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Pastoralism at Crossroads

Barack Obama

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By Kelemework Tafere Reda

Mekelle University , Ethiopia

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Keywords : *Pastoralism, Climate Change, State polices, Livelihood, Social Organization, East Africa.*

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PASTORALISM AT CROSSROADS CHANGING FEATURES OF CLIMATE, LIVELIHOOD AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN EAST AFRICA

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Kelemework Tafere Reda(Ph.D)

Abstract - Pastoral resilience in East Africa demonstrates its suitability to the arid and semi-arid environment which is characterized by low, variable rainfall pattern, high temperature and uneven distribution of grazing land and water points. Pastoralists have long developed successfully tested adaptive strategies against environmental shocks through effective management of their resources. Adaptive strategies include the establishment of strong economic and social support networks, herd splitting, and herd diversification. More recent strategies include resort to agriculture and sedentary life, trade and wage labour migrations. However, current trends in climate change have made pastoralists more prone to ecological calamities. Drought has never been new to the Afar pastoralists but its frequent occurrence has incapacitated pastoral innovation on adaptation and coping among the Afar. This is further complicated by other Social, economic, demographic and political factors such as agricultural encroachments, conflict with neighboring groups, government marginalization or policies that favor sedentary agriculture and the values associated with it. Sedentarization of Afar pastoralists would undoubtedly open a window of opportunity for a better access to social provisions such as education, health and potable water supply. Besides, Sedentarization of the Afar facilitates permanent relations with neighbouring agricultural ethnic groups in the Tigray highlands, thereby reducing the extent of violent inter-ethnic conflicts. On the other hand, however, the decline in the pastoral mode of production has had a negative impact on social relations within the Afar as it leads to the fragmentation of existing norms and value systems. Besides, as livestock products constitute the bulk Ethiopia's export items, a weak pastoral sector is likely to damage the volume of the GDP.

Keywords : Pastoralism, Climate Change, State polices, Livelihood, Social Organization, East Africa.

I. Background

Nearly 50% of the world's pastoralists are found in Africa. There are over 21 million pastoralists and agro-pastorlaists in the continent (Fratkin, 2001) Pastorlaism occupies 60% of the land in Ethiopia; 70% in Kenya; 50% in Tanzania, and 40 % in Uganda. The geographical area they inhabit is large compared to their population size. There are many pastoral groups in East Africa. These include, the Massai who are about 450,000 in number and are found in Kenya and

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Tanzania), Samburu with a population size of about 75,000, Turkana (200,000), Boran and Orma (75,000), and Karimojong, Dodoth, Teso, and Jie peoples in Uganda (total about 200,000). Other pastorlaists include Gabra (25,000), Rendille (25,000), and Somali (ibid, 2001)

The Livelihoods of pastoral people mainly depend on livestock husbandry. Multispecies livestock such as cattle, camels& donkeys, and shoats are raised for various purposes including milk and meat production, trade and transportation. Livestock are have also socio-cultural and cosmological values in pastoral societies as they are the medium through which important social and economic support networks are established. Pastorlaists occupy marginal lands in the Arid and Semi-arid areas of Africa which is characterized by high temperature, low and unpredictable rainfall. Land is communally owned and they keep large herd size although their conditions are poor. Herd maximization and diversification are traditional risk-averse behviours aimed at staying the pastoral system intact. Many of the pastoral groups have taken up marginal agriculture in order to augment declining pastoral income.

II. East African Pastoralism

It is estimated that more than 50 million pastoralists currently live in sub-Saharan Africa. A significant proportion (nearly 20 million) are found in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya and Uganda (Markakis, 2004). Pastoralism is a very old mode of livestock production in the lowlands of the Great Rift in eastern Africa and the Horn. The characteristic features of these territories are a climate that ranges from semi-arid to arid, high temperatures and low elevation. Aridity occurs where the rainfall is insufficient to replenish the loss of moisture: less than 500 mm a year makes for aridity, 500 mm to 750 mm for semi-aridity. According to this criterion, the entire coastal area of the Horn is arid (Markakis, 2004)

This pastoral mode of production bases itself on mobility, which is aimed at the extensive use of grazing lands. Pastoralists in this region live in a situation, which does not support continuous crop cultivation and cannot sustain large population

numbers. The free movement of people and herds over vast tracts of land is central to the pastoral system. In the arid region, livestock production requires constant or periodic movement in search of pasture; a factor that differentiates this form of livestock production from those practiced by farmers and ranchers. A wide variety of forms of pastoralism are practiced in eastern Africa and the Horn. They range from pure nomadism without settled habitation or cultivation, now increasingly rare, to the settled mode of communities who live in homesteads and villages and combine transhumance with cultivation.(ibid, 2004)

In general East African pastoralists now face ecological and socio-economic crises due to desertification and encroachment by peasant farming, mechanized farming, and game reserves. The countries of eastern Africa and the Horn also have high reported rates of population growth without a corresponding increase in productivity or a change in the means of production. This results in the increase in population density on cultivated land ultimately causing resource fragmentation and low productivity- a demographic trend throughout eastern Africa and the Horn (Markakis, 2004)

Efforts of national governments to protect forests, important species of plants and animals and as well as wildlife has resulted in further encroachments into the pastoralist zone. The establishment of shelters for animals, controlled hunting areas, game parks and reserves, nature reserves, protected forests and 'wildlife corridors' spread wildly. In Ethiopia, for example, there are nine national parks and 10 game reserves and sanctuaries, nearly all of them in the lowlands (Markakis, 2004)

The cumulative impact of land loss has been to render pastoralism unsustainable in its pure form in many areas. There is simply not enough land or water, nor the required variety of pasturage and forage, to maintain a herd of the size and quality needed by the average household.

Drought haunts the east and horn of Africa region frequently creating problems in livelihood patterns. Recorded evidences from the previous century show that that major drought incidents occur every 10 years. Anecdotal evidence suggests that drought cycles have shortened from five to 10 years in the past, to three to five years at present (Markakis, 2004). Droughts periods in this region are often followed by famine. As a result, agricultural production using locally available technology is unreliable and not efficient enough to support the lives of many people in the arid region. Nevertheless, in spite of its precarious nature, pastoralists in the area are still exercising opportunistic farming in order to augment the declining pastoral income.

The nature of the land in eastern Africa has compelled pastoralists to devise coping mechanisms to sustain their lives as an adaptation to the environment.. As Markakis (2004) put it "The people tilled the land where it was possible to do so and herded livestock where it was not, often managing to do a bit of both. By and large, this is still the way things are done. Mobile livestock production occupies a distinct ecological niche in this region of Africa. Pastoralists lived and thrived in this environment since 'God created the world' as they say, making the most out of nature's meagre endowment."

Pastoral communities in the East and Horn of Africa region have never had states of their own; but they lived in a forceful equilibrium with centralized governments created by agricultural societies, which held a violently protected state of independence (ibid, 2004). As a result the pastoral nomads are being increasingly marginalized in their social, economic and political standing in the larger national systems in which they live.

In light of the ever growing environmental pressures that surround the pastoral mode of production, East African herders have continued to devise several forms of adaptation in order to maintain viable livelihoods. These include, remaining in the region and become increasingly dependent on cultivation while retaining a depleted herd, migrating to a neighbouring district where land is available so that they can engage themselves in cultivation, or becoming wage labourers in commercial farms.

Sedentarisation via cultivation, that is, conversion to agro-pastoralism, is a rapidly advancing phenomenon throughout eastern Africa and the Horn,. The extent of it is difficult to gauge and, of course, it varies among regions and groups. In Ethiopia, a government statement claims that 20 per cent of Afar and 30 per cent of Somali in that country are already settled.

Pastoralists are currently influenced, encouraged or even forced by factors outside the pastoral system to take up sedentary cultivation. In some cases, the pressure comes from governments ostensibly seeking to make pastoralists benefit from social services such as education, health, and veterinary services'. However as Toulmin (1983) pointed out forcible sedentarisation of pastoralists by governments is often aimed at gaining greater political and economic control over them.

Whatever the causes may be, the process of sedentarisation has some consequences to social relationships within the pastoral system and with neighbours who derive their subsistence from cultivation. Baxter (1975), for example, pointed out that sedentarisation narrows the range and alters the texture of social relationships within a given pastoral system. He further stated that this process tends to generally sharpen differences in wealth and life style and decreases any homestead's range of effective social

relationships. However, as far as relations with neighbouring cultivating groups are concerned, the situation varies. With sedentarisation, Baxter argues, contacts between pastoralists and cultivators become more permanent, often leading to a high level of integration between the two groups.

To sum up East African pastoralism is currently under profound pressure so much so that it has become incapacitated to bear even the basic needs of human existence. This miserable situation is the outcome of many interrelated factors such as population growth, recurrent drought, conversion of rangelands into other uses, weak governance, increasing insecurity, political and economic marginalization, policy and program related constraints (Mkutu 2001). Thus, pastoralists in the Horn of Africa region have long been adversely affected from natural and manmade disasters such as drought, political isolation, conflict due to competition for natural resources and declining per capita income. Furthermore, improper aid schemes and development programs have had negative impacts on the pastoral mode of production throughout the region (Helland 1990).

III. EXPERIENCES FROM THE PASTORAL AFAR OF ETHIOPIA

The *Afar* have gone through a situation very similar to that of other pastoral groups in the horn. Research reports contend that the *Afar* had until recently been outside Ethiopian state administrative control. Prior to their political incorporation into the Ethiopian state was accomplished in 1905, the *Afar* are said to have lived in self-contained and self-supporting communities (Getachew, 1997). *Afar* land remained outside the effective control of the Ethiopian State until 1944. In fact, Ethiopia as a whole did not have a centralised administration before the end of Italian rule in 1941, when attempts were made to set up a civil and military bureaucracy (Gamaledin, 1993).

After 1941, the Ethiopian government began to recognise the political and economic importance of *Afar* territory due to its location at the entrance to the Red Sea and its agricultural potential in the Awash Valley (Pastner, 1979 cited in Gamaledin 1993). In 1962, the Awash Valley Authority (AVA) was created with the responsibility of managing development activities in the area, including large scale mechanised enterprises run mainly by foreign investors in collaboration with the state (Ali, 1994). The formation of the Awash Valley Authority was followed by the establishment, in the Middle Awash, of a National Park in 1966 and the construction of the Koka Dam in the Upper Valley. These developments constituted the first initiatives in a consistent process by which *Afar* started to experience a dramatic reduction in the size of pasturelands available to their herds.

The loss of grazing land by the *Afar* pastoralists was exacerbated when the Derg came to power in 1974. The Derg promoted a rapid expansion in state-run irrigation schemes, which brought under crop vast tracts of range land. The demise of the Sultanate of Aussa also led to the weakening of the political strength of the *Afar* (Helland, 1980).

The changes in natural resource use in *Afar* territory have had negative implications for the pastoral mode of production and culminated in resource use conflict (Ali, 1997). These changes have contributed considerably to the vulnerability of the *Afar* to drought and famine and the resultant human and livestock losses. In the great famine of 1973/74 alone, the *Afar* have lost a fourth of their livestock. A third of their population is believed to have perished. Drought frequently affects *Afar* land and occurs every few years (Helland, 1980).

Drought also had another effect on the *Afar* pastoral economy. It disrupted the balance of trade between pastoralism and agriculture. During such periods of disaster, the *Afar* had to sell their drought affected livestock instead of allowing them to die - a situation which created more supply than demand on the local market and hence a fall in the price of livestock (Ali, 1997)

The change in state policies in the Awash Valley did not only create conflict and confrontation between the *Afar* and state bodies, but it also adversely affected inter-clan relations, particularly *Afar* relations with neighbouring ethnic groups. On the social and cultural dimensions, the growth of small urban centres largely inhabited by highland migrant workers has had a serious impact on traditional mode of living. Town life undermined clan solidarity and cultural integration (Ibid, 1997).

The continued growth of the human population is believed to have increased competition for natural resources, particularly land, in recent decades (Helland, 1980). Population growth in the agricultural areas forced people to migrate into marginal lands which are often key grazing areas for nomadic herds. As a result large areas of natural grasslands have been converted into arable lands and settlements. The case of the *Afar* is neither unique nor isolated. Throughout dry land Africa, herders have lost prime grazing lands, particularly in low-lying areas, to make room for flood recession and irrigated agriculture. Population pressure, recurrent drought, ill conceived development policies, encroachment of cultivation and subsequent disruption of traditional institutions are some of the causes of pressure on the *Afar* pastoral system in Ethiopia (Ali, 1997).

As Piguet (2002) pointed out the *Afar* Region is one of the poorest and least developed Regions of

Ethiopia, neglected by national development efforts. It is only in recent years that efforts have been undertaken to provide basic infrastructure such as roads and administrative buildings as well as education and basic health services for each of the woreda.

The current government pledges to allocate more budgets to regions that were otherwise neglected during the previous regimes. Though there are already some visible improvements in some spheres, raising the region to the level that others have reached will take considerable time and effort.

Human and animal health has always been a predicament in *Afar* Region with one of the highest child mortality rates in the country, which is closely linked to the deficiency medicament and dire shortage of qualified professionals. The limited number of health workers constitutes mostly highlanders, as they are the ones who got the opportunities for training. The most common diseases are water borne such as diarrhoea and conjunctivitis. Pneumonia and tuberculosis are common and HIV/AIDS prevalence is high due mainly to highland settlers, the truck service economy and presence of military personnel, especially in areas near to the border with Eritrea. Access to veterinary services is also far from adequate (ibid, 2002).

IV. THE FUTURE OF EAST AFRICAN PASTORALISM

There are two opposing views with regard to the whether pastoralism should be pursued as a viable means of livelihood in the arid and semi-arid regions of Africa. Some governments and policy makers as well as researchers have argued that pastoralim has served its purpose in the past but cannot be sustained anymore. They nomadic way of life should give way to sedentary agriculture in which pastoralists take up cereal cultivation and fodder production to raise animals in the context of mixed farming. This move encourages urbanization and increased integration of pastoralists into the market while improving their access to social services such as schools and health facilities. Ethiopia, there are already efforts to settle pastoralists through villagization programmes.

One other hand, there also those scholars (mainly anthropologists) who advocate an extreme optimistic view recommending the encouragement of traditional pastoral mode production along with the norms and values dictated by it. According to them African governments' interventions should focus on revitalizing the conditions for resilient pastoral system such as restocking, safeguarding their rights for mobility both within nations and across borders, access to water and grazing land, recognizing their cultural values and indigenous knowledge systems, and participatory policy making and implementation in a way that ensures the right for self determination (Hogg 1992)

A third group of scholars occupy a lukewarm position stating that a win-win formula could be arranged through a combination of the pastoral and agrarian structure through well established institutions for land management practices, improved access to fodder and veterinary services, access to credit and other social-economic provisions (Coppock, 1993).

V. CONCLUSION

East African Pastorlaism is at crossroads. The ever-mounting pressures resulting from population growth, poverty, and climate change and state polices have unbearable consequences to traditional livestock based economy heralding a new beginning for pastoralists. The new face of pastoralism bears its own challenges to traditional social organization and cultural way of life although it also brings opportunities for integration into national economic and political systems thereby empowering pastoralists to participate in important decision-making processes at all levels of society. With current developments in Afar and other pastoral areas of Ethiopia, this mode of production and the clanship based social organization entrenched in the system could well be a matter of history in the next few decades.

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Vietnamese Economic Structural Change and Policy Implications

By Bui Trinh, Kiyoshi Kobayashi, Pham Le Hoa & Nguyen Viet Phong

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Abstract - This paper has attempted to compare some macro indicators of Vietnamese economy such as supply size, demand size, incremental capital – output ratio, (ICOR), total factor productivity (TFP), saving, output multipliers and import multipliers between two stages 2000-2005 and 2006-2010.

Keywords : Economic, GDP, ICOR, TFP, Trade deficit, Vietnam.

GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160510, 160505

VIETNAMESE ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Vietnamese Economic Structural Change and Policy Implications

Bui Trinh [α], Kiyoshi Kobayashi [σ], Pham Le Hoa [ρ] & Nguyen Viet Phong [ω]

Abstract - This paper has attempted to compare some macro indicators of Vietnamese economy such as supply size, demand size, incremental capital – output ratio, (ICOR), total factor productivity (TFP), saving, output multipliers and import multipliers between two stages 2000-2005 and 2006-2010.

Keywords : Economic, GDP, ICOR, TFP, Trade deficit, Vietnam.

I. Introduction

Normally, when analyzing the short-term and long-term economic growth, Keynesian's and Solow's theory are brought forward as a testament to the analysis and forecast of any economy. Keynes's theory explains and analyzes the economy in a short time without being interested in a far future; besides the Keynesian multipliers (Keynes-Leontief) sometimes contain risks, while doing the research of inter-region for instance, there are some cases (regions) of the State investment expenditure does not increase total demand adequately, when Keynesian multiplier is less than one which means an increase in one unit of investment will not get one unit in return from the supply side.

When analyzing long - term economic growth, most countries around the world follow the Solow growth model which was developed based on production functions. According to this method, the fundamental contribution for economic growth consists of the contribution of labor, capital and operating surplus. This surplus is considered as a total factor productivity (TFP). it is not only including changes in the technological process but also other factors such as management methods, results of policies and errors occurred by input data. If input data which is un adequately provided will results in un interpretation. A research conducted by Professor James Riedel pointed out that in some cases, the Solow model can not figure out a whole picture of the growth origin, it is because of the different understanding about a change of each dependent factor of labor, capital and TFP. It is easy to see that the role of technological change is difficult to separate with the role of investment. He also pointed out

this is not true with the case of China. Bui Trinh and Nguyen Quang Thai also calculated Total Factor Productivity for three ownership sectors are the State, non-state, foreign invested sector, of which the contribution of TFP on the growth of state-owned sector is the largesse seems to be absurd and it is made sure that the research team does not fully believe it.

Through many researches and statistics showed that Vietnam's economic growth in recent years mainly depends on the contribution of capital factor. So a question to be raised is where sources taken from to invest. For many countries, the primary source for investment comes from savings. Each family or nation should know how much money they can save and how to use that sum. Under System of National Accounts (SNA), saving is the surplus of National Disposable Income (NDI) after being used for final consumption.

Thus, it is clearly seen that the main resource for investment comes from saving. If a country which has experienced a low ratio between saving and investment for many years, it is necessary for them to review their macro-economic policy and economic structure. This seems a paradox for the Keynes 's short-term growth theory.

II. Methodology

Based on the Vietnam input-output tables, 2003 (updated) and 2007, in order to compare factors of supply size, demand size and intermediate input ratio of 2 stages, we have assumed the input-output table of 2003 presenting for 2000-2005 stage and the input-output table of 2007 presenting for 2006-2010. The ICOR, TFP and saving of two stages was also compared.

More over, the Leontief system was used for comparing economic structure change of two stages. The basic equations include:

$$\partial X = ((I-A^d)^{-1}.\partial Y^d$$

$$F = \Sigma (I-A^d)^{-1}.Y^d \div (\Sigma Y^d) = (\Sigma X) \div (\Sigma Y^d)$$

$$\partial M = m. (I-A^d)^{-1}.\partial Y^d$$

where: X is gross output vector, A^d is coefficient matrix of domestic intermediate consumption, Y^d is matrix of domestic final demand, F is an output requirement induced by domestic final demand (Y^d), M is import; ($\div$) presents division each element of the two matrix (vector) respectively.

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III. ANALYSIS OF VIETNAM ECONOMIC SITUATION

a) Identifying Viet Nam's economic situation

In recent years, most of government policy experts and advisors have focused on the currency issue in order to prevent the increase in price, without considering other factors. Even the resolution of inflation is just the emergence of the problem. The main reason of the inflation is due to the inefficiency of production and investment and sharp decrease in TFP. The ICOR coefficient is continuously increasing, from 5 during 2000-2005 to 7 for the period 2006-2010. While the contribution of TFP to GDP was 22% during 2000-2005 reduced to 10% for the period 2006-2010 (some other calculations showed that the contribution of total factor productivity growth is only about 1%). Besides, if calculating the ratio between value added and gross output from the period 2000 till now, this ratio is getting smaller. In the year of 2000, producing 10 units of gross output would create more than 4 units of value added while in the current period, producing 19 units of gross output would only generate less than 3 units of value added. Therefore, an amount of money is used to invest but a little quantity of goods is made in return, which will break the cash-goods relation contributing to the increase in cost of domestically produced goods. Also, accumulation of internal economy through indicators to spend (saving) falling. The accumulation in the internal economy accounts for about 36% of GDP for the period 2000-2005, it is less than 30% for the period 2006 - 2010 while annual investment increasingly high proportion of GDP, this shows the growing debt that borrowers use the money as an inefficient huge risks in the long term.

