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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Note from the Editor</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociotherapy as a Contemporary Alternative</td>
<td>M. Kubilay Akman</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Complexity of State- Civil Society Relations: Reflections on Practice and Theory</td>
<td>D. Ndou Siphiwe</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Culture in Decision Making Approach in Bangladesh: An Analysis from the Four Cultural Dimensions of Hofstede</td>
<td>Bipasha Dutta and Kazi Maruful Islam</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Bogra to Calcutta Medical College in Colonial India and Beyond: A Postcolonial and Feminist Perspective on my Mother’s Life</td>
<td>Suchitra Samanta</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigeneity, Borderlands and Memory of Homeland: A Reappraisal of Zomia Theory vis-à-vis ‘Tribes’ of India-Burma/ Myanmar Frontier</td>
<td>N.K.Das</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Africa: Lessons Drawn for Nigeria</td>
<td>Paul O. Bello and Adewale. A. Olutola</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced Employee and Employer Relationship: A Mechanism for Industrial Development in Nigeria</td>
<td>Sulaimon M. Oriyomi, Muhammed A. Yinusa, Raji Abdullateef, Omede, A. Jolade and Sulaiman L. Abdulrasheed</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social-ecological Analysis of the Impact of Marine Resources on Food Security and Poverty Alleviation</td>
<td>Kola O. Odeku and Olufunmilayo F. Odeku</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation and Entrepreneurial Development in Nigeria: The Challenges and The Opportunities</td>
<td>Olatunji a Ganiya, Muhammed A Yinusa, E Ebenezer Lawal and Raji Abdullateef</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good or Bad? Employment Contract and Working Conditions of Telecommunication Employees in Nigeria</td>
<td>Kabiru Ayinde Oyetunde</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Influence of TV Commercials on the Lifestyle of Youngsters

Saddam Hussain Shah 156

Service Delivery Challenges Facing Municipalities:
A Case Study of Fetakgomo Local Municipality in Sekhukhune District Municipality, Limpopo Province

Lourens Johannes Erasmus 167
Beyers

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Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and are purely academic in nature.
Note from the Editor

While working on this issue of the journal I visited the USA for a few weeks to meet friends and family members. I was visiting the country after about 5 years and stayed mostly in New York City and in Philadelphia but thanks to the media got a vivid picture of the fracture of the country during this presidential election year. I noted with some concerns, along with the rest of the world, how sharply the nation was divided. I lived in the USA for five years during my graduate studies forty years ago and visited the country many a times thereafter but never before felt the tension that the electioneering had created. The Republicans, far more than the Democrats, came out with sharpened claws in vicious attacks on the Democratic government of Barak Obama and far more scathing assault on the Democratic presidential candidate Secretary Hillary Clinton. Democrats, though somewhat subdued, were not very far behind but none could outdo the Republican candidate Mr. Donald Trump. Name calling was the mildest form; character assassination, using obscenities and even resorting to violence, appeared to be the norm.

Democratic elections everywhere seem to bring out the worst of the personalities and of the culture itself, including in Bangladesh. But for me this picture does not go well with the claimants to the “greatest democracy” in the world. The whole country down to the Joes on the street are trying to shout down the opposite party supporters almost in the same manner as they see being played out on the television screen by the candidates themselves. What is even more frustrating is to see that there are millions of individuals, including many “leaders” of both parties and of the media coming out in defense of “their” candidate no matter what absurdity is churned out by the candidates. How can anyone defend a candidate who caricatures a disabled person or calls a whole nation of people “terrorists” is beyond my comprehension. And to think that such a candidate may one day claim to be the leader of the free-world sends shivers up my spines. So, like the rest of the world, I too keep fearing the worst outcome of this format of democracy.

However, that is only the minor aspect of my experience this time around. The other, that of the life and work of the Bangladeshis in the USA, is a heartwarming tale. When I first went to the USA in the middle of the 1970s there were few Bangladeshis nationals living there permanently. One could almost count them on the finger tips, even in the major cities like New York. I remember that the few times I visited New York City, I would stalk up on my supplies of South Asian spices from a few “Indian” shops or even from Chinese outlets as these were not available in Syracuse (NY) where I lived and studied then. Indian and a few Pakistani shops and restaurants in New York City were all that I could relate to as close to my social life and cultural requirements. The few Bangladeshis who had gone to the USA till then were mostly graduate students like me living in various campuses strewn about the huge country and did not constitute any major concentration, definitely not of any importance in commercial terms.

For the next twenty years or so this number gradually swelled by the influx of doctors, engineers, professor, and those of the educated middle class from Bangladesh, adding to the earlier graduate students, who by then were acquiring jobs and permanent residencies in the USA. Many of these educated ones landed there with valid passports and visas secured a job, not necessarily reflecting their skills or likings, but eventually attained the fabled “Green Card” through various means and even became citizens at some point in their life and could later build a career of choice.

Then came the “diversification visa” or the DV group. Lotteries were held in Bangladesh, like in other countries with lesser representation in the US population, on a yearly basis and tens of thousands got the opportunity to get a legal residency in the USA. These Bangladeshis drawn at random came from
all walks of life and from all corners of the country and their numbers only multiplied as they soon began to "sponsor" others, their relatives, to live in the USA. Many others migrated illegally. Today the Bangladeshis number in tens of thousands in any major city in the USA. In New York City alone the estimate varies from fifty thousand to hundred thousand plus, as some are residing there illegally and try not to get counted by the census authorities. Even in a smaller city like Philadelphia, there is a neighbourhood with nearly ten thousand Bangladeshis.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between the two populations. The first group, that of the educated, skilled people who travelled to the USA earlier constitutes what is often termed as a major “brain-drain” from Bangladesh. They not only settled in the USA but also took advantage of the residency facilities in Canada and Australia and their numbers continue to swell in these countries, seriously depleting the stock of educated and skilled Bangladeshis at home. In the 1970s and 1980s, when the country needed them most they chose to advance their personal careers and secure their lives from the political disturbances in Bangladesh, deserting the country. I remember that on the day I left Bangladesh for my graduate studies in 1976, there were 42 of us, university teachers, junior lecturers mostly, who boarded the only weekly flight to leave Dhaka for London. Just two of us returned to the country!

That set the tone for the next decade, anyone who had an education and could secure admission to a university programme in the USA or Canada, migrated with never having to return to the country which many considered “dusty and nasty”, other than visiting during the peaceful years, normally in winters when the temperature is cooler and the humidity is “tolerable” for their children. They are often identified as the migrating “winter birds”. I keep travelling to the USA every few years and have seen this population grow from graduate students to professors and deans, to MDs and to engineers serving their adopted country, while universities and institutions in Bangladesh that trained them in the first place lost their valuable services. The burgeoning middle class of the 1960s and 1970s, the force behind the very independence of the country, thus, by deserting the country created a vacuum that could never be filled and this has led to the serious deterioration of the academic standards and resulted in the absence of an effective civil society, which has been so much of a necessity over the years. But they chose the secure and comfortable life abroad looking from afar and criticizing the happenings of the country while those remained in the country faced untold hardships along with rest of the country on a day to day basis in its economy, politics and the social life in general.

To narrate a story of this desertion, during one of my travels to the USA in 1988 a dinner was arranged for me to meet a number of such doctors, engineers and professors residing in and around a small university town in Indiana by a relative of mine who was also a professor. More than a dozen of them dined with me that night and after the dinner people began to talk of the then President General Ershad and the political movement that was being waged in the country to oust him when one of guests addressed me directly and said “Why don’t you get rid of Ershad then we can go back to the country”. I was shocked, to say the least. He wanted those living in Bangladesh to fight against tyranny and create a peaceful atmosphere for them so that they could return. How selfish can one get? That is the nature of this group who only sought their own personal careers and secure a peaceful life away from the harsh political and economic realities back in Bangladesh that they despised and regularly cited as their sole cause for leaving the country. I also reminded him that by their absence from the country they are the ones largely responsible for the ugly political situation in the country in the first place. Their absence had created a vacuum in the civil society so that people such as President Ershad could take advantage of. Well, to cut the story short, living in such a Bangladesh of harsh realities we did succeed in throwing out the General from power but I do not think that any of those professors, doctors and engineers returned to the country.

This group is in sharp contrast to the later groups of Bangladeshis who come from a lower economic category, often uneducated and their life and work in the USA constitutes a heart worming story of pride and success. They are the DV group and thousands of other Bangladeshis “illegal aliens”, often students in their twenties, who somehow managed to land in the USA and began their journey there at
the lowest rung of the division of labour. In the migration story of the USA, successive ethnic groups, whether they be the Irish, or the Italians or the Jews or even the Indians and Pakistanis, they all started at the bottom and gradually moved up the economic ladder. In the 1970s and 1980s, I found the Indians and Pakistanis as the “taxi drivers” and waiters in restaurants. But by the 1990s many of these Indians and Pakistanis had moved up to buy shops and larger stores and start profitable businesses in places like Jackson Heights and Jamaica in the Queens Borough of New York City and gradually moving their residences out of New York City to New Jersey, Pennsylvania and beyond.

Today this Bangladeshi population is largely at the first and the second rungs of the division of labour there. If you hail a taxi in New York City, it is very likely that the driver will be a Bangladeshi. Go to a restaurant or a shop and you are like to discover some more Bangladeshis there as waiters or sales persons. On this tour I walked around Manhattan visiting museums, theaters as well as stores and restaurants and often sat in the parks and my favourite location, the little public space in front of the Macy’s. I have spent hours just looking at the people during this tourist season in New York. I was amazed to see the numbers of Bangladeshis, easily recognizable by their looks and dress and language. Indeed, I thought there were many more Bangladeshis than Indians or Pakistanis there. These latter groups have “moved out” by now only to be replaced by the Bangladeshis.

The real success story, however, is being played out back in Jackson Heights and in Jamaica, where the Bangladeshis have almost completely replaced the earlier migrants, the Indians or the Pakistanis. There, with my host who lives a few blocks away, I took an evening stroll through the Hillside Avenue from the crossing of the 179th Street down to the 169th Street. The whole area could easily have been identified as a part of Bangladesh, with neon signs announcing “Kawran Bazar” and “Dhanmondi Plaza” and “Dhaka Kabab Ghor”. Nearly all the shops, selling spices and vegetables typical of Bangladesh, clothes and other accessories patronized by the Bangladeshi community, were overflowing with Bangladeshi shoppers. And perhaps more typical of the Bangladeshi population, hundreds were loitering around the street corners munching on a “shingara” with a cup of tea in their hand engaging in a session of “adda”. Bangla, with accents various districts, was the only language you could hear. Heated discussions were raging about the recent terrorist attack in a Gulshan restaurant in Dhaka.

Back in the 1970s when I visited the China Town in New York City for the first time, I was quite taken aback by the street names and sign boards on shops written in Chinese language and may have silently wished to see the same in Bangla someday. Well, the street names on the Hillside Avenue are still in English but the sign boards on most of those shops are written in Bangla, proclaiming the proud identity of a country far, far away. I was also told that Bangla is officially recognized by the New York City government offices and hospitals and even by the telephone companies. And if someone needs attention in these places a Bangla interpreter is promptly arranged. There are schools for children who may get a bit of extra help in learning the language beyond what they are taught in homes.

All around the area, largely within the walking distance, are the residences of this Bangladeshi population, in apartment blocks and in independent houses. A larger concentration is in Jackson Heights. Whether a owner of a shop or just a sales person or a taxi driver, one feature that characterizes all families here is the intense desire to get their children through higher education. The father may be an aged taxi driver, but he is likely to have a son going to a university in the city. Most, if not all of this group also maintains an active connection with their families in Bangladesh and often sends a part of their hard earned income home. They also visit them whenever they can manage as I noted during my flight back home. The New York Abu Dhabi flight was largely filled by these Bangladeshi expatriates and they were visiting in the middle of the hot summer in Bangladesh! The second generation of this group is better educated and is better adapted to the culture there. Some I learned are working for major firms, including prominent financial corporations.

In general, the Bangladeshis are far better at obeying laws in a foreign country than at home and this is evidently true in New York City as well. The city government is pleased with this community with far
lesser incidence of crime than the previous ethnic groups who passed through New York. There are Bangla newspapers published regularly to keep them informed of the news from home and even a regular television channel broadcasting to the Bangladeshis in the area along with the cable TV system offering channels directly from Bangladesh. Numerous Bangla “cultural programmes” with artists visiting from Bangladesh are organized in all major cities every year to keep them in touch with the native culture. Thus, this later group, facing far greater challenges, though they live in New York or other parts of the USA, their heart still beats with Bangladesh, unlike the other group, the educated middle class, who sold their heart long time ago.
Sociotherapy as a Contemporary Alternative¹

M. Kubilay Akman²

Abstract: Sociotherapy was launched as a therapeutic system in 20th Century, which has very strong theoretical and historical relations with the discipline of Sociology. Why there was a need to suggest a new way of therapy, while psychotherapy is existing? We have witnessed that there are some social dimensions of psychological problems which require a solution based on “socialization” between therapists and patients. There is a “healing power” in socialization and it has been the basis for all sorts of group therapies, including Sociotherapy as well. In this paper, we will have the opportunity to discuss the theoretical knowledge on Sociotherapy and consider its possibilities for applying contemporary socio-psychological problems in society. Knowledge society gives us a suitable platform to practice various therapeutic disciplines to find out solution for the problems created by the same society. This paper may be seen as a part of this purpose, finding viable and operative solutions to socio-psychological problems that today’s individuals experience in their daily lives.

Keywords: sociotherapy, clinical sociology, group therapy, interpersonal therapy, psychotherapy

Introduction
When we have a look to therapy-related activities it is obvious that there is a great dominancy of psychotherapy over all other types of therapeutic ways around the world. Discussing the historical, theoretical and scientific reasons of this situation is really a wide topic and not possible at all to cover in the scope of this paper. However, we should at least mention here that the understanding and conception based on “individualism” and consideration of “self” as nucleus of society inevitably bring a person-focused, individual-centered perspective of therapy concept and psychotherapy finds a

¹This paper was presented in CKS (Challenges of Knowledge Society) conference (2015) in Bucharest, Romania and published in the proceedings.
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suitable basis somehow in this discursive intellectual / scientific environment. Individual psychological problems are mostly coming from social causes and limiting their cure, healing and therapy on an individual level prevents possible alternatives to create substantial solutions for them. Our tendency is not to continue through a critique of psychotherapy. However, it is better to know why sociotherapy is not so wide-spread in academies, therapeutic institutes and hospitals. This individualistic discursive perspective has blocked the improvement of sociotherapy until 21st Century, although it has a history and background for decades.

The main focus of psychotherapy is based on the person; however, for sociotherapy the object-situation is more important. Psychotherapists are concerned with intrapersonal systems, as for sociotherapists, the situation and its social conditions are much more determining. Sociotherapy consider social, cultural and environmental issues as effective parts of creating a therapeutic way (Edelson, 1970: 176). This theoretical understanding will be helpful below to understand how sociotherapy works.

Academic and scientific researches, publications and lectures on sociotherapy have existed in the USA and Europe since first half of 20th Century. There are outstanding researches we will mention below and application of sociotherapy continued uninterruptedly until today. The interest of the writer of this paper on sociotherapy began from early 2000s. This discussion on the main concepts and perspectives of sociotherapy may be considered as a modest contribution to a subfield of sociology which has a greater potential in the future than it has so far had. Although, historically it has been defined as a part of sociology and as its therapeutic application, sociotherapy seems really compatible to other fields of social sciences as well, such as anthropology, management, political sciences, social work, etc.

In the following pages of this article is presented the possibility of a “usable” and “relevant” sociology, how to perform a therapeutic activity through a sociological perspective and the advantages of sociotherapy in terms of providing solutions to socio-psychological problems of contemporary individuals. Of course, this is a field which requires further discussions and one may consider this paper as a first step into sociotherapy, if one is not acquainted yet with this field.

Ontology of Sociotherapy
When sociology was “born” as an independent and “positivist” social science, it used to have a very practical approach and tools. In works of Comte, Spencer, Durkheim and other classics, the existence of sociology had the least in common with an abstract, philosophical and sophisticated discourse. Their conception of sociology was pretty practical and pragmatic. However, by the time, especially in the 20th Century sociology somehow came closer to a more philosophical level. Even, it was not easy to decide if some names were sociologists or philosophers, for instance Marcuse or Adorno. Sociotherapy can be considered as a return of sociology to its applicable technical and functional value again.
As L. Alex Swan states, “sociology must be real, relevant, useful, and applicable” (Swan, 2014: 153). Sociotherapy is one of the ways for a more useful and functional sociology. For this purpose, “we must change the way we train sociologists to produce scientist-practitioners whose role is to create the specific contextual knowledge and understanding for application and social intervention” (Swan, 2014: 327). Because, it is not easy to realize the required transformation toward a therapeutic sociology with conventional approaches at sociology departments of our academies, we need to find new strategies for training of future sociologists.

Individual is not a lonesome “person” disconnected from society for us, during sociotherapy sessions. We need to locate a client into his/her social contexts and “in sociotherapy the social personality of the person is involved. It is the public individual in interaction. The viewpoint taken by the director of the session directs his attention toward the group as structure. A general catharsis is intended” (Cornyetz, 1945: 463). This catharsis is a way of healing/treatment for socio-psychological problems of a person. During this Conference you will have the opportunity to follow a comprehensive presentation on Viktor Frankl’s logotherapy system by another colleague. According to Frankl’s “Logotherapy approach to interactional group therapy, the treatment dynamics of noticing, actualizing, and honoring are facilitated or triggered by six elements of group treatment (…): group balance, group task orientation, group cohesion, dynamic group reflection, existential group reflection, and experimental participation” (Lantz, 1998: 98). This is something more or less we expect from sociotherapy as well: a therapy process based on harmony and interaction in group.

The understanding which emphasizes that problems which have social backgrounds and causes require also social ways of solution is the main principle for the ontology of sociotherapy, flourishing in the realm of sociology. Based on this main principle, there is a lot common between sociotherapy and other varieties of group therapies in spite of all differences in technical and theoretical levels.

**How Does It Work?**

Socioterapy is a field in which interpersonality is a crucial requirement, although its approach to interpersonal socialities are pretty different than psychotherapy’s approach. Because of this reason, “sociotherapeutic ideology point of view emphasizes the therapeutic value of the multiplicity of interpersonal and social situational encounters occurring in the patient's treatment setting” (Armor, 1968: 247). Sociotherapists are using and manipulating social milieu and environmental components for a kind of “milieu therapy,” or with another naming “group therapy.” In their understanding, “mental illness is caused by social and environmental factors, usually those occurring with the patient's recent life situation” (Armor, 1968: 247). So, they use this environment and situations as powerful therapeutic tools.

The practical approach of “sociotherapy helps people to regain self-respect, rebuild trust, feel safe again, overcome unjustified self-blame, re-establish a moral equilibrium, have hope, live without terror,
forgive those who have harmed them, apologize to those whom they have wronged, and regain their rightful place in the community" (Richters, 2010: 105). With another expression, sociotherapy is a way for regaining the lost harmony together with people, with whom probably we have shared losing process of this harmony previously, via mutual mistakes.

Paul Wilkins, in his “person-centered sociotherapeutic model” provides us some important points to establish a balance between “we” and “me”. According to Wilkins: “The We implies a connectedness, an inter-relatedness that goes beyond the organism.” With this perspective, we are all belonging to “We” and harming “We” is something like you are harming yourself. Based on this consideration, “We is more than an immediate community, more than humanity, more than all living things. It is our planet in its totality” (Wilkins, 2012: 243). Regardless if you have a “person-centered” or “group-centered” sociotherapy concept, these points seem applicable anyway.

There are some essential differences between psychotherapy and sociotherapy. According to J. Stuart Witely, “psychotherapy is primarily a listening process, with understanding coming from the therapist’s interpretation of the individual’s communications and facilitating the development of a more stable emotional life. Sociotherapy is a more active process, with behavioral change coming from the experience of new and more satisfactory ways of coping with interpersonal interactions” (Whiteley, 1986: 721). As you can see, the therapeutic power of sociotherapy is more dynamic and necessitates interaction.

Clients need to change themselves and their behaviors in therapeutic process: “Sociotherapy is the relearning of social roles and interpersonal behavior through the experiencing of social interactions in a corrective environment” (Whiteley, 1986: 721). Rand L. Kannenberg calls it “Resocialization” process; as a therapeutic way which requires relearning established problematic values and behaviours; being liberated from previous learnings of social environment (family, school, friend groups, Etc.) and changing social roles with more effective and beneficial ones (Kannenberg, 2003: 90). Sociotherapists are effective participants and organizers of these resocialization activities.

L. Alex Swan has defined his strategies and system in sociotherapy as “Grounded-Encounter Therapy” (GET) and according to Swan’s theory GET “is a process of encounter, interpretation, and situation analysis which allows for the discovery of essential facts and explanations that are grounded in the social situation (context) of the clients. It provides for the devising of strategies, plans, and approaches for change, growth and development that are also grounded in the social context of the clients” (Swan, 1984: 62). GET’s diagnostic and therapeutic techniques are shaped through “the personal encounter between the clients, and between the clients and the therapists. Through the dialogues and sharing of feelings and thoughts, clients can communicate to each other their concerns and describe their situation so that an authentic Picture emerges” (Swan, 1984: 63-64). Seeing this authentic picture may be understood also as seeing a picture of final solution for socio-psychological problems.
Towards a Successful Sociotherapy

Annemiek Richters and her colleagues have stated that: “The term sociotherapy may suggest a medicalizing approach to social problems. The point of sociotherapy, however, is that its therapeutic value comes from the active input of the group members as they participate, question, advise, influence and correct each other in their social contact” (Richters, 2010: 99). This social contact is the key for a high level of success in sociotherapy.

Modern society has some problems which are old and they need to be approached with more effective techniques. Sociotherapy is a functional response for these aged problems. In confrontation of contemporary situations, “If we had enough social intelligence, we could solve the problem directly by scientific methods, but since we have not yet developed this method of attacking our social problems, we shall probably have to go through a long period of neurotic worry, anxiety, and confusion until we finally solve the problem by wasteful fumbling -passive adaptation- rather than by the rational, direct, and effective means of science-guided active adaptation” (Bain, 1944: 457). As sociologists, more than a half century we have been discussing this kind of “science-guided” techniques for curing socio-psychological problems.

Richters and co-authors at her research report suggest us some principles for success, based on discussions conducted by Rapoport and Bierenbroodspot previously. These principles for an effective sociotherapy are:

“1) two-way communication at all levels - this communication is a precondition to warrant that everyone is informed about what goes on in the group and can use that information in decision making;

2) decision making at all levels - this promotes, among other things, sympathy within the group as a whole and with individual members;

3) shared leadership - this actually means democracy, the sharing of power and responsibility;

4) consensus in decision-making – when the group cannot come to an agreement, no decision is forced, but the discussion continues until consensus is reached;

5) social learning by social interaction here-and-now - this learning will also benefit group participants in their social interaction in the wider society” (Richters, 2008: 101).

Of course, these principles may have some variations in different cases. However, they can be taken still as a foundation to keep the sociotherapy practice and applications focused on the main line. The methodological points analyzed earlier by Gerald W. Lawlor may be very effective in this main line.
According to Lawlor these are: “1) Situations and roles assigned by the director; 2) Continuing scenes; 3) Free association; 4) Life problems” (Lawlor, 1946: 275). Sociotherapists should interpret these points in their particular case and practices; afterward, they need to find their own customized methods if necessary. Flexibility is crucial for a successful sociotherapy application.

Sociotherapy is like a strategy to take the potential which already exist in societies and upgrade it with some arrangements for particular needs. It is called as ‘community-based’ sociotherapy by Richters. The power of local communities is functionally adopted into sociotherapy process in this approach (Richters, 2010: 97). Actually, people in societies and local communities are already performing a kind of “unconscious” sociotherapy to themselves and to each other. What sociotherapists recommend may be considered as a systemized version of this existing therapeutic tendency for a more effective solution to socio-psychological problems challenging at any level.

Conclusion
Contemporary societies have a contradictory position which provides problems and possible solutions at the same time. Many economic, social, cultural and socio-psychological problems have their origins and deep roots in societal factors. Problems are produced and spread when and where people are socializing. The main conceptual epistemology of sociotherapy is based on this reality: the source of therapeutic knowledge and possible applications are the same with the origins of these problems. Therefore, socialization or “resocialization” appears as a productive therapeutic power source for all sociotherapists, despite their theoretical differences. Sociotherapists take an active role, redesign and direct social environments for therapeutic purposes. The early literature on sociotherapy is coming from last century. However, although it started as an academic sub-discipline of sociology comparatively long time ago, it has not substantially spread as a therapeutic system widely yet. The reasons of this situation are beyond the scope of this paper. As we have tried to discuss in the previous pages sociotherapy is a very functional and practical approach to modern socio-psychological problems which may be seen even as a return to 19th Century early sociology’s practical and applicable beginning ideals. We have reasons to be optimistic or pessimistic regarding the future of sociotherapy. However, it is always better to be realistic. Sociotherapy has a potential to grow and spread as a useful therapeutic system, however it depends on conditions and preferences of today’s social scientists. If there are more social scientists who are interested in sociotherapy then this sub-discipline of sociology may attain the position it deserves though it may be a while to get there.

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The Complexity of State-Civil Society Relations: Reflections on Practice and Theory

D. Ndou Siphiwe

Abstract: While civil society is being contested to be the space between, family, state and the market, a source of social realm at the grassroots organisation of citizen life, the paper argues that there is a necessity for a complexity theoretical based reflections on the state-society realm of the concept. Civil society organisations are occupants of a realm of social interactions, with the state and the market as part of a complex social system. Thus civil society organisations play a central role of representing society in matters of the state, particularly in policy and development. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the context at which civil society interacts with the state in a realm of producing a good life for citizens. Hence the complexity theory bears reference as a theoretical framework for analysis. The conclusion made in this paper is that complexity theory reflections on state-society relations can transform the conception of the civil society and its role in the ever changing dynamics of society.

Keywords: Complexity Theory, Civil Society, State-Society, Relations

Introduction

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Civil society with a long history into human toil toward a better change has in its modern conception the notion of society’s disgruntlement with the state and the market. Civil society is thus society organisation devoted to dealing with such displeasures outside household margins. The concept in the 18th century was used to connote that which was analogous to the state, though not concomitant with it (Carothers, 1999; Kaldor, 2003; Ghaus-Pasha, 2004). The International Centre for Not-For-Profit Law (ICNL) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in their Report on Defending Civil Society (2012), delineates civil society to refer to when humans want to get composed and act mutually to better their own lives. This is to say civil society is the expression of those collective actions in which people through self-organisation, enjoy freedom of association and assembly. This is where encouragement are used to shape polities and addressing issues of common concern (ICNL & NED, 2012: 3). In this context, though avoiding dismissing the relationship between the state and civil society, civil society is charged with collectivism towards change. Veneklasen (2003), as sighted in Gaus-Pasha (2004:3), argues that civil society is a sphere of social interaction between the family and the state, which manifests in the norms of community cooperative structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication. These networks are part of a process deemed able to solve common social, economic and political problems of society. Given this view it appears clear that civil society is distinct from the state and the market in form and responsibility (Gang, 1998; Keane, 2003; Kaldor, 2004; Hutter & O’Mahony, 2004). Civil society is thus a space where society collectively solves its problems and pursues common interest. Such pursuits can either be achieved through cooperation or confrontation with the state and the market. This space described in this notion of civil society cannot be explained by civil society organisations and actors, but the activity and influences experienced by society as a result of spontaneous collective action for and against the state and the market.

At the centre of this paper is the negotiated and sometimes contested relationship between the state and society analysed through applying the complexity theory. Civil society will be seen as society structures in pursuit of collective ends, and the state as political society that is accountable for ensuring collective security of the society (Gang, 1998; Kaldor, 2004). The creation of both the societal spheres is central in the understanding of sources of governance, development and public service. A critical aspect of developing strong states and civil society arises on the point of devising a balance between authority and public interests (Forbrig, 2003; Greenstein, 2003; Hintz, 2007; Heyhood, 2013). This points out a need for clarity about the role of states and civil society in development and importantly in democratic governance. The role of civil society as a space where government, business and society at grassroots level interact is critically complex and thus require a purposeful interpretation. This is done in consideration of the ever changing realm of state-society relations. This is because in the sphere of interaction members of civil society interact to seek solutions and propose policy that is representative of the general public and places first the needs of the poor (Forbrig, 2003; Lamach, 2004). However given the ever changing and emergent nature of society and the world they live in, it is important to use the complexity theory to view the nature in which both society and state should coevolve in order to effectively change the world for better, within worst and better situations.
The purpose of this paper is to provide a conceptual account of the complexity of state-society relation, where civil society and the state both exist to serve and complement each other in service to humanity. The analysis departs from providing the theoretical scope of civil society. Secondly, the focus is introducing the complexity theory, which is a framework for analysis. The paper will also provide analysis of the intersectionality of sectors in a public sphere. Finally, the paper will provide the understanding of the relations between state and society through the discernment of the complexity theory.

The Theoretical Scope of Civil Society

The ontological depth of civil society can be traced back from the prehistoric Greeks. Literature arguments have pointed out that the concept has existed beyond the beginning of state formation and functions (Ghaus-Pasha, 2004; Pollard & Court, 2005; Finke, 2007; Ndou, 2013). Civil Society is about the nature at which individuals learn about their deficiencies and recognised that survival is feasible when joining thoughts and efforts with others to work together and eliminate challenges. These challenges may be social, economic or political. This is the basis in which society nurtures itself to be an overlapping system that is shaped by norms, values and interests common to members (Falk & Kilpatrick, 2000; Ponthieux, 2004; Ranchod, 2007). The civic ontology of society is much related to how people intended to unite in order to relate to the state on social and economic crises at the edge of ever-changing conditions of the world (Lewis, 2002; Finke, 2007). It is in this beginning that civil society became, a concept staged between the family and state, then later resulting from the emergence of markets, civil society was put between the state and the market. In this space, family became less interested in running the state nor the market affairs (Pollard & Court, 2005; Ranchod, 2007). While other writers of the concept are preoccupied with the notion that civil society has no interest on the state or the market (Diamond, 1994; Ranchord, 2007, Jaysawal, 2013), the essayist in here is interested in promoting that civil society is interested in both the market and the state though not with interest to control, but to influence. As such the dawn of civil society is the complexities of their relations with state, and market.

To deal with the theoretical basis of civil society, there is a need for an explanation of how civil society has been channelled to challenging and often cooperating with the state by both scholarship and practice. This also will require an explanation of how societies are organised into entities in order to interact with the state. The dominant versions of the concept are more into how society reacts to what the state imposes on them (Greenstein, 2003; Ghaus-Pasha, 2004: 1) than explaining how such social formations influence the state in the process of what Walzer (1992) named ‘a good life’ (see also: Heywood, 2013). Civil society conception has to be value-added to cover the context at which it should re-engineer itself in the proactive business of invigorating the state’s role in the ever changing and emergent priorities of society. These changes are at times influenced spontaneously by environment and expanded technological innovations of the world. This is not to say that civil society is affiliated with the state but to express that the interaction of state and society organisation at a public realm.
must result in a hybrid state-society system marked by efficiency, effectiveness, society’s priorities and values (Scholte, 1999; Whitfield, 2002; Choudhary, 2004). There is a growing need in the democratic and development discourse of this concept, to introduce a bottom-up thinking approach, about its input to local, national, regional and even international efforts to transform the life of citizens. The call should be to the social science scholar’s community to theorise such a bottom-up approach of state-society relations. This should be done to influence the context at which state relates to society and the reciprocity that emerges from such a process. This should account for a source of governance which recognises society as a high stake partner in its processes (Choudhary, 2004; Whitefield, 2002; ICNL & NED, 2008). Though the focus of this paper is to examine how civil society relates to the state. The focus of the concept should be on how society organises itself to pursue their welfare and how the state works towards a guarantee of such welfare of the society. Therefore, perhaps, a good position to analyse the relations between state and society is to study the nature at which society civilises itself in relation to the state and the intricacy of state-society relation.

The context of civil society then can be articulated by first documenting the less-complex meaning of this concept first. Ley (2009) argues that civil society is concerned with a radical role of social transformation and creating new relationships between the poor and the state. Central to such a notion is that civil society arises on an expectation that the state should improve the lives of the poor, while ensuring social and economic security to a nation in general. Civil society is conceived on the basis of the role played by civil society organisations in advocacy, protection and support to the poor (Roy, 2008; ICNL & NED, 2012). In many instances civil society cooperates with the state and provides humanitarian assistance to the poor and vulnerable. Civil society has remained a voice to the unheard, distributing information about areas that requires critical state aid to be deployed. In the developing world civil society remained critical for policy advocacy and promotion of public participation on issues affecting the society. Civil society organisations have in some cases supplemented the state, where the state is unable to cope with the ever growing needs of society.

The basis of civil society as a term to distinguish between state institutions and social group was employed by scholars in the early consciousness of the concept. These scholars include among them: Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Adam Smith, Gramsci (Gramsci, 1996; Pollard & Court, 2005; Ranchod, 2007). Thomas Hobbes hypothesised the being of a “civitas” (commonwealth), in which individuals reciprocally and willingly, settle to give up their delicate quest for self-presentation through the appointment of a ‘sovereign ruler or assembly’ charged with promoting a collective security (Ku, 2002; Ghause-Pasha, 2005; Ndou, 2013:189). This hypothesis teaches that civil society exists when individuals forsake personal goals to the promotion of a collective interest and that a commonwealth is achieved through the appointment of a commonly or collectively elected ruler (government). This government is thus given a responsibility to promote a collective interest of the people. Thus civil society organisations are, therefore, formed through the idea of collective action towards common security.

Hegel (in Lewis, 2001:1) argues that self-organised civil society needed to be balanced and ordered by the state, otherwise it would become self-interested and would not contribute to the common good.
This is because each civil society organisation represents a specific interest of a group of people. To ensure that pursuing interest of any group does not harm other citizens, the state must strike a balance between conflicting interests of the society. Fane (1992:19) parades that the rise of civil society theory expresses the widespread conviction that there is no longer any purchase in the idea of one-party government. Fane’s conviction is based on a disagreement to the view of civil society as focusing on political kingdom alone. This is in essence considering the state as the only source of all development and power to govern (see also: Foley, 1996; Whitefield, 2002). The idea of states being not monopoly source of governance opposes that the appointment of a ruler will result in the security of common interest. Civil society, however, on this basis does not ignore the state but advances cooperation between the state and society. This results in the creation of a multiple stakeholders or multi-party governance system, with many sources of governance and development. It is in this view therefore that a complexity theoretical based conception of state-society relations should be imparted.

Civil society: The Changing Perspectives

Though civil society can be traced back from the writings of Cicero and other Roman writers to the ancient Greeks, who classically used the term equivalently with the state, the modernist usage of the term emerged in the Scottish Continental Enlightenment of the late 18th century (Corethers, 1999; Lewis, 2001; Ghaus-Pasha, 2004; Finke, 2007; Jaysawal, 2013). This generation used the term to parallel the state, though such meaning was to separate the two political entities. In an actual understanding, the relation between the state and civil society was most on the balance between state and society power (Greenstein, 2003; Woolner, 2009; Riemer, Simon & Romance, 2014). Following this modern view of civil society people turned to believe that increase in civil society would reduce state autonomy, and thereby purify the state activities to reflect citizen will and democratic credibility (Roy, 2008; Puddephatt, 2009). The challenge here is that civil society remains subject to the state, and there are no mutual contracts that bind the state’s action to the democratic and development conscience of the collective society.

A compelling definition of civil society is found in Diamond (1994:5), when engaging the question of what is and what is not civil society. Like many other authors (Tsebelis, 1995; Gramsci, 1996; Roy, 2008; Jaysawal, 2013), Diamond Argues that “Civil society is the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules” distinct for the general society, the state and the market. This idea was to portray that civil society is an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the state. Though it remains a question of either to consider civil society a sphere, voluntary entities, or an aggregate of all social organisation by society at grassroots. Civil society excludes individual and family life, inward-looking group activity (recreation, entertainment or spirituality), the profit making enterprise of individual business firms and political efforts to take control of the state (Diamond, 1994; Booth & Richard, 1997; Choudhary, 2004). The question that is overwhelming the author here is if civil society is bound by legal order, how then is it self-generating, self-supporting and autonomous from the state,
as legal orders are imposed by the state to protect its interest. Suppose then in this context that civil society can be viable when the state is willing to provide for such social activity to exist outside its limitations, and thus creating an enabling environment. This ability of the state to create an enabling environment instils the legit construction of a possible state-society realm.

The nature of organisational relations that exist between individuals and civil society is complex and shift form one moment to another. Seeking for a conceptual position in the changing dynamics of human relations with the state presents even further complexity (Clemens, 2002; Chester, 2005; Amogoh, 2008). These relations cannot be subjected to a fixed perspective and being pre-meditated. It is for this reason that there is a need for paradigm shift from the modern mechanistic and deterministic based positioning of these associational relations (Simon, 1962; Phelps & Hase, 2002; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). A dynamic approach may define and help understand the partiality required in defining the concept of civil society. It is in this regard that civil society cannot be defined in a one size fit all definition. The concept of civil society is situational based on its institutional context in relation to issues or situations, organisations and individuals confront in their complex social system. This is also influenced by the environment in which civil society operates in their given localities. At times it turns to be materialistic, economic and development focused. While the context of these variables may differ from one place to another, even with people who handle them (Anheier & Salamon, 2001; Chester, 2005; Roy, 2008; Jaysawal, 2013). In that light, the complexity theory, offers a useful open system theorisation. This theorisation is useful for transforming the sermon of the concept ‘civil society’. Before engaging in the context in which civil society as a concept can be analysed using the complexity theories there is a need to simplify the complexity of the complexity theory. This then is to be done by providing an explanatory note on the complexity theory.

The Complexity Theory

The essentials of the complexity thoughts are that complex organisations such as societies, economies and human physiques are composed of components that interact at a non-linear and unpredictably to produce the behaviour of the whole system (Wolfram, 1985; Warner, 2001; Morrison, 2006; Mason, 2007). As such complexity is theorised from some basic concepts namely; fitness, coevolution, agent-based systems, self-organising, self-organised criticality, punctuated equilibrium and fitness landscapes (Eidelson, 1997; Clemens, 2002; Hollard, 2006). The complexity theory commands from a paradigm shift that denotes the historic existence of a predictable world that exists no longer. It introduces a world where command and control is not always a means for certainty. The thesis of the complexity paradigm postulates that “control and not predict, is important and in a complex environment where the commanded agents are absolved of individuals responsibility” (Mason, 2013:259). Civil society operate today operate in such an environment, where actions on one place affects localities unpredictably elsewhere in the world.
The complexity theory has then increased its precedents in various fields in both social and natural science to assist understand the conditions of the world. There are those postulations in the complexity paradigm that indeed are critical in the analysis of state-society relations, in particular those of the developing world. The reason to pick that the developing world require the complexity theory to improve the order in which the relationship between government and society organisation is conducted, is that in their development quests there are many unpredictable situations that need to be addressed (Scholte, 2004; Goldstein, 2011; Mason, 2013). Governments in the developing world are faced with challenges of economic and social development, of which their culmination does not depend on national boundary variables (Parker, Schaller & Hansmann, 2003; Wagenaar, 2007). For instance global economic crisis is one complex event that amplifies unemployment challenges as economies cut employment. However cutting production during recession shows the weakness of economies failing to adapt to complex economic times.

