the respondents considered that access to better security was very unsatisfactory, unsatisfactory (30.0%) and satisfactory (20.0%). About 50.0% of the respondents revealed that the state of public security was very unsatisfactory, unsatisfactory (30.0%) and satisfactory (20.0%). Also, 45.0% of the respondents adjudged public access to better electricity supply to be satisfactory, unsatisfactory (30.0%), very unsatisfactory (20.0%) and very satisfactory (5.0%).

Relationship between fuel subsidy withdrawal protest and decreasing public trust in government

Respondents' reaction to how government managed the fuel subsidy proceeds: 50.0% of the respondents acknowledged that the management of the proceeds was very unsatisfactory, unsatisfactory (40.0%) and satisfactorily (10.0%). On the performance of government as a measure of public confidence in government, 50.0% of the respondents said the performance was very unsatisfactory, unsatisfactory (45.0%) and satisfactory (5.0%). On the possible effects of declining public trust in government, 20.0% looked in the direction of rising crime rates, social disorder (35.0%), disappointment (15.0%), unreliability (10.0%), corruption (10.0%) and other categories (10.0%). The consensus of respondents of the three focus group discussions was that successive governments after a long spell of military administration in Nigeria are satisfied to note that civil administration appears to have become a norm in Nigeria, but highly dissatisfied that political office holders are not altruistic. Therefore, they are not sufficiently committed to satisfying the yearnings of the electorates who voted them to power.

Further strengthening the above, at one of the focus group discussions, participants examined the question of performance as the harbinger of trust in government very exhaustively. They all agreed that it is not that the Nigerian public is not capable of trusting their leaders. In a few states scattered all over the geopolitical zones making up the Nigerian polity, participants identified some states in which the governments have performed and noted that the people of those states have trusted their governments. In all, focus group discussion participants agreed with the foregoing

quantitative data when they observed that government will continue to witness a lack of public trust if each time politicians secure political positions they live like lords while the individuals who voted them to power live like serfs.

Table 3 Citizens' trust and government

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Access to better education		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	80	40.0
Very unsatisfactory	30	15.0
Unsatisfactory	90	45.0
Total	200	100.0
Access to better housing		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	40	20.0
Very unsatisfactory	100	50.0
Unsatisfactory	60	30.0
Total	200	100.0
Access to better security		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	40	20.0
Very unsatisfactory	100	50.0
Unsatisfactory	60	30.0
Total	200	100.0
Access to better electricity supply		
Very satisfactory	10	5.0
Satisfactory	90	45.0
Very unsatisfactory	40	20.0
Unsatisfactory	60	30.0
Total	200	100.0
Management of fuel subsidy proceeds		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	20	10.0
Very unsatisfactory	100	50.0
Unsatisfactory	80	40.0
Total	200	100.0
Performance and citizens' trust		
Very satisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	10	5.0
Very unsatisfactory	100	50.0
Unsatisfactory	90	45.0
Total	200	100.0
Effect of declining trust		
Rising crime rate	40	20.0
Social disorder	70	35.0
Disappointment	30	15.0
Unreliable	20	10.0
Corruption	20	10.0
Others	20	10.0
Total	200	100.0
Improving trust in government		
Receptivity	20	10.0
Transparency	160	80.0
Ensuring public security	20	10.0
Total	200	100.0

Improving public trust in government to sustain Nigeria's nascent democracy

To develop trust in government, 50.0% of the respondents looked at empowerment, freedom of speech (15.0%), public security (10.0%), and the equitable distribution of resources (10.0%). Only 15.0% of the respondents acknowledged that they trust government and 85.0% admitted that they distrust government. Whether there are means by which public trust in government could be improved, 10.0% of the respondents suggested government's receptivity, recommended government's transparency (80.0%) and proposed the enhancement of public security (10.0%). Qualitative findings support an aspect of quantitative data here, as a focus group discussion which actively x-rayed

measures to be embarked upon to improve public trust in government emphasised the significance of performance and public access to the utilities provided. It was strongly suggested that leadership and leadership performance should be taught in schools to make them values that everybody will key into in the emerging societies in Nigeria. It was also a consensus that the culture of sweeping probe panel findings and white papers under the carpet is destructive of government's credibility and undermines the development of public trust in government.

Discussion

The socio-demographic structure of participants is significantly extensive for the study. The fact that the majority of respondents associated the meaning of trust in government with election shows the political sophistication of the sample population. Also, a pervasive distrust of political institutions and elected officials surely indicates that something has gone wrong in a democracy (Warren 1999b). In addition, low government trust creates a climate in which it is difficult for political leaders to succeed (Hetherington 1998). Respondents in this study demonstrated this political vibrancy in identifying political inclusion as one of the key benefits which citizens could enjoy from government. To that extent, the majority of respondents noted that the benefits which citizens enjoy from governments have the capacity to improve their level of trust in government. Only if government realises that as trust in government increases, citizens' support for expending public resources rises (Chanley 2002), the Nigerian government would have done more for the public.

Essentially, trust comes into play every time a new policy is announced (Ocampo 2006). For government to have overlooked the implications of the relevance of trust for public security, it must have seen confidence as a passive emotion, whereas trust is based on 'beliefs and commitment' which allow individuals to deal actively with the future unknown actions of others (Sztompka 1999:27). Half of the respondents recognised empowerment more than equitable distribution of resources and other concerns to be an issue which is critical enough to serve as the fundamental basis for the existence of government. The majority of respondents therefore predicted that the level of trust will continue to decline unless government officials turn over a new leaf and act honestly. Assessing public trust in government based on different indices of infrastructural development which they identified, findings clearly indicated massive discontent among the Nigerian people with the government which has been scored poorly in most of its area of assessment

Judging by the pervasive atmosphere of insecurity in the country, respondents probably have grounds to castigate their government for not doing enough to ensure public safety. Overall, when all these indices of poverty of performance are aggregated, there is no way public trust can improve in the face of the failure of government to provide basic social amenities for the people. Granted that trust is a concept inherent in the Western democratic model which may or may not be transferable across global contexts and about which political scientists still remain divided (Secor & O'Loughlinl 2005), it is high time the Nigerian government recognised it will be greatly helpful to it if it appreciates that 'trust occurs when parties holding certain favourable perceptions of each other allow this relationship to reach the expected outcomes' (Wheeless & Grotz 1977: 251). Nigerians forced themselves to trust government over the public good it swore to protect, but revelations that came to the market place of public discussion confirmed a public trust betrayed.

Conclusion

Public trust in government and the enjoyment of the proceeds of good governance in developed societies of the world are two interlocking concepts that drive one another. However, in developing countries, governments expect public trust as a matter of course. Provision of utilities that will make life more abundant for the citizenry is optional. Unless government cuts down on its reckless expenditure, salaries and allowances, manifestly fights corruption, ensures the restoration of electricity supply, ensures public security, and provides an assortment of empowerment for most Nigerians that desire them, most citizens will not have any concrete reason to be happy with and develop trust in government. If government takes progressive steps to reduce waste and provide electricity for economic enterprise, individual and national economies will bounce back, as if by magic. As a result, public trust in government that brings about widespread joy to the people will be inspired also, as if by magic.

In the light of the findings, this paper makes the following recommendations: Nigerians should organise themselves into groups that critically engage government to keep it more focused and effective; the government should not control mass struggle by means of intimidation because it could completely damage what it counts on as public trust; the government should abhor the culture of impunity by not sweeping probe panel findings and government white papers under the carpet. Nursing sacred cows in issues that border on corruption is destructive of government's credibility and undermines the development of public confidence in it. To enjoy public trust, the government must make the practice of corruption too risky and costly in Nigerian society by equipping anti-corruption agencies with the power to bark and the teeth to bite. The judiciary, mass media and civil society should be recognised and allowed to operate as vibrant components that help monitor governance in every virile democracy; nationwide, government must provide employment

for the jobless, improve transportation, ensure public security and empower women and physically challenged citizens to function effectively in society. Finally, mismanagement of proceeds from the fuel hike has confirmed the fears of Nigerians that their government cannot be trusted to act fairly at all times. Corroborating this position, a former Deputy Speaker, Nigerian House of Representatives, Nwuche (2014) described the subsisting oil subsidy regime by the federal government as a scam which must be phased out by December, 2014, arguing that the subsidy had very good intentions though the impact on the poor was questionable and dubious.

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Yoruba proverbs and the anti-corruption crusade in Nigeria

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Abstract

Corruption is entrenched in the public space in Nigeria. Various attempts by policymakers to stamp out this social cankerworm seem not to be yielding positive results, as more incidences of corruption continue to ravage the polity. This paper therefore contributes to the campaign for anti-corruption in Nigeria by drawing on proverbs to persuade Nigerians to resist corruption. Proverbs as an embodiment of the distilled thoughts and wisdoms of a people can be applied to different human conditions for change. Drawing on thirty purposively selected proverbs that touch on the Yoruba concept of "Ewà Inú" (inner beauty), this paper deploys a sociocultural-linguistic approach to reveal how the rhetorical force of the proverbs can help reveal the evils in corruption and persuade against it.

Keywords: Corruption; anti-corruption crusade; proverbs; *ewà-inú* (inner beauty); socio-cultural linguistics; Nigeria

Introduction

Corruption is a major issue and topic of debate the world over. *The Merriam-Websters Collegiate Dictionary* defines the concept as "impairment of integrity, virtue or moral principle." Also, the *Collins English Dictionary* defines corruption as "capable of being rotten, make evil tausted with vice or sin… immoral, depraved, dishonest, especially through bribes". Beside these definitions, scholars have also defined the concept in various ways. For Babatunde cited in Jaiyeola (2009), "corruption means willingness to do things in a wrong way … and a means of enriching oneself through dubious means". Wkom (1992) views corruption as "the perversion of public affairs for private advantage". Similarly, Adreski (1988) defines corruption as "the practice of using power for making private gain in breach of laws and regulations nominally in force". From the above definitions of corruption, one could deduce that corruption essentially consists in human subversion of moral codes or principles of life in certain social capacities with a view to obtaining personal gain of any kind.

As pointed out earlier, corruption is a universal phenomenon. It manifests in almost all human societies. This accounts for the proliferation of international agencies monitoring corruption issues all over the world and also debates on how to eradicate corruption in human societies. For example, Transparency International is an international civil society leading the fight against corruption in the world. It publishes and reports corruption cases across the globe with a view to exposing corrupt persons and ensuring that they are sanctioned accordingly.

Nigeria no doubt counts as one of the countries greatly bedevilled by the vice of corruption. Corruption is a major issue in Nigeria. Owolabi (2007:3) states that corruption had been a reality in Nigeria since the colonial era, when Nigerians were appointed by the colonial lords in prosecution of the indirect rule of the colonialists. Owolabi remarks that the appointees grossly abused their offices by involving themselves in all manner of corrupt practices. He further states that upon the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the national leaders of the country also engaged in large-scale corrupt practices such as the use of money to buy votes and financial misappropriation. The trend continued since then, such that today, Nigerians of different backgrounds are said to be involved in all kinds of corrupt practices such as offering bribes, offering sexual gratification, awarding fake contracts, among many others. These corrupt acts manifest in almost all facets of the Nigerian nation, with dire negative consequences for the country.

Indeed, corruption in Nigeria can be said to be a hydra-headed phenomenon. This postulation becomes justifiable when one considers the fact that the high level of religiosity immanent in the country, as attested to by the presence of numerous churches and mosques, has not helped to curb or at least reduce the vice. Currently, statistics indicate that Nigeria records the highest percentage of church attendance with eighty-nine percent church attendance (*www.worldstatistics.com*). Evangelization and crusade activities are common practices in the country; all avenues through which the message can be conveyed that corruption is ungodly. To give evidence and justification for religious condemnation of the vice, we cite a portion of the Christian Bible which says: "you will not accept bribes, for a bribe blinds the clear-sighted and subverts the cause of those who are in the right" (Ex. 23:8). Also, the Islamic religion abhors corruption as attested to in the following verse of the Quran:

> … so give full measure and full weight and wrong not men in their things, and do not engage in corruption on the earth after it has been set in order, that it will be better for you, if you are believers (*Quran* 7:85)

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The traditional religions also forbid corruption. According to Magesa (2008:59), the African worldview engenders and enforces moral/ethical consciousness which informs the whole of African moral life. Magesa (2008:59) goes further to state that "African ethical consciousness must, and does, answer to religious demands". Therefore, to an African, to be religious entails being morally upright. For example, in the Yoruba traditional religion, corrupt people are usually disallowed from leading rites in the religion, among other formal sanctions. However, the reality, in some cases, is that the religious institutions often serve as avenues for further perpetuation of corrupt practices and activities. There are cases of imams (muslim clerics), bishops and pastors (christian clerics) and traditional priests that embezzle the funds of their religious institutions. Thus, it can confidently be stated that the high level of religious involvement in Nigeria has not helped to abate corruption in the country.

The pervading nature of corruption in Nigeria also made the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo to think of the best ways to legally and legitimately tackle the social cankerworm. Among other efforts geared towards combating corruption, the government established two bodies entrusted with the responsibility of prosecuting corrupt citizens of the country as well as non-citizens. The bodies are the Independent and Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC) established on September 20, 2000 and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), which was established in 2003. The two bodies have been monitoring the trends of corruption in Nigeria, prosecuting corrupt people of different categories (high/low, rich/poor, etc.) and to some extent have retrieved sums of money from such corrupt individuals. Some of the cases of corruption investigated by such bodies include contract scams, illegal transfers of state funds to personal foreign accounts, among others. It is general knowledge that part of the Abacha loot was recovered.

However, in spite of all these efforts, corruption has not significantly abated in the public space in Nigeria, as there are more and more cases of corruption to the extent that some people may want to question the sincerity of the bodies charged with the responsibility of stemming the tide of corruption in the country. There have been cases of certain corrupt people who were prosecuted and later released without any meaningful punitive measure taken against them. For instance, the former Governor of Delta State, James Ibori, had escaped trials on several instances before he was finally arrested in the United Kingdom. Only recently, the former Governor of Bayelsa State, Diepreye Alamiesiegba, who was jailed for corrupt practices and later released, was granted state pardon by the President of Nigeria, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan. This puts in doubt the commitment of the country to the anti-corruption drive. Also, the slowness of litigation process in the country has not helped matters as there are several cases of corruption that are not promptly attended to in some courts of law.

This reality therefore requires that some other approaches to tackling corruption may have to be sought, if only as a complement to the existing ones. One approach that may be effective in this regard is what I call culturally grounded moral rectitude. The African cultures, especially the Yoruba culture, offers certain paradigms for good human conduct and nature. The features constituting the paradigms delve into the essence of a real human being as construed by the Yoruba people of sub-Saharan Africa. This concerns the Yoruba notion of *ewà-inú* (Inner beauty).

The Yoruba constitute a huge proportion of Nigerians, with concentration in the Southwestern region of the country even though they migrate to different parts of the world within and outside of Nigeria. The Yoruba people are also to be found in countries such as Togo, Benin-Republic, Cote-D'voire and in some parts of Brazil, among other places. The Yoruba believe in proper human conduct which is captured in their notion of "Omoluabi" (the morally upright one). This notion of proper human conduct among the Yoruba is articulated in *ewà-inú*. In Yoruba cosmology, *ewà-inú* is a notion of beauty that transcends the physical; it emphasizes the character and conduct of an individual. This Yoruba philosophy is given force in Yoruba oral traditions, proverbs inclusive, in view of its importance. It is evident that the alarming rate of corruption in Nigeria can be attributed to the erosion of the Yoruba ideals of inner beauty among Nigerian citizenry.

Therefore, in this paper, I have selected some proverbs illuminating the Yoruba philosophy of inner beauty for analysis. I consider proverbs to be a resource that can expose the ills in corruption and provide counsel against it. Proverbs are inherently linguistic and cultural productions. As language resources or elements, they are weapons that can be drawn upon to effect certain changes in human behaviour, as language itself is potentially an agent of social change. As cultural productions, proverbs, especially Yoruba proverbs which are drawn upon in this study are rooted in the Yoruba ideological and thought patterns, and therefore have an infinite capacity to express and emphasize the Yoruba ideal of "inner beauty", which is central to the Yoruba moral thought. Since a great deal of Yoruba ideology and thought is moralistic, the proverbs contain useful ideas on what is right or what should be and the repercussion of doing that which is wrong, among many others.

In what follows, the concept of *ewà-inú* is thus reviewed after which I discuss Yoruba proverbs.

The concept of *Ewà-inú* (inner beauty)

Notions of beauty are varied and diverse. They are basically subjective because what one person considers beautiful may not be so to another person. This reality is captured in the Yoruba saying: "Èyí ó wùmí ò wù é"; meaning "that which you consider pleasing may not be pleasing to me". An English equivalent of this truism can be found in the famous aphorism: "Beauty is in the eyes of the beholder". Against this background, the notion of beauty is nebulous; it is difficult to pin down to a particular thing. However, beauty, which inherently refers to a quality that is pleasurable or satisfying, can be split into two aspects: outer and inner (Lawal 1978). While outer beauty refers to physical qualities that thrill the eyes, the inner beauty is profound, almost spiritual, getting into the roots of the essence of the object of beauty. It is concerned with the character of that individual or thing being described. Whereas people get captivated easily by outer beauty, especially in this materialistic world order, the inner form of beauty can be said to have more value. In line with this postulation, Lawal (1978) remarks:

> The person who is outwardly beautiful but inwardly ugly or lacks character is called *awóbowà* (skin covers character) or *ojú larí, òsó ò dé nú* (superficial beauty). The physical beauty of such a person may first be admired but as soon as the inner ugliness of such an individual surfaces, he becomes repulsive. His beauty becomes clouded by the flames of his character ... (p. 3)

Van Damme (nd, 5) also corroborates the notion that outer beauty is hollow. According to the scholar, the outer beauty has a transitory character; it does not last long. Indeed, this is true of physical beauty as human beings wither over time irrespective of their good looks or wealth. However, the inner beauty is eternal; it outlives the person who possesses it. Inner beauty refers to the intrinsic worth of an individual. According to Lawal (1978), it is the most important element in the Yoruba conception of human beauty. This virtue is referred to as *ìwà* (character) among the Yoruba. According to Abiodun (1983:13), "there is no doubt that the concept of ìwà (character) is crucial to the definition of beauty in Yoruba thought". Character typifies an individual (at least to the Yoruba); it informs such an individual's response and disposition to all issues and situations. The development, or otherwise, of any human aggregate is dependent on the quality of the character of the individuals forming the aggregate. Therefore, for any society to advance, members of such a society must possess *ewà inú*, especially those in key positions in the society, because their actions and inactions impact directly on the facets of the life of the society.

It should be stated at this juncture that inner beauty is not limited to the Yoruba culture. In actual fact, it is emphasised in many cultures of the world, among which are the Chinese culture, the Japanese culture and African cultures. Its apparent universality cannot but be attributed to the deepness of the issues it brings to the fore. Also, essentially, the religions of the world emphasize inner beauty. Armstrong (2011:1) confirms the universality of inner beauty when he remarks that it "is not exclusive to any religion, ethnicity, socio-economic or age-group". Thus, inner beauty can be said not to be cultural only, but also religious. No doubt, the foregrounded position of inner beauty in the cultures and religions of the world is a function of its sacredness and the sincere realization of its importance by the peoples of the world. However, for the purpose of this paper, emphasis is placed on the Yoruba *ewà-inú*.

In the context of Nigeria's anti-corruption drive, which is the focal point in this paper, one can then state that much more attention should be paid to the entrenchment of the Yoruba concept of *ewà-inú* in the psyche of Nigerians. Evidently, the heavy spate of corrupt practices in Nigeria cannot but be linked to the erosion of basic ideals in the society. It is a product of the new status now accorded "money" as the most important thing in the society which should be acquired at all costs. What I thus advocate in this paper is a socio-cultural linguistic approach to tackling corruption in Nigeria. The involvement of an individual in corrupt practices negates the essence of inner beauty as enshrined in the Yoruba culture, for the culture forbids one taking what does not belong to one.

Yoruba proverbs

Adedimeji (2009) regards proverbs as wise sayings that address the hearts of the discourse in any given context truthfully and objectively. To this extent, proverbs are held in high regard among the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and some other African peoples. Proverbs are treasures in speech-giving and making, illuminating the grey aspects of any discourse. As representations of distilled thoughts and wisdoms of a people or a race, proverbs give road markings that should be toed by participants in a discourse. Furthermore, proverbs are carriers of culture; they convey the nuances of culture and ensure the continued relevance of such nuances by their transmission from one generation to another. In the opinion of Akporobaro (2001:105), "Proverb is the form which has proved itself of continuing relevance to modern man. It has been and remains a most powerful transmission of culture".