Table 1 : Some macro comparison of the period 2000-2005 and 2006-2010.

	2006-2010	2000-2005
	%	%
Total resources (supply)	100	100
Domestic product	73.82	79.25
Import	26.18	20.75
Total demand	100	100
Intermediate demand	45.32	42.99
Final demand	54.68	57.01
Consumption (C + G)	21.28	26.42
Investment/Saving	12.25	10.75
Export	21.15	19.85
Index of Intermediate cost /Gross output	62	54
Index of value added/ Gross output	38	46
ICOR	7,43	4,89
The contribution of total factor productivity (TFP) on growth	2,3	23
Saving / GDP ratio	28	36
GDP growth	6,5	7,5
Investment / GDP ratio	41	38,5

To reinforce the argument above, the research team calculated the output requirement for one unit increase in final demand (including final consumption (C, G), cumulative gross capital formation and export).

b) Output requirements for final demand

Table 2 implies the output requirement for one increased unit in each factor of the final use. The results has shown that the output requirement increased one unit of final use for the period of 2006-2010 is much higher than the period of 2000-2005. For instance, in the last period, when increasing one unit of final use, the output requirement would be 1.49 while in the current period, it increases by 1.8 times (increase by 22%). Hence, the average output requirement for one increased unit in final demand in the current period would be higher than the previous period of approximately 14%. These results can be reviewed:

+ If the domestic production is effective and sustainable, the change of demand would experience a power of dispersion in production locally for the period of 2006-2010, and it has even become a turning point for the economic growth

+ If the domestic production is weak and ineffective, the increasing of final demand would lead to the increase in price. Thus, the stimulating in 2009 was a mistake ?

Table 2 : The effect of final demand elements on production.

	2006-2010	2000-2005
C	1.80	1.49
G	1.44	1.13
I	1.69	1.61
E	1.53	1.46
Average	1.615	1.4225

c) The effect of production's elements over import

Table 3 shows the index and power of dispersion on import of 16 industries. Only two industry groups that have economic spread index and power of dispersion on import greater than 1, are agriculture sector and processing agriculture product sector. Most of the manufacturing sectors have enjoyed the high power of dispersion on import. The service sector has both low power of dispersion on import and low spread index. A research by the Economics University under Hanoi National University demonstrates that if increased production efficiency and restructuring export of 20% from the industrial sector to the service sector, the economic spread index would be higher than the average rate (> 1) and service sector would be able to make up 50% of GDP. This raises a reasonable question to if the economic structure with the following priority order of industry, service and agriculture is an appropriate structure ?

Table 3 : Output multiplier and power of dispersion on import.

	Output multiplier	Power of dispersion on import
Agriculture	1.0293	0.9643
Fishery	1.3505	1.0276
Forestry	0.8934	0.9959
Mining & quarrying	0.7774	1.0039
Food, beverage and tobacco manufactures	1.4492	0.9564
Other consumer goods	1.2093	1.3754
Industrial material	1.2644	1.3595
Capital goods	1.2475	1.3279
Electricity, gas and water	0.7220	0.9011
Construction	1.1949	1.2884
Wholesale and retail trade	0.7303	0.9406
Transport services	1.0476	1.1619
Post and telecommunication	0.7748	0.9090
Finance, insurance, real estate, business services	0.7577	0.8853
Other private services	0.8133	0.9959
Government services	0.7384	0.9169

Calculation of the research team (Nguyen Quang Thai, Bui Trinh) green: Good; red: Not good.

The figure 1 shows that in the period of 1989 to 2007, the "import multiplier" increased from 1.26 to 1.34. It means that the increase of one unit of domestic demand led to 1.26 unit of import and this went up to 1.34 unit of import for the same increase unit of domestic demand.

Figure 1 : Average import spread index per one unit of final demand, 1989-2007.
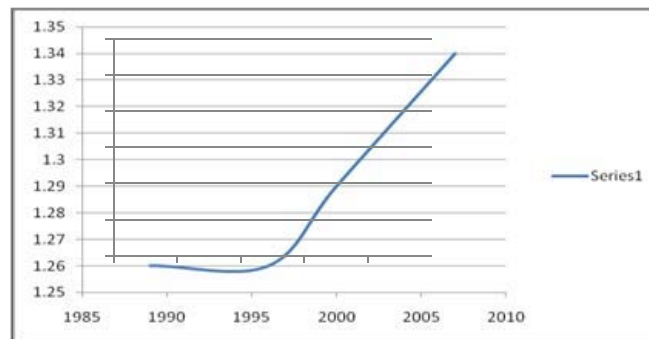
The power of dispersion on import of one sector is the average of its import multiplier. The sector that has the power of dispersion on import is less than one will suffer a power of dispersion lower than the average of the whole economy and vice versa.

The result shows in Table 2 indicates that the power of dispersion on import of almost manufacturing,

processing and construction industries have increased by time. Especially, consumer goods production, material manufacturing industry and machinery manufacturing industry are currently enjoying the increasing power of dispersion on import.

Table 4 : Power of dispersion on import by sectors for one unit of final domestic demand from 1989-2007.

	1989	1996	2000	2007
Agriculture	0.8750	0.9066	0.9035	0.9643
Fishery	1.0141	0.9106	1.0086	1.0276
Forestry	0.8877	0.8687	0.8774	0.9959
Mining & quarrying	1.0110	0.9493	0.8703	1.0039
Food, beverage and tobacco manufactures	0.9264	0.8829	0.9035	0.9564
Other consumer goods	1.0521	1.0513	1.1627	1.3754
Industrial material	1.1066	1.0718	1.2086	1.3595
Capital goods	1.1762	1.3769	1.3556	1.3279
Electricity, gas and water	1.0726	1.0948	0.9596	0.9011
Construction	1.1382	1.1319	1.2584	1.2884
Wholesale and retail trade	0.8394	0.8900	1.0315	0.9406
Transport services	1.1359	1.0940	1.0465	1.1619
Post and telecommunication	0.9833	0.9659	0.9454	0.9090
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	0.9833	0.8987	0.9327	0.8853
Other private services	0.9232	0.8995	0.9430	0.9959
Government services	0.8750	0.8979	0.9541	0.9169

The results in Figure 2 show the remarkable change in structure of the import demand amongst proportions of domestic products demand. Currently, the accumulation of locally produced products consumption has the highest stimulation over import, but not the consumption of domestic products. If domestic products accumulation increases by one unit, the import will reach 1.69 units. It means that the ineffective investment will require the greater import. The result from a series of research using ICOR (Incremental Capital Output Ratio) ratio proved that the effectiveness of investment is very low at present. Hence, the low effectiveness of investment is one of the reasons that induce high trade deficit.

Besides, increasing one unit of export product results in increasing 1.5 units of import which is higher than the previous period (17%). Meanwhile, the expenditure for the final consumption of domestic

products dispersing on import falls off by 1.26 against 1.4 in the last ten years. This above analysis has proven the considerable increase of power of dispersion on import of export and domestic products accumulation. All of these analyses have made people to more carefully consider the saying "Devaluation of Vietnam dong in order to stimulate export and restraint import". In some cases, this solution will benefit other countries, because export of some sectors are actually made in favor of other countries.

Figure 2 : Power of dispersion on import induced by domestic demand factors.
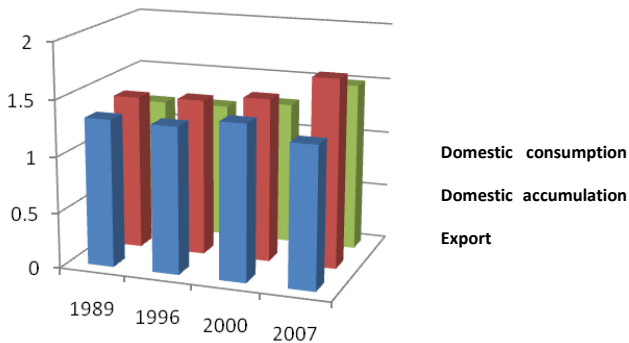
Figure 3 presents the export of manufacturing & processing industry stimulated the import quite strongly, of which export of material manufacturing industry products, of consumer goods producing and machinery manufacturing industry products enjoyed the highest power of dispersion on import. So was the export of transport services.

Figure 3 : Power of dispersion on import induced by export.
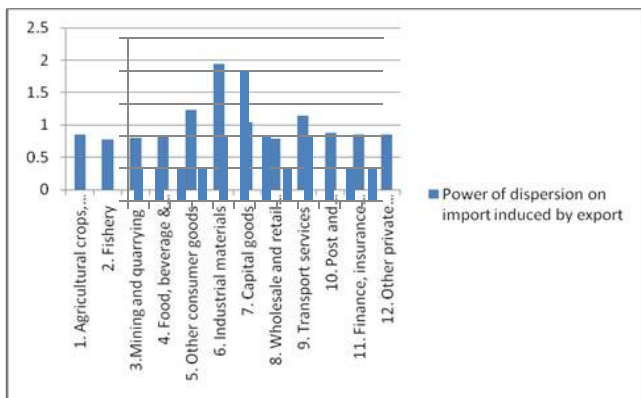
d) Policy implications

Throughout the year of 2011, Vietnamese Government and its bodies conducted the monetary tightening policy aimed at preventing inflation, without caring the fate of enterprises (fundamental component of the economy). Some of enterprises were "dead" and some were "waiting for death". In the first quarter of 2012, the "waiting for death" enterprises in 2011 are totally "dead" and other enterprises has been added to the new list of "waiting for death " in 2012. The "dead" and "waiting for death" enterprises are usually non-state enterprises whose value-added contribution to GDP is about 48%. While state owned and foreign direct investment enterprises have performed with a very low investment efficiency. The ICOR of non-state enterprises (2006 - 2011) was about 4, while the ICOR state owned enterprises was 9.7 and it was even over 10 for FDI enterprises. What is going to happen if non-state enterprises become bankrupt, insolvent or cannot wait for extension of production? Production stagnation would lead to the decrease of total value added of the economy. If the income from production reduces, the purchasing power would also declined, followed by a crisis of demand which is getting serious and hardly to stop..

Through some of the surveys, it is seen that the difficulties small and medium enterprises have undergone are not only the high interest rates but also the following reasons :

– *Access to capital :* It is found difficult. If there is any chance to access, they have to suffer a higher interest rate which prevents them for expending their production. This has definitely affected the economy growth.
– *Transportation :* Enterprises have experienced the difficulties in poor condition of the infrastructure and lots of fees during goods circulation. This has led to the increase in cost born by buyers and so is consumer price index. However, the profitability earned by enterprises has not increased (or in other word, the value added of the enterprises does not increase, and inefficient in production).
– *Administrative procedures :* are found slow and wordy. It prevents enterprises from expanding their production especially opportunities for export. This is one of the reasons that make the production efficiency reduced and intermediate costs of most enterprises increased. This has led to the increase in product price contributing to the higher consumer price index (CPI).
– *"Extra contribution":* it is provided for government offices when holidays or anniversaries come. This kind of contribution has annoyed businesses. It motivates their production process or push up the product price.

The rate of tax on GDP in Vietnam is considered the highest in the world (25-27%) that is not including other fees and implicit "inflation tax". This is to understand how much Vietnamese enterprises are under pressure.

Recently the central bank has made an effort to cut down the interest rate to 1% . This is an appropriate solution because the inflation tends to decrease and liquidity is no longer as intense as the last months of 2011. However, there is a doubt if this is enough to boost the production. Over a long period of tightening credit increased interest rate leading to stagnating production and bankruptcy of many businesses. All of these plus the "inflation tax" have resulted in reduction of employers' income followed by the decrease of purchasing power (final consumer demand). Being badly affected by the credit tightening policy and high interest rate for a long period of time, throughout of 2011 till the first quarter of 2012, in associated with the

decrease of purchasing power, many enterprises have found themselves demotivates to extend their production. Consequently, enterprises in "good health" do not find the need to borrow money for their production extension and others in "poor health" find hard to get access to the loan. Exclaimed by a business owner "if the bank goes bankrupt, it will be saved by the government. If an enterprise goes bankrupt, who will save them then?" .

Thus, there is a question to be considered if Vietnamese economy can rely on export? This depends on the economic growth and purchasing power of other countries in the world. the world's economic situation is not bright enough and it is forecasted that the export situation in 2012 will not be as great as 2011. Knowing this, enterprises do not dare to make loan from the bank to expand their production. For outsourcing firms, they do not need loans because they produce by orders. It is advised that these firms are not encouraged to operate because their products will be dispersion on import..

To this effect, all three elements of total domestic final demand (consumption, investment and export) to form GDP have been proved to decline leading to stagnation of production. A big amount of money in the bank has been stagnated too. Inflation threatens to come back because the money -goods relationship has been broken again.

IV.   RECOMMENDATIONS

The bank should have the controlled loan policy for consumers
- The government should loosen the loan for real estate by choice.
- The government and local authorities should simplify administrative procedures and reduce some hidden fees.

V.   ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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'In Unity Lies Our Strength': Exploring the Benefits and Entitlements in Nigerian Migrant Associations in Accra, Ghana

By Thomas Antwi Bosiakoh

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Abstract - This paper explores the benefits and entitlements due to members of three Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana. In doing this, the paper first attempts (retracing Nigerian presence in Ghana, and then discusses recent developments in Nigerian migration to Ghana. In the discussion on Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana, two specific issues are highlighted, namely, the profiles/activities of the associations and the benefits and entitlements due to association members and leaders. The discussions on the benefits and entitlements are grounded within the social capital framework. A number of conclusions have been reached based on the evidence of the empirical data.

Keywords : Migrant associations, Benefits and entitlements in migrant associations, Nigeria, Ghana.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 060202

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I. Introduction : Setting the Context

Migration is now one of the main forces shaping the world in the 21st century. Though south-north migration has been the dominant theme in migration research in Africa, evidence suggest that intra-regional and intra-African migration dominate in the general African migration literature (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009b; Awumb ila, 2009). One development that often follows increased migration is the emergence and formation of migrant associations in the migration destination areas. However much of the research attention on migrant associations has focused on those existing in western countries such as in USA, Canada, the UK, Germany, the Netherland, among others, with paltry research information on those existing in Africa. The few that exist only explore their development impacts on the migration sending areas (Singh and Sausi 2010; Beauchemin and Schoumaker 2006; Akologo 2005; Honey and Okafor 1998), how they facilitated adjustment, integration and socio-cultural activities (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009a; Twumasi-Ankrah, 1995) and the West African urbanization process

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(Little, 1957), as well as the structure (leadership and membership) of the associations (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2010a).

In this paper, I explore one social aspect of the formation of migrant associations, namely the benefits and entitlements due to members with focus on three Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana. The Nigerian Women's Association, the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association and the Edo State association (also called the Edo Association) are the three associations under the spotlight of this paper. The data for the paper were generated from primary fieldwork conducted in 2007 and 2008 for a bigger project. The data collection involved multiple ethnographic methods of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and informal discussions. Contacts were established with the associations, both executives and members, as well as officials of the Nigerian High commission in Accra. The paper begins with an introduction which seeks to set context to the discussion. It then attempts (re)tracing Nigerian presence in Ghana, and follows it up with recent developments in Nigerian migration to Ghana. In the discussion on Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana, the paper first provides brief profile of the associations and their activities and finally explores the benefits and entitlements due to memb ers of the associations. The final section of the paper deals with summary and conclusion.

II. Historicizing Nigerian Presence in Ghana

Nobody knows the exact point that Nigerians established presence in Ghana. However, Ghanaian migration literature indicates that, by the beginning of the 19th century, Nigerian presence had been established in Ghana. Their connection with Ghana however goes back to the period of the caravan trade (Anarfi et al. 2003). According to Brydon (1985:564), Nigerian traders had for many years before the beginning of the 20th century, b een living and working in Ghana. They maintained their cultural identity by regular visits to Nigeria, exchange of information with their home communities, and by marrying members of their own ethnic groups. According to census statistics in Ghana for the years 1921, 1931 and 1960, Nigerians

constituted 44 percent, 23 percent and 24 percent respectively of African migrants resident in Ghana. In both 1921 and 1931, Nigerians constituted the largest single group of African migrants in Ghana (Statistical Yearbook 1962. cf Kay and Hymer 1972). By the second quarter of the 20th century, as much as 96 percent of immigrants from other British West African colonies resident in Ghana were Nigerians (Cardinall 1931. cf. Anarfi et al., 2003). Writing on the pattern of migration in West Africa, Adepoju (2005) observed that, until the 1960s, Ghana's relative affluence in the sub-region made her the 'gold coast' for thousands of migrants from countries within the sub-region particularly Nigeria, Togo and Burkina Faso. In the process, many Nigerians occupied positions of economic supremacy in trade and commerce in Ghana. As argued by Peil (1974), Nigerians were strongly involved in diamond digging and yam selling as well as butchering in Ghana. They controlled the market place (Gould, 1974) and dominated the indigenous sector of the diamond-mining enterprise, the waterfront stores at Winneba, and the Fadama motor-parts market of Accra (Stepleton 1979). Skinner (1963) also argued that, ab out 40 per cent of female traders in the Kumasi market were of Yorub a ethnic extraction from Nigeria.

Over time, the dominance of migrants in the economy of Ghana became a concern for Ghanaians, concerns which culminated into pressure for increased participation of Ghanaians in the national affairs and opportunities for citizens at the expense of non-citizens (Gould 1974: 356). When in the mid 1960s the Ghanaian economy was hit by mounting challenges (Peil 1974), migrants became first count scapegoats, and were accused of posing threat to the economic survival of Ghana (Adepoju 2005a; Brydon 1985; Adamako-Sarfoh 1974). For this reason, the Ghanaian government promulgated Aliens' Compliance Order in 1969 to expel over 100,000 aliens (Gould, 1974)[2] . Though the Order affected some migrants from Ghana's immediate neighbours - Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Togolese nationals, the majority of its victims were traders of the Yorub a ethnic group from Nigeria (Hundsalz, 1972, Cf. Gould, 1974; Brydon, 1985).

Soon after Nigerians had been expelled from Ghana, the Nigerian economy improved, thanks to boom in that country's oil industry. As argued by Adepoju (2005: 31-32), Nigeria became West Africa's Eldorado and ... Ghana suddenly found thousands of her nationals trooping to Nigeria in search of the Golden Fleece. Statistics in the early 1980s put the average number of Ghanaians who migrated to Nigeria to 300 per day and in December 1980, an estimated number of

about 150,000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos (Anarfi et al 2003:7). In 1983, Ghanaians constituted 81 percent of all ECOWAS nationals legally resident in Nigeria, and 90 percent of all resident permits issued, re-issued or replaced in Nigeria went to Ghanaians (Adepoju, 1988). In early 1983 and mid 1985, the Nigerian government revoked articles 4 and 27 of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons to expel several Ghanaians. According to Brydon (1985), the official estimate for dispelled Ghanaians from Nigeria is somewhere in the range 900,000 to 1.2 million.

III. Recent Developments in Nigerian Migration to Ghana

Since 1992 when Ghana entered into the forth republican dispensation, there has been a growing desire by Ghanaians towards democratic governance. This has paid off, with the country enjoying relative peace compared with her neighbors. Two of Ghana's immediate neighbors - Togo and Ivory Coast - experienced turmoil during the time under review. Also within this period, a number of West African countries experienced political upheavals.[3] In these unstable situations, Ghana played the role of a peace advocate. The country was a sanctuary of peace in the West African sub-region described variously as one of the 'most unstable' regions in the world. In addition, Ghana's economy is flourishing and is about the most stable in West Africa. The economic and political systems show stability.[4] Various democratic structures are firmly established in the country. In the current republic jurisdiction, five democratic elections have been held, the last in 2008, which stretched the democratic elasticity of the country to its limit. The general aspiration of the populace is that of a country entrenched in democratic tradition.

Consequent to these developments, Ghana has experienced widespread immigration, mostly from the West African sub-region, and Nigeria in particular (Antwi Bosiakoh 2010a; 2009 b). The presence of Nigerians in Ghana in recent times is reflected in the heavy presence of Nigerian banks in the Ghanaian banking sector.[5] There are a number of Nigerian businesses in Ghana engaged in the sale of computer hardware accessories, phone and phone accessories, and home video

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[2] The Order required all foreigners in Ghana to be in possess-ion of a residence permit if they did not already have one or to obtain it within two weeks.