Firstly complexity teaches that an organism such as social system or an economy is compose of many parts which are interconnected. That is to say a complex system is made of interconnections of a large number of parts. Each part of the system therefore affects every part of the system which resulting a sum (behaviour or result) that is far greater than the total sum of the parts involved in the system (Eidelson, 1997; Foster, 2005; Schneider & Sommers, 2006). This explanation is critical in understanding how society cohesively produces result. Social behaviour may not tell you of the number of members of a society, however it produces result that can be quantified in economics and other societal production (Geyer, 2003; Forster, 2005; Andrus, 2007). For instance, increase in unemployment has a negative effect in many other issues of the society, such as education, food security, social security, crime, and even the neurological state of the society. Government and society in their interaction should establish conditions which are adaptable for the society in general, though elimination of complexity is impossible due to the multiplicity of issues and stakeholdership in the social process (Blaney & Pasha, 1993; Badescu, Sum & Uslander, 2004; Folke, Hahn, Olsson & Norberg, 2005). The interactions between the elements of a complex system result in a non-linear feedback and feed forward that produces self-organisations emerging unpredictably from the system. The state-society interaction today presents such emergencies. For instance when a new government is elected into office, there is high expectations from citizens, which if not meant could result in instabilities, showing emergencies of a systems interaction.

The Intersectionality of Sectors in the Public Sphere

Intersectionality is used in social sciences as a relatively new term to describe an old question in theorising the relationships between different forms of social issues (Walby, 2007:450). Intersectionality is used in this paper to theorise the relations between; family, civil society, the state and the market. The use of complexity theory is to facilitated the fact that, there are simultaneous multiple complex actors which cannot be ignored in a modern society (Geyer, 2003: 13; Levy, 2011). Complexity theorises point that at intersection of social spheres it would not be sufficient to treat each sphere or part of it as self-sufficient and explanatory. This is because when the parts of the system
collectively act, it produces results that are greater than the total parts of the whole system. Therefore understanding a system such as that of a state-society relations, require a closer look in to the multiple products that are yield from emergencies as result of interactions of its many components (Richardson & Midgley, 2007; Mason, 2013). Complexity theory suggests that adding up these actors may result in triple, double or even less result than can be predicted using fixed formulas from the Newtonian paradigm.

Chaos as a subject of complexity is said to be the constantly shifting battle zone between stagnation and anarchy, the one place where a complex system can be spontaneous, adaptive and alive (Waldrop, 1992). This notion provides an understanding that in the intersection of actors of a social system, the system become flexible to being unpredictable, adaptive and become active. Civil society in the current conception is charged with many social, economic, political tools to towards change (Limburg, O’Neill, Costanza & Farber, 2002; Folke, Hahn, Olsson & Norberg, 2005). These various sectoral subjects of human life are much interdependent and intersectional in practice. This is evident from how social, economic and political activity in one society affect others society in far other places. For example how economic meltdown in Europe affect employment and productivity of the world as a whole. These questions has little to do with communication; at the wave of the informed world, human nature has become more spontaneous with greater interdependence and interconnection. People around the globe are actively engage in sharing information and endeavouring in the market place of ideology toward a common solution to common concerns (Kaldor, 2003; Mansbach & Taylor, 2012; Heywood, 2013). Humanity now exist transcending national boundaries, actively participating in the activities of parts of the world far from their physical reach. The use of knowledge is universal, and in this regard complexity is more useful in the sense that it is central to change and flourish where there is intense flow of information, interdependency and connectedness.

Complexity of State-Society Relations

In relation to the state-society interface, civil society is conceived not to be a subsidiary unit of the state but a third independent entity that assist the state in maintaining governance and rule of law (Jaysawal, 2013:3). Habib (2003) argues that civil society is the organised expression of various interests and values operating in the triangular space between the family, state and the market (Marinetto, 2003; Habib & Kotze, 2003:3; Habib, 2005). This conception of civil society preoccupied many scholars from the preconception of civil society as an “arena of spontaneous collective action around shared interests, purpose and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power” (LSE, 2015). While this definition is a very recent version by the London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society, it is a very useful tool, for a revised conception of the state-society relations(Greenwell, 2001; Waisman, 2003; Ghaus-Pasha, 2004; Jaysawal, 2013:2013). The idea of a fragmented relation
between family, state, market and civil society has a long standing history that transcend the 17
th to the 21st century (Carothers, 1999; Allen, 1997; Hearn, 2001; Pollard & Court, 2005; Jayaswal, 2013). The author turned to draw a picture on the basis of this normative conception of civil society.

Figure 1 illustrates the basic meaning of how state, civil society and the market relates. The contents of each sector uncovers that for the state to exist it needs a strong political capital. An interactive relationship between the state and civil society exit though there is a chancy element of inequality in the power and control between the two sectors (Cox, 1999; Stokke & Mohan, 2001; Geyer, 2003). The demonstration here also show that there are interdependencies between the state and market. Thus the regulation and tax transactions that exist between the two sectors. The market relate to civil society, where civil society seek to change markets for the benefit of their members, while the market strives to maximise profit. Increase in market growth enables a potential for better profits and employment growth. This in turn enables government to collect revenues from both the working class and business. Therefore, government is expected to be able to purchase a good and orderly life for the society (Hadenius & Uggula, 1996; Ku, 2002; Ghosh, 2009). This complex network makes civil society not a space for groups outside the state and the market, but a complex negotiating space where members of civil society negotiate the good for their members, with the state and the market. Civil society is viewed to be distinguished from the state based on their patterns of normative integration and open-ended communication characteristics. This is merely because the state was viewed as a closed entity that is dictating the implementation of the will of a particular elite. In this context the state cannot be associated with civil society, because civil society is a space where people seek cooperation to, better the lives of all (Carothers, 1999). Habib (2005: 672), departs from a point of state-civil society relation that celebrates plurality. Recognising that the set of organisms that exist in the “ideological market place”, will reflect diverse and even contradictory political and social agendas. Therefore the relations between state and civil society become pluralistic (Hearn, 2001; Rosenblum & Post, 2001; Ghaus-Pasha, 2004). Thus some of the relations will be adversarial and conflicting, while others will become more collaborative and collegiate. This is to detain the uncivility
(hostilities) between the actors in the social systems. Diamond (1994: 5) points out that there is a need for a more complex approach to the conception of state-society relation. How complexity assist in the understanding of state-civil society relations, is attended to in the following discussion.

**Complexity in the State-Civil Society Relations**

Complexity theory is a perspective for reflecting practice and identifying challenges in human endeavour. This is to say in the complexity theory people are expected to learn through reflecting on their practice in relation to dealing with their problems, and seeking to understand what they are missing when they do nothing about and for change. North (2014:1) outlines that complex adaptive systems are collections of interacting, autonomous and learning decision makers embedded in an interactive environment. Wolfram (1985:1) argues that the basic components of many systems are quite simple, however a large number of such simple components, acting together can produce behaviour of a greater complexity to be observed. Phelps & Hase, (2002:1) write that complexity theory is essentially a formal attempt to question how coherent and purposive wholes emerge from the interactions of simple and sometimes non-purposive components. In this context they say it attempts to explain the big consequence of little things. Cohen, Manion &Marrison (2007) suggest that complexity is a truism to the state that society is changing, and that the paradigms for understanding society, themselves, are changing. Change in its nature is ubiquitous and stability and certainty are non-concepts in complexity. Complexity relates to the edge of chaos (see: Waldrop, 1992), which Waner (2001:8) arguing that it is a state in which a system combines both stability and instability to generate patterns of behaviour that are irregular and unpredictable, but yet have structure. Civil society is strong when the web of voluntary associations is dense, the associations in question are highly autonomous from the state, and the web has a high capacity for self-regulation through bargaining among its units (Waisman, 2003). The space between the market and the state is negotiated between the state, market, family and societal organisation. While Cohen &Arato, (1992) say civil society refers to all things to all people, while Walzer, (1995:7; McIlwaine, 1998; Yeung, 2006) argues that it is the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks that fill the space. That is to say civil society is not a fixed structure; it is a space of interaction by actors in the space to shape its contents.

First is to advance that, social groups should not necessarily be characterised as implicating what civil society is. The attention here is drawn on the concern that when a state (political entity), wishes to promote a particular action in the society, is required in democratic principles to consult with the public. The question to be addressed then is where the actual job of consultation is done (Hoffman & Graham, 2006; Heywood, 2013; Riemer, Simon & Romance, 2014). Public participation scholars would emphasise that state requires having continuous (open ended) consultation with the public. These consultations take place in deferent shapes and sizes, others brand them forums, and others could even talk of imbizo (referring to invitation). The contest in here is that civil society cannot be limited to one sphere of a social system, because one cannot argue that the state, the market and
family are non-civil and are not social organisations (Weigle & Butterfield, 1992; Sardamove, 2005; Tusalem, 2007; Ranchod, 2007; Laine, 2014). The issue here is that members of each sphere in social system are collectives of actors (agents) who act together to influence each other hoping for a better change for everyone. Honestly none of the actors can guaranty the good of their action to the other sphere as each sphere is self-interested and self-organising, their components turn to learn in the process that their action actually is harmful to others and sometimes to themselves. To this extent civil society, refers to a self-conscious about one’s ability to join other to negotiate and sometimes do well for shared benefits. Therefore one may argue that civil society is a space between all the actors and spheres of a social system, made available for negotiating power balance, for a habitable public. It is a shifting battle zone, where social system are stuck between disorder and order, thus where it is most, unpredictable, innovative and creative. This is the place where actors of the social system learn to relate themselves with the changing dynamics of human adequacies and inadequacies, to the sustenance of their life.

Conclusion
Indeed the world is a rapidly changing place, as such nations, business, governments authorities and social groups, all straggly to adapt to the pressures and opportunities presented by the changing human values. Civil society in the complex nature of human organisation, requires an understanding that it is not those groups the ends the concepts debate, not a structure that can be tangible, however it is an ongoing process that is negotiating a good life between the state, market, family and peoples organisations. Any point of intersection outside their spherical boundaries, complete an open-ended space for interrelations, and has a potential to attract other actors and that influences the shape and behaviour of the social system, and therefore that civil society stand for. The study in this concept cannot be ended; one may need to address, more deeply into the relationship between nations, state, government, society. The issues of isolation and inclusion of citizenship in social organisms integrate communities that are found within other communities into their social system. The author is convinced that through the use of complexity theory there is much to be benefited, and that truly society is complex and is ever changing and reinforcing itself. In conclusion, a dynamic reflection by actors of social systems, could lead to an informed action that can possible culminate the question of how everyone’s actions influence the life of others?

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Role of Culture in Decision Making Approach in Bangladesh: An Analysis from the Four Cultural Dimensions of Hofstede

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Abstract: The inherited administrative culture of Bangladesh is characterized by centralized top down approach. In spite of the administrative reforms to ensure participation and decentralized structure, traditional decision making approach dominates in Bangladesh. In this backdrop, by using literature review the paper argues that social culture influences administrative culture to retain the hierarchy based centralized structure that results in information based decision making approach and less participation of the stakeholders. By using the four cultural dimensions developed by Hofstede, the paper reveals that cultural dimension contributes to form the rationale behind decision making. Also, the cultural norms determine the level of participation of the stakeholders and at the same time the level of participation contributes to perpetuate the existing informal norms.

Key Words: Administrative Culture, Bangladesh, Decision Making, Social Culture, Participation

Introduction

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Inherited administrative tradition of Bangladesh shows a leaning toward centralized decision making structure. However, age of decentralization puts more emphasis on ensuring efficiency in decision making through participatory approach rather than following traditional centralized structure. Bangladesh also could not avoid the domain of the paradigm shift. However, social cultures still indispensably influence the administrative culture of Bangladesh and, thus, thwart the shift from centralized structure to participatory decentralized approach. Influences of social culture have been analysed from the four dimensions of culture developed by Hofstede (1991). The following sections reveal the characteristics of inherited administrative culture in Bangladesh; influence of social culture in administrative culture and the decision making approach in Bangladesh.

Methodology

The study is based on secondary data. Different national, international journals, books and published reports have been used as data sources. By using the theoretical lens developed by Hofstede (1991) the study explores the impact of social culture on the level of participation in the decision making approach.

Historical Overview of Bangladeshi Administrative Culture

The concept of administrative culture is abstract not a concrete one and it is a collective ascription of society (Khan, 1990). The unequal centralized structure and domination of elite in the administrative culture, inherited from the British and Pakistan era in Bangladesh, involved the whole governance and policy framework for problem identification, agenda setting, implementation and evaluation. The domination of British and Indian culture is visible in the administrative culture of Bangladesh that inherited the culture of centralization, nepotisms and hierarchy (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). Inclination for self preservation, domination of policy making structure and propensity to maintain clientalism has also form as part of the inherent culture.

This centralized structure conflicted with the indigenous social values and norms and were unable to meet the need of the local people. Laws made with good intension and sound information still could not fulfill the demand. After independence in 1971, there was a need for administrative reforms for increasing poverty, unemployment, liberalization, fall in real income – characterized by patron client relationship (Zafarullah, 2013). The first Awami League (AL) regime of Bangladesh was characterized by highly centralized structure. The support base of AL was mainly the rural people of Bangladesh. Thus, they avoided any major reform and change in rural areas to maintain their support base under socialism (Umar 1987, Huque 1988; Khan, 2001). In 1975, single party presidential system replaced the multi party system. The districts were headed by the governor directly appointed by the president (Khan, 2001).
The military ruled from 1975 to 1990 where power was concentrated in the hands of army. From 1971 to 1990, decision making approach was highly centralized in Bangladesh and followed technical approach of decision making to reconstruct the war destructed economy of Bangladesh. From 1991 democracy was established as Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) held power. In 1991 BNP was elected. With the change in government from military to democracy, no significant change or reforms were initiated in the governance process (Khan, 2001). However, in the democratic regime, economy opened up and the influence of market increased. In 1996, AL government came to power. After that one of two major political parties of Bangladesh (BNP and AL) was elected in a democratic process. However, no major governance reforms or communicative shifts were visible. Power is still centralized (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). Siddiqui (1994) identified four major characteristics of local governance in Bangladesh

1. Domination of central government
2. Inadequate mobilization of resources
3. Limited participation
4. Superficial commitment of decentralization practice

Room for lower officials to exercise power and citizens participation were created from the decades of 90s. Still, public officials were inclined to maintain hierarchy and reluctant about public needs (World Bank, 1996). In the name of official rules most of the government officials behave unfairly to the common citizens (Zafarullah and Khan, 2001). That decreased trust of the people in the concerned authority and they want to keep themselves away. The decision makers also want to keep themselves away and want to maintain social status (Zafarullah, 2013). Institutions like social norms, practices influence administrative cultures that generally mirror social values, norms and practices.

Administrative tradition is also embedded in ancient rural society (Jamil, 2007) where the leaders with centralized power used to solve problems and made decisions characterized by social rank and hierarchy. They believed in stability where the deviation from rules denotes immorality and disintegration among the society. Consequently, professional life merged with the personal life. Inherited tradition and personalized relationship between the employer and employee are encouraged by the traditional system of Bangladesh. At the same time respect, loyalty, hierarchy and obedience to superior is expected from the preferred employee with having almost no chance of innovation and creativity (Jamil, 2002).

**Social Culture of Bangladesh**

The administrative characteristics of Bangladesh like the domination of centralized decision making and existence of strong hierarchy can be explained from the four dimensions of social institutions developed by Hofstede (1991). His four dimensions of social culture is applicable in basic societal issues (Hofstede and Bond, 1984)
Power Distance: Hofstede defines power distance as “as the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a county expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 28). In the high power distance or hierarchic organization, decisions are taken at the top and are executed by following the hierarchy (Jamil, 2002).

Bangladesh is a high power distance society where relationship between employer and employee; teacher and student; male and female is characterized by high power distance. In the high power distant societies the less powerful accepts the power distance as normal. Bangladesh scores 80 in the power distance index where 100 means hierarchical (high power distance) and 1 means Egalitarian (low power distance). Power distance index also reveals that inequality exists for the acceptance of the situation by the followers as well (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). In a large power distance hierarchic organization, subordinates depend on the superiors and they only follow the decisions (Jamil, 2010) and inequality is accepted as social norm. Studies by Jamil (2007) shows, the characteristics of preferred employee are good family background, moral characterics and obedience to employer. Thus social norms and cultural characteristics are reflected in Asian organizations (Jamil, 2007). Similarly, high power distances, existence of complex rules prohibit participation and contributes to sustain the centralized structure.

Uncertainty Avoidance: This phenomenon concerns the extent of peoples comfort level in an unstructured situation and proclivity for risk taking and approach towards change and novelty (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). Strong uncertainty avoidance means more chance of following formal rules and regulations leads to more centralization and formalization (Jamil, 2010). High uncertain society is resistant to administrative change where the formal laws and informal rules cause high power distance.

Bangladesh ranked high in uncertainty avoid index (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). High uncertainty avoidance creates rules, regulation (Haque and Mohammad, 2013) that contributes to centralized structure and thus limit participation.

Collectivism and Individualism: In the individual societies, culture promotes personal initiatives and achievements where social networks and frameworks are loose. On the other hand, collective societies assume that people are assimilated into groups from birth till death and characterized by protection and loyalty. Strong kinship like alliance to family is a basic characteristic. Personal relationships are so vital that they dominate over duties (Haque and Mohammad, 2013).

In the scale of ‘Collectivism-Individualism’, Bangladesh scored high in collectivism and very low in individualism. Principle of hierarchy in relationship is accepted as morality. Hierarchy in the society is
also based on the person’s position. Hierarchical relationship promotes conservatism (Jamil, 2007). Informal relations than formal networks becomes important for gaining access for service delivery.

**Masculine and Feminine Norms:** Masculine norms promote assertiveness, competition, task orientation, ambition. Also, it denotes material success and separates gender role based on the tradition. Children grow with the ambition of career development, starving for material prosperity and wealth, (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). While, feminine Norms indicates soft values like caring, nursing, maintain warm relationship, concerns quality of life. Children grow toward modesty and solidarity.

High power distance and high uncertainty avoidance shape conception about organization whereas individualism and masculinity refers to the perception about people in the organization (Hofstede, 2010)

In the Masculinity Feminine index of Hofstede, Bangladesh ranked moderately high in masculinity (Haque and Mohammad, 2013) that indicates group based division of tasks and thus promotes centralized authority.

Table 1 shows the four dimensions of social institutions of Bangladesh and their basic characteristics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Power Distance</th>
<th>High Uncertainty Avoidance</th>
<th>Masculine Norms</th>
<th>Collectivism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loyalty, Obedience, Acceptance of Inequality as social norms, difference in social status</td>
<td>Resistant to administrative Change, less innovation, domination of formal rules, leader is considered as expert</td>
<td>Division of roles and responsibilities, crave for material prosperity</td>
<td>Allegiance to family, bond, concept of ‘we’ dominates rather than ‘I’, extended social network</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From four of these conceptions two continuums can be developed. First, a high power distance society that discourages new initiatives and risk taking. Second, a society with low power distance that promotes new initiatives. Though, there is no empirical evidence of the fact that high power distance society discourage risk taking and low power society promotes new initiatives. However, this is assumed that the society that follows high power distance denotes less participation as centralized power is not dispersed. Centralized structure discourages participation and thus new initiatives. Similarly, low power distance society refers to less hierarchy and thus more scope for participation. Consequently, encourage new ideas and initiatives.
Following figure reveals the social dynamics of high power distance in Bangladesh contributes to hierarchy and centralized structure through encouraging loyalty and obedience. High uncertainty avoidance concerns resistance to change and innovation and dependence on rules that also ultimately contributes to hierarchical structure. Comparative dominance of masculine rules believes in the division of roles and thus promotes hierarchy. Similarly, collectivism concerns extended social network and thus division on the basis of social status. Network is maintained with the people of more or less social and economic similar status. Thus, both the marginalized and elite groups build network with people of similar status that strengthen the unequal structure and contributes to centralization of decision making and hierarchy.

In short, the reason and rationale behind any behind decision largely depend and influenced by existing norms and practices. Where people are asked to explain the rationale behind decision making, cultural knowledge play the vital role behind such reasoning (Briley, 2000). Rationality depends on culture (Finnemore, 1994) and culture creates difference in perception, value, behaviour and attitudes (Weber and Hsee, 2000) that shape the rational behind decision making.

![Diagram showing impacts of institutions in participation and decision making approach](image)

**Figure 1: Impacts of institutions in participation and decision making approach**
Decision Making Approach in Bangladesh

The decision making approach in Bangladesh is centralized and hierarchical. The fact is accepted that informations are vital for decision making and searching of information may vary from organization or one society to another. Sources of information can be traditional like superiors, colleagues or juniors within the organization. The search above the organizational context involve politicians, resaercers,acedemics, citizens and other relevant organizations. Where the decision making is hierarchic the search for information is limited within the boundary of the organization (Jamil, 2002). A study by Jamil (2002) shows that the bureaucracy influenced by British tradition in Bangladesh mainly depend on the traditional source of information like government circular and gazettes, colleagues, juniors and superiors for decision making. Also, sometimes they use ‘travel and visit’ as non traditional source of information. Thus, the previous study shows the decision making approach in Bangladesh have been dependent on information. The existing literature reflects that the decision making approach in Bangladesh has been following the trend of information based decision making with a clear leaning toward centralized approach that is inherited from the British rule where the scope of participation of the stakeholders are very limited.

In Bangladesh the existing social institution like high power distance contributes to weak power relations, limited access and less participation. Also, high power distance creates conception about morality that encourages to maintain gaps and to obey rather than motivating participation that limits the participatory skill. Hierarchy and social network based on status create separate groups and social networks. Consequence is low level of citizen organizations and participations. Lack of political will is another hindrance. Even, the existing few scopes of indirect participation are not promoted properly the political will.

Following figure shows the influence of culture in decision making approach of Bangladesh.

- Cultural Dimension
  1. High Power Distance
  2. High Uncertainty Avoidance
  3. Masculinity
  4. Collectivism

- Rationale Behind Decision Making
  - Information based
  - And Stereotype Decision Making
  - Instigated by Centralized Structure

- Non Participation of The Stakeholders
Figure 2: Influence of culture in decision making approach in Bangladesh

The figure shows that high power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity and collectivism and formal centralized structure contribute to information based and expert oriented decision making process. Consequently, the participation of the stakeholders is still very limited. At the same time, limited participation helps to retain the centralized and hierarchic structure.

Concluding Remarks

Administrative culture and decision making approach of Bangladesh is highly influenced by the social institutions of Bangladesh like high power distance, collectivism, masculinity and high uncertainty avoidance. All these phenomena, on the one hand, result in maintaining hierarchy and centralization of power by creating different social status, group identities and strict regulations. On the other side, these social institutions limit participations of the mass people in the decision making framework. The high power distance and division among the groups persuade to maintain gaps between the mass people and the decision makers and not to express their opinion.

Dependence on information instigated by dependence of formal rules and centralized structure is another characteristics of the decision making process, indicates an inclination toward technical rational. Reliance on traditional source of information for decision making also limit the scope of participation of the stakeholders.

The study demonstrates that the informal social intuitions influence the administrative culture by forming rules, hierarchy and centralized structure. High reliance on hierarchy and rules create dependence on information from the traditional sources. Both formal and informal rules and also reliance on information limits the scope of participation of the stakeholders. The limited participation of the stakeholders also contributes to strengthen the social hierarchy and centralized decision making structure.

References


From Bogra to Calcutta Medical College in Colonial India and Beyond: A Postcolonial and Feminist Perspective on my Mother’s Life

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1 I am grateful for suggestions on this paper by Professors Katy Powell, Laura Gillman and Barbara Ellen Smith. I also owe my Graduate Teaching Assistant thanks for his help with my work.

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Abstract: My paper is a biographical account of my mother’s life (1918?-1965), from Bogura in then-East Bengal (now Bangladesh) to Calcutta Medical College and subsequently, till her early death in 1965. I offer a postcolonial and feminist perspective on her circumstances, as a woman of modest means in colonial India, her aspirations, the new opportunities available for women to enter medical education, and her achievements. However, at a particular juncture in Indian history (approaching Independence and Partition), my paper discusses the choices she would need to make and the consequences for her of those choices. Western scholarship on the representation of mothers in text and culture is largely dichotomous in relegating women (as mothers) to the private sphere, and fathers to the public one. I suggest it is possible to offer a more integrated and authentic perspective on an Indian woman’s life, drawing from indigenous sources such as religion, philosophy, and Ayurveda. In the end, however, I suggest that a “real” life does not conform tidily to theoretical schemas, whether Western or postcolonial, even as a feminist perspective does throw light both on women’s agency as well as systemic, patriarchal constraints that stand in their way.

Keywords: postcolonial biography, colonial India, women in medicine, feminism

Surabala Karmakar, Calcutta Medical College, 1941

Introduction
My mother’s maiden name was Surabala Karmakar (1918?-1965), born in Bogura, present-Bangladesh. She was an award-winning medical doctor, who graduated from Calcutta Medical College (CMC), in 1941. I knew her only into my early teens, as my mother, and that she was a doctor—but nothing at all of her life’s story, her aspirations and achievements. Hence, a deeply personal sentiment inspires my paper, to give voice to a mother dead at about 47, to learn how her life, but also early death, continue to illuminate and inform my life-choices to this day. This is less a chronological account of Ma’s life but, rather, as a scholar and post-colonial feminist, an attempt to “discover” and critique the circumstances of that life—in colonial then post-colonial India, the choices she made, the constraints she experienced as a woman, and at a point in the history of the subcontinent, a half-century after her death. My efforts necessarily leave many questions unanswered.
I have “discovered” Ma’s life from various sources: scholarship on women and medicine in British India, surviving documents pertaining to her educational and work records, and from what Hirsch (1998) calls “memory archives,” as distinct from historical records. These include my father’s unpublished memoir, my own memories, surviving family photographs, and anecdotal accounts from family and friends. I ask, what opportunities for an education and a career were available to her? What was the climate for women who aspired, at that time? What role did Partition of Bengal play in the trajectory of her life and her choices? What were her own family circumstances, as these frame both her achievement in her day, as well as her subsequent decisions? How do I understand her early death, beyond its factual cause, a stroke?

A theoretical frame

Western feminist analyses, drawing on psychoanalytical models (primarily from Lacan 1977), note that mothers in text and culture are represented as more body than mind, “nature” rather than “culture,” and without voice in their private, domestic sphere—whereas “culture,” language, and the public sphere are associated with masculinity and the father (Bailey and Cuomo 2008; Boulous-Walker 1998; Cahill 1988; Hirsch 1989; Siegel 1999). Both Boulous-Walker (1998) and Hirsch (1989) note the limitations of Western analyses of motherhood, and call for new theories that will address differences among mothers in other social, cultural, and historical conditions.

A postcolonial perspective offers norms of motherhood that are less dichotomous than Western perspectives suggest and offer other ways of seeing the world. Narayan (2003), critical of Western feminist assumptions when applied to non-Western contexts, points to Hindu concepts of valued feminine potential, while Ashish Nandy notes the inapplicability of Freud to the Indian context (cited in Moore-Gilbert 2009:xix; see also Samanta 1992). A.K. Ramanujan (1990), an anthropologist and folklorist, observed that “in the Indian way of thinking,” “nature” and “culture” are both cultural constructs, not easily extricated from each other. In a seminal 6th century text the Hindu mother goddess Kali battles, then devours demons who threaten divine hegemony and all creation. She emits “frightful” roars, and laughs “terribly” as she does so (Swami Jagadiswarananda 1953, DeviMahatmya, 7:19). Hymns to the “undefeated” goddess (Aparajita) praise her as the embodiment (rupa) of motherhood, of Shakti (“power”), and of creation itself. However, she is also lauded as the rupa of judgment, intelligence and wisdom (DeviMahatmya, 5:12-80; 11:4-23). In Ayurveda, the ancient indigenous Indian medical system, a woman’s blood simultaneously incorporates the physical as well as moral and mental qualities of her potential motherhood, her ability to physically and morally nurture the fetus, and the child once born. The married Bengali woman wears red on her person to symbolize this potential, and shares her shakti substantively with the goddess (Devi Mahatmya, 11:6; Inden & Nicholas 1977; Samanta 1992).

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1 My sister, Sumita Pillai, my paternal uncle, late Bipul Kumar Bardhan Ray, and my paternal aunt, Sima Deb were especially helpful, and also a friend’s mother, whose husband was my parents’ classmate in CMC
In Indian philosophical thought the concepts of mind and body are, likewise, integrated. The English “mind” and Bengali *mon* are linguistically cognates, respectively descended from sister languages Latin (*mens*), and Sanskrit (*manas*). While the “mind” is distinct in its functions from those of the body in the Western, Cartesian connotation, the Indian “mind”/*mon* simultaneously thinks, reflects, remembers, holds secrets, feels emotion, and can be broken, like the (English) heart. It does not perish but is reborn, as the whole person, in its next “home” (Budhananda 1991; Samanta 1998). In hymn, the *mon* is offered as a gift of the person, mind and body, in surrender to the goddess. In this excerpt from a well-known hymn to the Mother Kali, the *mon* is conflated with the (red) hibiscus, traditionally offered in worship:

*Mon*, become the hibiscus at my Mother’s feet!
…*Mon*, don’t forget your compassionate Mother
Her blood-covered form will be your refuge;
*Mon*, at those dark feet, surrender yourself entirely;
*Mon*, become the hibiscus at my Mother’s feet!

Ma had considerable ability (*shakti*), became a doctor in her day when few women attended or successfully graduated from medical college, and, as a single woman worked till 1948 in a man’s world, supporting her family. Yet, married and as a mother, in both her personal (social) and historical circumstances, she would ultimately not have a career in medicine. It appears that even where tropes in different contexts (indigenous medicine, religion, philosophy) appear to empower women, metaphor and historical and personal reality may be inversely related. My “real” mother’s life had to negotiate other, more subtle articulations of multiple patriarchies. Even as Ma confronted, at a critical juncture in Indian history, the social, cultural and class norms of her day, the specifics of her life’s story do not fit tidily into Lacanian and Freudian theoretical schemas, even as a post-colonial and feminist perspective offers some meta-context to understanding her life and, possibly, her early death. She was an ambitious, intelligent and capable woman, restricted by circumstances to a domestic sphere as wife and mother, ultimately silenced in mind and body, and with finality.

In the following two sections I discuss the historical context in which Ma became a doctor, the cultural, social, and economic obstacles she confronted, then the unconventional mother family, friends, and I remember. I conclude with my reflections as a feminist on the systemic issues Ma both confronted but also transcended, and from a postcolonial perspective how a “real” life both conforms to but also subverts normative cultural models.

**Ma, in history**

Through mid-19th century into the 20th, the “woman question,” with a focus on women’s education, would be at the center of Indian reformers’ modernist aspirations, as India approached independence from British rule. The British initiative for educating Indian women in medicine was impelled by their concerns about access to those secluded and affluent women of the *zenana*, wives and family of Indians who donated to and supported the British. It was also a public health issue, one of addressing high maternal mortality rates from tuberculosis and tetanus. The Lady Dufferin Fund, set up in 1885, was designed to be a separate medical system employing women doctors to serve in “*zenana*”
hospitals. Employment in a Dufferin hospital was seen as highly prestigious (Arnold 1993; Bala 1991; Chatterjee 1997; Forbes 1994; Ray 1995; Seth 2013).

The upwardly mobile middle classes (bhadralok) were especially invested in educating their women (see Chatterjee op. cit.; Ray op. cit.; Seth op. cit.). Ma came from such a family, albeit of very modest means, and was the oldest of four siblings, two younger brothers and the youngest, a half-sister. With her lawyer father’s (primarily moral) support Ma rode this wave of opportunity for women in British India, while her siblings graduated, at best, from high school. Forbes (op. cit.), a historian, has noted the difficulty for Indian women to study the sciences at all at the time, given the belief in the frailty of the female mind, and social stigma associated with women in public spaces. A facility in reading, writing and speaking English was mandatory for admission to CMC. However, prior to this, a preliminary degree in the sciences was required, also requiring fluency in English. Ma acquired her excellent English speaking and writing skills initially at the reputed Vidymayee Girls’ High School, in Mymensingh, present Bangladesh.1 Subsequently she received her Intermediate in Science two-year diploma at Vidyasagar College in Calcutta. In 1935 Ma entered CMC, then the most prestigious medical college in eastern India, earning the higher of two types of medical degree, the Baccalaureate of Medicine (MBBS).2

Given the much higher costs of a medical education, at five times the cost of medical schools and affordable for affluent students (Bala 1991), Ma attended CMC on a scholarship, but offered tuitions to make ends meet, especially since she also helped out her struggling family in Bogura. Yet, friends and family recall a woman who laughed heartily (“from her mon,” said an aunt to me), smoked cigarettes, and held hands with Baba, my father (her classmate, Sushil Kumar Bardhan Ray) under a dissected cadaver in anatomy class. An album of photographs compiled by her (her name appears on the inside cover, followed by the date February 1942), reveals a young woman aware of her beauty, posing in studios by herself, or with her girlfriends. In other pictures she is participating in college sports, or casually posing on college grounds. In an entering class of ninety seven men to eight women only five women, including Ma, would graduate.3 Ma was awarded, in their graduating year, 1941, three medals inscribed with her name, ‘Surabala Karmakar’: the Sir Chunilal Bose silver medal for “3rd M.B.,” a silver with gold rim medal engraved with the name of the then-Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, and the Roma gold medal for the highest award in Calcutta University for Surgery.

A CMC graduation photograph depicts Ma sitting in the front row, the only woman among thirteen men (where such photographs were taken in batches). Her posture is interesting. Her left leg is stuck out in front, the sole of her shoe to the camera, suggesting the spirited woman friends and family

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1 After the Indian Mutiny (1857) the British withdrew support for government-funded schools. The Bengali bhadralok and landowners (zamindars) established and endowed girls’ schools which could teach in either English or Bengali, or both. The bhadralok saw competence in English as a mark of status and upward mobility, leading to white collar jobs, like medicine (Bala 1991). A classmate of Ma’s at Vidymayee Girls’ School would many years later tell me “how excellent a student Surabala was!”

2 The Vernacular Licentiate Practitioner of Medicine was acquired in a four-year program at medical “schools” rather than the six year program in elite “colleges” like CMC (Bala 1991:123)

3 Annual Report on the Working of the Medical College, Calcutta for the year 1935-36, Page 25
remember. “Phenomenal,” said an uncle to me, about her achievements. She also holds no diploma, even though I have this document with me, along with her medals.

Ma received her certification in June 1942, and worked at the Lady Dufferin (Imambara) Hospital in Chinsurah, Hooghly district, in pre-Independence Bengal state. She left after being sexually harassed by the District Magistrate (my uncle said to me, while Baba is deliberately vague in his memoir about this incident). Ma then worked at the Lady Dufferin (Victoria) Hospital in northern Calcutta from February 1943, for two years. She interviewed with and got a position with the Women’s Medical Service. However, she turned down this prestigious job and went to work at the state-run Shambhunath Pandit Hospital (SNPH) in Calcutta in February 1945, possibly because of family responsibilities. Several letters, written by senior hospital officials in testimonials, attest to Ma’s excellent work in women’s health, her management skills, her competency in gynecological surgeries and anesthesia, her pleasant ways, and patients’ high regard for her.

Ma continued to work as my father, a “military student” at CMC who had joined the Indian Medical Service on graduation, left with the British Indian regiments for the war in Europe, in early 1945. She would describe to me the bodies of the rural poor lying on the streets of Calcutta, in the human-engineered Bengal Famine (1943), and, as an emergency room doctor, treating the horrific injuries of Hindus and Muslims in conflict, prior to Independence (1947). As my father returned to India after Japan’s surrender in 1945, my maternal grandfather died of a cerebral stroke, leaving Ma as the sole

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1 Forbes (1994) notes that British women doctors recognized those Indian women who had their degrees from England, but looked down on those with licentiate degrees from Indian medical schools. The Women’s Medical Service was set up mostly for British women who sought medical careers in India, and as a counterpart to the all-male Indian Medical Service.
support for her family of three siblings and her stepmother. She married my father, on April 17th, 1946, across social difference, and against some resistance from my paternal grandmother who objected to her lower caste and class status. My paternal family, too, found itself in difficult financial straits at around independence and Partition (1947), when my grandparents sold, for a pittance, their farmland, fruit and vegetable gardens, and spacious home in Srimongol (Sylhet district, in present Bangladesh) and moved to a cramped, dark and small rented flat on the ground floor of a house in southern Calcutta. They expected to return, but were never able to. My father’s modest income as a young doctor in the military helped support his parents, and contributed to the support of thirteen other siblings, as well as extended family. His income would also help support one of Ma’s brothers, and her half-sister over the years, as I myself saw.

Ma worked at SNPH until late into her pregnancy with me, end-1948, when she fell ill with high blood pressure. She resigned her position and joined my father, then posted in Pune, in western India. Baba would have a good career as a radiologist in the Indian Army’s Medical Corps, into which he was commissioned after independence. However, while Ma worked part-time between the years 1959-1962 in reproductive health clinics run by the Red Cross in towns where my father was posted, she would never again have a career.

Ma, as I remember her

Who was Ma, as a person? I provide only some brief vignettes in this paper. Ma was ambitious for her daughters—she was uncompromising in her expectations of academic excellence, beginning as early as Class 6, and brooked no shortfall in my grades or class rank. My younger sister and I were sent to excellent and expensive schools teaching in English, and run by European nuns, Catholic through middle school, then Protestant ones. This could not have been easy to afford for my young parents, but in postcolonial India such an education afforded the best opportunities, as well as social status—and we were being given every advantage. Ma expected the absolute best of me, berated me if I fell short, but rewarded me (with books) if I measured up to her expectations. However, this education in English was at the cost of my learning to read and write in Bengali (though I spoke this language at home). In fact, I would come to realize in some outrage much later in life that I did not have access to the rich heritage of Bengali literature, and would teach myself especially to read in Bengali, and eventually publish a book of translations from Bengali literature (Samanta 2000). Ma gave short shrift to my intense love of sports, and my athletic achievements (two track and field championships, in two consecutive years, in high school), for fear that an injury might jeopardize the future she had in mind for me.

Yet she was also gentle, tender and loving. She stayed up through the night massaging my back with hot oil after a severe sports-related injury. Earlier, at age eight, as I was being taken to the hospital with acute appendicitis, Ma, who had diagnosed my condition, sat next to me on the ambulance and wept all the way (I remember being surprised given how unsentimental she usually was!). In a

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1 Ma was also a Kayastha, but of lower status as a Karmakar than my Kayastha, land-owning paternal family.
postcard written in Bengali to my father, dated 1963, as he sees to family affairs in Calcutta after his father's death, Ma is caring, concerned, and in control. She informs him that she has taken care of an abscess on her thigh at the hospital (using medical terms in English), and then writes twice that "the children are doing well." She was not particularly fashionable, or concerned too much with domestic matters such as cooking, though we lived in a clean, well-organized home (the Army subsidized domestic help). Ma stitched our dresses, knitted for our dolls, and embroidered cushion covers. She dealt unsentimentally with my beloved dogs over the years, even "losing" one that reproduced, along with the puppies. Yet, she allowed me to roam freely with my young friends through the fields and woods that surrounded the old British bungalows in which we lived and which the Army allocated to its officers—spaces with fierce monkeys, and poisonous snakes—a freedom I reveled in then, evidently survived, and which instilled a love of the outdoors that remains with me today.