According to Coker and Coker (2008:49), "Yoruba proverbs are replete in philosophy and cultural ethics". In actual fact, it can be said that only the intelligent can make good use of proverbs among the Yoruba. This postulation perhaps is indeed justified by the following proverb: "Lówe lówe là á lùlù àgídìgbo, ológbón ní í jó o, òmòràn ní í mò" (The àgídìgbo

drum is sounded in proverbs; only the wise dance to it, only the knowledgeable understand it). This explains why among the Yoruba, speakers who use proverbs are usually commended and encouraged with the Yoruba expression "O káre, wà á pà mìíì " (Well done, may you live to use another proverb again).

As earlier remarked, since the Yoruba people are moralistic, a great deal of the proverbs rooted in their culture is laden with thoughts on good living and good life. Therefore, the proverbs effectively serve heuristic purposes. While Adegoju (2010) and Agbaje (1998) have generously explored proverbs as tools for a more peaceful resolution of conflicts in Africa, I specifically in this paper consider Yoruba proverbs a resource that can be drawn on in the campaign against corruption in Nigeria. Thus, through the subsequent analyses, I bring to the fore the aspects of inner beauty inherent in, and foregrounded in the broad Yoruba proverbial corpus.

Method

This study is exploratory. Data for the study were sourced from available books on Yoruba proverbs and the Internet. The data consisted of thirty proverbs illuminating the Yoruba notion of inner beauty and or proverbs that simply discourage corrupt practices among human beings. Specifically, the proverbs were obtained from the electronic version of Owomoyela's compilation of Yoruba proverbs, titled *The Good Person: Excerpts from the Yoruba Proverb Treasury*, the Internet and oral sources. Information was also obtained from the library, archives and oral sources on the philosophy of *ewà-inú* which forms the anchor of this paper. The proverbs selected were classified into different categories for ease of data analysis.

Theoretical orientation

Socio-cultural linguistics is the theoretical anchor for this study. Socio-cultural linguistics is an approach to linguistic analysis aimed at revitalizing the socially and culturally linguistic analysis. Bulcholtz and Hall (2005:5) describe socio-cultural linguistics as "the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society". In coming up with socio-cultural linguistics, Bulcholtz and Hall feared that sociolinguistics was getting rather narrowed in its focus, suggesting certain kinds of study, while de-emphasizing cultural and anthropological linguistics, among others. According to Nilep (2006:3), sociocultural linguistics to Bulcholtz and Hall would "include sociolinguistics, anthropology, discourse analysis, sociology of language, as well as certain streams of social psychology, folklore studies, media studies, literary theory and the philosophy of language". Nilep's description of sociocultural linguistics reveals that the theory of language is highly interdisciplinary, drawing on culture, society, orature, literature, psychology and language.

Sociocultural linguistics is no doubt relevant to this study, as the work hinges on language, culture, society, psychology and folklore, which the linguistic model amply caters for. The problem of corruption being addressed in the paper is societal, cultural and also psychological. On the other hand, the concept of *ewà-inú* (inner beauty) reflected and emphasized in the proverbs selected for analysis in this paper is cultural, psychological and folkloric, just as the proverbs used themselves are.

Most significantly however, this paper re-emphasises the fact that there is a close relationship between language and culture. Just as language enriches itself through culture, so culture enriches itself through language. In the context of this paper, therefore, while linguistic resources (proverbs in this case) are used to project the cultural phenomenon of inner beauty, and in addition offer insights to the cultural problem of corruption in Nigeria, proverbs as a cultural repertoire further help to crystallize the fact that language is a potent weapon for social change.

Analysis and discussions

For the purpose of analysis, I classify the proverbs constituting the data for this work into three: (i) Proverbs that emphasize *contentment* which is an aspect of inner beauty, (ii) Proverbs that emphasize the need for a *consciousness of good name/reputation* (Orúko rere) and finally, (iii) proverbs that emphasize *good character.*

Contentment as inner beauty

A major explanation for the proliferation of corruption among Nigerians can be said to be the low level of contentment among them. Greed and an ostentatious lifestyle are the root cause of corruption in Nigeria. Several scholars in Nigeria have also echoed this view (See Mimiko 2008; Kehinde 2008). People of different classes in Nigeria want to live beyond their means so as to compare with those whose status is fairly above theirs. The high premium placed on money/riches in the society also does not help matters, as well-meaning people with good ideas but that are yet to attain financial prosperity are hardly reckoned. Thus, contentment which is not only a major tenet of the two main religions, but also a central element of *ewà-inú* (inner beauty) among the Yoruba of Nigeria, is thrown into the abyss. This reality is no doubt unfortunate because contentment is indeed central to the Yoruba worldview.

Proverbs abound in Yoruba culture condemning lack of contentment or covetousness. For instance, it is said that "òkánjúwà baba àrùn" (covetousness is the father of illnesses). This proverb tells us that in the Yoruba worldview,

covetousness is the worst of all human frailties or shortcomings. The Yoruba cannot tolerate covetousness. It is important to be fully aware of the meaning of the Yoruba word "àrùn" used in the proverb in order to appreciate the semiotic import of the proverb. "Àrùn" is disease, which nobody prays to experience as it is essentially negative. But in the proverb, covetousness is presented as sickness, showing that anybody who exhibits covetousness is sick. Another proverb that harps on the Yoruba intolerance of lack of contentment is "Òkánjúwà baba olè; àwòrònsòsò wo ohun olóhun má séjú" (The covetous person is the most senior thief; bug-eyed greedy person stares at another person's possession without blinking). In this particular proverb a covetous person is likened to a hardened thief. This analogy simply shows the Yoruba contempt for greedy acts. The use of the Yoruba word "baba" is significant in the proverb, more so as it occurs in the proverb preceding this. The word conveys information about the depth and high level of the Yoruba rejection of greed. Also, it is said among the Yoruba that "Òkánjúwà pèlú olè, déédé ni won jé" (greed/covetousness and stealing are the same). This particular proverb perhaps is a more stringent Yoruba proverbial condemnation of covetousness. In this proverb, covetous people are not given a chance at all, as they are tagged thieves. Thus, the social indignation that is accorded thieves is the lot of covetous people. This explains the popularity of the Yoruba proverbial saying: "Ìtélórùn baba ìwà" (contentment is the father of all behaviours). This short proverb shows the premium the Yoruba place on contentment, as it informs one that contentment is the most revered of all human qualities. A further testimony to the emphasis placed on contentment in the Yoruba cosmos is found in the Yoruba proverb, "Àíkánjú tu olú orán, igba rè ò kún ìsáàsùn" (it is fruitless harvesting mushrooms prematurely, two hundred will not fill the pot). In this proverb is shown the unfulfilment that comes with discontentment and overzealouness. The wisdom in the proverb for corrupt people of all kinds is that they are only chasing shadows by their corrupt acts as their material acquisitions eventually add up to nothing.

To demonstrate the Yoruba's difficulty in rationalising the involvement of individuals in greedy acts, the Yoruba say: "Omodé jí ti ojú orun wá, o ni àkàrà méjìméjì, ká ní won ti mu u béè kó tó jí, kò ní bá ìkan" (A child wakes up from sleep and says in code; "Bean fritters two-by-two". Had the others been taking them thus before he woke, would any have been left?). This particular proverb portrays corrupt people not only as lacking in *ewà-inú* but also not being able to think profoundly. The proverb informs us that corrupt individuals are usually oblivious of the fact that if others had not toiled to create the platforms wherein they now operate and through which they demonstrate their greed, they would not have been successful. Therefore, all corrupt people whether high or low can be described as "Omo àkìtàn tí ó sora rè di aríléyanká" (The child who had hitherto been in a garbage dump, who suddenly finds a house and abuses the opportunity). This is a Yoruba proverb that condemns all manner of excessive opportunism which is essentially the case with Nigerian leaders and others involved in corrupt practices. Although it may be argued that some of these corrupt people were not poor before coming into power, the fact is that every individual who embezzles money can adequately be viewed as being poor and thus needing to steal to be comfortable or financially secure.

Further condemnation of corruption in Yoruba proverbs is found in the proverb "Ònà òfun, ònà òrun; méjèèjì bákan náà ni wón rí" (One's throat may lead one to death). This particular proverb indeed sensitizes people to the risk involved in getting involved in corrupt acts. It informs one that corruption, greed or avarice can indeed lead to the destruction of an individual. This explains why Yoruba people train their children right from infancy to show contentment by initially refusing gifts from outsiders. All manner of facial expressions are deployed to instill the value in children due to its importance. To further show the distaste of the Yoruba for corruption or immodesty, the Yoruba would say: "Òpòlopò oògùn a gunmo gàlègàlè (It is a great deal of medicine that possesses a child and robs it of all self-control). What this proverb suggests is that a person who lacks moderation is like someone overpowered by bad medicine. This proverb no doubt shows the extent to which the Yoruba forbid immoderate or immodest actions such as those of the corrupt individuals in the Nigerian nation.

Desire for good name and reputation as inner beauty

Another cause for the extent of corruption in the Nigerian society is the drop in Nigerians' consciousness of the necessity for a good name or reputation. This consciousness of the need to have a good public image is part of what constitutes *ewà-inú* in an individual. In the Yoruba culture, reputation and good name are given utmost significance. According to Fashiku (2006), "names are instruments of arousing, defining, manifesting and establishing the expectations, aspirations and consciousness of the bearer". Names reveal a great deal about their bearers. In actual fact, among the Yoruba, names are not just given; they make statements about certain prevailing social and cultural circumstances around the birth or history of the family of the infant being named. Just as naming infants at birth involves a great deal of seriousness and introspection, the process of acquiring good names or reputations involves certain serious conditionalities. It implies that the individual being accorded such noble cultural height must have distinguished him/

herself in certain capacities and circumstances. Such a person must have acted in consistence with the tenets of the Yoruba philosophy of *ewà-inú* in some capacities.

Numerous proverbs emphasize the importance of good name or good reputation among the Yoruba. However, of all of them, the most apt can be said to be "Orúko rere sàn ju wúrà àti fàdákà lo" (good name/reputation is better than gold and silver). This particular proverb reveals the extent to which good name/reputation is sacrosanct in the Yoruba worldview. The appearance of this proverb in the Bible (Proverbs 22:1), further shows that good name is held as important not only in the Yoruba culture and perhaps some other cultures but also in the major religions of the world. Through the proverb, the greatest material desires of men are portrayed to be ephemeral and worthless, whereas good reputation and name is portrayed as containing intrinsic value. No doubt, this common philosophy of the Yoruba is true as material things fade away with time, but good reputation outlasts the bearer. People of good reputation are never forgotten in history. Little wonder the Yoruba say: "Oba tó je tí ìlú rójú, orúko rè ò ní parun …" (The king whose reign witnessed tremendous peace, his name will never be destroyed). This Yoruba saying indicates that notable men who sought good reputation and achieved it will never be forgotten in history; a good reputation is eternal.

To demonstrate the importance of a good reputation and name, the Yoruba also say "Orúko eni ní í jèrìí eni lókèèrè" (one's reputation is one's witness everywhere). What this proverb simply offers is that with a good name or good reputation, one does not have to visit everywhere to be known as good. It is unfortunate that corrupt people in Nigeria have neglected this reality. For example, as big as Nigeria is, there are people who attain national significance by performing well in their own immediate environment. Typical examples are found in the likes of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Wole Soyinka, such that even people who are yet to have physical contact with them within and outside Nigeria jump at the mention of their names. Still to concretise the sacrosanct importance of good reputation, the Yoruba say: "Orúko lègbón oyè" (good name or reputation surpasses titles). This proverb informs one that to be honoured with a title, one must have distinguished oneself as an exemplary person, as titles are given to noble people.

Perhaps, to further lampoon the tendencies of corruption among citizens, the Yoruba would say: "Eni Olórun bá fún lórúko, kò ní máa wá oríkì mi kiri" (the person whom God has granted a good reputation will not indulge in excessive acts that will portray him/her in a bad light). This particular proverb offers a witty criticism of immoderate acts as capable of bringing ruination to people who had hitherto worked hard to get to certain heights but are about to bring themselves into disrepute. This typifies the scenario among corrupt individuals in Nigeria as they usually are people privileged to be in certain positions of social significance that should ordinarily give them satisfaction. However, rather than enjoy the privileges that come with their offices and leave indelible marks on the sands of time, they resort to amassing wealth illegally for their future use upon exit from office. The example of such people is further captured in the Yoruba proverb: "Eni tó joba, tó tún sàwúre, se ó fé di Olórun ni" (the person who is a king already and is still frantically doing fortune medicine, does he want to become God?) This proverb also contextually portrays corrupt people as being guilty of shallow thinking due to the befuddlement of their thoughts by inordinate desires. It portrays them as selfish people who are most ungrateful to God for the opportunity given them, more so as to the Yoruba, it is only God that is self-subsisting; men can never attain that height and should accept the fact. Further criticism of corruption is found in the Yoruba proverb: "Kàkà kí n bé egbàá òbùn, ma kúkú bí òkan soso ògá. Sé òkan soso àràbá kì í se egbé egbàá òsúnsún" (two hundred filthy persons are no match for one person of good repute). This proverb emphatically informs one that no matter the size and prosperity of corrupt people, a virtuous or incorrupt person is better or more desired than them. Thus, it is important for corrupt Nigerians to note that their wealth may not necessarily earn them admiration from the people, as opposed to people of good repute whose example is captured by the proverb "esè pò léyìn ìkookò" (There is a multitude of feet in the wake of the wolf). The proverb crystallises the fact that good reputation attracts popularity and a great following which is not the lot of corrupt people.

The Yoruba believe in the sacredness of good reputation to the extent that people are encouraged to guard their reputations jealously. This is responsible for the frequency of the expression "máa bàmí lórúko jé" (don't soil my name) in Yoruba frank conversations, as a good reputation once tainted is usually difficult to "mend". This is captured in the Yoruba proverb "eni bá jalè léèkan, bó bá fàrán ogun òké bora, aso olè ló wò (whoever stole once, if he or she drapes himself or herself in expensive velvet cloth, is draped in stolen goods). The proverb is succinctly a metaphor for the persistence of a bad image once acquired. It is however unfortunate that corrupt people are usually not conscious of this fact. In their bid to enjoy the frenzy of the moment as afforded by their social capacities, corrupt people heap social stigma on themselves, the resultant effect of which is not only felt by themselves but even everybody associated with them, since it is said that "Èsù ò níwà, a kólé rè sí oríta" (whoever lacks social graces deserves to be ostracized). It should be said that, in reality, many of the corrupt people are not literally ostracized, they are however practically ostracized as they are ideally denied future social or communal privileges.

Good character (*Ìwà rere*) as *Ewà-inú*

In the above analyses, I have identified aspects of inner beauty that are suited to the eradication of corruption in Nigeria using proverbs. Here, I generally want to explore proverbs on good character with a view to advancing the thesis that good character (ìwà rere), being central to *ewà-inú* (inner beauty), offers the solution to the problem of corruption in the Nigerian nation. At this stage, however, it should be crystal clear that corruption is not *ìwà rere* and as such individuals involved in it do not have good character. To show the extent of Yoruba respect for good character, it is said that "Ìwà lewà" (good character is the real beauty). This proverb delves into the core of African aesthetics, informing one that the real beauty is the inner beauty and not the outer one. This is the kind of beauty respected by the ideal society. It is the kind of beauty possessed by political office holders who leave office without embezzling funds. Thus, to emphasize the dignity accorded good character, the Yoruba would say: "bíbíre kò se fowó rà" (good character/reputation cannot be bought with money). This proverb presents good character (*ìwà rere*) as the essence of human existence or living which is intrinsic in people and not acquired. Also, it is said that "Eyin funfun lèsó èrín, ìwà rere lèsó ènìyàn" (the beauty of a smile lies in the whiteness of the teeth, the beauty or aesthetic value of an individual lies in the good character of such individual). This proverb implies that good character is central to the being of every individual. To show the emptiness of successful people without good character, it is also said that "Eni tó ní orí rere tí kò ní ìwà rere, ìwà rè ní o ba orí rè jé" (the person who is destined to be successful but has bad character will soon be destroyed by his own doing). This particular proverb shows the depth of the African belief in good character, elucidating that even if people with bad character prosper temporarily on this earth, they will not do so in the hereafter. This particular proverb is instructive as it teaches that the prosperity of corrupt people is evanescent, withering away with time.

To further reveal the centrality of *ìwà rere* which is being ignored by corrupt Nigerians to the African perception of good living and life, I wish to offer for analysis the Yoruba proverb: "Ilé dára ó ku èké; èèyàn dára ó ku ìwà" (the house is beautiful but lacks pillars; the person is good looking but lacks good character). In this proverb, just to show the importance of good character, an analogy is drawn between ìwà rere and the pillars of house. Of course it is not debatable that without the pillars, the house will not exist. In the same vein, without a good character, a person lacks his or her essence. This is instructive especially in the Nigerian political climate where politicians adore money to the extent that they consider it the "pillar" of good life or living. The Yoruba also say: "Obìnrin sòwà nù, ó ní òun ò lórí oko" (a wife who is bereft of good character laments not having a responsible husband). This proverb emphasizes the importance of good character to the survival of human beings. Although in the proverb, recourse is directly made to women with bad character that complain of lacking stable homes, it is a metaphor for all manner of people who do not utilize all their potential due to their bad character. Thus, if a politician is thrown out of office on grounds of misappropriation of funds, such an individual should consider him or herself a failure irrespective of the competencies of such an individual.

Indeed, the possession and demonstration of good character has merits. The Yoruba say: "Òrìsà níwà, bí a se hù ú ló se n gbe ni" (Good character is a deity; it favours one just as it is exhibited). The proverb is significant, informing us that there are distinct benefits that obtain from the demonstration of good character. Contrary to the popular belief among Nigerians that it is better for one to feather his/her own nest while in political offices as recognition is not given to selfless people; the proverb impresses the lesson that there is a clear reward for selflessness. It is also said that "Eni rere kìí kú sípò ìkà" (Each person is recompensed according to their character). This proverb further emphasizes that good character attracts certain benefits and vice-versa. The Yoruba also say that "Ojú ìkà láti n fi omo olóore joba" (it is in the presence of the wicked that the child of the good person is crowned). This proverb tells one that the benefits of demonstration of good character by an individual can be eternal, outliving such an individual. Numerous examples abound of people who have found themselves in certain noble positions by virtue of the good deeds of their parents or relations in the past. In fact, in many African societies, this is a common practice. All this should help to re-orient all manner of corrupt public office holders that their example should not always be that of the "whiteman" captured in the proverb "Òyìnbó n lo, o su saga" (Whiteman leaves office with faeces on his seat). Perhaps, this particular proverb can be said to be hilarious but underlying its hilarity is deep wisdom. It is a strong condemnation of excessive opportunism as manifested in corruption.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the inherent principles of *ewà-inú*, as reflected in selected Yoruba proverbs. The thesis of the paper is that a psycho-cultural re-orientation of Nigerians towards the ideals of the Yoruba philosophy of inner beauty (*ewà-inú*) would bring about positive effects in remoulding Nigerian society towards a moral path. The argument is that all corrupt people in Nigeria and indeed beyond Nigeria essentially lack *ewà-inú*. Therefore, a lot of effort is needed to ensure that Nigerians embrace *ewà-inú* with a view to eradicating corruption in the country. To this end, proverbs were proposed as an effective resource for articulating the tenets of the Yoruba *ewà-inú* whose entrenchment in the public

space in Nigeria will discourage corruption. If the society can go back to the basics, by integrating courses that will teach young Nigerian citizens at the primary and secondary school levels aspects of the Yoruba notion of inner beauty, emphasizing that which forbids taking what is not rightfully one's own, such individuals will grow up with the right attitude. Also, specific proverbs and related pithy sayings on inner beauty can be exposed to children right from home at the primary and secondary school levels to instil anti-corruption ideals in them from those levels. The wisdom in the proverbs if taught to children in the society should help in training them along the moral path such that they would not like to engage in corrupt practices. Also, if adults in the nation are constantly reminded of the wisdom in the proverbs, there is a tendency for them to retreat from their corrupt ways. The media thus has a significant role to play in this regard, as the proverbs can be used in enlightenment programmes against corruption in the society. It is suggested that a massive campaign be launched in the country through all manner of media, sensitizing the public to the cultural imperative of inner beauty as enshrined in the Yoruba cultural tenets, and reflected in the broad Yoruba proverbial base.

In conclusion, however, I wish to state that since inner beauty is not limited to the Yoruba culture, its corollary in the verbal arts of the other cultural groups in Nigeria can be appropriated so as to engender a national re-awakening against corruption. The exploration of inner beauty through Yoruba proverbs achieved in this study would then be a springboard for stamping out corruption in the Nigerian body polity.

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Can informetrics shape biomedical research? A case study of the HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa[1]

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Abstract

Biomedical research is burgeoning as new dangerous diseases and healing methods emerge. Informetrics defined as methods or a research field that uses mathematical and statistical techniques and/or models to examine patterns that show up not only in publications but also in many aspects of life, as long as the patterns deal with information, are widely applied in the evaluation of research performance, among others. Informetrics measures can be divided into descriptive and evaluative measures, commonly referred to as production (publications) count and citation analysis respectively. Whereas the former has continued to gain popularity in sub-Saharan Africa, especially with regard to the assessment of research output of researchers, the latter is rarely applied.

