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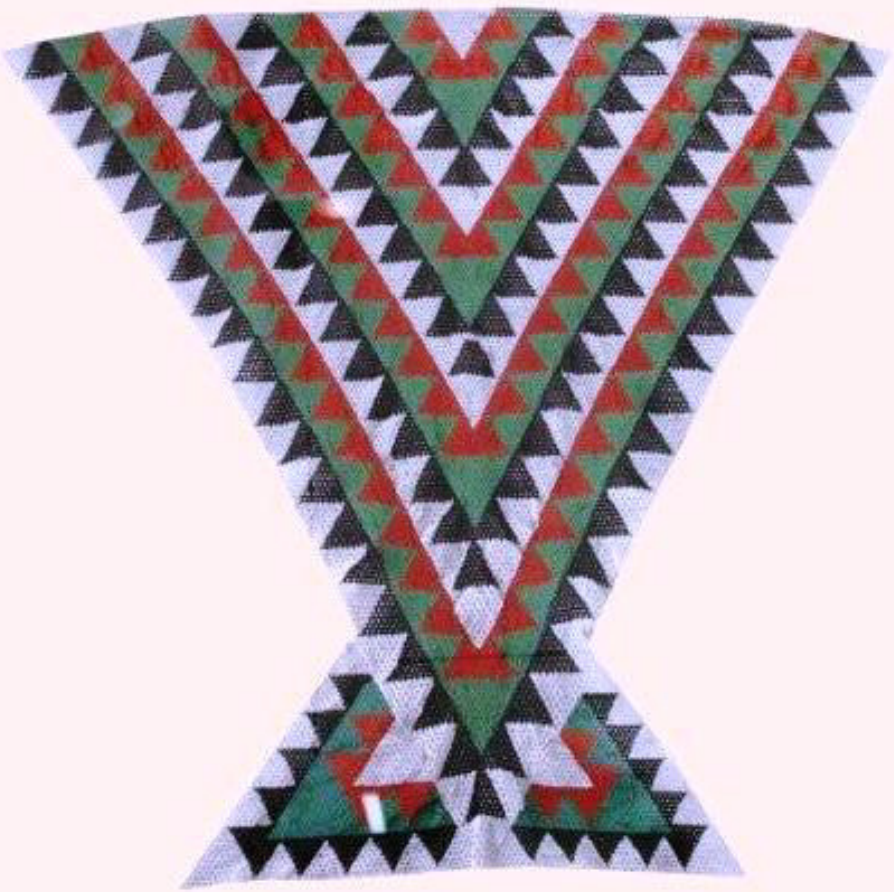

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EDITORIAL

Dear *Inkanyiso* readers,

I wish to present you with the first – Vol 71(1) – of two issues (2015) of *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. This issue consists of eight articles focusing on political history, American literature, human resources management, knowledge management, psychology, political science, information services and cultural studies

The first article, on political history, is the third of a series of related articles published in *Inkanyiso* (Vol 6 N1) by Maxwell Shamase from the University of Zululand, South Africa. In this article, "Relations between the Zulu People of Emperor Mpande and the Christian missionaries, c.1845-c.1871", Maxwell narrates the relationship between Zulu traditional norms and values and Christian religion during the reign of Emperor Mpande (1840-1872). Ancestral veneration and the worship of the Supreme Being, called *Umvelinqangi,* were pre-eminent and the education of children was informal, based on imitation and observation. These cultural and spiritual values naturally contradicted Christian values/religion. Maxwell therefore expresses the nature and extent of relations between the Christian missionaries and the Zulu empire of Mpande with significant validations.

In the second article, entitled "Bipolar disorder, childhood bereavement, and the return of the dead in Edgar Allan Poe's Works, "Becky Lee Meadows, an English professor from St. Catharine College, USA, discusses several short stories written by Poe, known for his literary criticism, lyric poetry and short stories in American literature in the 20th Century. Knowledge sharing is highly encouraged among academics/faculty members. Sani Fari from Umaru Musa Yar'dua University, Nigeria discusses two theories for understanding and employing knowledge sharing in his article "Applying Social Capital Theory and Technology Acceptance Model in Information and Knowledge Sharing Research". He discusses Social Capital Theory (SCT) and the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) as theoretical foundations for information and knowledge sharing research and concludes that despite the complexity of information and knowledge sharing activities and processes, the two theoretical foundations can strongly inform knowledge sharing research. Following this is an article focusing on human resource management written by Sunday, Samuel and Catherine from the University of Venda, South Africa, the Tai Solarin University of Education, and the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, respectively. In their article "The Influence of Organisational Factors and Work-Family Conflict on Organisational Commitment among Working Parents", they investigate the influence of organisational factors and the conflict of the work-family role on organisational commitment among working parents through survey research. Results reveal that employees with high work-family conflict are more committed to their jobs, while there is no significant difference in organisational commitment between the senior and the junior staff. The study recommends effective organisational policies and practices in improving and encouraging organisational commitment.

In the sixth article, by Steven Edwards, an emeritus professor from the University of Zululand, entitled "Promoting family resilience in South Africa: a community psychological, multicultural and counselling approach", Steven describes some projects in Kwa-Zulu Natal, which adopted a community psychological, multi-cultural counselling approach in promoting family resilience, and provides unique insight into the outcome of the research. The seventh contribution, from the University of Lesotho, is Peter and Maleshoane's article on library and information services entitled "Perception of library service quality, satisfaction and frequency of use of library resources". This article assesses the students' perceived levels of library service quality, satisfaction with the library service, frequency of use of library resources, and whether there are relationships among these. The authors found that the respondents perceived low service quality from the library staff and the extent to which library patrons can easily access and control information. The majority of respondents also rarely used the library website. The two authors conclude that LibQUAL+^{TM} has acceptable applicability in Lesotho and further recommend how service and information control dimensions of library service quality at NUL can be improved.The seventh article, by Adeniyi Basiru from the University of Lagos, Nigeria, focuses on political science. In "Globalization and the state: implications for the state of human rights in Africa", Adeniyi interrogates, in theoretical *cum* descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalisation, the state, and the state of human rights using sub-Saharan Africa as a research backdrop. He recommends that the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space in Africa, needs to be reconstituted.

In the last paper, by Richard Ogunleye from Adekunhle Ajasin University, Nigeria, entitled "Cultural identity in the throes of modernity: an appraisal of Yemoja among the Yoruba in Nigeria", Richard argues that culture is a complex and dynamic phenomenon by which a particular group of people are identified. The article gives an appraisal of the influence of Yemoja on the socio-cultural and economic development in Nigeria and the consequences of Yemoja's her neglect in this modern age.

Enjoy your reading

Dennis N. Ocholla

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

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Contents

Relations between the Zulu people of Emperor Mpande and the Christian missionaries, c.1845-c.1871

Maxwell Z. Shamase[1]
Department of History, University of Zululand
ShamaseM@unizulu.ac.za

Abstract

During Emperor Mpande's reign (1840-1872), following the deposition of his half-brother Dingane in 1840, the Zulu people mostly adhered to traditional norms and values, believing that the spirits of the dead live on. Ancestral veneration and the worship of the Supreme Being called Umvelinqangi were pre-eminent and the education of children was merely informal, based on imitation and observation. This worldview faced new challenges with the advent of Christianity and the arrival of Christian missionaries at Port Natal between 1845 and 1871. The strategy of almost all Christian missionaries was premised on winning the Zulu people en masse *to Christianity through Mpande's court. The doctrines preached by the missionaries disputed the fundamental ethical, metaphysical and social ideas of the Zulu people. Mpande, however, earnestly requested that at least one missionary reside in the vicinity of his palace. Nothing could deter Mpande's attempts to use missionary connections to keep Colonial threats of invasion in check. While the Zulu people were devoid of organised religion which might have proved a bulwark against the Christianisation process, Mpande's acceptance of the missionaries could be said to have been mainly strategic. He could not display bellicose tendencies while still at an embryonic stage of consolidating his authority. This paper gives an exposition of the nature and extent of relations between the Christian missionaries and the Zulu empire of Mpande.*

Keywords: Christianity, proselytes, missionaries, evangelisation, Zulu empire, Emperor Mpande

Introduction

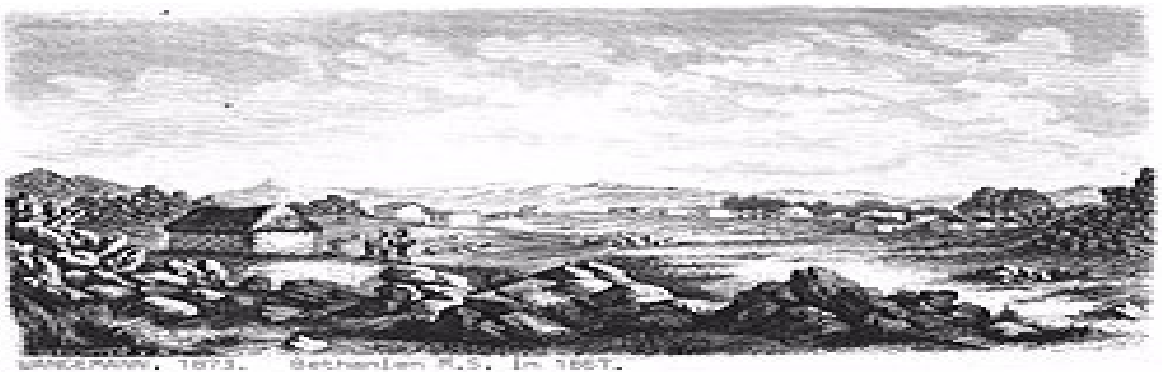
An *empire* is a geographically extensive group of diverse states and peoples (ethnic groups) united and ruled by a central authority, either by a monarch (emperor, empress) or an oligarchy. This is a perfect description of what Mpande ruled over when he assumed power in 1840. The Zulu empire extended along the coast of the Indian Ocean from the Tugela River in the south to the Pongola River in the north (*http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zulu_Kingdom*).

At the height of his power Mpande, unlike his predecessor, welcomed Christian missionaries from the Natal Colony to the Zulu empire. The missionaries were not overtly imperial agents, but acted as informants on affairs within the empire for the benefit of the British colonial establishment in Natal (Webb 1978: 75). It is imperative, however, to note that when Mpande granted the Christian missionaries admission to the empire, the Zulu people had already been in continual contact with European people who had settled in and about Port Natal for nearly three decades. As time went by these Europeans came to populate great parts of the Mpande's land as regular farmers (Hernaes and Simensens 1987: 3-5). Both the Voortrekkers and the British colonists had proved ready to protect their interests in the country by force if necessary. This fact had already sealed the destiny of the Zulu people. Mpande's subjects had also learnt that some of the European people who came into contact with them called themselves missionaries (Krige 1957:228; Lautenscblager 1909: 128). The court of Mpande had been exposed to the particular aim of their presence.

The Zulu encounter with Christian missionaries at Port Natal and in Zululand

The encounter between Mpande and Christian missionaries was presaged by sporadic attacks on mission stations by his predecessor Dingane in 1838. After the Retief massacre in 1837, Dingane grew in audacity and hatred of the White people (Gray 1911: 23). He sent his numerous warriors to Port Natal where the American Board Mission was stationed[2]. The Rev. David Lindley, the only one of the Americans remaining, sought refuge on a ship, The Comet, at Port Natal. During this raid every house at the Port was destroyed by fire and all the residents banished or killed, including the missionaries at Umlazi.

1. Maxwell Shamase PhD is a Lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Zululand, South Africa.
2. Dingane, half-brother to both Emperor Shaka and Mpande, mounted the Zulu throne after Shaka's assassination on the 24th September 1828.



The American Board Mission station destroyed by Zulu warriors in 1837

On 16 December 1837 the Zulu army in battle array attacked the Dutch 'laagers' or defences – the first at Ncome (43 km from Dundee, 24 from Nquthu and 72 km from Vryheid) and subsequently at Weenen (situated on the banks of the Bushman River) and Blaauwkrantz (between the present-day Ladysmith and Estcourt). The Dutch were the victors and, as they had vowed that if they gained victory they would build a house to the Lord, the Dutch Reformed Church in Pietermaritzburg was eventually erected in fulfilment of this vow (Kotze 1958: 203-259). It is now a Voortrekker museum.

The 16th of December was kept as a holy anniversary of a remarkable victory, and was known as Dingaan's Day in South Africa until 1994, when it was renamed Day of Reconciliation. The battle of Ncome (Blood River) on 16 December 1838 enfeebled Zulu power for a whole generation. As the Zulu army receded, the Christian missionaries returned. From one point of view the omens were propitious. As pointed out above, Mpande was not negatively disposed to missionary work. He gave Aldin Grout permission to settle near the royal village of Inkanyezi, but this favour was capricious and short-lived (Brookes 1936: 3).

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

The early Christianisation of the Zulu people and other Africans (a mixture of Zulu and Xhosa-speaking people) living in Natal, however, may largely be attributed to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, more familiarly known as the American Board. The Board began to look to Africa as a field for missionary work in 1825. At its annual meeting in 1826 the American Board passed a resolution authorising the Prudential Committee to:

> Admit dependants of Africa into the Foreign Mission School with a view to their preparation for missionary labours on the coast of Africa (Taylor 1971: 17; Whisson and West 1975:165-170).

At the same meeting recommendations were made for the establishment of a mission school with the object of educating African youth in order that they might qualify to become useful missionaries, physicians, schoolmasters, surgeons, or interpreters. They were also to communicate to the non-believers, the so-called 'heathen', such knowledge of agriculture and the arts as might prove the means of promoting Christianity and Western civilisation. This recommendation did not materialise, because experience showed that it was impossible to attempt such education away from the African environment. The school was therefore short-lived.

Missionary proliferation and the evangelisation process

By the close of 1848, however, the Christian missions numbered eight stations, i.e. Umlazi, or rather Amanzimtoti, Umvoti, Inanda, Imfume, Umsunduze, AmaHlongwa, Ifafa, and Umkhambathi (Table Mountain). There were similarly eight ordained missionaries, i.e. Rev. Dr. Newton Adams, Aldin Grout, Daniel Lindley, Alfred Bryant, Lewis Grout, Martin Kinney, James Rood and Samuel Marsh (Du Plessis 1965:78). The missionaries were subsequently increased by the addition of Rev. John Ireland in February 1849 and Messrs. Abraham, Tyler and Wilder in July of the same year. Abraham was appointed to a new station at Maphumulo. Mr. Wilder was charged with running the printing press at Umbilo in Durban.

In September 1850, however, he took charge of a new station at Umthwalume, about 120, 75 km southwest of Port Natal. The spread of Christianity at that time had the full blessing of Mpande and the council of Zulu amakhosi (potentates). It must be mentioned that not all missionaries necessarily obtained Mpande's approval. Mpande hoped to make them a buffer between his empire and the Colonial establishments in Natal.

As early as 1836, Rufus Anderson of the American Board, along with Henry Venn of the Anglican Church Missionary Society, had enunciated a motto of a mission policy, the three-self theory: 'Self-support; self-government; self-propagation' (Grout 1968:219).

Although the desire and attempts by the European missionaries to convert the Zulu people to Christianity *en masse* did produce some converts, on the whole the three-self theory wasa failure. This became apparent in the annual report of the American Board's mission for 1860. Mr. Bridgeman reported:

> Though we had no success, that would not diminish our obligation, or relieve us of our duty, to preach the gospel. Though there had been no converts, though our discouragements were increased a hundredfold, though the heathen were, if possible, more depraved than they now are, so long as we have the command, 'Go ye into all the world … we would desire cheerfully to continue our work and leave results with God' (Grout 1968: 219).

The following table represents the average size of the Sabbath audiences, of the schools and churches at several American Board mission stations in the Colony of Natal and within the Zulu empire about 1845:

	Sabbath congregations	**Learners**	**Church members**
Amanzimtoti	120	40	47
AmaHlongwa	36	07	02
Esidumbini	45	14	---
Ifafa	40	10	03
Imfume	77	32	30
Inanda	82	16	51
Maphumulo	40	12	01
Table Mountain	14	---	02
Umvoti	210	40	50
Umsunduzi	50	16	51
Umthwalume	85	32	15

Source: Grout 1968: 220

While the basic ethical, metaphysical and social ideas of the Zulu people were contradicted by doctrines espoused by the missionaries, Mpande repeatedly and earnestly requested that at least one missionary should reside near him (Cory 1926: 8). Much as one might concur with the fact that the Zulu people were devoid of organised religion which might prove a bulwark against the evangelisation process, Mpande's acceptance of the missionaries was mainly diplomatic. He could not display bellicose tendencies while still at an embryonic stage of consolidating his rule. Aldin Grout of the American Board Mission wrote the following of his new location:

> In travelling from Natal (Durban) to Umlambongwenya by two different routes, I have neither seen nor heard of a place where so great a population is accessible as here. Thirty-seven villages are near enough to be collected for worship upon the Sabbath. The country here is one which the Natives like to occupy ... I will only say that I am, single-handed, about a hundred miles from a fellow labourer, and the same distance from anybody that I can call Civilised, in the midst of a nation which, if it does not ask for teachers, will not throw the least obstacle in their way (Gray 1911:22).

Aldin Grout, however, had little respect for Mpande, whom he felt the people laughed at; he was mistaken, however, to think that Mpande was feeble.

It was Grout's own views about Mpande that might have contributed to the distrust in which Mpande began to hold him. He boasted:

> Some Zulus say openly that if Mpande does not treat them well, they will just walk off, or move their village upon my place, taking it for granted if they are upon the station, they are out of the way of Zulu authority (Grout 1968:228-230; Cubbin 1994:15-17).

Grout appeared to have miscalculated the nature of Mpande's authority within the empire and his (Grout's) own influence over the local Zulu population. From the king downward, he thought that the Zulu people stood in perfect fear of the European people.

Reverend Grout expressed repugnance to the polygamy and witchcraft practised by the Zulu people. To the northeast of the uThukela River potentate (inkosi) Mfungumfu Dube embraced Christianity while his sons Siyazana and Mqiko abhorred its spread in the empire (*Herald* 1943: 77). They objected to Grout's vehement opposition to the traditional

way of life of the Zulu people. This further contributed to despondency between Mpande and Grout. Suddenly, on the night of 25 July 1842, the uDlambedlu regiment (ibutho) from Mpande surrounded and attacked the nearest Zulu dwellings at the mission stations around Groutville. Grout watched in astonishment and then gathered a minority of Zulu converts to flee with him southwards beyond uThukela. They eventually settled on the northern banks of the Umvoti River (Sales 1971:17). With this episode the American Board's work ended in KwaZulu north of uThukela.

After the mission of the American Board in Natal and Zululand, the oldest and largest was the Wesleyan Methodist Society. In 1849 they had five mission stations in the field: Rev. Holden at Port Natal, Henry Parkinson at Pietermaritzburg, Rev. Thomas Jenkins at Palmerston (among Faku's people in Pondoland), Indaleni and Verulem (Grout 1968:238-239). Mpande did not object to the evangelisation of Africans south of uThukela. Many converts also abandoned Zulu law and customs. These Africans were not necessarily part of the Zulu empire.

The Norwegian Mission was founded by Rev. Hans Schreuder in 1845 near the present-day town of Empangeni (situated on the north coast of KwaZulu-Natal). Not fully contented with the prospects of this field, and finding Mpande opposed to his evangelisation mission in that part of his empire, he left in 1847. In 1854 he came back and started a new station at Ntumeni, among the sources of the Matigulu River, about 40 kilometres from the sea. Rev. Ommund Oftebro had opened a station at Empangeni, a branch of the Mhlathuze River (Grout 1968:239). Of all the missionaries who made contact with the Zulu people in Mpande's time, the Norwegians sought closer ties with the Zulu royalty. Their principal aim was to meet the audience with what represented the most essential points of their Christian message, namely the gospel of a new life and salvation in Christ.

In 1854 Rev. Schreuder met Queen Langazana[3] at Esiklebheni palace of Mpande. He reported:

> My visit to her was used, as usual, through conversation to present to her and her companions the path of truth ... (*Herald* 1854:15; Stuart 1897:66-69).

When he visited Mpande's Nodwengu palace shortly afterwards, Schreuder recorded that:

> as usual there was, at the royal kraal, no lack of opportunities to speak with individuals of any rank of the thing necessary ... (Hernaes and Simensens 1987:6-9; *Witness* 1854:10).

Contact between members of Mpande's household and the Norwegian missionaries took place in three main categories, namely public preaching, instruction and conversation (Colonial Office 1858:122). This was either in private or in the presence of the council of potentates (amakhosi).

In a number of ways different members of Mpande's household took an interest in the religious preaching. This was often motivated mainly by a wish for better knowledge of what the missionaries stood for (Native Affairs 1860:1/3/9). The principles of autocratic rule as practised by Emperor Shaka had, at the time of Mpande, become more pliable, and the emperor's freedom to make decisions depended on approval from the council of potentates (amakhosi) and conformity with traditional usage (Stuart 1900:2-6). In the 1840s Rev. Schreuder discovered that the most compact resistance to his requests came, not from Mpande personally, but from his council of potentates (ABC 1853:15/4/7). Rev. Schreuder gave a report to the home constituency in early 1846, stating that:

> they (the Chiefs) and other great men of the country originally were the ones to make the most resolute stand against the proclamation of the Gospel in their country (Schreuder 1957:249)

Although the Norwegian missionaries generally enjoyed a good measure of freedom to preach in Mpande's palaces, they were by no means granted free scope. From time to time, and with a few of the royal family, however, a more active interest in the message of the missionaries arose (Stuart 1909:24-28). In the case of Mpande himself, his most positive period appeared to have been the tense years from the battle of Ndondakusuka in 1856 until the mid-1860s when the prince secured his position as heir apparent (Colonial Office 1856:9).

This positiveness was expressed in his willingness to comply with many of the missionaries' requests, but there are few indications that he was more seriously attracted by the message itself. As far as the last seven to eight years of his reign were concerned, Mpande's relationship to the missionaries should be illustrated by the following abstract from a letter by Rev. Schreuder, written in March 1865:

> Three times Wetlergreen and I saw the king. And with the king's consent I left to Wetlergreen the continual medical treatment of some wounds on one of the king's feet. The well-being of the king's soul also weighs heavily and intensively on my mind. There was a time of my knowing him when his heart was more like an open gullet of teeth of ferocious animals and like a hard unascendable rock. What a different man he is now when you can speak the truth to him; – he apparently listening calmly and dociley. When, after ending the conversation I bade him farewell, I said I would pray for him. He seemed so grateful and repeated empathically: 'Yes, pray to God for me ...' Poor, powerless Umpande! How often has he not heard the Gospel

3. Queen Langazana was Senzangakhona's wife and king Mpande's step-mother.

> since my last seeing him in April 18631. But even on this occasion I only managed during the conversation here and there to scatter something of the truth in Christ ... (Spohr 1965:59; Schreuder 1957:258).

Among other members of the Zulu royal house the missionaries occasionally experienced more interest in their message. Thus Rev. Schreuder, as early as 1854, reported on a visit with Queen Monase at Nodwengu, at which the missionary message was presented not only by preaching or discussion, but also by singing:

> Umunase was, as usual, friendly, entertaining, interrogative, and pretty begging. And I gave her of my supplies, i.e. the truths of the Word of God. We had rainy weather on the day of my visiting her, and therefore we stayed in a big hut in which several of the royal children, servants and the personnel from the kraal came to gather. The queen recounted much of what I some 1½ years ago had taught them in her kraal, Ekulweni, and asked for some information wanting also to listen to our songs again. I therefore started to sing some hymns, which I had to repeat until all the audience started to sing along and we eventually formed a real chorus. First I recited the words, and made the meaning clear to them, and then we sang together (*Herald* 1865:14; Native Affairs 1856:1/1/6).

On the same occasion Rev. Schreuder also reported having conversed with some 'grown-up' royal princes who came to him daily and were his attentive listeners (Colonial Office 1856:40/380). These representatives of the Zulu royalty are known to have worshipped at the mission stations or to have come to receive instruction there.

Not least, the message of the missionaries seemed to have gained the ear of some of the female members of Mpande's household (*Mercury* 1878:25-26). For instance, in 1860 Schreuder reported on a visit to the palace of Mpande's mother, Queen Songiya:

> One day when I visited the king's mother, Usongiya, in the kraal of Umlambongwenya, a group of people soon gathered in her big house, among whom were also several of the princesses. A religious discussion soon developed and questions were asked (notably by one of the princesses) on the issues of death, resurrection, and what is therewith connected ... (Cope 1806:8).

Some months later he wrote thus about his visit to the same palace:

> Usongiya, the king's old mother, who is the head of this kraal has, since my first stay in this kraal some nine years ago, changed as much as it is possible for a person who is not yet converted in point of listening to the preaching of God's Word. Also two of the princesses who, for long, have been attentive listeners as often as the Word has been preached in this kraal, seem inclined to accept the Gospel and to believe ... These two princesses, USigagayi and Ubekiwe, of very, one could almost say, beautiful appearance are hereby committed to your warm and continual prayers ... (Schreuder 1957:263).

Among the male members of Mpande's household, the reports of the Norwegian missionaries from this period give the names of only three princes who took an extraordinary interest in contact with the missionaries and their message.[4] The first was Prince Shingana of Cetshwayo's Ondini palace of whom Rev. Ommund Oftebro wrote in 1864:

> Several of the young princes – there were, I think, six of them present – proved especially attentive, and afterwards they wanted to discuss what they had heard. One of them in particular, uShingana, proved not only to possess a knowledge of the basic tenets of Christianity which highly surprised me, but he spoke of it with such earnestness that one would think he not only knew the Word of God, but was also affected by it ... (*Witness* 1864:18; Du Plessis 1965:79-84; ABC 1868 :15/4/8).

A prince whose interest in the missionaries seemed to have been aroused more by their knowledge in reading and writing than by their religious message was Mgidlana. In 1869 Rev. H.K. Leisegang wrote:

> Also a younger prince (Umgidlane) showed, in the first months of this year, a particular interest for the book ... He even came with a group (of 6 - 8 mates of the same age) saying that he wanted to *funda* (be taught). Again and again he came back in order to learn. And when I once came to him in the kraal of Umdumezala [sic] in order to celebrate Sunday, he regretted that his hut could house only a few. But when having become greater himself he would build a bigger house to have services in. Unfortunately my contact with him was discontinued when he, in April, was called to Ondini. But several times he sent friendly greetings to me saying that he was still fond of books asking also for one for repetition ... (Native Affairs 1868 :413; *Herald* 1870 :12-16).