But, I ask as a feminist, did Ma have a voice about the circumstances of her life? A loud one, to my young ears. I feared her fierce wrath, colorful curses in Bengali (often directed at her daughters), her frequent impatience with me, her bookish and unworldly child. She certainly had angry arguments with my father. She roundly beat her younger sister into taking a nursing examination, as I, then nine, watched in awe, when the latter balked. But there was no inheritance, and two irresponsible brothers. My aunt would take the exam, go on to make a living, and have a career as a nurse, rising to the rank of matron in Chittaranjan Cancer Hospital in Calcutta.

Yet, in a lasting and powerful memory of her, in early 1965, Ma is pale and thin as she sits on the verandah of our home in Pune, watching me leave for the tennis courts. That image is wrenching and deeply painful for me, years later, in its utter silence, her extreme vulnerability—in stark contrast to the mother I had known. Her third and final stroke (she had had two milder ones prior) was precipitated, I am told, by her brother in an unpleasant demand for money—the final betrayal, perhaps, by one who should have been a source of support to an ailing sister. The day she fell into her final coma (in February 1965) I can recall the exact moment that, as she lay on her bed looking at us, there was a flash of recognition then her gaze faded, and she left us. She lay for forty seven days in a coma at the military hospital, as her teeth and hair fell out, her beauty faded. We watched her die, even though I did not consider that possibility. I did not know what death was then. Ma was cremated on a wood pyre. My father and I sifted through her ashes, to collect and cast into the river at her funeral in Calcutta. I found a small, charred piece of bone. Even as my young mind asked how this was all that could be left of my lively, lovely, fierce mother, I showed the bone to my father. He said quietly, “That’s the bone from the forehead. It does not burn easily.” I reflected even then that my heretofore assured and unquestioned childhood could never again be so. Today, I reflect on the irony of what my father said. Behind that remnant of bone there had been a mind, the intense intelligence of a woman who had dreamed in her day of what she could be. It is above all the need to connect those images, the beautiful and spirited doctor in the CMC graduation photograph, the ailing mother watching me in silence, and the bone I held in my hand after she was cremated which have inspired this journey of discovering and telling Ma’s life-story.
Conclusions

In a culture where the deity can be conceptualized as feminine, is the Hindu goddess a feminist? There appears to be a consensus among scholars that she is not a feminist, rather that she is a patriarchal conception (Hiltbeitel and Erndl 2000). Kali’s Shakti is used instrumentally to feminist ends, for example, as the name of a contemporary feminist publishing house, Kali for Women, or as a nationalist symbol of the Bengali motherland in the independence struggle. Sunder Rajan (2000) observes that the divide between goddess and women can be maintained by patriarchal systems without contradiction, and that such metaphors are not correlated with the actual, contemporary status of Indian women, seen in skewed sex-ratios, poor life expectancy, low literacy, and subjection to violence. Namely, even as the goddess appears to empower women, she does not.

But, like Kali, Ma was the punishing, yet protective, sometimes-tender mother. She was certainly intelligent, like the goddess, who is described in hymn and text as the embodiment of buddhi. Yet she was not religious, and no altar to the deity graced our home. Where so many Bengalis explicitly see human mothers as akin to the goddess (as do texts on the goddess), I doubt Ma did. She would dismiss, too, as a doctor, the indigenous notion that a woman’s blood embodied maternal love and ethics as distinctly unscientific. She was not easily compliant, or domestic-minded. Living and growing up herself at a time when women were aspiring to an education her love expressed itself not in sentiment but as her fierce aspirations for her daughters’ educational success—and in English-medium schools. Such an education would afford her girls opportunity as well as, even today and many years after independence, the status that an education in the vernacular would not. Education would empower her girls where marriage would disempower them, hence her repeated declaration (said an aunt to me) that she would never marry us off but educate us to the farthest extent possible. In her day, as a woman, she successfully entered, despite obstacles, a public and male sphere. She sought new opportunities for education herself, and a prestigious career in medicine in British India. She evidently planned her track by acquiring an education in English, entered a prestigious medical school, graduated with many awards, living alone as she worked, while she also supported her family. She posed for studio photographs at a time when upward mobility by the bhadralok was recorded in such visual images possible with a new technology, and by aspiring career women like herself (Karlekar 2005).1 But at this point in history, where Partition resulted in the loss of family wealth, where mobility was integral to my father’s career and needed income, where possibly the stress of supporting alone her siblings and stepmother (in her day) was difficult, she chose to marry—beyond love, though for that too. As a mother, she left what she had aspired to at such cost. She wanted better for her daughters.

I conclude with questions. Baba notes in his memoirs that she was mentally broken after her earlier two strokes. Was she broken by that knowledge, a doctor herself, or did they actually affect her

1 Karlekar draws an interesting comparison between the emerging Bengali middle class, keen on self-representation of its new identity and the importance of the photograph for Americans, also affirming identity in a new nation’s assertions to progress in its institutions, literature and language (2005: 8)
mentally? She suffered from high blood pressure, and was a diabetic. Yet, her first two strokes were misdiagnosed by excellent doctors, my father’s colleagues, as diabetic neuritis. Did she, a doctor herself, not have a say? Or did the (all-male) voices of medical authority carry the day? As African American feminist scholar bell hooks has noted, it is how women are silenced, in what contexts, that is at issue (hooks, 1989).

Family and friends note Ma’s “frustration” at her inability to have a career in medicine, her tearful rages. Where, in the Indian context, mind and body are seen as integrally connected, can a broken mon silence a voice? Can such silencing perpetrate injuries on both mind and body? Does such a perspective allow us to understand the less visible, yet real, psychic injuries which may be perpetrated especially on women who aspire to break the mold? In Bengali, mon bhenge jaowa suggests both a broken heart but also possibly a broken body (see Samanta 2005). I have no conclusive answers, of course. The dominant narrative, from Western medicine, does provide a cause for Ma’s death: a stroke. But, I suggest, other narratives are possible, and plausibly so.

A day or so after Ma was cremated, I saw Baba weeping quietly as he sat alone on the verandah where Ma used to sit. He would raise two young daughters by himself in conservative Indian society, a formidable task. However, fearing social criticism of a growing daughter, he would pressure me into marriage at age nineteen, despite my own excellent academic achievements at the time. When I left that marriage twelve years later (1982), although uneducated about feminism I was nonetheless vaguely aware that much had gone wrong in Ma’s life, and not necessarily by choice, of systemic constraints that had resulted in her early death. Determined that I would try and do what she could not, I applied to and was admitted to graduate school at the University of Virginia in the United States. At the time Baba mentioned that Ma had always wanted me to study abroad, and had even saved a little money towards that end. I came to the USA on a wing and a prayer, with Baba’s support, determined to continue my interrupted studies, and start over. Baba would live till 91, a long and lonely life, as he would write in his memoirs, for he never remarried. I would see him every summer for close to fifteen years till his death in 2009. Today, I, Ma’s daughter, the mother of a daughter myself, a feminist, activist, and scholar, give voice to her life story, her long silence, even as that story gives substance to the (ongoing) trajectory of my own life. Researching and writing this essay and reflecting on its larger message for women who aspire has been illuminating for me, so many years later, as it has been for my daughter and nieces, who never knew their grandmother, her struggles and her achievements, who she was. A niece would remark that she finally had a context for the photograph she had seen over the years, the group graduation picture of her grandmother dating back to 1941.

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Indigeneity, Borderlands and Memory of Homeland: A Reappraisal of Zomia Theory vis-à-vis ‘Tribes’ of India-Burma/Myanmar Frontier

N.K. Das

Abstract: In this article the themes of indigeneity, borderlands and memory are juxtaposed in order to discuss the relevance of theory of Zomia vis-à-vis ‘tribes’ of India-Burma/Myanmar—Bangladesh frontier. Historically speaking, the colonial rulers had segregated allied ‘tribes’ in diverse ‘administrative’ zones, to maintain ‘order’ in the frontier. This ploy of divide and rule was maintained by postcolonial states of India and Burma, though a mechanism of free movement regime facilitated people to intermingle with each other. Unsurprisingly, the tribes on both sides felt that their homeland has been forcibly alienated by the two nations. Hence, we witness the growth of feelings of ‘in-group’ vis-à-vis ‘out-group’ and tribal resistance. In this backdrop, the article tries to re-contextualise and reinterpret the tribespeople’s own insights and sensitivities in volatile India-Burma-Bangladesh zone, where the notion of ‘homeland’ and memory pertaining to indigeneity/ethnic origin are strong. The article has also touched upon the deceptive colonial pigeonholing and arbitrary labeling of tribespeople in colonial era. In this context, Zomia is discussed, since this borderland is birthplace of notion of Zomia. In order to refute the logic of Zomia theory specific ethnographic instances are provided. It is observed that in the actual ethnographic scenario many a conceptual features of Zomia do not match. Thus, notwithstanding certain essentials of upland culture appearing uniform in terms of language, culture, textiles, animism, shamanism, and practices of shifting-cultivation, the projected generalization about highland societies/polities being ‘anarchic’ seems too idealistic, even in historical milieu. No highland tribe is “lawless” and they indeed function in accordance with their customary laws and through self—governing institutions, which in contemporary times have the backing of the modern state, though drastically.

Introduction

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The anthropological discourse pertaining to ‘borders’, is traceable to analysis of social boundaries and territorial borders (Evans-Pritchard 1940). Border came to limelight in the later studies pertaining to ethnic boundary (Barth, 1969), identity, community and social boundary (Rosaldo, 1988). New studies have focused on power, culture and memory in relation to border identity (www.borderidentities.com). Borderlands do not indicate a fixed topographical site between two fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures), but an interstitial zone of displacement and de-territorialisation that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject. Hence, the notion of borderlands is regarded as a more adequate conceptualization of the “normal” locale of the postmodern subject (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). In his work on the highlands of Burma, Edmund Leach (1960) had problematized the conventional notion of political frontiers and located a zone in which cultures interpenetrated dynamically, through varied political, ecological, economic and kinship frameworks. “Borderlands” do separate physical topographies, but they also comprise people flanking cultural, social, linguistic, environmental, and folkloric domains. The Indo-Burma borderlands, in general, are inhabited by highlanders, who adhere to common cultural, social, linguistic, environmental, and folkloric traditions, though divided within different nation-states. It may be argued that in situations like the Indo-Burma borderlands, the indigeneity theme becomes vital because the transnational indigenous communities occupying either sides of the border claim the borders to be their primeval ‘homeland’, ruined by colonial/postcolonial powers.

Border studies pertaining to Indo-Burma/ Myanmar –Bangladesh Borderlands broadly perpetuate the direction provided in the “Burmese” studies by Leach and Lehman in 1960s. In the monographs of Lehman and Leach societies were considered as complex systems in perpetual movement rather than static objects. Leach (1954:281) challenged "conventions as to what constitutes a culture or a tribe" and simultaneously undermined the structural-functionalist conception of a tribe as a discrete, homogeneous social unit in equilibrium (1954:43). Whereas Leach's aim is to show that valley neighbours influence hill sociocultural systems, Lehman's aim is to show in what ways they do so (Lehman, 1963). In this context, Moerman (1968:156-58) highlighted the need to understand the degree of resilience or vulnerability of ethnic identity in the context of shifting patterns of intergroup relations, -- to determine the content of ethnic self-identification (because ethnic identities exhibit systematicity and complexity). The monograph on kinship and law in Naga society (Das 1993) belongs to this genre. Reviewing this monograph, Lehman observed that ‘elders defined by their descent position and their concomitant position within the age set system, serve to manage the application of jural rules, whilst others, serve as exemplary models of social propriety on account of their prestige as men of wealth and generosity’. F.K. Lehman, also noted that ‘a married woman retains a distinct claim on some of the land and other property of her natal family as well as on possible residence there, so that we find a nice instance of a principle common to asymmetrical marriage systems, namely, that the more a woman seem to be transferred at her marriage, the more it is because what is really transferred is her status as a member of an affinal lineage, a principle Edmund Leach was unclear about with regard to Lushai, Lakher, and Kachin instances ( F.K. Lehman (Anthropos 92, 1997). In the ultimate analysis, the Kachin, Chin and Naga exhibit common principles of group formation,
territoriality, kinship, internal polity and vibrant folklore supported by ethnic memory as we shall elucidate below in order to compare and counter the theoretical premise of Zomia.

Advocates of the Zomia theory have concentrated on historical sources as also ‘selected’ secondary ethnographic stuff provided in old ethnographies. The term Zomia, coined in 2002 by Willem van Schendel (2002) and elaborated by Scott (2009) refers to the huge massif of Mainland Southeast Asia in a geographical sense. The Zomia zone includes Himalayan Massif and it stretching over India-Burma-Bangladesh highlands, Cambodia, China, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam. Zomia area is inside the fringe of nine nation-states and at the middle of none. It has roughly 100 million highlanders including the Hmong, Kachin, Karen, Lisu, Shan, Wa, Zomi, Mizo, Kuki-Chin, Naga. It is important here to mention that Zomia Studies represents an emerging ecological area study of upland and so called “Hill Peoples” of Southeast Asia and South Asia that includes the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Schendel 2002; Scott 2009). Indeed, Schendel’s work on Bangladesh in general and the region of CHT in particular has been key to the conceptualization of Zomia Studies and the problem of existing approaches to area studies that focus too much on political or state boundaries (Khairul Chowdhury, 2014). CHT region was made famous through works of Claude Levi Strauss’ (1950), and other French and German ethnographers, though only a few of these accounts are available in English (Kantikar 1968). CHT was shut for foreigners in the early 1960s on the pretext of the security of the state. CHT in the meantime emerged as a classic case of development displacement (Bodley 1975). In the early 1980s, the region and its indigenous communities also sprung to the attention of international news and human rights organizations as well as Bangladeshi and international scholars across many disciplines because of human rights violations, displacements and counter-insurgency led development. Since then, CHT has become the object of studies and inquiries by a number of Bangladesh and other academics (Chowdhury 2002, Chakma, B., 2010), Mey, W. 1984, Chowdhury, B. H. 2002, Schendel, 1992).

According to Scott, Zomia is peopled by those who are essentially ‘maroon, runaway, populations’ who, over the past two millennia, peopled the hills through lawlessness. In Scott’s thesis Zomia highlanders are contemplated as ‘barbarians’ and ‘ungoverned’ vis-à-vis civilized/valley states. Thus, whilst the valleys are homogenized and centralized, hills produce decentralization, economic minimalism, and fuzzy ethnic boundaries. Such an insular typology as Zomia appears analogous to debatable Orientalism theory of the west. Victor Lieberman, writing for the journal of Global History, which published a special issue- “Zomia and Beyond” (2010), argued that the highland peoples ‘crafted their own social worlds in response to the political and natural environments that they encountered’, and thus he disagreed with Scott’s documentation. More recently, Scott’s claims have been questioned by Tom Brass (2012), who maintains that it is incorrect to characterize upland Southeast Asia as ‘state-repelling’ ‘zones of refuge/asylum’ to which people voluntarily migrate. This is, he argues, an idealization consistent with the ‘new’ populist postmodernism, but not supported by ethnographic evidence. Populations neither choose to migrate to upland areas, nor – once there – are they beyond the reach of the lowland State. Consequently, they are anything but empowered and safe
in such contexts. Michaud argues that historical and anthropological approaches can be employed with profit to recount life in highland boundaries of Asia (2011).

Ethnic and linguistic connection of Northeast and Southeast Asia is illustrious. In fact entire India, Burma (Myanmar)-Bangladesh borderlands have identical Tibeto-Burman indigenous tribes. The Singphos are an officially designated Indian ‘tribe’ living in Arunachal Pradesh and Assam but they are widely known as the Kachin or Jingpo in Burma, among whom anthropologist Edmund Leach had worked. The Shan are present in Arunachal Pradesh so also in Yunnan (China), Burma and North Thailand. There are differing understanding with regard to delimitation of the border between countries and the border tribes. The Naga live in India and Burma, and Indo-Burmese border runs through several Naga villages and even cuts through people’s houses. The Chin/Mizo comprises a unique category of several allied tribes in the hilly areas of Manipur, Mizoram, and Sagaing division and Chin state of Burma. The Naga and Chin ‘tribes’ strongly resent that their homelands have been divided by the two nations without their consent.

The term ‘tribe’ is widely used in the academic circles even as anthropologists have pointed to the problematic origins of the term. Outside the anthropological realm, ‘tribe’ is also used as administrative category, particularly as ‘scheduled tribe’ in India. In much of South Asia and particularly in India, anthropologists remain obsessed with the study of tribes, even though some scholars find difficulty with definition and nomenclature issues. In recent years a new genre of ‘tribal study’ (propagated by university grants commission) and a new ‘adivasi study’ approach is being advocated by some historians (albeit leaning heavily on anthropological approaches). Fact remains that the intents of these new projects can not really be divorced from basic premises of anthropological genre devoted to cause of tribes historically and their transformed concerns for indigeneity and indigenous people in recent years (Das, 2015).

Issue of indigeneity and the fluctuations inherent in identity-formation as also diverse experiences of people spread in transnational frontier region, such as India-Burma-Bangladesh zone needs to be re-examined. The sentiments of people regarding the ‘homeland’ and memory pertaining to indigeneity/ethnic origin are strong. There is need to re-contextualise and reinterpret the tribespeople’s own insights and sensitivities in volatile border areas, where the creation of new nation-states gave birth to fragmentation of indigenous Mongoloid ‘tribes’. In general the Indian state did not impose any rigid regulation and thus the mechanism of a free movement regime provides the tribes the access and opportunity to intermingle with each other. Side by side, sadly also flourishes the cross-border movement of insurgents and criminals through the porous border is a cause of serious concern and a source of persistent risk of instability. Unregulated trans-border movement of people exposes the population to communicable disease such as TB, HIV, bird flu and polio. This has serious implications since control of such diseases is not easy, should they spread to the dense population centres on the Indian side of the border (http://www.claws.in/images/journals_doc/1607981726_NarenderKumar.pdf).
Zo- Zomi- Mizo and Kuki- Chin Identity and Memory of ‘Chhinlung’

Zomia is drawn from the name Zomi, a popular generic term used in vast India-Burma-Bangladesh border. According to Scott, Zo is a relational term meaning “remote” and hence carries a connotation of living in the hills; Mi-zo or Zomi entails hill people (Scott 2009: 14–16). The indigenous term Zo (according to Lehman) “means, roughly, ‘unsophisticated’ [in contrast to Vai, that] connotes a positive [valuation] of Burman civilization. Vai stands for civilization—” (1963: 3, 30). Term Zomia theoretically then encompasses all highlanders (Tibeto-Burman group and other Mongoloid stock), who identify themselves as Zo/ Zomi/ Mizo/ Kuki/ Chin in Indo-Burma-Bangladesh space. If diverse memory – based sources are pulled together migration saga seems to follow the following chronological order, which also indicates minor linguistic segregation.

1. The Mon-Khmer (Talaing, Palaung, En Raing, Pa-o, Khasi, Annamite)
2. The Tibeto-Burman (Pyu, Kanzan, Thet, Burman, Chin, Kachin, Naga, Lolo)
3. The Tai-Chinese (Shan, Siamese, Karen).

The Tibeto-Burman group initially moved toward the west and thereafter subdivided themselves into several groups. They followed different routes, one group reaching northern Tibet, where some stayed behind, while others, moving in three waves, reached Burma. These people were:

1. The Chin-Kachin-Naga group
2. The Burman and Old-Burman (Pyu, Kanzan, Thet) group
3. The Lolo group (Enriquez 1924: 8).

Unlike historical reconstruction method, the anthropologists have focused on ‘the development within the general region of Burma of symbiotic socio-cultural systems: civilizations and hill societies’ (Lehman1963: 22). In the ultimate analysis indeed the historians, anthropologists and linguists, suppose that the ancestors of these various peoples did indeed come from the north. Lehman demonstrated that ‘the ancestors of the Chin and the Burman must have been distinct from each other even before they first appeared in Burma’ (also see Sakhong, 2003). He concludes, by saying: ‘Chin history begins after A.D. 750, with the development of Burman civilization and Chin interaction with it’ (ibid.). Chin scholars like T. S. Gangte agree with Leach and Lehman (Sakhong, 2000, 2003).

Native scholars have accepted the ‘Chinlung’ tradition as the origin of the Chin and proclaim that the Chindwin Valley is where Chin history begins. Similar to Gangte, the ‘Khuangsai source of Chin tradition mentions that the location of Chin-lung was somewhere in the Chindwin area’ (Sing Kho Khai 1984: 10).

Zomi indicates a large ethnic constellation spread in various parts of South and South East Asia. Zomi as the common ethnic nomenclature of all Zo descendants is a fact which can not be refuted. The
British called them as Chin in Myanmar, Kuki in Manipur and Lushai (now Mizo) in Mizoram. The Kuki-Chin people of Manipur –Mizarom-Nagaland-Burma zones have been recorded in early colonial reports variously such as Kuki-Chin in Chin Hills, Lushai in the Lushai Hills and Kuki in other parts of northeast India. Zomi tribes indeed have commonalities of cultural practices, social systems, traditional beliefs, customary and traditional practices, religious beliefs, and most of all, a common ancestry. According to Tom Lewin, the generic name of these groups of people is Dzo, now spelled Zo. Zo Mi (literal translation of Zo people/Zo tribe) is the correct original historical name of the Zo people who originally called themselves as ZOU or YO or YAW, having a common ancestry. The different Zo tribes hold the common belief that they originally emerged out of a cave. This mythological cave is known by various names like Khulu, Khur, Khurpu, Khurtu-bijur, Sirlung, Chinhung, Chhinlung by various tribes like Thadou (Shaw 1929:24-26), Lushai (Shakespear: 1912), Lakher (Parry 1932:4), Tedim/Paite-Chin (Kamkhenthang 1988), Moyon-Monsang and Hmar. ‘Mizo’ became the official name of the people of Mizoram after 1946 when the Lushai Hills was changed to ‘Mizo Hills’ and the first indigenous political party, the Mizo Common People’s Union was formed on 9th April 1946. The Party was later renamed the Mizo Union. The Mizo Union wanted the Lushai hills to be called Mizo hills and the people to be officially called Mizo (Memorandum of the Mizo Union 1947 to the government of India. Only the word ‘Mizo’ stands for all groups: Lusei, Hmar, Ralte, Paite, Zo, Darlawng, Kawm, Pawi, Thado, Chiru, Aimol, Khawl, Tarau, Anal, Puram, Tikhu, Vaiphei, Lakher, Langrawng, Chawrai; Bawng, Baite, Mualthuam, Kainpen, Pangkhua, Tlangau, Hranghawal, Bawmzo, Miria, Dawn, Kumi, Khiangte, Khiang, Pangte, Khawlhring, Chawngthu, Vanchiau, Chawhte, Ngente, Renthelei, Hnamte, Tlau, Pautu, Pawte, Vangchhia, Zawngte, Fanai, and they are all closely related to one another culturally, socially, economically and physically thus forming a distinct ethnic unit’ (www.misual.com/2011).

Indigenous scholars regard the Chin people as ‘ethnic nationality’ and Chinland (Chinram) as the ‘nation’ (Sakhong, 2003). However the Chin people are restricted within the Chin State, Kachin State, Karen State created under the Burmese Union Constitution of 1974. Sakhong (2003) uses the traditional Chin concepts of Miphun, Ram, and Phunglam. The meaning and concept of Miphun is an ethnie or a ‘race’ or a ‘people’ who believe that they come from a common descent or ancestor. Ram is a homeland, a country or a nation with well-defined territory and claimed by a certain people who have belonged to it historically; and the broad concept of Phunglam is ‘ways of life’, which includes almost all cultural and social aspects of life, religious practices, belief and value systems, customary law and political structure and the many aesthetic aspects of life such as dance, song, and even the customs of feasts and festivals, all the elements in life that ‘bind successive generations of members together’ as a people and a nationality, and at the same time separate them from others. By the turn of twentieth century, Chin society was abruptly transformed by powerful outside forces. The British conquered Chinram and Christian missionaries followed the colonial powers and converted the people. After the colonial period, they found themselves again being separated into three different countries – India, Burma and Bangladesh – without their consent. While West Chinram (the present Mizoram State) became part of India, East Chinram (present Chin State) joined the Union of Burma.
according to the Panglong Agreement signed in 1947. The smaller part of Chinram became part of present-day Bangladesh (Sakhong 2003: xvi).

The designation of Kuki was seldom used by the Chin people themselves, not even by the Zomi, for whom the word is intended. Soppit, who was Assistant Commissioner of Burma and later Sub-Divisional Officer in the North Cacher Hills, Assam, remarked in 1893 in his study of Lushai-Kuki: The designation of Kuki is never used by the tribes themselves (Soppit 1893: 2). Shakespear, an authority on the Chin, said in 1912, “The term Kuki on the Chittagong border, is loosely applied to most of the inhabitants of the interior hills beyond the Chittagong Hill Tracts; in the Cachar it generally means some families of the Thado and Khuathlang clans, locally distinguished as new Kuki and old Kuki. The term is now superseded by Lushai in the Chin Hills, and generally on the Burma border all these clans are called Chin. These Kuki are more closely allied to the Chakmas, and the Lushai are more closely to their eastern neighbours who are known as Chin.

The myth of common origin from Chhinlung/Sinlung, a rock cave in the Kachin state of Burma (Khamrangpui) is well recognized and native scholars have written about this for long. Recalling ‘homeland’, one Zomi folksong tellingly delineates the area of Zomi:

"Penlehpi leh Kangtui minthang,
A tua tong Zota kual sung chi ua;

Khang Vaimang leh tuan a pupa,
Tongchiama Kangtui minthang aw"

This song refers to vast Zomi Homeland, which is geographically contiguous, compact and has been the land where the Zomi permanently settled for centuries (www. Wikipedia). For people with no writing system, a rich oral tradition consisting of folksong and folklore was the most reliable means of transmitting past events and collective memories through time. The songs were sung repeatedly during feasts and festivals, and the tales that made up Chin folklore were told and retold over the generations. In this way, such collective memories as the origin myth and the myth of common ancestors were handed down. Different tribes and groups of Chin kept the tradition of ‘Chinlung’ in several versions; the Hmar group of the Mizo tribe, who now live in Mizoram State of India, which Sakhong (2003) refers as West Chinram, have a traditional folk song:

*Kan Seingna Sinlung [Chinlung] ram hmingthang
Ka nu ram ka pa ram ngai
Chawngzil ang Kokir thei changsien
Ka nu ram ka pa ngai.

In English it translates as: ‘Famous Sinlung [Chinlung] is my motherland and the home of my ancestors. It could be called back like chawngzil , the home of my ancestors’ (Chatterjee 1990: 328). This folksong also describes that the Chins were driven out of their original homeland, called ‘Chinlung’. Another folksong, traditionally sung at the Khuahrum sacrificial ceremony and other important occasions, reads as follows:
My Chinland of old,
My grandfather's land Himalei,
My grandfather's way excels,
Chinlung's way excels (Kipgen 1996: 36).

Modern scholars generally agree with the traditional account of the origin of the name ‘Chin’: the word comes from ‘Chinlung’. Hrang Nawl, a prominent scholar and politician among the Chin, confirms that the term ‘Chin ... come(s) from Ciinlung, Chhinlung or Tsinlung, the cave or the rock, where, according to legend, the Chin people emerged into this world as humans’ (Vumson 1986: 3). There is no dispute that the Chin ‘were originally from a cave called Chinnlung, which is given different locations by different clans’ (Vumson 1986: 26). In addition to individual scholars and researchers, many political and other organizations of the Chin accepted the Chinlung tradition not only as a myth but as a historical fact. The Paite National Council, formed by the Chin people of Manipur and Mizoram States, claimed Chinlung as the origin of the Chin people in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India. The memorandum stated: ‘The traditional memory claimed that their remote original place was a cave in China where, for fear of enemies, they hid themselves, which is interpreted in different dialects as “Sinlung” [Chinlung] in Hmar and Khul in Paite and others.’ In this memorandum, they suggested that the Government of India take initiative to group all Chin people inhabiting the Indo-Burma border areas within one country as specified and justified for the safeguard of their economic, social and political rights. The literal meaning of Chin-lung is ‘the cave or the hole of the Chin’, the same meaning as the Burmese word for Chindwin, as in ‘Chindwin River’, also ‘the hole of the Chin’ or ‘the river of the Chin’ (Lehman 1963: 20).

As noted already, one such myth handed down through generations describes how the Chin ‘came out of the bowels of the earth or a cave called Chinlung or Cin-lung’ (Gangte 1993: 14). According to some, it was located somewhere in China and others claimed it to be in Tibet; yet others suggested that it must be somewhere in the Chindwin Valley since the literal meaning of Chindwin is ‘the cave or the hole of the Chin’ (Gangte 1993: 14). Almost all of the Chin tribes and clans have promulgated similar but slightly different versions of the myth, which brings the ancestors of the Chin out from the hole or the bowels of earth. The Ralte clan/group of the Mizo tribe, also known as the Lushai, have a tradition now generally known as ‘Chinlung tradition’ that brings their progenitors from the bowels of the earth. The story was translated into English and recorded by J. Shakespear in 1912. Yet another story of the origin of the Chin, also connected with the ‘Chinlung tradition’ as handed down among the Mara group of the Laimi tribe (also known as the Lakher) was recorded by N. E. Parry in 1932: All sources of Chin traditions maintain that their ancestors originated from ‘Chinlung’ or ‘Cin-lung’. Sometimes the name for ‘Chinlung’ or ‘Cinlung’ differs, depending on the specific Chin dialect – such as Khul, Khur and Lung-kua, – but it always means ‘cave’ or ‘hole’ no matter what the dialect. The reason that Chin-lung was abandoned, however, varies from one source to another. Depending on the dialect and local traditions, it is said that Chin-lung was abandoned as a result of an adventure, or because of the great darkness called Khazanghra, Thimzing Or Chunmui.
In contrast to the stories above, persisting memories maintain that their original homeland was destroyed by a flood. The Laimi tribe from the Haka and Thlantlang areas had a very well-known myth called Ngun Nu Tuanbia, which related the destruction of human life on Earth by the flood. The Zophei also had their own version of the story about the flood, called Tuirang-aa-ia (literally meaning: ‘white water/river is pouring out or gushing’), which destroyed their original homeland. Many Chin tribes called the Chindwin River the ‘White River’, Tui-rang, Tuikhang, Tirang, Tuipui-ia, etc.; all have the same meaning but differ only in dialect term. Referring to such ‘memory’, so vibrant in the region, Hutton, Sing Kho Khai and Gangte, supposed that the traditional account of the flood story, which destroyed the Chin’s original ‘homeland’, might be the flood of the Chindwin River. They therefore claim that the Chin’s original homeland was in the Chindwin Valley and nowhere else.

For the Chin, Miphun cannot exist without Ram. They therefore define themselves as a Miphun with a strong reference to Ram – the original homeland, a particular locus and territory, which they all collectively claim to be their own. The inner link between the concepts of Miphun and Ram was strengthened in Chin society through the worship of Khua-hrum at the Tual ground. In Chin society, the Tual grounds, the site of where they worshipped the guardian god Khuahrum, were the sacred centers, which stood as protectors of both men and land. While the religious-ritual foundation of the ancestry is discarded in view of widespread Christianity in both Burma and Mizoram, the Burmese Chins (unlike West Chinram/Mizoram state) are faced with oblique religious discrimination of sort, under new regime of Buddhist Myanmar. The term ‘Myanmar’ has been used to denote the ethnicity of Myanmar, which is inseparably intertwined with their state religion of Buddhism. The term Myanmar is exclusive, and does not include the Chin and other ethnic groups who joined the Union of Burma in 1947 on the principle of equality.

**Deceptive Colonial Pigeonholing and Oscillatory Labels**

The Naga, Mizo, Kuki are not primeval ethnic nomenclatures. They are generally the colonial era fabrications. They are also not single entities (‘tribes’). They are rather constellation of dissimilar social formations. Having been on move, when they settled in specific territories, in the hills terrain, various clans and small segments diversely identified themselves and were differently labelled by their immediate/distant neighbours. Naga tribes, with presence in northeast India and Burma too have been subjected to deceptive colonial era pigeonholing. Each localised Naga ‘tribe’, based in a village or a cluster of villages, for example, had a blurred idea about its maximal tribal boundary, as inter-tribe relation existed in hostile terms. Colonial rulers misunderstood the tribal notions of territory and indigenous nomenclatures. Hence, they often merged local tribes within some nomenclature deriving terms from local vocabulary or inventing new names. Generally unreal and often value-loaded, some labels used by colonial masters gradually came to be widely internalised, even though they remained flawed (Das 1989, 2007). In Nagaland, for example, name ‘Angami’ belongs to section ‘Tengima’ (Tengimi) but the British established the label Angami not only for the Tengima but also for several
other ‘tribes’ living contiguously such as Chakroma, Tengima, Chakrima (Chakrama), Kezami, Memi and Dzunokehena (Zounuo-Keyhonuo). Field research of this author revealed that these six tribes [within Angami] never formed an interactive network and, they never interacted practically with each other (Das, 1993:24). With purpose of deconstruction of colonial categories and upholding self-perception of the Naga tribe, this author took up for intensive legal anthropological study one section of Angami called as Zounuo-Keyhonuo, who regard their ‘tribe’ as a giant patri-clan having descended from ‘Zounuo’ and ‘Keyhonuo’, twin apical ancestors. A segmentary kinship principle, and a moiety order, encompasses interlocking descent groups (thenu, sarra, punumi etc), which are demonstrable in a pyramidal genealogical superstructure (Das 1993, 93-94). Just like the Zounuo-Keyhonuo, Tikhir, Chirr and the Makware resent their inclusion within the Yimchunger label. While studying Chakhesang tribe in Phek-Meluri areas, in early 1980s, this author confronted the Pochury Nagas, who retained distinct myths, kinship pattern and dialect. Hence, a separate report for the Pochury was written. This ethnographic material was consciously used by then MLA and student leaders to claim separate identification as a ‘distinct’ Naga tribe. After a few years, they became a distinct Naga tribe. Folklore collected earlier by this author in 1980s indicates that most Naga tribes are immigrants, and non-indigenous. Legends indicate immigration and absorption of segments and clans of ‘tribes’, mainly amongst Sangtam and Chakhesang Nagas (Das 1994; Pochury, Chakhesang and Sangtam reports are part of Nagaland state volume under People of India series of ASI). The Angami, Chakhesang, Lotha, Rengma and Sema have a ‘shared myth’ of origin from a single stock (getting separated and acquiring separate identities in distinct hill ranges). A popular folktale narrates that the ancestors of the Lotha, Sema, Rengma and the Angami had migrated together from certain location is South-East Asian region and after immigration lived together at “Kezakenoma” before pushed by the Tengima. The remaining three groups went to Themoketsa hill where the Rengma split off, the Lotha settled in and around Wokha and the Sema settled down in Zhonobot area (Das 1994). Ahoms and early British called the Konyak and other sections as Banferia and Jobokia, as per passes they used to visit Assam plains. Indeed the names of Naga tribes appearing in thirteenth century-Ahom-Buranjis [chronicles] are difficult to be located today.

Edmund Leach observed that Kachin political units were unstable, differing from one another in scale and principles of structure (Leach, 1954). Leach devised ideal types using old ethnographies for the models of the gumsa (hereditary aristocracy, based on Konyak and Sema Naga chiefs) and gumlao (based on Angami Naga ‘democratic’ polity). Dewar, compared Kachin-Naga hereditary headmen (Dewar 1931). In modern era also; political compulsions led to re-articulation and re-christening the ethnic labels of the tribes. Indeed the ‘dominant’ political appeal of Nagas in Nagaland – Manipur hills zones had prompted some Kuki tribes of Manipur such as the Anal, Mayon, Monsong, Lamgang, Chothe, Chiru, and Kom to opt for ‘Naga’ identification. The Kukis, though originating from the Chin ethnic brand, were subjected to dual identities in historical contexts, as they maintained greater migratory tendencies. Amazingly some reports described them as Nagas in 1929, though they are antagonistic to each other today. The Kuki-Chin identity is a well-established identity in Manipur –Mizoram-Nagaland-Burma zones. The early colonial ethnographers recorded Kukis as Chin in the Chin Hills, Lushai in the Lushai Hills and Kuki in other parts of northeast India. The

Burmese government vaguely identifies several sub-ethnic groups under ‘Chin’ nomenclature, of which some are: Awa Khami, Chin, Gunte (Lyente), Gwete, Kaung, Khami, Khawno, Lushe (Lushay), Lyente, Meithei (Kathe), Mgan, Mi-er, Miram (Mara), Naga, Ngorn, Sentang, Taishon, Tangkhul, Tapong, Thado, Tiddim (Hai-Dim), Wakim Zo, and Zo-Pe.

In the Burmese classification then the Kuki, Naga and Meiteis, belonging to single mongoloid stock and speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, are all categorized in a single ‘ethnic’ category. In India, the government recognizes Kukis, Meiteis and Nagas as three separate ethnic entities. Meiteis, despite their limited adoption of Hinduism do retain many a tribal practices and the clanship structure seems more in tune with tribal social formation. These historical factors may have prompted ‘tribes’ such as Aimol, Anal, Maring, Monsang, Moyon Kom, Thangal to adopt Naga ‘identity’ for availing advantages. Today however Naga – Kuki enmity is more apparent in terms of their respective claims for territorial supremacy mostly in those parts/districts of Manipur, which are part of the ‘declared Nagalim’ of NSCN.

The Nagas of Myanmar are called Eastern Nagas. They are found in Sagaing Division and Kachin state. Burma claims that the Nagas attended the so-called Panglong Agreement in 1947 and that they agreed to join Burmese Union along with other ethnic communities. The term Naga, now trendy in India –Burma area, is a value loaded cliché, forced by valley dwellers upon highlanders, who were often found scantily dressed. In pre-colonial ‘headhunting’ days till colonial era, the Naga segments (tribes/sub tribes) were made to alter and adjust their ethnonyms, as they came in contact with ‘exogenous’ agents, valley Kingdoms, valley dwellers, traders, British and colonial officials. Valley based Ahom Kings granted Nagas with revenue free canals and plots – Naga Khats (Das 1989: 56).

These were arranged with the understanding that the Naga would refrain from ‘raids’ in the Assam plains. Trade relation existed too and Nagas favoured barter-trading (a major medium of exchange) of salt, cotton, medicinal herbs, ivory, bee’s wax, mats, and daoos (adzes) for Assamese rice, cloth, and beads. Manipur kings had maintained formal traditional links with the hill Nagas. A sort of ancestry of the Nagas is found in the Royal Chronicles of Manipur in which a Manipuri king Meidingu Laienkhaba mentions Haochong village of Impui Nagas around (33-150 C.E.) and another Manipuri king Ningthourel Lamba mentions the same village around (662-762 E. C.). Based on this evidence, scholars believe that the Nagas could have migrated and settled in the present land at least before 2nd century B.C.E (Kamei, 2010). These varied linkages of the Nagas with the valley kingdoms, though sporadic, disprove arguments that state formations in valleys were constrained.