[3] Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Cote d Ivoire best exemplify this situation.

[4] This observation is in comparison to Ghana's West African neighbours including Liberia, Cote D'Ivoire, Siera Leonne, Togo Benin, and Nigeria among others.

[5] The following are but few of the present existing Nigerian banks in Ghana: United Bank for Africa (UBA), Energy Bank, Access Bank, Zenith Bank Ghana Limited, Standard Trust Bank, Bank PHB and the Guaranty Trust Bank (GTBank).

compact disks (CDs). Omatek Computers (Ghana) Limited and Omatek Ventures (Ghana) Limited are typical examples. There are other Nigerian businesses engaged in different aspects of the Ghanaian economy as food entrepreneurs (Chicken Repu blic, Mr Biggs etc), as media/movie entrepreneurs (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2010b) and as petroleum products retail companies. In 2008, Nigeria's mobile communication giant, Globacom secured license to operate as Ghana's sixth mobile communication operator (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009b). These aside, Nigerian students form b ulk guests at admission offices of most Ghanaian universities, visiting and calling daily to make inquiries on admission and transfer requirements. ` In the 2009/2010 academic year for instance, Nigerian students studying at the University of Ghana constituted 44% of the foreign students in the University (University of Ghana, 2010). Some anecdotal evidence in Ghana also indicate that, a number of Nigerians are arriving in the Western Region of Ghana, particularly Takoradi and its environs with the hope of finding jobs in the Ghanaian oil industry. This evidence has been particularly showcased by the Ghanaian media in the past three years or so. In addition, the Ghanaian media have reported some Nigerian migrant entrepreneurs in Ghana have also entered the small-scale gold mining, locally known as *galamsey*[6] (see also Agyemang, 2010:5).

IV. Nigerian Migrant Associations in Ghana

a) Brief profiles of the associations

The presence of Nigerians in Ghana in recent times is consolidated by the associational structures they have formed to take care of their needs. This however, is not to suggest that this is the first time Nigerian migrants in Ghana have forged these associations. Migrant associations have indeed been part of the historiography of Nigerian presence in Ghana. Eades (1994) has reported that, in the early post independence period stretching all the way to the late 1960s, a number of Nigerian migrant associations (i.e. town parapo (sing.), religious organizations, the Yoruba Community Committee (Hu Pejo) and the Nigerian Community Committee) were formed in Northern Ghana. In contemporary times, the adjustment / integration/development impacts (Antwi Bosiakoh 2009a) and the leadership/membership structures (Antwi Bosiakoh 2010a) of the three associations discussed in this paper have also been explored.

The associations have certain defining features, including qualifying criteria for membership, periodic meetings, often at a regular meeting place and

established or rather specific purpose. While the associations share some common characteristics, they also differ in some respects as shown in Table 1. They are shared-interest groups and therefore stand in contrast to associations created by fiat or force which neither are guided by shared interests nor personal volition in the decision to join. They also defer from informal, ephemeral, less structured groups such as cliques and gangs (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2010a).

For members of the Nigerian migrant associations, the underlining theme for the associations is to exploit the benefits that unity in the form of association brings; unity and benefits that individual migrants, no matter how hard they try, would be constrained to access. All the associations are premised on the fact that, unity is a great virtue, and it offers extraordinary strength in the pursuance of their migratory goals. For this reason, the associations are conceived in terms of a social capital, i. e. the 'features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that helps improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (Castles and Davidson, 2000:217) or *migrant network* which, according to Arango (2004:28), can be 'seen as a form of social capital, insofar as they are social relations that permit access to resources, both tangible and intangible. In exploring the benefits and entitlements of the associations, the arguments are grounded in the social capital or better still the migrant network framework though mindful that, this framework is more oriented in migration psychology (migration decision-making process) and economics of migration.

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[6] See for example http://ghanaian-chronicle.com/ue-communities-suffer-from-galamsev-activities-as-farmlands-m are-being-indiscrimin a telv-destroved/; http://ghanadistricts.com/news/?read= 43059; a.

Table 1 : Profiles of the association.

Profiles of Associations	Edo State Association (also Edo Association) – ESA	Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association – NCBA	Nigerian Women's Association - NWA
Year of Establishment	2006	2004	2001
Location	Abeka Lapaz	Madina	Accra
Meeting Place	Hse. No. 31, 1st Race Course Link, Lapaz	Rotational	Nigeria House, Accra, close to Ghana Immigration Service headquarters
Frequency of meetings	Once a month	Every fortnight	Once a month
Sex	Males & Females	All-Male	All-Female
Type of association	An ethnic association	An all-male association with a semblance of brotherhood or charity association	An all-female national association
Status	Registered	Registered	Registered
Objective/main purpose of association	To bring together Edo Nigerians in Accra	- To bring together, all Nigerian brothers in Ghana and monitor each brother's activity to create a good image of Nigeria in Ghana -To help one another	-To unite all Nigerian women in Accra -To help know each other -To contribute to development in Ghana
Membership size	75	About 200	About 100
Organizational structure	Chairman, Secretary, Financial Secretary, and Treasurer	Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Public Relations Officer, Financial Secretary, Assistant Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, Auditor and Disciplinary Committee	Patroness (*wife of the High Commissioner*), President, 1st Vice President, 2nd Vice President, Secretary, Vice Secretary, Financial secretary, Treasurer, Protocol Officer and Programmes Officer
Qualifying criteria for membership	One has to come from the Edo State in Nigeria and resident in Accra, Ghana	Membership into NCBA is based on sex (males) and nationality (Nigerian). Ethnicity does not play a part in considerations for membership.	All Nigerian women in Accra
Qualifying criteria for leadership	Good character and resourcefulness	A member who has the interest of association at heart, regular at meetings, and has discharged all his financial obligations to the association	A member who is active/vibrant in the association, regular at meetings, and shows commitment to the association
How leadership is selected	Elections	Election	Nomination/election

Source : Fieldwork, 2007-2008.

The associations are involved in a number of activities, mostly philanthropic/charity activities in Ghana. The Edo association and the Nigerian Committee of Brothers association for example have made donations at different times to orphanages and other less privileged children in Accra. Also the Nigerian Committee of Brothers association organizes End of year Parties for children. The activities of Nigerian Women's association are also in charity and philanthropy. They have renovated different sections of the Ridge and Korle-Bu Hospitals, donated to the Heart Foundation, Osu Children's Home, women prisoners in Nsawam Prison and Dzorwolo Special School etc.). While the Nigerian Committee of Brothers association hopes to establish a transportation business in Ghana, the Edo association has plans to establish a football club in Ghana and also offer more help to the blind and beggars on the streets of Accra.

b) Benefits and entitlements in the associations

Earlier studies on migrant associations have indicated that, the associations fulfill a variety of needs (economic, social, cultural and political) common to the members (see Jenkins, 1988). In a study of Ghanaian immigrant associations in Toronto Canada, Owusu (2000) found that, the associations benefit members in several ways including assisting them to find jobs and housing, helping them fight discriminations and also providing financial assistance to members in need. In addition, the associations help resolve all kinds of disputes involving their members and also help fulfill the cultural needs of the members (see Owusu, 2000: 1165-1166). As in the associations in Owusu's study, the three Nigerian associations in Accra also provide benefits and entitlements to their members. These benefits range from health / medical benefit, to benefits in times of bereavement, from accommodation to socio-cultural benefits, and from benefits specific to new migrants to benefits specific to leadership. While some of these benefits are financial, and material which are more obvious, there are some others that are less obvious. However, in whatever form the benefits take, members of the associations viewed their memberships to be beneficial. At theoretical level, these benefits and entitlements constitute resources which the migrants utilize in their efforts to find tune with their stay in Accra. As resources, these benefits represent social capital in the lives of the migrants and enhance their participation in Ghana's social, cultural and economic spaces. In the discussions that follow from here, I present the b enefits and entitlements due to members of the associations.

i. Health / Medical benefits

All the three associations help their members in their difficult times. In times of sickness, the associations offer support, financially, materially and in other forms. From one of the focus group discussions (FGDs), one discussant mentioned the benefit he had obtained from his association when the wife was hospitalized as follows :

> 'I benefited from the loan facility that this association offers. When my wife was admitted at the Korle-Bu Hospital, I could not mobilize the needed resources. In the process, I turned to the association and help came so quickly. It took me several months to repay. I think the terms were so generous that, no financial institution would agree to offer'.

In addition, a number of association members narrated how they had benefited from their associations to care for themselves, and for other members of their families. In the Nigerian Women's Association, the president pointed out\ the benefits for hospitalized members as follows:

> 'Immediately the person informs the association, we pay her a visit. In the process, we pray with her and present her a hamper of fruits and other provisions as well as money. We also take care of the hospital bill if the person is unable to foot it. For people who appear to be able to take care of the hospital cost, we only help by presenting a token as a sign of care'.

These observations reflect broadly the way and manner the associations serve as resource to Nigerian migrants in Accra, Ghana in health/medical terms. Indeed, there are other benefits that members obtain from their associations. It emerged from the study that, members who have benefited from their associations expressed satisfaction with what their associations were doing.

ii. Benefits in times of bereavement

When a member is bereaved, the associations come handy as a major resource/ support for the bereaved member in financial, emotional and material terms. In financial terms, a fixed amount of money is donated to the member (this was found in all the associations). In addition to the fixed amount from association, individual members also make their own charitable and or voluntary donations to the bereaved member during the funeral ceremony. As members of association, the guiding principle has been that bereaved members are supported to bear the cost of the funeral and of transporting the corpse back to Nigeria for internment and funeral. This, all the three associations adhere to and for one grateful member of the Nigerian Women's Association, this is what the association did when she lost the husband:

> 'The association members mourned with me and made individual donations to me even before the funeral rite was observed. They also prayed with me and encouraged me to be strong. The association assigned one member to stay with me in the day time and another member in the evening to cheer me up. The association actually showed me sisterly love and demonstrated beyond words that the

association is a family away from home. The association also helped in sending the corpse back to Nigeria. They [referring to the association members] also facilitated the funeral arrangements in several ways. During the funeral rite, a number of association friends were present in addition to all the leaders. Both individual and group donations were made to me. I felt I had a bigger family - a family I had made outside my home and my country'.

When an association member dies, all the financial benefits go to the family of the deceased. In such instances, the associations offer monetary donations to the immediate family (wife or husband and children) of the deceased. In all the three associations, individual members also donate to the family of the deceased member after the group or association donation to assist in transporting the corpse[7] and in organizing the funeral. The amount of money in this kind of donation often explains how close a member was with the deceased member.

Aside monetary benefits, bereaved members are also supported emotionally and materially. The associations believe death is unavoidable and sometimes unpredictable. When it occurs then, the bereaved member needs to be provided with the optimum support and encouragement to help deal with the occurrence. As such, material donations are made (not only to assist in transporting the corpse, but also in organizing the funeral) and the bereaved member sympathized with, commiserated and comforted. Constant visits, advice, consolation, sharing of the grief, drinking and chatting together are some other ways that associations and their members show support to their bereaving members. Here, the associations become the immediate resource available to the bereaved member.

iii. Accommodation

The associations are aware of the difficulties that members, both new and old encounter. Some of these problems are in the area of housing. In response to this, the associations help members in diverse ways. In some cases, the associations help their members to locate available housing vacancies. In this case, members who live close to the places where the housing vacancies exist are directed to help member(s) who need them. The associations also help in the negotiation of rent rates, in particular for new migrants. Here the leaders join with the member(s) who live close to the places where the housing vacancies exist to meet with the landlords. The associations also help in the payment of the 'advance fee', in most cases, a month's rent particularly for newcomers.

For older members, the associations also help in paying for housing rents, and even renewal of housing rents. As found in earlier study by Owusu (2000:1166) in Toronto Canada, migrant associations often become essential sources of financial support for immigrants. This is often done through the 'soft loan' facility that members enjoy. The Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association for instance is a vital source of financial assistance for its members. The association offers direct financial assistance to its members. The financial assistance is mostly interest-free, with flexible repayment terms. Members describe this as 'soft loans' and so it appeals to most new migrants. Indeed older members experiencing financial difficulties are also free to turn to the association for this facility. In most cases, members access this facility to take care of housing and accommodation pro blems, but others use it to offset medi-care (hospital) bills.

In a focus discussion, one discussant narrated how he utilized the soft loan facility in his association to take care of his accommodation problem:

"When I needed money to extend rent agreement with my landlord, I found the 'soft loan' facility so useful. My bankers had refused my loan application citing irregular cash flow in my account. The situation was made worse when my Opel saloon vehicle developed engine problem. When I approached the leadership of this association (referring to the Nigeria Committee of Brothers Association), I was offered help despite criticism that it took me a long time to repay my previous loan".

iv. Social benefits

Some benefits also exist in the social life of members. Specifically for members of the Nigeria Committee of Brothers Association, (especially for those who attend meetings regularly), some meetings are occasions for 'camaraderie interactions' or friendly fellowship. When one sits in the association's meeting , one thing that stands out clearly is the friendly interactions that members engage in before and after agenda matters are discussed. Warm welcome hugs, hilariousjokes, infectious smiles and laughs etc. generally await every member. The meetings of this association rotate from one member's residence to the other rather than a specifically designated meeting ground. This affords members to display how best they love their association and how best they have made life in Ghana. Indeed it is an occasion for the association members to get to know where and how well their friend and member is doing in Ghana.

Before the meeting agenda, members are treated with a traditional pre-meeting dessert of raw garden eggs and groundnut paste. This, I was told was to sh0ow that they had not left Nigeria to foreign land (Ghana) to forget all about their culture. After each

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[7] I was informed during the research that, the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association lost their Chairman in 2007. When this occurred, the association took charge of the corpse, flown it to Nigeria and helped in diverse ways in organizing a befitting funeral for him.

meeting, members are refreshed, and fed before they leave to their homes in Accra. Refreshments are usually served first. In the few instances that I sat in the meetings of the association, I encountered cases where bitter leaf soup and yam, and packed fried rice were served. Further interviews revealed that on special occasions, such as election and or installation of new officers, the association pays for a pig or cow to be prepared for members. Individual members, on their own volition have also taken up the tasks to fete members with party.

v. *Cultural benefits*

Nigerian migrant associations also benefit members culturally. They offer a means for socio-cultural expression, socio-cultural promotion, and socio-cultural preservation. An array of cultural manifestations and social expressions (traditional dress, music, drumming and dancing etc.) characterize their activities such as funerals, parties, independence cerebrations, child- naming and christening ceremonies, and festivals. Association members use these events to depict several aspects of their culture and maintain social interactions with their fellow members. When an activity demands an invitation of other associations, the cultural expression and social mix are a delight. These activities tend to build social intercourse at both associational and inter-associational levels. For some of these activities, Ghanaian friends and Ghanaian well-wishers are invited and so the socio-cultural manifestations extend beyond the associations.

vi. *Benefits to new arrivals*

Some benefits are very specific to new immigrants. When they encounter problems, the associations offer helping hand as benefit emanating from the association. This is what one recent arrival had to say:

'Soon after I had come to Accra, I had problem with the Ghanaian people among whom I stayed at Abeka Lapaz. I was advised then to join the Nigerian association (The Edo State Association) which I did. I made my problem known to the elders of the association at my first meeting. Before the second meeting date was due, the elders had intervened. They consulted my Ghanaian people and settled everything with them. Now I live happily with my Ghanaian people'.

The education that associations offer on peaceful living in Ghana was observed in most interviews. As the president of the Edo Association observed:

'When a person arrives here as a new migrant, we tell them about life in Ghana. We also tell them to watch the life of Ghanaians. Here we emphasize that they do not have to bring the kind of life they led
in Nigeria to Accra, because Ghana is a new country'.

Association members also benefit in fellowship and comradeship with other members of the association. They take away the lonely life experiences of new migrants and serve as extended family away from home. In this regard, the associations benefit their members emotionally and serve as invaluable resource for its members in dealing with their problems (including housing, which has been discussed). This is how one respondent put it:

'When I first arrived in Accra, Ghana, I didn't have any relative here. I also did not know anybody here. I was caught up in isolation and solitude. It was like I was 'home-sick', so much so that, I thought I would not be able to stay in Accra for long. I really missed home. Then at a live music reality show on one local television station, I met three Nigerians. They became friends and introduced me to this association. Since then, members of this association have stood by me in every problem I have encountered'.

Some of the benefits can be described as non-obvious. When members benefit through informal interactions with association members or association leadership (which they often do), such benefits come under the non-obvious benefits that association members receive. Also, friendship and other informal network relationships develop in associations which come with other resources, e.g. contacts with influential persons in society. Such resources are utilized by new association memb ers as benefits.

vii. *Benefits to leaders*

Nigerian migrant associations do not benefit only the members but also the leaders. Leadership positions in the associations are occupied to a large extent by older migrants who, by virtue of their long stay in Ghana, have either become successful economically or have acquired great knowledge or experience in Ghana. These leaders often make claim to superior status within the Nigerian Community in Ghana, status that members thought they could not have attained should they have found themselves in Nigeria. Most leaders, however, dispute this, and argue rather that they make several sacrifices for their associations. As the vice president of the Nigerian Women's Association observed:

'We [reference to her association leadership] are not paid for what we do. This work is purely sacrificial. The sacrifices are not only financial but also the knowledge we have acquired in Ghana. There are time sacrifices we make in order to organize association activities which take us away from our families and sometimes from our work'.

For this and indeed other reasons, almost all the leaders of the associations acknowledged they are given special treatments at meetings. For instance, some are addressed with the title 'sir' in the case of the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association and the Edo Association, and others as 'madam' in the Nigerian Women's Association. In addition, special high table is set for association executives during meetings, and while members sit on plastic chairs, leaders sit on chairs with soft pad. Outdoor activities such as visits to orphanages, prisons, hospitals etc. also bring social status projections or reward of social recognition and prestige to leaders of the associations.

Leaders of the associations with direct contact with the Federal government of Nigeria (the Nigerian Women Association and the Edo State Association) also use their association as a means to project their status in Nigeria. The Edo Association for instance deals directly with the Edo State officials while the Nigerian Women Association engages directly with Federal government officials on visit to Ghana. In each case, the leaders use their positions to nurture higher prestige for themselves. Association members have often complained that leaders use the associations as a means to enhance their public status and influence not only in the associations but also in Ghana and Nigeria.

V. Summary and Conclusion

The major concern of this paper has been to explore the benefits and entitlements due to members of three Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana, namely the Nigerian Women's association, the Nigerian Committee of Brothers association, and the Edo State association. In doing so, the paper first attempted (re) tracing Nigerian presence in Ghana, and followed it up with recent developments in Nigerian migration to Ghana. In the discussion on Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana, two specific highlights have been made, namely, the profiles of the associations/activities of the associations, and the benefits and entitlements due to association members.

On the evidence of the empirical data, a number of conclusions can be reached. The associations have certain defining characteristics. While they share some common characteristics, they also differ in some respects and are engaged in different activities in Ghana, all in the service of their members, and also the Ghanaian society in general. A number of benefits and entitlements are available to members of Nigerian migrant associations in Accra, Ghana. These benefits and entitlements are in the areas of health/medical, housing and accommodation, times of bereavement, socio-cultural benefits, benefits specific to new arrivals and those specific to leaders of the associations. Together , the associations, through the benefits and entitlements available to their members, serve as social capital, providing various resources to members. These resources are utilized by members in various ways to enhance their stay in Accra, Ghana.

Figure 1 : Model of Benefits and Entitlements in Nigerian Migrant Association.
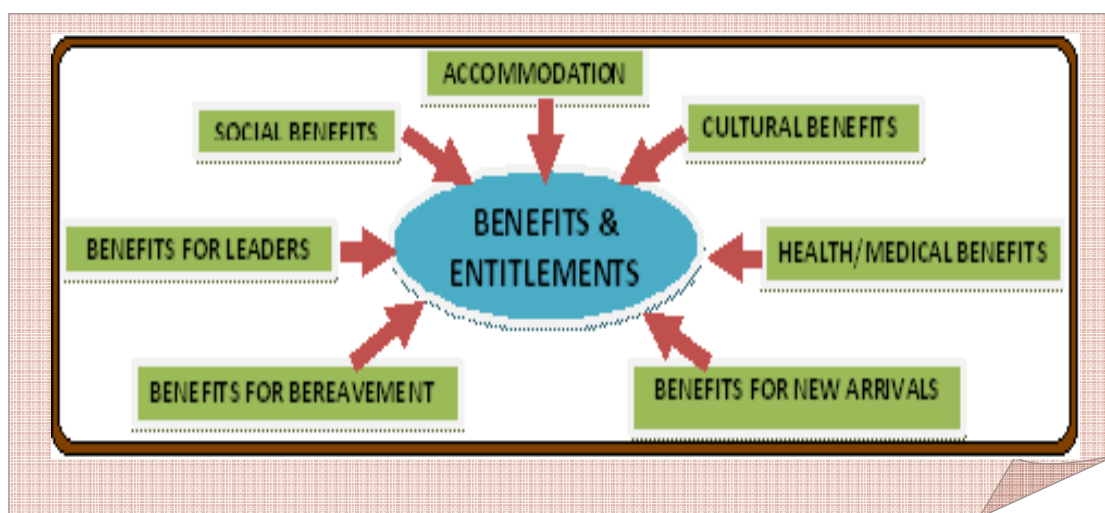
Source : Author's Construct.