The paper focuses on the research evaluation, methods of research evaluation, and the pros and cons of using informetrics techniques to evaluate research performance. Further, the paper addresses the application of informetrics to examine whether or not informetrics can be used to shape biomedical research, with special reference to HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa. In that regard, the paper reports on an informetrics perspective of the relatedness of opportunistic diseases and other factors (i.e. risk factors, pre-disposing factors, other sexually transmitted diseases, and the other tropical diseases) to:

- *Demonstrate the use of informetrics techniques in assessing the relatedness of a disease to the pathogens that are associated with it.*
- *Reveal that informetrics can be used to support and/or inform medical opinions regarding the relationship/influence of certain factors/diseases with/on a given disease, e.g. HIV/AIDS.*

This paper concludes that the application of informetrics, using various techniques or methodologies associated with it, to shape research in different fields/disciplines, is feasible.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, Informetrics, Bibliometrics, Research evaluation

Introduction

The role that research plays in economic and societal development cannot be overemphasised. There is an enormous amount of literature that has been published on the role or importance of research (e.g. Rantanen 1999). Research is increasingly seen as a solution to most socio-economic and political problems humanity faces. It is therefore not surprising to see research being conducted in all disciplines including arts and humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, pure or formal sciences and applied sciences. According to Rantanen (1999: 473), the role of research in society is (i) to increase our knowledge of nature and society, (ii) to increase our understanding of these three components of life, and (iii) to provide a scientific basis for actions to make a better world through the prevention and control of adverse trends (e.g. global warming, technology hazards, poverty, emerging new and old diseases) through amplifying and facilitating positive developments (e.g. new methods for agricultural and food production, clean technologies, ensuring decent work for all, and the promotion of economic and societal development in the least developed countries).

It is widely acknowledged that research is a cyclical process. It begins with the identification of a research problem or need and culminates (or so, it is thought) in the dissemination or reporting of the findings. The reporting can take the form of publishing the findings as journal articles, full length refereed conference papers, authored books and chapters in books that are research-based, awarded patents, software, design artefacts, materials, devices, and multimedia and video research outputs (National Research Foundation [NRF] 2012). According to the National Research Foundation of South Africa (NRF 2012), the recognition of a particular item as a research output differs from one discipline to another. For instance, the Foundation states that "it is admissible to list technical reports as "additional research outputs" inasmuch as such reports are based on contract research" (NRF 2012: 3). That notwithstanding, an analysis of the research cycle models reveals that most research activities are seen as complete once the findings have been published, despite the research process being considered cyclic. One aspect that is missing in most of the models is the evaluation or assessment

1. This article is based on this authors inaugural lecture for promotion to professor at UNISA, on the various informetrics studies that have been conducted by the writer over a period of time on HIV/AIDS research.
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of the 'completed research'. This step in the research cycle is being driven by the increasing demand for accountability, especially in circumstances wherein the research was funded using public funds. Governments and other institutions (such as universities, research councils, funding organizations, etc) around the world are facing increased demand of accountability of their investments made into research using public funds (Cox, Cozzens, van Ark, McAuley & Borbey 2010). The increasing demand for research evaluation can be attributed to an increased emphasis on governance and accountability in both the public and private sectors. Guthrie, Wamae, Diepeveen, Wooding & Grant (2013) summarize the justification for research evaluation by outlining the following broad purposes:

- ***Analysis:*** for example, what funding is most effective in terms of different outputs and outcomes, including the impact of research?
- ***Accountability***: for example, for those distributing public funds who need to show they are doing the right thing. Likewise, funding organisations need to demonstrate impact to donors.
- ***Advocacy***: for example, how the research benefits society; this would help funders wanting evidence to support their decisions, or advocates seeking evidence for their cause.
- ***Allocation***: for example, to prioritise which projects, people and institutions are given funding.

As a result of this increased demand for research evaluation and contrary to the widely held view that research is complete upon its publication, we believe that research is not really complete until its impact has been assessed. We use the term impact to cover a broad spectrum of terms such as research relevance, cost-effective analysis of research investments, research influence, worthiness of research findings, and so on. It is at this stage of the 'research cycle' that, we believe, **informetrics** comes into play.

What is informetrics?

Diodato (1994:ix) defines informetrics as methodologies that examine "*patterns that show up not only in publications but also in many aspects of life, as long as the patterns deal with information*". According to Egghe & Rousseau (1990:1), informetrics deals with the measurement, mathematical theory and modeling of all aspects of information. The authors argue that informetrics largely "*borrows tools (techniques, models, analogues) from mathematics, physics, computer science and other metrics*". Informetrics is used and/or applied across many disciplines, which include library management, the sociology of science, history of science, information retrieval, and biometrics, econometrics, chemometrics, sociometrics, and quantitative linguistics. Its popularity is reflected in several studies that have recently proliferated, and the formation of the International Society for Scientometrics and Informetrics (ISSI), in addition to the publication of specialized journals in the subject domain (e.g. Journal of Cybermetrics – the online journal of Scientometrics and Informetrics; Journal of Informetrics; and Scientometrics). Although informetrics is sometimes used interchangeably with bibliometrics and scientometrics, the three terms have similarities as well as differences. The relationship between the three terms, including the more recent related metrics, namely cybermetrics and webometrics, is provided in Figure 1.

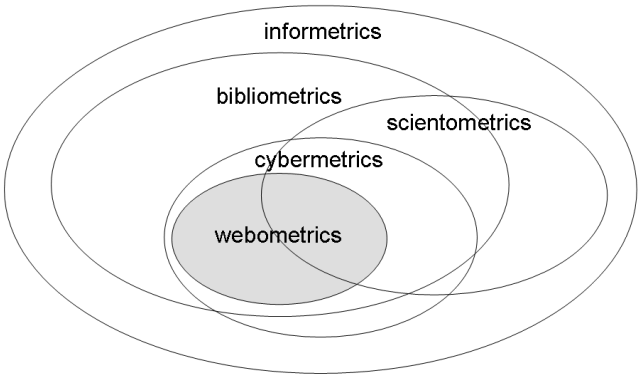

Fig 1: The overlaps between Informetrics, bibliometrics, scientometrics, cybermetrics and Webometrics (Björneborn & Ingwersen 2004).

Figure 1 presents an illustration indicating the overlaps between informetrics, bibliometrics, scientometrics, cybermetrics and webometrics. We have modified Fig 1, which was originally proposed by Björneborn & Ingwersen (2004) to include the most recent of the metrics (i.e. Altmetrics) in Fig 2. The following can be deduced from the illustrations:

- That all webometric and altmetrics studies are cybermetric, bibliometric and informetrics in nature and some of the webometric and altmetrics studies are scientometric studies;
- Some cybermetric studies use bibliometric and scientometric approaches while they utilize all informetrics

methodologies;

- Scientometrics studies are partly bibliometric and vise-versa, and all bibliometric and scientometric studies are informetric in nature;
- Finally, and most importantly, informetric studies can be webometric, altmetric, cybermetric, scientometric or bibliometric in nature. That is, informetrics is a general term that covers webometrics, altmetrics cybermetrics, bibliometrics, and scientometrics.

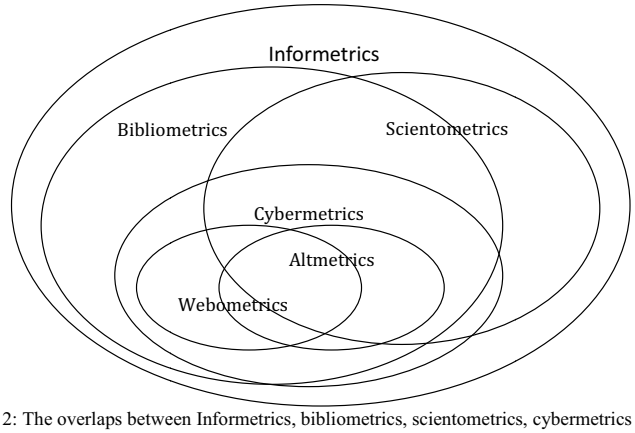

Fig 2: The overlaps between Informetrics, bibliometrics, scientometrics, cybermetrics Webometrics, and Altmetrics

Indeed, Björneborn & Ingwersen (2004) concur with Brookes in Wolfram (2000) that both bibliometrics and scientometrics are part of informetrics. Likewise, Egghe (2005) uses the term informetrics as a broad term consisting of all metrics studies related to information science, including bibliometrics (bibliographies, libraries, etc.), scientometrics (science policy, citation analysis, research evaluation, etc.), and webometrics (metrics of the web, the Internet or other social networks such as citation or collaboration networks). The most recently introduced informetrics-related concept of altmetrics (see Haustein *et al.* 2013 and Piwowar 2013;) is seen as an alternative means of measuring scholarly impact (Priem 2010; Priem *et al.* 2010). This metrics has emerged to gain popularity among the evaluators of research performance due to the shortcomings associated with the traditional methods of research evaluation such as peer-review, citation analysis and journal impact factor analysis (Priem *et al.* 2010). Altmetrics is concerned with the measurement of the impact of a paper (although it can be applied on other units of analysis, e.g. people, journals, books, data sets, presentations, videos, source code repositories, web pages, etc.) through the counting of not only citations, how many data and knowledge bases refer to it, article views, downloads, or mentions in the social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Blogs, etc. and news media (McFedries 2012; Galligan & Dyas-Correia, 2013). Broadly, the metrics that may comprise altmetrics can be categorized as follows (see ImpactStory Blog 2012; Lin & Fenner 2013):

- Viewed – HTML views and PDF downloads
- Discussed – journal comments, science blogs, Wikipedia, Twitter, Facebook and other social media
- Saved – Mendeley, CiteULike and other social bookmarks
- Cited – citations in the scholarly literature, tracked by Web of Science, Scopus, CrossRef and others
- Recommended – for example used by F1000Prime.

How does published research offer grounds for informetrics studies?

The use of bibliometrics/informetrics as proxy for the measurement of research volume and quality is based on the following central assumptions:

- Scholars who have to say something important do publish their findings
- Scholars refer, in their own work, earlier works of other scholars to acknowledge intellectual debt and to witness the use of information.

Simply put, "bibliometric [or informetrics] assessments are based on the assumption that most scientific discoveries and research results eventually are published in international scientific journals where they can be read and cited by other researchers" (Karolinska Institute 2008: 2). Hence, the assessment of research volume and quality uses certain elements in the published literature.

As Stefaniak (1987: 150) states, "there are various searchable elements that describe the bibliographic characteristics of the items included in data bases." She further explains that some of these elements are "subject oriented such as

classification codes, descriptors, key words, words in the title, while other features point out the type of publication (e.g. journal paper, conference paper, book, patent, report), source (e.g. journal title, country of its editor, CODEN, ISSN number, patent number, and year of publication, volume, number of issue, pages), language of publication, name and corporate affiliation of the authors (name of organization, city, country), as well as data on secondary source (year, volume and number of the abstract (Stefaniak 1987: 151)". Some of these items or elements reflect certain elements of research. The table below provides a reflection of each of the bibliographic data or elements in research and the purpose to which the elements can be put in informetrics analysis.

Bibliographic element	Equivalent elements in research	Informetrics application or measurement
Author	Researcher	Research productivity and impact per individual researchers
Author's institutional affiliation	Researcher's institutional affiliation	Research productivity and impact per institution
Author's country of origin	Researcher's country of affiliation	Research productivity and impact per country or geographic region
Journal name	Joiurnal in which research was published	Impact factor of journals (to measure prestige, popularity, influence, quality etc)
Title of document	Topic of research	Analysis of subject focus of the research using title words
Keywords	Topic of research	Analysis of subject focus of the research using title words
Indexing subject terms	Topic of research	Analysis of subject/discipline focus of the research using title words
Year of publication	Year when research was published	Trend (i.e. growth) of research per individual researcher, institution or country
Language of publication	Language in which research is disseminated	Language in which research is disseminated/communicated
Patent number	Patented research	Research productivity and impact per individual researcher, institution or country
Citations	Use of research	Influence, relevance, importance, impact or quality of research

It should be noted, however, that the table is not exhaustive, as various scholars are still investigating other elements that can be used in informetrics to reflect certain aspects of research performance. The provision of relevant informetrics data differs from one database to another. While some of the databases provide data that can be used for descriptive informetrics (e.g. EBSCOHost databases), others such as Scopus and Thomson Reuters citation indexes specialise in the provision of data that can be used for evaluative informetrics studies.

Informetrics measures of research

Informetric measures can be divided into descriptive and evaluative (or behavioural) measures, commonly referred to as production (publications) count and citation analysis respectively. As mentioned in Section 2 above, a third metric known as altmetrics has emerged to complement the two methods, which are mostly applied in informetrics. We will deal with publications count and citations analysis in this paper as time and space will not allow us to delve into altmetrics.

Publications count

Publications count is used to study publication or research output in different countries, the amount produced during different periods, or the amount produced in different subdivisions of the field (Hertzel 1987; Sengupta 1992). Nicholas & Ritchie (1978) observe that studies using publications count normally describe the characteristics or features of the literature. A study conducted on 4,000 researchers to identify appropriate bibliometric indicators for research performance measurement in their disciplines found that publications (i.e. publication of research results in refereed journals) ranked as the most important performance indicator (Kostoff, 2001). Other performance indicators, according to the same study, include peer reviewed books, keynote addresses, conference proceedings, citation impact, chapters in books, and competitive grants.

Examples of questions that publications count is designed to answer are:

1. How many publications, citations, books, patents, etc. has a particular author, group of authors, institutions and/or countries/geographic regions, produced?
2. How much has been produced on a given topical issue, discipline, country, regional area, etc.?
3. How many publications have each been authored by how many authors?

4. How many publications were published in a given source (journal, magazine, etc?)
5. In how many languages are documents published?
6. How often does a particular word appear in a text?

Results from such analyses may then be used to measure and compare research productivity and collaboration among authors, institutions, journals, and countries/regional areas, to name a few. Although commonly applied in assessing research output, publications count should be used cautiously, particularly when used as a proxy of research productivity because of the limitations associated with it. Objections have been raised in the following areas as outlined in King (1987:262) and Kostoff (2001 Section IV-B-5-ii, para. 1):

1. Publications count does not provide any indication as to the quality of the work performed.
2. Informal and formal non-journal methods of communication in science are ignored.
3. Publication practices vary across fields and between journals.
4. Social and political pressures on a group to publish vary according to country, to the publication practices of the employing institution, and to the emphasis placed on number of publications for obtaining tenure, promotion, grants, etc.
5. The choice of the right database is problematic and therefore makes it very difficult to retrieve all the papers for a particular field.
6. An awareness of the use of publications count for assessment may encourage undesirable publishing practices such as the production of very brief papers.
7. Very few active researchers produce heavily cited papers.
8. Biases favoring publications of established authors.

Despite all these shortcomings, publications count still remains a valuable tool for information and other social scientists interested in measuring research productivity. A few, if not all, of the aforementioned drawbacks in the use of publications count could, however, be resolved if the method was used together with citation analysis.

Citation analysis

Citation analysis is one of the research areas of bibliometrics. A citation is defined as an "acknowledgement that one document receives from another" (Smith 1981:83). Citation analysis involves counting the number of citations of a particular paper for a period of years after its publication (Hertzel 1987). Citation-based indicators include the citation age, citation factor, cited half life, citing half life, citation behaviour, biased citation, citation type, consumption factor, citation rate, citation density, citation impact, citation frequency, and citation function, etc. while citation-based measurement techniques include co-citation analysis, and bibliographic coupling. Citation-based studies may focus not only on the documents, but also the authors, sources in which the documents are contained (i.e. journals, books, magazines, databases, web pages, etc.), the organizations or countries in which the documents are produced, and the purpose of the citations (Diodato 1994:33). In specific terms, Wallace (1989:18) demonstrates that the focus areas of citation studies would include:

- what motivates an author to cite a particular work;
- the relationship between a citing work and the works cited by it;
- works cited long after their publication and works cited while relatively new;
- heavily cited works, infrequently cited works and those that have not been cited at all;
- how citation practices and patterns differ throughout disciplines or families of disciplines;
- how citation practices and patterns can be used in the evaluation of information sources;
- how citation practices and patterns can be used to enhance information retrieval systems.

He further enumerates the fundamental assumptions associated with citation studies, namely:

- That the citing author has actually used the cited work and has cited all works used;
- That the citation of an information source is an indicator of its quality;
- That the citing author has provided references to the best possible works;
- That the content of the citing work is significantly related to the content of the cited works; and
- That all citations are of equal value (Wallace 1989:18).

It is in these assumptions that many have found fault with citation analysis. Above all, these assumptions are not universally true, although they may be true under given circumstances (Wallace 1989). Secondly, there are several factors that motivate authors to cite others, some of which include the following:

- a desire to give the appearance of being in touch with the most recent literature;
- the need to provide support for a methodology or tool;
- attempts to persuade the reader of the correctness and importance of the ideas presented in the study;
- providing appropriate credit for the origins of ideas;

- alerting the reader to important publications;
- establishing evidence of a consensus of opinion amongst researchers; and
- refuting the claims of other researchers (Wallace 1989:18-19; King 1987).

While agreeing with Wallace(1989), Cronin (in King1987:96) outlines 10 different reasons for citing, which include 'hat-tipping', over-elaborate reporting, and citing the most popular research trends in order to curry favour with editors, or grant-awarding bodies, etc." (King 1987:263). Turnbull (2000) and Garfield (in Smith 1981:84) provide a fairly comprehensive list of reasons why authors cite others, e.g. paying homage to pioneers; giving credit for related work; identifying methodology, equipment, etc; background reading; correcting one's own work; correcting the work of others; criticizing previous work; substantiating claims; alerting others to forthcoming work; providing leads to poorly disseminated, poorly indexed, or un-cited work; authenticating data and classes of fact-physical constants, etc; identifying original publications in which an idea or concept was discussed; identifying an original publication or other work describing an eponymic concept or term; disclaiming the work or ideas of others; and disputing the priority claims of others. King (1987) observes that a work that is incorrect tends to be highly cited; methodological papers similarly attract numerous citations; and self citations, more often than not, inflate citation rates. Other limitations of citation analysis include those associated with the databases used to collect data, and field-dependant factors.

These drawbacks notwithstanding, Cronin (in King, 1987) considers citation analysis to be a useful analytic tool given that citations give substantive expression to the process of innovation, and, if properly marshaled, potentially provide the researcher with a forensic tool of seductive power and versability. Wallace (1989:19) also observes that the "notion that citation represents a rather constant indication of the relationship between one information source and another lies at the heart of most citation studies, and plays a key role in the practical application of citation analysis". Nevertheless, even with its wide application in evaluative studies, Wallace (1989) advises that citation analysis should be treated with caution. His argument first lies in the fact that an author's contribution to a field is likely to be misjudged given that it is not easy to obtain all his/her publications. Secondly, citation counts represent only citations from journals covered in citation indexes. Furthermore, errors may accrue from assigning individual authors' citation counts, given that citation indexes provide only the author's last name and initials, and are subject to virtually no authority control. Finally, Wallace warns that "the uneducated use of citation counts for evaluative purposes of any kind can have disastrous results, and a very real problem of citation analysis is application of results by individuals who are not capable of effectively interpreting them" (Wallace 1989:19).

Theoretical basis of informetrics

The theoretical basis of informetrics rests on three empirical laws and models of bibliometrics. Ikpaahindi (1985:169) defines informetric laws as "statistical expressions, which seek to describe the working of science by mathematical means". According to Diodato (1994:99), informetric laws are "descriptions or hypotheses about patterns that seem to be common in the publication and use of information". These laws of informetrics include Booth's, Bradford's, Brooke's, Estroup's, Leimkuhler's, Lotka's, Pareto's, Price's, Willis', and Zipf's laws. Of all these laws, only three have been extensively used in bibliometric/informetrics studies (particularly as they relate to LIS), notably Bradford's law of scattering, Lotka's inverse square law of author productivity, and Zipf's law of word frequency in a text.

Bradford's Law

Samuel C. Bradford (1878-1948) is well known for his empirical study on the scatter of relevant articles within a subject domain in source publications. He started off by noticing that indexers and abstracters could miss up to 67% of published journal articles each year, leading to engineers and scientists missing highly important information. In the words of Kellerman (1997:8), Bradford was concerned that "scientists and engineers were missing important information because the abstracting and indexing services could not include every journal that might have articles of possible relevance". He attributed this anomaly to the manner in which literature on a given subject field is distributed among the periodicals.

In his study, conducted in 1934 on geophysics, Bradford analyzed 326 journals and discovered that 9 journals contained 429 articles, 59 contained 499 articles, and 258 contained 404 articles. Upon ranking the journals according to the number of records, Bradford noticed that it took 9 journals to contribute one-third of the articles, 45 to produce the next third, and 225 to produce the final third. He concluded that journals in any given field could be divided into three zones, each containing the same number of articles, as follows:

Zone one: a core of journals on the subject, relatively few in number, that produce approximately one-third of all the articles

Zone two: containing the same number of articles as the first, but a greater number of journals, and

Zone three: containing the same number of articles as the second, but a still greater number of journals (Palmquist 2001).