The “Barbaric-Anarchic” Hypothesis vis-à-vis Self-Governance: Ethnographic Illustration of a Naga Tribe

Zomia concept, as outlined by James Scott, defines uplands of Zomia region as a ‘non-state space’, peopled by those who are essentially ‘maroon, runaway, populations’ who, over the past two millennia, peopled the hills pursuing swidden-agriculture and foraging in large part (Scott 2009:276-279). Scott says the state has particular difficulty in establishing any authority over Zomia highlands (Scott 2009:13) where he sees “escape social structure” and practices of dispersion, fission, and
'statelessness' designed to evade state structures. Scott regards upland societies as lawless and ungoverned people (Scott 2009:279). No doubt, Scott's claims have been questioned by many scholars who have known societies in uplands and who have long ethnographic experiences in the region. Thus, Tom Brass (2012) maintains that it is incorrect to characterize upland as ‘state-repelling’ ‘zones of refuge/asylum’ to which people voluntarily migrate. Zomia, according to Brass is an idealization, consistent with the 'new' populist postmodernism, but not supported by ethnographic evidence. Conceptualization of Zomia through statelessness ('societies as lawless and ungoverned') we may argue, neglects the existence of complex systems of social order, law-enforcement, informal ranking and honour, particularly in hills of Indo-Burma borderlands. The hills people adapted to hills variously and indigenously shaped their society and polity patterns. In hills of northeast India, we witness multiple social formations including growth of ‘segmentary’ acephalous ‘stateless’ tribes as well as tribes with strong chieftaincies (Nagaland, Mizoram and elsewhere). What is more challenging is that northeast region including immediate eastern Himalaya did witness growth of ‘tribal- states’ and kingdoms. Diverse polities and societies pursued their own mechanisms of social order and law-enforcement (Das, 2005). These facts refute the basic claims of the Zomianists.

In order to counter the basic premise of Zomia theory, governance model in an ‘acephalous’ Naga tribe will be briefly elucidated below. Governance is an institution that is a natural reflection of norms, customs and practices. The governance models acquire various forms influenced by environmental factors, normative values, kinship principles, polity formation, societal philosophy and worldview. Among the Naga tribes, law and custom arose out of special martial conditions which influenced diverse polity fruition. Since the colonial era, ‘indirect rule’ in tribal areas was launched by recognizing the customary laws, including the traditional modes of dispute settlement and informal law-enforcement mechanism. Like in colonial era, the tribal mode of governance remained unaffected and the customary authorities continue to persist in the hills of northeast in independent India.

The Zounuo-Keyhonuo Nagas (Southern Angami), representing a segmentary stateless tribe, live in villages located in southern hill ranges in Nagaland-Manipur border, adjoining Japfu peak. This author had collected ethnographic data from the major Zounuo-Keyhonuo village Viswema during 1977-78 under a PhD programme (Das 1993). Later in 1989 and again in 2011 as visiting fellow of ASI, this author had further conducted fieldwork in same village. Data used here are mostly from theses various studies. In Viswema village, like most of Naga Hills, ‘independent’ clans occupy distinct clan-territories and enjoy jural and economic rights over well-defined land and forest areas including water resources and fishing areas. Lineages also have their distinct land and forest areas including water resources and fishing areas. In the absence of a distinct political authority, the lineage-clan elders/headmen emerge as key figures in maintaining social control and jural order. In this tribe the married daughters also enjoy jural rights over paternal property which includes land. Despite the existence of about eighty percent of Christianity adherents, the villagers have ‘retained’ a great deal of long-established values and ritual practice. In their traditional wisdom the villagers have their own typology of wrongdoings and internal mechanisms of dispute resolution. The offenses are regarded as wrongs and transgressions and are ordered by the villagers in terms of their cruelty. In this tribe there are informal adjudicators.
who resolve trouble cases, although such adjudicators do not have formal status needed to enforce
their decisions. Surmising the field data of 1978, this author had earlier observed that:

“The mechanism of social control, the rules of conduct and the customary laws among the
Zounuo-Keyhonuo cover a complex and wide range including the rights and duties of the
villagers, marriage laws, rules for the relations between husband and wife, parents and children
and between siblings and other kinsfolk, the law of property relating to land tenure, cattle and
other animals, and inheritance, and for the variety of legal wrongs against the person” (Das
1993: 45).

In Viswema the peaceful compromise is the most preferred mode of dispute settlement. Peaceful
compromise is called Kezekevizhonu in Viswema dialect. If the parties fail to compromise peacefully
the elders present suggest them to opt for the oath administration, as per century old custom. The
oaths are taken by both contenders one by one claiming lives of family members. Normally a person
taking an oath on larger number of lives of his kinsmen with enormous self confidence the decree
goes in his/her favour. During my last visit to the village in 2011 I was told that the legitimacy of oath
taking is still in vogue and even in the district level customary law courts the oath administration is
often resorted to in order to decide the complicated cases. Indeed, any oath, whereby lives of others
are made responsible for its truth, as well as the life of the swearer, is usually accepted by either party
(Das 1993:95).

The Zounuo-Keyhonuo village Viswema is self-sufficient economically as people get adequate
produce by depending on both pani-kheti (wet terrace rice cultivation) and jhum-kheti (shifting
cultivation) judiciously. The terrain of the hills does not offer enough scope for a large scale conversion
to terrace fields hence the Viswema villagers eke out their food supply by growing potatoes in jhum or
shifting fields. Villages located in the summits of hills are systematically drained and succession of fine
terraces of paddy fields maintained for centuries using indigenous knowledge, under guidance of clan
elders and headmen. Terraces have some natural source of water supply (i.e. streams) or man-made
irrigational water channels – dzuye (Das 1993:65-67). The water flows down from the upper terrace to
the one below and a complicated system of water rights governs its distribution. Indeed water in
Viswema is a cause of many disputes. In questions involving water, water channels, and streams the
agnates, siblings and neighbours often tend to be rivals. In Zounuo-Keyhonuo society precise
economic rights and jural liabilities exist in unison with descent principles and kinship rules. Prominent
headmen and rich individuals often articulate their demands and priorities by influencing some obliging
kinsfolk. Some actors even redefine the lineage pedigree and capitalize on the support base gained
through allies (obliging kinsfolk) vis-à-vis rivals (or other agnates) and thereby make strategic choices
with support of their allies (Das 1993:117). These are more contemporary occurrences observed in
the village. Nonetheless, despite modern-time aberrations, ultimately the village solidarity remains
intact. Even during 2011 field investigation this author could not identify a single individual or a family
which tried to drastically undermine the descent principles and kinship rules which define the stateless
polity of this tribe.
**Indirect Rule and Colonial Enforcement of Legal Pluralism**

In order to control village administration official headmen were selected and nominated as ‘gaon-bura’ and ‘dobashi-interpreter’. This method of administration, called as ‘Indirect Rule’ was common feature of colonized countries of Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, the clan and village elders, in the hills regions of northeast India, continued to be influential being the custodians of kinship norms and lineage and clan affiliated economic resources (forest, arable land, water channels). Indeed, the tribal areas were placed ‘outside the jurisdiction of the normal colonial administration’, as affected through Scheduled Districts Act XVI, 1874, and later the Assam General Clauses Act, 1915, which had legitimised tribal customs and practices. The Government of India Act, 1935, divided the Hills Districts/ Areas into ‘Excluded’ and ‘Partially Excluded Areas’ and stipulated that “no Act of the Central or Provincial Legislatures would apply to ‘excluded’ areas”. The Naga Hills district, the Lushai Hills district, the North Cachar Hills, CHT and the North-East Frontier Tracts were specified as ‘excluded areas’ (Das 2015: 34). Over the passage of time, the Dobashi-interpreters, by virtue of their experience and knowledge, were inducted as official adjudicators in colonial district headquarters. The non-heinous crimes were tried by the traditional village authorities, as also the dobhashis, and penalties were awarded as per conventions of customary laws. However, heinous crimes like murder, extortion, armed robbery and arson were brought under the Indian Penal Code (Law Research institute, 1987:662). This was the commencement of an early trend of legal pluralism, introduced and implemented in hills areas (Das 2012).

Mechanism of indirect governance, through gaon-buras and the dobashi courts was retained after independence. The Dobashi courts, ‘un-codified’ legal systems, came to be placed at par with the codified state legal systems. Further, in independent India, different tribes were brought under special safeguards provided in Indian constitution. In Nagaland, for example, ‘Naga customary law and procedure’ is protected by the Article 371A of Indian Constitution. The proclivity to settle most of the cases through the ‘traditional justice system’ and its acceptability has ensured speedy resolution of grievances and significantly lessened the extent of litigation, as observed in the Nagaland State Human Development Report, October 2004 (Report, 2004, Department of Planning and Coordination; Government of Nagaland; Kohima, Nagaland). Gradually, several amendments were introduced and ‘major’ disputes were brought under state juridical courts. Even people belonging to same tribe or same village were given option to ‘challenge’ the customary village court and DB court and appeal at higher courts of law. A review of judgments passed by state courts shows that the original verdict passed by customary law courts are sustained in most cases.

In Nagaland and other hills areas, one witnesses today numerous ‘development’ related new laws, which have led to displacements also. These new laws have indeed confronted century old customary rights, and have directly crushed the basic tenets of customary laws and clashed with customary land rights of tribespeople. For example, the Nagaland (Ownership and Transfer of Land its Resources) Act, 1990 (Nagaland Gazette - 6th July, 1993) may be perceived as a direct threat to ‘sovereign’ customary ownership right of Naga tribespeople. Such examples, being the feature of policy of ‘legal
pluralism’, tend to collide with basic code of Article 371A (Das 2012). At the same time, such interface of customary tribal law with modern administrative and legal systems in North East India has led to lopsided development in the form of sidelining the women issue and ushering in an era of class struggle (Pereira, Melville. 2009).

Discussion and Conclusion
In this brief analysis, an attempt has been made to juxtapose the themes of indigeneity, borderlands and memory to discuss the relevance of theory of Zomia vis-à-vis ‘tribes’ of India-Burma/Myanmar – Bangladesh frontier. Borderlands are ‘the contact zones, imagined geographies, and discourses that produce both order and violence’ (José Antonio Lucero 2014). In reality, there are more issues involved, as we discussed above, from sociological and historical perspectives. In actual fact, one notices contradictions and differing perceptions with regard to delimitation of the border between India and Burma and the border tribes. In general the Indian state did not impose any rigid regulation and thus the free movement regime continues to provide the tribes the access and opportunity to intermingle with each other. The Naga and Chin tribes, on both sides felt that their homeland has been forcibly alienated by the two nations. Historically speaking, the colonial rulers had segregated allied ‘tribes’, in diverse ‘administrative’ zones, to maintain ‘order’ in the frontier. Creation of ‘Inner line’ between hills and plains was the clever ploy to divide and rule. On the eve of independence of India, the indigenous people of highlands realized the futility of their incorporation within new India-Burma nations, without their consent, and they expressed such feelings furiously. This factor led to the growth of resentment and steady feelings of ‘in-group’ vis-à-vis ‘out-group’ (Das 2007). The border region of India, Burma and Bangladesh has been the scene of tribal resistance since the independence of India in 1947. These resistance movements virtually link up to the discourse of indigenous rights (Das N. K. 2015). There is need to relate such rights of indigenous and minority communities in any analysis of ethnicity and historicity pertaining to border areas. Independent India continued the policy of indirect control, granting special rights to the tribal customary authorities and the inner line policy remained in force in the hills, which barred plains-people to enter the hills. The special provisions and self-governance institutions established to provide ‘autonomy’ in India’s northeast barely thrived though.

In contiguous hills the subsequent governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh (since 1971) moved towards ‘inclusion of the tribal territories’. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts this attempt of national inclusion resulted in a vicious war between indigenous insurgents and the state. The Peace Accord of 1997 seems to have not solved the local problems and conflicts, which are mainly related to ‘land-grabbing’ by Bengali settlers (Khairul Chowdhury, 2014). The tribes in adjacent northeast India too experienced the processes of dispossession and dislocation. Though peace parleys are going on with region’s major militant outfits, such as NSCN and ULFA, some tribes of northeast India are in the forefront of militant conflicts seeking self-determination.
Until 1948, Burma’s diverse peoples lived within its ill-defined borders. For over six decades, the army has been battling diverse ethnic insurgencies. The authorities continued to regard the Muslim and Christian religious minorities with suspicion. In 1989 the government began a policy of seeking cease-fire agreements with most ethnic insurgent groups along the borders. By early 2012 a total of 12 armed groups had respectively signed preliminary peace agreements with the government at state or central levels (http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/burma.htm). Naga insurgents are based in the Kachin state of Burma and have been supported by Kachin insurgents (Cultural Survival, Inc., CSQ Issue: 11.4 (Winter 1987) Militarization and Indigenous Peoples: Part 2 Africa, Asia,). The Nagas prolonged struggle of ‘self-determination’ pertaining to Greater Nagaland or Nagalim involves liberation of two administrative divisions of Myanmar, mainly Kachin state and Sagaing division. There are both trans-national syndicates for organised crimes and insurgents taking advantage of the porosity of the border to pursue their own agendas. In these borderlands the tribal nationalism is certainly stronger than state nationalism.

The article has pleaded that there is need to re-contextualise and reinterpret the tribespeople’s own insights and sensitivities in volatile border areas, where the creation of new nation-states gave birth to fragmentation of indigenous Mongoloid ‘tribes’. Thus, the issue of indigeneity and the fluctuations inherent in identity-formation as also diverse experiences of people spread in transnational frontier region, such as India-Burma-Bangladesh zone, needs to be re-examined. The sentiments of people regarding the ‘homeland’ and memory pertaining to indigeneity/ethnic origin are strong. The article has also touched upon the deceptive colonial pigeonholing and arbitrary labeling of tribespeople in colonial era, which was part of hegemonic rush to catalogue the subjects. As we discussed, the Naga, Mizo, Kuki are not primeval ethnic nomenclatures. They are generally the colonial era fabrications. They are also not single entities (‘tribes’). They are rather constellation of dissimilar social formations. Having been on move, when they settled in specific territories, in the hills terrain, various clans and small segments diversely identified themselves and were differently labelled by their immediate/distant neighbours. In the Burmese classification, in reality, the Kuki, Naga and Meiteis, speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, are all categorized in a single ‘ethnic’ category. In India, the government recognizes Kukis, Meiteis and Nagas as three separate ethnic entities.

Zomia being the major thrust of the article, author discussed how folklore and memory of homeland is sustained by Zomi and allied ‘tribes’ now placed on both sides of borders over vast Indo-Burma borders, in order to reclaim the original ‘identity’. In these borderlands, the struggle for identity and indigeneity is projected through folkloric illustrations and historical processes of ‘memory’ articulation. It is argued that the Zomia concept, despite being highly debatable, provides a model to combine social history, historical ethnography and geography specially to study the struggles of indigenous minorities, seeking preservation of basic heritages. We have observed that in the actual ethnographic scenario many a conceptual features of Zomia do not match. Thus, notwithstanding certain essentials of upland culture appearing uniform in terms of language, culture, textiles, animism, shamanism, and practices of shifting-cultivation, the projected generalization about highland
societies/polities being ‘anarchic’ seems too idealistic, even in historical milieu. No highland tribe is “lawless” and they indeed function in accordance with their customary laws and through self-governing institutions, which in contemporary times have the backing of the modern state, though disastrously.

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Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Africa: Lessons Drawn for Nigeria

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Abstract: This article examines the efficacy of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in grappling with myriad of conflicts that have ravaged the continent of Africa, and draws out lessons for the Nigerian State. For decades, mechanisms adopted in resolving African conflicts were largely western, excluding the indigenous models. However, today’s African conflict theatre has assumed shocking dimensions due to relapse of some conflicts that were resolved using western strategies. Scholars have attributed this imbroglio to insensitivity on the part of actors to adopt methods that are suitable to African conflict milieu and the abandonment of indigenous models for western approaches. From a positional standpoint, this study proposes two of these indigenous mechanisms and draws out lessons for Nigeria.

Key words: Indigenous, conflict resolution, mechanisms in Africa, Gacaca system, MatoOput mechanism, Nigeria.

Introduction
Historically, Africa profiles the highest statistics of violent conflicts in the world (Nwadike and Ekeanyanwu 2012:3; Zeleza 2000:1; Adedeji 1999:3; Bujra 2002:1). These conflicts range from land/border disputes, resource control, ethnic cleavages to wars of liberation, to mention a few. Moreover, Africa’s conflict theatre seems to have taken a crescendo right from the end of cold-war,

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with independence struggles, ethno-religious conflicts, and intra/inter-state wars taking the centre stage. For example, during the four decades between the 1960s and the 1990s, there have been about 80 violent changes of governments in the 48 sub-Saharan African countries (Gurr, 1991: 153; Adedeji 1999: 3; Bujra 2002: 1). Beginning with the Sudanese conflict, countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Nigeria and Eritrea took centre stages from the 1960s to 1970s. Although there were restoration of peace in majority of them, other countries including Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Uganda experienced a reversion from the 1980s with new ones such as Chad and Liberia, and worsened in the 1990s in Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Cameroon, Somalia, Burundi, Guinea and Cote d’Ivoire. Almost one third of the world’s genocides between 1960 and 1988 (eleven of thirty-five) took place in Africa (Harff and Gurr, 1988: 359-371). Consolidating the statistics, Uppsala survey argued that the period between 1990 and 2002 witnessed the intensification of wars and armed conflicts in Africa. As of February 2008, there were only five active wars ongoing in the continent; Sudan (Darfur region), Kenya (post-election violence between December 2007 and February 2008), Somalia (excluding Somaliland), DR Congo (eastern region) and Chad. Between 2010 and 2013, there were armed conflicts in Cote d’Ivoire, Mali, Equatorial Guinea and Central African Republic with awful consequences, generating intervention at the regional, extra-regional and international levels. These variables and indicators portend one thing: to present Africa as a continent of deep horror, with people who cannot live peaceably among themselves and ungovernable.

Unfortunately however, the dilemma confronting Africa today is not really the occurrence and/or egregiousness of the conflict in the real sense, but how to resolve these conflicts in such a manner as to prevent the past ones from re-occurring and also contain the present ones from escalating and degenerating into full-scale war. Since conflict is path of human interaction, the choice of right methods/instruments, appropriate techniques and suitable strategies for its resolution in Africa is one issue of concern to various stakeholders. Besides, most of the numerous conflict resolution strategies adopted were of western configurations, thus excluding the indigenous mechanisms. Unfortunately, Africa’s indigenous methods of conflict resolution have recorded tremendous results for decades, even in post-cold war era. What are these methods? How effective are they? Can they be deployed in today’s conflict theatre? Who are the actors? Therefore the essence of this article is to examine among others, two major indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution in Africa, i.e. the MatoOput of northern Uganda and the Gacaca court system of Rwanda, and how lessons can be drawn for the Nigerian State. However, there is the need to do a brief explanation of the causes of conflict in Africa.

Methodology
The researchers in this article have adopted qualitative research approach through document analysis because of its suitability for an article of this nature. De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2011:376) list; observation method, interview method, documents and secondary analysis as different approaches a researcher might adopt under qualitative methodology. Although, the last two methods (documents and secondary analyses) are similar and often over overlap but the two are not the same
and should not be used inter-exchange-ably (de Vos et al 2011: 376). Documentary analysis involves the study of existing documents, through which a deeper understanding of the content might be gained (Ritchie and Lewis (2003:35). A good number of documents are available to the social researcher and such can be found in the study of literature (Neuman, 2000: 395). Documents to be analysed can either be personal or official (non-personal), such documents are maintained on a continuous basis by large organisations such as government institutions. Mass media such as radio, cinema, television (and many more) are some of the categories of documents that are freely available for a social researcher and even the public for analysis (de Vos, 2011:379). When a social researcher focuses on factual data, mass media can be viewed as excellent sources of information (de Vos et al, 2011.379). Despite numerous merits associated with research approach of document analysis, the same method could be vitiated by factors as confidentiality, anonymity, limitation of using available data base and difficulty of obtaining sources (de Vos et al, 2011:388). This article is akin to such difficulty of obtaining primary information on African indigenous conflict resolution.

Why Conflicts in Africa?
Conflict is the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups. It is a global phenomenon, and an integral part of human interactions right from creation. Even in contemporary time, conflict of violent nature has been associated with Europe, Asia and Africa. However, the enormity of conflicts in Africa is incomparable to any other continent to the extent that it is perceived to be a “house at war against itself.” Conflict is a calculated attempt to pursue an actor’s political and socio-economic objectives, which are reflected in their values, needs, interests and positions. It is pertinent to note that African conflicts are basically of two types, namely inter-state and intra-state conflicts. Inter-state conflict was more pronounced during the independence era. This is related to the Cold War saga. Its devastative impact on the continent led to the genesis of what was portrayed as ‘post-Cold War wars’ in Africa, hampered by the crisis of legitimacy and motivated by the opportunities of neoliberal globalization (Francis, 2006, 80-85; Kaldor, 1999; Duffield, 2002). During the cold war, the global rival inferno particularly between East and West made any country, especially in Africa, an entity of strategic consideration. Such conflicts centred on the control over government and territories such as that occurred between Chad and Libya over Aouzzou strip, Ethiopia and Somalia over the area, and an intervention by Tanzania in Uganda to remove the regime of Idi Amin.

Nevertheless, from the end of the Cold War, armed conflicts of intra-state configurations have manifested in various dimensions in Africa (Wallenstein, 2007: 121). It is dissimilar to military coups, which sometimes result in limited violence, attempted coups, temporary rebellions, demonstrations by militias, armed gangs, freedom movements and terrorist organisations. Intra-state conflicts are typically classified as identity conflicts, propelled by questions of ethnicity, religion, and space among others; resource conflicts (Gurr, 2000; Collier, 2000, 2003; Zartman, 1995); conflicts linked to superpower rivalry and its aftermath; and conflicts associated more broadly with governance failure. Mary Kaldor (2006: 1-2), describes African wars of the post-cold war dispensation as the ‘new wars’
distinguished by an obscuring of the distinction between (conventional) wars, organised crime and upsetting violation of human rights or to use Robert Kaplan’s (1994) exaggeration, ‘criminal anarchy’. Expanding its context, the United Nations described the ‘new wars’ as complex political proliferation of major crises in transitional societies, the majority of which are intra-state conflicts, characterised by various causes, and requiring multidimensional international responses, including a combination of military intervention, peace support operations, humanitarian relief programmes, high-level political intervention and diplomacy (Francis, 2005: 14). However, most of the sources of these conflicts are complex, multifaceted and deep. They are caused by a range of factors which can be mostly adjudged as the root causes of the conflict.

**Legacy of Colonialism** is one of the profound causes of African conflicts. According to McGraw (2012:2), the impact of colonialism is still being felt in most independent African States till date. Contemporarily, several African countries are still struggling to grapple with the challenge of nation building and a number of developmental issues due to the parasitic effects of colonialism, which has metamorphosed into imperialism in post-colonial and post-independent era. Imperialism has brought about a direct and indirect manipulation of Africa by the Western powers to maintain a dominant hold on her economies; siphon her resources, and ensure a constant flow of capital from the South to the North (Rodney 1983). Colonialism led to the integration of Africa into the world capitalist system in which Africa primarily serve as the source and supplier of raw materials for the Western industrial production on one hand, and a dumping ground for European industrial waste on the other. It was a business enterprise which to Andre Gunder Frank was based on “unequal exchange”. This was further expanded in the works of scholars like Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, to mention a few. For instance, Walter Rodney (1983) argues in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* that the foundation of Africa’s underdevelopment today is the consequence of the Western capitalist system of dominance, unequal exchange and exploitation.

Colonialism also brought about an illogical soldering of diverse African societies and ethno-cultural regional groups into single State entity that were destined to split. Most of these disparate groups with age-long adversarial and historical enmities as reflected in their tribes, clans, kingdoms and empires, were fused to form sovereign states during colonial era. Taylor (1991) argued that bringing them together further heightened the age-long acrimonies and strives. For instance, the vast territory of Nigeria that was carved out of West Africa enclosed three major nations and several smaller ones. Among the large groups, the Yoruba in the West were different from the Muslim Hausa in the North, who in turn were quite distinct from the Ibo in the east. The artificial fusion led to the Nigeria civil war of 1967-70 (Henderson 2000:52).

**Religion and Ethnicity** are major causal factors fuelling conflict in Africa till date. While the vast majority of Northern African conflicts were prosecuted on religious ground, the Southern and other regions in Africa were of ethnic dimensions. Algeria for example witnessed the worst conflict in Northern Africa which occurred between Islamist and military secularists, and religion, though
politicized. Mortimer (1996) argues that it is one of the nastiest and intractable armed conflicts in the world.

On the other hand, in the 1990s, African conflict theatre took the form of ethnic cleavages. The genocidal war in Rwanda for instance was essentially the direct consequence of ethnic cleavages between the Hutus and the Tutsi. Burundi and Sudan also witnessed ethnic violence in the 1990s (Osaghae 2005:111).

**Widespread poverty, high level of illiteracy and unemployment** are problems that have stirred-up conflict in most African States. These issues bring about inequalities, which consequently wet the ground for tensions and uprisings. According to UNESCO (2008) report, in 1990, there were over 177 millions illiterates in all of Africa, but by 2008 there were over 200 million. Similarly, there is an increasing rate of unemployment in Africa that is taking place in the face of rapid demographic growth which ultimately creates a consortium of idle group of persons with daring reactions. High levels of illiteracy consolidated by these pools of idle population breed insurgency, and on the other hand serve as bait for recruitment into insurgent groups by terrorist organizations and political extremists (Michailof, Kostner and Devictor 2002:3).

**Resource Control** has been a major contending issue at the root most African conflicts (Oluwaniyi 2011). This paradox of ‘suffering amidst plenty’ which is attributed largely to corruption and bad management of African states’ natural resources by corrupt ruling class and governing elites, state weakness and a range of external factors (African Development Bank, 2007: xv-xix). For instance, in Liberia, the control and exploitation of diamonds, timber and a range of other natural resources account and was part of the agitations of the conflicting parties to the Liberia’s civil war. It is similar to the experience in Angola where several peace-processes failed to yield any meaning result owing to the interest of warring factions over the control of the country’s diamond fields. Most African economies are weakly built around the exploitation and export of one or a combination of strategic natural resources such as diamonds, gold, uranium, cobalt, copper, rock, phosphate, timber and oil (Oluwaniyi 2011:146). But greed and economic opportunities rather than genuine grievances account for the proliferation of predatory and militant groups in many conflict-affected countries of Africa (Niger Delta in Nigeria and DRC to mention but a few) coupled with extraverted structures of capital accumulation in contributing to instigating shadow state and, to a greater extent, aggravating conflicts in Africa (Oluwaniyi 2011:146).

An assessment of these causes of African conflicts shows a linkage between the historical and a range of contemporary factors, though interrelated. The impacts of these conflicts are huge and excruciating, especially for women and children who are mostly affected. It leads to the destruction of state institutions including its social fabrics; rape, maiming, deaths of vast majority of adults and the promotion of migration flow of refugees, to mention a few (Allen, 1999: 318-319). Regrettably, these wars have proved very difficult to resolve due to its complex and dynamic nature.
The venomous and protracted nature of African conflicts have made it imperative to seek and adopt measures that will facilitate the resolution of these conflicts in such a manner that will be agreeable to conflicting parties; with the goal of rebuilding broken relationships, and by extension achieve sustainable peace and socio-economic development. Unfortunately, most the frontline mechanisms adopted in resolving these conflicts have not been enduring in addressing its root causes due to the complex and dynamic nature of most of these conflicts.

Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Conceptual framework
In opposition to realists’ (Deutsch 1973; Morgenthau 1973:4; Walt 1959:232) argument about the inevitability and irresolvability of violent conflict in Africa except its management, some scholars (Miall 2004; Best 2004; Albert 2008) have shown optimism of the possibility of resolving conflicts. Conflict resolution aims to address causes of conflict and seeks to build new and relationships by helping them explore, analyse, question and reframe their positions and interests; it helps in alleviating, eliminating or transforming actual and potential violent conflict into peaceful (non-violent) processes for social development, human safety and political change; it moves conflicting parties from the destructive patterns of zero-sum conflict to positive sum (win-win) constructive outcomes (Mwajiru, 2001: 5; Miall, 2004: 3-4). Conflict resolution, therefore, becomes a process that leads the action-system to a state where the conditions of conflict are no longer present; the system must no longer have two or more incompatible goal-states (Galtung, 1965: 351). Within this context, solutions to such conflicts must be mutually acceptable, self-perpetuating and sustaining to all parties concerned because deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed, behaviours are changed towards non violence, attitudes are no longer hostile, and structures are no longer exploitative (Klare, 2001:36).

A number of actors engage in Africa’s conflict resolution design (Midodzi and Jaha 2011:196). Starting with the nation-state, in which local and national initiatives are employed as the first level of response to conflict before other external interventions follow; b) sub-regional bodies such as the East African Community (EAC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) involved in conciliatory and mediatory roles, including taking up military role in Africa’s conflict (Bujra 2002:40; Clapham 2011). A distinct case is the West African group forming ECOMAS Military Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which has helped to create peace in crises areas within the sub-region; c) regional framework in Africa such as the African Union (AU) and other international frameworks such as the European Union and lastly, the international organisation basically referred to as the United Nations, has been at the centre stage of conflict management and resolution globally, working through the Security Council, General Assembly or special representatives (Clapham 2001). The UN Charter explains the various means of resolving conflicts such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration and other third party intervention mechanisms.
1. Negotiation
This involves directly, dialogue between warring parties in resolving their differences and forging
stable peace. Negotiation constitutes the “art of the dialectics of wills that use force (and/or peaceful
measures) to resolve their conflict (Luttwak, 1987: 241). Strategies and tactics, in addition to options
and the available resources, constitute the pillars of negotiating dynamics. Their overriding principle is
to take advantage to the extent possible of the adversary’s weaknesses and oversights. The
configurative outcome determines the agreements reached and how they are implemented. In this
sense, negotiation is a double-edged sword: it can resolve conflict or exacerbate it. While it is
impossible to predict with certainty the result of a negotiating process, a number of premises may
indicate its direction. Therefore, the final outcome of negotiations usually reflects the relative power
configuration of the parties concerned; “where one ends up depends on where one starts” (Raiffa,
1982: 215). If the weaker side does not exhibit considerable firmness to establish a credibility
threshold sufficient to make demands or uphold positions, diminished will automatically gives the
stranger party the opportunity to dominate agenda. It becomes a positional or distributional form of
negotiation because incapability allows for the unilateral alteration of the rules of the game and for
redefining the norms that all actors must follow in their mutual relations. This dimension supports
Kissinger’s observation that ‘the weak do not negotiate’ (cited in Sabet, 1998: 7).’ But negotiation can
be collaborative when synergies are displayed by the disputing parties and are able to constructively
engage in positive simulation.

2. Third Party Intervention
This occurs when conflict goes beyond mere negotiation, of the direct disputants or warring parties to
involve an external intervener such as a mediator, facilitator, observer, arbitrator, and peace enforcer
to mention but a few (Isumonah 2008:1999). The myriad of armed conflicts and wars of varying
intensities in African post-colonial history has provided a theatre for diverse shades of third party
interveners. The third party intervention methods are varied and mixed, and they can be peaceful or
military in nature. Some of the peaceful forms are: mediation, arbitration, preventive diplomacy, and
peace support operations.

3. Mediation
Mediation is voluntary, non-coercive and non-binding. Therefore, it is less risky for conflicting parties
as it does not take away much of their control. With guidance from skilled mediators, the mediation
process nudges disputants towards a mutually acceptable agreement and creates potential for
transforming conflicts so that they do not recur (DeRouen and Bercovitch, 2012: 22). Eralp, Quinn and
Wilkenfeld, (2012: 24) in their study observe that some form of mediation occurred in 69% of all violent
ethnic crises in Africa for the period 1990-2005. There are three main styles of mediation, namely;
facilitative style, which is more or less a two-way conduit of information for actors to understand the
common ground on which agreement might take place. It is the lowest level of intervention that
mediators can adopt; formulative style involves making substantial proposals to the parties, including
suggestions for a framework for an acceptable outcome or concession parties could make. The
mediator becomes more assertive and is no longer simply a channel of information; lastly, in the manipulative style, the mediator becomes proactive by offering inducements and/or sanctions to effect disputant behaviour. Scholars agree that for more effectiveness, it is much better to adopt broadest range of styles possible when they intervene in violent intrastate crises that take place within ethnically protracted conflicts in Africa (Eralp, Quinn and Wilkenfeld, 2012: 24).

The mediator deals predominantly with the sharing of ideas and evaluations regarding specific issues and recommendations. It attempts to facilitate a negotiated settlement on a set of specific issues. But sometimes, tactics used maybe manipulative in nature. Mediation in civil war is neither a panacea nor a placebo; rather, it is a policy tool that is occasionally effective. Though mediation can assist negotiations by influencing the subjective perceptions and the objective environment of the disputants, it can intensify fears of continued fighting and add to the sense of urgency surrounding deliberations. For instance, the peace negotiations in Burundi were stalled by the proliferation of mediators (13 in all) (Ould-Abdallah, 2000: 131). It can also lessen fears of settlement and provide a way for parties to test their perceptions about the character, aims and needs of their opponents. Therefore, mediation requires leverage, problem-solving abilities, strategy and timing (Ould-Abdallah, 2000: 131).

4. Arbitration

It is a dispute resolution process in which the disputing parties present their case to a third party who examines all the evidence and then makes a decision for the parties in conflict (Best 2004:91). In other words, arbitration imposes settlement and its role is directive, coercive as well as evaluative in the sense that one party wins and the other loses. In this case, the parties commit themselves to accepting the outcome of a court of arbitration. However, arbitration may be difficult to apply to conflicts dealing with governmental power or a regional balance of power. The mechanism was successfully used to determine the Bakassi oil-rich Peninsula dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon in 2002 (Anyu 2007:46).

5. Preventive diplomacy

It is a set of diplomatic actions aimed at preventing violent disputes from arising between parties, aiming to mitigate or prevent the likelihood of existing conflict escalating into open violence, and to limit the spread of violent conflicts when they spread (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). Preventive diplomacy has evolved along three tracks involving different sets of actors. Track 1, which is the oldest model, applies to state-based or interstate diplomacy and initiatives to mitigate conflicts. Track II is the diplomacy applied by intergovernmental organisations such as ECOWAS, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Horn of Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), and UN agencies. Track III diplomacy of local and international civil societies such as Greenpeace, Environmental Rights Action (ERA), Oxfam, International Alert, and Amnesty International to mention but a few. But a constructive application of the three strands, which tends to be the preferred practice in most contemporary armed conflict, is known as multi-track diplomacy. The practical challenge of multi-track diplomacy is usually how to coordinate and reconcile the activities of
the different third party interveners- a challenge that often becomes more problematic if intervention involves some powerful external actors representing hidden national, institutional or corporate interests (Best 2004:95).

Most times, peaceful intervention is usually difficult to achieve without bringing military forces, even though military intervention has remained a contentious issue in Africa’s armed conflicts over issues of sovereignty. Military responses are necessary to help mediators and negotiators, facilitate the emergence and implementation of Peace Accords as the case maybe (Galadima 2004). The major military responses recognised by the AU and UN range between peacekeeping operations and peace enforcement.

6. Peacekeeping operations

Peacekeeping operations are measures instituted after a ceasefire and subsequently, peace agreement-they are there to implement what has been agreed and have an impartial role after a devastating war when the conflicting parties are not likely to be able to cooperate easily with each other as a means of resolving the conflict. The number of new peacekeeping operations-renamed ‘peace operations’-, using the definition given by the UN, reflects closely the dimensions of resolutions passed by the Security Council (Isumonah 2005:199).

First developed by the UN in 1948 following the creation of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO), deployed to monitor the ceasefire between the Israelis and the Arab states in the war that followed the creation of the new state of Israel, it has graduated from traditional or first generation peacekeeping to a multidimensional or second generation force, based on the consent of conflicting parties to assist in the supervision of ceasefires, regroupement and demobilization of forces, their reintegration into civilian life and the destruction of their weapons, the design and implementation of de-mining programmes; the return of refugees and displaced persons, the provision of humanitarian assistance, the supervision of existing administrative structures, the establishment of new police forces; the design and supervision of constitutional, judicial and electoral reforms; the observation, supervision and even organisation and conduct of elections; and the coordination of support for economic rehabilitation and reconstruction (Boutros-Ghali, 1995: 6).

From the period UN peacekeeping operation was deployed to former Zaire (now DRC), known as the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) from July 1960 to June 1964, Africa has been a recipient of over 60 percent of the UN peacekeeping operation globally. Between 1989 and 1999, a total of sixteen UN peacekeeping missions were deployed to Africa (USIP, 2004: 4). They are Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and the DRC to mention but a few. Efforts of the AU and sub-regional organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are geared toward peacekeeping operations including sending observer missions to conflict areas in Africa.
7. Peace enforcement

Unlike peacekeeping operations, peace enforcement operations lack the consent of the relevant warring parties. It employs military might on the ground in the attempt to force parties to reach political settlements, including defeating recalcitrant armies deemed to be enemies of peace (Iheme 2004). There were two attempts between 1990 and 1995 directed at peace enforcement in African civil wars. First, a sub-regional effort by the ECOWAS group through its military group, ECOMOG to impose a peace settlement in Liberia; and second, the intervention by the United States and United Nations to establish peace in Somalia. Enforcement efforts failed in both contexts, revealing the difficulties of peace enforcement in civil wars.

Many a time, the intervention mechanisms to a conflict right from its onset can be problematic and can even be a source of conflict itself (Kador 2007). Conflicts often occur within certain political, economic, social and cultural milieu. Today, many of the conflicts that occur or what Kaldor (2007) called ‘new wars’ are more internal, non-conversational and culture-sensitive (Boege 2006). Many of these ‘new wars’ need intervention mechanisms that are culturally-based and relate to their environment of occurrence, hence the need for indigenous conflict resolution methods or what is commonly referred to as “African Alternative Dispute Resolution” (ADDR) mechanisms.

Moreover, all the aforementioned methods reveal top-down approach to resolving conflict in Africa. The western-oriented systems imposed on African people are often framed in the context of the ‘liberal peace project.’ To Sorbo and Vale (1997), they were produced in the context of international peace, security and cooperation at the end of the cold war and therefore, focus exclusively on how members of the international community come to make, create and keep peace on the continent. It not only hides the contributions that traditional conflict management systems in Africa can make towards ensuring peace but sometimes perpetuates conflict situations (Albert, 2007: 31).

The indigenous models

Indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are an-age long systemic instruments of reconciliation and relationship building (Cloudree 1999:1). These systems, procedures and regulations are contained in the customs and traditions of African countries. The importance of these systems is that it aims to unravel the underlying causes of conflicts, resolve conflicts and help to heal and restore broken relationships. These mechanisms are departures from the European concept of justice which is an adversarial contention of evidence with the aim of ascertaining the guilty and the guiltless, thereby punishing the guilty. Whereas the African approach implored the guilty to accuse to confess in order to start a healing process of reconciliation (Tutu 1999, Fred-Mensah, 2008).