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Role Conflict Among Women in Intercontinental Bank Plc, Lagos State

By Odunaike Bolawale Abayomi

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Abstract - In modern industrial societies, women have taken up jobs that take them away from home for better part of the day and this has aroused interest of several scholars in the social sciences. It is in line with this that this paper examined the reasons for women engagement in formal employment and its eventual consequence on the family. The Role and Liberal feminist theories were used to explain the conflicting role of career women. Data were collected from 108 respondents from Intercontinental Bank Plc selected through multi stage sampling techniques using a self designed questionnaire. The study found that women engage in formal employment in order to increase their family's economic status and that their engagement in formal employment gives them limited time to spend with their families. Women dual roles as wives, mothers and formal sector employees are stressful. It demands that women work twice as hard as their male counterparts in order to excel in both. Men should drop the notion that taking care of the children and over-seeing activities in home to be the sole responsibility of the women and embrace an equal share of these activities.

ROLE CONFLICT AMONG WOMEN IN INTERCONTINENTAL BANK PLC, LAGOS STATE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Keywords : Role conflict, Role Strain, Banking sector, Family, Economy, Childcare.

I. Introduction

Post colonial realities have revealed the changing roles and positions of women in different countries of the world. The emergence of modern society has brought change in many ramifications of human life. The experience of women generally is not an exception. One may not be fair to assert that the place and dignity of women is now placed on the same pedestal with their male counterpart, but women improvement strategy is gaining grounds worldwide (Adebayo 2001).

Studies reveal changes in the number, roles and status of women in the formal sector. In the traditional Nigeria society, as well as in other parts of the world, women engaged in many economic activities which include; weaving, dying, small-scale farming, food processing, handicrafts and trading (Oderinde, 2002).They were activities that could be accommodated to the domestic roles of women, since their primary role were perceived to lie in the home (Adebayo, 2001).

Until recently, sex division of labour has been an integral aspect of life in Nigerian family. Men were the main bread winners, while women were saddled with domestic responsibilities; an important component of the domestic responsibilities of women is caring for

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family members (Adepoju and Mbugwa, 1997). They maintained that men as bread winners could work away from home, if women would work at all; they were engaged in activities that could be carried out within or around the home. Women were encouraged to concentrate on household chores and the socialization and monitoring of young children. Basically women are traditionally saddled with the duty of inculcating values and norms into children.

This division of labour in the family in terms of gender roles has virtually disappeared in the country. Women educational attainment in Nigeria has soared over the years; consequently gender inequality in formal employment has drastically declined in the country (Wusu and Abanihe, 2007). The economic hardship prevailing in the country is gradually making it a norm for women to make substantial contribution to household budget in order to cater adequately for family needs. Thus women are increasingly taking up roles that were traditionally the domain of men. Nevertheless, female dominated responsibilities in the family such as household chores, socialization of children and childbearing are rarely shared by men. In other words, while women are taking up formally male roles, it is likely that men find it derogatory to share roles that were traditionally recognized as female domain (Munguti et al, (2002).

By extension, it is expected of women to play multiple roles in the society. Obviously, since women are the significant agent of household chores, socialization and childbearing and have to still carry out their economic roles as formal employees, it becomes difficult and over bearing in most cases. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the economic status of the family, reasons for women engagement in formal employment and the effects on the family.

II. Literature Review

a) Traditional Role of Women in Nigeria

In most part of the world today, women are struggling to assert a spirit of independence and a feeling of self worth. The struggle is occasioned by the wrong projection of women in patriarchal societies. In most cases, they have been projected as apes that lack initiative and need to be put through, guided, and monitored in whatever they may set out to do (Oderinde, 2002). Animashaun, 2002, revealed that intimidation of

women has forced them into believing that she is passive. In Islam and Christianity, a woman is kept in check and she accepts it. Marriage is a "Sanctioned prostitution". Her new master can have her at any time. She must be "met at home'' and she must dance to the tune of her husband. Though women's labour has been efficiently exploited in that they have contributed immensely is the nation's economy women have had a much more limited access to position of authority and could not invest their resources in the same way as men.

The Nigerian society has some set role assumptions for its members, male and female. As summarized by Adebayo (2001), the woman is expected to raise children, to provide emotional support for her husband, nurturing, emotional, sentimental, idealistic and intuitive. She is expected to hold the supportive and subservient positions. She is not expected to perform any energy requiring job or to do subjects that require verbal aptitude like secretarial jobs because she is assumed to be weak, small and timid. She has been likened by a poet to the town – clock to keep and regulate time, to a snail, to reside within the house and to an echo, to speak only when spoken to (Animashaun, 2002)

According to Adebayo (1998), women are expected to contribute positively to the economy of the family. "Even if a woman does not go out to work she is home processing food for sale or she is on the farm harvesting farm products" Food crop production is the traditional role of women in Nigeria. In eastern part of Nigeria while men plant yams, women plant cassava, maize, pepper vegetable (spinach onion), fruit vegetables (okro, garden egg, melon).

To most people in Nigeria, womanhood fundamentally means motherhood and the female child is appreciated only for her bride price and ability to bear children. According to Adebayo (2001), mothering is the God – given role for women and they are primarily expected to provide emotional and therapeutic support for their children. Ajayi (1994), maintained that as mothers, women are traditional guidance of family health and teachers of sanitation, hygiene roles and disease prevention. They also have the role of training the children, giving them the moral instruction and guidance that will make them useful members of the society. A bad child is a shame to its mother. If her child is wayward, she carries all the blame. Hence it is her duty to ensure that her children conform to the norms and values of the society.

Ogala (2000) says that being the repositories of the society's history and culture, women are expected to build and inculcate the societal value system into their children, thus preparing them to perpetuate the system as adults. Women are expected to enhance the aesthetic beauty of their homes by keeping them clean and orderly.

Nina Mba (1993) says that the position of these women in society were made possible by their cultures "which inculcated the concepts that women can lead, lead to do battle if necessary fight for her society and kill for her people". The woman in African was not seen as rib or appendage or an afterthought to man but as his divine equal. Although in every generation, some women have distinguished themselves from the crowd, the majority has not been privileged to appear in public (Oderinde 2002).

b) *The Quest for Women Emancipation in Nigeria.*

The global attention being given to women is a product of many years of agitation by women activists who in spite of all odds protested the discrimination as well as the violence being faced by women. This group of women brought to the fore the second fiddle position of women in America as a form of discrimination and indeed deprivations. The convention of 1848 was aimed at addressing this and it recorded a little achievement of sensitizing government about the plight of women. This led to the establishment of the women International Organization of the League of Nations in 1919 (Omode, 2004).

At the inception of the United Nations Organization (UNO) in 1945, the organization was taken over with more attention given to it. The UNO economic survey revealed women as being terribly affected by the world poverty level. This led to the declaration in 1948 of the universal right of women (Warren, 1992). Following this was the 1975 women conference in Mexico which brought about among others, the institutionalization of an action plan for women (Pogoson, 2004), with a major aim of reviewing the multiple roles of the female gender in the society. A major landmark of the conference is the declaration of the period between 1976 – 1985 as the decade for women (Olufayo, 2008).

The above was also improved upon at the 1985 Nairobi conference. Hence emphasize was on how to improve women status by financing education to eradicate poverty of women and combating poverty to ensure equitable balance between both sexes (Hakim, 2004). The Beijing conference of 1985 was no doubt the most remarkable of all the world conferences on women. Most countries including the third world countries attended and certain critical areas such as health and harmful practices against women, education, conflict, and the issues of the girl-child, poverty and decision making were majorly addressed (Olufayo, 2008). According to CEDPA (1997) and USAID (2002), accessibility of women to power would make them have a fair share of state's resources and would also conscicentize them of their rights.

c) *Factors Promoting Women Engagement in Formal Employment.*

The post colonial period which witnessed the mass entrance of women into the formal sector became

possible through mass literacy campaigns, free education and explosion to urbanization and industrialization Aluko, 2009). Recent United Nations conferences have advocated for women empowerment which is central for development. To change a country in its vision and its sense of Direction, the orientation of women will also have to be reached foremost (Targema, 2009).

Generally, women's engagement in the formal sector in Nigeria was given a boost by the demise of colonialism and the subsequent accelerated efforts at national development. Anugwon (2009) stated that until the late 1960's women were virtually not seen in the formal sector of the Nigerian economy. As a result, it was the atmosphere of general industrial development and urban growth that led to change in orientation towards women as people who could also be meaningful used in the economic process of the society.

Anugwom (2009) went further to say that the involvement of women in formal employment was made possible through possession of skills and education by the women. Thus, until women in Nigeria, became serious human resources with all manner of qualifications just like their male counterparts, they were not considered to be contributors to the economics system.

Prior to this, women were mainly seen as reserve mental and physical resources called upon only in an emergency to help in national development (Afigbo, 1991). Interestingly, Pearson (Rubbery, 2004) related the increasing female labour participation to the impact of the structural adjustment programmed (SAP) which has meant declining real wages, declining government social provisioning and withdrawal or cut back of subsidies. These conditions have meant equally increased challenges of survive amongst families and may have forced many women to seek employment in order to ensure family survival.

Mc Donald (2000) attributed the increase in women employment in the formal sector to the male bread winner model that has changed in Western societies towards a gender-equity model especially in institutions of education and market employment, opening up considerable opportunities to women outside the role of mother. As a consequence, young women have increasingly pursued a career and child bearing ages have risen.

Anderson and Dimon (1991) said that factors influencing labour supply include both individual and household characteristics. Married women, given the strong cultural tradition of working in the home, do not significantly increase their paid employment participation with higher labour demand or changing characteristics of the household. Personal characteristics have greater impact on labour sector participation with moving in and out of paid labour markets. They also maintained that increase in labour demand could expand female force participation of single women.

d) Challenges Faced by Women in Formal Employment

Familiar challenges facing women in formal employment include personal and institutional discrimination, lack of access to equal professional development opportunities and difficulties in balancing their personal and professional lives. In addition, women in formal employment experience resentment and hostility from other professional colleagues, an undervaluing of their self esteem.

The particular nature of the Nigerian labour market also poses itself challenge to women in formal sector. In this sense, women may have to contend with the fact that men see themselves as the rightful owners of the formal economic sector and abundant socio-cultural practices support this. Men are usually more likely to see their wives first and foremost as homemakers rather than fellow workers and partners in national development. This has led to a situation where by many women despite their educational qualifications have been kept out of the economy because of the desire of their husbands. Women's attitudinal and psychological disposition at the work place is another great challenge to woman in formal employment. Many Nigeria women approach their jobs with wrong mental behavioral attitudes. One of such is the desire in some of them not to strive to prove the men wrong. Thus, they display attitudes and work orientations that show them as not hardworking, committed and not able to shoulder work related pressure and stress. Anugwom (2009)

Also, one other factor seen as adversely affecting women's employment is their reproductive roles which often entail working part time or interrupting employment to raise children. Women face a good number of other challenges like lower income in relation to men, low quality of employment, sexual harassment and violence and exclusion from retirement and pension (Rubery, 2004).

Aluko (2009) noted that family and work integration has been and continues to be a major challenge to women in formal employment in the present day Nigerian, due to the harsh economic conditions as a result of Structural Adjustment Programmers (SAP) adopted since 1980's, the system of dual earner couples is in full operation. However, while women take on additional responsibilities away from home, their household duties often remain the same. He went further to state that women still carry the primary burden of household chores and child care. The time requirements of household and paid work are complicated and often conflicting. Nigerian men although may be supporting of their wives working because of extra family income, might not accept an equal sharing of household tasks.

It is observed that most career women in the society are either single, unmarried or women who have passed child bearing age. Only few women can combine the traditional roles of mothering, cooking and housekeeping with rigors of excelling in their career. There is no gain saying that these domestic or traditional roles have hindered many women from reaching the peak in their careers. Of particular interest is the limitation of mothering. The gestation period is quite exerting and burden of child-care leaves women too fatigued to work effectively in some cases (Oderinde, 2002). With the development of capitalist economy in Nigeria, women now engage in a multiplicity of roles both within and outside the home, without any substantial decrease in the reproductive tasks traditionally attached to women (Aluko and Edewor, 2002).

Work-family integration clearly remains a major issue within organizations. Most of these women openly confess guilty feeling relating to motherhood. They also expressed a sense of helplessness with their situation as contributor to household income (Aluko, 2009).

III. Theoretical Orientation

a) Liberal Feminist Theory

This is the major expression of gender inequality which argues that women may claim equality with men on the basis of an essential human capacity for reasoned moral agency, that gender inequality is the result of a patriarchal and sexist patterning of the division of labour through the re-patterning of key institutions- law, work, family, education and media (Schaeffer, 2001).

The theory, liberal feminism claims for gender equality. A key document for understanding the basis of claim is the Declaration of Sentiments issued by the first women's right Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848. Rewriting the Declaration in Independence, the signers declared that "we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women ("and women" is added) are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness; that to secure these rights government are instituted ("among men" is omitted), deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"- and they continues in this veil to endorse the right of revolution when "any form of government becomes destructive of these ends". Through this theory, there is a call for change in law and custom to allow women to assume their equal place in society. Liberal feminism thus rests on the following beliefs:

1. All human beings have certain essential features- capacities for reason moral and self actualization.
2. The exercise of these capacities can be secured through legal recognition of universal rights,
3. The inequalities between men and women assigned by sex and social construction having no basis in "nature" and
4. Social change for equality can be produced by an organized appeal to a reasonable public and the use of the state.

Therefore, with regards to this research work, liberal feminism theory argued that women are equal to men. In all ramifications, women should be treated equally with men. Women in formal employment should be giving encouragement and support as their male counterparts. Men should share in the domestic role with their wives families should encourage and support their members who are engaged in formal employment so that they can exhibit their talents and contribute their quota to the development of the society.

IV. Hypotheses

H_o: Women engagement in formal employment may not likely increase economic status of the family.
H_o: Women engagement in formal employment is not likely to cause marital instability.

V. Research Methodology

The study population was women in Intercontinental Bank Plc, Lagos State. This study focused only a subject of the total population because of time and financial constraints and the desire to get relevant information from a relatively manageable sample of one hundred and eight (108).

The total sample size of one hundred and eight (108) was drawn from Intercontinental Bank Plc using multi stage technique. Intercontinental bank was clustered into three regions namely; Lagos Island, Lagos Mainland North and Lagos Mainland South based on how the bank is divided in Lagos State. Lagos mainland South was randomly selected through ballot. Lagos Mainland South Region was further clustered into thirty threes branches and sixteen branches were randomly chosen through ballot. Six married women were sampled from each of the chosen branches through snowballing, making a total of one hundred and eight samples.

The research instrument used in this study was self administered questionnaires. The questionnaire was constructed to elicit reasons why women engaged in formal employment, the challenge they face and the consequences on their families.

VI. Results/Findings

From this research study, it was discovered that majority of the women in formal employment are in their youthful age between 20-29 years, and highly educated. It can be deduced that women have gained increased access to educational opportunities. This can be corroborated by the works of Mujahid (1985) and Sattar

(1995), that both age and education are critical determinants of women's formal sector employment.

In addition to this, the researcher discovered that majority of the women in formal employment are either Christians or Muslims and that traditional religious practice among them is low. Majority of the women are in the position of senior staff and below.

Furthermore, it was discovered that while women in formal employment have the moral and spiritual support of their husbands, support for domestic chores is very low. This implies that women in formal employment do not get much domestic support from their spouses. In corroborating this, Aluko (2009) stated that Nigerian men although supportive of their wives working because of extra family income, do not accept an equal sharing of household tasks. But it was reported that all those who practice traditional religion have no support from their spouses.

The study discovered that majority of women who are engaged in formal employment have little number of children. However, this is not due to their job as majority of the women said that their job has no influence on the number of children they have. But majority of them anticipated having more children. The variation was reported to be due to the economic cost of raising children rather than rigorous work schedule.

Also women engagement in formal employment is not the cause of marital instability. This can be supported by Aluko (2003), that marital stability or instability is not as a result of women working outside the home or not. Women engagement in formal employment does not have influence on fertility.

Husbands of majority of the respondents are employed but their salaries are higher than that of their husbands. Therefore, majority of the respondents engage in formal employment basically for economic reasons in order to support as well as provide for the needs of the family due to stiff economic situation of the country. Hence, the reason for continuance support from their husbands as regards engagement in formal employment.

Women in formal employment though are enjoying their jobs because of the financial gain and increase in family status; they have limited time to spend with their families on daily basis as they spend the larger part of the day on their jobs. Majority of the respondents depart their homes as early as 5.30 am and return as late as 9.00 pm for at least 6 days a week. However, majority of the respondents employ the services of relatives to take care of their children and other domestic shores while at work.

VII. Conclusions/Recommendations

The economic reality of contemporary world has made women to go beyond home making to make the best use of their talents, gift and skills in improving their living standard and also contributing to national development. Women dual roles as wives, mothers and formal sector employees place them in an enviable position in society. It demands that women work twice as hard as their male counterparts in order to excel in both roles. Though the demand can be stressful and scaring, women must brace up to face the challenge. Being wives and mothers is God given privilege which should not be a hindrance to success in ones career and the pursuit for success in ones career should not hinder the proper management of the home. Women should ensure they build the character of their children who are the future leaders of the nation and use their skills for the development of the nation.

The following recommendations are made to help improve the way women in formal employment will become successful in both economic and domestic role.

Since women in formal employment are usually accused of abandoning the homes for their jobs, they should work harder towards balancing both their economic and their domestic roles so that none suffers for the other. These different roles both need to be performed, therefore, women should look for competent house helps, nannies and relatives to help them look after the home while they are at work and when back from work should find out what happened in their absence and interact with their husbands and children. By so doing the stability of the family and proper upbringing of the children will be guaranteed.

Men should help their wives with domestic work so that the work load at home will not be much for them to handle. Men should drop the notion that taking care of the children or over seeing activities in the home are the sole responsibility of women and embrace an equal sharing of these activities.

There should be a social policy that will reduce the number of hours women spend at work without a reduction in their pay. This will give women more time to spend with their families.

There should be the introduction of tele-work, that is, work away from work place. With this women can work from home since there is improvement in information technology in the society these days.

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Survival Strategies of Women in Informal Cross Border Trade Along Lagos-Seme Border Axis

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Abstract - Background : Cross border- trade has been seen to have gender dimension. Women are seen to be engaged in informal cross-border trade along the borders. Most times women are facing a lot of challenges in trying to transport their goods from customs officials and other security agents. Despite these difficulties, they still engage in this informal trade along this border. This paper examines the coping strategies of women involved in informal cross-border trade. *Methods :* This study is based on Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) conducted with 50 informal traders, in-depth-interviews conducted with security agents and drivers along Lagos-Seme border.

GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 130302, 130308

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF WOMEN IN INFORMAL CROSS BORDER TRADE ALONG LAGOS-SEME BORDER AXIS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Survival Strategies of Women in Informal Cross Border Trade Along Lagos-Seme Border Axis

Jubril Olayiwola Jawando [α], Ezekiel Oluwagbemiga Adeyemi [σ] & Busoye Oguntola-Laguda [ρ]

Abstract - *Background :* Cross border- trade has been seen to have gender dimension. Women are seen to be engaged in informal cross-border trade along the borders. Most times women are facing a lot of challenges in trying to transport their goods from customs officials and other security agents. Despite these difficulties, they still engage in this informal trade along this border . This paper examines the coping strategies of women involved in informal cross-border trade.

Methods : This study is based on Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) conducted with 50 informal traders, in-depth-interviews conducted with security agents and drivers along Lagos-Seme border.