Bradford's law simply states that:

> If scientific journals are arranged in order of decreasing productivity of articles on a given subject, they may be divided into a nucleus of periodicals more particularly devoted to the subject and several groups or zones containing the same number of articles as the nucleus, when the number of periodicals in the nucleus and succeeding zones will be as 1: k: k2 where the constant k is known as Bradford's constant or multiplier (Ungern-Sternberg 2000).

Lotka's Law of author productivity

In 1926, Alfred J. Lotka (1880-1949), an insurance company statistician (Ikipaahindi 1985), and a man who has since been credited with founding the mathematical pattern known as Lotka's law (Lotka's inverse square law), studied author productivity in Chemistry And Physics and noted that "there are a few researchers who publish a great deal and many who publish very little or nothing at all" (Ikipaahindi 1985:171). Lotka observed that:

> for any body of literature, there will be a substantial number of authors who have each contributed only one publication, a smaller number of authors who have each contributed a small number of publications, and a very small group of authors who have each contributed a substantial number of publications (Wallace 1989:10).

The mathematical expression states that in any given field the proportion of authors making a contribution of one article or publication each out of the total number of publications is 60% (0.60) (Rao 1983; Ikpaahindi 1985). Ikipaahindi (1985:171) expresses the formula thus: "the productivity of scientists adhered to an inverse square law such that for every 100 authors contributing one article, 25 will contribute two articles, about 11 will contribute 3 articles and 6 will contribute 4 articles". Therefore, as Diodato (1994:105) explains, "there is an inverse relation between the number of documents produced and the number of authors producing the documents."

Zipf's Law

Zipf's Law is the least used of the three empirical laws of informetrics. Named after the philologist George Kingsley (1902-1950), the law is based on the fact that people tend to use a "small part of their available vocabulary for most communication" (Wallace 1989). The law relies on the occurrence of words in a long text. According to Diodato (1994), Zipf's law is expressed in two ways. Zipf's first law concerns words of high frequency, while Zipf's second law holds for words with low frequencies.

In his description of Zipf's law, Potter (as cited in Palmquist 2001, Zipf's Law section, para. 1) explains that if one "lists the words occurring within a text in order of decreasing frequency, the rank r of a word on that list multiplied by its frequency f will equal a constant C**"**. Zipf's law thus "approximates the relationship between rank r and the frequency f for any actual corpus" and works well for the middle ranks whose corpus should consist of at "least 5000 words in order for the product rf to be reasonably constant, even in the middle ranks" (Wyllys 1981:55).

Application of informetrics in biomedical research

Worldwide, informetric studies have been reported in many fields of research, including biomedicine. The evaluation of the results of biomedical research, particularly various epidemic human diseases and other related subjects using publications count and citation analysis, is increasingly taking center stage in informetric research. Informetrics studies have been conducted on subject areas such as onchocerciasis (Afolabi 1989), cardio-vascular diseases (Rodrigues, Fonseca, & Chaimovich 2000; Arunachalam & Gunasekaran 2001) and general biomedicine (Lewison 2001; Lewison, Rippon & de Franscisco 2004; Steynberg, & Rossouw 1995; Sodha 1993). Others include cancer (Rodrigues, Fonseca, & Chaimovich 2000), malaria (Rodrigues, Fonseca, & Chaimovich 2000; Beattie, Renshaw & Davis 1999; Lewison, Lipworth, de Francisco n.d.; MacLean, Anderson, & Davis 1997; Anderson, MacLean & Davis 1996), alternative medicine (Yitzhaki & Shahar 2000), diabetes (Krishnamoorthy & Ramakrishnan 2009), tuberculosis (Ramos, Padilla & Masia 2008), to name only a few.

A quick search through the Google Scholar for HIV/AIDS AND bibliometrics OR informetrics yielded a total of 948 results that reflected the number of bibliometrics/informetrics studies that have been conducted on HIV/AIDS research. The majority of these studies are descriptive in nature, i.e. they have applied publications count to describe the literature of HIV/AIDS. This author has conducted a total of 11 bibliometric/informetrics studies on HIV/AIDS research, either singly or in collaboration with other researchers. The following is a summary of each of the studies to elucidate the application of informetrics in biomedical research and more so in HIV/AIDS research.

(a). A comparative study of the literature on HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Uganda: a bibliometric study

Using the publications count method, this study examined and compared the trends of HIV/AIDS literature for Kenya and Uganda and specifically sought to explore the following questions: What is the overall performance in HIV/AIDS research on Uganda and Kenya? What is the nature of those publications? What are the nature of and trends in collaboration?

Which institutions/organizations are behind HIV/AIDS research on Uganda and Kenya? And, which is the predominant source of information on HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Uganda?

The study concluded that although Uganda has, for a long time, been unstable politically from the persistent conflicts – a situation that could have hindered effective research – research activities regarding HIV/AIDS were focused in the country more than they were in Kenya. One would have expected more HIV/AIDS research in Kenya, throughout the entire period of study, considering Kenya's continued increase in HIV infections besides the country's favourable research environment. The government of Kenya and other stakeholders involved in the formulation of policies on research in HIV/AIDS should vigorously campaign for more research funds and other resources that have made Uganda's case a success. Collaborative links with foreign researchers should also be strengthened.

(b). Empowering the South African community in the AIDS war: an informetric-case study of HIV/AIDS research projects, with special reference to masters and doctoral dissertations and theses

The purpose of this study was to generally assess the role that is being played by various institutions of higher learning in South Africa in graduate preparedness as a means of empowering the country's HIV/AIDS intervention workforce. Using publication count, the study analysed research publications indexed in SABINET's Current and Completed Research and the Union Catalog of Theses and Dissertations databases. The study found that the number of research projects had continued to increase over time; universities were the most active; projects conducted towards masters qualifications were in the majority, reflecting the level of focus in terms of training; publications outputs included other formats such as reports, journal articles, conference papers, books and book chapters, databases and computer software.

(c). Country-wise collaborations in HIV/AIDS research in Kenya and South Africa

This study used co-word and factor analyses to identify and measure country collaborations between Kenya and South Africa and their respective country collaborators. Using the widely accepted indicator of research collaboration, i.e. the coauthorship of papers, the study used three measurement indicators, namely, the Eigenvectors/scores, the collaboration coefficients (CC) and the strengths (***S)*** of term association to identify key collaborators and evaluate their degree and strengths of collaboration over time. The influence of research collaboration on research impact in Kenya and South Africa was also explored. Results indicated that the two countries largely collaborated with foreign countries, with the USA emerging as the strongest collaborator. Kenya exhibited stronger links with foreign countries while South Africa had much of its papers published through internal collaborations. There have been shifts in research partnerships in the two countries. From the standpoint of impact, Kenya's papers produced a higher average impact than South Africa's papers. Co-authored papers yielded a higher average impact than single-authored papers, thereby providing a strong argument for encouraging research collaboration not only within the countries but internationally.

(d). Productivity, and scientific impact of sources of HIV/AIDS research in eastern and southern Africa, 1980-2005

As channels of communicating HIV/AIDS research information, serial publications and particularly journals are increasingly used in response to the pandemic. The last few decades have witnessed a proliferation of sources of HIV/AIDS-related information, bringing many challenges to collection-development librarians as well as to researchers. This study uses an informetrics approach to examine the growth, productivity and scientific impact of these sources, and especially to measure performance in the publication and dissemination of HIV/AIDS research about or from eastern or southern Africa. The study concluded that the coverage of HIV/AIDS sources published in Africa in the MEDLINE and ISI databases is minimal. Whether or not this is attributable to indexing bias on the part of the indexing services, or the poor quality of African sources, could not be derived from the data analysed. However, since the indexing services highly regard those journals with high international impact (see Onyancha & Ocholla 2004; Thomson Scientific 2004; National Institutes of Health 2005), it can be inferred that journals that are published on the African continent do not yet meet the quality standards set by the indexing services. This calls for a reassessment of the journals' editorial policies, among other issues. Most journals that are gaining in popularity are ones that are electronically available; this perhaps explains why some African journals, which are largely available only in print, are not easily internationally visible – thus affecting their impact. To achieve wider circulation, visibility and impact, I recommend that such journals be published online. Thus, we concur with Rosenberg (2002 summary, para. 1) as she advises that in order for African journals to "compete successfully with journals published elsewhere, they need to offer access to full text online."

(e). Authorship patterns of the literature on HIV/AIDS in eastern and southern Africa: an exposition of the responsible authors, institutions and countries, 1980-2005

This study assessed the HIV/AIDS literature published by and on eastern and southern Africa in order to establish the number of countries engaged in the publication of HIV/AIDS literature; the most productive authors, institutions and

countries; and the countries in which the literature is published. A comparison is made between regional (i.e. African) and foreign (or international) productivity. Among the results was that foreign authorship dominated the scene and that the majority of the publications were published in foreign countries. It was also noted that a large percentage of research findings were published in foreign countries. Although this pattern is healthy as far as international visibility and the impact of HIV/AIDS research conducted in and about Africa is concerned, it nevertheless denies policy and decision makers in Africa free access to the research findings that were specifically meant to improve health standards in their respective countries. In order to allow international visibility and impact, as well as provide free access to the findings, the study highly recommended that authors/researchers be encouraged by way of incentives to present the findings at regionalised conferences, and publish them in both print and electronic conference proceedings while publishing the papers in foreign sources. Another option is to publish their papers through Open Access (OA) platforms.

(f). Changing patterns and trends in author co-authorship networks of HIV/AIDS research in eastern and southern Africa

This study argues that social networks play an important role in the analysis and tracking of relationships between the participating entities (i.e. words, individuals, institutions, and countries, etc.). Social networks are likely to play an even greater role now and in the future than before due to the complex nature of unresolved issues such as HIV/AIDS. The proliferation of local and international conferences has opened new avenues for 'networking', a term that is increasingly becoming common amongst researchers. This study examined collaboration networks amongst HIV/AIDS researchers in eastern and southern Africa, aiming to provide a better understanding of the nature and composition of HIV/AIDS research networks; the changing patterns of the networks; and the geographic regions of study for each network. It was found that a number of collaborative networks have recently emerged, while several others that previously existed have disappeared, or are on the verge of disappearing, from the most active author networks. It would be interesting to investigate the factors that cause or might have caused such patterns. We speculate that this phenomenon could be caused by the completion of a project, which would mean that researchers do not have reason for continued cooperation, unless they register new projects. This includes post-graduate students' projects which are largely conducted jointly with their supervisors. Once the students complete their studies, they are likely to discontinue their research collaboration with their supervisors.

(g). Subject content analysis of the HIV/AIDS research in eastern and southern Africa, 1981-2005

This study used content analysis to assess HIV/AIDS research in eastern and southern Africa as indexed in the MEDLINE database, with a view to assisting in the identification of HIV/AIDS indexing terms which can be used to access HIV/AIDS literature. Results indicate that the number of keywords/terms used to index HIV/AIDS research outputs has grown exponentially, thus providing a number of options for accessing HIV/AIDS research findings. The ranking of main subject headings was initially unstable, especially in the 1980s, but had stabilised by the mid-1990s and thereafter. Concerning the sub-fields of HIV/AIDS, it was noted that most research is conducted on epidemiology, prevention and control, transmission, complications, and drug therapy. Drug therapy and antiretrovirals are rapidly emerging as the main areas of HIV/AIDS research, implying that research has shifted from the causal factors and diagnosis (which were the major areas of concern in the 1990s) to the care of those with HIV.

Table 1 The writer's informetrics studies on HIV/AIDS research

Author/s	Year	Title	Journal	Vol	No.	Pages
…with Ocholla, DN	2004	A Comparative Study of the Literature on HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Uganda: A Bibliometric Study	Library & Information Science Research	26		434-447
…with Ocholla, DN	2005	An Informetric Investigation of the Relatedness of Opportunistic Infections to HIV/AIDS	Information Processing and Management	41		1573-1588
	2006	Empowering the South African community in the AIDS war: an informetric-case study of HIV/AIDS research projects, with special reference to masters and doctoral dissertations and theses	South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science	71	2	56-71
…with Ocholla, DN	2006	HIV/AIDS Research and the youths: an informetric analysis of the literature	South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science	72		85-97
…with Ocholla, DN	2007	Country-wise collaborations in HIV/AIDS research in Kenya and South Africa	LIBRI	57	4	239-254
	2008	Productivity, and Scientific Impact of Sources of HIV/AIDS Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 1980-2005	African Journal of AIDS Research	7	1	55-70

	2008	Authorship patterns of the literature on HIV/AIDS in Eastern and Southern Africa: an exposition of the responsible authors, institutions and countries, 1980-2005	South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science	74	1	9-22
	2008	Changing patterns and trends in author co-authorship networks of HIV/AIDS research in Eastern and Southern Africa	Mousaion	26	2	59-78
…with Ocholla, DN	2009	Is HIV/AIDS in Africa Distinct? What Can We Learn from an Analysis of the Literature?	Scientometrics	79	2	277-296
	2009	Towards global partnerships in research in Sub-Saharan Africa: an informetric study of the national, regional and international country collaboration in HIV/AIDS literature in eastern and southern Africa	South African Journal of Libraries and Information Science	75	1	84-97
…with Ocholla, DN	2009	Subject content analysis of the HIV/AIDS research in eastern and southern Africa, 1981-2005	Mousaion	28	2	89-109

(h). Is HIV/AIDS in Africa distinct? What can we learn from an analysis of the literature?

This study was of particular interest and is the main focus of this lecture. It sought to answer the question: is HIV/AIDS in Africa distinct? What can we learn from the literature? The study stemmed from South Africa's former president Thabo Mbeki's argument that "it is obvious that whatever lessons we have to, and may draw from, the West about the grave issue of HIV/AIDS, a simple superimposition of Western experience on African reality would be absurd and illogical" (as cited in Cohen 2000). Indeed, it has been observed that not only do the manifestations of the AIDS disease in Africa differ from those in the West but, as Cohen (2000) observes, AIDS-related diseases, and possibly disease progression itself, differ on the continent (i.e from region to region) that is home to about 71% of the global population infected with HIV. In turn, this difference is said to be clinical. Cohen reports that while tuberculosis amongst AIDS patients is rare in the west – especially the USA and Europe – it is the most common disease afflicting HIV-positive people in Africa. He further notes that Kaposi's Sarcoma, a cancer that causes purple skin blotching, commonly afflicts both HIV uninfected and infected persons in Africa, while in industrialised nations the disease is largely restricted to HIV-infected gay men. The same applies to *pneumocysts carinii,* a strain of pneumonia predominant in HIV-infected persons in developed countries. These arguments are based on clinical diagnoses of various diseases in HIV infected persons. Further observations point various factors aggravating the spread of HIV/AIDS in developing countries, hence the argument that the impact of HIV/AIDS in these countries is different from that felt in developed countries.

In view of the above, this study posed the question: what can we learn from an analysis of the published literature on HIV/AIDS? Which of these known diseases/infections and factors are most commonly associated with HIV/AIDS in Africa? Given that scientific research is often mirrored in published literature, is the above description of the uniqueness of HIV/AIDS in Africa reflected in published literature? The study's aim was to estasblish whether or not HIV/AIDS in Africa is a distinct disease by identifying the opportunistic infections, pre-disposing factors, risk factors, sexually transmitted diseases, and other tropical diseases most commonly associated with HIV/AIDS in Africa as a whole, and eastern and southern Africa in particular.

The study employed a co-word analysis technique to assess the associatedness of HIV/AIDS to various opportunistic infections, pre-disposing factors, risk factors, sexually transmitted diseases, and other tropical diseases most commonly associated with HIV/AIDS in Africa. Co-word analysis is a content analysis technique that "reveals patterns and trends in technical discourse by measuring the association strengths of terms representative of relevant publications or other texts produced in a technical field" (Coulter, Monarch & Konda 1998:1206). The method is meant to identify associations between publication descriptors in order to determine themes and trends in a discipline (Kostoff 2001). Co-word analysis provides a set of terms or descriptors that not only occur together regularly in a text or record, but also [may be used to] measure the regularity with which events occur (Jacobs 2002). Thus, the process "measures the strength of association between two or more documents by the co-occurrence of the same 'words' (phrases, descriptors, classification codes, etc.) in a chosen field".

An analysis of HIV/AIDS and the opportunistic diseases (see also Fig 3) produced patterns that could be said to support arguments that some of the opportunistic infections' associations with HIV/AIDS in Africa are stronger than they could be in industrialised nations or any other geographic region (especially when compared to findings in previously conducted studies (e.g. Cohen 2000). Results revealed that HIV/AIDS was associated with 21 opportunistic infections, led by tuberculosis, followed by pneumonia, mycobacterium avium complex, cancer and kaposi's sarcoma. Fig 3 clearly shows a huge cluster of the diseases/infections that are closely associated with HIV/AIDS, in the middle of the MDS map. This revelation supports claims that tuberculosis is the most common ailment in HIV-infected persons in Africa.

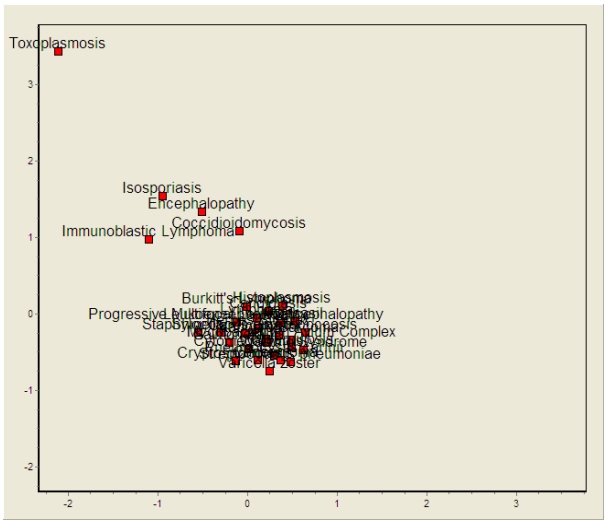

Fig. 3: Non-metric MDS mapping of HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Infections (stress = 0.028)

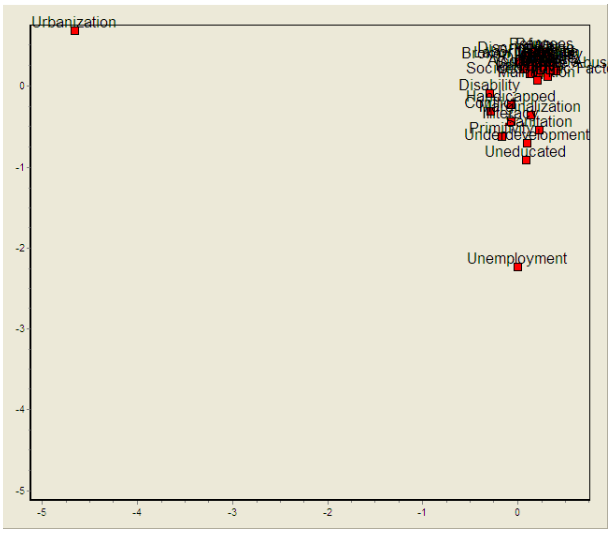

Fig. 4: Non-metric MDS mapping of HIV/AIDS and Pre-Disposing factors (stress = 0.008)

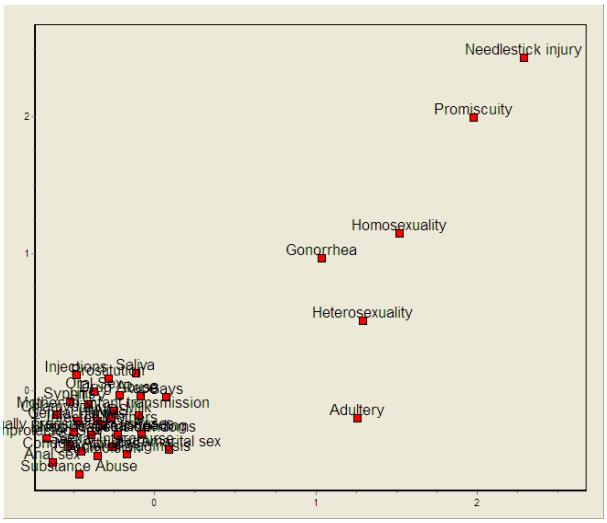

Fig. 5: Non-metric MDS mapping of HIV/AIDS and risk factors (stress = 0.024)

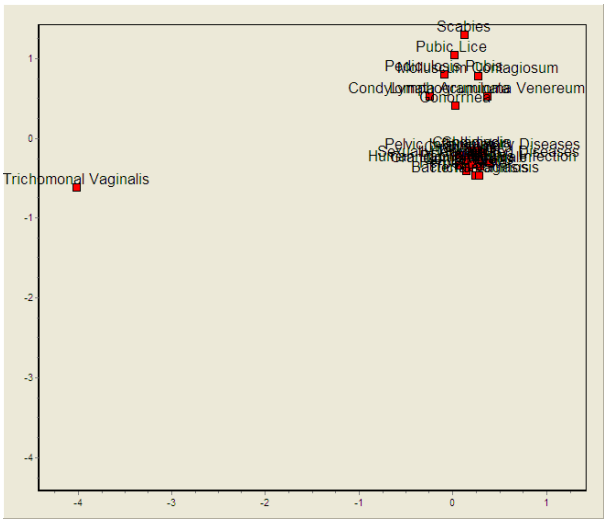

Fig. 6: Non-metric MDS mapping of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases/infections

Cohen (2000) states that tuberculosis kills more HIV-infected persons in Africa than any other AIDS-related disease. He further notes that the disease is rare in AIDS patients in the United States and Europe, reporting that one neurologist and pathologist found no TB in all 390 autopsies that were performed on people who had died from AIDS. Other opportunistic infections such as *pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia (PCP) are more common in HIV-infected persons in developed countries. Cohen (2000b) claims that PCP infected more than 80% of the AIDS patients in developed countries in the 1980s, while only 8% of the HIV-infected people autopsied in Africa were found to have had PCP. A few diseases did not have any connection with HIV/AIDS in Africa. These were toxoplasmosis, isosporiasis, encephalopathy, immunoblastic lymphoma, and coccidoidomycosis. Some of the opportunistic infections that were closely associated with HIV/AIDS in this study are missing from the list of the most commonly associated OIs with HIV/AIDS in Onyancha & Ocholla's (2005) study, a pattern that perhaps can be attributable to the international nature of that study. Furthermore, Onyancha & Ocholla (2005) used subject keywords to conduct a co-word analysis of HIV/AIDS records. The dissimilarity between these two studies might probably also support the view that HIV/AIDS differs from one geographic region to another.