Prince Dabulamanzi represented the most distinct expression of a positive attitude to the gospel among Zulu princes. He was Mpande's son, whose homestead was not far from Entumeni mission. In 1871 Schreuder rendered a rather detailed report of his relation to the missionaries and their message (Colonial Office 1871:179/43). He said:

4. Renegade royal princes in Natal were not included.

> Our neighbour, prince Udabulamanzi, seems lately to have taken a most peculiar attitude to the truth in Christ. This, in particular, became visible when I, on my way home from Umbonambi and Empangeni in early September, visited the prince's kraal of Undi in which I also met this prince. In connection with two longer sermons of mine – relating to the grief in the royal house because of the deaths of prince [Usilwane, Ukekjwayo's full-brother, and his mother Unkumtaze, and dealing with death, judgement and resurrection to felicity or eternal damnation, he in the presence of chiefs and queens expressed himself in the most peculiar and unexpected way ... a whole company of us went over to his main kraal Ezulwini to experience there what has probably never been seen or heard of here in Zululand, – i.e. an abdurated Zulu of the royal house shedding tears when conversing of God and the matters of His kingdom – a conversation in which the prince himself took a most independent part. None of the other royal children understand him except Ubatonjile (Schreuder 1957:263).

During the period of Mpande's reign the Norwegian missionaries in the empire referred to two of Mpande's daughters as displaying an extraordinary interest in and a positive attitude to the missionary message. These were Bathonyile and Nokwenda (Native Affairs 1868:4/3; *Herald* 1869:13). They were Queen Monase's daughters and full-sisters to Prince Mbuyazi. The two were among the royal highnesses gathered in Queen Monase's palace in order to listen to Schreuder's preaching and singing.

In 1868 Wetlergreen wrote a letter from Mahlabathini which described Bathonyile's positive attitude towards the missionaries. He stated:

> The name of Batonjile, the King's daughter, will be one of the best known from here. I suppose she will be on the list of those referred to in his time by the Right Reverend the Bishop Colenso as the first in the royal family to lend a more open ear to the Word of God than usual ... Almost always she has shown me her interest in speaking of God's Word although this wish often has been rather subdued. For a long time she has declared she no longer believes in amathlozi ... (Whisson and West 1975:170-177).

Princesses Bathonyile and Nokwenda had regular instruction by the missionaries at Mahlabathini. This took place in Mpande's palace and on the mission station (ABC 1862:15/4/7). In 1870 Princess Bathonyile uttered a wish 'to come and live on the station ... She would no longer pay heed to the king. It is fear of the Prince (Cetshwayo) that binds her ...' (Native Affairs 1869:113/9). Nevertheless, the Norwegian missionaries were disappointed in their hopes. Bathonyile finally got married off to a potentate (inkosi) of the Mthethwa clan (*Mercury* 1854:13-15). As a widow she is known to have lived for some years not far from Eshowe where Rev. Stavem went to see her on several occasions. Stavem recorded:

> that she still loved the Word of God, but she had now become so dull and was no longer able to make any definite decisions ... (Stuart 1863 :1/3/9).

Mpande appreciated the medical expertise of the Norwegian missionaries. They helped him cure his sporadic attacks of gout.

The Berlin Mission in the Colony of Natal and within the Zulu empire dates from the year 1847, when two missionaries of that society, Rev. Dohne and Posselt, came from the interior over the Ukhahlamba Mountains and commenced operations with permission from Mpande (Native Affairs 1863:1/3/9). They founded two stations, one called Emmaus at the Ukhahlamba, at the source of the uThukela; and another, New Germany near Pinetown, about 20 km from Port Natal.

The Hanoverian Mission had its origin (under Providence) in the zeal and energy of the pious Pastor Harms at Hermannsburg, on the source of the Inhlimbithi, one of the eastern branches of the Umvoti. The Hanoverians, having obtained permission from Mpande, subsequently built six additional mission stations at Sterk Spruit, Ehlanzeni; Ethembeni on the Mpofana, Inyezane on a northeastern branch of the Matigulu, another on the Umlalazi, and another at Landela near the Umkhumbane, a branch of the White iMfolozi River (Bird 1965:120-128).

The Anglican Mission in the Colony of Natal and within Mpande's empire began with the arrival of Bishop John Colenso on 20 May 1855. It could be argued that this was not their first attempt because in 1835 Capt. Alien F. Gardiner of the Royal Navy got permission from Dingane to commence missionary operations (Bird 1965:129). In 1856 Mpande recognised them and the Church of England Mission opened a station on the Umlazi with Dr. Adams as a missionary. In 1859 it established a station at KwaMagwaza, on some of the higher branches of Umhlathuze River, between that area and the iMfolozi, a place which Mpande gave the bishop for that purpose (Winquist 1978:97-105). The mission also had two other stations, one between the Illovu and Umkhomazi River, near the sea; the other at Ladysmith in the northern part of the Colony (Mael 1974:115-168).

The Roman Catholic Mission was situated to the south-west of the Umkhomazi, and formed a centre from where the Roman Catholic Dr. M.J.F Allard and two or three priests were making some efforts to introduce their faith among the

Zulu people. Mpande also permitted them to start missionary work within his empire. Common among all missionaries who came to the empire were dreams of converting the Zulu people *en masse* to Christianity.

But during Mpande's reign the Zulu people predominantly adhered to their cultural norms and values, believing that the spirits of the departed live on. Ancestral honour and the worship of the Supreme Being called Umvelinqangi were pre-eminent and the education of children was merely informal, based on imitation and observation (Native Affairs 1863:1/3/9).

It could be argued, however, that while Mpande thought that missionaries might strengthen his political position, ordinary Zulus were frightened by the gospel that evoked terrors of damnation and hell. They were told that, unless they were converted, a fiery furnace awaited them where they would burn eternally (Hance 1969:112). Those who became converts of the missionaries were pestered to recant by the 'hard-hearted' or unrepentant Zulu subjects.

Among the individuals who became proselytes was Mbulasi Makhanya, a widow, in 1845. She, together with Dr. Adams, established the Amanzimtoti church. She contributed to the rapid spread of Christianity in that she led prayer meetings and visited homes. This also hastened the growth of a group of Zulu Christian proselytes called amakholwa, i.e. the believers (Native Affairs 1859:1/3/9). Eleven months later Nembula, her 20-year-old son, was baptised at Amanzimtoti.

On 1 May 1847, Ntaba KaMadunjini was baptised. He was one of those who fled with Rev. Grout from Mpande's wrath in 1852. He became the first school teacher near Umvoti and used to visit homes on Sunday evenings to question them on the sermon (*Herald* 1865:18). They were joined by his wives Titisi and Mciko, who broke with his family to join the Christian community.

It could be stated that towards the end of the nineteenth century Rev. Grout had built the first school in the area, known as Aldinville, which catered for the primary education of Zulu Christian proselyte children. On completion they were allowed to proceed to Amanzimtoti School at the Adams Mission of the American Board (Witness 1852:4; Taylor 1971:26-28).

In Mpande's time the Colonial establishments were viewed by the various Christian missionaries as super exploiters of the Zulu people (Owen 1838:288). The attitude of the Voortrekkers towards Zulu Christian proselytes was best described by Rev. Grout who, in his report, said:

> The Trekkers granted Umlazi and Imfume as places for mission stations, but they are now getting sick of it as they say the people on their places will always be leaving them that they may stop on the station and there be free (I would not speak it aloud enough for them to hear, but that seems to show what they want and intend, they want slaves) (ABC 1840:332).

One may argue that the antagonism of the Voortrekkers towards the proselytes was prompted by the political ramifications evangelisation had on them. The proselytes demanded exemption from the legal disabilities the colonial establishment at Port Natal had imposed on the Zulu people (Native Affairs 1860:1/3/9).

In 1863 at Pietermaritzburg Johannes Khumalo retorted:

> We have left the race of our forefathers; we have left the black race and have clung to the whites. We imitate them in everything we can. We feel we are in the midst of a civilised people, and that when we became converts to their faith we belonged to them (*Witness* 1863:2-5).

These attitudes, however, seemed not to have deterred the Zulu emperor's attempts to use cordial missionary relations as a yardstick with which to keep Colonial threats of invasion in check.

Conclusion

Throughout his reign Mpande struggled to successfully consolidate Zulu power in the face of pressures emanating from respectively the Vootrekkers, British colonial establishment and the Christian missionaries in Natal. While Mpande thought that missionaries might strengthen his political position, ordinary Zulu people were frightened by the gospel that evoked terrors of damnation and hell. They were told that non-believers in Christianity would be thrown in a fiery furnace where they would burn eternally. Zulu subjects who became proselytes of the missionaries were pestered to recant by their neighbours.

The missionaries did not assist Mpande in the internal disputes of the empire, and remained neutral in the civil upheaval that erupted in 1856. Though Mpande did not encounter the missionaries with a programmed policy as clear-cut as theirs, he came to play a highly active and determining role in the process of interrelation with them. Mpande's policy towards the missionaries was shaped by and founded upon his own world of experience. It is to be discerned within the framework both of his indigenous social tradition and of what he had learnt about Europeans through his contact with them.

Arguably, a packaged Christianity in liturgy presentation, hymnody and organisation brought about ecclesiastical alienation among the Zulu people in Mpande's time. This largely frustrated all efforts at ecclesiastical indigenisation by the Zulu emperor Mpande. During the 1860s, in forms of religious expression the Christian Western "civilisation" received greater considerations than the potential of the Zulu people and their traditions.

With the emergence of Zulu converts and the influence of missionaries, Mpande's empire accepted Christianity in spite of differences between the Zulu subjects and the Christian missionaries in approaches to conversion. Rather than doctrine, the Zulu people accentuated the existential value of the Christian message in their specific situation. Christianity had a deep Colonial disposition in as far as it became the 'servant' of the British imperialists to facilitate colonial expansion. This manifested itself more after Mpande's death in 1872 when Prince Cetshwayo, Mpande's heir, ascended the throne.

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Bipolar disorder, childhood bereavement, and the return of the dead in Edgar Allan Poe's Works

Becky Lee Meadows[1]
St. Catharine College, 2735 Bardstown Road, St. Catharine, KY 40061,USA
bmeadows@sccky.edu

Abstract

'It [the wall] fell bodily. The corpse, already greatly decayed and clotted with gore, stood erect before the eyes of the spectators. Upon its head, with red extended mouth and solitary eye of fire, sat the hideous beast whose craft had seduced me into murder ...'

From 'The Black Cat', written c. age 35 (Poe 1975:230).

Keywords: Edgar Allan Poe; bipolar disorder, childhood bereavement, and the return of the dead; literary criticism; American poetry; American short stories; lyric poetry

Introduction

'It [the wall] fell bodily. The corpse, already greatly decayed and clotted with gore, stood erect before the eyes of the spectators. Upon its head, with red extended mouth and solitary eye of fire, sat the hideous beast whose craft had seduced me into murder ...'

From "The Black Cat', written c. age 35 (Poe 1975: 230).

In Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Black Cat', we see the arrogant narrator undone when the corpse of the wife he murdered resurfaces behind the brick wall that concealed it, a haunting image that remains in our minds long after we have finished the story. In fact, few in the literary canon have composed as many gothic tales as memorable as Poe's. How did Poe's mind conjure these dark, gruesome literary works of the returning dead in such detail? One theory is that this theme could be a result of the childhood bereavement at the loss of his mother, his foster mother, and a close female friend, early in Poe's life. This theory alone, however, does not account for why Poe felt inclined to write consistently about the returning dead, as opposed to composing stories about these relatives as if they were alive, or in some other fashion. A look at Poe's life through his letters and those who corresponded with him suggests Poe may have suffered from bipolar disorder – a mood disorder not diagnosed in his day – and this, along with his possible childhood bereavement, could account for the corpses that resurface in his tales and poetry. A study of Poe's life in light of his possible mood disorder will illustrate it was both a blessing and a curse to him – a blessing in that the disease may have made it possible for him to compose the tales with the 'life-in-death' themes that were most successful in his time and still top gothic literature today, and a curse in that the disease may have eventually led to his death, possibly a form of suicide, at the age of 40.

What could account for Poe's obsession with the dead who do not remain dead? Kenneth Silverman, professor emeritus at New York University and a Pulitzer-Prize winning biographer, maintains Poe's obsession with the returning dead is a result of Poe suffering the death of three women who were dear to him when he was a youth. In fact, remembering the dead was a favorite cultural pastime during Poe's lifetime, Silverman (1991) writes: 'American culture of the time fostered such a preoccupation, preaching from every quarter the duty of remembering the dead. This so-called cult of memory helped to allay anxieties about the continued vitality of Christian ideas of immortality, and concern that commercial and industrial values had begun to prevail in personal and domestic life' (Silverman 1991: 72). However, Silverman acknowledges that Poe takes this remembrance of the dead a step further than society dictated by his emphasis on the dead returning in his tales. He adds that this is because throughout his life Poe experienced a child-like bereavement for the women he lost during his youth: his mother, Elizabeth Poe; his close friend and confidante, Jane Stanard; and his adopted mother, Frances Allan.

Adults, according to Silverman, learn to cope with the death of a loved one by 'gradually and painfully withdrawing their deep investment of feeling in the person' (Silverman 1991:76). Children, however, invest more feeling in and magnify the lost parent's image, while they acknowledge the parent's death only superficially. Children cannot comprehend the finality of death, Silverman maintains, and quotes a boy who had lost his father as saying he understood his father was dead, but he did not understand why his father did not come to supper (Silverman 1991:76). Hence Poe, according to

1. Becky Lee Meadows PhD is a Professor in English at St Catharine College, KY, USA.

Silverman, is obsessed with the idea of the dead, especially the beautiful woman, returning to life, reappearing as a corpse, or appearing alive while dead, as we see in Poe's literary works.

Silverman's argument, however, does not paint a complete picture of why Poe seems obsessed with death in those works. Just because some children experience bereavement in this manner does not necessarily mean Poe did, and there is nothing in Poe's letters or the correspondence from his friends and acquaintances to suggest he did.[2] Also, Poe was only two when his mother died, and the next day he was adopted by John Allan, which should have minimized his mother's loss (Frances Allan, as Poe later writes, thought of him as her own child). In addition, Poe was about 15 when Jane Stanard died, and 20 when Frances Allan died; he was hardly a child. If we grant Silverman the benefit of the doubt, his theory alone still does not explain Poe's obsession with the returning dead: why would Poe not have constructed tales featuring those he lost as if they were whole, living human beings? Note the young boy Silverman uses as an example to support his theory simply does not understand why his father does not come to supper; the boy does not, as far as we know, envision his father as a corpse sitting at the dinner table. Something obviously had to direct Poe's thoughts toward death in the first place. When Silverman's argument is coupled with Poe's possible bipolar disorder, which some writers maintain leads to an obsession with death, we see a more complete picture of Poe's obsession with the return of the dead. Julian Lieb, a psychiatrist in private practice and former director of the Dana Psychiatric Clinic at Yale-New Haven Hospital, and D. Jablow Hershman, authors of *Bipolar disorder and Creativity*, maintain those with bipolar disorder often have thoughts of death:

Many depressives develop the delusion of being fatally ill. Even in their misery death may be terrifying; to others who passively accept its imminence, it is an appropriate punishment. Some depressives have a conviction, which they cannot explain, that death is near, though the belief vanishes as the mood improves (Hershman & Lieb 1985: 32).

In addition, according to the National Institute of Mental Health, bipolar disorder can result in damaged relationships, poor job performance, and thoughts of death and suicide (National Institute 2014). Those with bipolar disorder typically experience mood swings from mania to depression, or may even experience a 'mixed state' that includes elements of both, and we see evidence of these mood swings in Poe's diary entries as well as in some of his writings.

In addition, Poe's letters from later in his life show his obsession with death and evil stalking him, bringing us back to the idea of bipolar disorder. In a letter to his friend Sarah Helen Whitman, dated November 22, 1848, about a year before his death, Poe writes, 'The terrible excitement under which I suffered, has subsided, and I am as calm as I well could be, remembering what has past. Still the Shadow of Evil haunts me, and, although tranquil, I am unhappy. I dread the Future' (Poe 1948: 405). On November 14, 1848, just a few days before this previous letter and also to Whitman, Poe wrote: 'I am calm & tranquil & but for a strange shadow of coming evil which haunts me I should be happy. That I am not supremely happy, even when I feel your dear love at my heart, terrifies me. What can this mean?' (Poe 1948: 400). In fact, because Poe experienced such different mood states so quickly, he may have suffered from 'rapid-cycling bipolar disorder'.

Poe and bipolar disorder

From childhood's hour I have not been
As others were—I have not seen
As others saw—I could not bring
My passions from a common spring.
From the same source I have not taken
My sorrow; I could not awaken
My heart to joy at the same tone;
And all I lov'd, I lov'd alone.
– From "Alone," written c. age 17 (Poe 1976: 1026)

2. Krutch's book, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Study in Genius*, is a good source for basic facts regarding Poe, although the text is rather opinionated at times against Poe and sources inside the text are not documented well. This quote taken from Krutch's text is opposed in part to a letter Poe wrote to poet James Lowell dated July 2, 1844, in which Poe writes: "I am not ambitious—unless negatively. I, now and then feel stirred up to excel a fool, merely because I hate to let a fool imagine that he may excel me. Beyond this, I feel nothing of ambition" (Poe, *The Letters Vol. I.* 1948, p. 256). However, in his youth Poe writes in a letter dated December 1, 1828: "You will perceive that I speak confidently—but when did ever Ambition exist or Talent prosper without prior conviction of success?" (Poe, *The Letters Vol. I.* 1948, p. 10). Regarding the quote, I suspect it is from Rufus Wilmot Griswold, who succeeded Poe as editor of Graham's magazine. Poe named Griswold his literary executor, not knowing Griswold hated him (Hammond 1998, p. 81). Griswold worked diligently to completely ruin Poe's reputation and was somewhat successful for many years (p. 81).

An examination of Poe's life through his own letters and those of his associates reveals the periods of mania and depression so often associated with the temperament of the 'mad genius'. Kay Redfield Jamison, an American clinical psychologist and author of *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament*, specifies symptoms of mania as: spending excessive amounts of money, extreme impatience, volatility, elevated mood, increased energy levels, rapid speech, fast thinking, inflated self-esteem, and grandiosity of ideas, among others (Jamison 1993: 13). Symptoms of depressive states include apathy, lethargy, hopelessness, sleep disturbance, slowed thinking, impaired memory and concentration, a loss of pleasure in normally pleasurable events, and an inability to make decisions, among others (Jamison 1993: 13). For artists, the manic phase is often characterized by increased productivity, while during the depressive state many artists have no mental energy to create at all. The National Institute of Mental Health maintains that people in the depressive mood stage often experience lethargy or inability to concentrate, while those in the manic mood stage often have an unrealistic belief in their abilities or have ideas that jump from one to the other (National Institute 2014).

Examples of correspondence from Poe and his friends and colleagues illustrate that Poe exhibited a number of these symptoms. Although most people have experienced these symptoms at one time or other, those with bipolar disorder experience them to an extreme, to the point where they can become debilitating. For example, Poe, in a letter to fellow poet James Russell Lowell written July 2, 1844, five years before Poe's death, examines his manic and depressive states:

> I can feel for the 'constitutional indolence' of which you complain—for it is one of my own besetting sins. I am excessively slothful, and wonderfully industrious—by fits. There are epochs when any kind of mental exercise is torture, and when nothing yields me pleasure but solitary communion with the 'mountains & the woods'—the 'altars' of Byron. I have thus rambled and dreamed away whole months, and awake, at last, to a sort of mania of composition. Then I scribble all day, and read all night, so long as the disease endures (Poe 1948: 256).

To map the episodes of Poe's possible bipolar disorder symptoms, it is best to begin with an account of his life. Poe was born in Boston on January 19, 1809. His parents were actors, and his father, an alcoholic, deserted Poe's mother and his two siblings when Poe was an infant. Poe's mother died from tuberculosis when Poe was two, and John Allan, a merchant, and his wife, Frances, adopted Poe. When Poe was about five years old, John Allan experienced a sudden decline in his finances, so he and his family, including Poe, journeyed to England, where Poe spent the next five years of his life, not returning from England until he was about 11. Joseph H. Clarke, who ran a school Poe attended for those five years in England, describes Poe's creative abilities:

> While the other boys wrote mere mechanical verses, Poe wrote genuine poetry: the boy was a born poet ... He was remarkable for self-respect, without haughtiness. His natural and predominant passion seemed to be an enthusiastic ardor in everything he undertook ... Even in those early years Edgar Poe displayed the germs of that wonderfully rich and splendid imagination which has placed him in the front rank of the purely imaginative poets of the world. His school-boy verses were written con amore, and not as mere tasks ... (Thomas 1987: 47).

Poe's friends, however, describe him as a 'quiet, peaceful youngster' who was not popular with his schoolmates because he was 'too retiring in disposition and singularly unsociable in manner' (Thomas 1987: 57). Unlike the other boys at primary schools in England and the United States, Poe never invited his classmates to spend the night with him, actually implying he may have been an introvert. Writers Thomas and Jackson in *The Poe Log* do not explain why, but it could be about this time that Poe began to bicker with his adoptive father, John Allan. Their relationship plagued Poe almost his entire life. At this time Allan's finances were failing, as was his wife's health; Poe, in a letter to Allan when Poe was in his twenties, writes how much he loved Frances Allan, but that he never felt love for John Allan (Thomas 1987: 112). Some time between Poe's youth and his education as a teenager at the University of Virginia, his relationship with John Allan began to decline. Poe's letters are filled with pleas to Allan for financial assistance, and range in mood from begging to blaming Allan for his financial destitution. Allan seldom replied to Poe's letters requesting funds, although on a few occasions he did send Poe money he needed.[3] However, a letter from Allan to Poe's brother, Henry, expresses his dismay at what he perceives as a change in Poe's personality when Poe was about 15 years old:

3. Poe writes to John Allan on January 3, 1830: "Did I, when an infant, sollicit [sic] your charity and protection, or was it of your own free will, that you volunteered your services in my behalf? It is well known to respectable individuals in Baltimore, and elsewhere, that my Grandfather (my natural protector at the time you interposed) was wealthy, and that I was his favorite grandchild—But the promises of adoption, and liberal education which you held forth to him in a letter which is now in possession of my family, induced him to resign all care of me into your hands. Under such circumstances, can it be said that I have no right to expect anything at your hands?" (Poe, *The Letters Vol. I* 1948, p. 39). Poe explains the reason he needed money was Allan did not give him enough to cover even the most basic expenses at the university.

> He [Poe] has had little else to do for me he does nothing and seems quite miserable, sulky & ill-tempered to all the Family. How we have acted to produce this is beyond my conception—why I have put up so long with his conduct is less wonderful. The boy possesses not a Spark of affection for us not a particle of gratitude for all my care and kindness towards him. I have given him a much superior Education than I received myself ... I fear his associates have led him to adopt a line of thinking & acting very contrary to what he possessed when in England. (Thomas 1987: 61).

This change in personality is another symptom of bipolar disorder, which is believed to surface long before creative artists launch their careers, writes Arnold Ludwig (1995) in his text, *The Price of Greatness: Resolving the Creativity and Madness Controversy* (Ludwig 1995: 5). 'Not only do they display a greater family tendency for mental illness ... but they also already show more emotional problems during childhood and especially during adolescence than members of the nonartistic professions,' Ludwig writes (Ludwig 1995: 5). These ideas are confirmed by the National Institute of Mental Health, which maintains that bipolar disorder usually surfaces in the late teens or early adult years, and half of all diagnosed cases of bipolar disorder begin by age 25 (National Institute 2014).

Even in his youth and teenage years, Poe displayed the 'fiery' temperament Jamison associates with creative genius and bipolar disorder, as evidenced in part by letters by one of his University of Virginia classmates that describe Poe reading one of his works to his friends:

> On one occasion Poe read a story of great length to some of his friends who, in a spirit of jest, spoke lightly of its merits, and jokingly told him that his hero's name, 'Gaffy,' occurred too often. His proud spirit would not stand such, as he thought, open rebuke; so in a fit of anger, before his friends could prevent him, he had flung every sheet in a blazing fire, and thus was lost a story of more than ordinary parts, and unlike most of his stories, was intensely amusing, entirely free from his usual somber coloring and sad conclusions merged in a mist of impenetrable gloom (Thomas 1987: 75).

Another classmate writes of Poe:

> He was very excitable and restless, at times wayward, melancholic & morose, but again in his better moods frolicsome, full of fun & a most attractive & agreeable companion. To calm & quiet the excessive nervous excitability under which he labored, he would too often put himself under the influence of that 'Invisible Spirit of Wine'" (Thomas 1987: 69).

This thought regarding why Poe turned to alcohol is echoed by Daniel Nettle (2001), a professor of behavioral science at Newcastle University in the United Kingdom, in his text, *Strong Imagination*. He writes: 'Affective patients who use drugs are self-medicating to try to quell the storm within, so that they can get on with their work. That is to say, drugs are used to ease the worst discontents of the personality type, not because they aid creativity in any positive way' (Nettle 2001: 210). Although some writers maintain Poe's alcoholism led to his death, if alcoholism and drug abuse are symptoms of bipolar disorder, in effect the mental illness itself may have been responsible for his death.

After Poe completed one year of study at the University of Virginia, John Allan refused to send Poe back. According to correspondence, Poe had amassed many debts at the university, and many are attributed to gambling, also another symptom associated with bipolar disorder: 'Gambling, often an expression of bipolar disorder, sometimes brings a creative person into poverty. The Russian writer Dostoyevsky, in debt all his life, was a manic-compulsive gambler' (Hershman & Lieb 1998:188). After a brief stint in the military, Poe appealed to John Allan to send him to West Point, and after much begging on Poe's part, Allan agreed. Poe fell into financial difficulties again at West Point, and warned if John Allan would not agree to sign for his release from the academy, he would neglect his duties and receive a court martial. Poe lived up to his word. [4] However, his time at West Point was not completely wasted – he solicited subscriptions from more than 100 of his fellow cadets to publish his first book of poetry, *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, in 1831 (Thomas 1987: 117).

Poe's later letters illustrate he exhibited classic signs of depression and mania associated with bipolar disorder, and they also allude to his fascination with death. One letter from his earlier life, which Poe wrote in his mid-twenties, sent to an acquaintance on Sept. 11, 1835, expresses his anguished spirit even then:

> My feelings at this moment are pitiable indeed. I am suffering under a depression of spirits such as I have never felt before. I have struggled in vain against the influence of this melancholy—You will believe me when I say that I am still miserable in spite of the great improvement in my circumstances. I say you will believe me,

4. Because Allan had signed for Poe to enter West Point, Allan's approval was required for Poe to resign. Allan apparently refused, and Poe followed through with his threat. He writes in a letter to Allan dated January 3, 1830: "From the time of this writing I shall neglect my studies and duties at the institution—if I do not receive your answer in 10 days—I will leave the Point without—for otherwise I should subject myself to dismission" (Poe, *The Letters Vol. I.* 1948, p. 42). Poe was court martialed for neglect of duty and dismissed from West Point effective March 6, 1831.