Findings : The study confirms the plight of women involved in cross border trade and their desperation to survive in their bid to help create additional sources of income for their household. This study identifies the reasons women engaged in informal cross border trade as a survival strategy and these strategies include coping with customs officials and other security agents, paying additional money to drivers to bribe security agents, moving goods in different vehicles to beat security agents at check points among others.

Conclusion : Our findings suggest that despite the difficulties encountered by these women in informal trade, they still sustain their families with the little income they realized from this business. There is therefore the need to make the customs laws more flexible and accommodating for these categories of women.

I. Introduction

Women dominate small-scale enterprises and have been seen to be successful in the sustenance of their businesses (Banwo, 2004: Chukwu, 1999).The West African region is noted significantly for high volume of trade that goes on within its borders on daily basis. This trade cuts across all ages, religion, ethnic groups and gender and it involves both formal and informal trade. Informal trade is an integral, but unrecognized component of Africa's economy. Estimates show that, on average, 60 percent of trade is informal trade (Macamo, 1999, Ackello-Ogutu, 1998, Minde and Nakhumwa 1998). The current economic and socio-political environment of sub-Saharan Africa has forced an increasing percentage of sub-Saharan African's to seek alternative livelihood strategies, some of which include high risk activities,

often time these alternatives include cross-border trading and migration to neighbouring states for trading activities (IOM Southern Africa Newsletter, 2010). According to Matorova (2008) the main push and pull factors towards Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT) are based on the lack of formal employment due to economic reforms, rural-urban migration and low wages

The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, 2010) found that Zimbabwe and Swaziland Women in informal Cross Border Trade (WICBT) engaged in it as survivalists' strategy to reduce the harsh economic condition they undergo. Thus informal cross border trade is a significant contributor to poverty reduction, employment and wealth creation (Mzizi, 2010). Small Scale Cross Border Trade is widespread as thousands of people mostly residents of contiguous border areas across the borders everyday to exploit differences in prices, wages, and regulatory practices (Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation, 2007).

Furthermore, Cross border trade has been seen to have gender dimension; women are more actively involved in border-trading activities such as moving goods through border crossing points as this is one activity women can take-up with little or no resources (Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation, 2007). The neoliberal policy introduced in the 80s across some African States which led to privatization of public enterprises resulted in many job losses. It was the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) introduced as a palliative measure that encouraged more women to be self sustaining by looking inward to assist and cushioned the effects of the structural adjustment programmes introduced by the World Bank (Morris and Saul, 2000) The Involvement of women in Cross Border Trade (CBT) has further equipped them with earnings and resources to contribute significantly to the upkeep of their household and still empowers them with financial independence and control of their own resources (Morris and Saul, 2000). However, their contributions are being neglected and due to their lack of access to credit, knowledge and technology, their businesses do not grow (Aina and Odebiyi, 1998; Osuala, 1991; Erinosho and Fapohunda, 1988). This is not surprising since they are perceived as second-class citizens in patriarchal societies (Olutayo, 2005)

Despite the lack of formal statistical information on CBT, informal cross border trade tends to go

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unreported. An estimate suggested that around 70 percent of women of productive age are involved in CBT, with women representing between 70-80 percent of ICBT trades are found in Africa and about 80 percent of ICBT in Nigeria are women (UNIFEM and UNECA, 2010). Cultural and ethnic affinities, common historical background and existing functional interdependences among Africa countries continue to provide a strong impulse for cross border cooperation among Africans (Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation, 2007).

Many studies have been done on CBT, WICBT and the nature of Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT) by many organization and scholars such as World Bank, UNIFEM, and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) but unfortunately most of these studies, focused on all other aspect of CBT and WICBT with little emphasis on their survival strategies. Of all the previous studies done on CBT and WICBT, little have been done on Women Cross Border Traders in Nigeria not to mention their survival strategies and this has led many Nigerians to perceive all cross border traders as smugglers. Nigerian economy is geared towards much foreign consumptions and there is an increasing preference for foreign products and the craze to make ends meet has made it possible for CBT to be on continual increase (Yoroms, 2005). The life of a woman in informal cross border trade is difficult, there are long hours of travel, time away from family, and there are increasing risks of violence and intimidation (IOM Newsletter, 2010). The constraints women in cross borders trade encounter includes; inadequate public and private transportation, harassment by customs officials, poor security, exploitation of their inadequate knowledge, robbery and lack of financial services (Makombe, 2011).

In spite of all these difficulties, constraints and unfavourable work environment, Cross Border Trade (CBT) is on the increase in Nigeria particularly, on the Lagos-Seme border axis, as more women are daily opting for this trade. Thus, in order to fully comprehend and appreciate how WICBT manage and continues to survive the ordeal of their kind of trade, there is need to critically study and analysis their survival strategies. Thus, this study intends to fill this vacuum by carrying out a study on the survival strategies of WICBT and also to correct the wrong impression of the society towards WICBT. It intends to prove that WICBT are enterprising hardworking social actors who respond to poverty in a positive manner. It is against this backdrop that this study examines survival strategies among women in informal cross border trade on Lagos-Seme Border axis.

II. Literature Review

a) Survival Strategies

Survival Strategies are defined as specific responses to stress which include specific adaptive and maladaptive, biological, psychological and social constituents. It also refers to mechanisms employed by people to combat and live through an ordeal. Survival strategies are believed to facilitate the recognition, naming and making sense of the varied sequence of traumatic events (Valent, 1998). Fight and flight are the two survival strategies generally recognized (APA, 1994), Charles Darwin (1872-1965) identified these two strategies as evolutionary attributes which favoured survival. On closer inspection however traumatic stress responses that is ways of dealing with stress stretches more than fight and flight responses. (Valent, 1998).

Valent (1998) in his book; From Survival to Fulfillment: A Framework for the Life-trauma Dialectic gave a framework which have in it meaningful and great varieties of stress responses and he suggested eight strategies of survival that make up this framework. The combinations, permutations, overtones and harmonics of these eight strategies of survival provide the musical story of traumatic stress and it sequence. These eight strategies of survival by Valent (1998) also have appraisals that evoke them. They include:

i. Rescue : This survival strategy is evoked by the appraisal "must rescue / save others", and it includes protection and provision.

ii. Attachment : It involves bonding to a particular caregiver, for the function of protection and the teaching of survival skills.

iii. Assertion : This survival strategy includes working and doing everything possible to achieve a goal.

iv. Adaptation : This survival strategy refers to surrender to overwhelming conditions (Selye, 1973).

v. Fight and flight : Fight is evoked by the need to remove danger while flight is evoked by the need to avoid danger that is combat the danger and escape the danger respectively (Canon, 1963). Canon (1963) added that fight and flight were reciprocal, depending on how events are perceived.

vi. Competition and Cooperation : Competition is evoked by the need to obtain scarce essentials while cooperation is evoked by the need to create scare resources. These eight strategies of survival may function individually or in a wide range of combinations, and they may be used very flexibly in various combination. (Valent, 1999).

b) Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT)

The informal sector is defined by Goldberg and Pavcnik (2003) as the sector of the economy that does not comply with labour market legislation and does not provide workers benefits. This history of Cross border exchange is tied up with the emergence about twenty years ago of floating exchange rates and the Eurobond market (Chichilnisky, 2003).

Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT) developed in the aftermath of the 1980s economic crisis in Africa. It has been ongoing for several years and is an important

cash-earning activity (Njikam and Tchouassi, 2010). ICBT has become a safety net for the unemployed people in African, providing sources of income without formal education (Mijere, 2006). ICBT plays a vital role in poverty reduction, employment and income opportunities (Jackson, 1996, Cagatay and Ozler, 1995). It is a vital source of livelihood for the poor and an important component of Africa's economy contributing immensely to the economy of Africa, Particularly in terms of economic upliftment of women, food security, regional economic trade and social integration (Matsuyama, 2011). Others include generation of government revenue through payment of duty, license fees; passport fees and supports road transport industry (Mzizi, 2010). Informal Cross border traders make an important contribution to economic growth and government revenues. ICBT does not occur in a vacuum it takes place with a broader trade and development context international, regionally and nationally (Chipika and Malaba, 2011). There is a direct link in West Africa between CBT, trade openness and regional economic growth (Morris and Saul, 2000). Informal cross-border traders import essential and scare commodities into their countries (Mijere, 2006).

c) Women Cross Border Traders (WCBTs)

Since the colonial era, West African women have been involved in trade, both within their country and across borders, particularly in the distribution of food and small consumer items and in the trade in services. Their active involvement in small-scale trade is linked with the gendered construction of the colonial economy and society, which allowed male access to formal education and employment in the colonial bureaucracy and other forms of formal employment. Residential regulations during this period restricted women's access to urban areas and confined them to rural areas under the jurisdiction of chiefs. These circumstances resulted in the gender segmentation of the labour force, requiring women to restrict themselves to the margins of the colonial order, delivering much-needed services to male migrants and establishing themselves in the informal distribution of goods and services. These colonial patterns have persisted into the post-colonial period, reinforced by the continuing gender discrimination in terms of access to education and formal employment and the growing informalization of work due to economic liberalization policies (Tsikata, 2009).

Women trading activities have always been integral to the region's rural and urban livelihoods. Traditionally, women cross-border traders were engaged in the sale of unprocessed and processed food (fish, salt and foodstuffs). As a result of the segmentation of labour in production and distribution, men and women have traded in distinct products in the marketplaces. (Economic Commission for Africa, 2010)

Originally confined to jobs such as food- selling and shop-assisting in businesses at border crossings, they are now involved in cross-border trade, involving a range of goods and services, which has created informal distribution networks and credit systems that sustain livelihoods. Cross-border trading has resulted in new transnational networks, supported by commonalities in language, culture and kinship. (Economic Commission for Africa, 2010)

WCBTs both within countries and crossing borders, occupy three categories; retailers, wholesaler, retailers and wholesalers on the basis of the volume and value of their trade, the particular commodities they sell and their relationships with other traders (Dejene, 2001, Morris and Saul,2000).Wholesalers import from manufacturers in their region(Dejene,2001) Wholesalers - retailers trade in manufactured goods purchased from wholesalers. Retailers are the majority, as most WCBT enter into cross border trading as retailers. This is because this kind of business requires little working capital and can be carried out on a flexible schedule (Dejene, 2001, Morris and Saul, 2000, Randriamaro and Budlender, 2008).

Throughout Africa, WICBT are not respected and there is a perception that because they cover long-distances and spend nights away from home, they are prostitutes, Other see them as dangerous women capable of doing anything to earn money. All these perceptions reinforce the belief that someone engaging in such trade does not fit the "responsible women" stereotype (Okwemba, 2011). WCBTs still suffer from invisibility, stigmatization, violence, harassment, poor working conditions and lack of recognition of their economic contribution (Southern Africa Trust, 2008). Muzuidziwa (2001) noticed that WCBTs received unsympathetic treatment from the press and government officials. Irrespective of this, he discovered that WCBTs have positive image of themselves.

According to Okwemba (2011), the disturbing issue is that, the above attitudes and perceptions have percolated through government institutions directly responsible for ensuring the well being of WBCTs. He also noticed that rarely do these institutions integrate women traders in programmes geared towards improving regional trade. National government, regional bodies and most civil society organizations seldom educate or empower these women with knowledge on how they can participate meaningfully in regional trade WCBT. Often rely on each other for socio-economic support and information (Morris and Saul, 2006, Okwemba, 2011).

Many researches on WCBTs have identified a lot of challenges and constraints encountered by WCBTs, The most common constraints include: inadequate public and private transportation, multiple control posts, multiple and arbitrary taxation of goods, insecurity and harassments, limited market information,

communication costs, language barriers and problem of exchange rate (Dejene, 2001, Mzizi, 2010, Njikan and Tchonassi, 2010) Problem of exchange rate; mainly between the CFA, Franc and Nigeria currency the Naira. Due to lack of formal exchange bureaus, most traders go to informal (black) market exchange where premium is often high and volatile (Njikam and Tchouassi, 2010)

III. Methods

The study area comprises of two different backgrounds. Seme is a border town between Lagos and Republic of Benin. It is a major settlement in Nigeria, on the border with Republic of Benin, it is about ten minutes drive from Badagry on the coastal road between Lagos and Cotonou. The population for this study includes specifically Women Informal Cross Border Trader (WICBT), border officials and drivers in the Seme-Border Town of Nigeria. The estimated number of cross border women traders that daily ply the Seme- Border town varies according to the business they transact on daily basis between 300-700 (i.e. normal period) and during peak or festive period the population increases to 700- 2000 (Mordi, 2011). Age Bracket of women that ply the border ranges from 20-60 years old.

Qualitative Method was used to collect information for the study. Both Focus Group Discussions and in-depth interview were employed in this study. Within the Lagos Seme-Border route 50 Women Cross Border Traders were selected for the FGDs. They were stratified into five sessions based on their type of goods, age and years of experience. Each group consists of 10 women. It took the researchers about four weeks to gather these traders together because of the nature and tight schedule of their work. In-depth interview was used to collect information from drivers, customs, immigration officers, police and other securities agents

IV. Result of Findings and Discussion

a) Socio-demographic Characteristics

The age distributions of the respondents showed that majority of them are in age category of 30-39 years. This constitutes 23 respondents (46 percent). It was observed that the bulks of the population are relatively young women who could not secure gainful employment because of the economic hardship in the country. Also, the respondents in the age category of 40-49 years represent 17 (34 percent) of the population, while those in age category of 50-59 years shows 5 respondents (10 percent). Those in 20-29 years represent 4 respondents (8 percent) and respondents in the age category of 60 and above represent 1 (2 percent). The marital status of the respondents indicate that majority of them are married women. This represents 45 (90 percent). It was observed that these

women are using this trade to assist and support their families. Also, 2 (4 percent) of the respondents are single, 1 (2 percent) of the respondents are divorced and another 1 (2 percent) widowed.

In terms of religion, majority of the respondents representing 30 (60percent) are Christians and the remaining 20 (40 percent) are Muslims. Their ethnic background indicated that majority of the respondents are Yoruba constituting 27 (54 percent). This is a reflection that the Yoruba constitute a great proportion of Cross Border Traders on this axis. Another 14 (28 percent) are Igbo speaking people from the Eastern part of the country. While the remaining 9 respondents (18 percent) are Togolese, Ghanaians, Beninous and Ogu people

Their level of education indicated that 33 (66 percent) of the respondents possess secondary school certificates, 9 (18 percent) had tertiary education (Polytechnics and University) 8 (16 percent had primary school certificates and the remaining has no formal education. The period of commencement of their business ranges from 6 months to 25 years.

b) Reasons for Engaging in Cross Border Trade

It has become clearer that in Africa, men no longer shoulder all the needs of their wife (ves). Women have always contributed to the survival of the family though their contributions are not often qualitatively valued. The dimensions of women in trade generally have not brought out women's economic contributions to the family and society (Olutayo, 2003). The reasons for women contribution to trade have always include supporting the family, addressing the poverty situation, unemployment and supplementing the trade with the meager income from other success. The study reveals that majority of women interviewed who engaged in informal cross- border trade do so to earn more income to sustain their family, while others engaged in it as a result of lack of employment opportunity for them. These are some excerpt from the FGDs. A 50 years old woman who has been involved in CBT for about twenty-six years said:

> *"There is no other means to support my household and since CBT brings in quick money, it helps us live above poverty".*

A women trading in vegetable oil explained thus:

> *"Because there is no other way to generate income to train my children and support my husband who had lost his job since year 2000. I have no choice than to involve myself in this trade".*

For those who added CBT to their job, one of them said:

> *"I added CBT to my job because my salary is not sufficient to meet my financial burdens".*

The study further revealed that despite the long involvement of WICBT majority of them would prefer to quit the trade as soon as they have better opportunity. This is because they are daily faced with various forms of harassment by security agents and molestation by commercial bus drivers. While others would rather continue with the trade as there are no means of livelihood for them than to engage in CBT. A 30 year old respondent dealing in Okrika (used clothes) responded thus:

> "If I see another means of generating sufficient income to sustain my financial burdens, I will leave CBT, because it is too stressful, but if God has not opened another mean, I will be managing this one. The problems and stress associated with this trade tells on one's health, it is not a thing one should do for a long time if one want to enjoy oneself or life"

c) *Challenges of Cross Border Traders*

Women in informal cross-border trade do not use available formal system/ structures for most of their transaction (Masinjila, 2009). This makes it difficult for regional trade policy initiative and the Customs Protocols to have significant impact on these informal women. It was also found that the women show little knowledge regarding the West African Customs Protocol and even less motivation to use it to facilitate their trading activities. The major challenge Women in Informal Cross Border Trade (WICBT) encountered in their trade is that of customs officials and other security agents on Lagos-Seme border as well as the issues of taxation. An illiterate respondent dealing in frozen foods lamented in Yoruba language thus:

> "Wahala custom naa ni, awon custom ti fun awon elomi ni hypertension lori eru gbigba"

Meaning :

> "Custom is the main challenge we encounter and some people have developed hypertension because of custom officer's seizure of their goods".

Police and immigration officials were also mentioned as part of the challenges, another respondent commented in pidgin English that:

> "Because Police/custom wan collect money even when you no carry contraband dey go collect the goods or they no go allow the bus with the goods pass until the driver give them money".

Meaning :

> "Due to the desperation of police and custom officers to collect money, even when a vehicle is not carrying any contraband goods, they will still attempt to seize it and demand for money before they can return the goods or detain the vehicle until driver pays them"

Some drivers that ply Lagos-Seme route also corroborated the fact that custom is the main challenge of WCBT. They all pointed to the fact that the problem of customs officers and other security agents on Lagos-Seme route have constituted a major challenge to women in cross border trade and to them the drivers in particular as they daily used their earnings to settle customs and other security agents. They claimed that most times the security agents intercept them even when they do not carry goods and demand for various forms of settlement despite the fact that on regular basis they give them money as group of drivers plying the routes to aid their free movement. One of the drivers responded thus:

> "What do they face (Women in Cross Border Trade) other than the problem of custom who seize their goods and also delay us after collecting money from us thereby denying us of our daily livelihood".

On the part of the security agents at the various border posts, they argued that there are laid down rules and regulations guiding the conduct of Transnational Trade or Cross Border trade which requires that people engaging in such trade must fill certain forms and pay certain duties at the border posts. In most cases, these women in informal cross border trade fail to follow the laid down rules and regulations and ends up losing their goods to government. This is why the customs and various security agents are seen as posing a major challenge to them

Other difficulties mentioned include stealing among some drivers, stealing among fellow women in cross border trade, armed robbery attacks, fraud in market, touts (Agbero) theft and charging of land money by some tout at the seme border. Goods are mostly lost when they are transported in different vehicles. One of the women said that:

> "If person no watch in load well well Agbero go steal person load."

Meaning :

> "If one is not watchful, touts at garage will steal one's goods."

This is directly linked to the problem of insecurity, although not mentioned by any of the respondents. It is obvious to an observer, that these women are usually apprehensive until their goods arrive safely even after the goods have arrived safely, they still need to monitor the drivers of the buses they are boarding like a "mother hen" until the vehicle is on the move.

Another respondent commenting on the touts (Agbero) said:

> "They charge us owo ile (land money). This money depends on the quantity of one's goods. For

example a 10 litre of palm oil is charge fifty naira for land money. If the WICBT do not comply on time, part of their goods are hijacked and kept and will not be returned until they pay the supposed bill".

It was observed that most WICBT do not see these "owo ile" as a difficulty or challenge, but rather they see it as part of the business
A respondent said

"There is no other problem aside custom, since one knows already what is exempted and how things are done; it is only those that do not comply with the rules that face problem".

d) *Strategies employed by WCBT to deal with the difficulties associated with their trade.*

Women in informal cross-border trade employed the eight strategies identified by Valent (1998) in dealing with their problems. These include strategies such as rescue, attachment, assertion, adaptation, fight and flight, competition and cooperation. These survival strategies as remain what is keeping these women in informal cross-border trade

V. Custom Officers

To deal with the problem of officers, various strategies are employed by WICBT; they include paying the additional money to the drivers to bribe the Customs Officers, transporting goods in different vehicles, cooperation among women, buying goods in small quantity and bribery.