Concerning predisposing factors, the findings illustrated some association between several factors and HIV/AIDS in E&S Africa as illustrated in Fig 4. Fig 4 provides two major clusters that are adjacent to each other. The clusters contain closely associated descriptors of HIV/AIDS pre-disposing factors. Their strength of closeness with each other, on the one hand, and HIV/AIDS on the other, is reflected in the density of the clusters. The cluster in the upper right hand corner consists of terms that were closely associated with HIV/AIDS, while the one immediately below it provides terms that did not co-occur with HIV/AIDS. Generally, it was found that the factors that could be influencing the spread of HIV/AIDS in the region include culture, substance or drug abuse, malnutrition, rural-related factors and activities, violence, rape, labour migration, ignorance, broken marriages, war, poverty, inequality, socio-economic factors, refugees and war. Of these, the most influencing factors are rural and drug or substance abuse related, as illustrated by their high frequency and strength of co-occurrence and association with HIV/AIDS. Most of these factors should be subjects of concern in the HIV/AIDS intervention programs. Most of the listed factors are common in Africa and tend to be associated with marginalization (e.g. poverty, ignorance, poor health and hygiene and proximity to social amenities). Substance and drug abuse was not expected to feature strongly as an influencing factor in the region.

Another factor that this study considered in investigating the uniqueness of HIV/AIDS in Africa is the co-occurrence of AIDS-related risk factors with HIV/AIDS descriptors within the titles of HIV/AIDS papers. Terms that did not have any co-occurrence with HIV/AIDS were adultery, gonorrhea, heterosexuality, promiscuity, and needlestick injuries. The scatter graph depicted in Fig 5 places these terms far away from the rest of the terms, which recorded high normalized counts. The non-co-occurrence of the aforementioned terms with HIV/AIDS should not be misconstrued, however, to mean that the risk factors are not related to HIV/AIDS. Most likely, the authors used related terms or their variants. Notably, most of the risk factors are sex-related. Perhaps this is attributable to the fact that HIV/AIDS is mainly contracted through sexual intercourse, especially between different sexes (i.e. largely heterosexually) in the case of Africa, as observed by Cohen (2000). Overall, the most common HIV/AIDS-associated risk factors constitute sexual intercourse, vertical transmission (mother to child during birth), blood transfusions and contaminated needles (intravenous drug use, needle stick injuries). According to the findings of this study as shown in Fig 5, several AIDS-related risk factors, including the above, were associated with HIV/AIDS in E&S Africa. The highest co-occurrence between HIV/AIDS and the risk factors was recorded by "infected mothers", followed closely by a related descriptor, "mother-to-infant transmission". Sexual intercourse and sexually transmitted diseases also ranked highly. The descriptor "Contaminated needles" was less common. It should be noted however that the cluster that describes this pattern (in Fig 5) is not as dense as the one that describes the co-occurrence of HIV/AIDS and opportunistic diseases. Fig 5 shows a more dispersed pattern among the descriptors that co-occurred with HIV/AIDS, which implies a loose relationship.

One of the risk factors (and sometimes a pre-disposing factor) is the sexually transmitted diseases. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo (2001) argues that individuals with ulcerative sexually transmitted infections (STIs) have an increased risk of transfer of HIV infection by factors of two to four. Of all the sexually transmitted diseases, papillomavirus infection was the most common in HIV/AIDS titles. Respectively, it recorded a co-occurrence frequency and strength of association of 144 and $S=0.09$ with HIV, and 13 and $S=0.03$ with AIDS. There were other high co-occurrence frequencies from genital warts, hepatitis B, syphilis, bacterial vaginosis, and herpes zoster. Fig 6 provides a scatter graph that describes this pattern of co-occurrence of HIV/AIDS and the other STDs. The non-metric MDS analysis produced two large clusters. The denser one shows the relationship between HIV/AIDS and other STDs, while the rest of the terms had little or no co-occurrence at all with HIV/AIDS. Seemingly, HIV/AIDS is mostly associated with un-curable STDs. For instance, the human papilloma virus is thought to be one of the main causes of cervical cancer and has been linked to other types of cancers of the female reproductive system. While this virus can be treated to reduce signs and symptoms, it does not yet have a cure. Both herpes and hepatitis B are other examples of STDs that do not yet have cures. Diseases or viruses that have cures co-occurred less frequently with HIV/AIDS.

The effect of the other diseases on HIV-infected persons was also considered by analysing the relationship between HIV/AIDS and the selected diseases through term-co-occurrence analysis. It has long been observed that HIV/AIDS does not actually kill; rather it is the opportunistic infections/diseases (or other diseases) that kill AIDS patients (Médecins Sans Frontières, 2003). This study sought to identify the most common HIV/AIDS-associated diseases, especially tropical diseases. Out of the total 24 diseases, slightly over one-half (½) co-occurred with HIV/AIDS as shown in Fig 7.

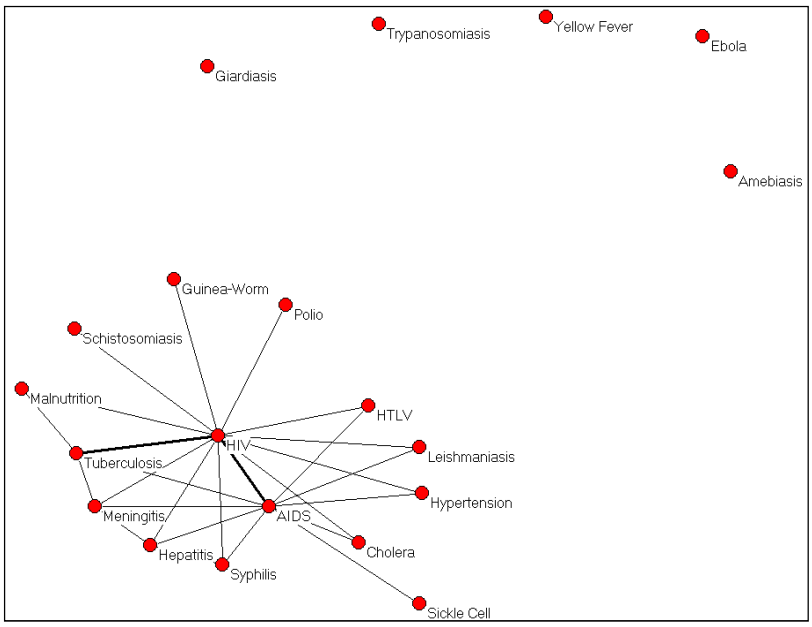

Fig 7: Normalized co-occurrence of HIV/AIDS and other diseases

The highest frequency of co-occurrence was recorded by tuberculosis (***S***=0.17), which is said to be killing more HIV-infected persons in Africa than any other disease (Cohen 2000). Other terms that were linked to HIV/AIDS descriptors include cholera (***S***=0.01), hepatitis (***S***=0.04), hypertension (***S***=0.01), leishmaniasis (***S***=0.02), malaria (***S***=0.08), malnutrition (***S***=0.03), meningitis (***S***=0.02), polio (***S***=0.02), schistomiasis (***S***=0.01), sickle cell (***S***=0.05), and syphilis (***S***=0.01). Although most of these diseases have no direct link with HIV/AIDS, it is common knowledge that most have an equally (if not greater) negative impact on the economies of E&S Africa and its peoples. For instance, malaria is said to be killing millions of people in the region. The World Health Organization (2013) estimates that half of the world's population is at risk of malaria. The WHO states that

> People living in the poorest countries are the most vulnerable to malaria. In 2010, 90% of all malaria deaths occurred in the WHO African Region, mostly among children under five years of age.

Again, it has been observed that HIV infection increases the incidence and severity of clinical malaria and although the effect of malaria on HIV is not well documented, UNICEF (2003) states that acute malaria infection increases viral load. The relatedness of other diseases such as cholera and polio to HIV/AIDS may be attributed to the fact that all are diseases of poverty, which is a common factor in sub-Saharan Africa. The reasons for the co-occurrence of HIV/AIDS and some of the diseases were, however, not very clear. Perhaps researchers were curious to discover the relationships between these diseases, or simply wanted to find out the impact the diseases have in E&S Africa.

In conclusion, the following diseases and factors produced high/strong co-occurrence patterns with HIV/AIDS:

- Opportunistic infections: tuberculosis, pneumonia, kaposi's sarcoma, herpes simplex, candidiasis, and mycobacterium avium complex.
- Pre-disposing factors: rural-related issues, drug abuse, orphans, gender, and violence.
- Risk factors: infected mothers, mother-to-infant transmission, sexual intercourse, drug abuse, oral sex, and breastfeeding
- Sexually transmitted diseases (infections): human papillomavirus infection, sexually transmitted diseases, genital warts, hepatitis b, syphilis, and bacterial vaginosis.
- Other diseases: tuberculosis, malaria, hepatitis, syphilis, and meningitis.

Can informetrics shape biomedical research?

It should be noted, from the onset, that informetrics data is applied differently in various disciplines for different purposes. As Debackere & Glanzel (2004: 261) argue, "bibliometric information may serve highly different objectives simultaneously". The authors have vividly captured the different purposes for which informetrics studies are conducted or are meant to serve as follows:

- Bibliometricians (or informetricians) as well as information scientists may focus on publications in the context of

information management and retrieval systems. They are mainly concerned with methodological issues relating to the management, the measurement and the retrieval of bibliometric information

- Sociologists of science use them to study the professional and the communal behaviour of scientists.
- Scientists (in natural sciences), on the other hand, rely on bibliometric data for monitoring and mapping the state-of-the-art in their respective and highly diverse fields of enquiry and occasionally to trace and track individual (or group) scientific performance.
- In science policy, bibliometric data are mainly used to underpin the accountability and the justification of research funding allocations, on the one hand, and to allow for the comparison of scientific input and output, on the other hand. This is the most common view among scholars of bibliometrics/informetrics studies (e.g. Russell & Rousseau nd).

According to Gauthier (1998), informetrics methods serve three main functions, namely description, evaluation, and scientific and technological monitoring. In her explanation of the three main functions of bibliometrics, Gauthier (1998: 9) states:

> As a descriptive tool, bibliometrics provides an account of publishing activities at the level of countries, provinces, cities or institutions, and is used for comparative analyses of productivity. The data can then be used to assess the performance of research units, as a complement to standard evaluation procedures. Bibliometric data are also used as a benchmark for the monitoring of science and technology, since longitudinal studies of scientific output help identify areas of research that are developing or regressing.

These two examples of the different scholars' perceptions of the application of informetrics imply that, if well applied, informetrics can shape research in any given field or discipline, including biomedical research. Indeed, each of the studies reviewed in section 6 above produced very interesting results which can be used to shape research in HIV/AIDS research in sub-Saharan Africa. Not only have the studies demonstrated that informetrics can assist in policy-making decisions on such matters as funding, but also the findings can lead to the identification of possible research collaborators; predict or forecast changes; the identification of influential journals through which biomedical research can be disseminated as well as obtained; and the identification, recruitment, tenure, and/or promotion of researchers. Onyancha and Ocholla's (2009) study on the distinctiveness of HIV/AIDS in Africa revealed that an informetrics study of the published literature can produce results that are congruent with the viewpoints held by knowledgeable biomedical (or HIV/AIDS) researchers. This revelation is not new. As early as 1989, when they conducted a co-citation analysis of AIDS research, Small & Greenlee (1989: 664) concluded that changes in bibliometric structure can be correlated to changes in scientific knowledge and understanding. Russell & Rousseau (nd), too, have observed that "most bibliometric evaluations of papers, journals and institutions correlate well with peer review appraisals suggesting that bibliometric indicators are generally accordant with the intuitive notions of knowledgeable scientists, as well as with the cognitive state of the art of particular research fields".

Nevertheless, Russell & Rousseau (nd) advise that, "rather than bibliometrics being championed as a cheap alternative to peer review, the two methods offering different viewpoints on a common problem, should be considered complementary and, wherever possible, used concurrently, especially in small scale evaluations". We concur with Debackere & Glazel (2004), who, like Russell & Rousseau (nd), observe that bibliometrics is not designed to correct or even substitute peer reviews or evaluation by experts. The authors, too, advise that qualitative and quantitative methods in science studies should complement each other. We add that, for informetrics to have the desired role in the evaluation of research performance and therefore inform biomedical decision making processes, a high regard for professionalism as well as ethical research has to be exercised by those charged with conducting informetrics studies. The choice of the electronic database from which data would be extracted or mined as well as the informetrics method/technique that would be applied to conduct the studies has to be made wisely.

We conclude by reiterating Wormell's (2000: 133) argument:

> Access to information itself today does not signify either competitive advantage or guarantee the feeling of being informed, neither in the research nor the business environment. The sophisticated value of online information provision is not to use the databases only for finding facts and accessing documents, but to tap the unique items of useful information, the nuggets of knowledge and (by synthesis and/or analysis) extract the 'searched pattern' in the raw data.

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Career information processing strategies of secondary school students in Osun State (Nigeria)

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Abstract

This study examined the strategies commonly adopted by Osun state secondary school students in processing career information. It specifically examined the sources of career information available to the students, the uses to which the students put the information collected and how their career decision making skills can be improved, leading to more appropriate career choices. Two hundred students selected by proportionate stratified random sampling from four secondary schools which were randomly selected from the three senatorial district of Osun state participated in the study. Data were collected using a self-constructed questionnaire titled "Questionnaire for exploring career information processing (QEIP)". The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, t-test, chi-square analysis, Kruskal wallis H test and Analysis of Variance. The results indicated that the largest percentage of the students chose accounting/banking, closely followed by medicine, engineering, law and nursing. The most prevalent means by which the students gather career information is through role models, information they obtain from school and parents. Socio-demographic variables of age and sex did not affect students' patronage of these sources. The study also shows that only information collected from parents and their school counsellor bore any positive relationship with their choice of career. The study recommends career guidance collaboration between school counsellors and parents. It also recommends that more frequent career development programmes like career days and/or talks, job shadowing, role modeling and the like should be included in secondary school curriculum

Keywords: Career information, information processing, career guidance, secondary school students**,** Osun State, Nigeria

Introduction

Well planned and well organised career guidance services are becoming increasingly important in human resource development programmes. In many countries, efforts are focused on implementing lifelong learning strategies, as well as policies to encourage the development of citizens' employability. Such strategies and policies require citizens to have the skills to manage their own education and employment. They require all citizens to have access to high quality information and advice about education, training and work (OECD 2004).

Career decision making is a dynamic and ongoing process in which the knowledge of oneself, one's values, interests, temperament, financial needs, physical work requirements or limitations, the effects of past experiences, new information, and changes in one's life situation and environment all play significant roles. It requires constant review of decisions already made and consideration of decisions yet to be made.

In fact, Crite (1974) asserts that the main goal of facilitating effective career decision is the unifying theme among the major theories of career development. Consequently, Makinde and Alao (1987) have posited that the role of the counsellor in career decision making is that of a facilitator rather than that of a "decision taker". The counsellor does not restrict him/herself to helping solve just a single decision making problem, but rather to assists the client in solving the problem in a manner that is conducive to the client's acquisition of decision making skills that could be productively applied to other decision making issues in the future.

In Nigeria, the major contribution of secondary education to career development of the individual seems to be career exploration, that is, the process of finding a rewarding career path, as well as specific jobs within a particular career path. At this stage the counsellor's role ranges from communicating a broad definition of career, expanding, focusing, or transferring interests, abilities, and/or experience in order to identify a realistic list of occupational alternatives, defining search characteristics that are likely to identify satisfying options, to creating, implementing and updating an action plan that moves toward identified career goals and helping to integrate personal and family concerns into career planning.

Career education is increasingly included in the curriculum at lower secondary school level, either as a separate subject or included in another subject. However, it is included in widely differing ways, and at times these seem designed to suit the organizational needs of the school rather than the career development needs of the student. Often career education has little connection to the wider school curriculum (OECD 2004). It is often assumed that upper secondary

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students have made specific educational and career choices and that they do not need further support. This assumption is especially made for students in vocational education pathways. In many countries they receive significantly less career assistance than students in general education pathways. This takes little account of the increasing flexibility that is included in upper secondary vocational education programmes, or of the wide range of career options and jobs that can flow from broadly designed vocational education and training.

According to Makinde and Alao (1987) most of what goes on in career intervention is largely information gathering, processing, dissemination and management. They claim that career information embodies all information related to the world of work that can be useful in the process of career development, and that such information may encompass educational information, occupational information, career-pattern and psycho-social information. While educational information may include all the valid and usable data about all types of present and future educational and training opportunities and requirements, occupational information may include valid and usable data on such issues as employment prospects, entry qualification, nature of work, conditions of service, training opportunities, labour market trends, etc. Psychosocial information describes the psychological and social environment in a job situation such as data on interaction amongst workers in the job setting, status of workers in various occupations, adjustment patterns and problems in various occupations.

Inadequate information or inappropriate dissemination, processing or at least use of career information may lead to aberrative work practices like job dissatisfaction, career frustration, apathy to work, etc. (Makinde and Alao 1987; Cooper and Marshall 1976).

Processing is a term that is commonly used to describe the practice of converting inputs (tangible or intangible) into output which may also be tangible or intangible. Also, within the cognitive family, there is an important set of goals called information processing (Mohan 2007). Information processing can be thought of as the way people gather and organise information from the environment in order to form a useful pattern that can be used to explain and predict events in their experience (FLT 2010). Information processing goals focus on the acquisition of knowledge through an analysis of information from the world around us. They are aimed at intellectual growth achieved by students' active investigation of their environment rather than emotional or social development of the individual. Joyce and Weil (1972) in Mohan (2007) define information processing as "the way in which people handle stimuli from the environment, organize data, sense problems, generate concepts and solutions to problems and employ verbal and non-verbal symbols".

Most information theories view human beings as information processing systems, which take in information from the environment, process it, and then output information to the environment in the form of movement. The theory is based on the proposition that humans process the information they receive, rather than merely responding to stimuli. Many cognitive processes are involved between the reception of a stimulus and the response of the individual; these include stimulus identification, storage and retrieval of information.

In Nigeria, many youths go into unsuitable careers as a result of ignorance, inexperience, peer pressure, advice from friends, parents and teachers or as a result of the prestige attached to certain jobs without adequate vocational guidance and career counselling (Salami 1999). Issa and Nwalo (2010) found that, consequently, many of them are unsuited for their careers as they usually find themselves in jobs where they could not satisfy their value needs, thereby constituting a nuisance to themselves and their employers.

In order to nip this problems in the bud, the need arises to explore how young Nigerians are prepared for their careers, how they obtain career information, the way they put this information into use and how these pieces of information are employed in the course of making decisions with regard to choosing a life-long career. Given the need to explore and study the approaches adopted by Nigerian students to obtain, process and use career information, this study responded to five research questions. Three hypotheses were formulated to guide this study viz:

- What is the pattern of potential career choice among the students in south western Nigeria?
- What are the sources of career information available to students in secondary schools in south western part of Nigeria?
- To what uses do the students put career information gathered?
- How can students' career decision making skills be improved?
- What contribution can a counsellor make to career information provision, processing and decision-making of secondary school students in South western Nigeria?