The relevance of some of these models is in the settlement of dispute for peace to be restored (Cloudree 1999:1). Indigenous models are usually employed in a familiar socio-cultural milieu that is informal (Osei-Hwedie and Rankopo 2000:34), involving the values, beliefs, suspicions, attitudes, among others (Brock-Utne 2001:6). The importance of these systems is its capacity to unravel the
underlying causes of conflicts, resolve conflicts and help to heal and restore broken relationships (Osei-Hwedie and Rankopo 2000:36). Hence, the underlying causes of conflict must be unraveled to portray common understanding of the past and present (Osei-Hwedie and Rankopo 2002:36). Brocke-Utte also affirmed that the remote aim is to re-build broken relationships, correct wrongs and restore justice (Brock-Utte 2001:9). The objective of indigenous models is not necessarily to accuse or punish offenders, but to settle dispute, heal wounded hearts and reach a compromise that may assist to improve future relationship (Brock-Utte 2001).

GACACA SYSTEM IN RWANDA

The Rwandan Gacaca traditional systems of conflicts resolution dates back to the 17th century. The king who is otherwise referred to as mwami assumed the link between the natural and the supernatural world; also governed the several smaller territories that made up Rwanda. While the mwami was the highest arbitrator of the land, the abiru who are the guardian of the tradition assisted in administration of justice. The Inzu who is the village head on the other hand was responsible for the observation of ancestral cult, arrangement of marriages, and control of the collective title on land or cattle, among others. The uniqueness of the system is in the fact that societal problems are first addressed by the Inzu, which is the lowest unit of the Rwanda society in historical epoch. This practice became what is referred to as the gacaca gatherings. The word gacaca which means ‘justice on the grass’ was derived from the kinyarwandan word ‘umugaca’ which has to do with a plant that is so soft to sit on that people preferred to gather on it (Reynljens 1990:34). The rationale behind the gathering however was the restoration of social harmony, the establishment of truth about an incidence, and the punishment of the perpetrator, or even compensation through a gift (Werchick 2003). However, colonialism almost suppressed this traditional system with the introduction of Western legal system, but the gacaca system was still maintained as a conflict resolution mechanism at the grassroots level (Reynljens 1990:36).

In responding to the genocidal war at the international level, the UN Security Council Resolution 955 established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute individuals responsible for crimes of genocide and other violation of international law in order to ensure that these kinds of gross violation of human rights would not go unpunished. Unfortunately, the relation between the ICTR and the Rwandan government has always been difficult, mostly because of the possibility that the tribunal might also investigate war crimes committed by Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) soldiers and their commanders. Hence, on Rwandan soil, the ICTR is portrayed and perceived an instance of the Western way of doing justice - highly inefficient, time consuming, expensive and not adapted to Rwandan custom.

The Rwandan Government established the Gacaca Law to indigenous courts a mandate to try crime cases committed during the genocide. Gacaca is an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution that was originally practiced among the Banyarwanda, who use it to resolve dispute at the grassroots level through dialogue and a community justice system. It is an intricate process based on custom, tradition,
and social norms. Gacaca is one of the largest community based restorative justice process in post-genocide Rwanda (Mutisi 2009). Traditionally, gacaca emphasized morality as a basis for adjudication. As a result, gacaca courts were run by members of the community known as the ‘Inyangamugayo’, or persons of exemplary conduct, who were renowned for courage, honour, justice and truth.

The Gacaca system often ended with the parties in dispute sharing a traditional libation and meal as a gesture of reconciliation. Serious offences would result in an offender being ostracized from the community. This system (Gacaca) resembles similar processes that developed in other parts of Africa, including matooput in northern Uganda, the ‘gadaa’ system among the Oromo of Ethiopia, and the guuirt of Somaliland.

Truth telling is the fundamental principle of the gacaca system. The validity of evidence is cross-referenced or cross-examined by a number of witnesses in the community who can attest to alleged atrocity committed.

However, this indigenous model has been criticized on its capacity to address traumatic issues. Human Right Watch (2003) advanced that gacaca courts have handled close to a million accused persons. Similarly, gacaca courts are handling serious crimes comprising of murder and other atrocities perpetrated during the genocide which are matters beyond the scope of the pre-colonial gacacas. These cases are overwhelming for the traditional gacaca system to handle, since it is not a minor or less serious dispute.

The pre-colonial gacaca system was considered an indigenous institution for communal justice, however, it has been streamlined, ritualized and stretched through the machinery of the State to function in the jurisdiction of retributive or criminal justice. On the surface it still maintains the “open atmosphere status”, in the actual fact, the gacaca system functions like a formal court embraces the prosecution-like approach to justice (Karbo&Mutisi 2008). Michael (2003) reveals how the gacaca court system was used to threaten the current Rwandan regime critics and opponents; thus, undermining the restorative notion of this indigenous model, and replacing it with retributive.

The Gacaca system places premium on ‘truth-telling”, but unfortunately, it is facing the same challenge of ‘telling the truth’. As a matter of fact, truth telling does not always lead or culminate in peace. It has implications for peace which are revealed in the aftereffects of telling the truth. Since telling the truth involves recounting verbal memories of intimidation, violence and ordeal, the process could itself fuel identity-based animosity and consequently resuscitate identity challenges (Karbo & Mutisi 2008). To further buttress this point, Minow (1998) opines that ‘truth telling’ strategies in hanging somewhere in between “vengeance and forgiveness”. However, other factors such as: gender exclusion; lack of formal training for judges in relation to gender based violence and crime; overcrowding of Rwandan prisons; inequitable and ethnic bias against the Hutus, to mention a few, undermines the original conception of the gacaca indigenous system.
MATO OPUT

The MatoOput mechanism of conflict resolution is dominant among the Acholi people of northern Uganda and it hinged on the understanding of conflict as a devastating phenomenon (Wasonga 2009). The Acholi people place the interest of the community first, and above their individual and group interests. Their allegiances are also reflected in the celebration of life and believe in their ancestral spirit, otherwise referred to as jok who guide their moral standing. As it is practiced, when a wrong is committed, the ancestor sends cen, the spirit of the dead person in the form of misfortune, unless the elders and the offender take appropriate action to restore the broken relationship. This phenomenon of cen illustrates the centrality of relationships between the natural and the supernatural world in Acholi, the living and the dead, (and) the normative continuity between an individual and the community (Wasonga 2009:32).

The traditional Acholi society has no formal or informal courts of law, so judgement depends upon the truth and a readiness to accept responsibility for one’s actions. These Acholi principles are embodied in the practice of matooput. The word ‘mato’ means ‘drinking’ and oput is a type of tree with bitter herb. Hence, MatoOput literally means ‘drinking of bitter herb,’ made from the leaves of the oput tree. The drinking of the bitter herbs symbolically means that the two conflicting parties accept the bitterness of the past and promise never to taste such bitterness again (Wasonga 2009:33).

MatoOput is an indigenous approach to justice and the re-integration of offenders which involves mediation of truth, accountability and reconciliation through certain symbolic acts and spiritual appeasement (Wasonga 2009:33). This principle emphasizes the necessity of harmonious living and the restoration of social order in the society, especially after a typically long process of mediation between the two conflicting parties and only when the offender is willing to take responsibility. A cleansing ceremony or process is carried out especially in murder cases (which is a major breakdown of communal social fabrics). It is to appease the spirit of the dead in order to prevent being haunted by the spirit of the deceased. Moreover, this cleansing process help to heal the wounds in the heart of the bereaved so as to see or feel that justice is done. The entire cleansing process is premised on certain fundamental values they shared which include reconciliation and acceptance of responsibility, repentance, forgiveness, and compensation for the restoration of the social fabrics that was broken down (Wasonga 2009:33). The elders act as mediators and perform the rituals only when the offender is willing to confess so as to establish the truth, because cheating or deceit based on the believe of the Acholi could dire consequences including the provocation of ancestral judgment.

As a follow-up to the above, forgiveness also play a vital role in the process of relationship build and in the restoration of peace to the Acholi’s society. While confession brings about the acknowledgement of guilt and offence committed, forgiveness on the other hand is geared towards settlement of disputes and reconciliation. The settlement is usually in the form of compensation to the bereaved family or
community. This could take the form of giving out a girl as a gift to the bereaved family or community. She is to serve as ransom for the offence committed and to help open up the lines of communication that was closed due to the offence committed initially. The compensation is followed by elders’ invitation of the two parties in conflict (i.e. the offender and the offended) to the actual matooput ceremony, which is a cleansing process that takes place usually along the borders of the conflicting parties or their communities. It commences with an exchange of rams and goats, after which the conflicting parties/communities drink the oput water from the same calabash. This is a symbolic exercise. While the herb in the calabash represents or symbolizes the bitterness of shedding the innocent’s blood, the drinking of the water (usually with hands behind their backs and sipping the bitter juice simultaneously with their heads touching each other during the process) is a demonstration of their willingness and commitment to make peace, heal and restore broken relationship.

Furthermore, this is followed with the sharing of meals. This is premised on the assumption that their ancestors take part with them in the entire process and are witnesses to the process of reconciliation for peace. Meals sharing in Acholi culture is a form of re-union, since the dross and stain that soiled the relationship in the community has been removed and normalcy has been restored to the social fabrics of the community.

However, this indigenous model is not without any gap, especially in its sustainability and capacity to restore real peace in post-conflict era in Uganda. For, instance, it is a known fact that for a peaceful resolution of conflicts, all parties must be fully represented and actively participate in the peace process. Unfortunately, the matooput model is somehow relatively exclusionary in its approach. There is no clear structure that can be tailored for the inclusion of the Ugandan government as party to the conflict. Hence, any peace process that is selective as to ignore certain parties risk being inadequate. The implication is that this model not all-encompassing. Therefore, for matooput to be effective and credible, it would require the participation of both President Yoweri Museveni (Former Ugandan President) and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebel leader - Joseph Kony in the ceremony as counteracting parties in the conflict. If this is done, it will enhance the credibility and sustainability of this mechanism in the long run.

The compensation aspect of the entire cleansing process is also questionable in terms of its proportionality. Though it will appease the offended parties/community and the ancestors, but it might not be proportionate to the crime committed. Besides, the demise of both the crime perpetrator and the victim (the offender and the offended), and their ultimate absence from the cleansing process or scene may stall the credibility of the conflict resolution exercise.

Lastly, given the devastative effect of the conflict on virtually all spheres of the social fabric of the Ugandan State, there is the skepticism on the usefulness and capacity of the matooput mechanism of conflict resolution and restoration of peace and justice to generate sustainable peace.
Any lesson for the Nigerian State?

Indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution abound among the numerous ethnic configurations that make up the Nigerian State. For example, the Southeastern part of the country which is made up of five Igbo-speaking States – Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States have indigenous institutions of conflict resolution which include the family, Amala (council of elders), Okpara system (eldest male), Umunna (clan), Umuada (females born in a town but married out), age-grades, assembly of the people, Ohanaeze (assembly of the people and king), hunters’ association, and agbara (local deities or oracles (Nwolise 2005:157). These are not very different from those found in other parts of traditional Africa. For example, among the Yoruba tribe, they have the council of elders (Agba), family heads (Oloriebi), ward heads, the Ogboni, etc. Traditional rulers also play vital role in conflict resolution both in the pre-colonial, colonial and in post-colonial era. In fact, their role in contemporary conflict situations in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized. Traditional rulers such as: the emirs in the northern part of Nigeria, the Obis among the Igbo speaking, the Olu/Oba in the mid-western States, and Obas in the Western part of Nigeria, have played prominent role in the containment and resolution of pockets of conflicts in their domains (Nwolise 2005:155). For instance, the Ooni of Ife (an Oba) played crucial roles in the resolution of Ife-Modakeke conflict (Olayiwola and Okorie 2010:958). Unfortunately, however, their impacts and the currency of influence they wield today is a complete departure from the past. Hence, there is a cloak of silence on the efficacy of traditional or indigenous models of conflict resolution in contemporary Nigerian State. This is why Nwolise (2005:152) argued that the abandonment of utility-laden indigenous methods of conflict resolution for the Western models is largely responsible for the multiplicity of avoidable violent conflicts all over the continent. According to Harsanyi (1969), a mere land dispute between two families or communities leads to murder and destruction of hundred of houses and killing of several people today; whereas in traditional Africa, the mechanisms put in place to monitor, manage and resolve conflicts would have readily prevented such wanton damage.

It is pertinent to note that most of the recent uprisings in Nigeria are products of failed conflict resolution processes. Most of the models adopted to a large extent enable one side to take everything leaving the other side with nothing; as discovered in the concept of zero-sum game. A typical zero-sum game results in a win-loose situation. In Nigeria and other parts of Africa, zero-sum game nullifies the philosophy of ‘live and let’s live’, and the concept of being our brother’s keeper, to mention a few.

Both the gacaca and matooput indigenous systems of conflict resolution are two major pronounced and popular mechanisms in Africa owing to their uniqueness, local acceptance and their capacity the produce results. Notwithstanding their shortcomings, these indigenous models help to bring to the fore, the whole essence of conflict resolution in the African context which are as follows: to establish the truth; remove the root causes of conflicts; reconcile conflicting parties genuinely; preserve and ensure enduring peace in the society; set the right milieu for societal production and development;
promote good governance, law and order, security of lives and property, among others. All these can be adopted and utilized in today’s conflict resolution theatre for peace to be achieved in Nigeria, and Africa.

These are in contrast from what obtains in Nigeria today where nobody cares about the truth. The objective of the Shari’a or Native Court system is to win the case. Where there is violence between two groups, government deployed the police (or the military personnel) to keep peace, and follow this up at times by setting up a commission of enquiry, whose report may or may not see the light of day, and whose recommendations may never be implemented. All these worsen, rather than resolve disputes.

Moreover, contemporarily, Nigeria seems to the helpless and perplexed in the face of pockets of conflicts, one of which tend to threaten its sovereignty as a State: the Boko-haram insurgency and/or a terrorist group. Though it is a contestable argument whether to classify the operations of this group as a new form of ‘ethno-religious war’, which tends to adopt a jihadist campaign to Islamize Nigeria, and make the northern region of the country Islamic States. From another lens, it is perceived as the hand-work of certain radical elements to frustrate the administration of Nigeria’s president – Goodluck Jonathan.

Boko-haram has been unleashing horrific attacks on vulnerable groups since 2009, especially women and children; places of worship; markets; military establishments; to mention a few, that have claimed the lives of thousands of people in the Northern part of Nigeria till date. The biggest blow on the Nigerian states was recent kidnapping or abduction of over 200 female college students, which generated an outcry on a global scale (Punch Newspaper 2014). Several efforts were made to rescue these girls often in a brute-force-like manner but it has not yielded any meaning result till date. Though there was a global clamor for United Nations to intervene but little or no result has been recorded. Nigeria is in a precarious situation today even as her citizens are psychologically traumatized and are constantly in fear of this perilous situation. All these experiences underscore the fact that the methods adopted have not been effective.

However, it is pertinent to state at this juncture that Boko-haram just like other terrorist organizations has an origin, ideology, and proponents who are accessible to their traditional institutions and local communities. Moreover, Nigeria has a wealth of traditional techniques / methods for resolving conflicts ranging from appeals, use of emissaries, local bargaining, compensation, to mention a few; which could be brought to bear to resolve this quagmire. Hence, Nigeria need to look inward through the use of what Olaoba (2008:148) referred to as ‘rear-mirror’ to unlock her hidden indigenous conflict resolution potentials to resolve this deadlock. Subsequently, elements of the two aforementioned methods (Matooput and the Gacaca) could also be adopted to heal broken relationships and to promote the spirit of unity and togetherness. Hence there is an urgent need for more emphasis on
traditional methods of conflict resolution in contemporary times, and to find what William Zartman (2000:4) called ‘traditional cures for modern conflict’ in Nigeria, and Africa.

Conclusion
From the foregoing, indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are common practices in pre-colonial Africa. However, the protracted nature of African conflicts in the Post-cold war with its attendant grave consequences on the civilian populations as casualties, especially women and children, spur the international and regional communities under the aegis of their organizations to adopt several intervention strategies that were targeted not just at containing the conflicts but to seek appropriate ways of resolving them within the best possible time. These strategies as earlier mentioned were to support peace and ensure the resolution of conflicts, but sometimes in a brute-force-like fashion. However, the relapses of some of those conflicts are pointers to the ineffectiveness of some of the instruments used in the first instance. These limitations have left Africa with an option to look elsewhere for the resolution to its conflicts. However, since most African conflicts take place in a particular context and milieu, it is therefore logical and imperative for African conflict resolution actors to tune inward, discover and embrace African Indigenous models like the two that were enunciated above in tackling incessant conflicts that are ravaging the continent in recent times. Nigeria should also adopt and deploy these two methods into her conflict theatre, especially when most of these earlier methods employed by the government and other actors have yielded little or no result. Focus should therefore be on the indigenous models owing to its uniqueness and effectiveness, which are susceptible to generating tremendous results not only in contemporary Nigerian, but in African conflict setting.

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Balanced Employee and Employer Relationship: A Mechanism for Industrial Development in Nigeria

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Abstract: Social relationship is one of the basic features of human beings. This is so because of the fact that life could not be convenient without living with fellow human beings in the society. However, it is important to note that social relationship has basic processes in which if not balanced could lead to social conflict. This is evident in all human social settings especially the industrial settings; the process of relationship between the employees and employers is usually referred to as employment relationship. Employment relationship is the communication that takes place between the representatives of employees and employers on the issue of work relations. Balanced employment relationship is indispensable to the stability of any industrial organizations; it also facilitates the growth and development of industries in any country. The maintenance of a good human relationship is the main theme of industrial relations because its absence may cause the whole organizational structure to crumble. Years back, efforts exerted by employees, employers and their representatives as well as government to balance employment relations have not yielded much results and most often resulted into various industrial conflicts which have caused lots of setbacks to industrial development in the country. It is against this background that attempt is made in this paper to examine the role of balanced employee and employer relationship in the development of industries in Nigeria.

Keywords: Employee; Employer; Employment Relationship; Industrial Development.

Introduction

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Nigeria has over the years witnessed great numbers of incessant industrial actions and this is a reflection of imbalanced employee and employer relationship in the nation’s labour market. Employees and employers are indispensable actors of any industrial relations. One of the major concerns of industrial relations in any organisation is the pattern of relationship between the employee and employer within the workplace. Employment relationship is necessary for peace and harmony of the organization. But the selfish interests of both parties are making it difficult for the employment relationship to be balanced. This often results in the fact that employees from their own disposition often pressurise the employer to offer better working conditions and welfare provisions without considering the cost to the employer. The employer on the other hand also seeks to control cost and therefore tries to influence the unions not to ask for a lot. (Onasanya, 1999).

Meanwhile, Nigeria has not been able to attain acceptable international standard in industrial relations and this has created a gap between employees and employers. Power is concentrated in the hands of few employers, while the majority has been relegated to the insignificant position of mere wage earners. The employees have come to realize that most of their demands can be met if they resort to concerted and collective actions while the employers are aware of the fact that they can resist these demands. This denial or refusal to meet the genuine demands of workers often lead to dissatisfaction on the part of the employees, and this could even lead to violent activities such as picketing; lock-in; lock-out; work to rule and strike, all of which can hinder the production process and could cause harm to both the employees and the employers (Pandey, 2007).

Employees today have become demoralized by slowly rising salaries or, in some places, salary cuts. They have grown tired of being flexible and working long hours, and only get disappointed when that flexibility is not reciprocated by their companies in the way they want. Employees cannot be faulted for having certain expectations, and employers cannot be faulted for making business decisions that are required for them to stay afloat in the economy. In other words, employment relationship is often strained as employees expect better remunerations and the employers want higher profits (Melanie, 2009). In accordance with this, there is need for peaceful employment relations which cannot be achieved without balanced employee and employer relationships in any society that wants to develop industrially. In essence, the focus of this paper aims at explaining the need for balance industrial relations in Nigeria in order to attain industrial development of the country.

**Conceptual Clarifications**

In order to make this work more scholarly, there is the need to make clarifications of important concepts that are relevant to this work. One of such is the meaning of an employee.

**Who is an Employee?**

The word employee is a general term used for someone who is working for wages or salary. Employees can be seen as human beings motivated by intrinsic rewards and, by some, entitled to fairness and justice (John and Devasheesh 2008; Kaufman, 2005). Animashaun and Shabi, (1999) and Otobo (2000) see employee as someone who has nothing other than his labour power to sell in
exchange for a wage or salary. He lives essentially on basic income, which is the price puts on his labour power or enterprise.

According to International Labour Organisation's (ILO) report (2006), the term employee is a legal term which refers to a person who is a party to a certain kind of legal relationship which should be referred to as employment relationship. The term employee is a broader term that can be applied to a person who performs services in an employment relationship. Other laws such as Nigeria Labour Act (1990) define the employee as a person who undertakes to place his or her professional activity in exchange for remuneration, under the direction and authority of an employer. The Act also specifies that neither the legal status of the employer nor that of the employee shall be taken into account in determining whether a person is an employee.

In another instance, an employee is defined as a person who works in conditions of dependency or subordination (Chile Labour Code, 2002). In Mexico, an employee is referred to as someone performing personal subordinate work (Mexico Federal Labour Act, 1995). In the opposite sense, countries where descriptive definitions are the rule, the legislation merely states that an employee is a person working for an employer (ILO, 2006). For example, in Lesotho, employee means any person who works in any capacity under a contract with an employer; in Thailand, a person who agrees to do work for an employer in return for a wage, regardless of the name given to describe that person's status. In Australia, any person whose usual occupation is that of employee, but does not include a person who is undertaking a vocational placement (Lesotho Labour Code Order 1992, Thailand Labour Protection Act, 1998 and Australia Workplace Relations Act, 1997).

Employees are frequently conceptualized as an economic or a behavioural being (Kaufman, 1999). Since employees must take primary responsibility for their career development, they must also ensure that they are receiving candid and useful feedback from their employers. Before an employee could enjoy such rights he has to perform some duties, that is why Abdullah (2008) observes that the employee also have specific duties to perform, arising from the contract of employment. Such employee duties according to Abdullah (2008) include the following:

i. Duty to make his or her services available: - Every employee has a duty to make his or her services available to the employer as agreed upon in the employment contract. Thus his or her right to remuneration depends on the availability of his or her services.

ii. Duty to be competent on the work: - In employees application for employment, he or she tacitly guarantees that he or she will be able and competent to do the work required by the post. Every employee undertakes, by way of his or her employment’s contract, to exercise the necessary care and competence in performing his or her work. It is only when an incapacity is serious or continuing that termination is justifiable.

iii. Duty to act in good faith: - On the conclusion of a contract of employment, a relationship of trust comes into being between the employer and the employee. Therefore, the employee is required at all times to serve his or her employer honestly and to act in good faith.
iv. Duty to protect property and information: - Employees may in confidence keep the property of their employers, and not to divulge confidential information of business secrets.

v. Duty towards good behaviour: - Employees must refrain from committing acts of misconduct such as dishonesty, theft, intoxication, and the like.

vi. Duty to render services as subordinate of the head. Employees are expected to render their services in subordinate capacity, and to obey the lawful and reasonable instructions of the employer. They are also required to act respectfully to the employer and senior colleagues. An employer may only take disciplinary action against the employee if the employee’s refusal to carry out lawful instructions is intentional and of a serious nature.

The Meaning of an Employer

Employer is that person or persons who have contributed or committed their property or properties in a business venture with the intention of making profits (Fajana, 2003). An employer also comprise of the owners of a private, profit organization, or those who control a non-profit or public sector organization (Manning, 2003; Wachter, 2004). Employer is referred to a legal person for whom an employee performs work, or provides services within an employment relationship. Other scholars (Online Business Dictionary) also corroborates that an employer is a legal person that control and direct an employee or employees under an express or implied contract of employment and pays or is obligated to pay him or her salary or wages. Both recent and less recent legislations identify the employer as the person or enterprise employing the employee and the user of the person issuing the labour services. Although the meanings of an employer are varied based on countries; for instance, Mexico Federal Labour Act (1995) and Thailand Labour Protection Act (1988) classify an employer as a legal person, which uses its own equipment and personnel undertakes to carry out work or perform a service for the benefit of a third party.

In Spain, the law refers expressly to employers as lawfully engaging in labour. Any legal person, or joint ownership arrangement, receiving services performed by employees employed by another person for an enterprise or organisation, as well as persons hired in order to provide service under a legally establish temporary work enterprises (Spain Workers’ Charter, 2003). Some definitions of employer refer to the person signing the contract with the employee, and in this case may also include a person representing the employer. In Botswana Employment Act (1982) for instance, the employer is defined as any person who has entered into a contract of employment to hire the labour of any person, including the government or a public authority, or the person who owns or is carrying on for the time being or is responsible for the management of the undertaking, business or enterprise of whatever kind in which an employee is engaged. The employer is defined in terms of three functions: recruiting, employing and paying wages to an employee (Vietnam Labour Code, 1994). Ontario Workplace Safety and Insurance Act (1997) also added that an employer means anybody that is vicariously liable for injury sustained by an employee during the cause of service under a contract of service.
The employer has to persuade the employee to work. Accordingly, various decisions pertaining to employment relations must be taken by the employer to ensure the achievement of organisational goal. Hence the employer has a major role to play in industrial relations. Such responsibilities of the employer in industrial relations as stated by Araga, (2008) centres on the following areas:

(i) Establishing appropriate contractual relationship between the organisation and the employees.

(ii) Taking steps to grant recognition to Trade Unions which have been registered by the appropriate government agency.

(iii) Putting in place appropriate structures with which to manage the Trade Union activities in the organization.

(iv) Establishing conducive structure for and encouraging the practice of collective bargaining for resolving industrial conflict.

(v) Establishing appropriate structure for the management of employees’ grievances on individual basis as well as for group of employees.

(vi) Establishing appropriate policies and procedures for handling disciplinary issues in the organization.

(vii) Creating enabling environment for the employees to participate in management decisions which affect their lives at the workplace and the organization as a whole.

(viii) Produce and make available to the employees, organization manual that incorporates the conditions of service under which the employees have to work.

(ix) Fostering team building and interpersonal relations among the employees so as to engender mutual understanding among the employees.

(x) Recognizing and incorporating existing industrial laws and regulations in fashioning out industrial policies and procedures for dealing with industrial matters in the organization.

The Meaning of Employment Relations

A perfect employment relation is essential or germane to the smooth running of any organization. Employment relations can be referred to as employee-employer relations. This is so because of the fact that employment cannot exist in the absence of the two parties to the employment (employee and employer). According to Fajana (1995), the employment relationship has two parts, market relations and managerial relations. The former covers the price of labour, which embraces not only the basic wage but also hours of work, holidays and pension rights. In this respect, the similitude of labour is like any other commodity, that the satisfaction derived from it will be determined by its cost price. Blyton
and Turnbull (1998) suggest that employment relations encompass: focus on and define the distinctive characteristics of the employment relationship; to locate that relationship with the broader nature of economic activity; to analyze the structural bases of conflict and accommodation between employer and employee.

In other instance, Edwards (1999) in his contribution asserted that labour differs from all other commodities in that it is enjoyed in use and is embodied in people. A machine in a factory is also enjoyed in use and for what it can produce. Yet, how it is used is solely up to its owner. This shows that the employer has to persuade the employee to work. Employment relations are the relationships that define how the market relations set a price for a set number of hours of work. It also determine how much work is performed in that time, at what specific task or tasks, who has the right to define the tasks and change a particular mix of tasks and what penalties will be deployed for any failure to meet these obligations.

Employment relations is also a notion which creates a legal link between a person, called the employee, with another person, called the employer, to whom she or he provides labour or services under certain conditions in return for remuneration (ILO, 2006). John and Devasheesh (2008) posited that the employment relationship is the connection between employees and employers through which individuals sell their labour. Regardless of any, all employees and employers have fundamental interests they pursue through the employment relationship, all forms of this relationship are mediated by labour markets and states, and each instance of this relationship is governed by some form of a contract ranging from explicit union contracts and civil service rules to implicit expectations and understandings. Employer-employee relations refer to the communication that takes place between representatives of employees and employers (The Times, 2012).

ILO (2006) issued out a communiqué that employment or labour law seeks to address what can be an unequal bargaining position between parties to an employment relationship. The concept of the employment relationship is common to all legal systems and traditions, but the obligations, rights and entitlements associated with it vary from country to country.

Similarly, the criteria for determining whether or not an employment relationship exists vary across countries. Common notions such as dependency or subordination are found. Regardless of the criteria used, there is a shared concern among governments, employers and employees to ensure that the criteria used are sufficiently clear so that the scope of application of various laws and regulations can be more easily determined, and that they cover those who are meant to be covered, i.e. those who are in employment relationships (ILO, 2006).

The primary objective of employment relations is to bring about good and healthy relationship between the two partners in industry – labour and management. To drive home this point, Kirdadlay, as stated in Pandey (2007), asserted that:

“The state of industrial relations in a country is intimately connected with the form of its political government and the objectives of an industrial organization may change from economic to political ends.”
Pandey divides these objectives into four: (a) improving the economic condition of employees in the existing state of industrial management and political government; (b) control by the state over industries to regulate production and industrial relations; (c) socialization or nationalization of industries by making the state itself an employer of employee; and (d) vesting the proprietorship of industries in the employees. According to Pandey (2007), the other objectives of industrial relationship are:

1. To safeguard the interests of labour as well as of management by securing the highest level of mutual understanding and goodwill between all sections in industry which take part in the process of production.

2. To avoid industrial conflicts and develop harmonious relationship, which are essential for the efficient productivity of employees and the industrial progress of the country.

3. To raise productivity to a higher level in an era of full employment by reducing the tendency to higher and frequent absenteeism.

4. To establish and maintain industrial democracy based on labour partnership, not only for the purpose of sharing the gains of organization but also participating in management decisions that the individuals’ personality may be fully developed and an enlightened citizen of the country.

5. To bring down strikes and lockouts by proving better and reasonable wages and fringe benefits to the employees and improved living conditions (Pandey, 2007).

From the foregoing, it is important to restate that the maintenance of a good human relationship is the main theme of industrial relations because its absence may cause the whole organizational structure to crumble. Employees constitute the most valuable assets of any organization. Any neglect of the important factor is likely to result in increased cost of production in term of wages and salaries benefits and services, working conditions, increased labour turn-over, absenteeism, indiscipline and cleavages, strikes and transfer on the ground of discontent and the like, besides deterioration in the quality of the goods produced and strained relations between labour and management.

**The Necessity of Balanced Employment Relationship in an Organisation**

Employment relationship cannot be said to be balanced until the parties to it are judiciously performing their responsibilities as deemed appropriate. In order to avoid imbalances in the employment relationship, employers need to know how to tap into the potential of the workforce, organizations need to be familiar with methods / ways of valuing their employees, helping balance employees' personal needs and lives with work, and treating them as partners and an integral part of the business (Wheeler, 1994). To buttress this point, Anthonia (2011) stated that the major goal of an employee should be to help the organisation grow and improve on its rating. In doing this, the employee owes it a duty to eliminate trends lacking in integrity, especially if these have the tendency of impacting on the company.
A major issue is achieving a harmonious balance in an organization is that everybody wants more. Many employees today want a say in how work is assigned, assessed and rewarded. Employers similarly want more from employees in the form of productivity, mobility, more working hours and lesser pay – essential characteristics of how companies remain nimble and productive during economic upturns and downturns. This means that both employees and employers need to be flexible.

In order to balance employment relations, employers have to adjust their work culture to attract the best talent from the employees. Logically, an adjustment of the environment will make it imperative for the employees to expand their skills and focus on a successful achievement of the organisation goals (Melanie, 2009). This argument in our view can be linked to the contribution of Chioma (2012) which states that for any enterprise to succeed, both employers and employees have to see themselves as partners, stressing that one of the factors affecting employee and employer relations is that most employers aim at maximising profits as a result of which employees are underpaid. Based on this phenomenon, Chioma (2012) asserted that employees are less committed to their job.

The existence of a balanced employment relationship inhibits favourable assertions to organizations from the minds of both the employees and employers. Among these assertions postulated by Galinsky (1993) was that when there are good and supportive relationships with co-employees and between employees and their supervisors, employees experience less burnout in their jobs, are more loyal to their employers and are more committed to doing their jobs well. He also added that when employees believe that people of their race and gender have equal chances of advancing, they are more committed, loyal, innovative, and likely to want to stay in their companies. Hence, it can be asserted from the above discussions that balancing the employment relationship is not only imperative for the smooth running of an industrial organization but more importantly necessary for the industrial development of the country. In other to expatiate this further, this researcher has deemed it fit to explore a theoretical position to juxtapose the necessity of balanced industrial relations for the smooth running of the industrial organization. Human Resource Management theory is considered relevant to achieve this objective.

**Human Resource Management Theory**

Human Resource Management Theory is a theory that explains ways by which the employees and employers can concertedly act together towards the achievement of the goals of both the employees and the employers. Prominent among the proponents of this theory include Guest, (1989); Blyton and Turnbull, (1992); and Stone, (1995). Their assertion about this theory is that the employment relations choices are predicated on the belief that the forces uniting managers and employees are far stronger than the forces dividing them. It is the task of management to facilitate these unifying forces by establishing workplace conditions that encourage autonomous individuals, whether employees or management, to work collaboratively for the common good. This approach expects organisations to regard workplace relations holistically, whereby collaboration between management and employees is encouraged through the development of a unifying culture, strong and pervasive leadership, and a
clear vision of organisational goals. The employment relations aim of these techniques is to resolve internal tensions by breaking down workplace social classes, developing open lines of communication among different stake holders, and promoting a collective understanding that the interests of all are better served by working together and avoiding conflict. Collaborative management practices in the form of workplace teams, as well as performance appraisals, performance related pay and individual contracts of employment are activities that are thought to give content to this approach (Beardwell et al, 2004; Ogunbameru; 2004).

In applying this theory, something about why employees are dissatisfied with existing work practices may be known. For instance, the theory in most cases do reveal if the evidence of prevailing recruitment and promotion practices, is at odds with the alternative practices and outcomes. Assuming the causal premises of the theory are correct, changing the existing recruitment and promotion practices to align with those suggested by the theory may offer a way to improve the workplace satisfaction of employees. So, the satisfaction of the workers (employer and employee) would bring harmonious relationship at the workplace and enhance positive changes that can lead to industrial development.

**Balanced Employee and Employer Relationship: A Mechanism for Industrial Development in Nigeria**

In Industrial development, the significance of employee-employer relationship cannot be overestimated or underemphasized. The issue of employee-employer relationship is especially important in Human Resource Management as it covers key areas of Employment relationship, Collective Bargaining, performance, reward management as well as employee involvement which help to ascertain the nature of organisational commitment and performance towards Industrial development.

The mutual relationship between both parties increases motivation which in turn leads to increase productivity and profit maximization. Estenson (1999) describes employer-employee relations as a key ingredient in the implementation of quality improvement (Savolainen 2000).

Industrial development is a multifaceted concept depending on the people’s perception about it. Etymologically, industrial is referred to as the activities that revolve around the industry from both the employer and employees development. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (2005) defined development as;

> “integrated change of societal institutions -political, social, economic, cultural and educational which may be executed in an evolutionary or revolutionary manner through conscious human actions”.

The term development is being used in various contexts and is being qualified as: economic development, human development, international development, democratic development, and social development. Clark (1991) also contributes that development is also about the achievement of industrial, economic and other growths as well as improvement of human and environmental conditions under which people live and interact. The achievement of all these depend on the
improvement made and the use of a country's human, natural and institutional resources. Development connotes a transition and Olympia detachments from a state to another considered to be advancement and wherein there is sustained improvement in the quality of life. Consequently, one of the factors that accounts for progress in national output growth is the perception of employees on the adequacy or otherwise of the reward system (Usman, 2010).

It has been noted that organizations with good reward system often attract and retain the best in the society. As Eric Weber has pointed out, valuable employees (all things being equal) are normally indispensable (Weber, April 1991, p.52).

In a bid to ensure a balanced system of employment relationship towards Industrial development, several organizations or unions have emerged such as Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), among others. Therefore industrial development can be seen as integrated changes of industrial activities that bring about the economic growth, improvement of human and environmental conditions under which people work and interact. Industrial Development Design Standards & Guidelines (IDDSG) (2000) posited that industrial development is central to the process of structural transformation which characterises economic development. Industrial development is the key factor for attaining the overall development of the State. Meanwhile, the development and changes in industries all depend on what kind of industry it is. For example the technology industry is developing quite significantly as technology is becoming a utility everyone is using on a daily basis. A country grows faster if it begins each period with higher level of human capital. With a high level of educational attainment, labour is better equipped to adapt to new technologies and management skills developed elsewhere (Usman, 2010). The main focus of industrial development is to improve the services and productivities while the productivities cannot be enhanced without the harmonious relations of human capital involved.

Agarwal (1982) also stated that industrial harmony is inextricably linked with economic progress of the country. Industrial harmony brings about greater cooperation between employees and management which ultimately results to better production that lead to the economic progress and prosperity of the country. The Report of National Commission on Labour (1995) added that a quest for industrial harmony is indispensable when a country plans to make economic progress is bound up with industrial harmony inevitably leads to more cooperation between employer and employees, which result in more productivity and thereby contributes in all round prosperity of the country. It is an essential condition to maintain mutual trust and confidence between employer and employee to obtain the goal of rapid economic development and social justice (Wheeler, 1994). Therefore, the healthy and good industrial relations that will provide industrial harmony- which can only be achieved in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding between the management and the employees, is a vital necessity.

Recommendations
In order to balance employee and employer relationship, both the employee and employer representatives and government as well should abide by the following recommendations, so that the industrial development that the Nigerian government is clamouring for will come to reality.

i. Each party to employment relationship should give respect to the laws that bind their relationship and act with it accordingly.

ii. Management should recognize the rights of employees to self-organization. Their labour union activities must be respected and protected. Employees must also respect the employers and accord them the right to manage their business in a manner that is fiscally sound and recognized by the law.

iii. Collective bargaining restructuring between the employee and employer representatives should always commence before the lapse of the previous one. That is, the meeting should be schedule within the range of the current one, so that another agreement would have been agreed upon in order to avoid industrial actions.

iv. The performance and development of the industry should prioritize more than the pecuniary benefits of the industries, and the employers should pay adequate remuneration for the work done by the employees.

v. Employers should see employees as their partners and welcome their ideas, so they will also see the industry as their own.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has examined the employee and employer relationship as path to industrial development in Nigeria. It has discussed the concepts of employee, employer and employment relationship. It has also shed light on the necessity of balanced employment relationship. Human Resource Management theory has been used to explain the process by which industrial harmony could be achieved in employment relationship. And industrial development was delved into in such a way to explain its dependence on nature of employment relations. Lastly, recommendations were given which if followed accordingly will not only minimize industrial conflicts but more importantly assist in the industrial development of the country.

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Social-ecological Analysis of the Impact of Marine Resources on Food Security and Poverty Alleviation

Kola O. Odeku and Olufunmilayo F. Odeku

Abstract: One of the biggest challenges of the modern day governments, particularly in the developing countries of the world is how to eradicate poverty plaguing the poor and the indigents. Different socioeconomics interventions have been put in place, and are currently being used to address the problem, but remarkable success is yet to be achieved. A likely factor contributing to poverty alleviation in terms of food production is the exploration and exploitation of marine resources which are underutilised to produce socioeconomic goods and services. The marine economy is increasingly becoming important in ensuring that there are sustainable production of socioeconomic ecosystems goods and services and as such, third world countries should position themselves to include and focus on marine resources as part of their poverty alleviation strategies in order to ensure sustainable food production and promotion of good socioeconomic goods and amenities for the people. However, it is pertinent to point out that while marine resources presents a window of opportunities for increase in food production and employment opportunities; it also has some environmental challenges which can be very disastrous and impact negatively on the poverty alleviation strategy.