Paying additional Money to the drivers to bribe the customs officers : It was discovered that drivers charges different fares for women with categories of goods and locations. Women who buy heavy goods are charged higher than those women with lighter goods. For instance a bus from Seme to Iyana Iba which is about 35-40 kilometres would ordinarily cost (N200) Two hundred naira without load. However, for women with load, the cost varies as they pay additional fares ranging from N2, 200 to N3, 200 and the drivers in turn uses the extra money to bribe all security agents at every check points. Thus, most women choose to pay drivers adequately in order for them to settle the officers along the route. One WICBT in response to how she deals with the problem of custom said:

"If you have paid the driver sufficiently, the driver will settle the officers, so once I pay the driver, customs officers are no longer my concern".

a) *Transporting in different vehicles :*

Some WICBT in dealing with the challenge of customs officers divide their goods into different parts and transport them in different vehicles after paying the drivers of such vehicles. On this strategy, a respondent had this to say:

"If you carry much load, you no go get rest of mind, so person go divide am into three sometimes four buses depending on how the load plenty, so custom no go fit seize everything at once, even if they seize person no go loss much".

Meaning :

"If one is in possession of two many luggages, customs officers are likely to seize them all. Thus to avoid this traders diverse the means of dividing the goods and send them in different vehicles to avoid seizure of all by customs and if customs eventually seize any of the goods one will not lose much".

b) *Cooperation among women :*

In situations where custom officers demands for a sum of money the driver cannot afford the WICBT contribute more money among themselves to settle such officers. On this strategy, a respondent said in Yoruba language:

Ni igba to je pe awalani eru, kini a ma se ju ka da owo larin ara wa lati je ki a koja"

Meaning :

"Since the goods belong to us and not the drivers, we are left with no option than to contribute money among ourselves to give to the officers".

c) *Buying in Small Quantities :*

A significant proportion of WCBT employ this strategy, one respondent even said her goods has never been seized before. In her words:

"Custom never seized my goods before because me I dey buy small small I no dey carry plenty load".

Meaning :

"My goods have never been seized by custom officers. This is because I buy and carry in small quantities".

Another said :

"I come to market everyday to buy goods in small quantities to avoid seizure by customs officers".

d) *Bribery :*

Eventually all WICBT employ this Strategy. They differentiated between "seized" and "seizure". When one goods is "seized" there is still hope of recovery but once it enters "seizure", it cannot be recovered. Thus most women bribe custom officers, in order to avoid their goods from entering "seizure" and this money are accompanied with a lot of pleas. One respondent said:

"We have no choice but to bribe them. This also involved a lot of pleas, carrying and sending emissaries to them before they will collect the money from you"

It was also gathered from the study that WICBT are sometimes charged a particular amount of money to bail their goods. A respondent said:

"Customs have specific period for specific goods. For example, if it is the era of rice seizure one will be billed N2, 000 for a bag and N1, 500 to bail a carton of turkey"

This implies that the number of bags of rice or cartons of turkey one can afford to bail is what one takes home. When this occurs, that is when WICBT are forced to bail their goods. There will be no profit on such goods as one of the respondent said:

"Once we don bail good, forget that trip na loss, no gain as the money wey suppose be gain we don give custom".

Meaning:

"The moment we bail goods such trip or goods will yield no profit as what is to be the profit or more have been given to custom officers to bail the goods".

VI. Armed Robbery, Fraud and Driver's Theft

To avoid robbery, most WCBT do not take early bus to market. A respondent exclaimed:

"If you do not want to be robbed do not leave for market at dawn or else one will be exposed to the risk of being attacked by armed robbers"

Most WCBT stick to one customer to buy goods from and particular drivers to transport their goods. Another respondent said:

"Once you find a trustworthy driver or customer stick to him".

They also ensure they board vehicles whose driver belongs to union in order to report any misbehaviours or theft to their union leaders. WCBT also employ a strategy referred to by Valent (1998) as Attachment and it involve bonding to a particular person for the purpose of protection and teaching of survival skills. Most WCBT were introduced to the trade by friends and relative who taught them the "rules of the game" that is how to cope and succeed in spite of the difficulties associated with their trade. Only one respondent mentioned the passage of old and illegal route to avoid custom officers. In her words

"Sometime we take old routes, such as bush paths, water ways to avoid custom problems".

It was also discovered that most women that live in areas closer to Seme like Badagry, Agbara began the trade on their own and WICBT who supplies and sells in shops comes to market more frequently that the women who sells just in shops.

VII. Conclusion

Informal Cross Border Trade is a vital part of a nation's economy that cannot be neglected. It is a trade that provides for many people both young, old, single and married, widowed and divorced, male and female who would have otherwise been unemployed opportunity to survive. It has and still accommodates the unemployed, the retrenched workers and has helped a lot of people and families to rise and live above poverty. Despite the various restrictions and problems confronting these women, they have device various strategies to beat the customs protocols and impositions of various duties all in a bit to survive and remain in business. Such strategies include coping with customs officers' seizure of their goods, bribing customs officials and security agents along the border posts, transporting their goods in different vehicles among others strategies.

It was observed that these women buy goods in smaller bits all in a bid to avoid paying customs duties. Even though most of them claimed lack of knowledge concerning the customs protocol on transnational trade. There seems to be grey area that must be addressed to make this trade easy and simple for this category of women. There is no doubt that these women contribute to the economic growth of their various countries and also assist in creating jobs for others who are dependent on them. It is therefore pertinent that these women should be supported in whatever small ways to make cross border trade cheaper and easy for them to do. Since most of them do not have access to loan or large capital to engage in formal cross border trade.

VIII. Recommendations

- There should be constant dissemination of vital information through the use of mass media regarding Trade Policy and customs regulation concerning Cross border Trade to assist this category of women
- There should be Implementation and standardization of Customs Rules and Tariffs that will be so transparent for everybody involved in Cross border Trade to see.
- There should be an Improvement in transportation and telecommunication facilities to aid free movement of traders and goods across the border
- Government should ensure that all issues bothering on insecurity across the border posts are adequately tackle to ensure that traders and goods are protected from the activities of hoodlums and touts at the border

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Kenyan Muslim Women in Media and Politics: Fighting for Legitimacy

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Introduction - Kenyan Muslim women perceive of themselves as a marginalized lot in terms of participation in the public sphere. Each day to them is a struggle to be included in the decision making levels of the government. They are fighting for visibility and recognition especially in the political and governing processes. Kenyan Muslims women are adamant in negotiating for their political space. This struggle is even more intricate due to religion and their being a minority group. Consensus building has not fully succeeded in empowering women to be full partners in all decision making processes. In most Muslim Non-Governmental organizations, women are minimally involved in the organizational structures and are only useful in family matters. The public sphere is reserved for men.

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Kenyan Muslim Women in Media and Politics: Fighting for Legitimacy

Dr. Esha Faki Mwinyihaji

I. Introduction

Kenyan Muslim women perceive of themselves as a marginalized lot in terms of participation in the public sphere. Each day to them is a struggle to be included in the decision making levels of the government. They are fighting for visibility and recognition especially in the political and governing processes. Kenyan Muslims women are adamant in negotiating for their political space. This struggle is even more intricate due to religion and their being a minority group. Consensus building has not fully succeeded in empowering women to be full partners in all decision making processes. In most Muslim Non-Governmental organizations, women are minimally involved in the organizational structures and are only useful in family matters. The public sphere is reserved for men.

This chapter attempts to narrate Kenyan Muslim women's efforts to legitimatize their inclusion in the public sphere. It explores how Kenyan Muslim women have advanced to their social cultural challenges in their effort to make an entrance into the public sphere. Two areas have been specifically chosen to represent the public sphere, namely the media and politics. The development of information technologies has opened the doors of democratization process. This has in turn created an outlet for the emergence of not only pluralistic voices within various national constituencies, but also ideologically divergent affirmations within the Muslim polities. This development in old and new information and communication technologies (ICTs) – radio, audio cassettes, television and satellite, internet and magazines- plays a key role in shaping the socio-political discursive practices within Muslim societies (Eickelmann and Anderson 1999, Salvatore 1999, Schulz 2005). This interplay between democratization and the media phenomenon is especially significant as educated Muslim women become active agents as media producers, hosts and consumers (Nouraie-Simone 2005, Mernissi 2005, Skalli 2006).

The involvement of Kenyan Muslim women in politics is chosen because it is in this that they can become movers and shakers of the country. How have these women legitimized their participation in politics?

This paper examines the fight for legitimacy of Kenyan Muslim women in media and politics. How are these women able to marry their religious ethical ideals and social change challenges facing them? This chapter explicates the interplay of gender and religion in the Muslim women's attempts to embrace technological progress.

II. Background

There are a growing number of Kenyan Muslim women who are challenging prevailing and deeply entrenched orthodoxies. The orthodoxies have defined relations not only between men and women within the Muslim communities, but also between Muslim women and non-Muslims in general. In the Kenyan context, the Muslim women's awakening is shaped by Islamic spirituality as well as by a secular reasoning especially with reference to their relation with the media. They further believe that the *Shari'a* serves women better if applied justly and that Western thinking should be well scrutinized before being embraced. The Kenyan Muslim women continue to support the entrenchment of the *Kadhis* court in the constitution as part of their identity with Islam but within a reformed framework sensitive to women's rights.

The Muslim women's quest for gender inclusion in the decision-making processes is due to global emergence of identity politics. Every citizen is concerned about being included and that the public offices should represent diversity of all constituents (Hobson & Lister, 2008). Implicit in this discourse of inclusion is a new construction of justice that contends that non-recognition not only inflicts harm on groups and individuals; further it is due to this lack of recognition that implies exclusion and marginalization from full participation in the community. Hence the struggles for recognition are struggles for participation. Religion is one of these tools used to provide feelings of inclusion, belonging and citizenship. In this struggle, gender suffers setbacks when interests of women, specifically are excluded to privilege cultural, regional and national divisions. Rhoda Reddock opines that ethnic or religious communities as homogenous results in power being located in the hands of male and upper class (Hall, 2000). In the Kenyan situation, whereas Muslims in general perceive themselves as marginalized, the Muslim women are further alienated by favoring men

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first whenever a chance appears especially in the political sphere.

Kenyan Muslims and indeed a great majority of East African countries subscribe largely to the *Shafi'i* school of jurisprudence controlled mainly by male *Ulamas*. These Ulamas did very little to promote women's Islamic scholarship beyond Qur'anic reading even among families with scholarly tradition (Bakari &Yahya, 1995). As a result, Kenyan Muslim women did not develop sufficient competency to articulate Islamic knowledge through the Arabic language. Kenya Muslim women remained excluded from advanced Islamic literacy practices. It is only recently that we had had women acquiring advanced Islamic education.[1] This also hampered their efforts to know and understand the rights accorded to them in Islam (Faki, 2001). The entrance of Western education was treated with a lot of suspicion and many Muslim women had little or no access to. During the colonial period Muslim women in Kenya were denied access to European education as a result of patriarchal bargaining between Muslim leaders and European colonial authorities. Of course, the denial of European language based education to women throughout the colonial period was not absolute. Some women in Kenya did acquire literacy in the language of their colonizers, but mass education of women in the ex-colonial languages did not take place until the post independence era.

III. Muslim Women in Media and Politics

There is an observation that the political liberalization and the greater freedom of association paved way for the new forms of associational life to flourish in Africa. This is notable for this work as it highlights the formation of new Islamic associations for women, becoming vehicles for expressing religiosity and sociality. Muslim women in Kenya are engaged in a number of associations which are both of religious and secular nature. These associations are characteristic of many similar associations in Africa which tend to fill the vacuum left by public authorities especially in health and education. The engagement of many Muslim women in public sphere is to cater for their social welfare. One informant observed that the local Imams talk about politics in the mosques but rarely give attention to the question of drug addiction among Muslim youth. Some Muslim women have been featured in the local news to highlight and sensitize the public about drug addiction.

Many Muslim youth use hard drugs such as cocaine and brown sugar. There is also the chewing of *khat* among both the youth and adults. Chewing of *khat* is a favourite leisure activity among some Muslim families. Hard drugs are in circulation especially in major Kenya coastal towns, with Mombasa city being Kenya's number one drug center.[2] Even some Muslim women use these drugs.

Muslims women have formed associations to work with the rehabilitation centers to assist in the war against drugs. Examples include Muslim Women Action Group (MWAG) is an example of these groups. It normally provides sensitization seminars and also organize sessions to reach out to the Muslim youth about the dangers of drug and substance abuse. Other alternative leisure activities are provided to the youth, especially the ones that are jobless, such as aiding then to initiate small business ventures. Many Muslim youth are engaged in drugs due to the high rate of unemployment.[3] The seminars are to empower the youth with knowledge and ways of soliciting for funds. The Muslim women who have been successful in initiating viable and lucratuive youth activities, have bought their way into the public offices. These actions of assisting in the welfare of the youth have legitimized their presence and engagement in the public sphere leadership. This shows that with limited resources, Muslim women have to work extra hard to gain public legitimacy.

The question of drug and substance abuse especially in Muslim dominated areas has not received a lot of attention from the government according to some Kenyan Muslims. This is seen as marginalization of the Muslims, a cry popular for antigovernment Muslim groups. It is considered as a cry by some Muslims that them being a minority in a Christian dominated government, their welfare is not catered. The impression of the writer on the issue of marginalization in Kenya as a concept, is that it is tied to the whole question of identity in Kenya. It is all tied up to the sharing of the national leadership and of the resources in the country. Hence, Muslims are not the only group seeking to share in the national resources. Ethnicity is a persistent potent factor in the Kenyan quest for political power. Religion constitutes a platform of political mobilization in a country like Kenya. Muslims are a significant minority who are harnessing religion as a marker of identity. This is backed up by historical and postcolonial policies which have led to disputes over development, national political leadership and access to resources.

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[1] There are three Islamic Girls training Institutes, popularly known as *Mahad* in Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. Student graduating from these schools are able to display knowledge of Qur'anic doctrine and Islamic jurisprudence in the Arabic language as it is the main medium of instruction.

[2] Nation television Station, News, 11am, 25/05/2009
[3] According to DDP, 1989, *District Development Plan,* MOMBASA, the unemployment rate in former Mombasa district was 65%. The figure may be higher in the recent times.

However, the perception of marginalization by Kenyan Muslims should not be concluded as perpetrated by the Christian majority. The Muslims had a privileged position in the colonial Kenya in as far as education was concerned (Mwinyihaji, 2001). The Muslim men had access to secular education with a very limited number of girls in the pre-independence Kenya. However, due to secular education being associated with Christianity, many Muslims never perceived the importance of secular education in the post independence Kenya. Hence, Muslims are partly responsible for their state of being marginalized. This alienation continued in the recent years, the 1990s with a number of Muslims youth seeking reforms within Islam. Some of these groups are advocating for "*Shari'a*". To them, "*Khilafah is the answer*" and hence any form of association with non-Muslims is *kufr* (disbelief). Such attempts put many Kenyan Muslims in a dilemma concerning their identity.

The retort of many Muslim women support the argument that public sphere is a contested space; it is not just available for women to take freely especially the political field. They have to compete with the other contestants, men and non Muslim women. They have to use the same tools to advance their campaigns if they are to succeed in this contestation. The representation of Muslim women in political arena is increasing considerably since the opening up of the democratic space in the early 1990s. This is due to the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya. Many Muslim women have vied although they have not been successful. They are slowly breaking the customary and religious boundaries to fully participate in the public sphere. The recent Kenyan elections of 2007 saw the entry of three Swahili Muslim women in the Mombasa Municipality. They owe their entry to the popularity of the party ticket, namely Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) as well as their earlier involvement in Women's Groups (Maimuna Salim, Shanzu, 20/03/08; Maimuna Omar Waziri, Junda, 19/03/08). They have initially worked with women's groups in various projects such as dealing with HIV/AIDS victims, youth programmes and starting funding initiatives for women.

From the above discussion, we can assert that Muslim women's active engagement with Non-governmental Organization serves as a tool for legitimizing their entrance and active participation in the public sphere. The women's groups deserve a special mention because they are genesis of Muslim women's breakthrough to the public sphere. All the politically active Muslim women were initially involved in women's activities in their localities. The also served as important campaigners with prominent political leaders in their constituencies. They provided potential voters to male politicians. Afye Rama a Parliamentary seat looser in the past 2007 general elections asserted: "If I could be able to mobilize supporters to all these past male politicians,

why can't I become a candidate myself (Afye Rama, Fort Jesus, 17/03/08). These sentiments were also echoed by most Muslim women who contested in the 2007 Kenya's general election. This is to say that Muslim women's groups serve important areas of these women's participation in the public sphere. While women form a majority of the population in Kenya (52%) and play an active role in the development of the society, Kenya remains a very patriarchal society, and the status of women remains relatively low with inequalities and inequities prevailing in many aspects of life. Women continue to be marginalized and discriminated against in almost all aspects of their lives, a situation which is reinforced by the existing laws and policies, as well as the socio-cultural factors. The situation is more grave per se for Muslim women.

The media industry has served a great role in legitimizing Muslim women's engagement in the public sphere. It has given them a voice to be heard by many, especially through radio. The privately owned radio stations such as Pwani FM, Baraka FM, Radio Salam, Radio Rahma and Iqra have provided opportunities to women contestants to air their manifestos. They were given a chance to explicate their action plans incase they won the elections. It is in these circumstances that questions arising on the legitimacy of Muslim women as public leaders were discussed. How are these Muslim women legitimizing their election into public offices? Most of the Muslim women who are already serving in the public offices as councilors alleged that they were elected because of their capability. In their opinion they were better candidates than the other contestants. They were elected on merit. Hence, their successes on the women and youth programmes legitimized their accession to the public offices as noted above.

The question of religion was brought up to the Muslim women contestants. They had a positive stance to religious sentiments. To them Islam as a religion is not a hindrance to Muslim women attaining political leadership. Most of them had not sought the opinion of the Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya regarding the legality of a woman to be a leader. The drive to serve their community was far much greater than a religious ruling. Kenyan Muslim women are seeking and embracing modern ways of becoming Muslims. A Muslim woman can be anything she wants as long as her conscience is clear that she is not committing any sin. They expressed that they have the support of their male members of the family and community at large.

Another ethical issue touching on Muslim women's appearance on media is the notion of nudity, of the body and voice. It is viewed as despicable for a married woman to stand on a public platform and deliver a speech (Amina Zuberi, Fort Jesus, 25/03/2008). The Muslim men with strong religious inclination see it as very provocative for a fully decorated woman to sit on a public podium. Public appearance at

times is associated with making a public display of a woman's beauty. Today's some Muslim women leaders and newscasters appear in public without the traditional black veils. Some of the newscasters wear colorful clothing with matching accessories while some never veil their heads at all. Some Muslim women leaders also have a trend similar to broadcasters. This seems to support the sentiments expressed by religious theologians that appearance by women in public sphere is a source of *fitna* and as such women should only appear when absolutely necessary (Fatma Sufi, Munawarah 26/05/07). Kenyan Sunni Muslims subscribe to the Shafii *Madh-hab*. This is deemed to be very strict especially on the question of women veiling. The Muslim women politicians and news anchors have set the pace for a new kind of Hijab. This is a colorful kind of gown, fashionable and comfortable from the traditional black veil. However, this also shows the individual Muslim women initiatives to practice the kind of Islam that they are comfortable with.

In the past as noted by both older Muslim women and some scholars (Mirza & Strobel,1976), there was seclusion of men and women in public gatherings like weddings and funerals. Especially in weddings, the women's quarters were shielded from the public. Today, in most Muslim weddings men and women tend to mix freely especially if there is a musician at the wedding. Where there are *Taarab* Music performance in town men and women mix and at times dance together. In these gatherings, there is no regard to seclusion or veiling. There seem to be laxity of observation of Islamic rules such as prohibition of music and free mixing of men and women. This trend shows that there are other factors other that Shari'a that legitimatizes women's entrance into the public sphere. Modernity has exposed the Muslim women to new kinds of lifestyles that are castigated by Islam.

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Religious Fundamentalism and Problem of Normlessness: Issues in Value System in Nigeria

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Abstract - Religious fundamentalism, following 9/11 attack in the United States, has assumed a new dimension in Nigeria. The current wave of religious fundamentalism raises the concern whether Nigeria is a normless society or the problem of normlesness has been inherent in cultures and traditions of the Nigeria inhabitants before the arrival of Islam and Christianity. This paper argues that religion in the pre-colonial times was developed with the need to provide a world view for the people to understand themselves, and to direct collective consciousness toward achieving societal goals. The paper contends that the current wave of religious fundamentalism became fossilized through religious manipulation and politicization in the post colonial era. The paper concludes that unless our universal cultural norms and value are resorted to redirect behavioural attitude toward governance in Nigeria, religious fundamentalism would thrive on.