The hypotheses are as follows:

- There is no significant relationship between the sources of career information and students' choice of career.
- There is no significant difference in the students' approach to gathering career information on the basis of their gender.
- There is no significant difference in the students approach to gathering career information on the basis of their age

Methodology

This study adopted a descriptive survey design. Two hundred secondary school students participated in the study. Four schools were randomly selected from the secondary schools available in the three senatorial districts of Osun state. Also, fifty students were selected from each of the schools by proportionate stratified random sampling of 10 students from JS II, III SSI, II and III (other categories of secondary school students excluding the freshly admitted ones). The JS I students are fresh secondary school students and were not sampled because it was believed that they were just coming into secondary education and may still exhibit career fantasy.

The instrument used for data collection in this study is a self-constructed questionnaire titled "Questionnaire for exploring career information processing (QEIP)". It consists of two main sections. Section I consists of items designed to obtain socio-demographic information from the respondents such as age, sex, choice of career, and so on. The second part, consisting of four subsections, was designed to obtain information concerning the source of career information available to the respondents (Subsection 2a), the uses s/he puts these pieces of information to (Subsection 2b), how the career decision making of students be improved (Subsection 2c) and what counsellors can do to facilitate their career information processing and decision making (Subsection D).

In subsection 2a, possible sources of career information were presented to the respondents and they were asked to indicate how often they obtain career information from each of them. The alternatives include most of the times, sometimes, rarely, never and don't know. They were scored 3, 2, 1 and 0 (for both never and don't know). In subsection 2b, some possible uses of career information were presented to the respondents and they were asked to indicate their level of agreement ranging across strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagreed. They were scored 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively. Filter items were included and their scoring was transposed. Subsection 2c presents different ways by which career decision making processes can be improved and the students were asked to indicate their level of agreement by indicating strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree. They were also scored 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively. Filter items were also included and their scoring was transposed. Finally Section 2d of the questionnaire suggested areas in which counsellors can contribute to career information processing and decision making among secondary school students including some filter items. The respondents were also asked to indicate their level of agreement as earlier stated and scored in a similar manner.

In order to validate the instruments, 50 copies of the questionnaire were administered on students in a school that did not actually participate in the study. They were scored as earlier enumerated and the validity was obtained using Cronbach's alpha determination and the scree plot of its factor analysis. These were done to ensure unidimensionality among the items. An instrument is said to be unidimensional and valid if there is a single dominant first factor; this was the case for the instrument. This has been said to be the central determinant of an internally consistent instrument (Santos 1999). To assess reliability, the resulting responses were used to obtain the internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha = 0.91 and split-half =0.89).

Data collected for the study were scored and coded into Microsoft Excel and SPSS for appropriate computer analysis. The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics in regard to the prevalent career choices, sources of career information, uses of career information and how counsellors can help improve career decision making. To determine prevalence in all these cases, the Relative Significance Index (RSI) was utilised as a measure of prevalence earlier used in prevalence studies (e.g. Adebowale and Ojo 2009; Hart, Calver and Dickman 2002; Kometa, Olomolaiye, and Harris 1994)). Furthermore, t-test, chi-square analysis, Kruskal wallis H test and Analysis of Variance were employed to test the hypotheses. Of the two hundred copies of the questionnaire circulated, only 184 copies were used as others were either not returned, defaced or incompletely filled.

Results

Research Question 1: What is the pattern of potential career choice among the students in south western Nigeria? To answer this research question, item 3 of the questionnaire concerning the choice of career the student will like to undertake in future was given a descriptive analysis. The result is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Pattern of students' potential career choice N = 184

	Frequency	Percent
No response	13	7.1
Accounting/Accountancy/Banking	57	31.0
Manager/Administrator	4	2.1

Air force	2	1.1
Architecture	2	1.0
Fine art	1	.5
Builder	1	.5
Business	7	3.8
Civil servant	1	.5
Engineering	15	8.0
Geographer	2	1.1
Gospel musician	1	.5
Lawyer	13	7.1
Lecturer	2	1.1
Marketing	3	1.6
Masscom	5	2.7
Medical doctor	33	17.8
Nursing	12	6.5
Phamacy	3	1.6
Police	4	2.2
Shoes maker	1	.5
Surveyor	1	.5
Teacher	1	.5
Total	184	100.0

From Table 1, it can be seen that the most popular career potentially chosen by the secondary students is accounting/ banking. This was chosen by 31% of the respondents; closely following in terms of popularity is medicine (becoming a medical doctor) which was identified by 17.8%, engineering (8%), law (7.1%) and nursing (6.5%). Only 0.5% of the respondents (each) chose teaching, surveyor, fine and creative arts, building and shoemaking. Even teaching at the tertiary level, referred to as "lecturing" attracted only 1.1% of the respondents.

Research Question 2: What are the sources of career information available to students in secondary schools?
To answer this research question, Section A of the questionnaire was given a descriptive analysis and the result is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Sources of career information available to students in secondary schools

	D		**SD**		**I**		**A**		**SA**		**NR**		**RSI**
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Internet	40	21.7	33	17.9	8	4.3	74	40.2	29	15.8	1	0	0.6207
School counsellor	29	15.8	37	20.4	15	8.2	42	22.8	60	32.6	1	0.5	0.6696
Role model	16	8.7	13	7.1	21	11.4	78	42.4	55	29.9	1	0.5	0.7522
Parents	24	13.0	16	8.7	18	9.8	56	30.4	69	37.5	1	0.5	0.7380
Peer group	31	16.8	24	13.0	18	9.8	73	39.7	38	20.7	1	0	0.6685
School	22	12.0	17	9.2	12	6.5	67	36.4	65	35.3	1	0.5	0.7446
Radio & TV	23	12.5	25	13.6	20	10.9	58	31.5	57	31	1	0.5	0.7065
Seminar	21	11.4	29	15.8	22	12.0	68	37.0	43	23.4	1	0.5	0.6870
Youth conference	25	13.6	27	14.7	16	8.7	56	30.4	57	31.0	3	1.6	0.6913
Others	37	20.1	37	20.1	22	12.0	48	26.1	36	19.6	4	2.2	0.5967

Table 2 above shows that the most prevalent means by which the students gather career information is through role models, which has the highest value of RSI (Relative Significant Index) of 0.7522. The table also shows that beside role models, the next prevalent means are school and parents, with the RSI values of 0.7446 and 0.7380 respectively. The least prevalent means is through others (other meaning apart from the ones mentioned in the questionnaire) with the RSI of 0.5967, the Internet and peer group with the RSI of 0.6207 and 0.6685 respectively.

Research Question 3: To what uses do the students commonly put career information gathered?
To answer this research question, section B of the questionnaire was given a descriptive analysis. The result is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Uses of career information by students

	SD		**D**		**I**		**A**		**SA**		**NR**		**RSI**
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	
Getting enlightened on the kind of profession to engage in later in life.	9	4.9	11	6.0	12	6.5	72	39.1	79	42.9	1	.5	0.8152
To know the salary level	28	15.2	30	16.3	19	10.3	57	31.0	49	26.9	1	.5	0.6717
To engage in career which is in line with the interest	13	7.1	15	8.2	14	7.6	83	45.1	57	31.0	2	1.1	0.7630
To enlighten them more on the requirements needed for their career choice.	14	7.6	9	4.9	19	10.3	81	44.0	60	32.6	1	.5	0.775
Enable them to be more focus on what is to be achieved.	12	6.5	15	8.2	22	12.0	57	31.0	78	42.4	0	0	0.7891
To determine the condition of service in the career of interest	15	8.2	19	10.3	21	11.4	74	40.2	55	29.9	0	0	0.7467

Table 3 above shows the uses to which students put career information. The most prevalent use is getting enlightened on the kind of profession to engage in later in life; it has an RSI of 0.8152. The next most prevalent is enabling students to be more focused on what is to be achieved, with an RSI of 0.7891. The least prevalent use of career information to students is to know the salary level, which has an RSI of 0.6717. The other less prevalent use is to determine the conditions of service in the career interest, with an RSI of 0.775.

Research Question 4: How can students' career decision making skills be improved?
To answer this research question, Section C of the questionnaire was given a descriptive analysis and the result is presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Ways of improving students' career decision making skills

	D		SD		I		A		SA		NR		RSI
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	
Through career talk	8	4.3	8	4.3	10	5.4	65	35.3	93	50.5	0	0	0.8467
By organizing career day in school	13	7.1	9	4.9	24	13.0	87	47.3	50	27.2	1	.5	0.7620
By relating and discussing with people whp have achieved in ones desired line of career	8	4.3	17	9.2	20	10.9	72	39.1	67	36.4	0	0	0.7880
Constantly relating with ones school counselor for career enlightenment	29	15.8	17	9.2	19	10.3	68	37.0	51	27.7	0	0	0.7033
Attending career seminars, conference and career trips	17	9.2	25	13.6	18	9.8	68	37.0	53	28.8	3	1.6	0.7152
By putting students in real life situations which would prompt them to make decision	19	10.3	12	6.5	30	16.3	60	32.6	63	34.2	0	0	0.7478
Being male or female determines the kind of career decision to make	26	14.1	30	16.3	19	10.3	47	25.5	61	33.2	1	.5	0.6913

Decision making ability is affected by age	34	18.5	29	15.8	29	15.8	57	31.0	33	17.9	2	1.1	0.6217
Allowing students to think for themselves	13	7.1	14	7.6	27	14.7	71	38.6	57	31.0	2	1.1	0.7514
Allowing students to make some minor decisions without being influence	28	15.2	15	8.2	23	12.5	63	34.2	54	29.3	1	.5	0.7054

Table 4 above shows the students' suggestions on the ways by which their career decision making can be improved. The most prevalent means identified by the respondents is through career talk which has the RSI value of 0.8467, closely followed by relating and discussing with people who have achieved in ones desired line of career and by organizing career day in schools with the RSI of 0.7880 and 0.7620 respectively.

Research Question 5: What contribution can counsellors make to career information provision, processing and decision-making of secondary school students in South western Nigeria?.

To answer this research question, section D of the questionnaire was given a descriptive analysis and the result is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 The contributions counsellors can make to career information provision, processing and decision-making of secondary school students

	D		**SD**		**indiff**		**A**		**SA**		**NR**		**RSI**
	F	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	**F**	**%**	
Widen the scope of career information which the students are exposed to	16	8.7	13	7.1	14	7.6	60	32.6	79	42.9	2	1.1	0.7815
Providing useful and purposeful information		1.6	11	6.0	17	9.2	79	42.9	73	39.7	1	.5	0.8228
Exposing students to the realities of labour market conditions	23	12.5	27	14.7	22	12.0	62	33.7	48	26.1	2	1.1	0.6859
Enabling students to know what is actually needed in the world of work	7	3.8	9	4.9	20	10.9	77	41.8	69	37.5	2	1.1	0.8022
Confirming their choice of career with its requirements	14	7.6	16	8.7	30	16.3	62	33.7	62	33.7	0	0	0.7843
Help on my choice of career	12	6.5	18	9.8	18	9.8	56	30.4	79	42.9	1	.5	0.7837
Help to develop good study habit	8	4.3	16	8.7	25	13..6	64	34.8	70	38.0	1	.5	0.7837
Help to develop decision making skills	13	7.1	13	7.1	23	12.5	62	33.7	72	39.1	1	.5	0.7848
Dismissing myths like Gender determines the kind of career one chooses	18	9.8	31	16.8	21	11.4	58	31.5	55	29.9	1	.5	0.7065
Making students realize that they would be responsible for their decision	15	8.2	18	9.8	18	9.8	68	37.0	63	34.2	2	1.1	0.7522

Table 5 above shows the contributions counselor can make to career information provision and decision making skills of students, the most prevalent among which is providing useful and purposeful information to make a better decision; this has the highest RSI, 0.8228. The next prevalent means are through enabling the students to know what is actually needed in the world of work and helping them develop effective decision making skills; these have an RSI of 0.8022 and 0.7848 respectively.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between the sources of career information and students choice of career.

To test this hypothesis a cross-tabulation of the number of those who reported using each of the sources for obtaining career information and those who do not, were cross-tabulated with their reported choices. The chi-square statistics were also obtained and the result is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Relationship between the sources of career information and students choice of career

	Internet			**School cousellor**			**Role model**			**Parents**			**Peer groups**			**Subject teachers**			**TV and radio programme**			**Seminar/ workshops**			**Youth conference**		
Vocation	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total	Non-users	Users	Total
Management & Accounting services	22	42	64	26	38	64	26	38	64	24	40	64	24	40	64	17	47	64	28	36	64	26	38	64	26	38	64
Health services	24	24	48	16	32	48	8	40	48	7	41	48	21	27	48	14	34	48	14	34	48	18	30	48	15	33	48
Business	5	3	8	3	5	8	2	6	8	2	6	8	2	6	8	2	6	8	3	5	8	4	4	8	4	4	8
Force	3	3	6	2	4	6	1	5	6	4	2	6	3	3	6	0	6	6	4	2	6	4	2	6	4	2	6
Construction	0	6	6	4	2	6	2	4	6	4	2	6	1	5	6	0	6	6	1	5	6	2	4	6	1	5	6
Art	5	2	7	5	2	7	2	5	7	3	4	7	4	3	7	4	3	7	5	2	7	4	3	7	5	2	7
Law	8	5	13	11	2	13	4	9	13	4	9	13	6	7	13	4	9	13	5	8	13	6	7	13	4	9	13
Lecturing/ Teaching	1	2	3	3	0	3	0	3	3	3	0	3	3	0	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Civil service	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
Engineering	8	7	15	5	10	15	4	11	15	4	11	15	3	12	15	3	12	15	4	11	15	4	11	15	4	11	15
Total	77	94	171	75	96	171	49	122	171	55	116	171	67	104	171	45	126	171	65	106	171	69	102	171	65	106	171
Chi-square	14.582			20.237			10.062			21.758			11.572			8.802			10.519			5.229			10.941		
Significance level	0.103			0.016			0.345			0.010			0.239			0.456			0.310			0.814			0.280		

Table 5 shows the test of the relation between the sources reportedly used by students for obtaining career information and their vocational choices. It can be seen from the table that most of these sources are not significantly related (P-values were generally greater than 0.05) to the choices the students make in terms of their career. However, in the case of the use of counsellors as a source of career information, the chi-square value obtained was 20.237 at P = 0.016. Since the p-value is less than 0.05, it can be concluded that the use of counsellors as a source of career information is related to students' choice of careers. Also in the case of obtaining information from parents, the chi-square value obtained was 21.758 at P = 0.010. Since the p-value is less than 0.05, it can be also concluded that the use of parents as a source of career information is related to students' choice of careers

Hypothesis 2A: There is no significant difference in the students approach to gathering career information on the basis of their gender

To test this hypothesis, the number of students who chose/did not choose a career were subjected to non-parametric test of difference (Mann-Whitney U test) on the basis of their gender groups as the differentiating variable. The result is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Test of difference in the students approach to gathering career information on the basis of their gender

	Sex	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Internet	Male	94	95.79	9004.00		
	Female	87	85.83	7467.00		
	Total	181			3639.000	.182
School counsellor	Male	94	94.19	8853.50		
	Female	87	87.56	7617.50		
	Total	181			3789.500	.381
Role model	Male	94	95.81	9006.00		
	Female	87	85.80	7465.00		
	Total	181			3637.000	.175
Parents	Male	94	91.89	8638.00		
	Female	87	90.03	7833.00		
	Total	181			4005.000	.803
Peers	Male	94	97.44	9159.00		
	Female	87	84.05	7312.00		
	Total	181			3484.000	.074
School	Male	94	93.92	8828.50		
	Female	87	87.84	7642.50		
	Total	181			3814.500	.413
Radio and TV	Male	94	94.40	8873.50		
	Female	87	87.33	7597.50		
	Total	181			3769.500	.348
Seminars	Male	94	92.98	8740.00		
	Female	87	88.86	7731.00		
	Total	181			3903.000	.584
	Male	94	94.99	8929.50		
	Female	87	86.68	7541.50		
Youth conference	Total	181			3713.500	.270

Three of the respondents did not indicate their gender on the questionnaire and hence their responses could not be included in the analysis above. It can be seen from Table 6 that in all cases the p-values were greater than 0.05 which means the hypothesis cannot be rejected in case of any of the sources of information and therefore it can be concluded that male and female students did not differ in the sources they employ in obtaining career information in Ife Area schools.

Hypothesis3: There is no significant difference in the students' approach to gathering career information on the basis of their age

To test this hypothesis, the number of students who chose/did not choose a career were subjected to non-parametric test of difference (Kruskal-Wallis H test) on the basis of their gender groups as the differentiating variable. The result is presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Test of difference in the students' approach to gathering career information on the basis of their ages

	Age	N	Mean Rank	Chi-square	df	Sig.
	1.00	61	89.86			
	2.00	108	89.85			
	3.00	14	117.93			
Internet	Total	183		3.973	2	.137
	1.00	61	85.55			
	2.00	108	92.81			
	3.00	14	113.82			
School counsellors	Total	183		3.516	2	.172
	1.00	61	101.09			
	2.00	108	88.81			
	3.00	14	76.96			
Role models	Total	183		3.712	2	.156
	1.00	61	87.57			
	2.00	108	93.62			
	3.00	14	98.86			
Parents	Total	183		.834	2	.659
	1.00	61	87.95			
	2.00	108	94.25			
	3.00	14	92.32			
Peers	Total	183		.599	2	.741
	1.00	61	79.49			
	2.00	108	99.00			
	3.00	14	92.50			
School	Total	183		5.853	2	.054
	1.00	61	84.57			
	2.00	108	95.84			
	3.00	14	94.75			
Radio and TV	Total	183		1.932	2	.381
	1.00	61	89.46			
	2.00	108	92.50			
	3.00	14	99.25			
Seminars	Total	183		.443	2	.801
	1.00	61	95.02			
	2.00	108	90.43			
	3.00	14	90.96			
Youth conferences	Total	183		.320	2	.852

It can be seen from Table 7 that in all cases the p-values were greater than 0.05, which means the hypothesis cannot be rejected in the case of any of the sources of information; therefore it can be concluded that young and older students did not differ in the sources they employ in obtaining career information in Ife Area schools .

Discussion

Buckland (1991) and Sveiby (1998) have described information as knowledge communicated concerning some particular fact, subject or event; of which one is apprised or told. Information is particularly important in the process of making decisions concerning one's career, not only because it has life-long effect, but also because when such decision is taken it

significantly affects other spheres of one's life. Such information becomes useful only when it is absorbed, integrated into one's cognitive processes and eventually employed in making a decision that leads to a successful endeavor.

However, despite the age-long attempts by counsellors, teachers and parents to guide growing individuals in their effort to make appropriate and rewarding career choices, reports of career misfits, dissatisfaction and apathy are still very common. It is therefore necessary to look into how such growing individuals go about processing career information with a view to locating areas in which counsellors may be able to adjust their involvement or areas that may need improvement.

Consequently, research question one was posed to determine the pattern of potential career choice among secondary school students in South-Western Nigeria. The result indicated that most popular career of interest to secondary students is accountancy/accounting/banking, closely followed by medicine, engineering, law and nursing. This is in agreement with the findings of Okafor (2004) in Salami 2008, who found that most secondary school students selected law, medicine, accountancy, engineering, business administration, teaching, nursing, secretarial work and military service in that order. Although the order found in this study was not the same; in fact, teaching was not one of the preferred careers. Only 0.5% of the respondents (each) chose teaching, surveyor, fine and creative arts, building and shoemaking. Even teaching at the tertiary level, i.e. lecturing, attracted only 1.1% of the respondents. It seems students now consider accountancy more "lucrative/rewarding/prestigious" than the first two (law and medicine) identified by Okafor (2004). This finding is important to school counsellors, as they need to keep abreast with the current career choice trends among students.

The second research question was posed to explore the sources of career information available to students in secondary schools in the south western part of Nigeria. The result of this study shows that the most prevalent means by which the students gather career information is through role models, closely followed by information they obtain from school and parents. The least prevalent sources of career information for the students under study was found to be the Internet and information obtained from their peers.

The study also indicated that socio-demographic variables of age and sex did not affect students' use of these sources. This was obtained when hypothesis 1 and 2 were tested. Hypothesis 3 was tested to see if there is a relationship between students' sources of career information and the career they claimed to be interested in. The result shows that only information collected from parents and their school counsellor bore any positive relation to their choice of career. A plausible reason for this was given by Salami (2007), who stated that the tradition or cultural practice is that the family or the parents know best and as such they dictate the type of occupation that the children will choose regardless of the children's abilities and interests and is usually targeted at the belief that their children should go into well-paid jobs so that family financial problems can be solved (Salami 2010). It therefore follows that parents and school counsellors need to collaborate in guiding the children during this important phase of their lives. In fact, Awujo (2007) warned that family orientation and influence may likely annul the effects of other possible factors in career decision making. School counsellors also need to ensure that every student in secondary school obtain appropriate career guidance before leaving this level of education.