> and for this simple reason, that a man who is writing for effect does not write thus. My heart is open to you—if it be worth reading, read it. I am wretched and know not why. Console me—for you can. But let it be quickly—or it will be too late. Write me immediately. Convince me that it is worth one's while—that it is at all necessary to live, and you will prove yourself indeed my friend. Persuade me to do what is right. I do not mean this—I do not mean that you should consider what I now write you a jest—oh, pity me! For I feel that my words are incoherent—but I will recover myself. You will not fail to see that I am suffering under a depression of spirits which will ruin me should it be long continued (Poe 1948: 73).

Another Poe letter, to friend Annie Richmond, Nov. 16, 1848—just one year before his death—states:

> You saw, you felt the agony of grief with which I bade you farewell—You remember my expressions of gloom—of a dreadful horrible foreboding of ill—Indeed—indeed it seemed to me that death approached me even then, & that I was involved in the shadow which went before him ... I remember nothing distinctly, from that moment until I found myself in Providence—I went to bed & wept through a long, long, hideous night of despair—When the day broke, I arose & endeavored to quiet my mind by a rapid walk in the cold, keen air—but all would not do—the demon tormented me still. Finally, I procured two ounces of laudanum ... I am so ill—so terribly, hopelessly, ill in body and mind, that I feel I cannot live ... until I subdue this fearful agitation, which if continued, will either destroy my life or, drive me hopelessly mad (Poe 1948: 401).

However, it was during Virginia Poe's slow death due to tuberculosis that Poe suffered perhaps his greatest depression. He writes to his acquaintance George Eleveth on January 4, 1848:

> This 'evil' was the greatest which can befall a man. Six years ago, a wife, whom I loved as no man ever loved before, ruptured a blood vessel in singing. Her life was despaired of. I took leave of her forever and underwent all the agonies of her death. She recovered partially and I again hoped. At the end of the year the vessel broke again—I went through precisely the same scene. Again in about a year afterward. The again—again—again—and even once again at varying intervals. Each time I felt all the agonies of her death—and at each accession of the disorder I loved her more dearly & clung to her life with more desperate pertinacity. But I am constitutionally sensitive—nervous in a very unusual degree. I became insane, with long intervals of horrible sanity. During these fits of absolute unconsciousness I drank, God only knows how often or how much. As a matter of course my enemies referred the insanity to the drink rather than the drink to the insanity. I had indeed, nearly abandoned all hope of a permanent cure when I found one in the death of my wife. This I can and do endure as becomes a man—it was the horrible never-ending oscillation between hope & despair which I could not longer have endured without the total loss of reason. In the death of what was my life, then, I received a new but—oh God! how melancholy an existence (Poe 1948: 356).

Note Poe's reference to the 'death' of what was his life; in essence, he returns to the world a lesser version of his self, one might even posit a 'corpse', much like his characters in his most famous works. In essence, he himself had become the 'return of the living dead'.

In addition to depression, however, Poe's letters exhibit symptoms of grandiosity and mania associated with bipolar disorder. For example, after Poe composed 'Eureka', his treatise on the universe and human existence but certainly not his most popular work, he wrote to acquaintance George Eleveth: 'What I have propounded will (in good time) revolutionize the world of Physical and Metaphysical Science. I say this calmly—but I say it' (Poe 1948: 362). And in the introduction to Eureka, Poe writes: 'I design to speak of the Physical, Metaphysical and Mathematical—of the Material and the Spiritual Universe: – of its Essence, its Origin, its Creation, its Present Condition and its Destiny. I shall be so rash, moreover, as to challenge the conclusions, and thus, in effect, to question the sagacity, of many of the greatest and most justly reverenced of men' (Poe 1935: 437). Note here the National Institute of Mental Health's idea that those with bipolar disorder often 'have an unrealistic belief in their abilities' (National Institute 2014). In addition, Poe once told a friend, according to biographer Joseph Krutch:

> I love fame—I dote on it—I idolize it—I would drink to the very dregs the glorious intoxication; I would have incense arise in my honor from every hill and hamlet, from every town and city on this earth; Fame! Glory!—they are life-giving breath, and living blood; no man lives unless he is famous; how bitterly I belied my nature and my aspirations, when I said that I did not desire fame and that I despised it! (Krutch 1965: 90). [3]

The return of the living dead in Poe's literary works

And I kept no reckoning of time or place, and the stars of my fate faded from heaven, and therefore the earth grew dark, and its figures passed by me, like flitting shadows, and among them all I beheld only—Morella ... But she died; and with my own hands I bore her to the tomb; and I laughed with a long and bitter laugh as I found no traces of the first, in the charnal where I laid the second, Morella.

– From "Morella," written c. age 30 (Poe 1975: 671).

We have seen Poe himself as the embodiment of the 'return of the living dead' at times in his life, and we see this also evidenced in characters in his literary works. In fact, he is indeed the master of the tale of the return of the living dead. An examination of some of Poe's tales shows the dead consistently returning to the world of the living, either through the re-animation of their corpses or through their corpses being discovered. First published in 1840, nine years before his death, *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (first known as *Tales of the Folio Club*), a volume of 24 short stories, contains many works the literary canon has considered some of Poe's best work, including 'Ligeia', which Poe himself considered his most imaginative and thus 'best' work (Hammond 1998: 32). *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* contains perfect illustrations of the 'return of the living dead', featuring stories such as 'Berenice', 'Morella', and 'The Fall of the House of Usher'. Each of these stories carries a variation of plot with one central recurring element: a female who returns from the dead.

In 'Morella', the unnamed narrator, a trope in so many of Poe's tales, marries Morella, who is obsessed with studying German philosophy. The narrator sees Morella's physical state declining, and eventually she dies in childbirth after 'I am dying. But within me is a pledge of that affection ... which thou didst feel for me, Morella. And when my spirit departs shall the child live' (Poe 1975: 52). The daughter ages and the narrator realizes her striking resemblance to her mother. The narrator decides to have the child baptized to rid her of evil, but the opposite happens: at the ceremony, the priest asks the narrator the child's name, and the narrator replies, 'Morella,' and the child screams, 'I am here!' and dies (Poe 1975: 55). Afterward, the narrator buries the child where her mother was buried, only to find no trace of the mother's body.

Poe's short story 'Berenice' also features the return of the living dead. The narrator Egaeus has periods where he focuses so intently upon things that he loses focus of the outside world. He marries his cousin Berenice, but cannot stop focusing upon her teeth. Eagaeus watches as Berenice begins to waste away from an unknown disease; eventually she dies and he buries her. He awakens from an intense state of focus one day, and a servant tells him that Berenice is alive and her grave has been disturbed. Beside Eagaeus are 32 blood-stained teeth.

However, perhaps no Poe short story illustrates the author's fascination with the return of the living dead as well as 'The Fall of the House of Usher'. Roderick Usher himself is the living dead; he cannot function in society because his senses are all acutely sensitive, even to the point where he can eat only the most tasteless gruels. Roderick Usher is not the only living dead in the House of Usher, however; his twin sister Madeleine suffers from catalepsy and often wanders the house as if dead. When Roderick believes she has died, he and his friend Jonathan bury the young woman in a tomb, and Roderick hears her trying to escape for several days before he admits he has buried her alive. She returns for him, and the story ends with the 'living dead' Usher twins being entombed in the House of Usher as the house collapses.

Roderick Usher buries his sister Madeleine alive, only to have her return to secure his demise in 'The Fall of the House of Usher'. Ligeia, the main character in Poe's short story of the same name, actually resurrects herself from the dead through her superhuman will:

> And again I sunk into visions of Ligeia—and again, (what marvel that I shudder while I write?) again there reached my ears a low sob from the region of the ebony bed. But why shall I minutely detail the unspeakable horrors of that night? Why shall I pause to relate how, time after time, until near the period of the gray dawn, this hideous drama of revivification, more irredeemable death; how each agony wore the aspect of a struggle with some invisible foe; and how each struggle was succeeded by I know not what of wild change in the personal appearance of the corpse? … And now slowly opened the eyes of the figure which stood before me, 'Here then, at least,' I shrieked aloud, 'can I never – can I never be mistaken—these are the full, and the black, and the wild eyes—of my lost love—of the lady—of the Lady Ligeia.' (Poe 1975: 108).

Other stories feature a male character returning from the dead, again ratifying the theory of Bipolar disorder as opposed to the theory that Poe's focus on the living dead in his stories relates to his mourning the lost female figures in his own life. Poe's 'Metzengerstein', also included in this volume, is the story of a old murdered count who is reborn into the figure of a horse on one of Baron Metzengerstein's tapestries. In another short story, the Duke de L'Omelette escapes death when the Inspector of Cemeteries sends his corpse to Baal-Zebub, who resurrects him from a coffin to play cards.

In many of Poe's other poems and tales, the dead come back to life to terrify the narrator, implying that Poe is obsessed with and frightened of death. Poe's poem 'Spirits of the Dead' shows the strong will of the dead to revisit earth: 'Be silent in that solitude, / Which is not loneliness—for then / The spirits of the dead, who stood / In life before thee, are again / In death around thee, and their will / Shall then o'ershadow thee ... (Poe 1975: 1016). The discovered corpse of the narrator's wife in 'The Black Cat' leads to the narrator awaiting the hangman's noose. In 'The Tell-Tale Heart' the narrator hears the heart of his victim still beating, making the narrator betray himself. Poe's vision of the returning dead is

not homage but terror. As Silverman (1991:75) writes, 'The dead are not simply alive but too alive; the problem is to keep them buried.'

Final death of a genius – bipolar disorder, alcohol, and suicide

Of all American writers' lives, his is the most fascinating. He was the great romantic, the man who burned himself out in a blaze of tragic glory. He paid dearly for immortality, gave his whole life to attain it.
But in his terms it was probably worth the cost.
– Philip Van Doren Stern (Hammond 1998: vii).@@@

There is little dispute that Poe's alcohol use is directly related to several failings during his lifetime and to his death. For example, his friend Thomas White, editor and owner of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, wrote to a friend that Poe had 'forfeited' conditions to which he had agreed to prevent White from asking for his resignation (Thomas 1987: 237), and according to the National Institute of Mental Health, people with bipolar disorder do indeed have difficulty performing job duties at times. R.M.T. Hunter, one of Poe's University of Virginia classmates, wrote another classmate in 1875 (35 years after Poe's death):

> Here his (Poe's) habits were bad and as White did not appreciate his literary excellence I had hard work to save him from dismissal before it actually occurred. During a part of the time I was in Richmond, a member of the Legislature, and frequently volunteered to correct the press when pieces were being published with classical quotations. Poe was the only man on White's staff capable of doing this and when occasionally drinking (the habit was not constant) he was incapacitated for work ... He was reckless about money and subject to intoxication, but I was not aware of any other bad habit that he had (Thomas 1987: 237).

Poe's letters contain numerous references to his being sober, an indication he must have been often accused of drinking too much. Exactly how often Poe drank is not obvious from the correspondence. It could be he was a binge drinker, which would explain Poe's actions described by his classmate above. He was certainly engaged in a binge drinking, drug-taking episode right before he was found October 3, 1849, nearly unconscious in the barroom of a polling place (Thomas 1987: 845).

In his *Midnight Dreary: The Mysterious Death of Edgar Allan Poe*, writer John Walsh (1998) describes the circumstances leading to Poe's death. Poe was traveling alone from Richmond, Virginia, to New York City when, 'as if in a puff of smoke Poe disappeared from mortal view for nearly a week' (Walsh 1998: xi). A description of how he was when he was found follows:

His hat—or rather the hat of somebody else, for he had evidently been robbed of his clothing, or cheated in an exchange—was a cheap palm-leaf one, without a band, and soiled; his coat, of commonest alpaca, and evidently 'second-hand'; his pants of gray-mixed cassimere, dingy and badly fitting. He wore neither vest nor neckcloth, if I remember aright, while his shirt was badly crumpled and soiled. [His] face was haggard, not to say bloated, and unwashed, his hair unkempt, and his whole physique repulsive: The intellectual flash of his eye had vanished, or rather had been quenched in the bowl ... He was so utterly stupefied with liquor that I thought it best not to seek recognition or conversation ... So insensible was he that we had to carry him to the carriage as if a corpse (*Readings* 1998: 30).

Again, Poe became the quintessential 'return of the living dead'. After about four days of alternating between quiet periods and raving delirium, Poe died on October 8, 1949 at the age of 40.

Many writers have speculated about how Poe came to be in this condition, but most have deduced his death as the result of simply having drunk too much one last time. The immediate cause of his death was given as 'congestion of the brain' or 'inflammation of the brain' (Walsh 1998: xii). Walsh explains many other writers have fostered guesses about Poe's actual cause of death, ranging from rabies to meningitis, and Walsh claims the brothers of Elmira Shelton, to whom Poe was engaged, started Poe on his last drinking spree.

A look at Poe on his deathbed may aid our discussion. In a letter to Maria Clemm, Poe's mother-in-law, dated November 15, 1849, J.J. Moran, the doctor who attended Poe, writes:

> When brought to the Hospital he was unconscious of his condition—who brought him or with whom he had been associating. He remained in this condition from 5 Ock [sic] in the afternoon—the hour of his admission—until 3 next morning. This was the 3rd Oct.
>
> To this state succeeded tremor of of [sic] the limbs and at first a busy but not violent or active, delirium—constant talking—and vacant converse with spectral or imaginary objects on the walls. His face was pale and his whole person drenched in perspiration—We were unable to induce tranquility before the second day after his admission.

> Having left orders with the nurses to that affect, I was summoned to his bedside so soon as conscious [sic] supervened, and questioned him in reference to his family—place of residence—relatives & c. But his answers were incoherent & unsatisfactory ... I told him I hoped, that in a few days he would be able to enjoy the society of his friends here ... At this he broke out with much energy, and said the best thing his best friend could do would be to blow out his brains with his pistol—that when he beheld his degradation he was ready to sink in the earth (Moran1941: 33).

After this, Poe was wracked with violent convulsions and deliriums which continued almost two more days, after which he became quiet as if exhausted from the physical exertion, then he 'gently moved his head' and said, 'Lord help my poor Soul!' and died (Moran1941:33).

Considered alone in light of Poe's drinking, it is easy to blame his death on his alcohol consumption. However, if we consider possible bipolar disorder and look at evidence from his own letters quoted earlier, we see he experienced periods of manic highs and lows, accompanied by periods of black depression. The words of one of his letters come back to haunt: 'But I am constitutionally sensitive—nervous in a very unusual degree. I became insane, with long intervals of horrible sanity. During these fits of absolute unconsciousness I drank, God only knows how often or how much. As a matter of course my enemies referred the insanity to the drink rather than the drink to the insanity' (Poe 1948: 356). Here Poe discussed his dark depression during Virginia Poe's illness, before her death, and we see a pattern begin to develop. Throughout Poe's letters, we see a consistent effort to found his own literary magazine, a dream he was still striving for before he died (he had already lived through the death of this dream once with the folding of the *Broadway Journal*). In addition, apparently there was something amiss with his engagement to Elmira Shelton because some texts say their engagement was official, while others deny it. In a letter dated Sept. 18, 1849, Poe writes to Maria Clem, Virginia's mother: 'Elmira has just got home from the country. I spent last evening with her. I think she loves me more devotedly than any one I ever knew and I cannot help loving her in return. Nothing is as yet definitely settled—' (Poe 1941: 24).

The tremendous stress of securing financing for his own magazine, along with the insecurity of the relationship with the woman he loved, might well have been enough to send Poe into a black state of depression during which he sought alcohol to balance his mood. Jamison (1993) writes of bipolar disorder: 'The natural course of the disease, if left untreated, is to worsen over time (the attacks become more frequent and more severe),' and she specifically mentions Poe in this light (Jamison 1993: 250). Perhaps this last bit of depression was the darkest Poe had experienced.

In one of his earlier letters, Poe maintains his friends blamed his drinking for his illnesses rather than blaming his illness for his drinking. Jamison raises the same sort of question after examining the lives of many bipolar creative geniuses:

> And yet all suffered from depressive or manic-depressive illness as well, raising complicated questions about whether the melancholic muse is also a 'thirsty muse'—that is, whether alcohol and other drugs are used by writers and artists to alleviate painful depressions and agitated manic states; whether they are responsible for changes in mood; whether they are used to provoke or recapture freer, less-inhibited states of mind and emotion; or whether some combination of all of these obtains. One Poe biographer wrote: 'We know now that what made Poe write was what made him drink: alcohol and literature were the two safety valves of a mind that eventually tore itself apart' (Jamison1993: 36).

If Poe's mind indeed 'tore itself apart', this implies that Poe may have actually brought about his own demise, and his death becomes an act of suicide, another act often associated with bipolar creative artists, according to Jamison (Jamison 1993: 36) and the National Institute of Mental Health.

Conclusion: bipolar disorder as a blessing and a curse

The truth is, I am heartily sick of this life and of the nineteenth century in general. I am convinced that every thing is going wrong. Besides, I am anxious to know who will be President in 2045. As soon, therefore, as I shave and swallow a cup of coffee, I shall just step over to Ponnonner's and get embalmed for a couple of hundred years.
From 'Some Words With a Mummy', written c. age 36 (Poe 1975: 548).

If Poe's mood disorder led to his creation of tales featuring the 'return of the dead', there is little doubt this disorder also led to works of genius. Many successful Gothic writers, including Stephen King and Anne Rice, admit to the large influence Poe has had on their works. Jamison (1993) writes: 'Occasionally an exhilarating and powerfully creative force, more often a destructive one, manic-depressive illness gives a touch of fire to many of those who experience it' (Jamison 1993: 240). Poe's living dead, including his own self, continue to haunt us.

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Applying Social Capital Theory and the Technology Acceptance Model in information and knowledge sharing research

Sani A. Fari[1]
Umaru Musa Yar'adua University
and
Department of Information Studies
University of Zululand
safari3152@yahoo.com

Abstract

The paper discusses Social Capital Theory (SCT) and the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) as theoretical foundations for information and knowledge sharing research. Qualitative content analysis through conceptual and literature analysis is used to explore previous studies in the research domain. It is found that despite the complexity of information and knowledge sharing activities and processes, the two theoretical foundations can strongly inform knowledge sharing research. The paper explains the components, relevance and practical applicability of the two theories to information and knowledge sharing research.

Keywords: Social capital theory, technology acceptance model, information sharing, knowledge sharing, research collaboration.

1 Introduction and background

The World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS 2003) defines an information and knowledge society as one which understands the relevance and integrates the application of technology in the acquisition and transfer of information and knowledge at all levels for global competitive advantage. Jiyane *et al.* (2013) emphasise the importance of information and knowledge transfer and sharing in the society, stating that many societies today understand the role that information plays in the overall success of their existence. These societies explore the contents of information resources through modern technologies for educational, economic and political gains. Thus information and knowledge sharing facilitates growth, enhances development, widens and expands opportunities and equips the society with the necessary inputs for decision making. Studies by Martin (1995), Nassimbeni (1998), Webster (2002), Lor and Britz (2007) and others share the belief that societies develop the culture of information and knowledge sharing for growth and development over time.

Information and knowledge sharing is an activity that requires the interaction, transfer and exchange of ideas and expertise among individuals, organisations and/or nations. The effectiveness and viability of such interactions are motivated by certain variables such as intentions, characteristics, environment and benefits and, more importantly, modern technologies, which are referred to as ICTs, that largely contribute to the rapid and remote transfer of information and knowledge. This study examines various literatures in relation to the application of Social Capital Theory (SCT) and the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) to support their relevance and applicability to information and knowledge sharing research.The study provides and explains the structure and components of the two theories in relation to the sharing of information. Criticisms of the theories were reviewed and their advantages were also explored in order to understand their application and implication to LIS research.

The Centre for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (2002) explains that a Theoretical Framework (TF) is a planned structure that has been conceptually developed around theories to guide research. Eisenhart (1991:205) describes it as 'a structure that guides research by relying on a formal theory … constructed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships'. A theoretical framework serves to guide a researcher in his or her investigation in a broad field of expertise by expounding on an underlying principle(s), rationale, or foundation with respect to the research topic (Khan 2010). Thus, a theoretical framework is objectively geared towards enhancing clarity, appropriateness and effectiveness in research (Ocholla & Le Roux 2011). It also unearths broader issues that should be accommodated or refined in relation to the topic under investigation. Thus, Ocholla and Le Roux (2011) understand Herek's (1994) four components to be informed by: the hypothesis, the theoretical model, the research methodology (to be used to answer the hypothesis/research questions) and a well-defined literature review (supporting the focus of the research). The two viewpoints make TF broader than traditionally understood to focus on models or theories.

1. Sani Fari PhD is a lecturer at Umaru Musa Yar'adua University, Nigeria. He recently completed his PhD in Knowledge Management at the University of Zululand, South Africa.

This paper aims at discussing SCT and the TAM in relation to information and knowledge sharing research. The paper is concerned about information and knowledge sharing activities and the research collaboration ties established from academic interactions. Thus, the study examines various knowledge management theories and focuses on the applicability and relevance of the Social Capital Theory (SCT) and the Technology Acceptance Theory (TAM). The concept of information/knowledge sharing cuts across all fields, and is a multidimensional practice aimed at communicating expertise, scholarly ideas and research contents to facilitate effective access to and use of information and knowledge. The application of modern technologies referred to as ICTs facilitates easy, remote and timely communication, and guarantees wider participation among individuals with common interests through various platforms and networks via the Internet. Hence we feel, based on the suitability of the relevant structures/composites/variables of the two theories to information and knowledge sharing research, that SCT could be used to understand the patterns, preferences and characteristics of the academics while the TAM could be used to address the academics' acceptance and use of technology for sharing. We discuss and analyse relevant knowledge management theories and explain the relevance of the two theories to information and knowledge sharing.

2 Knowledge management theories

Library and Information Science research is informed by several theories (see *www.is.theorize.org*) of which most originate from other disciplines (Ocholla & Le Roux 2011). Research on information and knowledge sharing has been informed by a wide range of theories that include but are not limited to:

- Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen1988) which focuses on designing strategies and guidance towards planning and executing behavioural actions;
- Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (Fishbein 1967) which deals with the variables determining behavioural decisions;
- Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Bandura 1977) which examines the processes of cognitive experiences and values in the assessment and/or judgement of individuals;
- Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) (Davis 1985) which has to do with the acceptance and adaptation of new technologies for relative practices;
- Social Capital Theory (SCT) (Johnson 1960) which deals with the relationships between individuals for the crosspollination of ideas and innovation based on their knowledge and expertise.

Other theories include: Expectancy Theory (ET) (Vroom 1964) which examines the effect and influence of rewards and benefits that can be derived as a result of an individual's actions and performances; the Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Malinowski 1922) used to study work based behaviour among employees and communities of practice; Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) (Pinch & Bijker 1987) that examines the social aspect of using technology and the influences therein as it affects individuals; Diffusion of Innovation Theory (DIT) (Rogers 2003) which investigates the attributes of innovative outcomes and the different effects that they have on the rate of adoption by individuals; SECI Model (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995) that examines the transformation of knowledge with regard to experience and literature; and the Self Determination Theory (SDT) (Deci & Rayan 1985) which deals with the psychological needs of individuals for the attainment of independence, capability and understanding.

These theories are diverse and would be very difficult to address at the same time. The diversity and appropriateness of these theories makes it possible for researchers to apply them in different contexts depending on the research topic and their perceived relevance.

2.1 The theories

Sharing is a good measure of the value of information and knowledge, primarily because it increases productivity and more knowledge acquisition (Cohen and Levinthal 1990). The sharing of information and knowledge is not and cannot be one-directional as it benefits both the supplier and the recipient and equips both the organisation and society with the necessary inputs for competitive growth.

However, the challenge in information and knowledge sharing lies in the factors that need to be considered where individuals are concerned. These factors range from 'social factors' such as trust, care, mutual understanding and expressive dedication (von Krogh 1998, McDermott and O'dell 2000, Yang 2004) to 'technological factors' such as ICTs (Goh 2002; Willcoxson 2003; Syed, Ikhsan and Rowland 2004; Kim and Lee 2006). Van den Brink (2003) categorised these factors into three namely: individual, organisational and technological. The three factors identified by Van den Brink were also highlighted as being crucial in a study on a technology model by Orlikowski (1992).

The argument here is that, for the full control and utilisation of organisational resources there has to be a well-conceived understanding of the factors affecting individuals with regards to sharing. The proper understanding of the factors affecting individuals would facilitate an effective sharing process where information and communication technologies would be used to provide speedy, timely and remote operations.

This study considers a conceptual approach that reflects on the three categories mentioned by Van den Brink (2003); individual, organisational and technological. Based on this, two theories were chosen to prove their relevance and applicability to information and knowledge sharing, namely the Social Capital Theory and the Technology Acceptance Model.

2.1.1 Social Capital Theory (SCT)

Fukuyama (2002:27) believes that social capital is a mutual standard or set of ideals through which social co-existence is achieved and developed into a constructive beneficial outcome, while Garip (2008) defines social capital as a means of producing goods and services through constant and casual networks involving mutually benefiting parties or individuals. The World Bank (2000) states that 'Social capital is the institutions, relationships and norms that shape the quality of a society's social interaction, thus social capital is explicitly relational'. By all accounts, the purpose of social capital is to build ties, create mutual benefit avenues, establish formal and informal networks, bridge the gap between different people, and ensure reciprocity (Godowin&Quisumbing 2008; Chalupnicet 2010). The core components of any organisation are the individuals who contribute towards the overall success of the system from its inception to the sharing of knowledge with each other and outside parties. Although Information and Communication Technology influences sharing, it would be quite impossible to conceive knowledge without individuals in an organisation (Coleman 1999).

The Social Capital Theory (SCT) establishes the relationship and relevance of individuals in information and knowledge sharing (Nahapiet and Goshal 1998, Adler and Kwon 2002). It effectively highlights the circumstances required for sharing and transmitting to take place (Nahapiet and Goshal 1998). Research has also established that social capital is able to motivate individuals to share their expertise within social communities (Wasco and Faraj 2005) or groups (Kanhalli *et al*. 2005). Social capital is about the importance and value of communication between individuals especially through social networks. It links a variety of individuals whoshare common interests and creates enabling platforms for people with a desire for mutual benefits through common practices.

A social capital expert, Robert Putnam (2000:19), summarises it thus:

> Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue." The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.