Keywords : *Religious fundamentalism, Problem of normlessness, Issues in value system, Nigeria.*

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 220315, 220405, 220407

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Abstract - Religious fundamentalism, following 9/11 attack in the United States, has assumed a new dimension in Nigeria. The current wave of religious fundamentalism raises the concern whether Nigeria is a normless society or the problem of normlesness has been inherent in cultures and traditions of the Nigeria inhabitants before the arrival of Islam and Christianity. This paper argues that religion in the pre-colonial times was developed with the need to provide a world view for the people to understand themselves, and to direct collective consciousness toward achieving societal goals. The paper contends that the current wave of religious fundamentalism became fossilized through religious manipulation and politicization in the post colonial era. The paper concludes that unless our universal cultural norms and value are resorted to redirect behavioural attitude toward governance in Nigeria, religious fundamentalism would thrive on.

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I. Introduction

The undercurrent of religious fundamentalism around the world has brought many countries on their knees. Nigeria, Africa's most populous, multi-ethnic Black Country around the world is trapped in the explosiveness of this new dynamism of religious fundamentalism. A decade after the United States experience of the 9/11, 2001 has demonstrated increasing transformation of nation-states into clash of civilizations. The crisis has informed widespread religious fundamentalism in post - Bin Laden's era. In Africa, particularly Nigeria, the situation present itself to be exacerbated by defect in or the inability of indigenous cultures, norms and values to guide our world view, most especially now that religious values are crisscrossing ethnic and racial boundaries with catastrophic implications on group relations world-wide.

It is no doubt that religious fundamentalism in Nigeria has assumed a destructive dimension creating problem of normlessness. The consequence of fundamentalist dynamism has created scepticism and insecurity among Nigerians, which does not only occur at the intra-group, but also at the inter-group level in the country. The increasing tide of religious fundamentalism present Nigeria as a country in dilemma of normlessness or in a state of anomie informed by the dominance of foreign cultures and civilizations, such as the Arab/Islamic and Western/Christian norms and traditions. This paper discusses within the context of value system, religious fundamentalism and the problems of normlessness in Nigeria.

II. Definition of Terms

a) What is Religion and Religious fundamentalism?

Conceptualizing religion makes an arduous task. There is no single definition that can adequately buttress the concept – religion. Otite and Ogionwo (2006) cited Emile Durkheim as defining religion as "…a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unites into one single moral community." Wikipedia (2009) presents religion as a system of social coherence based on a common group of beliefs or attitudes concerning an object, person, unseen being, or system of thought considered to be supernatural, sacred, divine or highest truth, and traditions and rituals associated with such belief or system of thought.

Stephen (1999) cited Paul Gifford as pointing out to the role of religion from a more general perspective as thus:

> A religion provides definition, principles of judgment and criteria of perception. It offers reading of the world, of history, of justice and of ultimate truth. Religion limits or increases the conceptual tools available, or channels them, and withdraws certain issues from inquiry. It inculcates a particular way of perceiving, expressing and responding to reality. Religion can legitimize new aspirations, new relations and a new social order. Every religion involves struggles to conquer, monopolize or transform the systematic structures which order reality.

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From the foregoing, given religious dynamics, religious discourse is a very sensitive issue, such that at a slightest provocation, it becomes transformed into violence. The infallibility of religious conviction, Haynes (1999) argues that religion can generate potent danger because:

a) Religion is focused on the absolute and unconditional and as a result can adopt totalitarian characteristics.
b) The monotheistic religions – may have especially difficulty trying to distinguish between, on the one hand, claims of the absolutely divine and, on the other, the traditions and history of human existence.
c) When claiming both absolute and exclusive validity, religious conviction can lead to intolerance, over-zealous proselytisation and religious fragmentation. Religious exclusiveness may also be hostile to both pluralism and liberal democracy.
d) Religion can increase aggressiveness and the willingness to use violence. Added symbolic value can be an aspect of religious conviction, deriving from profane motivation and aims that become holy objectives.
e) Leaders within faith-based organizations may seek to legitimize abuses of power and violation of human rights in the name of religious zeal. Because such leaders are nearly always men, there can also in addition be specific gender issue and women's rights concerns.

Religion can therefore legitimize evil, especially when religious zealots take on the perception that their own religion or a particular religious sect is more spiritually superior to others. They could harp on some particular verses that appeal to them to galvanize support at both domestic and international level in order to assert their aspirations which often become masquerading in the spirit of violence directed at the state. This is central to the evocation of religious fundamentalism and extremism world-wide.

Religious fundamentalism is a reactionary or revolutionary approach to circumstances caused by forces of modernity which is the promoter of religious and cultural liberalism. It is a quest expressed for the return to norm. Central to religious fundamentalism is therefore the expression of resistance against deviation from pre-existing norms that governs a particular community. In modern times, fundamentalist movements have found expression in the use of religion as instrument of socio-political and economic assertion for change. Religious fundamentalism which is an aspect of expressed fundamentalism, Danjibo (n/d) while citing Komonchak, Collins and Lane (1993: 411) argues that fundamentalism from which the concept is associated with religion, is an eclectic word viewed from three perspectives. These perspectives are:

(i) from a cognitive understanding where the word is associated with a closed personality type that expresses exclusivity, particularity, literality and moral rigour; (ii) from a cultural theological framework where the word expresses opposition to religious and cultural liberalism in defence of orthodoxy and religious traditions; (iii) from a social movement perspective, fundamentalism denotes organizational and ideological uniqueness from other types of religious movements.

Fundamentalism which Alao (n/d) referred as 'radicalisation' emerges from a number of issues which he identified thus:

a) Radicalisation is a process, not an event, as it is the dynamics formed by the complex interaction of multiple events, actors, relationship, beliefs and institutions;
b) The "non-conventionality" of the process means the resort to alternative behaviour, attitude, values and moral standards that are diametrically opposed to the status-quo;
c) It is a phenomenon that operates at multiple levels – individual (micro), group (meso) and societal (macro).
d) It is a social reality that transcends different spheres of life, even though in the context of this study, we are limiting it to religion.
e) It is a process that emphasizes change, which means the transformation of socio-economic, cultural and political values, institutional practices and beliefs systems in a given context –individual, group or society; and
f) It is underlined by belief and value systems, which are the prime or active conviction about certain principles, world views and visions about human and societal existence.

Religious fundamentalists beacons their approach on the ultimate "authority of the scripture and the necessity of righteous living" and "on right doctrine and the necessity of organized warfare against the forces of modernism" (See, Danjibo Ibid), perceiving that societal changes caused by modernism is at the core of social disorder and deconstruction of required social solidarity and cooperation that are necessary for generating stability. Suffice to note is that religious fundamentalism as it is seen in Nigeria today, is a product of clash between cultural forces which are inherently antagonizing within an expressed pre-existing cultural space. Beyond its expression which turns out violently, the socio-economic and political realities in Nigeria are also aggravating the expression of religious fundamentalism and are central to the problem of normlessness in the Nigerian society.

b) *What is Normlessness?*

Normlessness is a concept which refers to *anomie* is attributed to Emile Durkheim as the founder of

the sociological concept (Deflem 1989:627). Anomie is a breakdown of social norms and it is a condition where norms no longer control the activities of members in the society. In other words, it is an environmental state where society fails to exercise adequate restrain over the goals and desires of societal membership (see Durkheim 1951: 241-276, Dunman 2003). From an individual standpoint, Balanchandran (2007:158) argues that anomie represents situation where "the individual feels that norms have lost their regulatory power." The individual cannot find clear rules that should regulate and direct his passion and as such cannot find their place in the society.

The changing condition that comes with the absence of norms performing regulatory function results to dissatisfaction, conflict and deviance, which are products of the "social facts" referred by Durkheim as environmental causation of different patterns of suicide rate (Durkheim 1938:110). This could be caused by social inequality, political marginality, the lack of integration among other factors. He contended that it is not the state of individual consciousness that causes anomie but factors that precedes it.

Merton (1957) cued from Durkheim to argue that the individual happiness and well-being depend on the ability of the society to impose external limits on the potentially limitless passion and appetites that characterizes human nature in general. Bernburg et-al (2002:729) posits that people behave based on shared definition and traditions that provides them with sensitive mental values and means of achieving them. The moment these values and sanctions are altered the result becomes anomie. Merton reiterates Durkheim's postulation that anomie is a product of the society even though it is not healthy to its survival. He mentioned that central to the problem of anomie is the poor social structures and organization of society.

Bernburg et-al (2002:733) corroborated that "in pre-modern societies, through the principles of reciprocity or redistribution, the economic system was a function of social organization. 'Custom and law, magic and religion co-operated in inducing the individual to comply with rules of behavior which, eventually, ensured his functioning in the economic system'." In a modern society, the situation is different, the economic system is not embedded or regulated by other social institutions, but centrally by other social institutions such as the market economy system, which society supposed to regulate. This is a major factor causing anomie in modern society with deep-seated religious-sectarian and ethnic diversities like Nigeria.

III.   Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Religious politics and manipulation that has assumed global dimension, resulting to widespread fundamentalism in recent times is consistent with Karl Marx's (1818-1883) theory and philosophy on religion.

One pertinent view of Karl Marx on religion is that "religion is the opium of the masses." According to him, religion is an expression of material realities and economic injustice. Thus, problems associated with religion are ultimately problems in society. Religion is not the disease, but merely a symptom. It is used by oppressors to make people feel better about the distress they experience due to being poor and exploited. He contended that:

> Religious suffering is at one and the same time the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people. (Introduction: Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right).

Central to religious convolution are the elites, whom Karl Marx referred as "oppressors of the oppressed" and seeker of economic control that provides the social means of livelihood. One basic claim of Marxism is that the economy is a major and decisive factor that determines the movement of other factors in social means of productive relations, but again is being redirected by religion to meet new ends. Religion has the will power of rationalizing relationships at individual, group, national and international levels, to the extent that the hegemony of the ruling classes is sustained on the fringe of religious manipulation; a process which enhances social inequality. It is in this context that Jackreece and Nsirim-Worlu (2009:135) stated:

> …religion which is an element of the superstructure is influenced by the substructure. Religion on its own exerts tremendous pressure on the economy and political system as a weapon employed by the ruling class to construct an ideological expression of its outlook on life in order to maintain its hold unto power.

This is a reflex to Marx perception of religion as "a false consciousness; a product of men, the product of those in power, those who control productive process" (see Jeckreece and Nsirim-Worlu 2009). In the modern world, religion is central and in many situations, is the primary force that motivates and moves humans and, it is a characteristic for which many fight and die for.

From the foregoing, Karl Marx understood the efficacy of religion toward pacification and aggravation of one's identity both at individual and group level. Religion, which he considers man to be the creator, is again the victim of his creation. It is in this context that he called for the abolition of religion. The bases of which he identified as the justification of social inequality which places the poor at the gate of the rich while the rich is in his castles.

Although, Samuel Huntington (1993, 1996) cued from Marxism, he considered religion as an inescapable integral part of human cultures and civilizations as such it is a factor difficult to wish away in human society. He accept economic prominence as central in bipolarizing the world, but argue also that since the end of the cold war cultural identity formations would become the central factor – ethnicity and religion, but more to it is religion. This he said:

It is my hypothesis that fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great division among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in the world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (Huntington 1993).

Huntington's assertion resembles the perspective of group theorist, which argues that the results of any form of conflict generates from groups constant search for political space and relevance. At this point, groups could be nation states which he identified as "powerful actors," sharing common civilization and acting against opposing civilization (for example, Arab world Vs the West), or groups with opposing civilizations in conflicting engagement, married together in a state formation. In Africa, Nigeria presents this mosaic experience.

What then informs a civilization? Huntington identified civilization to include common objective elements such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions and self-identification of people. The most central element to his discourse is religion which, he argues that it has the capacity for directing people's "…different views on the relationship between God and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state, parents and children, husband and wife, as well as deferring views of relative importance on rights and responsibilities, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy" (Huntington 1993:25). According to him, "even more than ethnicity, religion discriminates shapely and exclusively among people" by creating a sharp identity of "us" against "them", especially in a multiethnic and religious society.

Historically, the history of human existence has been that of colonization and re-colonization. More than two-third of the countries in Africa which represents Huntington's classification as "African civilization," has suffered colonization of Arab/Islamic and Western/Christian type at different historical epochs. Evidence abound that at different period of attempt to conquer African nation states, were met with stiff resistance marking continues struggle to protect indigenous civilization from adulteration. This can be referred as an act of fundamentalism.

This clash of civilizations now places the continent in a "state of normlessness," for example, the intermixing civilizations in Nigeria informed historically by imperialism, colonization and now globalization, explains the constancy of religious manipulation and fundamentalism. The elites through the use of instruments of globalization, colonizes the mind of religious adherents to aggravate religious driven fundamentalist movements. This is because religion provides the means for justifying elitist struggle for power and primitive accumulation that goes on between the governing and the non governing elites, while the mass population becomes expendables to serve their interests. This informs the rationale for the choice of Marx's and Huntington's theories as framework for engaging religious fundamentalism and problem of normlessness in Nigeria within the context of values system.

IV. Religion: Defining Norms and Value System in Pre-Colonial Nigeria

Nigeria, as it was throughout Africa was not unreligious as it may be presumed, before the continent was brought into permanent intercourse with Arab/Islamic and Western/Christian cultures and civilizations. To buttress this fact, Ekoko and Amadi (1989:110) have argued that:

Long before the coming of Islam and Christianity the people who occupied the area of the present day Nigeria were not unreligious: A typical traditional society in the Nigeria area evolved religious strategies which ensured the survival of the group. Religious observances were the cornerstones of social norms, hopes, expectations and existence.

Africa, because of the manifest religiosity exhibited by Africans, earned for herself the primus classification as "notoriously religious" or "incurably religious" (Quarcoopome, 1957:11). Religion was therefore in its primus a cultural formation developed by the people to understand themselves, interpret their world and to pursue societal collective goals. Religion was indeed a woven cultural fabric of life and a great moving force that guided people's behaviour, interaction and action both horizontally and vertically. Ajayi (1968:386-387) concurred that:

Religion . . . was the cement of goodwill and fear that kept the family as a unit and the village as distinctive community. The welfare of the individual, the family, village or larger community was believed to depend on the members severally and collectively maintaining the right relationship with the ancestors. There were beliefs, of course, about philosophy of the community, the proper relationships between the gods, between them and

man, man and woman, the living and the death, beliefs about the mysteries of life, sickness and death, good and ill fortune, and so on. But there was really no theology in the sense of dogmatic tenets. The traditional religion was an attitude of mind, a way of explaining the world, a way of life. It was expressed in laws and customs hallowed by time and myth as being essential for the well-being not just the individual, but of the whole community.

To demonstrate the validity of the foregoing assertion, Kalu (1989:11) asserts in this context that:

The pre-colonial period from the mythical to historical times, was dominated by a religious world view. Little or no distinction existed between the profane sacred dimensions of life. Thus, all activities and instruments of governance and survival were clothed in religion and ritual, language and symbolism.

This goes to explain that political, economic and social activities in the Nigeria area located their definition in religion (see, Ekoko and Amadi 1989:110). Therefore, social means of production and productive relations were directed by religion to meet the biosocial needs of the society. Nnoli (1978:108) asserts:

…during the pre-colonial times, the extended family system, with its emphasis on welfare and social responsibility rather than individualism, and its ethic of an individual as his brother's keeper, is common to all Nigerian people… production was organized to satisfy definite biosocial needs rather than being dictated by the desire for expanded production of private capital.

Religion was cardinal to the formation of norms and value system in Nigeria; norms and values in Nigeria were founded on honesty, hard work, trust, good name, selfless services, and integrity among others. These value systems in pre-colonial Nigeria informed the social order, social solidarity and social control and cooperation enjoyed by the community. In fact, they were forces that brought the entire society into a state of equilibrium. Human social security was guaranteed and provided for, and the concept of 'do unto others what you would have them do to you' was highly observable. These illustrious virtues in the pre-colonial Nigeria were enhanced on the conceptual construct of the "supernatural being," therefore the concept of "God" in African traditional societies is not recent as other may claim. According to Fatokun (2005:132) the concept of "God" was understood and appreciated similar to those of Christianity and Islam before they arrived Nigeria. In the Nigeria area "God" was variously admonished as *Alusi*, the invisible creation of the *Chukwu* and deities such as the *Mmuo*, *Uwa* and *Ike-*

Mmadu (Onwueyogwu, 1989) among the Igbo people. The Bini call him *Osanubua* (Creator of the world, sky and earth, and of life and death); The Yoruba call him *Odumare* (Almighty, Supreme), *Olurun* (Owner or Lord of Heaven) *Eleda* (the Creator) (see Fatokun 2005:132). The Hausa call him *Ubangiji* (the Supreme, Alpha and Omega); the Kuteb call him *Rimam* (God, the Supreme) and Kaka called him *Nwi* (Almighty God) (Lenshie, 2010). These given names were later adopted for the God(s) of newly found religions. Despite the differential identity given to God by these ethnic nationalities, the theological understanding of "God" was largely the same. There was the central belief that He is the most powerful in heaven and on earth and is capable of doing everything that men could require (see Idowu 1962:40-42). This informed why the worship of "God" in pre-colonial society was highly emotional unlike the stereotyped European form of worship (Fatokun, 2005).

Nzemwi (1985:72) systematically demonstrated that the traditional worship was accompanied by a psycho-cosmic drama, dance and ritual making carried out collectively to expunge evil and misfortune of each passing year, and to also call for good tidings to rain down blessing on the society. Some of the psycho-cosmic display was evident in northern and southern Nigeria, now dominated by Islam and Christianity. These spates of cultural tradition are still prevalent in some ethnic communities, though no longer in their strict form. The *Igber* festival among the Tiv; *Nkatso* festival among the Kaka; *Suwah* festival among the Mambilla; *Mihu* festival among the Jenjo and the *Kuchichep* festival among the Kuteb (see Lenshie 2010:32); the *Obatala* festival and *Agemo* cult in Ijebu, *Amunna* possession phenomenon in Ngwa, Igbo and *Bori* festival among the Hausa and the widely reported *Mbari* festival of southern Nigeria (Nzemwi 1985:72-74) were efficacious for ceremonious worship of "God" for the manifold blessings and fortune received and those yet to come.

As a central factor in African culture and tradition, religion was the bases for instructions and sanctions. Tradition provided the bases for developing categorical norms (norms that performed the function of command laws or guiding rules which must not be offended) and conditional norms (norms that provided sanctions that came to be enforced against violation of categorical norms). It suffices to note that violation was instantly punished using evocative tenuous process, and since "men felt over powered by a force greater than them" (Giddens 1971:110), they were consciously and unconsciously guided to keep to societal norms and values that govern them.

Some people may claim that this was an expression of religious fundamentalism, of course it was to some extent, but it was not confused by forces that were external from the society. The definition of behaviour, action and inaction and the solution to

society problems were expressed in laws and customs hallowed by time and myth that ensured the well-being of the entire community (Ajayi 1968:387). Therefore, the expression of religious fundamentalism and problem of normlessness as it is experienced in Nigeria today was to an extent absent in the traditional past. The function of culture and civilization contacts and clash rooted in colonial domination of hitherto pre-colonial societies and their pre-existing religion at different historical epochs provided the bases for the explosiveness of current fundamentalism.

V. Colonialism, Religious Fundamentalism and Problem of Normlessness in Nigeria

In most social science literature, colonialism has been associated with Western domination in Africa, but before Western colonialists arrive the continent there have existed a form of imperial or worst still, a form of colonialism led by Arabs and their accolades. Central to their quest was the need to expand territorial boundaries for Islamic religious dominance. Colonialism in Africa is not recent; most conquests that were aimed at territorial expansion, empire building or exploitation of human and material capital, whether directly or indirectly constituted colonial domination in any epoch (see Lenshie 2010a). One major attribute of colonialism in any society is the fostering of significant change in the cultural system of the society and their transformation to meet new aspirations. Colonialism changed significantly the way the people in the Nigeria area think and react to issues that affect them. This was achieved through a gradual piecemeal process to a masquerading-violent process.

The Arab/Islamic Fulani led form of colonial domination conquered most of northern parts of Nigeria. Before these areas were brought under domination there have existed various state formations. Barkindo et al (1989:1) noted that they were so numerous that it was impossible to enumerate all of them. The people of these communities had cultural norms and value that adequately guided their behaviour and actions. Their domination was not without intrigues. They adopted a gradual-piecemeal process; exerting influence on the ruling classes and later, adopted a masquerading-violent strategy to assert dominance over the pre-existing state formations in Nigeria.