The third research question explores the uses to which the students put career information they gather. The results show that the most prevalent use of such information is getting enlightened on the kind of profession to engage in later life and enabling students to be more focused on what is to be achieved. Uses such as knowing the salary level and to determine the conditions of service in the career were not found to be popular among the students. This may be due to confusion in the course of career decision making earlier noted by Salami (2010) when he said that when high school students think of mass unemployment of the graduates, they might not be motivated to take the matter of career decision-making seriously; instead, they might likely feel frustrated and confused.

The fourth research question was posed to find out how students' career decision making skills can be improved. The study shows that the respondents requested more sessions of career talk, relating and discussing with people who have achieved in one's desired line of career and by organizing career days in schools.

The fifth research question sought to determine the contribution counsellors can make to career information provision, processing and decision-making of secondary school students in South-western Nigeria. The students claimed effective ways by which counsellors can help would include providing useful and purposeful information to make better decisions; enabling the students to know what is actually needed in the world of work and helping to develop effective decision making skills.

Conclusion and recommendations

This study concludes that it appears the trends of career choice among male and female secondary school students are changing from the traditionally held belief in careers which people hold in high esteem and which confer prestige on the practitioners to those which are seen to produce greater income. Students appear to rely more on information obtained

from parents, counsellors and through role models. Consequently, counsellors and parents need to collaborate to guide the students in their quest for a rewarding career. More opportunities should be provided to the young ones to see practitioners of other professions who have proved successful, particularly in the technical and technological areas, in which the nation has really invested its love and resources. It is recommended that more frequent career development programmes like career days and/or talks, job shadowing, role modeling and the like should be included in the secondary school curriculum

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The status and development of informal sector and ICT access in Kenya

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Abstract

This paper examines and discusses the status, development and growth of the informal sector, ICT access, and the information needs and seeking behaviour of informal sector workers in Kenya through literature review. It recommends more research to gain a deeper understanding of the context and information needs of small business enterprises in order to offer a strategic framework for appropriate intervention in providing information and ICT access for MSEs.

Keywords: Informal sector, ICT access, Kenya

Introduction

The informal sector plays a major role in its economic contribution to developing countries through the creation of jobs, production and supply of affordable goods and services and in the reduction of poverty. However, the sector faces many challenges, including limited access to markets and finance, lack of familiarity with new and changing technology, and lack of awareness, skills and understanding of ICTs (Mutula and van Brakel 2006:404; Opiyo and K'Akumu 2006:244).

In Kenya, Opiyo and K'Akumu (2006) and Orwa (2007) have observed that informal sector businesses largely operate with hardly any ICTs like fax machines, e-mail or the Internet, and the same has been observed in Uganda (Ikoja-Odongo and Ocholla 2004:54). According to Orwa (2007:3), most informal entrepreneurs do not know the law and their rights, which is not conducive to robust business decisions for proper growth. These challenges are responsible for the lack of sustained growth in the informal sector in Kenya (Migiro 2006:25; Opiyo and K'Okumu 2006). The global technological change in ICTs currently offers the informal sector an opportunity to tap into international markets, but the participants have to first embrace change and new ways of doing things if they are to benefit from such an opportunity (Hafkin and Taggart 2001:1).

In order for the sector to expand and reduce income disparities, it has to embrace changes in the global technological environment to reach international markets (Migiro 2006:40). Moreover, for this to happen there is a need not only for ICT awareness but also the acquisition of skills for ICT use, and putting the necessary infrastructure in place (Migiro 2006:40; Hafkin and Taggart 2001:1). However, one cannot help asking whether the micro and small enterprises in Kenya, which operate under very difficult conditions and which function more as survival outfits than profit-making organisations, will experience the paradigm shift that has been experienced in the developed countries.

Many research studies have been carried out in Kenya on the informal sector by Lundvall, Ochoro and Hjalmarsson (2001), Bigsten and Duverall (2004), Kimuyu (1997), and Ongile and McCormick (1996), to name a few, but much remains to be done on the diffusion and potential of ICTs in the informal sector in Kenya. Opiyo and K'Akumu (2006) have researched ICT application in one market centre in Nairobi; their focus was on the spatial design of buildings which would enable businesses to share ICT infrastructure. Migiro (2006) carried out research on the diffusion of ICTs and e-commerce adoption, but specifically in the manufacturing sector. The two research studies have focused on specific and specialised areas of ICT and the informal sector in Kenya and may not be applicable to a wide range of informal sector enterprises that exist in Kenya.

This study explored various sub-sectors in the informal sector with the purpose of investigating the use and potential of ICTs, examining the impact and problems in the sector, and making appropriate recommendations. Considering the economic potential of ICT adoption, the research was important in the preparation for possible intervention by the government and other organisations in the attempt to improve performance in the sector, which supports a large proportion of the Kenyan population.

The fact that a substantial amount of research has been done on the informal sector without focusing much on the use and potential of ICT adoption shows a general lack of awareness on the part of informal sector stakeholders about the importance of ICT adoption for information provision and its potential benefits. Considering that ICTs have been found to bring about positive changes in business elsewhere, the continued lack of awareness and interest keeps the productivity of the MSEs low, as well as the incomes and profits, making them unable to grow beyond survival outfits and remain less competitive than those which have access to the required business information. They are also not able to generate robust

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employment opportunities, and have therefore remained small, with hand-to-mouth existence, and are not able to afford new technology, which would help change their low productivity status.

This paper is informed by the diffusion of innovation (DoI) theory, Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) theory and Actor Network theory (ANT) that are discussed elsewhere (Gikenye 2012; Gikenye and Ocholla 2014) in greater details.

The status of the informal sector in Kenya

Despite their low profile status, MSEs in Kenya have played and continue to play a vital role in the economy by providing employment opportunities to a significant number of the population. Over seventy percent of the total number of people employed in Kenya were employed in this sector in 2008 and contributed eighteen percent (18%) to the country's GDP (GOK 2008:39). According to the 2009 Economic Survey, the informal sector created 433,500 jobs in 2008, which is 93% of the total 466,200 jobs created in the economy in that year, compared to the formal sector which created only 33,700 jobs. MSEs are therefore a major source of livelihood for a significantly large proportion of the population in Kenya.

In other African economies, MSEs' contribution to the GDP ranges from 15% to as high as seventy percent (70%), but despite this contribution, most MSEs remain undercapitalised and suffer from poor infrastructure, low use of technology, extremely competitive markets, and an unfavourable institutional environment (McCormick 2008:8).

The informal sector in Kenya covers small scale activities that are semi-organised and use low and simple technologies. The activities carried out include manufacturing, building and construction, transport and communication, community and personal services, and retail and distribution (GOK 2010:78). The people working in the MSEs are mainly young school-leavers who have not been able to secure jobs in the formal sector (GOK 2010;78). The ease of entry into the informal sector has made it a practical option for those who have left schooling and training institutions and found no alternative employment as well as those exiting from the formal sector due to layoffs and restructuring. Figures for 2009 reveal that Nairobi Province commanded the largest share in informal sector employment at 24.3%, followed by Rift Valley Province at 18.9% and Central Province at 15.8% (GOK 2010:78).

According to the 1993 National Baseline Survey, 98.6% of all micro, small and medium enterprises fall within the micro enterprises category, defined as businesses employing one to ten workers (Parker and Torres, 1994). Further information from the **s**econd national baseline survey 1999 (GOK *et al*. 1999) indicates that at least one third of the MSE start-ups do not survive the third year.

Development of the informal sector in Kenya

The report of the Director General of the 78th session of the ILO Conference (1991:9) provides a fitting summary of the prevalence of informal sector activities in urban centres all over the world:

> Since the very beginning of urban civilization, towns and cities, in different parts of the world, have attracted people from rural areas who have attempted with more or less success, and often in a hostile environment, to carve out a niche for themselves in urban societies as craftsmen, tradesmen, hired labour or providers of petty services. The difference in today's informal sector activities, prevalent in developing countries, is its magnitude due to the phenomenal increase in population growth and the consequent growth of the urban labour force.

The prevailing situation is therefore not unique to developing countries; when the formal sector anywhere fails to absorb all the labour in the market it accelerates the emergence of informal sector activities. The difference between developed and developing countries lies in the number and size of MSEs, support by individual governments, and the success of the MSEs. Restructuring and adjustment programmes that were mainly introduced by international aid agencies in the 90s and beginning of the 21st century also increased the number of people moving to the informal sector in developing countries like Kenya. The sector has therefore become a sponge that constantly mops up ever-increasing excess labour.

Kenya seems to have more than its share of informal sector activities. The informal sector phenomenon is so common in the country that even people who are in formal employment usually have something to do on the side, just in case they get retrenched or decide to resign from employment and do some business on their own. Others want something that they can retire to since pension money may not be enough to survive on (Ndege 1990:23).

In the 1960s and early 70s, the informal sector mopped up the spill over of primary school graduates who could not be absorbed into the formal sector job market. Over the years, the situation gradually changed to include secondary school leavers and university graduates who increasingly failed to get jobs in the formal job market. The earlier expectations that formal education graduates would automatically find jobs in public or private formal sector organisations have proved to be unrealistic as employment opportunities have gradually shrunk.

Retrenchment in the 1990s and the 2000s has led many middle class people who were formerly employed in the formal sector to invade the informal sector, resulting in the opening of new specialised investments that are different from the simple survival outfits that are characteristic of hawkers and small traders (Ndege 1990:23). Working in the sector has therefore become an alternative occupation for some participants who have voluntarily ventured into the sector either to supplement their formal employment incomes or to invest in new ventures having resigned or been retrenched from formal employment (Alila and Pedersen 2001; Ndege 1990:23). According to the 1999 National Baseline Survey on informal sector enterprises (GOK *et al*. 1999:vii), there were about 1.3 million MSEs in Kenya that employed 2.4 million people in 1999. Their contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GNP) was estimated at 18.4% and 97% of the enterprises were found to have fewer than ten employees, which confirms the small size of the operations. It is only following independence that the existence of informal sector activities appears to have been noticed. Informal sector activities could not find much expression in colonial Kenyan urban centres prior to the 1960s due to strict regulations that allowed only the colonialist-dominated economy to thrive (Ndege 1990:14). There is some evidence, however, to suggest that informal sector activities were going on, albeit not very visibly. King (1996:4) refers to the East African Royal Commission of 1953-1955, which addressed issues of restrictions and regulations on marketing and the provision of credit and licences that affected many aspects of colonial African life. The commission noted the clusters of settlements just outside the boundaries of all the main towns which formed important centres of African trade, albeit on a very small scale and without much feasible potential, but which represented the only development of African commercial enterprise.

While informal sector activities grew faster with the attainment of Kenya's political independence, the economy continued to be dominated by foreign interests through multinational corporations (Ndege 1990:14). It was not until 1972 that informal sector activities were brought into the open by the International Labour Organization's (ILO's) Employment Strategy Mission research report, which identified a sizeable potential for the sector and large numbers of people who were working outside formal sector jobs in this unregulated and highly competitive sector. This marked the beginning of the recognition of the informal sector ((Bangasser 2000:8; Alila and Pedersen 2001:1; King 1996:5; Abuodha 1989:4).

The ILO report popularised and brought into the open the term 'informal sector', but was not its originator. According to King (1996:7), the term 'informal sector' originated in Keith Hart's work among Frafra migrants from Northern Ghana who were working in Accra. The term was first used in a paper presented in a conference on "Urban unemployment in Africa" in Sussex in 1971, which viewed informal sector activities in a positive light and as a source of informal income opportunities rather than as an unemployment crisis.

The ILO Mission report on Kenya amplified this point when they viewed the informal sector as an innovative and productive, emerging and hitherto unrealised sector. This was followed by many academic papers written on informal sector activities in Kenya in the 1970s and 1980s, principally by the University of Nairobi's Institute for Development Studies (King 1996:7-8).

The informal sector was by then also seen as conveying the spirit of self-reliance that was emboldened in the Kenyan motto and self-help movement of 'Harambee' ('pulling together' in Kiswahili) as the social and economic driving force (ILO 1972: 225; King 1996:11). 'Harambee' means collective effort and embodies ideas of mutual assistance and joint effort in community activities that are geared towards self-help projects for self-reliance. In the context of informal sector activities, it is similar in its emphasis and bias towards self reliance and a bottom-up approach rather than the dependence on the top-down approach in economic sustenance.

Although small in scale, the informal sector has gradually come to be viewed as an important part of the private sector of the economy, it has shown some independence and does not suffer from a bloated workforce like the public sector, and it has survived without any subsidies or protection, nor any assistance from the government. Training in the sector is done according to an enterprise's requirements through apprenticeships, with the apprentices contributing to the costs of their training through their labour. It also functions as a training platform for future entrepreneurs and has displayed a remarkable capacity to absorb labour (King 1996:11).

The informal sector suffers from a poor public image and neglect, and has also survived harassment from government agents (King 1996:xiii; GOK 1986:54). The situation has not changed much; the government's efforts to help the informal sector remain largely uncoordinated and are yet to be felt by the sector's participants. The activities of the sector are highly vulnerable due to reliance on self-support and informal arrangements that operate independently of the institutions of modern economy (ILO 1991:5).

It was not until the mid-80s, more than a decade after the ILO (1972) study that recognised and popularised the informal sector, that the Kenyan government and donor agencies began to give attention to the sector. This was due to the failure of the formal sector economy, consisting of the formal private sector, the civil service and parastatals, to

expand and keep up with the increasing number of entrants into the job market in spite of having received a great deal of government support, protection and subsidies. The informal sector, on the other hand, showed potential for job creation (GOK 1997:50; King 1996: 15; Abuodha 1989:5).

McCormick, Mitullah and Kinyanjui (2003;1), King (1996;25) and GOK (1992:1& 40; 1989:162;164) have observed that the Kenyan government demonstrated its interest in the informal sector by the following:

- Restructuring the education system with an emphasis on vocational, scientific and technological development.
- Publishing the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on "Economic management for renewed growth" (GOK 1986).
- Publishing the Sessional Paper No. 2 on "Small enterprise and jua kali development in Kenya" in 1992.
- Encouraging the creation of flexible credit schemes.
- Encouraging informal sector enterprises to form cooperatives, through which they could obtain information and assistance on new technologies, get access to credit, purchase inputs, and market their products.
- Developing the sixth Kenyan Five Year National Development Plan (1989-1993) which devoted a sizeable section to the development of small scale and jua kali enterprises as a primary means of strengthening Kenya's economy. It also recognised that there has been neglect in exploiting the full potential of the informal sector, and committed to bringing out this potential in order to meet the targets of employment and income generation for the country's youth and school leavers.
- Encouraging associations of small enterprise entrepreneurs to promote the interests of its members through activities such as lobbying on behalf of members, training, promoting professional and social relationships among members, and conducting studies and surveys.

However, the above emphasises that the role of the government should be facilitative rather than interventionist. Experiences in Kenya and other developing countries have shown that sponsorship and protection of private enterprises through direct government intervention not only prove to be costly, but can also only involve a few enterprises. Very few government programmes that had enjoyed government support and protection had managed to stand on their own without continued and regular infusions of large sums of money from the government (King 1996:15, GOK 1989:10). In contrast, the informal sector developed independently, despite government neglect and sometimes active discouragement and harassment, and in doing so demonstrated that it was highly resilient (King 1996:12; Ikiara 1991:315).

Informal sector enterprises in Kenya have persisted as survival outfits against many odds because government efforts have not been properly coordinated to bring about positive change. According to the Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992 on "Small enterprise and jua kali development in Kenya" (GOK 1992), after Kenya attained independence in 1963, the colonial rules which strictly discouraged informal sector activities were relaxed and substantial funds were spent on implementing government policies and programmes to build institutions aimed at promoting the informal sector. In spite of this, as Ikiara (1991:309) observes, it was not until the 1980s that the Kenyan government and donor agencies started showing some real enthusiasm in the sector and went on to laud it as crucial for renewed growth, and especially for job creation.

The support for the sector was still not consistent as evidenced by poor coordination among implementing agencies, and the fact that despite the enthusiasm shown in the Development Plan of 1989-1993, the following Five-Year Development Plan, which should have built on the previous one, did not make any mention of the informal sector or the jua kali (Ikiara 1991; 315). Ikiara further observes that it was also difficult to reconcile the earlier enthusiasm with the brutal demolition of informal sector settlements in the Nairobi city in 1990, which made a mockery of the declared government policy of making the informal sector play an enhanced role in the Kenyan economy.

The Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992 also observed that many programmes were not based on adequate needs assessment surveys and that much of the growth of the informal sector remained spontaneous rather than a result of coordinated and effective government support. Moyi, Otieno, Mumo and Ronge (2006:3), McCormick (1992:1) and Ikiara (1991:312 & 318) agree that despite the importance of the informal sector in Kenya in job creation and its contribution to the GDP, its role can only be complementary rather than alternative to formal manufacturing and comprehensive industrialisation, because firms that remain very small can only slightly contribute to the development of technology and industry. They use the simplest technology available and even if they have innovative ideas, lack the capital and managerial skills to push them further.

Formal sector workers, as Ikiara (1991:312) has observed, are the main customers of informal sector goods and services and therefore the latter cannot operate in isolation from the formal sector. Furthermore, without a significant increase in the demand for informal sector goods and services, other forms of assistance (such as credit and infrastructure) may not ensure the sustainability of the sector. Generally, low incomes and poor economic conditions keep the demand for goods low, resulting in informal sector enterprises competing for a very limited market. There is a

need to widen the marketing of informal sector goods beyond their immediate surroundings (McCormick 1992:19; Ikiara 1991:312; ILO 1991:6; Yambo 1988:iii & 3).

Informal sector enterprises in Kenya have therefore continued to remain small, both in their operations and productivity, and have not graduated to medium scale enterprises, with over 90% of them employing 1-5 employees (GOK, Central Bureau of Statistics, International Centre for Economic Growth and K-Rep Holdings Ltd 1999:vii). The lack of role models, particularly among indigenous Kenyan enterprises, has also been pointed out as one of the reasons for their continued small status. The enterprises continue to remain the survival outfits for which they were originally created instead of growing and graduating to medium level enterprises. The development of effective and facilitative infrastructure by the government is required to make informal sector enterprises grow so that they would be able to provide more and better paying jobs as well as optimise technology and the adoption of ICTs (GOK 1992:5).

ICT access and use in the informal sector in Kenya

ICTs are tools that facilitate the production, processing and transmission of information, and through their use information gaps in the business sector can be eliminated. ICT adoption has therefore been suggested as one of the ways to meet the various challenges that are faced by informal sector enterprises to boost their efficiency and competitiveness, for example by enabling them to sell products like crafts, decorations, carvings, jewellery and leather products to international markets. Globalisation also compels businesses, including small ones, to adopt ICTs so that they can survive and compete in the global environment (Ongori and Migiro 2010:93; Moyi 2003:221).

ICTs also include the mass media, which are public means of communication characterised by their mass-reaching capacity (Olming and MacFarquhar 2007:4). These are the radio and television sets which have been widely adopted in both the developed and developing countries and have a great potential to reach the low income business traders and workers. In most sub-Saharan African countries, the deregulation of the media has catalysed a boom of private radio stations to accommodate the needs of information exchange for MSEs on policy issues concerning entrepreneurial operations and investigative reports, and implementation of government policies (Deng, 2009:17). The ILO also considers the use of the mass media as a promise for reaching out to many small business workers for the improvement of the MSEs (Seeley 2004:iii).

The wide diffusion and use of radio and television is, however, limited by lack of widespread reach of electricity in developing countries. The radio, unlike the television, however, can use lead batteries which are widely used in developing countries in places where there is no electricity.

The computer-based ICTs like the Internet, further offer easy and instant interactivity and multimedia features (Olming and MacFarquhar 2007:4). The telephone (both fixed and mobile) also offer instant interactivity and money transfer services bymobile phone.

The radio and television, which are mass media means of communication, offer channels through which small enterprises can be provided with information on the services and products available to them as well as general business and market information; they can also provide platforms through which small businesses can exchange ideas, experiences and opinions for improved awareness and feedback mechanism to services and input providers, and policy and legislative issues (Olming and MacFarquhar 2007:9). Olming and MacFarquhar go on to add that the radio is the most important source of information in Uganda, with broadcasts in all the major languages of the country.

Despite the business potential attributed to ICT adoption, micro, small and medium scale enterprises which dominate the economies of developing countries do not have ICTs readily available to them, especially the computer-based ones, and the majority of those involved in informal sector enterprises lack awareness of their potential (Al-Gharbi and Ashrafi; 2010;1; Chiware and Dick 2008;147). ICTs seem like a far off and out of reach dream; many participants in the informal sector think the Internet is not relevant to them, possibly stemming from the general lack of awareness of its benefits. As Moyi (2003:221) observes, more critical constraints, such as illiteracy and poor information and telecommunications infrastructure among informal sector traders, deserve more priority. Small business enterprises continue to use simple tools and technology in their operations and thus remain small (Migiro 2006:35; Macdade and Springs 2005:18; GOK *et al*. 1999:47; McCormick 1992:1).