The scope and components of SCT are presented in Figure 1 below:

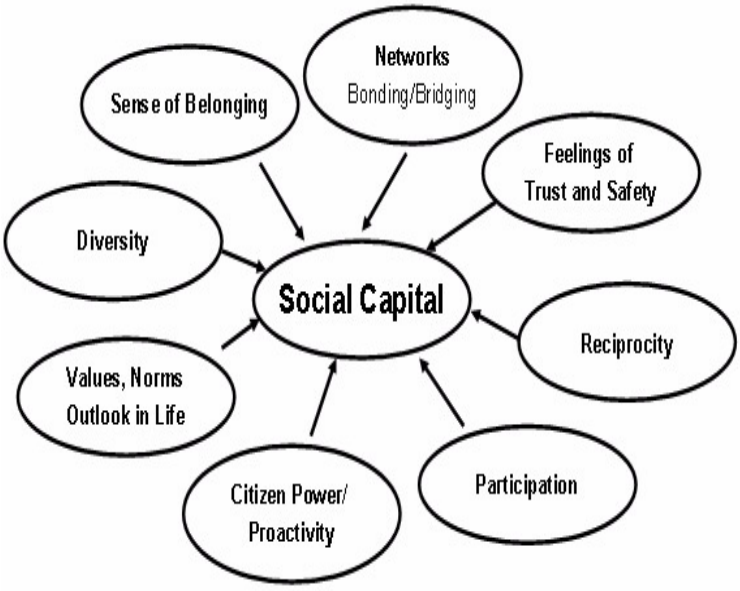

Figure 1 Social capital framework (adapted from: Halpern 2005)

The decision to use Halpern's (2005) Social Capital Theory to explainSCT applicability to information and knowledge sharing was informed by the fact that the theory highlights important issues with respect to: the nature and characteristics

of individuals, what they tend to contribute, and the benefits that they derive. Significant components of the SCT are discussed below, touching across the following issues:

Sense of belonging
Individuals feel more secure when they are surrounded by others who will contribute towards their overall success. In essence, a sense of belonging and working side by side builds confidence and boosts an individual's morale (Chow & Chan 2008).

Network
A network provides an enabling platform for communication regardless of geographical or time constraints and brings people together for participation and the mutual exchange of ideas and innovations (Ritter *et al.* 2004).

Feelings of trust and safety
People who are in the company of others and share common interests and philosophies feel more secure than those who are alone; it assures them of less risk. In essence, trust positively influences sharing among individuals (Andrews and Delahay 2000).

Diversity
Diversity is another important aspect of mingling with others. When people of the same profession come together, their individual characteristics and backgrounds add value to the community of practice. Common ideas and perspectives are fine-tuned to pave the way for the emergence of unified standards (Fernandez *et al*. 2000).

Reciprocity
Individuals are assured of some form of reward in return for their participation and contributions, be it information/ knowledge, recognition, self-development (Rosenthal 1997).

Values, norms and outlook on life
Those who belong to formal communities of practice and/or networks derive some values and norms from that society that define them as professionals or practitioners. This position defines an individual's outlook on life (Lin 1999).

Power
The participation and contribution of individuals in communities of practice gives them collective power and authority as a group and to practice as members of a formal entity (Jones & Taylor 2012).

Pro-activity and participation
Individuals become more enthusiastic when working together towards achieving a common goal and when they are charged with some responsibilities and tasks to accomplish, thereby contributing to the overall success of the system (Weber & Weber 2007).

Wang and Noe (2009) report that many studies have adopted Social Capital and Network Theories to explore the practice of knowledge sharing among different groups and Communities of Practice (CoP). Examples include: Widen-Wulff (2007) in 'The challenges of knowledge sharing in practice: A social approach'; John, Helliwell and Putnam (2007) in 'Studying the effect of education on accumulated social capital'; Brand (2009) in 'The effect and relationship of educational level on civic participation'; and Ashiq, Mahmood and Siraj (2013) in 'The use and effect of mobile communication on college-going teenagers'.

Despite the importance of this theory, we observe that it has been largely focused on the individual contributions of members of a social network in an organisation, while placing less emphasis on the attitudes and characteristics of the individual contributors, the factors influencing their willingness to contribute to organisational efforts, their acceptance or adaptation of the sharing platforms, and technology issues. But the SCT can be used in information and knowledge sharing research to examine and explain the individual approach and contribution of researchers as members of academic and research institutions and their participation in information and knowledge sharing platforms and networks.

2.1.2 Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)

The application of ICTs facilitates the speedy, remote and timely sharing and transfer of information and knowledge. ICTs tackle different barriers to communication through network and knowledge integration. Technology improves information/knowledge acquisition and sharing by providing the necessary tools to overcome secular and spatial obstacles between individuals and colleagues, and by enhancing accessibility to information and knowledge sources (Hendriks 1999). The term technology is used to refer to all ICTs that are used in relation to the sharing of information and knowledge, which includes information and knowledge management systems in organisations and institutions. These systems are specifically designed to provide the necessary support in the search for, retrieval, processing, storage, dissemination and use of information and knowledge (Alavi and Leidner 2001). Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have become vital resources in organisations and the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is very relevant in the study of their (ICTs') application in Information Science research (Orlikowski and Robey 1991, DeSanctis

and Poole 1994, Salisbury *et al*. 2002). The Technology Acceptance Model addresses the inter-relationship and relevance of technology in routine activities, interactions and communication between individuals or members of a group or society. The model is especially interested in people's understanding, adoption and utilisation of ICTs in their day-to-day activities.

In essence, the TAM focuses on the importance and relevance of modern technological tools for the smooth execution of work-based tasks and accords much importance to ICTs in the overall success of individual and/or organisational activities. While the importance of modern technologies cannot be overstated, the theory falls short of critically addressing the fact that human beings operate these tools and that an enabling environment is essential for the adoption and utilisation of these tools. Hence, in this study, the theory is considered to be useful to support the quest for studying and understanding the acceptance and application of modern technologies by researchers to achieve their goal of sharing information and knowledge.

The scope and components of the TAM are illustrated and described in Figure 2 below:

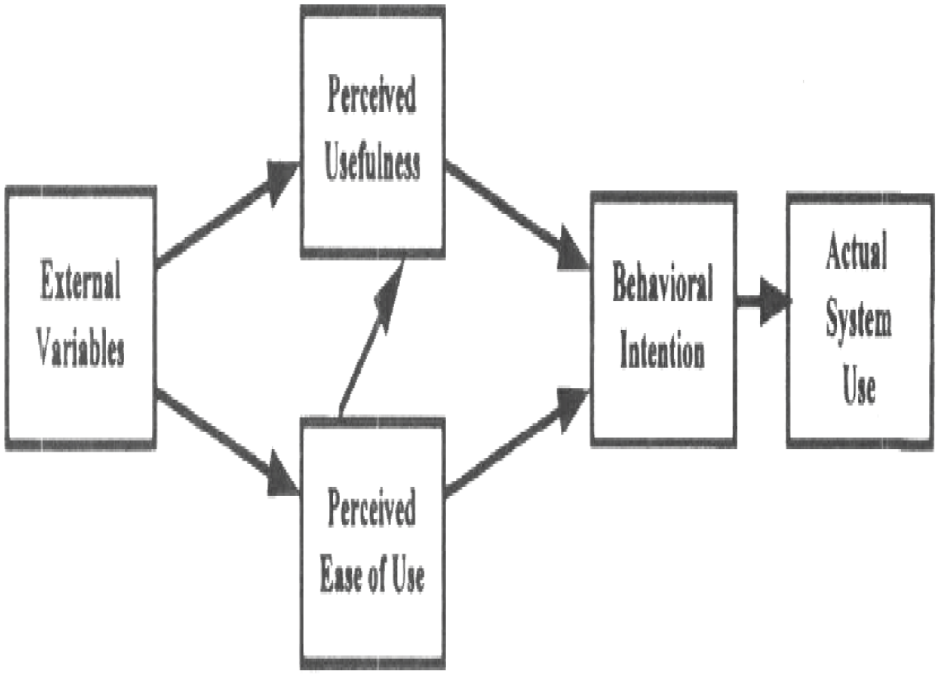

Figure 2 Technology Acceptance Model (adapted from Venkatesh& Davis 1996:453)

The Technology Acceptance Model received more than 700 citations when it was originally proposed by Davis in 1989. The model has since been used in many different ways with notable extensions and contributions by Lee, Kozer and Larsen (2003); Ma and Liu (2004); King and He (2006); and Yousafi, Foxall and Pallister (2007) who studied and analysed the application of the TAM in many research areas. Some of the areas studied included: expert support systems, e-government systems, hospital information systems, networking, etc. These studies took place in many countries across the globe such as China, Canada, France, USA, Nigeria, Taiwan and many more and the participants included: computer programmers, knowledge workers, medical practitioners, corporate managers, web designers, etc. Other studies on various aspects of technology acceptance and use include Lule, Omwansa, and Waema's (2012) study of m-banking adoption in Kenya; Chuttur's (2009) study on the development and future directions of the TAM use in the USA; Park's (2009) study on the use of the TAM to understand university students' behavioural intentions to use e-learning; Neil's (2009) investigation into the adoption rate of cell-phone banking at Stellenbosch University, South Africa; Osunade, Philips and Ojo's (2007) study of the limitations of knowledge sharing in academia in Nigeria; and Evans's (2014) study of user acceptance of electronic learning at the University of Zululand, South Africa.

The Technology Acceptance Model was selected and examined in this study to explain the relevance of ICTs in information and knowledge sharing because many important aspects of individuals' behaviour, understanding, and intentions with respect to these tools are evident in sharing activities. The TAM critically addresses the issues below with regard to the acceptance, application and use of technology:

External variables

While investigating the variables influencing the acceptance and use of technology by individuals Compeau & Higgins (2006) posit that external variables are very crucial and need to be addressed before any system is accepted for use. External variables include the training of users, features of the system, specifications and process. This also determines the adaptation of the system.

Perceived usefulness

These are the users' or participants' perceptions about the importance and relevance of technologies in their routine activities. Perceived usefulness is the degree to which an individual accepts a technological system based on the systems' ability to supplement or ease their mental and physical efforts (Pearlson & Saunders 2006).

Perceived ease of use

These are the users' perceptions about the ease with which they can use a technology. Some technological systems are very sophisticated and sometimes pose a threat or difficulty to individuals. It is important for users to ascertain whether the equipment is handy to use in their routine operations. This also determines choice, acceptance, preference and ultimately the frequency of usage (Abrami & Barrett 2005).

Behavioural intentions

Yi and Hwang (2003) found that behavioural intention to accept and use a particular system is largely influenced by its perceived ease of use and perceived usefulness. These are indicators of the behaviour of the user in accepting and using the system.

Actual system use

This is the end result and an indicator of whether the system has been accepted and utilised by the users/participants. It is ideally informed by perceived usefulness and ease of use, leading to behavioural intention and subsequently utilisation (Thompson *et al*. 2006).

Despite the usefulness of this model, it falls short of extending beyond users' perceived usefulness and ease of use of ICTs, meaning that reasons for the user's perceptions on these points cannot be determined. A more detailed appraisal of the TAM is provided in the critique that follows.

3.0 Appraisal, critique and application of the theories to information and knowledge sharing research

3.1 Critiques on SCT

The Social Capital Theory has been criticised by scholars from a functional versus interpersonal perspective and in regard to whether social capital initiatives guarantee mutual or personal benefits (Portes 1998; Sceffler *et al*. 2008). Furthermore, social capital has been criticised in terms of individual inputs for collaborative participation and for the usefulness of social capital into real practice in community and corporate organisations (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993, 1995; Brown *et al*. 2006). Bourdieu (1986) believes that social capital is largely beneficial to the dominant members of a group, society or organisation for maintaining supremacy. He views restrictions in a group or network as an advantage towards maintaining trust, culture, authority and norms which hinder wider participation and evaluation. Other forms of criticism are that social capital is too simplistic and narrow as it undermines the status of individuals in an organisation by regarding them as mere employees (Desjardins 2003:11-12). It is also criticised for undermining the capabilities of individuals outside socio-economic and organisational boundaries (Duke, Osborne and Wilson 2005) and emphasising learning processes that are perceived to potentially possess only reciprocal outcomes (Kerka 2000; Cruikshank 2008:67-8).

3.1.2 Application of SCT

Those in favour of social capital would point to the fact that despite the criticisms, a significant benefit of social capital is information and knowledge sharing, and that information and knowledge has great influence on social capital and individual participation (Milligan *et al*. 2004; Dee 2004; Wilson 2000; Jones 2006). Falk (2001:316) also reveals that social capital has been characterised as the building block of socio-economic advancement. Many researchers have associated social capital with political, social and economic gains, as it has the tendency to increase societal productivity (Westell 2005:17). Social capital has been used in the study of economic issues in low and middle income countries, although it has not yielded consistent results (Yip *et al*. 2007; Wang *et al*. 2009). The World Health Organisation (WHO) also used social capital in the early 2000s in a survey on world health covering 71 countries, which to date is considered one of the most comprehensive surveys showing the influence of social capital on health (CSDH 2008). Judging from these assertions, social capital can be recognised as a means of bringing people together for enhanced productivity through the exchange

of information and knowledge and the cross-pollination of ideas. This is why social capital is considered to be the hub of individual and societal cooperation (Grootaert 1988:iii).

Hence, we believe that in academia common goals may include research, achieving world standards, communicating beyond boundaries and gaining competitive advantage. These and more can be achieved through information and knowledge sharing efforts and social interactions, such as Communities of Practice (CoP) in academic and research institutions. Our position is supported by Saunders (2006:9) who posits that social networks influence and facilitate the acquisition and utilisation of individual expertise. Therefore, essentially social capital can facilitate the development of knowledge and expertise through knowledge exchange thereby promoting trust and reciprocal ties.

3.2 Critiques of the TAM

There are a number of criticisms of the TAM, especially with respect to methodology. Legris, Ingham and Collerette, (2003) and Yousafzai, Foxall and Pallister (2007) note the use of individualistic data processing (a subjective measure) to measure systems instead of using data obtained by evaluating system utilisation and viability. The argument here is that the individualistic data may be insufficient or irrelevant to measuring the reality of system use. Other studies have used participants in a pre-planned set-up, which makes it impossible to generalise in the real sense (Lee, Kozer, & Larsen 2003). Yang and Yoo (2003) argue that system use is affected by the attitudes of the user, and this is not being addressed in the TAM. Furthermore, the relationships between different constructs in the TAM are poor (Bogazzi 2007), especially the theoretical strength of the link between intention and actual use. In this sense Bogazzi (2007) argues that behaviour is far from being a terminal goal and should rather be seen as a motive towards enriching vital goals. In contrast the TAM is deficient in explaining the gap between intention and adoption, where many other factors could come into play to speed up or delay the decision to adopt. Finally, TAM is considered to be a deterministic model; an individual's actions are largely driven by his/her intentions.

3.2.1 Application of the TAM

Despite the criticisms, the TAM can be used to understand the acceptance, application, relevance and effectiveness of modern technologies in information and knowledge sharing research. This also provides an indication of the information literacy levels of the researchers.

Inter and intra-disciplinary ties are a means of facilitating knowledge flow through the exchange, refinement and transfer of ideas and expertise. In contemporary society, these processes are best achieved through online platforms. Researchers are increasingly exploring the Internet for social benefits in this respect, and doing so means that they are more likely to adopt these technologies in their professional capacity. Therefore, professional networks that were previously maintained through personal contact have now been transformed into virtual communities. This gives technologically driven professionals enormous advantages over those who are not privy to technology.

Harrison (2006) shows that the main players in virtual communities of practice occupy a central position. In this context, we believe that professional social ties through modern technology yield increased participation, more output, and teamwork and shared responsibilities in practice. This gives members a central focus, and monitored and controlled standards. But despite the opportunities associated with modern technologies many people do not explore those advantages. Studies have also shown that despite the significant investment in educational technology, many of these technologies are being under-utilised (Park 2009; Teo 2009; Liu, Liao & Pratt 2009). Therefore to augment the efforts of governments and other organisations, the application of the TAM in information and knowledge sharing research has the advantage of determining behavioural intentions to use technology versus actual utilisation. There are also more explanations regarding the acceptance of technology in diverse contexts (see Sun and Zhang 2006).

4.0 Conclusion and recommendations

The activities in information and knowledge sharing are always mutual, so much so that the individuals (researchers in this case) play an important role in performing these functions with the application of their knowledge, expertise and experience. The latter (knowledge, expertise and experience), coupled with the willingness to participate and the extent of participation, are key to the exchange or cross-pollination of ideas and innovations. The necessary and conducive environment (institutions/affiliation) for the conduct of research duties is another crucial aspect, without which the whole process would be impossible as the environment provides the necessary support, incentives, motivation and logistics. Furthermore, information and knowledge sharing can only be hassle-free, timely and effective with the application of the necessary technology (ICTs). The success of any process in the 21st century, especially with regard to information and knowledge searching, acquisition, processing, storage and transfer, is strongly based on the adoption, utilisation and effectiveness of these tools.

The aggregate of these factors provides the inputs and the required ingredients for the effective sharing of information and knowledge. This study confirms the relevance and appropriateness of the use of the Social Capital and the Technology Acceptance Model to understand the various complementary factors for effective information and knowledge sharing.

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The influence of organisational factors and work-family conflict on organisational commitment among working parents

Sunday Samson Babalola[1], Samuel E. Oladipo[2], and Catherine O. Chovwen[3]
*[1]Department of Human Resource Management and Labour Relations,
University of Venda, Thohoyandou, 0950, South Africa
sunday.babalola@univen.ac.za

[2]Department of Counselling Psychology, Tai Solarin University of Education
PMB 2118, Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria

[3]Department of Psychology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria
*Corresponding author

Abstract

This study investigates the influence of organisational factors and work-family role conflict on organisation commitment among working parents. The participants in the study comprise 200 employees of banking, armed forces, educational, and health institutions with a mean age 37.52 years. About 57% are men while 43.5% are women. Validated scales are used for data collection with data analysed using appropriate test statistics. Results reveal that employees with high work-family conflict are more committed to their jobs, while there is no significant difference in organisational commitment between the senior and the junior staff. Other findings suggest workers in the banking institutions significantly score higher on organisational commitment than workers in other work sectors. The findings are discussed in line with the existing literature while the study recommends a need for effective organisational policies and practices in improving and encouraging organisational commitment.

Keywords: Job status, work-family conflict, organisational commitment, working parents

Introduction

Organisational commitment as a psychological concept has been identified as an important factor, which plays a significant role in the relationship between individuals and organisations. As a result, it has attracted the attention of researchers in different disciplines such as psychology, sociology and human resources management (Benligiray & Sonmez 2012), because the national economy is dependent on factors which includes companies and employment. With increase in economic growth and the subsequent competitive work environment, employees' commitment is seen as a key factor in achieving competitive performance (Shahnawaz & Juyal 2006), and also one of the crucial outcomes of the human resource strategies. This is because a committed workforce is more passionate about what they do and are more likely to put more effort into their work than the less committed employees (Akehurst, Comeche, & Galindo 2009). Committed employees have a greater tendency to notice where the organisation falls short and where improvements can be made than their less committed colleagues. This type of characteristic from a committed employee may be of great value to a company (Baron & Kreps 1999).

Organisational commitment is a feeling an employee bears for the organisation that he/she is working for (Swailes 2002), which is also a function of the perceived compatibility between the individual and the organisation (Bateman & Strasser 1984). Researchers view organisational commitment as a kind of psychological commitment that makes an individual internalise the goals and values of the organisation, try hard to be a part of it and feel like a strong member of the family (Steers 1977; Mowday, Steers, & Porter 1979). It can then be said that organisational commitment is characterised by the strong desire to continue the membership of an organisation. In sum, the degree of commitment often determines the decision to stay with the organisation, as Clugston (2000) shows that individuals with a high degree of commitment are less likely to quit their jobs.

According to social exchange theory, employees' commitment and involvement may fluctuate, depending on the employees' perceived trust within the organisation (Blau 1964). However, a growing number of studies have questioned

1. Sunday Samson Babalola is a Professor in the Department of Human Resource Management and Labour Relations, School of Management Sciences, University of Venda, Thohoyandou, South Africa.
2. Samuel E. Oladipo is a Postdoctoral Researcher, School of Research and Postgraduate Studies, North-West University, Mafikeng Campus, Mmabatho, South Africa.
3. Catherine O. Chovwen is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology, Faculty of the Social Sciences, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

this theory and the claim of social exchange based explanation for employee attitudes (Farh, Hackett, & Liang 2007; Gelfand, Erez, & Aycan 2007; Tsui 2004). However, from Cropanzano and Mitchell's (2011) point of view, social exchange theory is of one of the most prominent theories in understanding behaviour at the workplace, as it explains why trust in employees may lead to higher employee commitment, just as Nelson and Quick (2005) state that the theory reveals that the outcome is equal to the benefits minus the costs. Then, employee behaviour is the result of an exchange process of maximising the benefits and minimising the costs, indicating why the exchange process is an interaction between the organisation and the employee. Thus, when an organisation gives an employee a reward, it expects something from the employee in exchange, although employees' commitment may fluctuate, depending on his/her perceived trust. Organisational commitment has also been viewed as having an important place in the study of organisational behaviours because of the relationship between organisational commitment and attitudes and behaviours in the workplace (Yucel & Bektas 2012).

The commitment profiles theory has opened up new prospects in scientific thinking of organisational commitment, with increasing numbers of authors looking into the antecedents of and outcomes from commitment profiles (Wasti 2005; Somers 2009). According to the Newman and Sheikh (2012) study, factors of social, extrinsic and intrinsic rewards are vital in motivating commitment among employees while role clarity and satisfaction with the supervisor are the major determinants of emotional commitment. Likewise, Imran, Arif, Cheema & Azeem (2014) indicate that there is a positive significant relationship between organisational commitment and performance. To Iverson and Buttgieg (2008), the fewer the alternatives that are available to the continuance-committed employee, the more dedicated they tend to be. Equally, Babalola (2013) states that committed employees have a greater will to prepare and also confront organisational employment-related problems such as job insecurity and a threat to belonging. Orevic (2004) posits that organisations value their employees' commitment because of the assumption that committed employees engage in 'extra-role' behaviours, such as being creative or innovative. This is because commitment induces willingness to make personal sacrifice, perform beyond normal expectations and endures difficult times with an organisation (Orevic 2004; Steers 1977). In sum, organisational commitment is a bond the employee has with the organisation (Lambert & Paoline 2008). Rathi and Rastogi's (2009) study demonstrates the importance of organisational commitment as a determinant of organisational effectiveness.

However, some studies show inconsistent findings on organisational commitment. For instance, Aryee, Luk and Stone (1998) and Spreitzer and Mishra (2002) find no significant gender differences with regard to organisational commitment, while Hornung and Rousseau (2007) and Madsen, Miller and John's (2005) findings indicate that neither men nor women score higher on commitment. Cohen's (1992) study also shows that blue collar women employees exhibit more organisational commitment than men, while within the white collar jobs, men show more organisational commitment than women. Pala, Eker, and Eker's (2008) study reveals that specialist doctors, practitioner doctors and health officers tend to show greater organisational commitment feeling than nurses. Akintayo and Babalola's (2012) findings also show organisational commitment to be higher among respondents from private organisations than those from public organisations. Specifically, the results show that the respondents from private organisations demonstrate more affective and continuance commitment to organisational goal achievement than respondents from public organisations.

Work and family are two significant central points of adult life. Nevertheless, the expected roles of these two areas are not always compatible, thus creating conflicts between work life and family life (Netemeyer, Boles & McMurrian 1996). These conflicts are manifested as time strains and spill-overs of stress from work to home or vice versa. The conducive task environment coupled with a favourable home environment tends to foster organisational commitment among the workforce, just as the provision of adequate job incentives, which tend to facilitate effective management of work-family role conflict, is a strong factor in the prediction of organisational commitment (Akintayo 2010). According to researchers such as Baker & Geurts 2004; Schieman, Milkie, & Glavin 2009; and Voydanoff 2004, work-family conflict are associated with the demands placed on employees at work, as well as home demands and resources. Therefore, work-family conflict is a form of inter-role conflict in which, participation in the work role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family or vice versa (Greenhaus & Beutell 1985). Conflict between work and family is also important as it tends to lead to negative consequences, such as decreased organisational commitment and increased turn-over (Akintayo 2010; Ajiboye 2008; Mayer, Salovey & Caruso 2000).

Most researchers make the distinction between work-family conflict and family-work conflict and have conceptualised it as bidirectional; however, Ford, Heinen and Langkamer's (2007) research reveals that the concepts of work-family and family-work conflict are separate constructs. Work-to-family conflict occurs when experiences at work interfere with family life such as irregular working hours and work overload. Family-to-work conflict occurs when experiences in the family interfere with work life, like the presence of young children and unsupportive family members, for instance,

parents taking time off from work to attend to a sick child. For the purposes of this study, however, work-family conflict is taken to comprise the two i.e. work-family as well as family-work conflict.

The Nigerian family, just like any family from a developing economy, has been undergoing significant and functional changes without a corresponding shift in cultural policies. Few Nigerian families consist of a father who works and a mother who stays at home to care for the house and the children, despite advances in education and workplace compositions. Most work organisations continue to be guided by traditional work-place policies that are in place in those periods when men are the only category working while women stay at home. These arrangements are clearly distant from the reality of the present diverse work place that is increasingly populated with working mothers, single parents, and dual-career couples. This creates a potential for conflict and stress, as employees struggle with the demands of balancing paid work and home responsibilities. However, some findings have shown that individuals from more collectivistic cultures may experience fewer conflicts between work and family, in part because work and family are viewed as more integrated; meaning work is seen as a necessary and vital component of ensuring family well-being (Aryee *et al*. 1999; Yang, Chen, Choi, & Zou 2000). However, researchers (Alam, Biswas, & Hassan 2009; Boles, Howard, & Donofrio 2001; Greenhaus & Beutell 1985) maintain that work-family conflict increases when the work and family roles are salient or central to the individual's self-concept and when powerful negative sanctions for non-compliance with role demands are inevitable.

A large number of studies have examined the role conflict arising from combining work-family roles (e.g., Chinchilla, Leon, Torres, & Canela 2006). Heymann (2000) and Lambert's (1999) findings show that the burden of combining work and family is greatest among non-professional and marginalised workers, such as immigrants, because their jobs offer little flexibility or other family friendly resources. Kelly, Moen and Tranby (2011) assert that professional and managerial employees tend to differ systematically from other workers in ways that affect their work-family conflict because professional and managerial employees report greater flexibility and schedule control (Golden 2008; Schieman *et al*. 2009; Weeden 2005). Kelly *et al.* (2011: 267) also argue that higher status workers are likely to have more economic resources (income to purchase more reliable and more flexible childcare or eldercare), fewer family demands (fewer children or adult dependents in the home), and more family resources. All these may minimise work-family conflict and create work-family fit.

In the light of these reviews, this study is set to test the following hypotheses:

1. Individuals with low work-family conflict will be more committed to their organisation than counterparts who are high on work-family conflict.
2. Senior staff will be more committed to their organisation than the junior staffs.
3. Workers in banking institutions will be more committed to their organisation more than workers in other work institutions.

Methodology

Research design

The research is an *ex post facto* cross-sectional survey which is amenable to 2 x 2 factorial design since the variables are not directly manipulated but readily assumed two levels each. Job status occurs at two levels (senior and junior); work-family conflict also exists at two levels (high and low). The assessment of the influence of these variables is made on organisational commitment. Hypotheses 1 and 2 are analysed with 2 X 2 - analysis of variance (ANOVA) while hypothesis 3 is analysed with one-way Analysis of Variance.