Keywords: Maritime economy, Poverty alleviation, Food security, Employment opportunity, Socioeconomic ecosystems

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Introduction

Extensive body of literature has confirmed the benefits and usefulness of marine resources and wealth to the society and human beings (Summers et al. 2012). Marine resources are crucial poverty alleviation mechanisms, (Daw et al. 2011) because they are sources of safe and nutritious food to majority of the poor people who rely on them for their livelihoods and survival (Scherl, 2004). Literature has also confirmed that marine environment is very important to the people in the developing world and that about 950 million of them rely on the marine environment primary source of their protein (Crain et al., 2009).

Marine pollution from different sources, however, is a threat to sustainable marine lives and resources (Molnar, 2008) because it creates scarcity, food insecurity and abject poverty (Garnett et al. 2007). The developing and least developed countries are the highest hit, because they do not have, or possess requisite modern day technologies to mitigate and prevent marine pollution (Hassan, 2006). Most times, there is poor enforcement of anti-marine pollution laws.

It is generally acceptable that many people are faced with poverty world-wide (Grindle, 2004), however, there is continuous abject poverty in the developing and the least developed countries (Bardhan, 1996). Mass poverty is concentrated in the poor countries of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia (Bardhan, 1996). Hence poverty alleviation and reduction are the major concerns of most governments in these countries (Newland and Patrick, 2004). The international community is also taking the issues surrounding poverty alleviation seriously (Mkandawire, 2005). There are a lot of specialised agencies that have been established by the United Nations to tackle poverty and ensure it is reduced and eradicated (Coady, 2003). In some countries, poverty is so prevalent and pervasive to the extent that most of the people rely on the international community and the specialised agencies for their daily survival (Sen, 1997) as they are unable to produce enough food due to factors such as environment and bizarre weather events and so on. Pursuant to this, it has therefore been observed that “although there is a general consensus that renewed growth is crucial for any sustained decrease in poverty, it is also widely accepted that social safety nets play a very important role in the poverty alleviation process. In fact, for many of the world’s poor, public safety-net programs are their only hope of a life free from chronic poverty, malnutrition and disease.”

Even though there have been many studies on marine economy, there is little information on how it can be used to address the challenges of food scarcity, caused majorly by marine pollution (Cribb, 2010). Nowadays, most of the government in the developing countries are looking more into how to intensify exploration of the maritime economies for economic growth and sustainable development (Stopford, 2009). For example, in South Africa, the government has challenged the people and captains of industry to start looking into marine economy from a more inclusive perspective in order to address socio-economic challenges facing the country. Against this backdrop, tapping into aquaculture is considered as one of the sustainable means of producing more food and income (Avadí and Fréon, 2015). Aquaculture also known as aqua fishing (Bartley et al., 2000), is the farming of aquatic organisms such as fish, crustaceans and aquatic plants. Aquaculture is an underdeveloped
sector because very little attention is given to it (Mustafa and Shapawi, 2015). Considering the value and huge benefits marine resources thus (there is no challenge of land degradation, requires minimal or no input, they are good sources of protein, they are sustainable and so on) will contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and socio-economic upliftments by creating more jobs, enhancing economic and social status of the people who will be engaged in the sector, there is need to intensify both human and capital investments in the sector. The method for the farming “involves cultivating freshwater and saltwater populations under controlled conditions and typically includes fish, molluscs, crustaceans and aquatic plants. Aquaculture is more productive and yields “higher rates of return than commercial fishing due to intervention in the rearing process. There is regular stocking, feeding and protection from predators; advantages that fish do not receive in the wild. Subsequently, aquaculture has emerged as a sustainable alternative to traditional fishing as stocks of fish around the world are becoming depleted” (Parker, 2011). The potential of this is that it will contribute to food security because marine foods will be sourced, processed and produced for domestic consumption and export (Kurien, 2005). This sector has shown a huge potential for economic growth and development in the developing countries.

Narrating the intrinsic benefits to the shift in focus to marine economy Morrissey et al., (2007) assert “the realisation that the world’s oceans play an important role in climate regulation and many territory activities, notably food production, coupled with economic changes and the rapid advancement in ocean technology have seen a shift in the perception of the importance of marine resources.” Marine goods and services will contribute tremendously to sustainable livelihoods by solving one of the greatest problems facing society and humanity (Daily et al., 1997) which is food insecurity and its deadly consequences (Beddington, 2010). Therefore, there is a pressing concern for every nation and each individual to fight poverty from different angles and dimensions in order to eradicate it (Laderchi et al., 2003).

**Research problem**

Developing countries of the world are facing chronic poverty because of their inability to utilise their naturally endowed natural resources reasonably and sustainably (Collier, 2008). Marine resources are considered as sustainable socio-economic tools to address poverty, hunger and unemployment (Abila 2003), yet, the investment and focus in the sector is minimal. Substantial investments are being made toward fossil fuel resources for economic sustenance and growth but scientific studies have confirmed that these are unsustainable (Aguirre, 2009). It is therefore imperative to focus and invest heavily in sustainable ocean and seas resources for sustainable economic development and growth (Hutton and Leader-Williams 2003). Although, there are many pollution challenges inherent in the exploration and exploitation of marine lives (Agardy, 2010), these are mainly caused by human activities and they can be addressed and solved provided there is general will and firm commitment to stop doing things on the basis of business as usual (Berger, 2009). Since these problems are caused as a result of human activities, it will require human beings to reverse the unsustainable attitudes and behaviours
(Wackernagel and Rees, 1998). To this end, marine economy will serve the purpose of providing necessary goods and services for sustaining socio-economic needs of the people (Kumar, 2010).

**Research methodology**

The methodology used is non-empirical literature reviewed. Literature on marine economics and life was extensively consulted, analysed and applied to find solutions to how to explore and use marine goods and services for poverty eradication and attaining food security. Scholarly discussions of literature were also used to explain and interpret the concept of marine economic, poverty and their linkage to poverty eradication and sustainable economic growth and development. The socioeconomic impacts of marine economic are very important because marine resources help create jobs and provide food and nutrition (Sanchirico and Emerson, 2002). Literature supporting this assertion was heavily reviewed and huge contribution was made by filling the gaps in the existing literature which eventually produced new knowledge in the field.

**Literature reviews**

Oceans and seas are spread all over the world covering over 70 per cent of the earth’s surface (Molnar et al., 2008). They contain natural resources, biodiversity, marine lives and goods. They are intricately linked to human existence hence without them; there would be no life on our planet (Cicin-Sain et al. 2004). Marine environment is very important to the people in the developing world and about 950 million people rely on the marine environment as primary source of their livelihoods and survival (Crain et al., 2009).

Marine social ecological environment is a combination of marine and coastal natural resources, social and economic realms that operate and change around these resources" (Ferrol-Schulte et al., 2013). More importantly, the responsibility to protect the marine environment from pollution generally lies on everyone (Gubbay, 1995) because the “natural ecosystems perform fundamental life-support services upon which human civilization depends. However, many people believe that nature provides these services for free and therefore, they are of little or no value. While we do not pay for them, we pay significantly for their loss in terms of wastewater treatment facilities, moratoriums on greenhouse gases, increased illnesses, reduced soil fertility and losses in those images of nature that contribute to our basic happiness” (Summers et al., 2012).

Poverty and in particular chronic poverty is affecting majority of the people on the earth particularly in the developing countries (Hulme, 2003). Poverty is producing hunger because indigents and the poor do not have the where withal or means to buy basic food necessary for human survival and livelihoods (Baloyi, 2013). Most of them are unemployed and those who supposedly claimed to be employed are not because they do not have the skills to earn living wages. Farmers are unable to grow and harvest agricultural products due mainly to the impacts and effects of the trends of global climate change (Cline, 2007) which have distorted predictions in farming seasons and calendars (Hammer et al., 2001). One of the means of alleviating poverty is to ensure accessibility to safe and nutritious food by
producing enough at reasonable costs and prices to the farmers and consumers (Weinberger and Lumpkin 2007). Diversification into exploration and exploitation of marine resources (Pauly, 2002) and the goods and services they possess is considered a potent way of solving hunger, malnutrition and ensuring food production and security (Williams, 1996). The overarching result of this will be apparent manifestation of reduction in poverty and if intensified (Belshaw and Coyle, 2001), will contribute to poverty eradication and sustainable food production and livelihoods (Krantz 2001).

The impact of pollution on marine environment is one of the impediments to sustainable marine socioeconomic activities. Discharges of harmful substances such as land filling, dumpsites, land spreads, water disposal, and incineration into the oceans and seas are have serious environmental implications because of their potential to pollute and contaminate underground and surface water bodies in the marine environment. There is need for prevention of marine pollution for the protection of marine vulnerable marine resources and goods for purposes of providing sustainable production and delivery of socioeconomic goods and services (Adeyemo, 2003).

**Marine pollution and food security challenges**

One method of ensuring food security is to explore and exploit marine goods and services for poverty alleviation from oceans and seas. Polluted oceans and seas will definitely exacerbate the already complex situation because no socio economic goods and services derived from them will be useful due to negative impacts of pollution. Rather, there will be intense food scarcity, starvation and chronic poverty.

It is pertinent to point out that the higher food commodity prices commencing from 2007 came as a shock to the human race (Kamgnia, 2011) to the extent that the international community; through their various specialised agencies intervened in different ways, one of which was to create awareness in agriculture, food production, and food security. The problem was global in nature hence hikes in commodity prices were passed to the consumers in developed and developing countries alike. The aftermath result of this is that the problem escalated into civil unrest, protests and strikes in some countries because “the number of undernourished people in the world increased by 75 million in 2007, mainly attributed to high food prices. This brought the proportion of people in the world without access to sufficient food back to the levels of a decade ago” (Beddington, 2010). At the same time, poverty and starvation surged tremendously thereby creating tension in the society (Pellissery and Mathew, 2013). Worse still, the impacts of environmental pollution, particularly marine pollution exacerbated the already complex and complicated problem by disrupting marine resources and lives (Islam and Tanaka 2004). Globally, climate changes continue to impact the environment, seas, oceans and waters and the resources they harbour (Gibson et al., 2011). Production of marine food became distorted and disrupted to the extent that marine farmers were unable to harvest and sell marine products thereby throwing them into the already saturated unemployment market (Mooney et al., 2009). Most of the people became chronically poor and this resonated by impacting negatively on their
dependants as most of their children dropped out of schools, sick ones died because of lack of money to access medical care.

Considering the consequences and impacts of the challenges and problems of food commodity price hikes, food insecurity and marine pollution, entrepreneurs and government saw this as a window of opportunities and decided to fill the gaps through sustainable solutions to the threat of malnutrition, starvation, food insecurity, poor food yields, pollution and unemployment. Intensification and modernisation of agricultural activities were some of the notable approaches identified as practical solutions to solve the problems (Merrington et al. 2002). For an example, in South Africa, government had reiterated the growing socio-economic importance of the seas and oceans in alleviating poverty and creates jobs. To this end, relevant institutions both from government and private sectors are brainstorming on how to dig deeper and tap more into marine economies of all kinds for purposes of fighting poverty, starvation, malnutrition and unemployment.

**Human activities and marine pollution**

There is growing evidence that high level of human activities is having huge impacts on marine resources, ecosystems and lives. This is impeding the realisation of the socio-economic importance of seas and oceans (Surís-Regueiro, 2013). There is a consensus among scholars and scientists that time is ripe to intervene and address the threats and impacts of marine pollution. This is against the backdrop that harmful human activities are weakening the strength and capacity of the oceans, seas and ecosystems. Scientific literature has revealed that “marine species have suffered major declines, in some cases 90 percent losses, due to human activities and may be heading for extinction, as happened to many species on land.” It has also been indicated through the Ecosystem Assessment Report “that humans have changed ecosystems more rapidly and extensively in the past 50 years than at any other comparable period of time in human history and as a result there has been “a substantial and largely irreversible loss in the diversity of life on Earth” (Surís-Regueiro, 2013).

Since we have identified human activities as the major sources of marine pollution, the most potent and effective intervention that will reverse and stop the threats of outright destruction of marine resources and lives is to use human intervention to implement and enforce all the anti-pollution laws and policies. This is because, there is no other means of getting the problem solved except through the use of human beings. This requires sensitisation, education and creating awareness of the devastating impacts, effects and consequences of marine pollution. With this, changes in attitudes and mind-sets may start happening and business as usual will be jettisoned while sustainable paths will be explored and towed.

**Solutions**

*Innovative technologies as impetus for sustainable marine resources and lives*

Marine natural resources can play vital role in the economic growth and development of the world (Daily, 1997) through the deployment and use of “cutting-edge technology for exploration and exploitation of the ocean resources” (Colazingari, 2013). There is a linkage between the “challenge we
face to ensure food security through the twenty-first century and other global issues, most notably climate change, population growth and the need to sustainably manage the world’s rapidly growing demand for energy and water” (Beddington 2010). To this end, human race is challenged to find solutions to poverty reduction and eradication through existing and new innovative technologies (Ommen, 2006) and science in order to achieve the lofty ideals of the Sustainable Development Goals which enjoins human race to aggressively reduce and eradicate poverty and accelerate the delivery of socioeconomics goods and services to the poor living in the developing and least developing countries of the world. The concern is that the world population is growing at an alarming rate. Billions of people need to be taken care of and fed properly in order for human race to continue to exist sustainably. Increase in global population causes increase in demand for food, which will continue to rise unless something is done to slow the pace of population growth (Boserup, 2005). The increase in food demand will put pressure on agriculture which will lead to intensification of agricultural activities such as extensive planting and harvesting. Undoubtedly, this will in turn place increasing demands on the natural environment resources.

As part of strategies to achieve sustainable food production and security that will eradicate poverty, the deployment and use of contemporary modern technology will play a major role in increase of food production. (Pimbert et al., 2001) This will lead to food prices reduction, accessibility and affordability particularly by the poor. (Parr, 2012). Pursuant to this, these interventions need to be prioritized and government needs to increase investments and activities on sustainable marine economy and resources for sustainable economic growth, marine foods security and poverty eradication. Techniques from many disciplines scientific or otherwise to newer fields in marine exploration, exploitation and production are all needed to be deployed and used in order to facilitate tackling marine pollution, facilitating increase in marine foods production and eradication of poverty.

Effective conservation of marine resources
The effective conservation of marine resources requires sustainable, efficient and equitable identification and verification for impacts and likely consequences of various social, economic and environmental aspects of development within marine and ecosystem environments (Fisher et al. 2008).

Conserving and increasing existing marine resources need to be intensified and made more effective and efficient (Danielsen et al., 2007) because marine pollution threats are very real (Burke, 2011). There is overwhelming evidence of discharge of industrial waste into the world’s oceans (Hinrichsen, 1999). In addition, the concern is that “invasive non-indigenous species is destroying the ecosystems and the effects of climate change on marine habitats and species are potentially enormous” (Molnar et al., 2008). In order to ensure sustainable preservation and conservation of these precious marine resources, there is an urgent need to confront the problems through a coherent and integrated approach (de La Fayette, 2009).
Participatory environmental monitoring has proven effective and efficient as demonstrated in the study of Danielsen et al. (2007) where they found that in Philippines parks, “investment in participatory biodiversity monitoring makes economic sense for obtaining data for management decisions... from a government perspective, investment in monitoring that combines scientific with participatory methods is strikingly more effective than a similar level of investment in conventional scientific methods alone in generating conservation management interventions.”

They also emphasized the vital role played in ensuring successful monitoring and asserted that “the local populace seemed to benefit from more secure de facto user rights over land and other resources. Participatory biodiversity monitoring not only represents a cost-effective alternative when conventional monitoring is impossible, but it is also an unexpectedly powerful complementary approach, capable of generating a much higher level of conservation management intervention, where conventional monitoring already takes place” (Danielsen et al., 2007).

Modern day technologies are also very useful and effective in marine conservation activities (Day. 2008). Scientists have developed different models to match different challenges in different environment (Carpenter et al., 2009). Developing countries would have done better than their current position if they have channelled revenues toward buying and acquiring modern conservation technologies and equipment (Tietenberg, 1990). Though these modern equipment are expensive, governments in developing countries do not have any excuse not to use the state’s resources to invest in conservation which will be a breeding ground for more food production for poverty alleviation. Rather, most of the resources are channelled to non-productive corruptive ventures.

Implementation of marine pollution interventions

While technology and scientific interventions are of paramount importance in preventing the pollution of oceans and seas (Colazingari, 2013), a holistic implementation and enforcement approach is also vital to ensure clean oceans and the resources therein. Therefore, anti-marine pollution and anti-poverty interventions are powerful tools that can bring about sustainable marine economies that will eventually reduce and eradicate poverty, hunger, starvation, environmental degradation and other environmental challenges and problems linked to marine pollution. One intervention that supports anti-marine pollution is the specialised agency established by the UN namely; The International Maritime Organization of 1958 (IMO). In Article 1(a) the purpose for which the organisation was established is stated thus “to provide machinery for cooperation among governments in the field of governmental regulation and practices relating to technical matters of all kinds affecting shipping engaged in international trade; to encourage and facilitate the general adoption of the highest practicable standards in matters concerning maritime safety, efficiency of navigation and prevention and control of marine pollution from ships.” It emphasizes the importance of prevention and control knowing very well that the impact and consequences of marine pollution wherever it happens are devastating with catastrophic impacts (AbdAlziz, 2013). For example, there are many marine pollution prevention instruments that have been introduced in South Africa such as the Marine Pollution

However, while compliance enforcement seems to be slow and poor, the renewed interest in marine economy by the government is stepping up effective implementation and enforcement for sustainable marine resources and lives.

The 1996 Constitution of South Africa laid a solid foundation for anti-marine pollution as encapsulated in section 24(a) of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution and categorically state that "everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being." Clean oceans and seas and the resources therein are amply protected by the constitution because the oceans and seas are part of the environment and human beings derive their livelihoods from them (Daw, et al., 2011). Any harmful substance discharged into the marine will impact human well-being, health and the marine resources (Assessment, 2005). It is against the backdrop of this that it is incumbent on everyone to desist from causing any harm to the seas and oceans. To this end, section 24(b) assert and obligate the state to "(i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation; (ii) promote conservation; (iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development." This provision reaffirmed and confirmed marine pollution prevention and control. Consequences for pollution are well spelt out in the instruments and can result to both criminal and civil sanctions. For an example, The Marine Pollution (Prevention of Pollution from Ships) Act 2 of 1986 empowers South Africa to impose a fine of R500 000 or a prison sentence of five years for any criminal act emanating for any South African ship, wherever it may be, and to any ship found within the Republic or its territorial waters or exclusive economic zone.

Undoubtedly, impacts and consequences of marine pollution are catastrophic and devastating causing massive death of marine lives and destroying the resources which are sources of livelihoods to many people (Adger et al., 2005). The outcome of this will be scarcity of marine products that are being used for socio economics needs, goods and services. Scarcity will create tension and result in the production of abject poverty because those who rely on marine resources for livelihood will be unable to generate income thereby throwing them into the already saturated employment market. This is why prevention and control of marine pollution should be made more effective. To this end, The South African Maritime Safety Authority ("SAMSA") was established in terms of SAMSA Act, 1998 ("the Act") as a juristic person with the key objectives of ensuring (a) safety of life and property at sea; (b) prevent and combat pollution of the marine environment by ships; and (c) promote the Republic’s maritime interests.

**Conclusion**
Marine resources are important because they are beneficial to both human beings and the environment. Pollution caused by the discharges of harmful substances is threatening the survival of marine resources. In most cases, these discharges are as a result of human activities. The impact and consequences of marine pollution can lead to food scarcity, starvation, unemployment and poverty. It is against the backdrop of this that human beings need to intervene to stop marine pollution in order to sustain marine resources and lives. Intervention is considered as a mechanism that can prevent pollution and protect environment. It requires the enlistment of support of everybody. In order for intervention to produce the desired result of ensuring clean marine that is devoid of harmful substances, there must be political, administrative and judicial wills to administer, implement and enforce legislative interventions on marine pollution. Undoubtedly, clean and benign seas and oceans could serve as harbour for sustainable useful oceans food and products that could be used to produce goods and services for human consumptions. Therefore, prudent management dictates that conservation should be paramount in the scheme of solutions to the problem of marine pollution. The deployment and use of contemporary marine technologies are very important in order to engage in sustainable farming, conservation and extraction of oceans and seas goods and services.

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Globalisation and Entrepreneurial Development in Nigeria: The Challenges and The Opportunities

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Abstract: Globalisation is one of the major political-economic terms that has gained academic attention of most social science scholars in the 21st century. This is because of its impact on the socio-economic and political climates of human societies world-over. Generally, various factors have been observed as enhancing the globalisation ideology, one of such is the development of the entrepreneurial sector. However, due to the under-development of the entrepreneurial sector in Nigeria, the globalisation ideology has suffered setbacks despite the availability of numerous opportunities that would have been hitherto utilized to put the country at vantage point in the global order. It is based on this observation that this paper seeks to look into the challenges and opportunities faced by entrepreneurs in Nigeria as they engage in their daily business activities in the globalised world. The paper recommends that government at all levels should provide possible solutions to the challenges hindering entrepreneurial development in the country especially because of the numerous opportunities that exist in the sector which, if properly utilized will benefit the country and make it to be among the gainers in the game of globalisation.

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Introduction

The word globalisation is a political-economic term that has been in common use since the early 1990’s to describe the current world in which we live. The concept has found expression today in all the world’s major languages. Globalisation has indeed become, ‘the cliche of our time’ (Held et al 1999:3). ‘An idea which encompasses everything from global financial markets to the internet’ (Lawal 2009: 5) According to Nnamani (2004), globalisation refers to the phenomenon whereby countries, people and businesses around the globe relate without much difficulty. Globalisation is multidimensional with social, political and economic implications. Its economic dimension has however received attention most because of its tendency to drive and set the pace for other processes. The economic dimension of globalisation refers to the integration of domestic economies with the world economy and the consequential increase in the economic interdependence of countries and regions through trade and free flows of the factors of production (Mirza 2000; Abdulrasheed, 2004; Ikechi & Edward 2009).

Globalisation is a topical issue which has gained the attention of scholars from all social science disciplines. The popular usage of the term among the social scientists has made it to attract attention of even nonsocial-scientists. Generally, globalisation involves such issues as breakdown of international economic boundaries and therefore a tendency towards uniformity on a number of issues such as market systems, cultural outlook, economic policies and political institutions (Bello 2004). From the liberal perspective, globalisation refers to increasing integration of the activities and practices of human societies around the world. It is presented as that process of both vertical and horizontal integration, involving increasing volume and variety of transnational transactions in goods and widespread diffusion of arts, culture, science and technology (International Monetary Fund 1997; Mussa 2000; Bello 2004).

However, it would be grossly erroneous to conclude on the fact that globalisation is beneficial to the political economy of all the people of the globe. Yusuf (2000) observes that the full force of the positive change arising from globalisation is felt only by a relatively small number of upper and middle-income countries. According to him, ‘most economies especially that of sub-Sahara Africa are not benefiting from globalisation because they are only partially integrated into the global system’ To be specific, Nigeria as a country has not been benefiting from the gains of globalisation despite its adoption of globalisation policies such as privatization, monetization, deregulation, etc (Nnamani 2004; Olatunjii&Falabi, 2014). In essence, some of the fundamental questions are: What is the trend of entrepreneurial development in the country in this era of globalisation? Is Nigeria at the positive end of the policy of globalisation?, how many mega-entrepreneurs such as Dangote has been produced in the country since the adoption of globalisation policies? What are the factors militating against Nigeria
from benefiting from the gains of globalisation and what can be done to put the country at the positive end of the policy of globalisation? These are important debatable questions this paper is attempting to answer. Along this background, this paper seek to look into the effects of globalisation on overall development in Nigeria and how entrepreneurship development could be used to make the country utilize the globalisation ideology to enhance economic development in the country generally. Towards these ends, this paper is divided into five sections. Section 1 is an introduction while section 2 deals with conceptual/theoretical discussions on globalisation; section 3 looks into the phenomenon of entrepreneurship and its relevance to globalisation tenet; section 4 highlighted the challenges and opportunities for Entrepreneurial Development in Nigeria and section 5 conclude the paper.

What is Globalisation?

Generally, there are divergent views among scholars of the basic meaning of the term globalisation. According to Asobie (2001) cited in Bello (2004); globalisation is a concept loaded with ideological connotations; its meanings are in contention; its character is a point of dispute and its history is mired in controversy. According to Held et.al (1999) cited in Lawal, (2006), there are three distinguished broad schools of thought on globalisation, these include the Hyper-Globalisers; the Skeptics and the Transformationalists. For the hyper globalisers, globalisation is seen as a new period in which people all over the world are increasingly becoming subject of the global world. i.e. an era of human history in which traditional nation states have become unnatural, even impossible business units. This therefore presents an economic logic of the emergence of a single global market in which the principle of global competition becomes the necessary condition for human progress (Held et.al. 1999). Following this school of thought, Mussa (2000) sees the primary mechanisms of globalisation to include open policies with respect to international trade, removal of obstacles to international capital flow and international spread of knowledge. Similarly, Yusuf (2000:32) defined it simply as ‘openness to trade factor flows, ideas and information’. A process of integrating not only the economy of nations but also their culture, technology and governance (Lawal 2006; Bello 2004; Abdulrasheed 2004)

In contrast to the above, the skeptic’s school of globalisation represents the critique school. Scholars in this category emphasized that the whole idea of globalisation is a mere exaggeration. They noted that globalisation is essentially a myth which conceals the reality of an international economy increasingly segmented into certain regional trading blocs in which international governments remain very powerful (Lawal 2006). The arguments of the skeptics are based entirely on the economistic conception of globalisation, equating it with a perfectly integrated global market (Mohammed 1996). Critics of globalisation have observe that while globalisation could mean more wealth and development for the people of the first world, it automatically mean more poverty and deepened underdevelopment for the people of the Third World countries such as Nigeria (Aina 2003; Muhammed 1996; Ogbonaya-Igwe 2011; Nnamani 2004). This could be the reason why Bello (2004) concluded that globalisation has been a force for inequality and marginalization, it has rather, than promoting
oneness of the global village constituted a continuing dividing factor between developed and developing nations of the world

Finally, for the transformationalists, ‘globalisation is a central driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic transformations that are reshaping societies the world over (Khor 1996:11). To this school of thought, the whole idea of globalisation is about change, development and transformation. Hence, globalisation has become the necessary ingredient of economic development. It is against this backdrop that scholars in this school of thought warned that African economies cannot afford to be dormant since a nation with a closed economy with few relations with the rest of the world is no longer desirable and no longer practicable. In this regard, they recommended that the African economy must adopt and adapt the needed measures to maximize the enormous benefits from its involvement in the globalisation process while trying to wade off its adverse consequences.

Generally, transformationalists see globalisation as functioning in the widening, deepening and speeding up of world-wide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal; from the financial to the spiritual. According to Held, et.al (1999) and Hill (2009), globalisation refers to a fundamental transformation in world economy in which nations are moving toward an interdependent global economic system. In essence, globalisation has resulted in making markets which were previously historically separated become one huge global marketplace as a result of reductions in trade barriers and advances in information and transportation technologies. According to Lawal (2006), the whole idea of globalisation revolves around new realities and terminologies such as Information Technology (IT); World Wide Web (WWW); Deregulation; Trade liberalization; economic competition or free enterprises and an emergent political system that is people oriented. The implication of these transformations to the entrepreneur according to the Transformationalists is that small firms can now participate in international trade right from inception (Ikechi& Edward 2009). An example was cited by the transformationalists with the incidental emergence of much of East Asia countries such as China; India and Korea. These countries have transformed from being one of the poorest regions of the world 40 years ago to a progressive region - economically and politically lately (Schaefer 2006; Hill 2009).

In the final analysis, whereas the hyper-globalisers and the transformationalists see globalisation not only synonymous to economic development but more importantly also as a necessary condition for socio-economic transformation of the less developed worlds such as Nigeria. The pessimists or skeptics school of globalisation has described it as instrument of exploitation and dependency putting some nations of the world at a negative end in terms of socio-economic development. Hence, the term globalisation as noted by Bello (2004) is a term loaded with ideological contradictions in which meanings are in contention and that which character is a point of dispute and which history is mired in
controversy. In line with the above arguments, this present research is anchored on the transformationalists’ conception that given the available opportunities available for entrepreneurial development in Nigeria, globalisation could be utilized as a mechanism of transformation in Nigeria if the present entrepreneurial challenging environment is taken care of.

Entrepreneurship and Its Relevance to Globalisation

According Sarkin-Daji (2004), an entrepreneur is an individual who is willing to and has ability to seek investment opportunities in an environment and be able to establish and run a business outfit successfully based on identified opportunities. Similarly, Okpara (2005), Falabi&Olatunji (2014) see entrepreneurship as the ability to create something (usually a business entity) from practically nothing; ‘it is initiating, building and watching an enterprise rather than watching one’. Though, these definitions see entrepreneurs as founders of a business organization but entrepreneurs include not just the founders of business firms but also second-generation operators of family owned firms, franchisees, and owner managers who have bought out the founders of existing firms (Longenecker et al. 2003). Currently, most African entrepreneurs manage small-scale enterprise (Ikechi& Edward 2009; Olatunji 2012); hence entrepreneur in this paper is referred to as both small scale business persons and large scale entrepreneurs.

The earliest definition of entrepreneurship, dating from the eighteenth century, used it as an economic term describing the process of bearing the risk of buying at certain prices and selling at uncertain prices (Morris & Lewis, 1991), unlike salary employees, entrepreneurs assume ownership risks. According to Ikechi& Edward (2009), entrepreneurs are individuals who identify societal needs and riskily launch firms and create market to meet those needs. Hirsch & Peter (1998) see entrepreneur as someone who creates something different with value by devoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychic and social risks, and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary and personal satisfaction. Some researchers (Huefner& Hunt 1994; Chung & Gibbons, 1997; Begley et. al. 1997; Okpara 2005; Olatunji 2012, Falabi&Olatunji 2014) have defined an entrepreneur as someone who recognizes an opportunity and marshals the resources to take advantage of, or act on that opportunity.

Without entrepreneurs, there would be no new innovation or creative imitation in the marketplace; hence, the transformation to new production methods and goods in the country would not take place. As entrepreneurs transform the market, not only do they provide new goods and services to the domestic market, they also provide a new source of employment to the economy. As a result, entrepreneurship serves as an active agent in the process of economic development; it serves as the catalyst for market transformation and provides new opportunities for economic growth, employment generation and increased per capita income. It improves quality of life, puts a country at vantage point

Going by the above explanations on globalisation and entrepreneurship, one would realize that vibrant entrepreneurship is relevant as one of the necessary conditions for attaining the goals of globalisation. Although, globalisation potentially promotes entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship enhances globalisation but the challenge facing most African countries such as Nigeria is that low level of entrepreneurial event and entrepreneurial performance has posed themselves as challenges towards attaining the globalisation goals. Historically, the practice of entrepreneurship has generally gone low in Nigeria due to the fact the business environment is not conducive. NACCIMA (2012b) reported that over 800 companies close shop in Nigeria in two years due to harsh condition of operation. In addition, businesses are closing down drastically due to an unfavourable global completion that characterized business operation in the global world. For example, in those days before the advent of globalisation when economic production is based on comparative cost advantage, production of certain items are reserved for specific countries based on cost advantage but in today's global world, the era of comparative cost advantage is over as countries such as China and India produce everything so massively that problem-ridden countries such as Nigeria cannot withstand the tide of the time and hence the rapid drop in the rate of entrepreneurial activities in the country. In other words, globalisation has actually affected the trend of entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria. This is because globalisation is an economic policy in which development of the entrepreneurial sector is one of the basic pre-requisites for its workability. In other words, the low level of entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria is one of the fundamental factors militating against the utilization of globalisation to enhance economic development in the country. Thus, entrepreneurial development is a crucial factor that needs to be effectively developed in Nigeria in order to be at the positive end of the practice of globalisation.

On this note, Ikechi & Edward (2009) observe that though the potential for global sales is clear, but this does not extend to most entrepreneurial setup in Africa. This is because African entrepreneurs are falling behind in the global economic race (Zeng 2008). In other words, despite the fact that small businesses are the engines that drive economic growth in most economies, small scale enterprises in Nigeria are at great disadvantage in this race for growth and profitability. This constitutes a challenge in which Nigeria as a nation must strive to combat in order to reap from the benefits of globalisation. Not only that globalisation as an ideology poses socio-economic challenges to the Nigerian nation but more importantly entrepreneurial development remains a challenge for the proper utilization of the globalisation tenets in Nigeria. Nigeria as a nation could learn a lot from the South-East Asian countries that have utilized the development of the entrepreneurial sector to take off into the realm of development while playing along in the globalisation game. In other to achieve this, there is the need to look into those challenging factors hindering entrepreneurial development in Nigeria. This will be a necessary first step to proffer solutions to these problems. This is also necessary because looking into
these challenging factors is one of the necessary steps not only to enhance entrepreneurial
development in the country but also to attain socio-economic development that will make the nation an
active partner in the globalisation race.

Challenges and Opportunities for Entrepreneurial Development in Nigeria

Below are some of the more notable challenges militating against entrepreneurial development in
Nigeria.

*Poor infrastructural development*

Generally, infrastructural development is one of the basic features and conditions of development. This is so because of its importance in determining the level of entrepreneurial event (Abimbola, 2007); level of industrialization (Nigerian Association of Chamber of Commerce Industry Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA), 2012a) and general economic development in the society (Kessides 1993; Ogbonaya-Igwe 2011 Lal 2012, Olatunji&Falabi, 2014). According to Adunola (2009), the establishment and success of entrepreneurial activities depend on the state of infrastructural factors within the boundary of a nation state. According to Aruwa (2011), infrastructures are of particular importance to the entrepreneur given that it is not economically viable for them to incur infrastructural costs. He noted further that entrepreneurs in Nigeria suffer from infrastructural shortcomings. And this has been observed as been among the paramount barriers not only to effective entrepreneurial take-off in Nigeria but more importantly has affected the process of meaningful integration of Nigeria with world globalisation race (The Guardian 2012; NACCIMA 2012b).

In other words, the problem of infrastructural development is a serious challenge facing entrepreneurial development in Nigeria. Virtually, all the physical infrastructures required for economic development, such as good standard roads, stable power supply, viable rail system and national water transportation facilities are almost not available and where it is available are in poor shape (Fund for Peace 2012; Olasunle 2012). For an example, in the area of power supply, it is conceived that modern industrial machines and equipments require adequate and stable power supply in which an epileptic power supply could not only cause damage to production equipment (Akwani 2007) but will also affect the cost of production in such a way that an item produced with such a condition will be costly comparatively with its cost of production in other parts of the world such as China and India. For example, cost of production of one T-shirt in Nigeria will be used to produce five of it’s like in India and three of its like in China This will invariably lead to a situation whereby local producers here will not be able to compete favourably with their counterparts globally.
Another infrastructural challenge is the problems of poor road network and bad state of the existing ones. This to a very large extent makes movement of raw materials and finished goods from one location to the other often difficult and costly thereby negatively affecting the cost of doing business for an entrepreneur. Related to this problem of bad roads is the lack of accessible roads to the rural areas and this have made the movement of agricultural raw materials and farm produce from the rural areas to the urban centers almost impossible. The rail system is also not in standard shape (The Leadership 2012). The rail lines are not only slow but also outdated when compared with modern rail engines used in other developing parts of the world. Generally, all of these infrastructural problems have combined to make business operations difficult not only for small and medium scale businesses but also for the large scale factories as well. In addition to the problems noted above, the information and communication infrastructure in Nigeria is weak compared to the global level and access to information infrastructure is considered an indispensable condition for widespread socio-economic development in this age of globalization and information economy (Cogburn&Adeya 2000; Lal 2012). Related to the problem of ICT is the cost of assessing internet and communication services. In Nigeria, due to some of the infrastructural problems highlighted above, service providers make users pay charges that are comparatively exorbitant if compared with the amount charged for such services in other parts of the world. For instance charges paid on local and national calls in Nigeria is higher if compared with the amount paid in other countries of the world.

Lack of Financial Support and Poor Entrepreneurial Policy Implementation

According to Olatunji (2013) capital and finance is the backbone of any investment. However, in a situation where this is not available, it will be difficult to establish a viable entrepreneurial venture. In Nigeria, despite existing policies on financial support for small businesses, very few entrepreneurs receive financial help when they need it. A survey carried out by the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA 2012a) has shown that only 6% of industrialists in Nigeria have been able to access the various entrepreneurial intervention funds made available by the Central Bank of Nigeria (The Guardian August 2012). This is a clear indication to the fact that entrepreneurs in Nigeria receive little or no financial support from the government, banks and other related financial houses and this has been a serious impediments for entrepreneurial development in Nigeria and it has made it difficult for most indigenous entrepreneurs to compete favorably with their counterparts in other parts of the world (Okpara 2005; Yusuf 2012). In addition to the above, interest rates charged on loans given by commercial banks is most times not favourable considering the interest rates coupled with the harsh business environment from which the entrepreneur operates (Ogbujiuba et al 2004), as a result, banks experience a high rate of loan default and this has developed into a situation where banks preferred granting loans to salary earners against business people based on the conception that the monthly income of the government paid worker is more secured than that of an average entrepreneur. As a result, obtaining loan by the entrepreneur is often difficult and cumbersome (Sanusi 2012).
Observing from this perspective, Ikechi & Edward (2009) noted that small business assistance from governments of African countries is weak and inadequate. Most research studies on African entrepreneurship have concluded that training programs for entrepreneurs have been few and far behind and different in contents to what is needed (Wallace 1999; Ikechi & Edward 2009). Some of the problems associated with such entrepreneurial training are that they are urban-centered and given by people unfamiliar with the actual needs of the entrepreneurs (Olatunji 2012).

Another observable challenge facing entrepreneurship in Nigeria is the problem of entrepreneurial policy formulation and implementation (Hope 2000; Olatunji & Lawal upcoming). Generally, problems associated with policy formulation and implementation arises as a result of gap that often exists between the theory and practice of entrepreneurship. Most often than not, most stake holders involve in making entrepreneurial policies are often technocrats with little or no practical experience of the indigenous market systems (Nwagwu 2007). Invariably, most often, neither the government nor the technocrats have the right entrepreneurial mind frame, strong enough to make entrepreneurial policies work for a typical would-be entrepreneurs in the country. Also, in most instances, the technology involved in the training tended to be beyond what trainees can afford to buy and use. In most cases there are no after-training follow up services. And there are no efforts made to ascertain the effectiveness of the training (Ikechi & Edward 2009; Olatunji 2012).

In other words, despite existing policies on financial support for small businesses, very few entrepreneurs receive financial help when they need it. In a study conducted by Mambula (2002) it was found that 72% of entrepreneurs he studied in Nigeria considered lack of financial support as the number one constraint in developing their business. According to him, small businesses consider procedures for securing business loans from banks cumbersome, and the collateral demanded for such loans (where it is available) is usually excessive. In a nutshell, entrepreneurs in Nigeria receive virtually no financial support from the government to boost their entrepreneurial activities in such a way that it will be developed to compete favorably with their counterparts globally.