Technology is an important factor in the provision of information for the increased sustainability, productivity and competitiveness of MSEs. As Moyi and Njiraini (2005; 8) have observed, without access to technology, MSEs lack the capacity to increase their productivity and to be competitive in the local and global market. Literature on ICT adoption (Oletokun and Kebonye 2010: 43; Al-Gharbi and Ashrafi 2010:1; Ongori 2009; Ashrafi and Murtaza 2008:125; Kaynak, Tatoglu and Kula 2005:628) shows that ICTs have the potential to transform business operations by enabling the rapid, reliable and efficient exchange of large amounts of information; reducing transaction costs; improving information gathering and dissemination, inventory and quality control; and improving the efficiency and customer services of

organisations and businesses. The literature also shows that the Internet has brought about easier and cheaper ways of conducting businesses of all types and therefore offers equal opportunities to all users.

Kuuya (2010:8) has observed that the lack of culture and infrastructure for imported technology is more pronounced in Kenya's informal sector than in the formal sector. It has further been observed that informal sector enterprises also operate in an environment that hampers coordination and the transfer of technology (Moyi and Njiraini 2005:4; Moyi 2003:221; Jutla, Bodorik and Dhaliwal 2002:155; McCormick 1992:9).

There is also a lack of local content and orientation, which the traders can identify with since most of the ICTs have been developed by and for use in Western countries. However, Kaynak *et al*. (2005: 638) contend that small enterprises need to perceive that the benefits resulting from the effective use of ICTs will outweigh the costs. The authors call upon the government and the private sector in developing countries to provide various incentives to help small enterprises acquire and use ICTs with minimal investment and operating costs. They further state that in order for informal sector enterprises to develop beyond their small-scale status, there is a need for better coordinated and effective government facilitative involvement. This can be done through the development of infrastructural facilities and an economic environment in which entrepreneurs can emerge, develop and grow.

In contrast, Lal and Pecdily (2006:32), in their research on ICT adoption by SMEs in Mauritius recommend a complete overhaul of the small enterprise's entrepreneur mindset and more investment in capacity-building rather than just providing financial facilities or incentives to acquire or reduce the costs associated with ICT use. Duncombe and Molla (2009:22) view the issue of ICT adoption for small business enterprises as a transitional process in which an enterprise eventually reaches greater formalisation of processes and organisation. The transition may also be accompanied by a move from a manual paper-based system to the use of ICTs for the processing of information, and telephony and computers for external communication.

According to the government's planning documents, i.e. Kenya's National Development Plan for 2002-2008 and Vision 2030 Medium Term Plan for 2008-2012, the government of Kenya recognises that ICTs are the foundation of modern economic development and has made efforts to expand, modernise and improve the country's information sector through development and the implementation of policy and regulations aimed at attracting investment within the sector. The liberalisation of the telecommunications sector and the mobile cellular market is a case in point, as this has resulted in the widespread diffusion and use of mobile phones by Kenyans, including those working in the informal sector. Mobile phone operators have continued to expand their networks and have extended to offer highly successful and innovative mobile money transfer services.

In an attempt to reduce the cost of Internet access, the government has also invested in terrestrial and undersea fibre optic cables (2007-2008), as well as rolling out broadband wireless connectivity in rural areas (GOK, 2008b:25). Taxes on ICT hardware have been largely zero-rated to facilitate the stated government policy objective of universal access to affordable ICT services. Furthermore, in collaboration with ICT incubators with local institutions of higher learning at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, University of Nairobi, Kenya College of Communications Technology and Strathmore University, the government has implemented a project to assemble low cost personal computers for the local market, which also includes the informal sector. However, informal sector participants are too busy trying to make ends meet and need special attention for these efforts to trickle down to them.

The fact that most micro enterprises are started for survival purposes does not preclude them from growth and the entrepreneurial activity that is associated with ICTs. Concerted efforts are necessary to increase awareness and knowledge of the benefits of ICT adoption among all people in Kenya, including MSE traders, in order to increase productivity.

Small businesses should be encouraged to grow beyond the micro level towards medium scale enterprises in order to provide more jobs, improve the use of scarce resources, and open the way for technological development, including information and communication technologies. The failure of existing firms to grow large as new small ones continue to enter the market results in the proliferation of many stagnant small enterprises. This is the situation in Kenya and other developing countries where competition among the MSEs is stiff and the net income is too low to sustain them. If growth will benefit the economy, policy makers should ease the way by creating an enabling environment and providing information and the required infrastructure (McCormick 1992: 9 &19). As it currently stands, there are many Kenyans who do not have access to electricity because the government is yet to make electricity provision a reality to all, and also because they are too poor to make that reality happen on their own by moving to urban areas or connecting to electricity from the nearest point where it can be found.

The twin conditions of government ineffectiveness and poverty therefore continue to keep the informal sector in an almost stagnant state, where small enterprises remain small for lack of capital, infrastructure and managerial know-how, and fail to move to the next level of small and medium enterprises or even to the bigger formal enterprises.

The Sessional Paper No. 2 (GOK 1992:8) observed that many informal sector entrepreneurs are either unfamiliar with or unaware of available technologies. The government, through the appropriate institutions of research, industry and higher learning, can play a useful role by facilitating the provision of more information on technology options (King 1996; GOK 1992:8). Just like other businesses, informal sector enterprises need to develop contacts, check prices, display goods, enter into contracts, and use available information to start and sustain new business ventures. Information technology has the potential to link informal sector enterprises to local and international daily market prices for their products. This would change their negotiating powers for the better, but a lack of resources, know-how and awareness preclude them from seizing these opportunities. It has been observed that East Asian countries like Taiwan have demonstrated that small scale enterprises can make a significant contribution to exports for example in curios, carvings, horticultural products, etc., given the appropriate environment (Moyi 2003:221; GOK 1997:53).

In the Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1997 (GOK 1997:71) on "Industrial transformation to the year 2020", the Kenyan government recognises that the provision of infrastructure, such as electricity and information facilities, falls within its major functions and responsibilities. The Kenyan government is committed to increasing public investment in the informal sector, but public resources are limited and infrastructure for the informal sector can only be as good as facilities in the rest of the country. The situation in the informal sector is a reflection of the poor infrastructural situation in the rest of the country, the difference being the divide between the elite and the poor (as in every society); the informal sector, as a survival outfit for the poor, lags behind the relatively more modern formal sector.

In order for informal sector enterprises to attain sustainable growth, they need to embrace changes in the global technological environment which would enable them to reach international markets through electronic commerce (e-commerce). However, e-commerce is facilitated by ICT tools such as the Internet, fax machines, mobile phones and computers. ICTs facilitate the production, processing and transmission of information, but since most of the MSEs are not able to afford ICTs and lack awareness, skills and understanding, they may not appreciate the value and benefits of e-commerce and may have no way of gauging these benefits. They may also not strive to connect to the Internet due to their lack of awareness of its existence and the connection to their businesses.

According to Adam (1996:1), seizing ICT opportunities of global networking would allow the African region to fight poverty and ignorance from all directions since they would be able to make use of the opportunities to trade beyond the local reach, thus expanding their markets and realising more income. The region would also benefit by leapfrogging costly intermediate stages of development (World Bank 2000:153). Unfortunately, the existing infrastructure and socio-economic, cultural and political situations pose major obstacles to introducing, implementing, and diffusing new technologies. The World Bank (2000) further observes that politics and institutions are the greatest hindrances to the development of Africa's infrastructure and socioeconomic status.

Political leaders therefore need to understand the benefits of ICTs in order to lobby for an enabling environment for ICT growth. Furthermore, the knowledge to apply technology to local settings needs to be developed and relevant infrastructural needs must be prioritised while equitable access to resources is promoted (World Bank 2000:153). Lack of umbrella institutions and formal information centres in Kenya has also been observed to constitute a major handicap in the collection and exchange of relevant information by informal sector enterprises (Powell 2003:31; Beyene 2002:145).

ICTs have not been viewed as crucial tools by informal sector workers, mostly because of the inability to afford them and unawareness of the possibilities of information through the various forms of technology. While most informal sector workers do not have access to computer-based ICTs in Kenya and other developing countries, they have had access to the relatively affordable mobile phones which they have extensively adopted and are using to facilitate business activities, and which have brought them significant benefits, such as savings in travelling and time**.** Mobile phone technology has also brought about a good deal of convenience and improved work efficiency in the MSE sector.

Information needs and seeking behaviour in the informal sector in Kenya

Information is a requirement for enterprise creation, growth and survival, especially in today's global business environment where information provision in general and business information in particular provides a good beginning for competitive advantage in business. Sharma and Bhagwat (2006:199) contend that information flow is the bloodline of any business unit, irrespective of its size and operations, and that an organisation's competency in information systems is key to its survival in today's business environment.

Research findings from an information needs assessment survey of a small business community in Zambia underline the importance of information as an empowering tool (Banda, Mutula, and Grand 2004:99). Banda *et al*. (2004:99) found that the ability of small enterprises to survive in an increasingly global environment is largely predicated upon their capacity to access and use information resources, and yet one of the most notable obstacles limiting the capacity of small enterprises is the lack of access to timely, relevant and adequate information for informed decision making. The study

found that the struggle to access information was mainly due to a lack of understanding and knowledge on how to obtain it efficiently.

Access to business information services has been identified as an area that needs attention from governments and business service providers if small enterprises in developing countries are to achieve sustainable levels of growth and development (Chiware and Dick 2008:145). The availability of vital and relevant information and knowledge is critical for effective decision-making, especially knowledge of sourcing raw materials and markets for finished products (GOK 1989:167). Small enterprise operators also need information on available bank loans, sources of business finance, and small enterprise loan schemes, among others.

Many firms in developing countries, however, operate in an information poor environment due to a lack of business-support services and poor information technological structures (Oshikoya and Hussain in Chiware and Dick 2008:145; Okello-Obura, Minishi-Majanja, Cloete, and Ikoja-Odongo (2007:2). Small enterprises also suffer from a lack of credit-related information because they are discriminated against as high risk and may not be included in the mailing list of potential credit units by banking organisations (Migiro 2006:2). Government bureaucracy and poor information structures have also been observed to constrain access to information. There is also a lack of awareness of ICTs which leads to the view that they (ICTs) are not necessary in the running of MSEs (GOK 1989:167).

In spite of the central role played by the informal sector in Kenya in employment creation, the production of goods and services, and in poverty reduction, they have scanty access to information. Moyi and Njiraini (2005:8) have posed the question: How much information is available to the sector? Moyi (2003:224) had observed in an earlier study that formal organisations and institutions that provide information in Kenya are very few and inadequately funded, with a limited capacity to address the problems facing the sector, with 75% of the people in the sector lacking access to such organisations and mainly relying on informal networks.

The situation in Botswana is similar; information seeking practices were found to be overwhelmingly informal and were characterised by a high degree of reliance on information obtained through the knowledge and experience of the business owner (Duncombe and Heeks 1999:5). In their research in Northern Uganda, Okello-Obura *et al*. (2007) likewise observed that economic agents operate in a business environment characterised by fragmented and incomplete information where an awareness of markets, technology, policy regulations and finance options is limited, with no proper information system in place for the efficient and effective access to business information by business enterprises.

Moyi (2003:227) and McCormick (1992:6) have also observed that the structure of production of small enterprises in Kenya is a crucial factor since the producers are fully occupied in the production process and are therefore reluctant to leave their workstations in search of information. It was found that the majority of manufacturing SMEs lacked awareness of the various sources of finance. Migiro and Wallis (2006:9) observed that small enterprises also lacked information and understanding of what was available due to fragmented financial information and lack of targeted awareness and educational schemes, and therefore ended up using family and friends to obtain information on sources of finance. Migiro and Wallis (2006:9) also found that modern ICTs were the least used channels to access different sources of finance, which they attributed to a low level of education and training, lack of computer skills, and a lack of awareness of the benefits and returns on investment.

Moyi (2003:227) and Ronge, Ndirangu and Nyangito (2002:41) contend that financial and market information is the most critical constraint to the development of the informal sector in Kenya. MSEs in Kenya are characterised by restricted access to technology and inadequate institutional capacity to support the adaptation and absorption of modern technological skills. The MSEs also suffer from a lack of information on existing technologies and their potential for increased trade; low levels of education and technical training for the majority of MSE operators; and inadequate financial capacity to acquire available technology and information. All these combine to lead to continued low productivity, poor quality and a limited range of products (GOK 2005:12; Moyi 2003:221).

Since resources and skills constraints prevent small enterprises from seizing the opportunities offered by new technologies, supportive mechanisms are required to mobilise them. However, currently there are limited efforts by the government, non-governmental and community-based organisations to offer business advisory services or other support mechanisms (Moyi 2003:221).

The Government of Kenya Sessional Paper No 2 of 2005 on "Micro and small enterprises for wealth and employment creation for poverty eradication" notes that the major constraint facing small enterprises in relation to information acquisition is their capacity to interpret and effectively utilise the received information. The Sessional Paper has also noted that the dissemination of information on legal and regulatory issues to the public and MSEs is poor, and that they have been inadequately sensitised about their obligations and rights. This makes it difficult for the MSE participants to factor in guidelines on policy and legal issues into their decision-making processes, resulting in their continuous harassment by law enforcement agencies. It also notes that without access to timely, simplified, reliable and relevant information on market

opportunities, technology and government regulations, the MSEs are not able to survive and grow in the fast-changing, increasingly globalised, and highly competitive market environment.

In the absence of proper and effective structures for information dissemination, the informal sector traders operate in a pervasive environment of informality. This, as Moyi (2003:226) has observed, may make them feel that they have markets within their social networks of family, friends and other members of the social group, and therefore not consider it important to go out in search of information for marketing and production processes. According to Moyi (2003:226), ignorance about where to get the relevant information may also make them settle for the most-readily available information sources in informal networks which they have always used, where trust and norms of reciprocity within close knit groups are entrenched, but which result in perpetuating low profits and their small sizes.

However, Gould, Gomez, and Camacho (2010:1), in their research on information needs in developing countries, observed that user information needs are satisfied in a variety of ways, and not always through public access avenues or using ICTs. They enquired how a community's needs could best be satisfied and whether ICTs can serve a community's needs better. In their research findings, they found that locally relevant content was essential to serve individual and community needs. Gould *et al*. (2010) recommended that information produced in local languages, and the knowledge of literacy levels, skills, user awareness, and available technology and training, including that of ICT use, should also be considered if new innovations are to be adopted and utilised fully.

Duncombe and Molla (2009:23), in their research in Botswana, found a large and unmet demand for formal information and the desire to move away from informal information systems. They called for a formalisation of information systems in sub-Saharan Africa.

Sharma and Bhagwat (2006:216) have also observed the traditional mindset that does not encourage small enterprises to invest in alternative information systems, but continue to use knowledge systems that are embodied in social networks at local level institutions. These coalesce into solidarity networks where information is shared about members' activities. Adam (1996:1) views it as ironic that in their struggle for survival, the informal sector entrepreneurs may have overlooked the need for information that could potentially provide more than mere survival. Ocholla (2006:2) has also observed that the prevailing lack of information is reminiscent of economically disadvantaged populations in developing countries where semi-illiterate people, lacking higher educational qualifications, were also politically disadvantaged. Most informal sector workers in developing countries belong to the information-poor, which translates to a double disadvantage of absolute poverty and information poverty.

Tan, Chong, Lin, and Eze (2010:24) have observed that since small enterprises represent an important segment of any economy, it would be timely for them to enhance their competitiveness not only locally, but also on the global arena. This can be achieved by embracing internet-based technologies in their businesses and by first understanding the benefits of ICTs. Small enterprises stand to gain through reduced transactions costs, information gathering and dissemination, and inventory and quality control from ICTs. When small enterprises are in a position to serve a large pool of customers, the rewards that they could accrue are huge and include increased earnings and economic returns, which are not only good for the enterprise, but for the country as well (Tan *et al*. 2010:24, Oletokun and Kabonye 2010:43).

In a study carried out in Nairobi among informal food sellers, Macharia (1998: 9) found that timely information is a very crucial element in the informal sector because it is on the basis of such information that a potential operator could go to the city council to apply for available premises. He disagrees with what has been described as 'ease of entry' by the ILO study, as business premises may not be open to those who are not members of a social network. He found that ethnic networks play a substantial role in the allocation of business premises, transfer of skills and technology, entry into this sub-sector, and in establishing markets. The ethnic networks were a barrier to the free flow of information and those without access or who were not members of such networks could not enter or start their businesses because they lacked the necessary information.

Macharia (1998:9) also observed that the concept of trust plays an important role in the worldview of informal sector operators and forms the basis of communication. Getting a licence for premises in the informal food sector (popularly known as food kiosks) was more important than having the capital to operate it, and if one did not come from the group that had the information on the available premises, the chances of getting the kiosk were remote (Macharia 1998:9). This further stresses the informality of the informal sector's information networks, and suggests that information in the informal sector may not be open to all who would be interested in going into business.

Macharia (1998:9) found that in the majority of cases co-ethnics told each other about available spaces where a new entrant could start operating her/his business and also went on to help the new entrant in settling down. In the absence of formal training institutions, this informality extends to skills acquisition, which is achieved through apprenticeships; apprentices get their sponsors through social networks, friends, and kinship members who are mainly co-ethnics and relatives.

Cross-ethnic and cross-family sharing of such information may occasionally or rarely occur between members of the same religious groups or churches. Ethnic networks can therefore be both facilitators of and barriers to information flow as long as they serve the above roles, since information is not freely exchanged and available to all. The social networks are spun by knowledge creators, who capture and circulate information within particular business communities, such as informal food sellers and metal workers. The local knowledge, therefore, belongs to and is controlled by the community (Moyi 2003:223; Macharia 1998:9).

Any intervention from outside the community (like the introduction of ICTs) would therefore depend on how well it interfaces with the local traditional communication channels and how it incorporates locally generated information. The adoption of an innovation can be greatly facilitated by properly identifying traditional communication systems through which members of the community acquire and diffuse their existing knowledge, and how the knowledge is shaped by their attitudes and practices (Moyi 2003:223). It is important to note that even while informal sector entrepreneurs may not have adopted ICTs in their practices, the entrepreneurs should be recognised as the producers of existing knowledge and information within their community, and this should be understood and blended with any incoming information to avoid alienation (Moyi 2003: 223; Koanantakool 2004:127).

The rapid adoption of mobile technology in African communities has occurred because the technology interfaces readily with informal oral African traditional channels of creating and circulating knowledge and information. Most traditional communities prefer information to be communicated orally to them by people closest to them like neighbours, colleagues, relatives and friends (Ocholla 2006:3). Therefore, in terms of adoption and integration into local needs, the mobile phone technology has been integrated better than other forms of technology, like the computer which have been around for longer.

To surmise, information that is frequently used by informal sector entrepreneurs originates from informal sources such as customer and competitor reactions, employee personal experiences, friends and relatives, which are all informal sources (Moyi 2003:223). Any intervention would need to take into account these local networks and build on them. Information originating from outside would need to be accommodated into the local matrix, relevant to the community's needs, and clearly understood by the community.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at the development and status of the informal sector in Kenya in relation to the sector's information needs and the ways in which these needs are satisfied. It has also looked at the diffusion and use of ICTs in the sector and the extent to which they are used to meet the needs of informal sector enterprises.

Since independence, the informal sector in Kenya has spontaneously grown over the years in response to the need for a significant proportion of Kenya's citizenry to earn their living in the absence of formal employment. In spite of a lack of encouragement and support from the government, it has outgrown the formal sector in terms of job creation and as a source of livelihood for the majority of Kenyans. The government also came to recognise that the informal sector cannot be ignored and has made efforts to encourage its growth in the last two decades.

In spite of these efforts, the sector lags behind in terms of the provision of facilities and infrastructure, and especially ICT support. Most informal sector enterprises and operators continue to use simple technologies and are yet to embrace ICT technology, with the exemption of the mobile phone which has been extensively adopted and widely used by Kenyans from all walks of life. Access to computer-based technologies remains low among informal sector operators, the majority of whom do not have the necessary skills; they also lack awareness of ICT benefits, and are not able to afford them (ICTs).

They also continue to use informal methods in their search for information and are unable to access the necessary information, on such things as sources of finance and credit for businesses, and the right prices and markets for their goods. They rely on informal networks of information, especially friends and relatives, as well as customer reactions and their own experiences to start and run their businesses.

The paper has therefore revealed that informal sector enterprises have continued to remain small as survival outfits and have not embraced modern channels of computer-based technologies for information access.

Literature reviewed from official and other sources has covered the development of the informal sector and its importance to the people and the economy of Kenya. There are gaps in the literature on the part that can be played by ICTs in the improvement and growth of the informal sector. This is despite the fact that ICTs have been found to play an important part in the growth of small enterprises elsewhere by opening up and expanding their markets and information flow, not just locally but also beyond the national boundaries. This study attempts to contribute towards filling the gap in literature on the importance and contribution of ICTs to the informal sector in Kenya.

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