Participants

The data for the study is drawn from employees of health, banking, armed forces and educational sectors in the city of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. Ibadan, a city at the junction of the savannah and the forest, is the capital city of Oyo State and the third largest metropolitan area, by population, in Nigeria after Lagos and Kano. At Nigerian independence in 1960, Ibadan was the largest and most populous city in the country and the third in Africa after Cairo and Johannesburg. Ibadan is located in south-western Nigeria, 128 km inland, northeast of Lagos and 530 km southwest of Abuja, the federal capital of Nigeria.

These organisations are so considered simply because they are human service organisations. Organisational practices and service delivery are intangible and require substantial interpersonal contacts. Two hundred employees' responses are available for analysis, of which 56.5 per cent of respondents are male and 43.5 per cent are female. The participants' ages range between 24 to 65 years with a mean age of 37.52 (S.D = 8.44) years. Their job tenures with their organisations range from (1) to (18) years, with a mean tenure of 8 .4 years (SD. = 2.13).

Measures

A questionnaire comprising three sections is used. Section 'A' is focused on respondents' demographic data; Section 'B' measures work-family conflict using an 8-item index to assess inter-role conflict on a 5-point scale, ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree) to rate to what extent they agreed or disagreed (Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Conelly 1983). Samples of the items include 'my work schedules often conflict with my family life'. The authors report a coefficient alpha of 0.87 and, for this study, a coefficient alpha of 0.91 is established. Section C comprises a 24-item scale developed by Allen and Myer (1990) to assess organisational commitment. The coefficient alpha for this scale, according to the author, is 0.90, while for this study a coefficient alpha 0.75 is established. All items represent statements to which the subject responds on 5-point Likert-type scales, ranging from 5 'strongly disagree' to 1 'strongly agree'. For the purpose of this study, a pilot study is carried out with a total of thirty married workers to obtain a coefficient alpha for the scales.

Procedure

Prior to questionnaire administration, ethical clearance and permission for the research are obtained from the University Research Unit. In addition, consultations are held with the Head of Human Resource Departments in each of the study organisations to describe the study and survey instruments and the motive of the research. These initial attempt are taken to facilitate and obtain official permission and informed consent from collaborating organisations to use their employees for the study. These steps are considered essential because of the seeming difficulties inherent in seeking cooperation and assistance from busy workers. Purposeful sampling technique is used because of the need not to disrupt work activities; 60 questionnaires are placed with the human resource departments. The completed questionnaires are picked up at two weeks intervals. Of the 240 copies of the questionnaire, 216 are returned with sixteen not properly completed; giving a response rate of 93%, which is deemed acceptable. Respondents are asked to answer all questions. Names of participants are declared optional, so respondents are assured that their responses are completely anonymous and confidential. Only respondents who are currently employed full time and also married are included. Participants are also informed of the voluntary nature of participation.

Results

Hypotheses 1 and 2

Hypotheses 1 and 2 are tested using 2 x 2 ANOVA. Table 1 shows that the first hypothesis which states that individuals with low work-family conflict will be more committed to their organisation than their counterparts with high work-family conflict is inversely confirmed ($F\ \{1, 192\} = 16.30$, $P < 0.05$). Table 1 also shows that the second hypothesis, which states that senior staffs will be more committed to their organisation than the junior staff, is not supported ($F\ \{1, 192\} = 0.02$; $P > 0.05$).

Table 1 Summary table showing 2 x 2 ANOVA of the influence of job status and work-family conflict on organisational commitment among working parents

Variable	SS	df	MS	F	P
Work-family conflict	1443.87	1	1443.87	16.30	< .05
Job status	1.36	1	1.36	0.02	> .05
WFC X Job status	0.83	1	0.83	0.01	> .05
Residual	17007.67	192	88.57		
Total	18453.73	199	93.02		

The *post-hoc* analysis in Table 2 shows significant differences from the first hypothesis. It shows that individuals with high work-family conflict (= 77.81) are more committed to their organisation than individuals with low work-family conflict (= 72.44). This result is opposite to the hypothesis.

Table 2 Mean table showing group differences on organisational commitment among working parents

Variable	Level	N	
WFC	High	102	77.81
	Low	98	72.44
Job status	Senior	127	75.12
	Junior	73	75.19

Note: WFC means work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis, which states that workers in the banking institutions will be more committed to their organisation than other work institutions, is tested using one-way ANOVA. The results in Table 3 show that workers in the banking institutions significantly scored higher on commitment to their organisation than workers in other work-groups ($F\{3,196\} = 3.08$, $P < 0.05$).

Table 3 One-way ANOVA Summary table showing the effects work-groups on organisational commitment

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between	832.720	3	277.57	3.08	< 0.05
Within	17678.80	196	90.20		
Total	18511.52	199			

The LSD *post-hoc* analysis in Table 4 indicates significant differences within banking institutions with (= 78.56) and those of health care institutions (= 74.28), educational sector (= 73.12) and armed forces sectors (= 74.76). However, no significant difference is found between health care institutions (= 74.28) and educational sector (= 73.12) and armed forces (= 74.76) and lastly between educational sector (= 73.12) and armed forces (= 74.76).

Table 4 LSD summary table showing work-groups differences and organisational commitment

Group Names	**N**		**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
Health care institutions	50	74.28	-			
Educational sectors	50	73.12	1.16	-		
Armed forces	50	74.76	-4.80	-1.64		
Banking institutions	50	78.56	-4.28*	-5.44*	-3.80*	-

* The mean difference is significant at $P < 0.05$.

Discussion

The result of the first hypothesis indicates that employees with high work-family conflict are more committed to their organisations, as opposed to the hypothesis which specifies that employees with low work-family conflict will be more committed to their organisation than those with high work-family conflict. This is contrary to some findings which reveal that work-family conflict is often linked to negative consequences, such as decreased organisational commitment (Akintayo 2010; Ajiboye 2008; Mayer *et al*. 2000). However, this may be because the employees with high work-family conflict have personal coping strategies that enable them to control behaviours in their organisation. This type of view is supported by Brehn's (1966) finding which shows that individuals tend to select coping strategies that deal specifically with the focal stressor perceived to be responsible for low work control. Also, the deteriorating employment situation in Nigeria (Diejomaoh 2008) coupled with the global financial and economic crisis which has pushed the employment crisis to unprecedented proportions (Alabi 2014) may have led the employees to adapt themselves to cope with the job despite the work-family conflict so as not to lose their organisations and become worse off.

Hypothesis two, which states that senior staff will be more committed to their job than junior staff, is not supported, thus showing that no difference exists between the senior and junior workers' commitment to organisation. The possible explanation may be that there is no noticeable different in treatment given to the employees (junior or senior) in terms of welfare by the management of these organisations. Besides, employees cannot afford to be uncommitted to the organisation for fear of being fired due to the deteriorated employment situation (Alabi 2014; Diejomaoh 2008). Thus, it can also be argued that the high rate of unemployment in the country may be responsible for these findings. This may be because everyone who succeed in securing a job will do everything possible to retain the job, irrespective of the challenges they may be facing.

Hypothesis three, which states that individuals in the banking institutions will be more committed to their organisation than individuals in other work-groups of health, education and armed forces institutions is supported. That the banking employees show more organisational commitment than other work-groups may be because most banking institutions are privately owned and tend to pay better than other work sectors in Nigeria. This is supported by Akintayo and Babalola's (2012) findings, which indicate that organisational commitment tend to be higher among private organisations' employees than public organisations employees. It may be imperative on the employees to be committed otherwise they can be

fired, despite challenges arising from work-family conflict, whereas other work-groups in this study (health care institutions, educational sectors and armed forces) are either wholly or partially public organisations. Another probable explanation may be that there are better motivational factors which compensate for work-family conflict. In fact, the efficacy of reward cannot be underestimated; there is no gainsaying the fact that most bank employees receive better monthly payments than other employees in either public service or teaching professions. Besides, personal emoluments and other facilities that are made available to bank officials, but which employees in other establishments lack, may have been a major motivation keeping bank workers glued to their jobs despite work-family conflicts. Similarly, collectivistic culture helps cushion the effects of conflicts between work and family; also, work and family are viewed as necessary and vital components of ensuring well-being (Aryee, *et al.* 1999; Yang, *et al.* 2000).

Conclusion and recommendations

The results of this study are important for at least two reasons. First, they demonstrate a need for effective organisational policies and practices in the area of improving and encouraging the attachment of employees to their jobs. Second, they reveal that the influence of work-family conflict on job commitment varies across organisations. Thus, the adoption of support may have increased employees' perception of control over work-family roles.

Employers may need to view every worker as equally relevant to the attainment of the organisational goals, which calls for a need to motivate employees without any discriminatory attitudes. Management also needs to introduce family supportive elements in the work places to reduce the problem of work-family conflict. Such family support policies ought to include services that will make everyday management of family responsibilities easier, such as child care, flexitime, information services, seminars and family leave. Also, managers as agents of the organisations have the responsibility of playing a more active role in providing emotional and instrumental support to their subordinates. This activity can be achieved through increased empathy and flexibility on the part of the manager in handling employees' work-family matters. In terms of organisational actions, it recommends that training in human capital management will equip human resources practitioners with the knowledge base for effective, workplace-friendly policies and practices. Though this study has achieved a wide range of success, however, much can still be achieved in further similar studies as the major limitation of this study is that it can only be generalised to married workers. Future researchers should look into family supportive elements.

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Appendix

Inter-role conflict - Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connelly (1983)

KEY: SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, U - Undecided, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree. Indicate (x) against the option that best reflects your feelings.

		SA	A	U	D	SD
1	My work schedule often conflicts with my family life					
2	After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do					
3	On the job, I have so much work that it takes away from my other interests.					
4	My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while I'm at home.					
5	Because my work is demanding at times I am irritable at home					
6	The demands of my job make it difficult to be relaxed all the time at home					
7	My work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family					
8	My job makes it difficult to be the kind of spouse or parent that I'd like to be					

Organisational commitment – Allen and Myer (1990)

		SA	A	U	D	SD
1	I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organisation					
2	I enjoy discussing my organisation with people outside of it					
3	I really feel as if this organisation's problems are my own.					
4	I think that I could easily become as attached to another organisation as I am to this one.					
5	I do not feel like part of the family at my organisation					
6	I do not feel emotionally attached to this organisation					
7	This organisation has a great deal of personal meaning for me					
8	I do not feel a sense of belonging to my organisation					
9	I am not afraid of what might happen if I quit my job without having another one lined up					

10	It would be very hard for me to leave my organisation right now, even if I wanted to					
11	Too much in my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to leave my organisation now					
12	It wouldn't be too costly for me to leave my organisation now					
13	Right now, staying with my organisation is a matter of necessity as much as desire					
14	I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this organisation					
15	One of the few serious consequences of leaving this organisation would be the scarcity of available alternatives					
16	One of the major reasons I continue to work for this organisation is that leaving would require considerable personal sacrifice: another organisation may not match the overall benefits I have here					
17	I think that people these days move from company to company too often					
18	I do not believe that a person must always be loyal to his or her organisation					
19	Jumping from organisation to organisation does not seem at all unethical to me					
20	One of the major reasons I continue to work for this organisation is that I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of moral obligation to remain					
21	If I get another offer for a better job elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my organisation					
22	I was taught to believe in the value of remaining loyal to one organisation					
23	Things were better in the days when people stayed with one organisation for most of their careers					
24	I do not think that wanting to be a "company man" is sensible anymore					

Promoting family resilience in South Africa: a community psychological, multicultural counseling approach

Steve Edwards[1]
Department of Psychology, University of Zululand
sdedward@telkomsa.net

Abstract

This article describes some projects in KwaZulu-Natal, which adopted a community psychological, multi-cultural counselling approach in promoting family resilience. Following definition of relevant concepts, the article describes the training of community psychologists and multicultural counsellors with special reference to the specialized doctoral programme, and the results of three specific family resilience projects.

Keywords: Community psychology, multicultural counselling, family resilience

Introduction

The aim of this article is to describe some projects in KwaZulu-Natal, which adopted a community psychological, multi-cultural counselling approach in promoting family resilience. Observing that every entity shares a dual nature: as a whole in itself, and as a part of some other whole, Wilber (2007) has adopted Arthur Koestler's term 'holon' to describe such a phenomenon. In the present context, the focus is on individuals, families and communities as holons. More precisely, the concern is with perceptions of individuals, adolescents and parents, who comprise families, groups and communities. Although our main focus is on family resilience, axiomatically and conversely this focus includes a concern with community resilience, which consists of group, family and individual resilience patterns

Family resilience

Family resilience broadly refers to the ability of families to recover from stress, crisis or trauma. Similar patterns may be observed in individuals, couples and communities. Walsh (1996), McCubbin and McCubbin (1993) and Hawley and DeHaan (1996) have argued that family resilience involves multiple recursive processes over time, from the family's perception of threatening crises which challenge established patterns of functioning, family resources, schema and social support, through an adjustment phase to various forms of adaptation.

Community psychology

Tricket (1996) has described community psychology in terms of contexts of diversity within a diversity of contexts and suggested that community psychology can make a distinctive contribution by clarifying the many meanings of the concept of diversity through attention to the contexts in which diversity develops. Walsh (1996) advocates a community psychological approach to promoting family resilience, arguing that multifamily, psychoeducational and mutual-aid groups are particularly well suited in this regard. In practice this typically involves a multicultural counselling process in establishing and maintaining such multifamily mutual aid support groups (Mthembu, 2001).

Multicultural counselling

Multi-cultural counselling occurs in diverse, changing contexts, including theoretical, experiential, geographical, political and cultural contexts. As a unique learning process, culture has both universal and particular aspects. Individuals, couples, families, groups, communities and societies grow up as members of a human interconnected global universe as well as within particular cultures with diverse values, beliefs and practices. Multi-cultural counselling recognizes the cultural context of all counselling and the importance of a balance between universal and particularistic aspects of culture. In South Africa, for example, it is a corrective for sequelae of apartheid, which on the one hand, overemphasized racial and ethnic differences and under-emphasized the universal culture of humanity and on the other hand failed to recognize individual and cultural diversity within groups of people arbitrarily classified on narrow, racial grounds (Edwards, 2003).

Training community psychologists: the Zululand example

In many ways community psychology represents a scientific revolution or paradigm shift in its recognition and documentation of evidence that the 'real' psychological interventions are typically carried out by non-professional community helpers and at least as effectively as professionals (Orford, 1992). When we consider that there are well over

1. Steve Edwards, PhD, DEd, DTE, is Clinical, Educational and Sport Psychologist and Professor Emeritus at the University of Zululand, South Africa.

one million traditional healers and African indigenous faith healers in South Africa at present, who are providing essential community helping resources far in excess of the approximately 6 000 psychologists, 10 000 social workers, 30 000 medical doctors and 173 000 nurses for a total population of about 50 million, the importance of networking and collaboration to optimize such resources becomes apparent (Edwards, 1999; 2011).

The practice of community psychology in Zululand provides an instructive case study and resource from which to explore this theme. The Zululand region generally typifies South Africa in being a predominantly rural region with a diverse population in social transformation as they work through the sequelae of the apartheid system in all its violence and oppression of diversity within and between cultures. We negotiate meaning through language. The Zulu terms for context and diversity are instructively harmonized in this regard. "Ingqikithi" inclusively means both essence and context (Dent & Nyambezi 1995), while "ubunhlobonhlobo" implies diversity in all its fundamental relatedness.

While traditional forms of community psychology have existed in Zululand for centuries and modern applied forms for decades, it was only since 1993 that a modern professionally accredited programme has been systematically operating through partnerships between Zululand University and various community centres in the training of psychologists and non-professional community workers. This Zululand community psychology project has developed enormously since 1993, with community psychology interventions in various health, education and industrial contexts in both rural and urban settings, leading to the establishment of a professionally accredited specialized doctoral programme in community psychology in 1998. This doctoral programme has grown enormously, with students from all over South Africa all providing community psychological interventions related to their degree (see Table 1).

Table 1 Zululand University PhD Community Psychology programme

The specialized doctoral programme is recognized as a full research doctorate for subsidy by the Department of Education and is also accredited by the Professional Board for Psychology of the Health Professions Council of South Africa as an additional specialist qualification for registered psychologists. It consists of position papers, each of which contributes towards a thesis.

Position papers consists of instruction, presentation and examination in the following:

- Community psychology theory and models relevant to Africa
- Community psychology research methods
- Community psychology interventions
- Scientific article

The thesis satisfies all the usual academic requirements of a PhD thesis and also leads to a scientific article for publication in a peer-reviewed journal.

Since 2001 through 2010, research interventions in the form of dissertations and theses of 82 masters and 48 doctoral graduandi have provided valuable community psychological services throughout Southern Africa. For example, community research interventions continue at various local community partnership centres, with special focus on:

- Zululand University HIV/AIDS programs and interventions,
- HIV/AIDS related masters and doctoral dissertations and theses,
- Local community initiatives and AIDS care centres, such as Emoyeni, Ethembeni and Amangwe Village projects,
- A project on family resilience in bereaved Zulu, Swazi and Hindu communities in collaboration with Universities of Stellenbosch, Fort Hare, Port Elizabeth and The North.

Training multicultural counsellors to manage diversity and provide multicultural counselling in diverse contexts has always been an essential component of the Zululand community psychology project

Training multicultural counsellors

Multicultural counselling recognizes the cultural context of all counselling and the importance of a balance between universal and particularistic aspects of culture.

Goals of the cultural counselling training include: the development of knowledge, experience, expertise and skill in cultural counseling; appropriate professional practice; improvement in the assessment and management of cultural factors in illness and healing; prevention of human rights abuses such as apartheid or discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS; promotion of unique human culture (ubuntu), in its universal form which includes care, dignity, respect, freedom as well as diverse forms of culture.

Multicultural counselling skills training implies that counsellors need to be cultured (i.e. sufficiently developed in the culture of humanity), have general and specific cultural counselling skills, knowledge and experience as well as contextual skills in that counselling itself occurs in diverse changing contexts; theoretical, experiential, geographical, historical, economic and political.

Counsellors are required to develop what Ivey, D'Andrea, Ivey, and Simek-Morgan (2002) have described as a respectful intentionality, which takes into account their clients' religious/spiritual identity, economic class background, sexual identity, psychological maturity, ethnic **[?]** and/or identity, chronological/developmental challenges, trauma/threats to well-being, family background and history, unique physical characteristics, language and place of residence.

Through graded workshops counsellors experience various phases of cultural identity development in relation to various cultural components such as ethnic, racial and gender identity. These phases typically include: naiveté and/or limited cultural awareness; encounters with difference and/or oppression; naming of difference as for example, gay and reflection on the self as a cultural being, before some form of multi-perspective integration and action against such destructive forces as racism, sexism, oppression.

Graded workshop experience examples are as follows

Workshop 1. Learners are asked to write "I am" repeatedly, answer this, then compare productions.

Workshop 2. Learners are asked to interview one another in turn and note universal, differential and unique cultural aspects of the interview.

Workshop 3. Learners test their skills in oral and/or written, individual and/or group responses to typical cases requiring cultural counselling.

Workshop 4 on various aspects of diversity, for example the 2006 community psychological doctoral conference on celebration of diversity with special reference to indigenous knowledge systems and spirituality, which focused on various spiritual traditions, so vital to South African cultural life: ancestral spirituality, Taoism, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam.

Workshop 3 includes a particular focus on family resilience as is required in the following examples, where students take a variety of cultural roles in order to experience personally the meaning of being a member of another cultural group.

- Ms Pillay considers attempting suicide as her Hindu family do not approve of her boyfriend on the grounds that he is Moslem.
- Nontjatjambo Mahlaku, a retired teacher and community leader requests help in order to build a hall for families traumatised by political violence and a creche for HIV/AIDS orphans.
- Mr van Rensburg has been deserted by his wife. He dearly loves his children but feels that they are not safe in South Africa at present, while he has to work long shift hours. He confides that he is considering the possibility of family murder.
- Mr Jones' family is extremely disturbed by the slaughtering of a goat and large community gathering at his neighbour, Mr. Mthethwa's house in suburban Johannesburg.
- Mr Abrahams, a middle-aged man classified as coloured under the old apartheid system, disturbs his family with his alcoholism, happy at his children's greater freedom to develop their own cultural identities, but remains terribly bitter and angry in himself.

Results of such training have been reported elsewhere (Edwards 2003; Ngcobo & Edwards, 2008)

Specific family resilience projects

The greatest threat currently faced by South Africans is the HIV/AIDS pandemic which accounts for much trauma, death and grief. In order to examine different cultural family resilience patterns following bereavement, three recent projects have examined samples of 30 Hindu, Swazi and Zulu families respectively, where there had been some death in the family in the past four years (Harakraj, 2006; Mbizana, 2007; Ngometulu, 2007). A family was defined as a parent and an adolescent.

Qualitative findings

Focus groups

Focus groups were run in each project in order to construct culturally specific meanings for such concepts as family, crisis and resilience. The following meaning patterns emerged.

The Zulu group viewed family in terms of themes of a primary support system, companionship and biological relatedness. They unanimously associated crisis with the circumstances or events of loss and also emotional, mental and physiological upset. Lastly, the group expressed their experience of resilience as the ability to 'bounce back' after a crisis; coming back to one's original or normal form; a process of adapting to change and/or survival.

Swazi respondents viewed family as a social, biological and extended community network. Crisis was taken as an unstable situation of extreme danger or difficulty. Resilience was viewed as the ability to recover from, or to resist being affected by some shock, insult or disturbance.

Indian participants viewed 'family' as a social unit living together. In other words, family referred to people who could give and receive unconditional love, trust, support, dependability and with whom there was a sense of togetherness. Crisis was viewed by the majority of the participants as testing situations which threaten well-being and emotional stability, hardships in which they have to be strong for the people they love, and situations in which there is an ability to move forward. Resilience was viewed by most participants as having inner strength; the ability to overcome hardships and to move forward in times of crisis.

Perceived strengths

Families were asked which strengths they believed helped their family through stressful periods. Tables 2, 3 and 4 refer to the ranked frequency of perceived strengths by the samples of 30 parents and 30 adolescents in the different cultural groups.

Table 2 Perceived family strengths

Category	Zulu	Swazi	Indian
Inner strength	46	47	35
Spirituality	45	13	18
Family support	38	43	55
Community support	27	41	18
Financial security	7	5	3

Pierson correlations indicated a significant relationship between Swazi and Indian families ($r=.87$, $p<.05$), a high relationship between Zulu and Swazi families ($r=.7$) and a moderate relationship between Zulu and Indian families ($r=.62$). These results may be interpreted follows. The moderate to significant relationships between the three groups reflect both common family resilience patterns and relative proximity of domicile (KwaZulu-Natal and Swaziland). The significant correlation between Indian and Swazi patterns runs counter to expectations of greater differences. It was rather expected that the Zulu and Swazi family resilience patterns would be more significant in view of their closer Nguni ancestral and linguistic ties. Actual differences between the groups observed in Table 2 appear to be associated with the relative differential emphasis placed by Zulu families on spirituality, by Swazi families on community support and by Indian families on family support.

Quantitative findings

The following measurement scales were used: Social Support Index (SSI), Relative and Friend Support (RFS), Family Problem Solving Communication (FPSC), Family Hardiness Index (FHI), The Family Crises Oriented Personal Evaluation Scales (F-COPES), The Family Attachment and Changeability Index 8 (FACI8) and Family Time Routine Index (FTRI). All these instruments had been used in various study populations in South Africa and described extensively (Greeff, 2000a; Greeff, 2000b). These were administered one parent and one adolescent in each selected family. In terms of the theoretical model, resilience factors are those that correlate significantly with family adaptability as measured on the FACI8.

Table 3 Cronbach Alpha reliability statistics

Measure	Zulu	Swazi	Indian
SSI	.80	.40	.68
RFS	.80	.73	.86
FPSC	.31	.68	.86
FHI	.55	.44	.28
F-COPES mobilisation	.73	.19	.81
F-COPES passive appraisal	.48	.31	.28
F-COPES problem redefinition	.57	.62	.19
F-COPES social support	.81	.65	.90
F-COPES spiritual support	.38	.27	.86
Average value	.60	.48	.64

Table 3 refers to comparisons across the three cultural groups with regard to Cronbach alpha reliability scores for available data from the various measuring scales. As can be observed from these scores, Cronbach Alpha values ranged from almost negligible (.19) to very high (.90) values. While fairly similar, the average values of .60, .48 and .64 for the

three respective groups are only moderate and therefore suggest caution in interpretation of and generalization from the following findings.

Table 4 Resiliency patterns

Measure	Zulu	Swazi	Indian
SSI adolescent	.26	.65**	.56**
SSI parent	.30	.42*	.58**
RFS adolescent	.00	.26	.41*
RFS parent	.27	.24	.43*
FPSC adolescent	.49**	.16	.64**
FPSC parent	.00	.26	.51**
FHI Commitment adolescent	.29	.07	.34
FHI Commitment parent	.17	.26	.02
FHI Challenge adolescent	.36	.19	.09**
FHI Challenge parent	.11	.15	.42*
FHI Control adolescent	.23	.44**	.48**
FHI Control parent	.01	.05	.37*
F-COPES mobilisation adolescent	.02	.45**	.72**
F-COPES mobilisation parent	.18	.51**	.38*
F-COPES passive appraisal adolescent	.16	.24	.34
F-COPES passive appraisal parent	.35	.09	.27
F-COPES problem redefinition adolescent	.46**	.38*	.66**
F-COPES problem redefinition parent	.25	.56**	.36*
F-COPES social support adolescent	.17	.16	.45**
F-COPES social support parent	.11	.44**	.38*
F-COPES spiritual support adolescent	.17	.11	.04
F-COPES spiritual support parent	.05	.34	.02

Table 4 refers to correlations of the various scales with the FACI8 and indicates the similar and different significance patterns as perceived by adolescents and parents units in the three cultural groups of families found in the three projects. In terms of the theoretical model, significant correlations indicate perceived resiliency factors in the particular cultural group. Comparisons across groups indicate that the Indian group generally perceive themselves as most resilient in 16 of the available 22 parent and adolescent measures, followed by the Swazi group with 8 recorded significant correlations and the Zulu group with 2 significant correlations; these latter two are only in the adolescent sample. This may be related to the relative oppression and trauma suffered by Zulu families as a result of hundreds of years of colonialism, apartheid, political violence, poverty, crime and more recently the terrible ravages of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. While certainly not exempt from such oppressive and traumatising factors mentioned above, the Indian and Swazi cultural groups do seem to have lived in comparative freedom and empowerment over a relatively longer period of time. In this context, O'Hagen and Smail (1997) distinguish between the impress of power from distal influences such as politics and economics, through proximal influences such as the family and work situation to experiential and physical influences affecting the personal body/mind/soul more immediately and directly.