Other challenging factors militating against entrepreneurial development in Nigeria include prevalent corruption rates (Falore & Asamu 2009; Olatunji, Lawal & Fagbamila 2014). Although, governments the world over have come to the realization of the fact that entrepreneurship is the engine of economic development and the Nigerian government has over time initiated several entrepreneurial development initiatives and policies for this purpose. Most recent among such policies is Youth Enterprise with Innovation (YOUWIN) despite the huge amount of money spent on these policies, these policies are often not fruitful to promote entrepreneurial/economic development in Nigeria (Gunu
2013; Olutunji et.al. 2014). The problem of corruption is thus a serious challenge not only to the development of entrepreneurial activities in the country but also constitutes a setback to the realization of the fruits of adopting globalisation policies.

Insecurity

One of the major challenges facing the Nigerian nation is the problem of insecurity of lives and properties. According to Otite (2012); Issah et.al (2014) more recent than ever, Nigeria has suffered plaques of crises leading to waste of lives and loss of valuable properties. The Boko-Haram saga; prevalent kidnapping cases; host of political cum religious motivated crises are common occurrences that have put lives and properties in Nigeria in a threatened un-secured situation (Miftahudeen 2012,). The implication of this state of insecurity is that both local and international entrepreneurial activities are severely affected as the local economy has not been running as supposed and the would-be international investors will not be willing to invest in the country due to the fact that they are not sure of the security of their dear lives and their properties. In other words, insecurity is another fundamental challenge militating against the development of the entrepreneurial sector of Nigeria and therefore one of the reasons while the country has not been benefiting from the goals of globalisation.

Other noticeable challenges militating against entrepreneurial development for an active involvement in the globalisation race include the problems of weak agric sector, weak democracy, the fear to utilize modern marketing technology (technophobia), lack of financial literacy, in-balance educational system (people who learn businesses are not educated while those educated often lack the entrepreneurial intention strong enough to initiate a viable entrepreneurial venture). The factors enumerated above are most of the factors impeding against viable entrepreneurial activities that will be strong enough to make the Nigerian economy benefit fully from the gains of globalisation. Despite all these challenges militating against entrepreneurial development in Nigeria, a closer observation will reveal that there are also lots of opportunities which if properly harnessed will enhance economic growth rates of the country. This observation suggests that opportunities exist for Nigerian entrepreneurs, and these opportunities will resulted in some international and local business successes. Some of such opportunities include among the following:

Viable Population

Nigeria is the most populous African nation and 7th most populous nation in the world (World Fact Book 2012; Federal Research Division 2008; Ahmed 2012). This demographic factor is one of the most viable potential opportunities that put the country ahead of most African countries. From the time being, population of a country has been a viable factor in determining its overall economic activities (Smith 2003). Similarly, population is as well important in this age of globalisation as it determines lots of economic factors such as the demand and supply rates of labour; marketability of products; big
market, etc. This is one of the important factors that put countries such as India and China at the receiving ends of the gains of globalisation. Nigeria as the most populous black nation has a tremendous advantage over most other African countries especially in this globalisation era because it is one of important factors that investors consider in the localization of industries. In other words, the availability of enormous population that will be useful for industrial production is one of the motivating factors that drive investors into a nation. And because Nigeria is considered the giant of Africa due to its population composition, then this factor remains an opportunity for the country to develop its entrepreneurial potentials to be among the gainers in the game of globalisation.

**Availability of Vast Arable Agricultural Lands**

Another important natural factor that put Nigeria at the advantageous end of the gains of globalisation is the availability of vast areas of arable land that are very useful for agricultural development which is one of the necessary conditions towards the development of any nation (Yusuf et al 2015). According to Patricia (2004), Nigeria has vast areas of under-utilized arable lands which could be used to grow crops and other agricultural raw-materials such as cotton which is used for the production of clothes, also leather which could be used for various industrial production such as shoes and bags. Nigeria also has cocoa, groundnuts etc. In the past, before the discovery of oil, agriculture used to be the Nigeria principal foreign exchange earner. At that time, Nigeria used to be the largest producer of groundnut, cocoa and palm-oil (Ake 1996). The intended logic of this historical analysis is that Nigeria has great potentials to gain enormously from globalisation if it develops its agro-preneurship sector as adequately as possible.

**Availability of Mineral Resources**

Mineral resources are other important factors that precipitate entrepreneurial activities locally and internationally. Availability of the natural resources could not only ignite local entrepreneurship but more importantly induced global investors. Closely related to the agricultural potential is the natural mineral resources advantage. To some observers, Nigeria has an enormous deposit of un-tapped mineral resources. According to Peter (2007), Nigeria has an array of un-exploited mineral resources such as natural gas; gold, tin, coal, bauxite, tantalite, iron ore, limestone, lead, zinc and so on. It is regrettable however that despite huge deposit of these natural resources, the mining industry in Nigeria is still in infancy (Wikipedia 2012). What could be inferred from the above explanations is that Nigeria has an enormous deposit of mineral resources which could give the country an ample opportunity to viable entrepreneurial activities that would put the country at the receiving edge of the gains of globalisation.

**Privatization of Government Owned Enterprises**

Privatization was pushed by the international finance community and organizations, such as the international Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. In line with such pressures, Nigerian
government embarked on the privatization of government owned enterprises (Obasanjo, 1999). The policy of privatization is established on the premise that government participation in industrial activities does not only negatively affect efficiency of the industries (Ihume 1997) but more importantly results to low level of entrepreneurial activities in the country (Elkon 1988). Hence, privatization of government owned enterprises is an opportunity towards the development of private entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria. According to Ikechi & Edward (2009), privatization of government controlled business activities offer tremendous opportunities to local entrepreneurs. Though, critics of the privatization policy have argue that privatization of government-owned enterprises is an exploitative anti-people policy (Lawal 2004) but it is the observation of this paper that privatization if it is well utilized presents an ample opportunities for active entrepreneurs to develop the entrepreneurship (private) sector of the economy and this will be an opportunity for the country to be among the gainers in the globalisation runs.

The Development of the ICT

In any discussion regarding globalisation, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is always the central focus. This is because; it is the development in ICT that led to the globalisation of the world. In fact, globalisation could be described as the ‘daughter of ICT’ (Olatunji & Falabi 2014). The basic tenet of globalisation is the digitalization of the world where technology drives government and private businesses. In other words, any country cannot reap from the gains of globalisation except it develops its ICT sector appropriately. According to Trump & Kiyosaki (2006), ‘today, a person can live in the most remote part of the world and still be doing business with the rest of the world’. This could only be possible with the power of the World Wide Web. In a nutshell, ICT remains an opportunity in the waiting in which if appropriately utilized, the country is bound to witness entrepreneurial development and definitely will reap bountifully from the gains of globalisation. This is why President Goodluck Jonathan asserts that economic growth is dependent on broad band access (This Day, 27th September, 2012). This presidential statement came a day after the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) (2012) ranks Nigeria low in internet usage. According to the Wikipedia (2012), Nigeria has one of the fastest growing telecommunication market in Africa, emerging operators such as Globacom, MTN, Etisalat, Zain are basing their largest and most profitable centres in Nigeria. According to the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (2008), development in information technology (IT) services will ensure that local enterprises are not at a competitive disadvantage in today’s global economy.

In another perspective, the internet remains an untapped resources in lot of African countries especially Nigeria. For instance, the internet is a veritable medium where entrepreneurs can study the product of foreign companies and use such prototype to develop their own products, this will not only make indigenous entrepreneurs familiar with the current trend in such industry but will also enable them to develop their own product on close if not the same level with international standard. Let’s take clothing as an example, most big brands in fashion designing such D&G, Gucci, Giorgio-Armani, Prada, Versace and so on always sample their brands including the latest brands on their websites,
from such samples, entrepreneurs who are interested in developing their clothing line could utilize this medium to study those brands and develop their own brand from such samples. Many of the Asian countries such as China, India, and Taiwan have used this approach to develop its entrepreneurial sector. Hence, entrepreneurs in Nigeria could also use this medium as an opportunity to develop their own brands not only to serve local consumption but also to help them gain international market. In a nutshell, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is one of the opportunities in the waiting which could be use to boost entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria in order that the country could be among the gainers in the globalisation game.

**Regional Trading Opportunities**

As noted earlier, the Nigeria political status as the ‘giant of Africa’ is an entrepreneurial opportunity that put the country ahead of most of his counterparts especially in the West-Africa sub region. Small scale entrepreneurs in Nigeria such as farmers, traders and artisans could use such opportunity to test the quality potential of their products in the regional markets. This is possible as the quality standard and economic standard of such countries could be at a standard which would make the consumption of such goods possible. For instance, leather shoes produced in Nigeria could be exported to neighboring countries such as Republic of Benin, Togo; Ghana etc. if such products are accepted in such countries then, the local producer of such goods could use the regional trading bloc advantage to lunch it further in Asian and European markets.

In other to achieve this, small firms in Nigeria could first focus on their home market and later expand into neighboring countries. This is possible because these countries have similar levels of consumer sophistication and product standards with Nigeria. What makes this easier is that Nigeria as a member of the Economic Communities of West African States (ECOWAS) belongs to the same trading block with other West-African countries which allows goods and services to move freely across their national borders. Thus, this is an ample opportunity for small scale entrepreneurs in Nigeria to engage in cross-border trade at a young age and use this experience to expand their trading activities to distant economies later. This is another vibrant opportunities which could be used to develop entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria and which would make the country to be among the gainers of globalisation policy.

**Conclusive Remarks**

What could be deduced from the general discussion above is that globalisation is an objective socio-economic policy which could be a source of pain or gain to the society. This is because of its ability to make or mar the socio-economic standard of a country. However, for it to be a pain or gain depends on how the policy is been handled by the government and by extension the mass of the people in the
society. In this regard, it is the observation of this paper that entrepreneurship development is an important factor that could make Nigeria to experience the gain rather than the pain of adopting globalisation tenets. However, because of some challenges, entrepreneurial activities have not been adequately functioning in Nigeria despite the availability of entrepreneurial opportunities. Hence, utilizing these opportunities become necessary because the country cannot afford to stand aloof in the game because such a stance will not make the country stagnant in terms of socio-economic development but will be taking it aback while other responsible countries continue to soar in economic surplus. Therefore, it is the recommendation of this paper that the challenges hindering the development of entrepreneurship in Nigeria be overcome so the country could maximize the gains of globalisation.

This paper therefore recommends that the government should speedily work towards the provision of physical infrastructure such as energy, good road network; water, road and air transportation and communications systems; a network of export based industrial production and the citizens should be equipped with entrepreneurial education with relevant technological skills, that would assist them to compete favorably with their counterparts all over the world. In addition to these, other necessary conditions that would enhance viable entrepreneurial development in Nigeria include good and corrupt-free democratic governance, efficient bureaucracy; adequate and functioning infrastructures; stable market-oriented economy, good micro/macro-economic policies; open and growing economy; adequate satisfaction of the people’s basic needs and virile export strategy.

More so, entrepreneurs in Nigeria need central government assistance in the form of loan guaranty, direct loan, and training and counseling on how to effectively manage a small business. Access to bank loans with lower interest rates and direct government financial support are reported in surveys of entrepreneurs as a serious problem for small businesses in Nigeria (Honohan & Beck 2007; NACCIMA 2012a). Hence, better financial assistance is needed to address this problem. Policies to address this problem should be established with input from lending institutions; hence, the concerns of banks should be taken into consideration in developing financial support policies for small businesses. Governments should work with lending institutions to lower the risk of loan default. While governments need to play an important role, other sources of assistance to small businesses, such as venture capitalists should be considered. Entrepreneurs should also be aware of the importance of education and training in ensuring the success of their business endeavours.

Similarly, students in higher institutions and technical schools should be encouraged to become entrepreneurs because of their potential to explore non-traditional business models which would help transform the entrepreneurial sector of the economy. This is very necessary because a general observation of entrepreneurial environment in Nigeria reveal an illiterate or semi-literate
entrepreneurial population which lacks of appropriate formal education has limits their developmental potentials as entrepreneurs. In other words, most often than not, higher institution graduates in Nigeria often lack the entrepreneurial orientations, entrepreneurial mindset and the financial literacy needed to spur them to engage in full entrepreneurial activities. As a result of lack of entrepreneurial orientation, graduates that sometimes engage in entrepreneurial activities only do that as an alternative in the absence of paid employment and as soon as such individual get a salary job, the most likely possibility is that such individual quit entrepreneurship for paid employment.

This paper also recommends that entrepreneurial guidance and counseling should be given utmost priority in entrepreneurial empowerment and such counseling programmes should be given by entrepreneurs who are versatile in both theory and practice of entrepreneurship. Similarly, entrepreneurial policy makers should comprise of individuals with adequate theoretical and practical knowledge of the process and practice of indigenous entrepreneurship. In addition, local governments should increase their support for small scale enterprises located in their area.

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**Newspapers**


Good or Bad? Employment Contract and Working Conditions of Telecommunication Employees in Nigeria

Kabiru Ayinde Oyetunde

Abstract: This study examines working conditions in relation to employment contract in the Nigerian Telecommunication industry. The data used for the study was obtained from workers in call and walk-in centres of MTN Nigeria. A self-designed questionnaire was used to obtain responses. The sample consisted of 370 employees drawn from the different departments in MTN Nigeria randomly. Data collected were analyzed using cross-tabulation, chi-square and correlation coefficients with the aid of SPSS 17.0. Results showed that workers in non-standard employment in the organisation experience low pay, inadequate fringe benefits, lack promotion, and do not have their wage increased as at when due. However, employment contract do not affect workers’ ability to form and join unions. It was however recommended that employees in the telecommunication industry should be more aware of their rights and government should implement and ensure full compliance to the provisions of the labour law.

Keywords: Telecommunication industry, Working conditions, Employment contract, Nigeria

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Introduction

Different societies, countries and/or nations have the ability to create for its citizens different types/forms of employment contract which would enable them to work and earn wages and/or salaries for a better living. This employment contract can come in various forms, it can be formal or informal; standard or non-standard, all based on the nature of working relationship between the employer and employee in the employment contract. According to the Labour Act 1990 as amended, a Contract of Employment means “any agreement, whether oral or written, express or implied, whereby one person agrees to employ another as a worker and that the other person agrees to serve the employer as a worker”. The provisions of Section 7 of the Act provides for certain conditions in an employment contract which the parties must provide and be ready to be bound with.

The above explanation therefore depicts the nature of the employment contract that should be entered into by employers and prospective workers – a standard, permanent and continuous form of employment in which the employee is seen as an absolute or full member of the organisation except when he proves otherwise. However, today, other different forms of employment contract type are staring us in the face due to the inability of authorities to implement the legal framework of employment contract to the fullest.

Non-standard employment otherwise known as precarious work, vulnerable employment, contingency employment, casualisation etc. are now persistent and the most obvious in the type of employment contract that is available today. They are a form of employment that is devoid of all the features of the traditional form of employment. They are temporary, part-time, temporary full-time, permanent part-time, temporary part-time etc. Non-standard employment contract allows for the employees to be marginalised as they are short-changed of all protection the law offer a standard worker.

Reasons why this form of employment contract is now common is not far-fetched. With globalisation, trade liberalisation, emergence of multinationals, foreign direct investment and the global employment crisis, boundaries have been broken across countries with firms moving to where they can get cheap labour in order to minimise the cost of doing business and make excessive profit. Most of these firms especially the multinationals in the Nigerian Telecommunication Industry always work without respecting the labour standards of the home country especially when they are not strictly enforced by the enforcement agents/agencies.

With the prevalence of outsourcing, exploiting employment agencies and graduate unemployment, the reward workers in non-standard work get is paltry (James et al, 2013). This showed that the reward most of these workers get from their employment is very short of what they should get in a traditional or standard form of employment.

However, non-standard work creation has been seen by many, even the parties to employment relations, as a win-win situation for all. Employers today prefer non-standard work mainly to reduce cost in the face of high cost of doing business owing to the peculiar situation of a developing economy like that of Nigeria. They also argue the creation of such employment to increase the flexibility of the
workforce, to meet up with the fierce competition and trade liberalisation. On the employees side, the high rate of unemployment has caused many to be caught in the web of either accepting a non-standard work or have no job to do at all. The state which is the assumed unbiased arbiter in the employment relations is also encouraging and promoting non-standard work, at least, to reduce the alarming figures of unemployment that may result in an imminent danger.

Several authors (Fashoyin et al. 2013; Gallie et al. 1998; Kallerberg et al. 2000; McGovern et al. 2004; Okafor 2012; Zeytinoglu and Cooke 2008) have given that non-standard work arrangements differ in the working terms and conditions. While some offer good conditions of work, others are bad. With available statistics, such work does exist in the Nigeria Telecommunication Sector.

The Nigeria Telecommunication Industry is one that have evolved over time, from the days of NITEL to the coming of GSM providers such as MTN, Etisalat, Glo, Airtel etc. Since the coming of these telecom giants in 2001, the Nigerian workers and prospective workers are open to employment with the companies. However, recently the working relationship changed with the new form of employment contract brought about by globalisation, outsourcing, unemployment, to mention a few. The telecommunication companies took advantage of the situation to get more temporary and non-standard workers. As given by Eroke (2012), 50% of the Nigerian Telecommunication employees are on non-standard employment. James et al. (2013) stated that the telecommunication companies in the country have always recruited through outsourcing firms who lay off workers at will.

Now, it is pertinent to ask, why these companies are having a large number of non-standard workers. Are there significant differences in the working conditions of these workers (standard and non-standard) which might have prompted more of the non-standard in the industry? The cause of this and what impact does employment contract as it relates to standard and non-standard work have on the conditions of service of workers in the telecommunication industry is what I am investigating.

In trying to do this, the following objectives are meant to be achieved:

a. To differentiate between different contracts of employment in MTN Nigeria.

b. To investigate the relationship between employment contract and working conditions of workers in MTN Nigeria.

c. To distinguish clearly the working conditions of standard and non-standard employment in MTN Nigeria.

d. To investigate if there is a significant difference between the working conditions of workers of MTN Nigeria based on their employment contract type.

Literature Review
As stated elsewhere, contract of employment can either be standard or non-standard. Non-standard work as conceptualised by many authors and scholars have been defined severally, all depict similar
meanings and interpretations. According to Kallerberg, Reskin and Hundson (2000), the term non-standard employment relationship implies the existence of a standard employment relationship, even though the latter is relative. Therefore, to understand the concept of non-standard employment, it will be more appropriate to understand the concept of standard employment relations. Okafor (2012) defined the standard employment relationship as a full time, continuous employment where the employee works on his employer’s premises or under the employer’s supervision. He further stated that the central aspects of this relationship include: an employment contract of indefinite duration, standardised working hours/weeks with sufficient social benefits like pensions, unemployment, an extensive medical coverage which protects the standard employee from unacceptable practice and working conditions. On the contrary, non-standard work/employment that is opposite to the standard employment as described above are used to describe jobs that are poorly paid, insecure, unprotected, lacks opportunity for promotion, lack benefits and other social insurance covers, and cannot support a household.

Danesi (2011) also defined non-standard work as any form of employment that does not fall within the traditional definition or understanding of employment. She further explained that such form of employment is not permanent in nature, usually fixed or predetermined and short term. Buttressing her stance, Fashoyin et al. (2013) also gave that non-standard work is a form of work which is not necessarily full time, even though it may be permanent, temporary, or part-time, and in which the employment relationship commits the employer marginally to the worker. Similarly, Zeytinoglu and Cooke (2008) perceived non-standard employment as one that is not regular, part-time, temporary full-time, and temporary part-time.

The above explanations of non-standard employment relationship depicts that they are not permanent in nature, and holders of such employment relationship are not adequately protected by law or that employers of such workers are not following the laws to the latter. According to Okafor (2012) there are four dimensions to determine if an employment is non-standard in nature: the degree of certainty of continuing employment; the control over the labour process, which is linked to the presence or absence of trade unions and professional associations and relates to control over working conditions, wages, and the pace of work; the degree of regulatory protection; and the income level.

**Theoretical Framework**

The campaign for non-standard work arrangements have been based on the postulations and assumptions of certain theories – Neo-liberal Theory, Dual Labour Market Theory, Insider-Outsider Theory, and the Contract Theory.

**Neo-Liberal Theory**

Neo-liberalism theory is based on the major aim of market mechanism, competition and influence. Neo-Liberalists argued that the economy would only thrive in the absence of government regulations and restrictions. To them, all aspects of the economy should be handled by the private sector in order
to make production more effective and efficient, and for favourable economic parameters. The neo-liberal theory perceives a country as a firm which can only be successful through economic liberalism which is always occasioned by commercialization and privatisation of state-owned institutions, labour market flexibility, more foreign direct investments, etc. Similarly, neo-liberal organization pursues policies that would give economic liberalization through reducing costs and maximizing benefits in the competitive socio-economic environment. Such organisations also prefer non-standard employment for it grants flexibility which reduces production costs, boost profit, and lessens working lives qualities of workers (Buchler et al. 2009; Harvey 2005). At the individual (micro) level as given by Okafor (2012) neo-liberalism strongly advocates the freedom of individual contract.

Also following the neo-liberalism assumptions and postulations, the OECD (2006) recommended for member countries to increase flexibility of working time, make wages and labour costs more flexible, and reform employment security that impedes expansion of employment. In most countries, these influences have resulted in the prevalence of non-standard employment relations and by extension increase in the workers precariousness and vulnerability.

**Insider-Outsider Theory**

This theory was developed by Linbeck and Snower in 1988. They argued that the existence of transaction costs which include recruitment, selection, placement and retrenchment as well as fluctuation costs enhances the strength of job holders (insiders) in bargaining their wages and other terms of service above their productivity level. In contrast to other labour market segmentation theories, this theory views insiders and outsiders as imperfect substitutes. Bertola et al. (2001) showed that changes in labour demand is lower and employment level higher in countries where there are adjustment costs than in countries where employees lack protection. It was further argued that to avoid high transaction and adjustment costs, employers try to avoid employment protection. This makes insiders and outsiders perfect substitutes. Therefore, the need to reduce the strength of the insiders leads to firms trying to avoid employment protection costs either by using hidden employment or the new form of institutionalized flexible labour contracts, non-standard employment inclusive.

**Work Conditions of Non-standard Workers: Empirical Evidences**

The terms and conditions of any employment arrangement can give a true picture of how the working condition of such employment would be and how vulnerable the worker holding such employment is to abuse and exploitation. The effects of non-standard work arrangements on both the employers and workers holding such are numerous. Recent research on earnings, benefits, and a variety of other employment conditions of non-standard workers provides further evidence that the treatment of workers differs according to their employment status (Mc Keown, 2005; Zeytinoglu and Cooke, 2008).
According to the section 7(1) of the Labour Act every employee is expected to be given a written statement, not later than three months after the beginning of his employment, stating clearly the terms and conditions of the employment. The terms and conditions include hours of work, holiday, leave, pay and other benefits, etc. Therefore, legally it is expected that every Nigerian worker has an appointment letter stating clearly the terms and conditions of the work. However, this is not the case for many non-standard workers. Most non-standard workers do not have any letter or statement stating the terms and conditions of their employment, the reason why many of them have bad working conditions. According to Okougbo (2004) the ills of casualisation and other forms of non-standard work are; abysmal low wages, absence of medical care and allowances, no job security or promotion at work, no gratuity and other severance benefits, no leave or leave allowance, lack of freedom of association, no death benefit and accident insurance.

**Wages, Incentives, Benefits and Allowances**

On the working conditions experience of non-standard workers, McGovern et al. (2004) found that good/standard jobs not only offer the prospect for promotion but also substantial increase in pay, security and social status, meaning the bad/non-standard jobs lack the prospects of or opportunity for promotion and reasonable wage. Also in a study conducted by Gallie et al. as cited by McGovern et al. (2004) where they compared female part timers with male full timers, they found that female part timers have lower levels of pay, fewer fringe benefits and are more pessimistic about increase in their pay and promotion chances. Booth et al (2002) also found that temporary workers receive less pay than permanent workers. Kallerberg et al. (2000) in their analysis of bad jobs in America, conceptualised bad jobs as those with certain bad characteristics in which low pay, lack of benefits (insurance and pension) is inclusive. Okafor (2012) opines that one of the disadvantages or effects of non-standard employment is the fact that they offer low wages and fringe benefits.

High discrimination persists in the pay received by non-standard workers. Many of them are given pay that is less than that of their counterpart in the standard employment. The basis of this discrimination cannot be founded as many non-standard workers have the same working skill and experience as standard workers and at times have more than the permanent workers. This is buttressed by Owoseye and Onwe (2009) who noted that in spite of the provision in Section 17 of the Nigerian Constitution which guarantees “equal pay for equal work without discrimination on account of sex, or any other ground whatsoever, the discrimination in pay between permanent and non-standard employees persists”.

According to Standing (2011) workers in non-standard employment relationship lack income security. Income security, according to the ILO (2004) relates to assurance of adequate stable income, protected through minimum wage machinery, wage indexation, comprehensive social security, progressive taxation to reduce inequality and to supplement low incomes. It is therefore the lack of income security that have placed the non-standard worker in a precarious situation of earning low pay and no benefit to augment the pay.
Promotion Experience

Promotion chances which also enhance workers holding precarious employment to increase their chance of improving their working conditions or be converted to standard workers are also horrible. According to McGovern et al (2004) good jobs not only offer the prospect for promotion but also the prospect for substantial increase in pay, security and social status. Meaning bad jobs lack the prospect of or opportunity for promotion.

On the promotion experience of workers, Zeytinoglu (2004) showed that full time workers were given priority in promotions followed by those in regular part time jobs and casual part time workers. In a study conducted by Zeytinoglu and Cooke (2008) on non-standard employment and promotion experiences of workers, they found that workers in non-standard work arrangements have no career ladders and lack promotion prospects. They also found that there is hierarchy in promotion experience of non-standard workers. Those in temporary full time employment have a higher likelihood of promotion followed by workers in regular part time employment contracts and lastly by those in temporary part time contracts. Earlier studies also show that part time workers tend to have fewer promotion opportunities than regular full time workers (Warne et al., 1992; Fagan, 2006; EU Foundation, 2004). Fagan in his study found that women in part-time jobs are more likely to stay in the same position or be demoted. Similarly the EU Foundation reported that among EU member countries, on average, the part-time workers are less likely to be promoted.

The fewer promotion opportunities and experiences of the non-standard workers compared to the traditional workers do not give them the opportunity to improve on their wages and benefits, if there is any at all, as most promotion comes with both increased responsibilities and earnings.

Opportunity to organise and collectively bargain

The main reason of most workers forming unions or coming together to have a common a front against the employer is to better the conditions of their working lives. When workers have freedom of association, they can form unions and improve on their wages and salaries and other conditions of service. Workers holding non-standard employment are rarely allowed to join existing unions let alone forming a new associations in most organisations. This also add to the inability of the workers to collectively bargain their wages and salaries, improve on their earnings and win more benefits and concessions from the employers leading to more precarious situation for them.

The Nigerian worker whether standard or non-standard has the right to form or join a trade union as a matter of constitutional right. Section 40 of Nigerian Constitution provides that “every person shall be entitled to assemble freely and associate with other persons, and in particular he may form or belong to any political party, trade union or any other association for the protection of his interests”. Also section 9(6) (a) & (b) of the Labour Act (1990) provides that no contract of employment shall make it a condition of employment that a worker shall or shall not join a trade union or shall or shall not
relinquish membership of a trade union; or cause dismissal of a worker by reason of trade union membership, because of trade union activities outside working hours or with the consent of the employer within working hours.... Similarly, the Trade Union Act (1990) gave that a trade union is any combination of workers or employers, whether temporary or permanent.... This also depicts that whether a worker is in permanent or temporary employment, they have the right to form union to protect their interests (see Patovilki Industrial Planners Limited Vs National Union of Hotels and Personal Services Workers as cited in Danesi, 2011). However, most employers prevent workers in the non-standard work arrangements from forming or joining unions on the basis that they are casual/contract workers and lack full organisational citizenship. They mostly force the workers to sign “yellow dog” contracts.

Even when the workers defy the directive of their employers and form unions, most employers do not recognise the unions as a collective bargaining agent of the workers. The employers also go in contrary to the provisions of section 24(1) of the Trade Union Act which mandates an employer to automatically recognise a trade union of which persons in his or her employment are members, on registration in accordance with the provisions of the Act. Any employer who fails to follow this section shall be guilty of an offence and be liable on summary conviction to a fine of 1000 naira. The enforcement of this provision and others is questionable.

The precariousness of the conditions of work of workers in the non-standard employment is largely a result of the inability of the workers to form unions and fight for better conditions of service. McGovern et al (2004) argued that it is reasonable to infer that employees in non-standard jobs are more likely to have inferior employment conditions because they lack union representation. Danesi (2011) also gave that non-standard workers are denied the right to organise and their terms and conditions of employment are usually not specified and precarious. She further gave that inadequate legislations, lack of enforcement of current legislations such as the minimum wage act etc, government policy on employment and the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment are factors that constitute to the lack of freedom of association of the non-standard workers in Nigeria, despite the country having ratified ILO conventions 87 and 98 of 1948 and 1949 respectively.

**Working Environment**

How safe the environment of the worker is also depicts the stance of the terms and conditions of the worker’s employment. Workers in the non-standard employment relationship have issues with their physical work environment and the equipment and tools provided for them at work. Odu (2011) in his study interviewed a worker holding non-standard employment and found that working conditions of the workers are poor and employers are not safety conscious as they made the workers to work under life-threatening conditions. He found further that the non-standard workers are meant to provide for themselves safety boots, nose masks, customized shirts of the company and other tools used at work. Similarly, Abideen and Osuji (2011) interviewed a non-standard worker and found that their work environment always makes them susceptible to injury and when they sustain one, the workers pay for their treatment and would not receive their salary for the period and any form of compensation. Buttressing this Fapohunda (2012) opined that in the event of an accident or death, non-standard
workers and their dependants are left destitute because they cannot claim for injury on duty or work place acquired diseases and this is compounded by the fact that such workers cannot afford private insurance due to the low wages.

In addition, the EU Foundation (1998) found that employees employed on a precarious basis are the most exposed to painful and tiring positions, carrying or handling heavy loads, repetitive arm or hand movements, too much noise, radiation, and other physical discomfort experience. It further stated that the temporary workers are to a large extent the largest group of workers in the EU exposed to bad work environment and very difficult working conditions. Also, the EU found that non-standard workers always find it impossible to move their work stations, change the equipment they use at work, change the temperature of their workplace, move their seat, change their lightning, and cannot do anything about the ventilation of their working environment.

Non-standard workers also have their working environment imposed on them and cannot even change the position of their working methods. They also lack autonomy in the work and the control of their task.

Method
The research method employed for this study is the quantitative research method. Also both the descriptive and explanatory research methodologies were adopted in this study. One of the ways of achieving this is through administration of questionnaires. The study focuses on employment contract and working conditions in the Telecommunications industry; using the workers in MTN Nigeria as study focus. The simple random sampling procedure was employed to select 370 respondents used for the study. The research instrument that has been employed as stated earlier is the survey questionnaire. The 2-point scale – yes and no – was used in the questionnaire so that the respondents could specify their agreement to a statement. Causal associations and interrelationships testing of variables constitute the foundation for this study. Responses from the questionnaire were analysed with the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences 17.0. The hypotheses were tested using appropriate statistical tools of Chi-Square and Pearson Correlation Coefficients.

Results
A total of 370 questionnaires were administered to all categories of employees of MTN Nigeria. A total of 229 were returned out of which four were partially filled, leaving 225 responses valid enough for analysis. This showed a response rate of 60.8% which is tenable considering the attitude of Nigerians towards research especially one of this nature.

From the data collected from the respondents and as displayed in the Figures 1-5 (see appendix), 43.6% are male while 56.4% are female. This depicted that the researcher was conscious of having a fair and non-discriminatory response in terms of gender in the study. This study can therefore be seen as not gender-biased. To show the level of maturity of the respondents and their eligibility for
employment, there were asked to give their age. Responses showed that a higher percentage (52.4%) of the respondents fall between the 30-39 years age bracket. Also 28% fall within 40-49 years while 15.6% and 4% fall within the ages of 20-29 years and 50-59 years respectively.

From the Figure 3, responses on education of the respondents showed that they are well educated to partake in the study. As stated, 37.8% are Polytechnic graduates while 43.5% and 18.7% are first and second degree holders respectively. Their level of education also confirmed that they know the implication of the study and what a study of this nature is intended to achieve. In terms of the category of employment of the respondents, responses showed that 14.2% of the respondents are permanent staff, 20% are temporary staff working on part-time basis, while 65.8% are on contractual employment which is mostly triangular and non-standard in nature. The respondents from the data collected have spent an average of 5 years in the organisation. This indicated that they would be able to state in clear terms an account of their experience and working conditions since working in the organisation.

H1: Employment contract types affect promotion experience of employees.

Table 1: employment category * opportunity for promotion Crosstabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>opportunity for promotion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment category</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part time</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: employment category * promotion when due Crosstabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Promotion when due</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>employment category</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full time</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part time</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Chi-Square Tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>3.968E2a</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>225a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. 7 cells (46.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

The result above shows that 68.7% of the full time employees agree that they are promoted as at when due and they are not discriminated as far as promotion is concerned. However, 93.9% of the contract workers and over 80% of the part-time workers gave that they do not get promoted as at when due. The chi-square coefficients above also showed a larger value. This result is significant as the Asymptotes Significant Values are less than 0.05. With the results we can accept the hypothesis that employment contract affect the promotion experience of workers.

H2: Employment contract types have effect on employees working environment.

Table 4: Employment contract*Work environment Cross tabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noise</th>
<th>Radiation</th>
<th>Seat position</th>
<th>Lightning</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Time</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Time</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Chi-square

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pearson Chi Square</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noise</td>
<td>2.11976E-13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radiation</td>
<td>9.18251E-07</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The result above shows that 56.25% of the full time employees agree that they are affected by noise at work while 95.9% and 73.3% of the contract and part-time workers work under a noisy work environment. Also over 70% of both part-time and contract workers experience some form of radiation coming from their working tools and equipments as against 21.9% of the full-time workers. Similarly more full-time and part-time workers have control over their seat position and arrangement compared to the contract workers. In terms of lightning, 90.6% of the full-time workers have control over lightning in their offices while only 19.6% of the contract workers have such opportunity. The chi-square coefficients above also showed association between employment contract type and work environment variables. This result is not significant as the p-values are greater than 0.05.

**H3:** Employment contract types influence ability of workers to join or form associations and collectively bargain.

**Table 6: Employment contract*Opportunity to organise Cross tabulation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employee category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Full Time</th>
<th>Part Time</th>
<th>Contract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>SDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7: Chi-square**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pearson Chi Square</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representative bargaining</td>
<td>5.4146E-170</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Consultative Forum</td>
<td>2.12281E-42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the result above showed that both full, part-time and contract workers do not have any body engaging in collective bargaining on their behalf, other results showed that the full-time workers have a joint consultative forum where issues that relate to employment terms and conditions are discussed. 100% of the contract workers gave that there is no forum where they can discuss their terms and conditions of work. The chi-square results showed no association between employment contract type and ability of workers to join or form union. The result is not significant since the p-values are greater than 0.05. We can therefore reject the hypothesis that employment contract type influence ability of workers to form or join unions and collectively bargain their terms and conditions of work.

**H4:** There is a significant relationship between the wages, incentives, and benefits and allowances employees of MTN get and their employment contract type.

The last hypothesis is to test if there is a significant relationship between the pay experiences of workers with regards to their employment contract. The correlation coefficient was employed using the variables – sufficient allowance, yearly pay rise and adequacy of fringe benefits as independent variables and employment category as the dependent variable. Results as displayed in the table 4.7.8 below showed that there is an inverse relationship between the adequacy of allowance given to employees and their employment contract type. Also the full time employees experience yearly pay rise unlike the other employment contract type holders. Similarly, there is a strong inverse relationship between the fringe benefits workers get at work and their employment category. The results are significant with significant levels less than 0.05.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>employment category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sufficient allowance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>-.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearly pay rise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>-.523**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fringe benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>-.607**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Discussion

Findings from this study also corroborate with previous studies (Fagan, 2006; Zeytinoglu & Cooke, 2008; EU Foundation, 2004). It was found that employment contract type affect the promotion experience of workers. Full-time workers get promoted as at when due and anytime the organisation deem it fit to promote workers, while part-time and contract workers have no career ladders or promotion opportunities.

Workers ability to form or join association or union is a fundamental right which must not be infringed upon by any employer. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) guarantee workers right to organise and collectively bargain their terms and conditions of employment. Also Nigeria as a member nation of the ILO has ratified and domesticated the conventions of right to organise and collectively bargain in the Nigerian Labour laws. This inability of non-standard workers to have union representation has also been linked to the manner in which the workers are employed. Some are employed on “yellow-dog contracts” while some are in triangular employment. Findings from this study are highly consistent with previous studies. It was found workers on both type of employment contract do not have a forum where they discuss their terms and conditions of work with the management. In addition, workers on part-time or contract basis are mostly on outsourcing and are made to go into employment contracts that will not avail them the opportunity of forming or joining a union.

In terms of work environment, it was found in the study that workers on standard employment do have a more serene work environment than those in non-standard employment. Our findings revealed that full-time workers have control over their work pace, seat position and lightning. They are also provided with adequate working tools and equipments that pose little or no threat to their health and safety. However, the part-time and contract workers work environment is characterised with noise, radiation, they do not have the control over lightning, seat position and pace of work. Findings from this study are in line with that of previous researchers (EU Foundation 1998; Abideen and Osuji 2011; Odu 2011; Fapohunda 2012).

On pay and other benefits, the study found a significant inverse relationship between employment category and variables that relates to pay and other benefits received by the workers. This indicates that the more precarious the employment of a worker is the less likely that he will experience increase in pay or get adequate benefits and incentives, and vice versa. This finding is commensurate with the findings from previous researchers.

Conclusion

Similar to the previous literatures on the working conditions of workers based on their employment contract type, this study found a significant difference in the working conditions of full-time, part-time and contract employees. The study also reveals that the larger population of workers in MTN Nigeria are contract-based. They are workers either on triangular employment or working with outsourced companies in contract with MTN Nigeria.
As evidenced in literature and findings, the pay experience of part-time and contract workers are precarious. Workers in this employment category always have low remuneration and other benefits. They lack income security which the ILO termed as assurance of adequate stable income, protected through minimum wage machinery, wage indexation, comprehensive social security, progressive taxation to reduce inequality and to supplement low incomes. Similarly the promotion prospects that can lead to improved pay for these workers are also absent.

Lastly, evidence also showed that unionisation of workers has been seriously resisted by MTN and that the unitary ideology of employment relations is in play in the organisation. Also, there is lack of clearly defined and firm legal provision to assist the non-standard workers. Recommendations as stated above if strictly followed and adequately employed, the working conditions and experience of part-time and contract workers will not be precarious as we have it today.