It is important that the self-reports of family resilience evidenced by the present sample are understood in the context of the socio-developmental variables in their lives, especially since all of their early years had been lived under apartheid. It is well documented that apartheid and its structures militated against the family's ability to provide an environment for healthy child development. The present findings also need to be considered against earlier findings with similar samples, which showed University of Zululand students scoring higher on self-reports of depression, anxiety and psychological well-being than other international samples (Edwards, Ngcobo & Pillay, 2004; Pillay, Edwards, Gambu & Dhlomo, 2002; Pillay, Edwards, Sargent & Dhlomo, 2001).

At the time of writing, further community action research continues in interventions to promote family resilience with groups of families as well as provide further in-depth knowledge with regard to the phenomenology of Zulu family resilience patterns.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with a community psychological approach to family resilience. There has also been special emphasis on multicultural counselling as a corrective for any continuing legacy of years of colonialism and apartheid. Three specific family resilience projects among Zulu, Swazi and Indian families were described, with family resilience perceptions being lowest among Zulu families followed by Swazi and Indian families respectively. Further future community, group and family interventions to promote resilience amongst all South Africans and particularly amongst Zulu cultural groups are clearly indicated.

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Perception of library service quality, satisfaction and frequency of use of library resources

Peter Khaola[1] and Maleshoane Mabilikoane[2]
Department of Business Administration, National University of Lesotho
pp.khaola@nul.ls, birdiemabilikoane@gmail.com

Abstract

The aims of this paper are to assess the students' perceived levels of library service quality, satisfaction with the library service, frequency of use of library resources, and whether there are relationships among these constructs. A survey research method using LibQUAL+™ instrument was used to collect data from a sample of 400 students at the National University of Lesotho (NUL). Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to students during class hours. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyse data. As expected, factor analysis of LibQUAL+™ items yielded 3 factors - affect of service, information control and library as a place. On average, the respondents perceived low service quality from the library staff and the extent to which library patrons can easily access and control information. The majority of respondents also rarely used the library website. There was a strong and positive correlation between all attributes of library service quality and satisfaction with the library. Even though some attributes of the library service quality had positive correlations with the use of library website, there was only a slight significant relationship between information control and the use of library website in the regression analysis. There was no relationship between satisfaction and frequency of library usage. The paper concludes that LibQUAL+™ has acceptable applicability in Lesotho, and further recommends how affect of service and information control dimensions of library service quality at NUL can be improved.

Key words: Library; library resources; LibQUAL+™; satisfaction; service quality.

Introduction

Satisfaction of academic library users and their subsequent utilization of library resources are important for quality teaching, research and learning. Faced with threats of global digital environment and increasing competition (Cullen 2001), many libraries adopt a concept of service quality to better serve the user. Service quality; a term commonly defined in business and marketing from the customer perspective, has recently been a concern within library and information services sector. This is because the extent to which the library succeeds is dependent on the assessment made by the user as a judge of quality (Nitecki 1996). Aware of the need to create a culture of continuous improvement, many academic libraries use LibQUAL+™ as a primary tool for fostering the culture of assessment and improvement (Hunter & Perret 2011:403).

Even though LibQUAL+™ is the most popular instrument for measuring library service quality and user satisfaction, like the instrument it mirrors, SERVQUAL (Parasuraman *et al.* 1988), its applicability in an international setting, especially in developing countries, is yet to be demonstrated (Zhou 2004). Having been developed and validated in Western academic libraries, there is a possibility that the applicability of LibQUAL+™ may be influenced by different cultural orientations of users in developing countries. Several criticisms have also been levelled against LibQUAL+™ assessment protocol, including what its scores really measure (Roszkowski, Baky, & Jones 2005; Thompson, Cook, & Kyrillidou 2005).

On the domestic front, to our knowledge, there are no studies pertaining to the perception of library service quality, user satisfaction and frequency of use of library resources at the National University of Lesotho (NUL). This is surprising because the NUL library is the largest academic library in Lesotho.

The aim of this study is to assess the perceived levels of service quality and satisfaction with the library; the use of library resources and its website; and the relationships among these variables at NUL. We use the 'performance-only measure' of selected items of LibQUAL+™ instrument to collect data from a convenient sample of 400 students at NUL.

LibQUAL+™ instrument

LibQUAL+™ is the most popular survey designed specifically to gauge the perception of library users regarding library service quality (Hunter & Perret 2011; Hakala & Nygrén 2010). Spearheaded by the Association of Research Libraries

1. Corresponding author. Peter Khaola is a Lecturer in the Department of Business Administration, National University of Lesotho, Lesotho
2. Maleshoane Mabilikoane is a self-employed freelance market researcher based in Maseru, Lesotho.

(ARL), LibQUAL+^{TM} has 22 items and three dimensions – affect of service, library as a place, and information control (Hunter & Perret 2011; Roszkowski et al. 2005). These dimensions respectively refer to the quality of service provided to library patrons by library staff; the physical location, buildings and space of the library itself; and the extent to which library patrons can easily access and control library resources on their own.

Based on the work of Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry (1985, 1988), the theoretical underpinning of LibQUAL+^{TM} is the Expectation Confirmation-Disconfirmation theory (Roszkowski et al. 2005). According to this theory, customers have some pre-purchase standards (expectations) that guide their purchasing activities. After buying a product or service, a customer compares the performance of a product or service against the pre-purchase standard. If the performance of a product or service exceeds the pre-purchase standard, positive disconfirmation occurs, and this leads to satisfaction. If performance is less than the pre-purchase standard, negative disconfirmation occurs, and this leads to dissatisfaction. Confirmation results where there is a match between performance and pre-purchase standard, leading to moderate satisfaction or indifference (Roszkowski et al. 2005; Shi, Holahan, & Jurkat 2004). This implies that user satisfaction is related to the size and direction of disconfirmation (Shi *et al*. 2004).

The gap model that underlies satisfaction in SERVQUAL and LibQUAL+^{TM} has however been criticised by researchers in marketing and library information services sectors (Roszkowski et al. 2005; Zhou 2004). For instance, it has been argued that expectations are based on past experience; and if a customer experiences a discrepancy between the desired and actual performance; future expectations are likely to be revised closer to actual performance; implying that, even though nothing has actually changed; the customer will likely be satisfied next time they deal with the same service provider. If on the other hand improvements in service have been made; the customer is likely to raise their expectation; and dissatisfaction may result even though improvements have been made (Roszkowski et al. 2005). This implies the possibility of rewarding poor service with lower expectations and smaller gaps; and punishing good service with higher expectations and increased gaps (Hunter & Perret 2011). It is also argued that people rarely rate actual performance higher than the desired level, implying that it is practically impossible to have fully satisfied customers or users. This is despite the fact that people frequently report being satisfied even when their expectations have not been fully met (Roszkowski et al. 2005).

The weaknesses of the gap model (difference between expectations and product/service performance) led some researchers to use PERFQUAL, a performance-only variant of SERVQUAL to gauge customer perception of services (Brady, Cronin, & Brand 2002). In the context of libraries, the study by Roszkowski et al. (2005) established that the performance-only measure (perceived score) is the better predictor of satisfaction than the superiority gap (the gap between expectations and perceived ratings). We selected the 'performance-only measure' in this study because compared to Expectation Confirmation-Disconfirmation theory on which the LibQUAL+^{TM} is based, the former has advantages and support among many researchers (Jayasundara, Ngulube, & Minishi-Majanja 2009).

Service quality versus satisfaction

Even though service quality and satisfaction differ, there is a tendency to use the two concepts interchangeably in the evaluation of library services (Cullen 2001; Hunter & Perret 2011; Kiran & Diljit 2012; Roszkowski et al. 2005). While customer satisfaction is defined as a post-consumption evaluation or experience of a product or service (Roszkowski et al. 2005; Zhou 2004), service quality refers to the comparison between expectations of customers and their perception of the service received (Kiran & Diljit 2012; Parasuraman et al. 1985).

The difference between the two concepts is sometimes blurred. For instance, Lancaster (as cited in Kiran & Diljit 2012:185) described satisfaction as 'the difference between service expectations and perceived performance', the meaning often attached to service quality. However, some researchers argue that while service quality is the cumulative evaluation of multiple transactions over time, satisfaction is transaction specific (Roszkowski et al., 2005). Thompson et al. (2005:518) suggest that satisfaction scores describe more immediate and holistic feeling than service quality scores which tend to describe a longer-lasting perception of library service quality. There is also a widely accepted notion that service quality is an antecedent of satisfaction (Jayasundara *et al*. 2009; Roszkowski et al. 2005; Shi et al. 2004).

In line with LibQUAL+^{TM} organisation (Hunter and Perret 2011), we treat service quality and satisfaction as two distinct concepts. We further treat service quality as a precursor of satisfaction. Many studies confirm a consistent positive relationship between service quality and satisfaction (Roszkowski et al. 2005; Thompson et al. 2005; Shi et al. 2004). We therefore expected overall service quality and its dimensions to relate positively to satisfaction with the library.

Hypothesis 1: Perception of overall service quality is positively related to satisfaction with the library.

Hypothesis 1a: Perception of affect of service is positively related to satisfaction with the library.

Hypothesis 1b: Perception of library as a place is positively related to satisfaction with the library.

Hypothesis1c: Perception of information control is positively related to satisfaction with the library.

Service quality, satisfaction and frequency of usage of library resources and website

Service quality and satisfaction are often related to behavioural consequences (Zhou 2004). Based on attitude-behaviour relationship, we expected that the perception of library service quality and satisfaction with the services of the library would affect the frequency of use of library resources, including its website. The frequency of use of library resources and its website are some of the outcomes listed at the end of LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument. Even though the intended purpose of these outcome items is not stated, Roszkowski et al. (2005) assume they are placed there to check the validity of the core section of LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument. The following relationships among service quality, satisfaction and frequency of use of library resources could therefore be expected.

Hypothesis 2: Perception of overall service quality is positively related to the frequency of usage of library resources and its website.

> *Hypothesis 2a: Perception of affect of service is positively related to the frequency of usage of library resources and its website.*
>
> *Hypothesis 2b: Perception of library as a place is positively related to the frequency of usage of library resources and its website.*
>
> *Hypothesis 2c: Perception of information control is positively related to the frequency of usage of library resources and its website.*

Hypothesis 3: Satisfaction with library is positively related to the frequency of usage of library resources and its website.

Methodology

The quantitative research design deploying survey research methodology was used in this study. This research design was deemed appropriate for the purposes of addressing the hypothesized relationships outlined in this paper.

Sample, instrument and procedures

A survey research methodology using LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument was used to collect data from a convenient sample of 400 students at NUL. 15 items representing 3 dimensions of LibQUAL+^{TM,} and 5 items representing outcomes (satisfaction and frequency of library usage) were selected from the LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument for the purposes of this study. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to students during class hours. A total of 384 usable questionnaires were returned, representing 96 percent response rate. Of the respondent sample, 50.8 % were females.

Variable measures

Unless stated otherwise, items were measured on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree.

Affect of service: 5 items were used to measure this construct. The sample item was: 'the library staff instils confidence in users'. One item, 'the library staff is willing to help users,' was deleted because its deletion improved the Cronbach's alpha (internal reliability) of the scale from 0.66 to 0.79.

Library as a place: 5 items were used to measure this construct. The sample item was: 'the library has space that inspires learning'. One item, 'the library has community space for group learning and group study,' was deleted because its deletion improved the Cronbach's alpha (internal reliability) of the scale from 0.64 to 0.70.

Information control: 5 items were used to measure this construct. The sample item was: 'the library has modern equipment that lets me easily access information'. The Cronbach's alpha (internal reliability) of the scale was 0.69.

Overall service quality: 13 items used to assess 'affect of service', 'library as a place', and 'information control' were used to measure the overall service quality. The Cronbach's alpha (internal reliability) of the scale was 0.83.

Satisfaction with library services: Following Thompson *et al.* (2005), 3 items were used to measure this construct. The sample item was: 'in general, I am satisfied with library support for my learning and research needs'. The scale ranging from 1(very poor) to 5(excellent) was used to measure the item: 'how would you rate the overall service provided by the library?' The Cronbach's alpha (internal reliability) of the scale was 0.72.

Frequency of use of library resources: 2 items were used to measure this behavioural concept. The respondents were asked to rate how often they use the library resources and its website. These were scored on a scale anchored as follows: 0=not at all; 1=monthly; 2=weekly; and 3=daily.

The instrument is shown in the appendix.

Data analysis

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to compute frequencies, means (standard deviations), correlations, regression and factor analyses.

Findings

Dimensionality of scale items

We conducted factor analysis (principal components, Varimax rotation) to examine the factor structure of items of LibQUAL+TM and outcomes respectively. The results are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 Factor analysis of LibQUAL items

	Factors			
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**
The library staff gives individual attention to users	0.756208	0.231621	-0.00027	0.100635
The library staff instills confidence in users	0.752966	0.193302	0.067913	0.174725
The library staff has knowledge to answer users' questions	0.743692	0.116211	0.131376	-0.16826
The library staff understands the needs of users	0.720116	0.154579	0.141245	-0.01346
The library has modern equipment that lets me easily	0.11059	0.708576	0.172184	0.142106
The library has electronic information I need	0.1373	0.66367	0.260483	-0.13439
The library website enables me to locate information on	0.151419	0.639331	-0.01273	-0.08936
The library has easy to use access tools that allow me to	0.218187	0.615924	0.044858	0.156409
The library makes the information easily accessible for	0.342297	0.612119	0.19879	-0.1374
The library has space that inspires learning	0.081992	0.120261	0.85921	-0.02359
The library has comfortable and inviting location	0.271054	0.031192	0.770509	0.021765
The library is a gateway for study, learning or research	-0.08824	0.388464	0.552076	0.310132
The library has quiet space for individual learning	0.019365	0.378371	0.471334	-0.38208
The library staff is willing to help users	0.318595	0.208036	0.072994	0.629676
The library has community space for group learning and	0.309517	0.322729	0.010576	-0.49363
Percentage of variance explained	30	11	08	07

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. **Rotation Method:** Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

As shown in Table 1, four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 emerged; namely affect of service (factor 1), information control (factor 2), library as a place (factor 3) and undefined factor (factor 4). The four-factor model explained about 56% of total variance. It will be noted that items that comprise factor 4 are those deleted from affect of service and library as a place dimensions. Thus as expected; only 3 interpretable factors emerged from factor analysis.

Table 2 Factor analysis of outcome items

	Factors	
	1	**2**
In general, I am satisfied with library support for my learning and research needs	0.814116	0.141587
In general, I am satisfied with the way I am treated at the library	0.792615	-0.02004
How would you rate the overall quality of the service provided by the library?	0.78979	-0.08526
How often do you use resources on library premises	-0.02595	0.812028
How often do you access library resources through a library web page	0.039826	0.776291
Percentage of variance explained	38	26

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. **Rotation Method**: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Factor analysis of outcome items (Table 2) resulted in two factors, namely, satisfaction with library services (factor 1), and frequency of use of library services (factor 2). The two-factor model explained about 64 percent of total variance. Since

the Cronbach's alpha of items in factor 2 was low (=0.52), we separate the two forms of library usage in subsequent analysis.

Descriptive Information

The means, standard deviations and frequencies of service quality dimensions and satisfaction are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Means, standard deviations and frequency of dimensions of LibQUAL and satisfaction

Variable	Mean (Scale: 1-5)	SD	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree/ Agree
Library as a place	3.29	0.82	30.8%	5.8%	63.4%
Information Control	3.03	0.87	40.7%	10.5%	48.8%
Affect of Service	2.67	0.87	56.0%	15.8%	28.2%
Satisfaction	2.73	0.89	58.2%	10.8%	31.0%

Table 3 suggests that many participants had above-midpoint perception of the quality of library as a place (M=3.29, SD=0.82), suggesting that among others, many participants felt that the library had a physical space that inspired learning and research; had a comfortable and inviting location; and had a quiet space conducive for learning. In terms of information and personal control, the participants scored around midpoint (M=3.03, SD=0.87), suggesting that on average, participants were neither impressed nor unimpressed about access of information on their own. The area that needs attention relates to the service provided by library staff. On average, the majority of participants (56 percent) were not happy about the quality of services provided by library staff (M=2.67, SD=0.87). Participants were equally not satisfied with the overall service they got from the library (M=2.73, SD=0.89), with over 58 percent registering dissatisfaction.

The frequencies of use of library resources including its website are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Frequency of use of library resources

	Frequency of usage (%)			
	Not all	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Usage of library resources	5.1	18.9	44.5	31.5
Usage of website/page	16.1	52.2	25.1	6.6

As shown in Table 4, less than half of the respondents (31.5 percent) admitted using library resources daily, with an even lower number (6.6 percent) admitting surfing the website daily. It is even more worrying to note that a significant number (16.1 percent) of participants indicated that they never used the library website to search for resources at the library.

Relationship between Variables

To initially test the hypotheses outlined in this study, we correlated independent variables with satisfaction and use of library resources. The results of correlation analysis are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Correlation (r) of variables with satisfaction, use of resources and website

	Satisfaction	Frequency of use of resources	Frequency of use of website
Gender	-0.038	0.022	0.006
Age	-0.025	-0.183**	-0.041
Library as a place	0.590**	0.076	0.056
Information Control	0.538**	0.079	0.138**
Affect of Service	0.546**	0.009	0.106*
Overall service quality	0.719**	0.103	0.130*
Satisfaction	-	0.008	0.043

*Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2 tailed), **Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2 tailed)

Hypothesis 1 predicted the positive relationship between the perception of service quality and satisfaction with library services. As expected, there were strong relationships among overall service quality and satisfaction (r=0.72, p≤0.001);

affect of service and satisfaction (r=0.55, p≤0.001); library as a place and satisfaction (r=0.59, p≤0.001); and information control and satisfaction (r=0.54, p≤0.001). Thus hypotheses 1 and its components were fully supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted a positive correlation between the perception of service quality and frequency of use of library resources and website. Frequency of use of library resources did not correlate with either perception of service quality nor with any of its dimensions. Frequency of use of website correlated slightly with information control (r=0.14, p≤0.001), affect of service (r=0.11, p≤0.05) and overall service quality (r=0.13, p≤0.05), but not with library as a place (0.06, p≥0.05). Based on correlation results, hypothesis 2 got mixed support.

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive correlation between satisfaction and frequency of use of library resources and website. Results from Table 5 suggest no relationship either between satisfaction and frequency of use of resources (r=0.00, p≥0.05), nor between satisfaction and frequency of use of library website (r=0.04, p≥0.05). Hypothesis 3 was hence not supported.

The limitation of simple correlation analysis is that it does not control for the spurious relationships that may be caused by other variables, and this may result in erroneous relationships. We used the regression analysis in which the dependent variables were satisfaction, the frequency of use of library resources, and the frequency of use of library website to control for the possibility of spurious relationships that may be caused by related independent variables. The results of regression analyses are summarised in Table 6.

TABLE 6 Summary of regression analyses

	Satisfaction	**Frequency of use of resources**	**Frequency of use of website**
Gender	-0.085*	-0.001	0.034
Age	-0.059	-0.092	0.026
Library as a place	0.423**	0.092	0.029
Information Control	0.152**	0.130	0.167*
Affect of Service	0. 340**	-0.087	0.078
Satisfaction		-0.012	-0.91
R^2	0.528	0.038	0.037

* significant at 0.05 level (2 tailed), ** significant at 0.01 level (2 tailed), figures represent standardized betas (β)

The results from Table 6 suggest that library as a place of information control and affect of service were still significantly associated with satisfaction after controlling for the effects of other variables (β=0.42, p≤0.001, β=0.15, p≤0.001, and β=0.34, p≤0.001 respectively). This reaffirms the findings of correlation analysis. Even after controlling for the effects of other variables, no independent variable was related to the frequency of use of library resources. Information control was the only variable that emerged as the predictor of the frequency of use of library website (β=0.17, p≤0.05) after controlling for the effects of other variables.

Discussion

Rapid technological progress and changing customer preferences have made it imperative for libraries to continuously adapt and adjust their structures, systems and processes to match user needs in order to enhance satisfaction. The outdated view by librarians that their 'services are inherently des irable', and hence blame customer ignorance when their services are not used (Cullen 2001:667) cannot apply in an era where non-profits like libraries are assessed by the user as a judge of quality (Nitecki, 1996). Libraries need to either upgrade their services to fulfil expectations of library users or perish.

With the exception of library as a place, the descriptive statistics suggest that the respondents in this study did not perceive quality in terms of services provided by library staff, and the information control – the perceived strength and ease of access to library collections (Hunter & Perret 2011). Similarly, most respondents were dissatisfied with services provided by the library, and the majority hardly used its resources, especially its webpage. Despite attempts by libraries to adopt new technologies, this finding is in line with the view that students and other users prefer using non-library internet services (Kiran & Diljit 2012). While this study did not look for the reasons why students did not use library webpage to search for electronic resources, the dysfunctional nature and lack of user-friendliness of the library webpage at NUL may be to blame. For instance, web pages on dissertations and past question papers did not provide users with access to

expected information at the time of study. There was also no motivation for NUL students to use the library webpage because more than half of NUL lecturers had not integrated ICTs into their teaching (Ntemana & Olatokun 2012).

There were strong relationships among overall service quality and satisfaction; affect of service and satisfaction; library as a place and satisfaction; and information control and satisfaction. This supports prior studies indicating that library service quality is a strong correlate of satisfaction (Shi *et al*. 2004). For instance, Roszkowski *et al*. *(*2005) established that the perceived score (direct rating of library service quality) was a more valid indicator of user satisfaction than the gap score. Thompson *et al*. *(*2005) found that LibQUAL+^{TM} scores were more correlated with satisfaction than other outcomes. While this study did not examine whether superiority scores were better measures of library service quality than perceived scores, it shows that perceived scores correlated strongly with user satisfaction.

Of the library service quality dimensions, only information control had some influence on the self-reported access to library resources through the library webpage. This relationship is sensible because information control measures the extent to which users can find information on their own, and this can best be facilitated by access to the webpage. It is also in accord with the findings of Thompson *et al*. (2005) that the LibQUAL+^{TM} dimension that most correlated with outcomes was information control.

Satisfaction was not at all related to the use of library resources and webpage. This supports the findings of Hunter and Perret (2011) that LibQUAL+^{TM} data show no significant correlation between library usage statistics and user satisfaction. While these authorities attributed the lack of correlations to limitations in the LibQUAL+^{TM} method of measuring patron satisfaction, it is possible to provide another plausible reason in the case of Lesotho. Since there are no alternative academic libraries in the country, whether or not satisfied, students can only use NUL library, making it the only option for even dissatisfied students to visit. Qualitative studies are apparently needed to explain this unexpected finding.

We found that LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument tapped into expected dimensions; this makes us confident that the instrument has acceptable applicability in Lesotho. The fact that the results of this study are in line with studies elsewhere gives us further confidence that LibQUAL+^{TM} has some validity in Lesotho.

Like many studies of this nature, this one is not without limitations. First, the cross-sectional design adopted in the study makes it difficult to conclude on the causality between variables. Longitudinal and/or experimental designs are needed to show causality between variables. Second, the sampling technique based on students limits the generalisability of the results. Future studies can be based on stratified random samples of students, lecturers and other library users. Third, data were collected with self-reports of students, and this raises the possibility of same-source bias. In general, even though the assumed relationships were based on sound theories, the explanation of results should still be made with caution.

This study has some implications for NUL library management and academic researchers. First, management should improve the communication and interpersonal skills of library staff. This can be done through targeted training to all library staff. Second, library management should pay attention to the improvement of the information control dimension. More specifically, the library should improve print and electronic collections, books, electronic journals, and provide the latest information access tools (e.g. catalogue and website), remote access, web-based services, and space for group discussions. Finally the study suggests that LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument, especially the measurement of perceived score (direct rating of library service quality), can be a valid measure of students' satisfaction in Lesotho.

Conclusion

Based on a convenient survey of 400 students, the aims of this study were to assess the levels of service quality and satisfaction; the use of library resources and its website; and their relationships as perceived by one important type of library user at NUL – the student. The other aim was to examine if LibQUAL+^{TM} could successfully be applied in Lesotho to assess library service quality and satisfaction.

The results revealed that LibQUAL+^{TM} instrument had an acceptable validity in Lesotho, and therefore could be used as an instrument to collect data among library users. In general, the respondents perceived low service quality from the library staff, and the extent to which they can access and control information from the library. Most of the respondents also did not use the library website frequently. There was a strong positive relationship between the perception of library service quality and user satisfaction, but only a slight positive association between information control and the use of library website could be established. Contrary to expectations, user satisfaction with the library did not influence the frequency of usage of library resources in this study.

The above results were discussed, and the recommendations, limitations, and prospects for research were outlined.

Appendix – The instrument

Demographic Factors (Controls)

Gender (Males=1, Females=2)
Age (less than 20 years=1; 20-30 years = 2, 31-40 years = 3; 41-50 years = 4; 51-60 years = 5; Above 60 years of age = 5)
*Library service quality (*LibQUAL+^{TM})
Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in relation to NUL library (1=strongly agree….5=strongly disagree)

Library as a place dimension
The library has comfortable and inviting location
The library has the space that inspires learning
The library is a gateway for study, learning and research
The library has a quiet space for individual learning
The library has a community space for group learning and study

Information control dimension
The library has electronic information I need
The library has modern equipment that lets me easily access the information
The library has easy to use access tool that allow me to find things on my own
The library makes the information easily accessible for individual use
The library website enables me to locate information on my own

Affect of service dimension
The library staff understands the needs of users
The library staff has knowledge to answer users' questions
The library staff instils confidence in users
The library staff gives individual attention to users
The library staff is willing to help users

Satisfaction with the library (1=strongly agree….5=strongly disagree)
In general, I am satisfied with the way I am treated at the library
In general, I am satisfied with library support for my learning and research needs
How would you rate the overall quality of the service provided by the library?
1=very poor, 2=poor, 3=average, 4=good, 5=excellent

How often do you use resources on library premises?
0=not at all; 1=monthly; 2=weekly; and 3=daily

How often do you access the library resources through a library webpage?
0=not at all; 1=monthly; 2=weekly; and 3=daily

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Globalisation and the state: implications for the state of human rights in Africa

Adeniyi Semiu Basiru[1]
Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
asbash72@yahoo.com

Abstract

This article interrogates, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalisation, the state, and the state of human rights, using sub-Sahara Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing majorly from secondary data, it found out that the post-colonial states in Africa have been at the mercies of this technologically driven post- cold war phenomenon. It argues that globalisation has incapacitated African states and thus unable to safeguard and protect the human rights of their citizens

The article recommended that the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space in Africa, needs to be reconstituted via an autochthonous process.

Keywords: globalisation, the state, autochthonous, neoliberalism, human rights

Introduction

That the state exists in furtherance of good life presupposes that it exists to recongnise and to protect fundamental human rights. Right from ancient Athens, the state has been credited to be the custodian of good life (Aristotle 1981), but with the decline of Athens this ideal declined too. As Sparta superseded Athens, the ideal of an all-inclusive Polis which guaranteed the good life was gradually superseded by the notion of *homo militans* which eventually prevailed from the ascendancy of Sparta to the end of Roman interregnum (Ake 2001:8). During the Christian middle ages, the ideal of *homo credens* reigned supreme as the Christians, rather than seeing the state as the arena for advancing the good life, saw themselves as mere pilgrims passing through human society.

Although in Renaissance Italy attempts were made by philosophers, notably Machiavelli, to reach back to the classical Athens, the outcomes were more Roman than Athenian. However, this morally inspired ideal that had been eclipsed for centuries resurfaced by courtesy of the liberal onslaught launched by John Locke and other liberal theorists of his age (Held 1984:3). Gradually, liberalism, which seeks to isolate the private sphere from the state, became associated with the doctrine that freedom of choice should be applied to matters as diverse as marriage, religion, economic and political affairs. In this view, the political universe consists of 'free' and 'equal' individuals with natural rights which God had freely given and thus the *raison d'etre* of the state is to recognise and to protect the rights of individuals in the community.

Accordingly, the notion of and 'civil rights' and 'civil liberties', which began to be developed in the domestic law of England in the seventeenth century, found its first full flowering almost simultaneously in the French *Declaration de droits de phomme et du citoyen* in 1789 and the US Bill of Rights' of 1791 (Nwabueze 2003: 8-9). However, for a long time these principles found no echo in international law as private individuals were still not the subject of the law but subjects of the sovereign, having those rights which they were allowed at the level of domestic law. This remained the position until 1945. The atrocities perpetrated by Hitler and Mussolini against their citizens were not only moral outrages which shocked the conscience of all mankind but were a very real threat to international peace and stability. Thus a challenge was thrown to the international community (Pagels 1979). At the Yalta Conference, the victorious allied powers agreed to create a new body to supplant the League of Nations.

This time, however, they chose a different path from the one they had trodden in 1919; instead of imposing peace treaties on the vanquished, they sought to establish a new legal order founded on the three principles declared in article 1 of the UN Charter:

> The peaceful settlement of international disputes in conformity with the principle of justice and international law; friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of people and respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without discrimination as to race, sex, language or religion.

However, by the time of the adoption of the UN Charter, it had not proved possible to define in detail what these human rights and fundamental freedoms were and in order to repair this omission, the United Nations proceeded to draft the famous Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which they adopted three years later, on 10 December, 1948.

1. Adeniyi Basiru is a PhD student in the Department of Political Science at University of Lagos, Nigeria.

Conscious of the fact that the Universal Declaration was not a binding treaty in international law, the United Nations proceeded to try to transform it into detailed treaty law. But it was not until 1966 that they were able to adopt the product in the form of the twin UN Covenants – the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) – and it took yet another ten years before these two treaties would enter into force in 1976. Thus, with the establishment of human rights regime at the global level, various measures were taken at the regional levels to entrench human rights. For example, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom (ECHR) was adopted as early as the 1950s and entered into force only three years later

In Africa, states individually and collectively under the auspices of the OAU (now AU) sought to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Thus, a continental legal framework that binds African states to one another with regard to the practice of human rights was put in place. In Africa today, not only have states ratified the African Charter but they havethe universal bill of rights entrenched unto their constitutions. Evidently, the state in Africa is the custodian of human rights.

This article considers African experience with regard to the practice of human rights by arguing that underlying the litany of human rights violations in Africa in contemporary times is the issues of a declining state capacity, a phenomenon that has been exacerbated by market-oriented globalisation. In other words, one of the greatest challenges facing Africa today is how to strike the right balance between the push for human rights and the forces of globalisation. This is turn provokes some questions, such as: how can the state's systemic loss of capacity to manage the economy be reconciled with the demands for human rights? How can the African state be reconstituted to serve as a bridge between human rights and development?

The central thesis of this paper is that globalisation has profound implications for the realisation of the goal of promoting human dignity as encapsulated in the United Nations Universal Declaration and the Africa Charter on Human and People's Rights. The arguments in this chapter have been developed into five sections, including the introductory background. Section two sets the framework of the study by defining concepts. The third section reviews literature on Africa's practice of human rights. Section four analyses African's contemporary dilemma. The fifth section puts forward a number of recommendations and options for state reform and concludes the chapter.

Conceptual discourse

In a study of this nature, it is apposite to conceptualise, giving operational meanings to some important concepts to facilitate their contextual operationalisation and comprehension. As a result, four concepts which in all indications are essentially contested concepts (Gallie 1962) are identified, vis; Africa, the state, human rights and globalisation. In essence we begin with the conceptualisation of Africa, later proceed to that of the state, human rights and globalisation.

Defining Africa

What constitutes Africa has always been problematic to scholars studying the continent. Geographically, it is sometimes used to refer to all countries on the mainland continent plus the six island nations of Cape Verde, Comoros, Seychelles, Madagascar, Mauritius, and São Tomé and Principe. However in much of the literature, including this paper, the term, 'Africa' is instead used synonymously with what more accurately would be called sub-Sahara Africa, to mean just the forty -eight African countries excluding Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt (Moss 2007:2). Although such distinction is arguable, in development circles countries of North Africa are typically placed in the Middle East because they are in many ways more part of the cultural and political life of the region.

The state

The nature of the state, remarks Held (1984:1), is hard to grasp and thus remains one of the most problematic in the field of political science (Basiru 2009). But despite the difficulty in grasping the nature of the state, the fact remains that as an apparatus of rule, it appears to be everywhere regulating all facets of life. As Ralph (1969 : 49) avers, 'it is not a thing as such, what it stands for is a number of particular institutions which together constitute its reality and which interact as part of what may be called the state system.' In other words the state, because of its being largely an abstract entity, is concretised by the medley of institutions which operate in its name.

From institutional perspectives, the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, the public bureaucracy, and the army and the police are often included. Apart from these institutions, argues Egwu (2006: 410), other ontological features of the state include the specific personnel that occupy specific positions within the state apparatus and the activities of those who may be broadly defined as governing elites. Aside from the institutional manifestation of the state as pointed out by some writers, violence is also associated with the structure of the state. Max Weber more than any other writer on the state emphasises this criterion. According to him: 'A state is that human community that successfully claims the monopoly

of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory' (Geerth and Mill 1967). Another issue in the analysis of the modern state is the nature or character of forces which structure its behaviour. Thus in extant literature, two broad perspectives have emerged: the society-centred and the state-centred.

However, within each perspective there are different traditions. For example, the society perspective has three theoretical offsprings which according to Egwu (2006) are not epistemologically related. According to the pluralist school, the state emerges as a neutral arbiter to mediate in the struggle among the various groups in the society (Dahl 1961). The elite theory of the state contends that there exists a tendency for the elites as opposed to the mass to monopolise public power and authority and thereby to ensure stability; the state must exist for the elites. The third model in the society-centred perspective is the Marxist theory of the state which is further polarised into two because its progenitor, Karl Marx, never really formulated a coherent theory of the state.

Thus, the instrumental school drawing from the Communist Manifesto 1848 contends that the modern capitalist state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class or more specifically as the executive committee that manages the common affairs of the bourgeoisie. The structuralist on the hand argues that the state does not serve the interests of the dominant class as claimed by the instrumentalists. According to Poulantzas (1974), the state promotes the interests of the ruling class not because the personnel of the state share the social and biological background with those who control the economy. Instead, it is because of the objective role of the state as an important structure in the capitalist society.

Unlike the society-centred perspectives, the state-centred viewpoint that is echoed in the works of Skocpcol (1985) and others sees the state as an independent variable. In other words, the state is a set of structures that is set apart from the society. It is, however, important to remark here that each of the approaches to the analysis of the state represents an attempt to highlight different aspect of the reality of the state. Thus, whether the state is an independent variable or not, the fact remains that it does exist in modern society and appears to be everywhere regulating people lives.

Human rights

The concept of human rights like the concept of democracy is riddled with definitional controversies. As Nwabueze (2003:3) avers, 'the concept of rights bristles with difficulty but the difficulty is infinitely greater in relations to human rights.' One notable area is the tendency in literature to conflate human rights with human dignity. In fact, the latter is invented while the former in innate. Again, Nwabueze reasons thus: 'being innate in man human dignity thus is coeval with him; he is born with it, not so the concept of human right.' Another area of controversy is the nature of human rights. In other words, whether they are legally created or natural.

However, in recent times, there seems to be a consensus as some writers have contended that man with his in-born dignity existed before the state and could not have had human rights from inception and before the advent of the state. Elaine Pagels (1979) summarises this position thus: 'surely the individual could have no human rights independent from and ever prior to participation in any social or political collective'.

The foregoing suggests that humans rights are a concept, a device, invented in response to the growth of state power and the danger it poses to the liberty of the individual. Thus, in modern usage, human rights are legal rights because they derive their binding force from the law of the state. Another grey area that is often identified in htoday uman rights literature is whether human rights are coterminous with liberty. In fact, in some constitutions, the two concepts are used interchangeably. For example, the preambles form in the body of Bills of Right in the constitutions of nine anglophone countries reads thus:

> Whereas every persons is entitled to the fundamental human rights, and freedom of the individual, that is to say the right to life, liberty, security of person and the protection of the law (Nwabueze, 2003:38).

In the Fifth Amendment to the US constitution, liberty as guaranteed suggested that 'no person shall be ... deprived of life liberty or property without due process of law'.

Thus, the US Supreme Court in 1897 categorically defined liberty as:

> The liberty mentioned in the amendment (fifth amendment) means not only the right of the citizen to be free from the mere physical restraint of his person as by incarceration but the term is deemed to embrace the right of the citizen to be free. In the enjoyment of all his faculties; to be free to use them in all lawful ways to live and work where he will, to earn his livelihood by any lawful calling, to pursue any livelihood or vocation and for that purpose to enter into all contracts which may be proper, necessary or essential to his carrying but to a successful, conclusion the purpose above mentioned (Nwabueze, 2003: 56)

As defined above, liberty is wider in scope than human rights. It embraces all a person's rights and interests in a free society. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, what constitutes human rights? As implied above, human rights are rights attached to man because of his humanity (NWLR 1987:589). As Donnelly (1982:305) avers, 'human rights are not the result of one's actions, they arise from no special undertaking beyond memberships in the human race.' Thus, not all

rights held by human beings are human rights. For example, rights created by contract between two human beings arise otherwise than by virtue purely of their humanity and are therefore not human rights. Finally, much of the literature has embraced a more holistic and integrated conception of human rights. The rights of man include not only rights inherent in man's humanity but also rights relating to the material things necessary for the maintenance of a dignified existence as a human being (food, shelter, health, clothing, medical care, education, etc.).

The concept of globalisation

Globalisation is perhaps one of the most fashionable but controversial terms in political economy today. As Patman (2006:4) puts it, 'despite vast literature on the subject, it is difficult to give a precise definition of globalisation.' In a similar vein, Obadan (2004) contends that:

> The concept of globalisation is perhaps today the most recurrent term employed by scholars and world, leaders alike to rationalize, the development and underdevelopment of the various part of the world. As a result of this, it has *assumed the status of an essentially contested concept*.

Thus, definitions have proliferated in literature. Basically, it refers to the development of increasingly integrated systems and relations beyond a nation's borders. It is a multidimensional and multifaceted process that encompasses political, economic, social and cultural dimensions. To Ikeme (2008:2), globalisation is the trend of the increasing integration of economies in terms not only of goods and services but of ideas, information and technology.

According to him, globalisation means trade liberalisation, free capital mobility, privatisation, commercialisation and the empowerment of transnational corporations. In a similar vein, it has been described as a neoliberal ideology which tries to elevate the role of the market as an instrument for nurturing innovation among social actors and as an instrument also for rationalisation in the distribution of the planet's resources (Hamouda 2000:31; Toyo 2002:17). Among other things, the process of globalisation involves a compression of time and space, shrinking distance through a dramatic reduction in time taken either physically or representationally to cross them. As Scholte (2005: 14) claims, 'a shift in geography whereby borders have become increasingly porous.'

From the foregoing, it is clear that 'globalisation' is a development buzzword and it replaces 'modernisation' which is now widely seen as a failed capitalist development paradigm. Thus by following Olayode (2006), globalisation for the purpose of this paper is a process consisting of technological, economic, political and cultural dimensions that interconnect individuals, firms and governments across national borders.

Human rights practices in Africa

No region of the world benefited from the spirit of San Francisco more than Africa. Courtesy of Article 1(2) of the United Nations, the process of decolonisation was given legal backing. Consequently by 1960, a year the United Nations declared that lack of independence was no reason for delaying it, many African colonies achieved statehood. Like other regions that went through tortuous colonial experiences, the African region immediately faced challenges of development and nation building, but it was not long before African leaders realised that some of these challenges could only be surmounted at the pan-African level. Thus in May 1963, a Pan-African organisation, the Organization of African Unity (now Africa Union), was formed. With the formation the continental body, Africa was set to the organisation of furthering its interests in the global system.

Thus, like other regional bodies, the OAU aimed at using the post-1945 international legal order to pursue African interests. It sought to terminate all forms of colonialism that continued to erode the dignity of Africans. To face this challenge squarely, an OAU liberation committee with a special liberation fund was set up (Ajala 1998). However, despite the efforts of Africa to ensure the liberation of oppressed Africans, it did not have an African framework for guaranteeing human rights; it was not until 19 January 1981 that the organisation adopted a regional charter on Human rights – African charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which came into force on 21 October 1986.

With this instrument, the protection of the fundamental rights of the individual was carried beyond the confines of the domestic laws of the individual African countries into the arena of the community of all Africa states, thereby engaging the collective conscience and the common concern of the entire continent in the matter (Nwabueze 2003: 57). With the coming into force of the charter, opinions were divided among analysts. The Afro-pessimists contended that the charter is a watershed in the history of human rights practice in Africa (Umozurike 1983: 902).

The Afro-pessimists argue that it does not tally with genuine African interests (Ake 1987:56). Resolving this controversy is outside the scope of this article, but the fact remains that in today's Africa, the charter has become the *grundnorm* of human rights practice in Africa as it has been virtually ratified by all states. At this juncture, a poser is apt: have the principles of the charter translated into reality? The next section will attempt to offer an answer.

The African state, human rights and the challenges of globalisation

What is the nature of the state in Africa? What is the link between the African state and human rights? How has globalisation affected the capacity of African states? This section of the paper attempts to provide answers to these questions by drawing from relevant empirical examples on the African continent. Thus, to understand the nexus between the African state and human rights calls for the deciphering of the nature of the African state which must be set within the context of African state formation and the model of politico-economic development adopted by the state managers to legitimise it.

This necessarily implies that the *modus operandi* of the African state – as defined by its colonial origin, the nature of the class that inherited state power at independence, what is defined by this class as the basis goal of the state and the strategy it has evolved for sustaining its leading position in the political economy – all become very critical issues to engage (Egwu 2006:420). However, to appreciate the central role of the state in Africa in the creation of rights, and by extension democracy, we must begin with the analysis of the role it plays in the organisation of economic production and the regulation of the society.

The specificity of the state in Africa is marked by the historical conditions that led to the emergence of the post-colonial state, namely the imperative of responding to the crisis of accumulation created by colonialism. Thus, right from the inception of colonialism, the colonial state had been charged with the onerous responsibility of tailoring the African economy toward the needs of the market; to achieve this goal, it needed to be all powerful (Ake 2001:2). At independence, despite the change in the composition of the state managers, the character of the state remains the same much as it was during the colonial era.

In essence, the statist character of the over-developed post-colonial state (Alavi 1972) spurred the emergence of a class of predatory political elite whose main preoccupation was in using the state power to further their material interests (Schwartzberg 1980). The dominant faction of the ruling class, knowing that its *de facto* position was under constant threat, had to invent an ideology of development in order to legitimise its rulership. To them, since national development required a unity of purpose and utmost discipline, it cannot be served by oppositional attitude. What invariably emerged was the dictatorship of development. Multiparty politics came to be regarded as being foreign to Africa's historical experience.

In fact, the first president of an independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, in 1963 referred to multiparty politics as 'football democracy' (Anyang Nyongo 1995: 34). According to him:

> Where there is one party and that party is intensified **[identified?]** with the nation as a whole, the foundations of democracy are firmer than they can ever be where you have two or more parties, each representing a section of the community (Nyerere 1969 :195).

As the dominant faction of the ruling class was not really interested in real development (social transformation), but rather in how to survive, the class passed on the responsibility for development to foreign patrons, by extension embracing the Western model of development, thereby giving the custodians of the global capitalist system unfettered access to the African economy.

Thus, from the 1970s, the Bretton Wood twin institutions, the IMF and World Bank, assumed a major responsibility in charting the direction of African economies. By the early 1980s, with the coming to power of right-wing governments in some Western capitals, the IMF and the World Bank had to shed off their Keynesian outlook and embrace a new monetarist agenda **(**World Bank 1981). So the consequence of a changed outlook no doubt had far-reaching consequences for African states, which by then were the chief customers of the two institutions (Ohiorhenaum 2002: 10 -11).

And since African states' leaders neither had the desire nor the will to resist the encroachment of these institutions, they had no choice but to embrace the new neoliberal philosophy of getting the price right (Ake 2001: 34). The market reforms, as hinted earlier, were initiated and promoted by the IMF and the World Bank through the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Thus, in a sense, it is the global application and implementation of SAP which is now more appropriately referred to as globalisation. The elements of the structural adjustment reforms include deregulation and liberalisation of the economy, privatisation of public enterprises, and withdrawal of subsidy from some public services where this used to be the case and devaluation of the national currency and other related market reforms (Alli 2006: 337).

Thus, with the adoption of market-oriented SAP, the African states had to withdraw from developmental roles; this hampered the recovery of many countries and led to further deterioration in the social services. This is why the greatest impact of globalisation on African social formations and on its citizens is in the area where the state used to play significant roles in the lives of people (Knor 2001:20). Such burdens of the transition from state-centred economies to free market economies has been borne by the masses. Market reform in Africa has meant increased prices for basic necessities,

service fees for health and education, retrenchment in the formal employment force, etc. In the early 1980s an estimated 130 million people were living in poverty; by the early 1990s, the number of poor people increased to about 180 million (Olayode 2006: 18)

The foregoing has indicated that market oriented globalisation in whatever guise has unleashed much aggression on the state in Africa. This development in all indications has two implications for human rights. First, the inability of the state to provide basic social needs to the people has led to the denial of fundamental rights and freedoms. Obviously, a state that has lost its sovereignty cannot guarantee fundamental freedoms that are the essence of life. Second, in order to implement some of the reforms, the African state has become more repressive and anti-democratic, thereby further depriving the people of their basic rights (see Mkandawire & Olukoshi 1995). As Issa shivji (2009:130) puts it, 'with neoliberalism, the state disowned its responsibility to educate, clothe, maintain and care for its people.'

Conclusion

The previous sections of the chapter established that contemporary Africa faces the dilemma of how to reconcile the demand for human rights and the weakening capacities of the state brought about by neoliberal globalisation. If the state, as this paper has suggested, is the custodian of human rights and fundamental freedom, its integrity is supposedly vital. A free republican state, as once remarked by Machiavelli, guarantees freedoms, but historical evidence suggests that the state in Africa is not independent of both endogenous and exogenous forces. In fact, its edges have been shaped and re-shaped by imperialist forces. In the present epoch, market-oriented globalisation symbolises such a scenario.

Therefore, if the state is the major obstacle, how do we strengthen the African state? Strengthening the state should go beyond superficial 'reforms', as the continent's experience has suggested. It calls for an all-inclusive process in which all state structures and institutions are democratised. A truly democratic, autonomous state has the best prospect for promoting the national interest and human rights.

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Cultural identity in the throes of modernity: an appraisal of Yemoja among the Yoruba in Nigeria

Adetunbi Richard Ogunleye[1]
Department of Religion & African Culture, Adekunle Ajasin University
Akungba-Akoko Ondo State, Nigeria.
oguntunbi@gmail.com; arogunleye@yahoo.com

Abstract

Culture is a complex and dynamic phenomenon through which a particular group of people is identified. Thus, each Nigerian community possesses certain unique cultural traits which uphold the solidarity of the community in a changing situation. Each community is conditioned by its natural environment to produce gods or goddesses that will serve as agents of subtle coercion so that people can adhere strictly to the culture of their land. Yemoja, a prominent river goddess among the Yoruba, is one of the divinities that people anchored on to live as people of distinct cultural traits. This work therefore aims at giving an appraisal of the influence of Yemoja on the socio-cultural and economic development in Nigeria and the consequences of her neglect in this modern age. It concludes on the note that, although the society is dynamic and culture is not static yet, we must not lose our identity in transition.

Keywords: culture, identity, modernity, appraisal, Yemoja, Yoruba, Nigeria

Introduction

Culture, popularly known as *asa* among the Yoruba, is a total way of life through which a particular group of people is identified. It contained within itself those features which guaranteed the survival of its people (Etuk 2002:19). Thus, a thorough examination of the African indigenous cultures vis-à-vis their belief systems is necessary, especially in this age of 'modernity', which is innovative as opposed to what is traditional or handed down. It is through this process of investigation that the peculiarity and uniqueness of each ethnic group will be identified. It is the pursuance of this cultural identity that led to a situation in which different African people came up with various movements such as: 'negritude' for the French speaking countries, 'African Personalities' for their English counterparts and later 'Authenticity' in Zaire (Dimo 2001:155). The major aim of these movements is to sustain an idea of the cultural roots of African people that they felt were being severed by colonialism.

African communities, which are regarded as a stronghold of belief in divinities, have myriad forms for these deities. Many Africans, in spite of their contact with foreign religions, still anchor their communities on the belief in divinities and feel it is important that, as a people, they live in this way. These divinities, which have their abode mainly in natural phenomena such as mountains, valleys, oceans, and like, preserve cultural values that give meaning to the identities of individual and community (Ogungbile 2001:113). Consequently, the Yoruba are typical yet also unique as an African community that holds each area of nature under the charge of a specific divinity appointed by Olodumare, who is the Supreme Being (Idowu 1982:1). For instance, there is a divinity in charge of procreation, another in charge of farm land, while another is in charge of thunder storms, and the like. It is important to note here that, while all the ethnic groups believe in Olodumare, each group still has a favourite *orisa* that is worshiped by the majority of the people without prejudice towards the worship of other *orisa* (Imasogie 2008:1).

Among the numerous divinities that inhabit these natural phenomena is Yemoja, a hydrogenous goddess among the Yoruba people at home (in Nigeria) and in diaspora. This study, therefore, explores the phenomenon of Yemoja deity among the Yoruba people and its role in asserting Nigerian cultural independence and to point to the fact that, even though there may be other identifying symbols for society, the Yoruba religio-cultural aspect provides a greater distinctiveness that traditionally marks its communities (Dimo 2001:157). Before fully embarking on the phenomenon of Yemoja, it is fitting to discuss briefly the Yoruba people in Nigeria.

The Yoruba in Nigeria

The Yoruba people, who constitute one of the major ethnic groups in Nigeria, are mostly found in south-western Nigeria. They cover the whole of Ogun, Oyo, Ekiti, Osun, Lagos, and substantial parts of Kwara and Kogi States (Owoeye 2005:26). A fair percentage of the Yoruba populace inhabit the south-eastern part of the Republic of Benin (Dahomey) and Togo. Furthermore, Yoruba communities can be found globally. For instance, there is a group of Yoruba known as *Aku*

1. Richard Adetunbi Ogunleye PhD is a Lecturer in the Department of Religion and African Culture, Adekunle Ajasin University, Nigeria.

in Sierra Leone, another group of Yoruba is found in Cuba by the name *Lucumi,* while some can still be found in distant Brazil as *Nago* (Falokun 1992:194). All these areas referred to formed what was known as the Yoruba nation before the European partition of Africa (Olatunde 1996:4). With regard to geographical location, the Yoruba country lies roughly between latitude 6° & 9°N and longitude2°30 & 6°30 East. Its area is about 181,300 square kilometres (Olatunde 1996:4). Numerous Yoruba live beyond this area. However, the geographical location of the Yoruba defined above is regarded as the people's traditional homeland. The Yoruba people were predominantly traditional worshippers of divinities before the advent of both Islam and Christianity in the land. It is pertinent to state here that the real keynote of their lives is not only in their noble ancestry or in the past deeds of their heroes but also in their religion. Their lives hinge on this religion (Idowu 1982:5). For the Yoruba people in Nigeria, Yemoja is the maternal *Orisa*, whose domain is the ocean, and who is one of the popular divinities by whom people live as people. Bolaji Idowu described Yoruba people as incurably religious. He writes,

> In all things, they are religious. Religion forms the foundation and the all governing principle of life for them. As far as they are concerned, the full responsibility of the affairs of life belongs to the deity; their own part in the matter is to do as they are ordered through the priests and diviners whom they believed to be the interpreter of the deity (Idowu 1982:5).

From the above quotation, one can say that the religion of Yoruba permeates the people's lives so much that it expresses itself in multifarious ways. As a result of the Yoruba's wide religious experiences they strongly believe in Olodumare (God) and in the existence of divinities known as *Orisa*. This pantheon of divinities consists of many gods and goddesses among which Yemoja is one.

Yemoja among the Yoruba: meaning and origin

The name 'Yemoja' is a contraction of three Yoruba words *Yeye-Omo-eja*, meaning 'mother of fishes'. She is a river goddess identified with the river Ogun in Ogun State, Nigeria. Yemoja is an *Orisa* (divinity) originally of the Yoruba religion that has now become prominent in many Afro-American religions (Mattijs 2009:31-48). She is recognized, honoured, and worshipped not only in Africa but also in Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, Uruguay, and other parts of the world. There are a series of variations in the name of this goddess according to various localities, because Yemoja went with the members of the Yoruba tribe when they were captured and taken to various areas throughout the world as slaves. She then became very popular and well known in their midst.

She was given different names and was even honoured in Bahia as the Candomble goddess of the deep seas (Mattijs 2009:37). Since Afro-American religions were transmitted as part of a long oral tradition; there are many regional variations on the goddess's name. For example, the goddess is known in Africa, especially among the Yoruba people in Nigeria, as Yemoja. In Brazil, she is known as Yemoja, Lemanja, and Janaina (Hale 2009:53-56). In Cuba she is known as Yemaya, Yemoya, Yemoyah, and Iemanja (Delatorre 2009:114). In Haiti, she is known as La Sirene and Lasiren (in voodoo), while she is known as Yemaila, Yemana, and Yemaja in the United States. The same goddess is known as Lemanja and Yemalla in Uruguay and the Dominican Republic respectively (Mattijs 2009:37). Elsewhere, Yemoja is syncretized with other deities including Diosa de Mar, Mami Water, Mermaid goddess of the sea, and the like (Ray 2009:38). These variations establish the fact that Yemoja is a water goddess that is known and recognized worldwide.