References


---

**APPENDIX**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Socio-demographic Characteristics</th>
<th>Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>What is your gender?</td>
<td>[ ] Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ] Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>What is your age at last birthday?</td>
<td>[ ] &lt; 20 Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ ] 20-29 Years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3. | What is your highest educational qualification? | [ ] 30-39 Years  
[ ] 40-49 Years  
[ ] 50-59 Years  
[ ] 60 Years and above |
| 4. | What division/department are you? |
| 5. | What category of staff are you? | [ ] Bachelors  
[ ] Masters degree  
[ ] Ph.D.  
[ ] Others...................  
[ ] Permanent/Full Staff  
[ ] Part-time  
[ ] Casual  
[ ] Contract Staff |
| 6. | How long have you worked in this organisation? | [ ] 1-5 Years  
[ ] 6-10 Years  
[ ] 11-15 Years  
[ ] 16-20 Years  
[ ] 21 Years and above |

**SECTION B**

**WORKING TERMS AND CONDITIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Were you issued any offer letter or contract of employment?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. In your letter of appointment, are all conditions of employment clearly spelt out?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you have access to free housing/ housing allowance?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you have access to medical facility?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Are there incentives when you exceed targets and standards?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Do you have access to transport facility?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Do you have access to free/subsidized meal?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Do you have access to vacation (Leave)/ allowance?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, specify ...........................................</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Do you work more than the required 40 hours per week?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you do night work?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you work on Saturdays and Sundays? If yes how frequent?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

____________________________________________________________________
12. Do you receive training paid for or provided by the employer?

13. Does your work status allow you to join a trade union?

14. Do you have access to laws regulating your work?

**WORK ENVIRONMENT**

1. Does your work entails:
   a. painful or tiring positions
   b. repetitive hand or arm movement?

2. Is your work environment –
   a. characterized with noise
   b. characterized with vibrations
   c. filled with radiation
   d. has personal protective equipment

3. Do you have personal control over –
   a. lightning
   b. your seat position

4. Does your pace of work depend on –
   a. work performed by other colleagues
   b. automatic speed of a machine
   c. direct supervision of your boss

5. Can you –
   a. choose or change the pace at which you work
   b. take a break when you want to
   c. decide when to take holidays or days of leave

6. Does your work involve –
   a. tight and short deadlines
   b. direct demand from customers and clients

7. Does your work pose a threat to your health and safety?

8. Does your work causes you –
   a. back pains
   b. muscular pains in arms or legs
   c. ear problems
   d. eye problems
   e. stress
   f. insomnia

**PAY, PROMOTION AND OTHER BENEFITS**

1. Do you have a say in the determination of my wage and/or salary?
2. Are there other factors that motivate you at work apart from pay?

3. Do you get promoted when you deserve it?

**ORGANISE AND COLLECTIVELY BARGAIN**

1. Is your terms and conditions of work bargained by a representative?

2. According to your contract, do you have the right to form a union?

This part has a key rating as follows;

- Strongly Disagree – **SD**
- Disagree – **D**
- Neutral – **N**
- Agree – **A**
- Strongly Agree – **SA**

**PAY, PROMOTION AND OTHER BENEFITS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>SA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The pay I receive is commensurate with my effort at work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I feel more should be done in terms of the wages I get.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Enough allowances are available to subsidize the reward I get.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I experienced increase in pay on a yearly basis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>When I put more effort, I am rewarded for the extra job done.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Workers have the opportunity of getting promotion when they deserve.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>There are enough fringe benefits to give us membership sense in the organisation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>There are some workers who earn more than you do but do less work than you do in the organisation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The reward I get from working has helped raise my standard of living significantly.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I prefer overtime to augment my pay.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Besides my work, I have another job that brings money to augment my income.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The pay I receive always motivate me to do more on the job.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>My take-home pay is reasonable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>I have been shortchanged with my pay by some authorities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>The reward I get provides me with the opportunity of saving for precaution and investment purposes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Workers get promoted as at when due.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Promotion of workers is based on seniority.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18. In this organisation, workers promotion is a function of performance at work.

19. Workers in the organisation get paid for days absent from work.

ORGANISE AND COLLECTIVELY BARGAIN

1. Terms and conditions of work are reviewed frequently.

2. There is enough room for me to express my grievance as they occur while on the job.

3. There is a joint consultative forum or other forum where issues that relate to my terms and conditions of employment are discussed.

4. A considerable level of trust exists between the management and the workers.

5. There is a horizontal communication where I have access to taking my complaints to management.

**Figures**

**Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1**

**Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29yrs</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39yrs</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49yrs</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59yrs</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2**
Figure 3

Education

Masters
Bachelors
OND/HND

Figure 4

Employment Category

Contract
Part-time
Permanent/Full Staff

Figure 5

Employment Duration

6-10yrs
1-5yrs
The Influence of TV Commercials on the Lifestyle of Youngsters

Saddam Hussain Shah

Abstract: Media is considered as an emergent pillar of society. Several studies affirm the impact of media on society regarding social learning as well as construction of reality. Recurrence of TV commercials on various TV channels may contribute as a determinant factor about the lifestyle choices of youngsters. The present study was conducted about the Influence of TV commercials on the lifestyle of youngsters. The core objectives of the study were, first to explore the influence of TV commercials on the lifestyle choices of youngsters. Second objective was, to explore the role of TV commercials in promoting materialistic values among youngsters. The AIDA model was applied to assess the impact of TV commercials on youngsters. The population of the current study was students of University of the Punjab Lahore. By applying Multistage sampling a sample of five hundred students were randomly selected. Data was analyzed by using both descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. The results of the present study show that TV commercials have impact on the lifestyle of youngsters and there is relationship between TV commercials and lifestyle choices of youngsters. Results also highlight the role of TV commercials in promoting materialistic values among youngsters.

Keywords: Commercials, Lifestyle, Youngsters, Materialism, TV

Introduction

The mass media are expanded media technologies that are planned to reach a large audience by mass communication. The technology through which this communication takes place varies. Broadcast media such as radio, recorded music, film and television transmit their information electronically. Society is comprised of institutions, which have different functions for the progress and stability of the society and its members. There are basically five social institutions but now mass media...
is also considered as a social institution, because in the present epoch, media is influencing all the other social institutions.

Electronic media as a whole but specifically television dramas and cooking shows, fashion channels and the self-motivated styles of advertisements which have impacted on the life styles of different sections of society. The desirability that television advertisements produce in some ways is also contributed by the youth.

The development of advertisement is as age old as human history. Advertisement is a strategy for creating awareness among people about different products. Different societies used different symbols and tactics to attract the attention of people for the consumption of their products. These activities were performed on a limited area due to limited resources. But with the passage of time advertisement has become a powerful tool and plays the role of bridge between consumer and buyer. Advertising is the active source to influence the mind of viewers and gives viewers contact towards a particular product or service (Katke, 2007). Without proper investment, no business can become a market front-runner (Hussainy et al., 2008)

Television is the most dominant and persuasive medium of communication around the globe. Due to its powerful effect, most advertisers have faith on television for advertisement of their products to appeal to the youngsters as they are their target audience in most of the cases. This is due to the fact that people are easy to convince to buy any particular product which is being advertised on television.

In the same manner, overall television viewing influences the lifestyle of different sections of society in different manners. Youth belonging to various income classes are now gradually motivated to follow ongoing fashion trends and more enthusiastic to spend on fashion products according to their own incomes. Though their financial plan and taste in fashion may vary, the rich and middle classes alike are part of the fashion race. Firms are spending a massive amount of their budget for advertising their products and facilities. They are investing to influence the buying behavior of customers and shaping the factors that have direct or indirect effects on buying behavior like purchasing power (Ayanwale et al., 2005). This focus on advertising is because it is considered an effective tool to stimulate customers and influence their buying behavior (Niazi et al., 2012). The present study is significant in a number of ways and will help in understanding the different dimensions between TV commercials and youth. Through this research, I will be able to justify the role of TV commercials on the youngsters and their choices. The findings of this study will help in gauging the impact of TV commercials in creating materialistic values among youngsters.

The study will help uncover some critical areas that many researchers were not able to explore. The research will provide insights regarding the issues and perceptions that are leading the youth to different trends, styles and materialism.
Literature Review

Advertising is a core idea that is used by diverse companies to get favor and maximum sale of their products. Ayanwala (2005: 200) defines advertising as, “a non-personal paid form where ideas, concepts, products or services, and information are promoted through media (visual, verbal, and text) by an identified sponsor to persuade or influence behavior”. Advertising is the core idea that is obtainable in non-personal ways to create purchase objective. It is defined as distribution of information about products in a non-personal way typically paid by a sponsor through different media (Datta, 2008). Advertisers are trying to spread maximum information about products in target market. Therefore, reputation is the aim of advertising (Ramaswami & Namakumari, 2004).

Advertising is done to create likeness, attraction and influence buying behavior in positive way. Attitude-towards-the ads is an exciting theory of advertising often used to understand the buying behavior. Effective advertisement powers the attitude towards brand and finally leads to purchase intention (Goldsmith & Lafferty, 2002). Ideally, consumer’s buying behavior is the product purchase decision (Adelaar et al., 2003). Advertisers are using different techniques to effectively convey commercial messages to create purchase decision. Hierarchy of effects model often used to assess the effectiveness of advertisement and is a series of steps such as, attention, interest, desire and purchase decision (Cavill & Bauman, 2004; Grover & Vriens, 2006). The steps of hierarchy of effects model are as follows:

**Awareness:** It is the first step of the hierarchy of effects model, where people get awareness about products. At this stage, advertisers introduce their products, services and information about the usage of products. Initially, advertisers create awareness about products in their target market and its benefits to use (Baca et al., 2005). According to Ashcroft and Hoey (2001) awareness is the cognitive stage to attract customers and is the first step of communication process.

**Interest:** Advertisement of a product or service is run with the aim to create interest among target viewers because creating interest is the priority of advertisers (Rowley, 1998; Broeckelmann, 2010). Continuous buying of a particular product shows consumers’ interest (Ghirvu, 2013). Pharmaceutical companies, for example, often invest to create products interest in target market with aggressive sales force which attempts to motivate customers for further query (Baca et al., 2005).

**Desire:** It is the third step of hierarchy of effects model that deals with the aspiration of target customers to buy a product or service. From advertising view point, desire is said to be the intense level of wanting a product. Creating desire is the priority of advertisers, where they explain the features and benefits of their products, that how much value you have here (Richardson, 2013). At this level, advertisers try to give greater exposure of a product to the customers (Rowley, 1998).

**Action:** At the fourth level of hierarchy of effects model action is taken by a customer i.e. actually purchasing a product or service. At this stage, customers are ready to pay for the products to fulfill
their intense desire for a particular product or services. A number of incentives offered may persuade a customer to take action (purchase). For example discounted prices often entice customers to take action i.e. buy something (Rawal, 2013). As mentioned by Ashcroft and Hoey (2001) action is the behavior stage involving actual purchasing. According to Hoyer and Macinnis (2009) effective advertising creates positive feelings that lead to actual purchase of advertised products. Therefore, on the basis of above arguments we can hypothesize.

Lifestyle is the pattern of one’s life that a person chooses to perform certain activities. According to the definition of Kotler et al., (2008), “Lifestyle is a person’s pattern of living as expressed in his or her activities, interests and opinions”. Likewise, Moore (1963) presented his opinion that “lifestyle is a patterned way of life into which people fit various products, events or resources. Moreover, consumer purchasing is an interrelated, patterned phenomenon and products are purchased as part of a lifestyle”. The life pattern and products usage of rural area is different than urban areas. For example, some villagers may not keep mobile or have no understanding of mobile usage. Therefore, the study is interested to determine the effects of lifestyle on consumer buying behavior in rural areas.

Life style is a concept defined as the means by which people live and spend time and money, mirroring a person’s activities, interest and opinions, as well as demographic variables (Blackwell et al, 2001). From head to toe advertisers are creating a need for all types of branded products. They are creating a need for greater consumption, materialism, brand consciousness, flamboyance and prestige. Advertisements today are changing the entire lifestyle and attitude of youth. According to Kotwal (2008) advertisement played a significant role in introducing a new product in the family list and making better choice during shopping. According to him girls spend most of the money which they receive from home monthly. The adolescent girls are influenced by TV advertisement when they purchase clothing; they were guided by fashion, friends and boutiques.

Researches frequently show that women commonly compare themselves to others they see around them. Therefore, when female adolescents look at thin models, they feel less confident in themselves. Additionally, for example, young males are increasingly receiving pressure from advertisements to become more muscular. This has also caused young males to become increasingly doubtful about their physical appearance. By viewing beautiful models in advertising campaigns, women reported lower body pleasure, a temporary rise in comparison standards toward physical attractiveness and an improved belief regarding the importance of attraction (Eisend et al., 2007).

Television advertisements have significant impact on youth including product choices and overall perceptions of gender roles. The tendency for pre-adolescent and adolescent females to compare their bodies to women represented in the media increases with age. Increased exposure to television, magazines and movies put youth at a higher risk of adopting unhealthy lifestyle habits (Aruna et al, 2008).
Youngsters are greatly influenced by TV commercials and practically buy those products that are frequently advertised in TV commercials. In a study conducted by Richins (1995) it was pointed out that on exposure to advertisement comparison with advertising images takes place which improves the materialistic desires of the viewers.

Moschis and Mitchell (1986) conducted a study designed to test the effects of television advertising and interpersonal communications on the teenager’s consumer behavior. According to them, the effects of such communication processes on teens are evaluated in the context of household decision making. Thus, the influence of these images may be of enormous significance in shaping the attitudes and behaviors of young people.

The study evidences that majority of adolescent respondents are influenced by the TV advertisements and usually like to buy cold-drinks, some children like to buy chips and similar products as well. These products increase fat on the body especially in children of age 12-20 years. Television also has negative impacts, it creates eye problems. It stops the children from going out and playing with friends. Advertising makes them buy things even if they do not need. It can make them tired and unable to focus on their lessons (Mahmood, 2009).

According to Chan et al. (2007) social relations, both personal and celebrity-mediated, play an important role in the establishment of consumption values. Peer communication and peer influence were positively related to social comparison. Motivation for viewing advertisements was positively related to imitation of celebrity models. Both are positive predictors of materialism. TV commercials have significant impact on the taste, behavior habits and life style of youth. It also impacts in any way (Daud, 2011).

Adolescent eating behavior is a function of individual and environmental influences. Individual influences are psychological as well as biological, whereas, environmental influences include direct social environments such as family, friend, and peer networks and other factors such as school meals and fast food channels.

Soft drink companies focus their attention and advertising budget on youth between 10-20 years. Aerated soft drinks, apart from sponsoring wrong images, have long been assumed of lowering calcium levels and phosphate levels in the blood. The relationship between soft drink consumption and body weight is so resilient that for each additional soda consumed, the risk of obesity rises 1.6 times (Das, 2007).

The term materialism has been explained differently while showing the same effect i.e. giving value to material things. Another general source of materialistic models is advertising messages. Advertisements encourage consumption by using images of gorgeous and famous product users, demonstrating social reward through using products and associating products with wealthy lifestyles (Kasser et al, 1993).
Peer communication influences social comparison while advertising communication influences imitation of celebrity models. And both social comparison and imitation of celebrity models, in turn, influence materialistic values. This is consistent with argument that individuals learn to adopt materialistic values through social learning from family members, peers and the materialistic messages that are frequently found in television programs and their commercial messages (Kasser et al., 1993).

Materialism has been identified as tendency of an individual to think of the material possessions as a necessity for their living. As a result of which, people consider worldly things as everything for them. The materialism can be understood as, “terminal materialism” and “instrumental materialism” (Csikszentmihalyi et al., 1981). Terminal materialism occurs when consuming a possession is considered as the only necessary thing, whereas instrumental materialism takes place when people consider that satisfaction in life can be obtained just by doing some activity facilitated through belongings (Belk et al., 1983).

Materialists place possessions and their acquisition at the center of their lives. Daun (1983) describes materialism as a life-style in which a high level of material consumption functions as a goal and serves as a set of plans. Materialism thus lends meaning to life and provides an aim for daily endeavors.

Materialists tend to judge their own and others’ success by the number and quality of possessions accumulated. Rassuli et al. (1986: 5) describe members of a consumer society as evaluating others and themselves in terms of their consuming life-styles, and in Heilbroner’s (1956: 23) analysis, acquisitive, materialistic people value possessions "for the money they cost rather than by the satisfactions they yield." Du Bois (1955) and others have noted that materialists consider material well-being as proof of success and evidence of right-mindedness.

One of the motives that possessions and their attainment are so crucial to materialists is that they view these as essential to their satisfaction and well-being in life. Belk (1983: 291) notes that "at the highest levels of materialism possessions assume a central place in a person's life and are believed to provide the greatest sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction." In a like manner, Ward et al. (1971: 426) describe materialism as "an orientation emphasizing possessions and money for personal happiness and social progress". The perspective that pleasure or self-satisfaction is the goal of high consumption levels is frequently presented in the works (e.g.; Heilbroner, 1956; Wachtel 1983; Campbell, 1987). While most individuals are probably involved to some extent in the pursuit of happiness, it is the pursuit of happiness through acquisition rather than through other means (such as personal relationships, experiences, or achievements) that separates materialism.

From the above discussion it can be summarized that TV commercials have impact on the life style of youngsters in many ways. It also highlights the involvement of youth in different product selection pattern and materialistic approaches.
Objectives of the Study

1. To explore the influence of TV commercials on the life style choices of youngsters.
2. To investigate the role of TV commercials in promoting materialistic values among youngsters.

Research Methodology

Research is a systematic and unbiased analysis and recording of precise observations that may lead to the development of simplifications, principles, theories and concepts, resulting in prediction for seeing and possibly vital control of events. In this study, Survey method was used and data was collected by using self-administered questionnaire. The population of the current study was students of university of the Punjab Lahore. By using multi stage sampling, a sample of 500 students was selected. After the collection of data, data was analyzed by using SPSS IBM 21 version.

Research Objective 1: To explore the influence of TV commercials on the life style choices of youngsters.

This section will directly answer the research objective number one and will also meet the research objective one by applying linear regression test of association between pattern of watching TV ads and life style choices of youngsters.

Null Hypothesis

There is no relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and the life style choices of youngsters.

Alternative Hypothesis

There is relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and the life style choices of youngsters.

Table 1: Relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and life style choices of youngsters. Regression results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.495a</td>
<td>.245</td>
<td>.243</td>
<td>8.074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Pattern_TV watch

Coefficients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The above table (Table 1) shows that the p-value is .000, which is less than the level of significance that is 0.05, so the researchers reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The R Square is 0.24 which means that the 24% change in dependent variable is occurring due to independent variable. The alternative hypothesis is “There is relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and life style choices of youngsters. So the results indicate that there is relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and life style choices of youngsters.

Research Objective 2: To explore the role of TV commercials in promoting materialistic values among youngsters.

This section will directly answer the research objective two and will also meet the research object two by applying linear regression test of association.

Null Hypothesis

There is no relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and materialistic values among youngsters.

Alternative Hypothesis

There is relationship between pattern of watching TV commercials and materialistic values among youngsters.

Table 2: The role of TV commercials in promoting materialistic values among youngsters

Regression results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R Square</th>
<th>Adjusted R Square</th>
<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.348&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>8.481</td>
</tr>
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</table>

a. Predictors: (Constant), Pattern_TV watch

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>T</th>
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<sup>a</sup> Dependent Variable: Lifestyle_
The above Table 2 shows that the p-value is .000 which is less than the level of significance that is 0.05, so the researchers reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. The R square is 0.121 which indicates that 12% change occurring in dependent variable (Materialism) due to the independent variable pattern of watching TV commercials. The alternative hypothesis is that there is relationship between TV commercials and materialistic values among youngsters. So the findings of the study support the alternative hypothesis. It shows that TV commercials have impact on materialistic values.

Discussion
The present research was an attempt to examine the influence of TV commercials on the life style of youngsters. The research was conducted having two major objectives. First one was to explore the influence of TV commercials on the life style choices of youngsters. Second objective was to explore the role of TV commercials in creating materialistic values among youngsters. A survey was conducted to accomplish the present research. The AIDA model was applied to assess the impact of TV ads on the life style of youngsters. The results of the study indicate that TV ads have impact on the youth choices and also in creating materialistic values, which shows that there is positive association between TV ads and materialism. It may be of interest to point out here that the findings of the current research are in tune with the findings of past studies. The conclusions of past research, advertisements promote materialism (Roy, 2006), coerce viewers to buy unwanted products (Richins, 1995) and mislead viewers (Drumwright et al, 2009) were found, and thus reinforced. However, while strengthening the findings of previous research, the current research further builds upon them and provides evidence on how TV ads influence, manipulate and modify the behavior and lifestyle choices of individuals.

Limitations of the Study
A key objective of the research process is not only discovering new knowledge but to also confront assumptions and explore what we don't know. The present study is conducted at university of the Punjab Lahore. The study was conducted only on students at university level. The findings of this study is generalizable only for the university level students. There is need to conduct study at school and college levels too and there may be diversity in the findings.

Conclusion
The major concern of the present study was to explore the influence of TV commercials on the life style of youngsters’ a sample of five hundred students were selected by applying multistage sampling technique. A hypothesis was formulated by the researchers to see the relationship between life style and TV commercials. The research revealed that there is relationship between TV commercials and
life style choices of youngsters and there is also relationship between TV ads and materialism. Most of the TV commercials have adverse effect on the youth and their lifestyle choices and made them materialistic. Due to the TV commercials the definition of relationships haas also been changed. Because the main focus of the advertisers is on the young and teen ager section of society, they use different tactics and symbols to get attention. This create a dissatisfaction among the youth.

References


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Abstract: It is generally accepted that the biggest challenge facing South African municipalities, particularly smaller municipalities, is service delivery. This case study of Fetakgomo Local Municipality situated in Sekhukhune District Municipality of Limpopo Province focuses on the main causes of service delivery challenges and the impact of these challenges with the aim of identifying ways to minimize such challenges. A qualitative design was used and data were collected from 30 participants by means of questionnaires and interviews. The majority of the respondents identified clean water, job opportunities and free basic services as the main service delivery challenges facing municipalities. The study found that political interference in the administration of municipalities is a further challenge. While public participation in municipal affairs is a legal requirement, much remains to be done to achieve effective participation. Sanitation has always been a service delivery challenge, especially in rural municipalities, mainly due to a lack of infrastructure. Finally, it was found that municipalities need to do more to build human capacity to deliver services.

Keywords: capacity; social development; backlogs; finance; accountable governance

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Introduction
It is generally accepted that the biggest challenges facing South African municipalities lie in the area of service delivery, and that there is very little capacity for social development programmes. Despite South Africa’s middle-income status, half its citizens lack adequate nutrition, water, energy, shelter, health-care and education. The challenges confronting municipalities, including segregation, institutional weaknesses, service delivery backlogs and a lack of finance, need to be overcome (Lee 2012). Furthermore, municipalities should do more to encourage a culture of community participation as well as more transparent and accountable governance. In seeking solutions, it is important to acknowledge that the 283 municipalities across the country are confronted by different social and economic challenges and also have different capacity to respond to these challenges (Lee 2012; Parnell 2002). Thus, each municipality should focus on developing capacity to respond to the needs of the communities in their areas of jurisdiction. Local municipalities could play an important role in ensuring that democracy works for the poor at grassroots level. This article investigates the service delivery challenges confronting municipalities through a case study of FetaKgomo Local Municipality in the Sekhukhune District Municipality of Limpopo Province. It objectives are to identify the main causes of the service delivery challenges facing municipalities; assess the impact of these challenges on communities; and identify ways to minimize them. The findings will be useful for future planning on the part of the government, municipalities and the private sector (Jesuit and Synch 2012).

Problem Statement
Many small municipalities in South Africa are struggling to operate and maintain their services infrastructure in a cost-effective and sustainable manner. The end result is predictable: the rapid deterioration of assets, followed by catastrophic component failure, and regular and prolonged disruptions to service delivery. The challenges have to do with the general rendering of services to the community; procedures to appoint new staff members; irregularities and deficiencies in procurement procedures; leakages and the overflowing of sewerage systems; a general lack of consultation; and a lack of cooperation between municipalities and the business community.

Aim of the Study
This article investigates the service delivery challenges facing municipalities, through a case study of FetaKgomo Local Municipality.

Its objectives are to:
- Explore the main causes of service delivery challenges facing municipalities.
Main Research Questions

- What are the main causes of service delivery challenges?
- What impact do service delivery challenges have on communities?
- How can service delivery challenges be minimized?

Literature Review

This section highlights the far-reaching service delivery challenges facing municipalities in the Republic of South Africa, particularly Limpopo Province by means of a review of the relevant literature.

Local government and service delivery

Service delivery refers to the provision of public activities, benefits or satisfaction. Service relates to the provision of both tangible public goods and intangible services (Johannison 2007; Venter 2010). In rural areas and small towns, the provision of basic retail, social, health, education, and infrastructure services are a crucial foundation for day-to-day activities and maintaining the quality of life of local citizens as well as the local economic base (Halseth and Ryse 2006; Pollanen 2005). The South African Constitution requires that municipalities prioritize the basic needs of local communities and ensure that they have access to at least a minimal level of municipal services (Mafunisa 2008). Municipalities should also promote the development of local communities (Venter 2010). In order to improve the delivery of public services, especially on the part of local government, the government of the day has to address the challenges that hamper service delivery in a more coordinated and proactive manner, focusing on macro-goals in order to develop the country's infrastructure and ensure that all citizens benefit (Ching and Chan 2004, Venter 2010).

Service delivery challenges within municipalities in Limpopo Province

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs’ (Co GHSTA) Local Government assessment sought to identify the main causes of poor service delivery in municipalities across the country. The results revealed a number of problems within municipalities, but, most importantly, they demonstrated that not all the problems experienced by communities are applicable to all municipalities (Edwards 2015). Many municipalities are struggling to operate and maintain their services infrastructure in a cost-effective and sustainable manner (Appelbaum, Habashy, Malo and Shafig 2012). The challenges include those relating to the general rendering of services to communities; procedures to appoint new staff members; irregularities and deficiencies in procurement procedures; leakages and overflowing sewerage systems; a general lack of consultation; and the lack of cooperation between municipalities and the business community (Matos, Simoes and Esposito 2012).
Financial crisis in South African municipalities

It is estimated that more than half of South Africa’s municipalities are experiencing financial difficulties. Of the 77 councils that responded to an official survey, one fifth only had sufficient cash and investments in reserve to meet a single month’s wage bill. National subsidies for municipal infrastructure have been cut and central government has stated its unwillingness to bail out bankrupt local authorities. In response to this uncertain financial position and further contributing to its deterioration, private lending has more or less dried up, except for short-term overdrafts and a few high-interest loans (Fetakgomo Local Municipality 2010/11). A cursory examination of Fetakgomo Municipality's revenue and expenditure for the period 1 July 2010 to 30 June 2011 reveals that government grants and subsidies constituted 71% of total income, an obvious indication that the municipality relies on grant funding to remain solvent. Revenue from property rates and service charges, which should be the municipality’s primary source of income, represented only 23% of total income (Van Helden and Huijben 2014). The proceeds from the remaining revenue items (fines, rental income, etc.) made up the balance of 6%. Personnel costs (excluding remuneration of councilors) comprised 24% of total expenditure, which was not excessive (Jesuit and Sych 2012). However, what is of concern is that the income from property rates and service charges is just sufficient to cover personnel costs, leaving no surplus. Repairs and maintenance expenditure was only 1% of total costs (Lee 2012), which confirms that maintaining infrastructure is not prioritized in this municipality (the accepted benchmark is that a budget should be in the order of 1 to 4% of the total asset value (Fetakgomo Local Municipality, 2010/2011; Van Helden and Huijben 2014).

Sanitary infrastructural challenges in Limpopo Province’s municipalities

The most obvious failings in most municipalities’ technical departments have to do with non-compliance with health and safety legislation (Jaaskelainen and Lonnqvist 2011; Reedy 2003).

The current infrastructure life cycle scenario can be described as “run to destruction” because of the total lack of routine and preventative maintenance; the unfortunate outcome is premature asset failure. Failure to remove screenings at sewer pump stations and at the inlets to wastewater treatment works results in downstream blockages, the clogging of pump impellors and eventual mechanical breakdowns (De Vries and Nemec 2013). Failure to respond to sewer blockages within a reasonable time leads to the discharge of raw sewerage into sensitive natural environments. Water pipe bursts that are not promptly attended to result in considerable water losses and lengthy interruptions in water supply. Because of supply chain bottlenecks, water purification chemicals are often in short supply at remote water treatment plants, resulting in poor quality drinking water (De Vries and Nemec 2013). Kuye (2002) maintained that, due to an acute shortage of funds in municipalities, repairs to a defective pump unit were often postponed until the second (standby) unit failed (it is common practice...
to install pump units in both water and sewer pump stations in a duty or standby configuration in order to ensure continuous operation should one unit become defective (Hilliard 2005). The inevitable outcome was prolonged interruptions in service delivery and inconvenience to local residents, as well as the health risks associated with sewerage spills. In addition, the municipality’s asset register was not up to date, which made it difficult to trace missing plant and equipment, and compile maintenance plans (Pekkola, Ukko and Melkas 2010).

Research Methodology

Research Design
This study employed a qualitative approach. Hanekom (2006) notes that qualitative research methods were developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena. The research methodology provides an organized and systematic way to conduct a study in order to answer the research questions. A qualitative, interpretative research approach was appropriate as it enables an understanding of reality through social construction (Lopez and Abod 2013). The research design is the plan in terms of which research participants are selected and information is collected from them.

Population and Sampling
The study population consists of individuals, groups, organizations, human products and events, or the conditions to which they are exposed. It can also refer to a group of potential participants to whom a researcher can generalize the results of a study (Hair, Sarstedt, Hopkins, Volker and Kuppelwieser 2014). The target population was the 120 employees of FetaKgomo Local Municipality, where men occupy the majority of middle management positions, with women in administrative posts (secretarial or clerical positions). Women made up 40% of senior management staff (Sekhukhune District Municipality2012/13). The sample was 30 officials (25% of the study population), including 15 administrative officers, 10 management level employees and five councilors. Purposive sampling was used in order to ensure that all municipal officials had an equal and independent chance of being selected. Purposeful sampling provides information-rich cases for in-depth study, from which one can learn much about the issues of central importance to the research. The study was conducted from 24 to 28 August 2014 at the FetaKgomo Local Municipality’s offices (Barbin and Svensson2012).

Data Collection

Data collection is the process of obtaining information to address the research problem (Van der Waldt 2007). The data for this study were gathered by means of questionnaires and interviews (Eriksson 2013). The questionnaire comprised 26 questions in section A and additional questions in order to identify the service delivery challenges facing FetaKgomo Local Municipality. It took 30 minutes to
complete. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with three officials and two councilors, using an interview guide. A semi-structured interview is flexible and allows new questions to be asked during the interview to further probe a respondent’s answers. It enables a researcher to gather rich, detailed data from respondents (Qu and Dumay 2011).

**Pilot Study**

A pilot study refers to a smaller version of the larger study that is conducted in preparation for that study. A pilot study can be used as a feasibility study, to ensure that the ideas or methods behind the research are sound, as well as to work out the kinks in the study protocol before commencing the larger study. For the purpose of this study, five municipal officials were used for the pilot study (Qu and Dumay 2011). They completed the questionnaire in order to establish whether it communicated the intended message from the researcher to the participants. The responses reflected good understanding and no ambiguity (Parker 2014).

**Data Analysis**

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data and entails categorizing and describing the data in relation to different themes (Lincoln 2007). After all the information was collected, the responses were coded in the same way they were displayed in the questionnaires. The purpose of coding is not only to describe the data, but more importantly to gain an understanding of the phenomenon of interest, to obtain a general sense of the information, identify the patterns and reflect on its overall meaning or make sense of the information concerning the challenges facing municipalities (Guercini 2014).

**Research Findings**

The completed questionnaires were combined for all the different target groups, and coded in order to ensure the participants’ anonymity and data credibility. Questionnaires were issued to 33 potential participants and 30 were returned. The research participants filled in the questionnaires without any help from the researcher. The questionnaires were also quality assured to minimize ambiguity and errors during data capturing. Graphs and tables were used to analyze all the questions. Seven face-to-face interviews were conducted with staff members at FetaKgomo Local Municipality’s offices in Apel village.
Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations involve the principles for deciding what is right and wrong. In interactive research, ethical issues have to be considered prior to data collection in order to recognize and protect the rights of individuals. The researcher adhered to the ethical standards appropriate to this study. The respondents’ anonymity was assured and no one was harmed during the course of the research (Milpark Business School 2011).

Discussion of Research Findings

The majority of the respondents identified clean water, job opportunities and free basic services as the main challenges facing municipalities. Political interference in municipal administration; a lack of public involvement in municipal planning and programmes, sanitation, capacity building and budgetary constraints were also highlighted.

Capacity Building

The study found that staff members were insufficiently capacitated to perform their duties and functions. Skills development programmes were inadequate and there was weak institutional management. It was also clear that staff capacity building was inadequately catered for in municipal budgets, or not allocated any funds at all. The study also revealed a high incidence of irregular or inappropriate appointments of people with insufficient skills. The fact that FetaKgomo Local Municipality is in a remote area, exacerbates skills shortages. Finally, there seemed to be little understanding of the municipality’s spatial economic realities. In response to the question on how to address service delivery challenges, 27% of the respondents recommended staff capacity building.

Public Participation

It is clear that public participation in municipal planning and programmes is still a challenge, despite the fact that this is a legal requirement and not a privilege. Consequently, service delivery related protests erupt on a regular basis. Furthermore, it was found that the lack of genuine participation is in part due to political instability, corruption and politicians’ interference in the administration of the municipality and the consequent failure to provide democratic and accountable governance. An open-ended question asked the research respondents to rate service delivery challenges in a number of the key performance areas. Thirty-three per cent indicated that public participation was central to efficient municipal service delivery.

Free Basic Services

The study found that FetaKgomo Local Municipality struggles to provide free basic services to communities in its area of jurisdiction. The main challenge is the lack of relevant infrastructure in rural areas. The respondents pointed to inadequate provision of water, electricity and sanitation. Clean
water was cited by 63.3% of the respondents as the major service delivery challenge facing South African municipalities, followed by sanitation issues (40% of the respondents) and electricity (20% of the respondents).

**Inadequate Budgets**

A lack of adequate budgets to provide basic services to communities in FetaKgomo Local Municipality was of major concern. Thirty per cent of the respondents indicated that, in order to address service delivery challenges, the budget must be augmented or improved. Most municipalities depend entirely on National Treasury for financial support as they unable to generate their own revenue. This means that most municipalities are failing a key performance indicator, which is revenue collection within their area of jurisdiction. Municipalities can generate revenue through the sale of electricity and potable water, traffic fines, assessment rates, property rates, etc. However, the findings of this study suggest that rural municipalities find it extremely difficult to adopt such income generating strategies, mainly due to the adverse socio-economic circumstances in their areas of jurisdiction.

**Relations between Politicians and Administrative Officials**

Sixteen percent of the research participants identified the relations between the municipality’s political management team (councilors in particular, and the office of the Mayor, Speaker and the Chief Whip) and the administrative component of the municipality (in particular the office of the Municipal Manager and the Chief Financial Officer) as an area requiring attention. This emerged in response to the question on what could be done to eradicate the service delivery challenges facing South African municipalities. Pointing to the scale of the problem, 77% of the respondents highlighted this issue.

**Recommendations**

The research respondents offered a number of suggestions to address the service delivery challenges confronting South African municipalities. Public participation is usually carried out through structures such as ward committees, ward councilors and mass meetings. If municipalities were to commit themselves to participatory governance, municipal planning and programmes would be informed by local needs. Instead, communities feel alienated and disconnected from decision-making processes and are thus disempowered. It is believed that citizen engagement increases a municipality’s perceived legitimacy. It is therefore recommended that municipalities establish/strengthen and capacitate ward committees to link them and the communities they serve in order to ensure that communities participate actively in service delivery projects. It is common knowledge that South African municipalities are characterized by conflict between politicians and senior administrative office bearers. There is often confusion regarding the duties and functions of the office of the Mayor and the office of the Municipal Manager. Another challenge is that municipal officials cannot divorce party politics from municipal administration. This study found that politicians confuse interference with intervention. This results in some politicians involving themselves in administrative issues, irrespective
of the fact that the Municipal Manager is the legal accounting officer of the municipality. It is therefore recommended that relations between these two critical components of the municipality be harmonized. There are also general perceptions that most municipalities are corrupt, especially when it comes to awarding tenders. Some municipalities and government departments disregard procedures in awarding tenders, in particular municipal infrastructure grant-related tenders. It is believed that municipal tenders are awarded to family members, friends or others connected to senior officials or senior politicians. These perceptions negatively portray South African municipalities both nationally and internationally. They also damage their image in the eyes of business people who want to do business with municipalities or who may want to invest in a particular local municipality. This calls for corruption free local government.

Limitations of the Study

- The study was undertaken in one local municipality (FetaKgomo Local Municipality) within Sekhukhune District Municipality in Limpopo Province. It would have been ideal if the study could have been conducted in all the municipalities in the province.
- Problems are never static, but are dynamic and situational. Therefore, this study cannot claim to have successfully solved all the problems relating to this local municipality.

Further Research

It is recommended that similar research be conducted in both local and district municipalities in South Africa, particularly Limpopo Province. A need also exists for further research in the following areas in order to improve service delivery in South African municipalities:

- Tension between councillors and bureaucrats
  Conflicts between politicians and municipal senior administrative office bearers are common in South Africa. The confusion of duties and functions usually occurs between the offices of the Mayor and the Municipal Manager. This is regardless of the many pieces of legislation in place that clarify such official roles and the fact that the Municipal Manager is officially the accounting officer of the municipality. Further research on this question is of paramount importance.

- Public participation
  Public participation is a legal requirement of all local and district municipalities. Municipalities were envisioned as sites where participatory governance would give meaning and content to planning and programmes. Instead, communities feel alienated and disconnected from decision-making processes and are thus disempowered. It is believed that citizen engagement increases the perceived legitimacy of municipalities both by alerting the public to municipalities’ constraints and encouraging more effective community leadership at the local sphere of government.
Curbing corruption
Corruption in South African municipalities, particularly in Limpopo Province, is a major problem. Both politicians and administrators are believed to be corrupt. Corruption is especially prevalent in the awarding of tenders and employment of staff. In response to the question on the main causes of service delivery challenges, 30% of the study respondents selected corruption. In order to effectively address the challenges confronting municipal service delivery, corruption must be curbed. Further research on other areas relating to service delivery would also be useful.

Free basic services
The main challenge in this regard is the lack of relevant infrastructure, especially in rural municipalities. Municipalities in urban areas are better able to deliver services as most have infrastructure in place in the form of sanitation, electricity, water and waste management facilities. However, this challenge is beyond the sole capability and powers of FetaKgomo Local Municipality. The research respondents regarded the unavailability of basic services as one of the biggest challenges faced by communities. Further research would assist in determining what should be done to effectively address this challenge once and for all.

Municipalities’ role in job creation
The research results reveal concerns about unemployment, which was seen as a contributing factor to the service delivery challenges facing municipal institutions. In response to the question on what could be done to eradicate the service delivery challenges confronting South African municipalities, 27% of the respondents said that municipalities should create an environment that is conducive to job creation. However, in response to the question on how they rated the service delivery challenges experienced by their local municipality, a much higher 67% of the respondents stated that job creation was an important factor. It is thus clear that unemployment is of major concern.

Conclusion
It is hoped that this study’s findings and recommendations will assist FetaKgomo Local Municipality and Sekhukhune District Municipality, as well as other South African municipalities, to address the service delivery challenges confronting them. Its recommendations could assist in improving service delivery to communities.

References