Yemoja worship

Yemoja is one of the important divinities believed to have been brought into being by Olodumare (Idowu 1982:169). She is a prominent deity that was naturally endowed with an abundance of patience, and she is attached to the River Ogun in Abeokuta, an ancient Yoruba town in Ogun State, Nigeria (Adeoye 1985:226). It is not clear whether the river Ogun preceded Yemoja or if Yemoja brought the river Ogun into being so that she could create a headquarters as a seat of her government. Whichever was the case, the Ogun River has come to be accepted by the Yoruba as the 'headquarters' of Yemoja. From her throne there, she manifests herself in any other body of the water. This probably prompted B.C. Ray to describe Yemoja as 'Mami Water' (Ray 2009:38) meaning, mother of water.

There are several mythical narrations of how Yemoja has shown mercy and benevolence to drowning swimmers, victims of accidents on the waterways, and even fishermen (Ray 2009:38). These acts of benevolence attracted beneficiaries and other would-be beneficiaries to the goddess as worshippers. Worship, from the Yoruba perspective, is an imperative factor that stands out prominently. It is an inner urge in humans and its origins could be traced back to a basic instinct which was evoked in humans by their encounter with the 'numen' (Daudu 2001:62). The Yoruba believed that there is a power that dominates and controls the unseen world in which they feel themselves enveloped. It was this power that was made, by intuition, according to E.B. Idowu, the 'ultimate determinant of Destiny' (Idowu 1982:107). Worship in the Yoruba religion, especially Yemoja worship, is essentially ritualistic and liturgical. The rituals follow a set,

fixed and traditional pattern. 'The way it is done,' continues Idowu, 'is the guiding principle, whether worship is public or private' (Idowu 1982:108).

One important thing to be noted before the worship of Yemoja can take place is moral and ritual cleanness. The priestesses in particular and worshippers in general must be ceremonially clean. Failure to observe this personal condition could lead to ritual defilement. For instance, a menstruating woman must not stay in Yemoja's shrine. This is the major traditional taboo (*Eewo*) that prohibits menstruating women from approaching the shrine or touching sacred vessels of Yemoja, but when they are not actively bleeding they can still participate fully in the religious ceremonies. This is the main reason why the head priestess of Yemoja, known as Iyaji, must be a woman that has reached the stage of menopause. Another *Eewo* is taking photographs at the shrine of Yemoja during worship or annual celebration without permission. If anybody takes a snap secretly without permission, either there will be no picture at all or the camera will be damaged.

There are levels and categories of worship in Yemoja worship. These are daily worship, regular worship on the sacred days, annual and special worships. The daily worship in some cases takes place in the morning at the household shrine which may contain one or two emblems of Yemoja. It is simple and private in nature. It is a means of saying 'good morning' to her. For this type of worship, the worshipper only needs to offer kola nuts, after which she will make her request of the goddess. After this, the kola nut is split and cast before the goddess to determine whether her worship is accepted or not and whether the day will be good or not. When she is sure of a positive response from the goddess, she joyfully concludes the worship by placing a lobe or two of the kola nut on the shrine, eating part of it, and storing the rest for visitors (Idowu 1982:108).

The second type of worship in the cult of Yemoja is the regular worship on her sacred days. It is important to note that this type of worship is more elaborate and usually involves a community of worshippers. Although the actual ritual follows practically the same pattern as the daily one, there are some important details that make it distinct. The worship on the sacred day normally takes place at the major shrine of Yemoja is situated on the riverbank. The sacred day of Yemoja comes about every fifth day. Very early on that day, the cult ushers, known as the emeguns, will fetch water from the river into a sacred pot of the shrine and tidy the shrine in preparation for the arrival of the worshippers. On their arrival, gifts of food, drink, and payment of vows are presented to the goddess. At this point, the head priestess (Iyaji) will take over by leading them in ritual prayer to the goddess. During this time, she will offer sacrifices to the goddess. This includes processed maize (egbo), white bean meal (ekuru), snails, sugar cane, and kola nuts. After this, she will make petitions on behalf of the worshippers to the Orisa. Then they split and cast off the kola nut (obi). If all is well by the omen, everyone is happy and they all dance in the presence of Yemoja. This type of worship is often concluded with sharing kola nuts among the worshippers and final words of blessing from Yemoja through her priestess (Adeoye 1985:226).

Moreover, there is a type of worship known as 'special worship.' This is an occasional worship, organized at any time of the year whenever the need arises. This type of worship can be a demand of Yemoja. When she is demanded for a worship from an individual or a particular family, it is Yemoja herself that will determine the ritual and offering. In addition, special worship can also be called for when someone is about to embark on a special project such as building a house or going on a journey. This type of worship is necessitated by the fact that the Yoruba are generally incapable of starting any venture without consulting the oracle (Adewale 1988:92). In addition, people organize special worship for Yemoja to ask for special blessings for children, prosperity, and victory over an enemy or any of the manifold situations of life (Idowu 1982:112). For all these, Iyaji (the head priestess) will be in attendance at the shrine going all the time.

Finally, another type of worship in Yemoja's cult is the one connected with the annual festival of the goddess. The festival is known as Odun Yemoja, meaning Yemoja's festival. It is an occasion for rejoicing and thanksgiving. What distinguishes worship during the annual festival is the elaborate programme connected with the celebration. People come out in their best and give out their best. The celebration normally takes place at the Yemoja's shrine. The offerings are mostly for thanksgiving, and the meals constitute an opportunity for communion between the goddess and her 'children' (omo Yemoja) on the one hand and then among the 'children' themselves on the other hand. In fact, it is a special time for covenant renewal (Idowu 1982:110). The ritual materials remain the same on the sacred day: egbo (processed maize) ekuru funfun (white bean meal), ireke (sugar cane), vegetables, snails, pap, kola nuts, water, and the like.

During the ritual proper, Iyaji the head priestess leads all the devotees in ritual worship. The worship often starts with the invocation of Yemoja; her name and appellations are called. She will be invited to pay attention to her 'children.' Next, a rattle will be sounded so as to attract the attention of the goddess. This will be followed by pouring libations either on the ground or on the shrine. Next, the head priestess will pray for all the worshippers, particularly for peace, health, fruitfulness and long life. Immediately afterwards, kola nuts are split and cast before Yemoja to ascertain what the goddess

has in stock for her devotees in the New Year. After the head priestess decodes the message from Yemoja which in most cases is a positive one people are usually jubilant and the *oriki* (praise song) of Yemoja will fill their mouths as follows:

Yemoja pele elewi odo	Hello, Yemoja, the queen of the ocean
Iya olomo wewe	Mother of little children
Yemoja ore agan	Yemoja the friend of barren women
A pa ekoro yi ilu ka	You who slithery flows round the city
A gbe iyawo ma se ana	You who marries without engagement
Orooroo a ro omo si ite	You are the fertile source that produces children in great number.
	You who eats vegetable in excess without running into a debt
A je osinsin ma da gbese	That is why oroki sends greetings to you
	And even Odegun
Ni Oroki ni n ki o si	The great care taker, take care of me
Abi Ni Odegun ni	The spirit that takes care of both mother and children
Alawoye ba mi wo temi	Friend of barren women, what about my own?
Oro ti i woo mo ti i wo iya	The great one that cannot be surpasses
	The powerful one that rounds people like mountain
Ore agan bawo ni temi	The beautiful one whose back is as flat as mountain
Agba ma jumu alase okuta	The great defender of her people
Ogbon-in gbon-in ra omo bi oke	You who turns dirty people to favorite ones
	The worthy one of the world
Otete omo a te leyin bi oke	Yemoja you are worthy indeed
	If there is no water to be relied upon
A ji pa bi elete	Pounded yam cannot be produced
A se obun gba aayo	If there is no water to rely upon
Ilare jumo bi si aye	Powdered food cannot be produced
Yemoja ko je baun	If there is no water to rely upon
Bi oniyan ko ri omi gbekele	Maize producers cannot grind maize
Oniyan ko le gunyan	Talkless of producing pap
Bi oloka ko ri omi gbekele	I have a goddess to rely upon
Oloka ko le roka	Her name is Yemoja
Bi Alagbado ko ri omi gbekele	Yemoja is the mother of children
Alagbado ko le gun ogi	The river goddess is the mother of barren woman
Ki a to pe yoo su eko	Yemoja will do my own for me
Emi ti gbekele obinrin gidi	You friend of barren women
Ti i je Yemoja	You know I can not do it alone.
Yemoja ni iya olomo	
Orisa odo ni iya agan	
Yemoja ni yoo ba mi se e	
Ore agan se o mo pe	
Emi ko le e da a se	
(Adeoye 1985:226-227).	

This praise song can be accompanied by drumming and clapping of hands, and the people present will all join in the singing. It is during this praise song that people eat and drink with the hope that the coming year will be prosperous for them. Throughout the period of worship and feasting, there is always a noticeable reverence on the part of the devotees. This is simply because the meal symbolizes communion and fellowship with the goddess herself (Imasogie 2008:37). It is also interesting to note that during Yemoja celebration, the worshippers often put on unique dress. This time, they put on garments of blue or white colour with silver trimmings and at the same time put on beads or necklaces of a blue or red colour. This dressing often adds aesthetic values to the celebration while the non-adherents look at them with admiration.

Benefits associated with the worship of Yemoja

There is no such thing as a value-free action (Igboin & Awoniyi 2006:57). Any action in whatever form has an effect on both the actor and the society. Thus, the benefits derived from Yemoja by her devotees, especially in the recent past, are numerous. As mentioned earlier, especially pregnant women are attracted to Yemoja simply because she is seen as their patron deity. First among the numerous benefits attached to Yemoja worship is the provision of children. Yemoja is regarded as a goddess who grants children to women. Among the Yoruba, the importance attached to children in marriage cannot be over-emphasized (Adasu 1985:19). It is more of a religious and a theological problem than a psychological one. Barrenness on the part of a woman is seen as a bad omen in the family and such a woman will be treated with disdain. Apart from this, a childless person stands the risk of not having a befitting funeral ritual (Imasogie

2008:17). This is an unbearable thought to traditional adherents. The implication is that such a person will be eternally cut off from his relatives. To avoid this embarrassing situation people seek solution to their fertility problem from Yemoja, a deity associated with life, fertility, and creation.

Second, Yemoja worship is observed to purge and purify the community. This is one of the reasons for the call for 'special worship'. During this worship, atonement is made for the misconduct believed capable of bringing calamity to the community or the land as a whole. It is a common feature of every traditional ruler of the Yoruba community to have his own priest (Babalawo) at his disposal that could be called upon at any time to consult Ifa (the Yoruba god of wisdom) when there is any problem. For instance, if there is a breakout of an epidemic in the town or when a god or goddess is angry with men, it is the babalawo that is called upon to determine, through divination, the cause, the remedy and the necessary sacrifices to appease the god or goddess and for the atonement of the people's misconduct.

Third, the celebration of traditional festivals such as Yemoja's festival reveals many concepts, beliefs, philosophies, and thoughts of the Yoruba community. The Yoruba people are deeply rooted in religious beliefs and culture. This view, according to G. Ikuejube, negates the myopic conclusions of the early European anthropologists who wrongly concluded that Africans knew no religion until the emergence of foreign religions such as Islam and Christianity (Ikuejube 2000:26). In fact, before colonialism and its related religions emerged in Africa, every African and indeed every Nigerian was an ardent traditionalist. Atheism was unknown, and every Nigerian practised religious worship from childhood, grew up with it into adulthood, and practised it daily at every stage of his life (Alana 1993:207). During the Yemoja festival, young people learn more about the Yoruba's religion and culture, and are initiated into the value system, norms, and ideals of civil society, which is important for the preservation and continuity of culture and society.

Moreover, Yemoja worship promotes moral standards. Apart from the preservation of values and norms enshrined in the people's culture and traditions, the celebration of the Yemoja festival also serves as one of the social sanctions used in the enforcement of morality. Yemoja is regarded as a divinity of morality that purifies both heart and body. In every stratum of human life, a particular form of ethics is put in place. Though it may vary from one culture to the other, these ethics still serve the same purpose. Thus, the Yoruba have found it necessary to introduce elements of subtle coercion in the performance of their ethical duties. This is very important because a society without a solid ethical foundation will disintegrate into moral decadence and its consequent vicious effects on political, social and economic life (Asaju 1997:89).

Furthermore, Yemoja enhances a corporate type of existence. The Yemoja shrine serves as a centre of unity and binds the worshippers together. Thus, a member does not live her life alone. She is a member of the corporate body. Even by the doctrine of the Yoruba theology, humans are believed to be in a covenant relationship with fellow members of the same cultic group and society at large. The implication of this relationship is that any harm done to one member affects other members. Thus, it is necessary for every member to seek the wellbeing of one another and avoid any action that may offset the peaceful atmosphere of the society (Adewale 1988:49). In the long run; this communal spirit brings cohesion and harmony into the society. When one member is sorrowful, others share in her sorrow. Likewise, when one rejoices, others share her joy. Material things are owned and shared together (Adewale 1988:49). With all these aspects, Yemoja worship enhances oneness and helps, to a large extent, rid the society of evil.

Economically, the celebration of the Yemoja festival is of great importance to the Yoruba people. During the festival, which climaxes during the harvesting period, all types of people from various background and occupations are present. Participants include fishermen, farmers, traders and even travellers. It is generally believed that through the celebration the goddess is appeased, and the land is blessed. As a result, the land will bring forth good fruits and abundant harvest. During the festival, prayers are offered for the increase of the farm products (both cash and food crops) that sustain the Yoruba people. Prayers are also said to safeguard them from road hazards such as accidents, armed robbery, and theft while on business trips. Fishermen also pray against shipwrecks and displeasing Yemoja while on duty. During this annual festival, produce merchants are warned about the consequences of engaging in fraudulent acts, such as cheating with the scale: the goldsmith is reminded of the consequences of defrauding customers with his balances; and market women will think twice about using rigged tins for measuring commodities such as grain and flour.

On the political scale, the celebration of Yemoja festival plays an active role in the Yoruba political system. The prevalent system of government in Yoruba land is monarchical; at the head of each monarchical state is the king *(oba*), a highly respected traditional ruler (Ajayi 1993:17). Before any king can be enthroned, it is a common practice among the Yoruba for the traditional chiefs to consult the oracle through their priests and priestess. The purpose is to confirm the candidacy of the aspirant and to determine which rituals should be performed. In a community where Yemoja is worshipped, it is the goddess, through her priestesses, that will determine the right candidate and the appropriate coronation rites. This regular consultation does not stop at installation; the king-elect must present annual gifts during the festival to appease the goddess as this will herald good government and a long reign. Also, in the case of an outbreak of epidemic in the town, it is the head priestess of Yemoja that is called upon to find the cause, the remedy, and perform the

necessary sacrifice (*ebo*) to appease the goddess. The priestess does the same thing to end drought and famine that could ruin the inhabitants of a particular town (Ajayi 1993:17). These are some of the benefits attached to the Yemoja worship before the influence of modernity on Yoruba people in recent years.

Yemoja worship in recent years

One of the two things that often happen to religion through the ages is either modification with adaptation or extinction. The former is common to religions throughout the world (Idowu 1982:203). Nevertheless, the Yoruba religion is growing in the African diaspora (Tishken, Falola & Akinyemi 2009:1). Though their forefathers were colonised politically in the past, the offspring would not allow themselves to be colonised religiously. There is no living religion that has not been influenced by other cultures, which often leads to modification in its tenets. With reference to Yemoja worship among the Yoruba people in Nigeria, fear about declining membership, especially with the influx of modern technologies, religions, and cultural ideas, has been expressed in recent years. Idowu state that, upon cultural contact,

> It is certain that a people whose culture has come into contact with another culture from outside can never really be the same again. The culture is either enriched in accordance with its power to withstand the assault of other culture while assimilating something of their best qualities or impoverished because of its weakness in consequences of which it succumbs to them by loosing its own genius (Idowu 1982:13).

Indeed, the influence of Western culture has negatively impacted on African religion and cultural heritage among the Yoruba. The next section examines some factors militating against Yemoja worship among the Yoruba people in Nigeria.

Militating factors against Yemoja worship

Prominent among the factors that are mitigating against Yemoja worship among the Yoruba people is 'modernity'. This refers to the cultural conditions that set the terms for all thought and action in a particular culture (Wilson 1987:18). From historical antecedents, no culture ever remains static: it either influences or gets influenced by other cultures. Modernity then explicitly identifies an openness and commitment to the new as opposed to the old. No doubt, modernity has improved people's knowledge of the universe and the ways in which people live. Today we can use modern resources to build roads and bridges, to travel faster, to communicate with the entire world, to use the Internet, and the like. These are indeed beneficial advancements to mankind (Dopamu 2000:197). However, the encounter of Yemoja worship with modernity in contemporary Yoruba society has caused a major setback in the celebrations in honour of the river goddess. It is a pity today that modernity and the influence of foreign culture have brought a degree of unbridled liberty, looseness, and moral carelessness in human behaviour. Commenting on this development, D. Asaju laments that:

> People have watched their long cherished ethical code, virtues and traditions eroded by the new ways of life characterized by sexual laxity, indiscipline, moral ineptitude, disrespect, divorce and violence (Asaju 1997:96).

Prior to the influence of modernity, the indigenous worship was erroneously described as primitive, outdated and not meant for modern and civilized people. However, it is interesting to note that many modern and civilized people today still practise traditional religion (Abiola: 2001:26).

Coupled with the influence of modernity is the emergence of Western civilization and urbanization. With the exposure of Yoruba people to Western civilization, some see it as beneficial in the sense that it has brought international exposure to their culture and religions (Akhilomen 2000:130-133). Others, by contrast, see themselves as enlightened and unable to be involved in indigenous worship like Yemoja worship. Also, as a result of urbanization, people have moved away from the security of the village to big towns, often in search of employment. The villagers and older generations are the last stronghold of Yemoja worshippers among the Yoruba. It is not uncommon these days to meet priestesses who are completely ignorant of their own cult, largely because most of them have returned home after a long absence during which period they lost contact with the practice (Ajayi 1981:119). With the influence of Western civilization, Yemoja worship has been described as barbaric and primitive. This attitude no doubt has affected the value system of the Yoruba people. Adeoye Lambo laments,

> I think many things were wrong with Nigerian in that the value system has collapsed and we've got no other substitute. We've been dangling between the traditional and the so-called sophisticated western mores and value system and we had not even got to the other end before the traditional one collapsed, so we are in a total vacuum (Lambo 2000:24).

The above quotation has adequately described the recent situation with reference to Yemoja worship among the Yoruba.

Another contributing factor is the influence of Western education. With the introduction of Western education, schools and colleges were opened and people were taught to read and write. However, the attitude of the educated Yoruba towards Yemoja worship is not encouraging; they often describe it as outmoded. Susan Wenger is an Austrian

woman living in Osogbo since 1950 who has devoted herself to the Yoruba traditional culture and religion; she is known by the Yoruba name Aduni Olorisa. She reports that literate Africans (Yoruba) were educated to hate and despise their own culture. She advises the Yoruba people to cherish their cultural heritage (Adeniyi 1996:6).

Next, we will consider Yemoja worship's encounter with science and technology. The contact of modern science and technology with religion at the initial stage was not outright conflict. In fact, the contact helped confirm some religious claims (Aderibigbe 1998:84). Even in modern Nigeria, the importance of science and technology to religion and culture cannot be over-emphasised. The scientific discoveries over the years have helped in the preservation and propagation of religion. For instance, festivals, revivals, and healing services are often televised rather than being held locally.

However, the negative effect of science and technology on religion and African cultural heritages, of which Yemoja worship is one, has caused a major setback to the worship of this indigenous deity. The social and cultural changes embarked upon by the science and technology in recent years have led to views that indigenous practices are primitive and a 'rejection' of the scientific age. The development of technology has made life more comfortable for people. However, few farmers will pray to the goddess for fertility when fertilizer is available to make their crops grow well. Belief in this deity tends to be limited to times of distress when she is generally seen as a source of solace.

Moreover, the incursions of foreign religions, especially Christianity and Islam, have de-emphasized the significance of traditional religion among the Yoruba people.(Ajayi 1981:120). The impact of these two religions upon African religions is apparent in the breakdown of the ancient practices, with few exceptions such as enthroning an oba (king): people, irrespective of their religion, will come to grace the occasion. This is what J.K. Olupona refers to as 'Civil Religion.' (Olupona & Hackett 1991:265-281). With the advent of these two religions, Yemoja worship is seen as idol worship. In addition, ardent adherents are discarding their native names to take on foreign names. They wear foreign dress, and speak and sing in foreign languages. The old fear of this water queen has been replaced by the notion of a God who is slow to anger and even ready to forgive sinners. In Ekiti, one of the ancient Yoruba communities, the Christian missions and their Muslim counterparts have admonished their converts against customary matters so that they would not backslide (Olomola 2002:22). In the place of traditional practices, Western dress, food, and social practices, such as western marriage are promoted.

Lastly, there is the inevitable factor of death. Death carries away from time to time those who are custodians of this indigenous worship. Apart from the priestesses, the elders, who also act as custodians of tradition, are subject to death and the limited powers of memory. As one generation after another passes away, the tradition becomes remembered in lesser and lesser detail; naturally, distortions and dislocations set in (Idowu 1982:81). These factors have negatively affected Yemoja worship in contemporary Yoruba society.

Towards cultural revival

Prior to the emergence of the colonial era in Nigeria, the primordial culture was an isolated ethnic culture. Each ethnic group considered its culture to be superior to the culture of others. Nevertheless, scholars such as J.D.Y. Peel (2000), cited by Olupona (2009: xii-xiii), have expressed a cosmopolitan view of the Yoruba culture. However, the colonial masters, the British, had no intention of developing a cultural identity for the country: on the contrary, they encouraged the British cultural norms to override those of Nigerians. The Western education imparted to Nigerian children also ensured gradual rejection of traditional values, customs, and religion of the people (Balogun 2001:207). It even became fashionable, especially among the Western educated elite, to adopt the British way of life (Awe 1989:18-19). For a cultural revival to occur, people must be conscious of their past and quickly identify themselves with their cultural heritage. In an attempt to revive cultural identity among the Yoruba, there must be a cultural reawakening. Macaulay, Soglo, and other exponents of cultural renewal have noted renewed interest in African ways of life (Ukhun 2000:17). The Yoruba people must take pride in their culture and must be ready at all times to identify themselves with it. Since African cultures in their entire ramifications cater to the needs and interests of Yoruba existentialist problems, they should be given a prime place. The Seventh International Congress of Orisa, Traditions, and Culture held in 2001 in Ile-Ife, the cradle of the Yoruba race, was a fitting step towards cultural revival and identity among the Yoruba. According to the President of the Congress, Professor Wande Abimbola, its purpose is to bring together people who are interested in the promotion and propagation of African religion (Yemoja worship inclusive), culture, and tradition (Abiola, 2001:26).

Secondly, the Yoruba people must display a real and genuine interest in their indigenous worship, which includes Yemoja worship. In the Yoruba religious experience, religion generates power. For there to be any meaningful cultural revival, the religious foundation of the traditional culture must be taken into consideration (Akanmidu, 1993:85). Yemoja worship must not be seen as idol worship, but as an intermediary between humans and the Supreme Being. This river goddess should be seen as a means to an end and not as an end in herself. It is a religion that has provided meaning and orldview to our forefathers, and this heritage has been passed from one generation to the other over the years. Dimo

(2001:166) confirms this view when he writes that 'religion is the nourisher of culture'. In addition, as Adeyela suggests, adherents of the indigenous faith must organize themselves as a body and carry out a massive enlightenment campaign (Adeyela, 2002:20).

Furthermore, traditional rulers as the custodians and guardians of religion and culture, must rally around, support, and uplift indigenous worship among the Yoruba. During Yemoja celebrations, whether annual or occasional, traditional rulers, the head priestess, and other priests must be supported and given our concerted efforts. This is a call for an African Renaissance that reinforces African values and identity.

Moreover, theatre workers in Nigeria must be encouraged to work more on the promotion of African culture in their various performances and film productions. Actors such as Adebayo Faleti, Lere Paimo, Laja Ogunde and hosts of others have contributed immensely to the promotion of African culture and traditions through their various film productions. Medicine, divination, worship, and other African ways of life found in plays and film are an effective means of reminding the Yoruba of their rich cultural heritage in this modern age (Dopamu 1993:247). In addition, stage and film productions can openly condemn vices that have eaten deep into the fabric of our nation and praise its virtues. This will surely reveal to people the cultural values wrapped in entertainment.

In addition, ministries of culture and tourism in Nigeria must be aware of their responsibilities. Government must see to it that people appointed as ministers and commissioners of culture and tourism are not ignorant of their own culture. This is very important, because some of the ministers and government officials in charge of culture and tourism in recent years have proved to be misfits in their positions. With few exceptions, they have failed to perform as expected because they were bereft of cultural ideas (Jawolusi 2003:25). If this shortcoming can be removed, then African culture, of which religious worship is a part, will no longer be ignored, and science and technology will no longer have undue advantages over African cultural heritage in Nigeria.

Conclusion

This study has examined cultural identity among the Yoruba people with reference to Yemoja worship. It must be appreciated that modernity and foreign religions such as Christianity and Islam did not meet Yoruba land in a religious vacuum. The people already had a religion that caters for all aspects of their lives. This religion is the expression of the total culture of the people and constitutes their overall cultural identity. However, the emergence of modernity, foreign culture, foreign religions, Western education, and science and technology has negatively affected that totality of Yemoja worship among the Yoruba. The cultural identity of the people has been struck at the very root. They were so prejudiced against the religion that offensive terminologies such as paganism, heathenism and even idolatry have been used to describe Yemoja worship. In the course of this study, we were able to demonstrate that Yoruba cultural identity through Yemoja worship needs not be sacrificed because of modernity. This paper, therefore, recommends that the Yoruba cultural identity be sustained through a genuine interest in indigenous religion like Yemoja worship, cultural Renaissance, encouragement to theatre workers, support among traditional leaders as the custodians of culture, appointing qualified candidates as the ministers and commissioners of culture and tourism.

In the final analysis, the optimism that Yoruba cultural identity shall continue to be a reality is demonstrated in the fact that Yemoja worship is no longer seen as idol worship but as an intermediary between the Supreme Being and human beings. In addition, the worship of the goddess provides society with an identity and binds them together. In effect, this points to the fact that even though there may be other identifying symbols for society, the cultural aspect provides its greatest distinctiveness. On the whole, if the recommendations towards cultural revival and sustainability are strictly adhered to, then we can be sure that Yemoja worship, one of the means through which Yoruba cultural identity is established, will stage a forceful comeback. It will reassert its influence, having narrowly escaped extinction by the fatal onslaught of modernity, foreign religions, civilization, and science and technology under the guise of acculturation. Although there may be reformation, socialization, and even absorption, all of which show that culture is not static, yet we must not lose our culture, religious heritage, and identity in the transition.

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