The colonization was disguised in religious revolution. Ubah (1985:227) and Al-Masih (1991:36-40) posits that the Arabs and Barbers were said to be instrumental to the expansion of the religion. In Nigeria, the Fulani were the precursors of the crusade. Ubah (1985:228) citing example with the Hausa stated that:

…Hausa knew no Mulism until the second half of the fourteenth century when Islam was introduced by refugees from Mali. It has reached Kenem early because Chad region had commercial links with

North Africa; it came to Hausaland late because until the fifteenth century this people did not participate in the trans-Saharan commerce, and it would appear that communication network between Kenem and Hausaland were late developing. From Kano and Katsina the new religion spread to other Hausa states, and it was further extended during the early nineteenth century revolution inspired largely by Fulani clerics and led by Uthman Danfodio.

Historians have offered different reasons for the Islamic domination, ranging from religious point of view to economic and political point of views. One basic fact about the revolution is that it expanded the frontiers of Islamic land and many states were brought into the community of believers through wars and exertion of influence by traders and missionaries (Ubah 1985:228, Barkindo et al 1989, Awu 2008:72-73). Other people who embraced Islam exploited social, political and economic grievances in their communities to wage war against their people, resulting not only to the purification of the faith, but also extended Islamic borders (see Ubah 1985:228, Burkhsh n/d).

Okafor (1986:69) argue in this context that "Islam started as a religion of the ruling classes with the kings as first converts. The chiefs and the civil administrators followed the kings in accepting Islam probably for the ease of wining his confidence and favour, and subsequently the religion was implemented as a state religion in the kingdom." Concurring to this assertion, Mohammed (1989:73) cited A.S. Balogun that "Islam began as a religion of aliens then became the religion of influential or ruling elites before it finally got accepted by the masses and become popular and later a militant religion."

According to Okwori (2003) the process saw development through which "people were raided and compelled to become Moslems apart from being decimated by the Jihadist for slave." For example, in the Hausaland the conquest marked the end of Hausa dynasties and brought about the emergence of the Sokoto Caliphate with the Fulani overlords taking the centre stage of the state administration. It suffices to note that the state formation was modelled after the early caliphate system of the Arabian Peninsula with Islam as the state religion (see Buah 1974, Lapidus 1990). International Crisis Group (2010) stressing the implication of the Fulani colonial domination, argues thus:

The Fulani rulers entrenched Islamic values and practices in most of the region. Although this was sometimes met with passive resistance from sections of the population, it was crucial to fostering a common culture that transcended ethnicity and held the caliphate together. Sharia was applied "more widely, and in some respects more rigidly … than anywhere else outside Saudi Arabia", and

indigenous religious practices, such as traditional Hausa ceremonies (Bori), were suppressed, or at least became less visible.

In the southern Nigeria, Western/Christian colonial dominance came with grave impact disarticulating people cultures and civilizations. The dominance was extended to the Middle Belt areas were Islam had no stronghold. Adebisi (1989:12-13) argued that Western colonialism denied the people cultural equality. They rejected and destroyed the socio-cultural fabric that cemented relationships in their respective society. In fact, their value system and traditional institutions were victims of colonial profligacy. This was ensured through the use of religious arm of colonialism, the Christian missionaries. Chinua Achebe's "Things Fall Apart" demonstrates profoundly the beginning of the problem of normlessness among the Igbo, following the arrival of the white man's religion, in essence, Christianity (see Achebe 1996).

Kalu (1985:129) further buttressed that British colonial domination prompted the spread of Christianity in the southern parts of the country and the pagan areas of the Middle Belt. They perpetuated cultural violence and attacked their religious shrines and glorified the legitimacy of the secular colonial frontiers as higher authorities manned by them and required that they should be respected as ordained by God. In this wise, indigenous political and economic systems of the society were practically changed, for example, the introduction of the courts, the warrant chiefs, the court messengers, force labour, attacks on shrines, secrete societies and other clubs, taxations and numerous interference with norms and customs of the people among others, attested to the Western colonial impunity on the social, economic and political systems of the pre-colonial societies in Nigeria.

As the virulent Christianization of these areas was going on, the colonialist on political and economic grounds in the context of divide and rule gimmicks, denied Christian missionaries the penetration into most parts of the north, where Islam had strong footing or where they were considered exclusive for Islamic frontier (Adebisi 1989:12-13, Okwori 2003). Despite granting the Emirs political voracious power to exercise hegemony over the ethnic natives in the north, the colonialists tactically altered profoundly that power and re-directed their focus of governance to meet the authority of Her Majesty, the Queen, vested on the Governor and the Resident Officers in Nigeria (see Sa'ad 1980). Okwori (2003) cited Afikpo to indicate the treachery of Western colonialism. He stated thus: "colonialism reinforced division between the north and the south by ensuring that two major competing religions become dominant".

Olukoshi and Agbu (1996:4) affirmed that this was partly a result of the colonial policy "…as it was important for the sustenance and prolongation of direct British rule as to the creation and maintenance of British neo-colonial influence" *(modification ours)*. Toward the end of colonial rule, Britain established Islam and Christianity in Nigeria as two dominant religions, with the Middle Belt as a battle ground for converts. Before their final departure they also ensured that several competing centres emerge along ethnic and religious lines, which became supervening in the post-colonial era among political elites struggling for state power in the primitive accumulation process.

VI. POST-COLONIAL POLITICS, RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM AND PROBLEM OF NORMLESSNESS IN NIGERIA

Nigeria emerged from the fetters of colonial rule in 1960 with influential competing centres. It is interesting to note that the Christianity and Islamic presence in Nigeria is more domineering than in any parts of the world (Alao n/d), courtesy of Arab/Islamic and Western/Christian Colonialism. The creation of Nigeria statehood saw the emergence of political elites, who emerged with abused perception about one another and national matters coloured by ethnic, regional and religious considerations, in the struggle for power and access to and control of resources (Olukoshi and Agbu 1996:77). The North-South divides further became reinforced through the use of ethno-religious identity politics (Ayam 2003). The implication was the corrosive relationship and animosity that did not only manifested among elites, but also involving innocent citizens who fail victims of their deceitful pursuits.

Politics at regional level which enjoyed considerable dominance of ethno-religious identity were major centres for aggravating divisive tendencies that was to be manifested in the 1980s. For example, the Eastern Nigeria which was Igbo-Christian dominated had bilateral relationship with the State of Israel, while the Northern Nigeria dominated by the Islamic Hausa-Fulani people, had bilateral relationship with countries in the Arab world, specifically the Saudi Arabia. In each of these regions, no single ethnic or religious minority group was allowed opportunity to emerge to any political relevance. As this was the major political character in the North and South-East regions, the South-West region have put the difference to cultural identity (Kukah 1999).

To foster the completion of *Islamization* in the Northern Nigeria, Kukah (1993) stated that the northern oligarchy established an Islamic organization - the Jamaatul Nasul Islam (JNI). Countervailing decision was taken by the Christians; they established the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) to contend the Islamic forces masquerading itself in the north and to ensure that the secular status of Nigeria was maintained. Okwori (2003) stated that Muslim elites developed new Islamic strategies which he referred to as "economic

jihad" to complete the *Islamization* mission. Religion became a boiling pot or a hot coal burning the lips of Nigerians. Ethno-religious and political mistrust became ensued, and partly explain most reasons for military intervention the country has suffered (see Ademoyega 1981, Kurfi 1983).

The problem became compounded in the 1980s, when there was the growing feelings among Christians that the Muslims in the north enjoyed disproportionate possession of political power and economic resources (Haynes 2009:65). The problem of normlessness became heightened in 1986, in the heart of structural adjustment crisis, when the country was dragged to join the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) (Olukoshi and Agbu 1996:83, Haynes 2009:65). Elaigwu (2005:18) have chronicled that the religious crisis of 1980s and those that subsequently followed were fostered by the militarization of Nigerians psyche; the result of which was wanton destruction of lives and property. Amidst the crises, the military became concentrated on the wanton pillage of state resources for personal gain. Okpeh (2008:108) noted that there were 27 major eruption of religious violence between 1980 and 2005 alone among Christians and Muslims and between sects within these major religions.

After military exit and the return to democratic rule, religion became the most single significant political issue in Nigeria (Korieh 2005). This was because for many people, the military had tinkered with the political landscape and have translated ethno-religious identity into forces for mobilizing sentiments (Lenshie 2010b:1). More than any period in Nigeria history; between 1999 and 2011 the country have experienced dozens of ethno-religious violent conflicts that have further eroded norms and values upon which Nigeria was founded. Haynes (2009:67) considering the explosiveness of religious tendencies, cited Ashafa and Wuye (199:1) as asserting that:

Religion today, instead of serving as a source of healing sickness, hunger, and poverty, and stimulating tranquillity and peaceful co-existence among human beings, it is used to cause sadness. It is bringing pain instead of relief, hatred instead of love, division instead of unity, sadness instead of joy, discrimination and destruction instead of accommodation and development. This is especially true between some adherents of Islam and Christianity. Nigeria has its own share of this negative phenomenon. The ethno-religious conflict has become a matter so serious and devastating that it can now be seen as a harbinger of the danger of a crisis such as those that have engulfed the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Liberia.

The virulent nature of religion became more directed to the erosion of norms and values following the September 11, 2001 attack in the United States. In the north, the introduction of the shariah legal system in 2001 by the Zamfara state government saw the radical mobilization of radical Muslim sects to contest against the secular nature of Nigeria State (Mustapha 2004:270-271). Mamdani (2004) argued that this development emerged on the fringe of political Christianity; political Hinduism and political Judaism.

Halliday (1994:92-93) reiterated Mamdani's postulation that "the recent rise of Islamic politics in the states and popular movements of the Muslims world … is primarily a response to the perceived weakness and subjugation of the Islamic world, and is conceived with an internal regeneration". This explains the formation of radical Islamist such as the *Boko Haram, Kalare* and so on. Their objective for the struggle is the need to establish a Nigerian state base on Islamic theocracy where Shariah is held to be supreme (see Adesoji 2010:95-108, Danjibo n/d 1-21). More often, Nigeria has also witnessed within this period inter-sectarian clashes, for example, between Sunni and Shiite in Sokoto and Kano as inter religious crises also dominate in Jos-Plateau, Kaduna, Bauchi and Kano between Christian and Islamic zealots (Elavgwu 2005:18-29).

Obasi (2008:313) in his study "the role of religion on issues of conflict and peace" argued in this connection that: "religious killings and destruction of properties is not inherent in the nature of true religions. It is the aberration in the way religious practices are carried out. It is on the aberrations in religious practices that Karl Marx sees religion as the "opium of the people." One basic fact remains that despite religious explosiveness, it has continued to be supported by the elites. It is in this context that Karl Marx developed a hostile posture against religion, when he argued that religion is "directly supported by the ruling classes to further their interests and to justify social inequality" (Lenshie 2010a:20).

Elites in Nigeria sponsor Muslims for Hajj in Saudi Arabia and Christians to Jerusalem for pilgrimage in Israel. They go as tourists to see historical relics and come back unrefined. Most of them instead of becoming agents of positive change for promoting peace and unity, they become tools for tearing the country apart. This reflects the internal division the country has been going through since 1980. The enormous resources wasted in this venture would have impacted on the living condition of many Nigerians if they were properly channelled. The elites would not stop supporting religion, because the guise provides the means for exerting dominance over the poor and gullible population who benefits from the so-call gestures.

Electoral politics as from 1999 became religiously motivated and divided. It is on the fringe of religious division that the ascendancy of most unqualified politicians to different political positions at both local and national level was made possible. This process has continued to define the character of inter-

group relationship in the country. Tertiary institutions and in fact, our elementary and secondary schools have become major centres of religious recruitment and convolutions between Christian and Muslim radicals, which often engulf the communities outside the institutional environment.

The intent for religious manipulation in Nigeria is informed by inability on the part of the elites to keep to the social contract with their people, to provide them with the basic human security, but have rather moved into the terrain of tyranny and became buried deeply in brutal drunkenness with power. Alawusa (2011:13) succinctly argue thus:

…the present crops of politicians have failed to make the desired and necessary impact on the lives of the citizenry; they have failed to discharge their constitutional obligations in the sense that they have proved incapable of mitigating the long sufferings of the ordinary people. More annoying is the fact that in spite of the huge amount of money that accrued from the sale of crude oil, especially in the past decade, the people are left to fend for themselves without basic social needs. No water, no electricity, no quality education for our children, no good motorable roads and no standard health care services as our hospitals are nothing more than glorified mortuaries.

These problems are at the core of normlessness in the country, as the culture of "what is mine belongs to the community" has been replaced by brazened individuality and corruption which has become a norm in Nigeria. It is the major reason for outright religious fundamentalism as many people experienced in most countries across the world.

VII. Conclusion

In this paper, we try to demonstrate that religion in the traditional society played the regulatory role, because it was the moral power superior to individual and it alone was necessary to stipulate laws and to set the point beyond which man's passion must not go (see Deflem 1989:628). The arrival of Islam and Christianity akin by colonial domination, through abrupt transitions, the society power was disrupted to the extent that it became incapable of regulating man's passion. The result of this is anomie that has dominated Nigeria society today. We also pointed out that the process is further enhanced by elite's manipulation of religious identity. This is because they have failed to respond adequately to the needs of their respective constituencies on which they emerged. The thrush pushed forward by the paper is a call for return to indigenous value system which emphasizes good morals such as honesty, hard work, trust, good name, selfless services, integrity, transparency and probity among others. The bases of it all are that governance

and inter-relationship should be guided and directed by the demands of the society which ascribed to the identified principles of good morals. The way the people behaved, dressed and comport themselves in the society should be evident by the role of indigenous value system in the society (see, Fatokun 2005:142). Parrinder (1949:178) citied in Fatokun (2005:142) stated that our moral command was more like the Ten Commandments, with exception of the first and second, such that murder, adultery, theft, covetousness among others was contended. African social and moral ethics which are integral of our value system must be taken serious and taught in our homes and expressed in the society. This is the only way the palpable nature of religion to fundamentalism and problem of normlessness in Nigeria can be reduced.

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Internal Organisation of Political Parties in Botswana

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Abstract - Unlike in some other African countries, Botswana's political opposition was never out-lawed after independence in 1966. However, the opposition has suffered internal instability that we argue prevented it from dislodging the incumbent Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) from power. This article argues that internal instability within the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) was primarily tied to the absence of clear party rules, to incumbent leaders who personalised party power and sought to choose their own successors and refused to compromise with internal rivals. The article also argues that internal stability in the ruling Botswana Democratic Party was tied to a culture of adhering to party rules, enabling smooth change of leaders, mutuality between rival factions and mutual compromises between internal rivals.

INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN BOTSWANA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Zibani Maundeni [α] & Kebapetse Lotshwao [σ]

Abstract - Unlike in some other African countries, Botswana's political opposition was never out-lawed after independence in 1966. However, the opposition has suffered internal instability that we argue prevented it from dislodging the incumbent Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) from power. This article argues that internal instability within the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) was primarily tied to the absence of clear party rules, to incumbent leaders who personalised party power and sought to choose their own successors and refused to compromise with internal rivals. The article also argues that internal stability in the ruling Botswana Democratic Party was tied to a culture of adhering to party rules, enabling smooth change of leaders, mutuality between rival factions and mutual compromises between internal rivals.

Keywords : Botswana, political parties, democracy, factionalism, accountability.

I. Introduction

This article focuses on the internal organisation of both the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) and the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). It seeks to demonstrate that internal instability is not inevitable, but contingent upon certain conditions, primarily the absence of party rules and a culture of following them, or what is here referred to as party constitutionalism. Party constitutionalism is also defined as codifying and legitimising political processes and actors through constitutional arrangements, rules and prior agreements, that are approved by legitimate structures, and their observance by the party structures, leaders and activists.

The first section is a literature review that provides methodological direction. The second section cuses on the BNF showing how that party failed to develop clear party rules and how its leaders have personalised power, failed to promote a culture of following party rules, sought to choose their own successors by supplanting party structures, and failed to compromise with internal rivals. The third section looks at internal organisation of the BDP, particularly the promotion of a culture of following party rules, smooth leadership succession and mutual accommodation between internal rivals. The fourth section focuses on the new BDP (1998 to the present) and the rise of personalised rule, the disregard for party rules and the worsening internal rivalry. The final section is the conclu--sion, whose primary finding is that the promotion of a political culture of adhering to party rules and to smooth succession processes, minimise internal instability in a party, and that faulure to follow rules, leads to the personalisation of power, to factional rivalry and to political supression of internal opponents.

II. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The internal organisation of political parties is an issue that has long attracted the attention of researchers[1]. Michels and Duverger have made enlightening observations that are still valid today. In his criticism of socialist parties, Michels claimed the impossibility of direct democracy and observed the iron law of oligarchy by which every party has an inner circle of administrators who constitute the executive committee of the party and who come to dominate it[2]. More important for our purpose is the observation that internal instability and repression are common within political parties. Internal instability of parties occurs in 'the struggle which arises between the leaders, and their mutual jealousies'[3], threatening to tear the party apart. Michels enumerate instances under which such struggles occur:

The inevitable antagonism between the "great men" who have acquired a reputation in other fields, and who now make adhesion to the party, offering it their services as generals, and the old established leaders, who have been socialists from the first; often conflict arises simply between age and youth; sometimes the struggle depends upon diversity of social origin, as when there is contest between proletarian leaders and those of bourgeois birth; sometimes the difference arises from the objective needs of the various branches of activity into which a single movement is subdivided, as when there is a struggle between the political socialist party and the trade-union element, or within the political party between the parliamentary group and the executive; and so on.

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[1]. Michels, Political Parties; Duverger, Political Parties; Sartori, Parties and party systems; Caramani, Nationalisation of Politics; Deschouwer, 'Political parties'.
[2]. Michels., 7.
[3]. Michels., 166.

This suggests that internal conflict and the suppression of opponents occur if the leadership is allowed to age, if the party has no clear succession rules, if new entrants ignite competition with the old guard, if the recruitment drive attracts a large youthful following that then starts to assert itself but is given little room to do so, and if the party recruited members of other social groupings that challenge the existing ones in the party. According to Michels, all parties characterised by the above, must experience internal instability and internal suppression due to the fact that those who already occupy party offices (the aged, the old guard, and ideologues, members of the dominant class) 'are great zealots for discipline and subordination, declaring that these are qualities indispensable to the very existence of the party.[4] Yet in Botswana, we have observed historical internal conflict and internal suppression in the BNF and recent internal conflict and suppression in the ruling BDP that has historically been stable. We hold the view that internal instability is a strong characteristic of those parties in Botswana that failed to develop clear party rules, allowed their leaders to age in office, to personalise power, to either violate party rules or enforce them blindly, and failed to accommodate members of rival factions within the party.

In contrast, Duverger while seeing parties as tied to their origins sees them as consisting of leaders (the inner circle), militants, members, supporters and electors with different levels of participation in party activities[5]. He sees a natural rivalry between parliamentary representatives and militants (who see to the party's organisation and operations, directs its propaganda and general activities) who often side with the leader in internal struggles. This article observes no such competition within the ruling BDP until recently, but acknowledges its historical existence within the BNF where there has been consistent struggles between the leader and party activists on the one hand, and parliamentary deputies on the other hand. In addition, Duverger sees leaders as constituting the executive of the party or the inner circle or the oligarchy that directs things. In this regard, political instability is linked to issues of renewing this inner circle. '…All oligarchy tends to age. The problem of the renewal of the leading strata in parties, of the rejuvenation of the inner circle, consists in the struggle against this natural tendency'.[6] He adds that the history of political parties that allows their leadership to age in office and fail to rejuvinate the inner circle, shows two tendencies: the increase in the authority of the leaders and the tendency towards personal forms of authority.[7] While succession struggles

have been intense in the opposition BNF that allowed its leadership to age in office, they have been muted in the ruling BDP that has a system of systematic succession. In addition, while an increase in the authority of the leader has been observable in the BNF whose leaders historically failed to develop and follow party rules, it was absent in the BDP until recently (2008) when Ian Khama took over the presidency of that party and violated its rules of appointment and succession.

Duverger notes that this increase in personal authority is linked to the increase in obedience of party members, their psychological docility, the discipline imposed on them and expulsions, and ideological decline.[8] However, evidence in Botswana points to the contrary, with resignations and revolts more pronounced. Duverger further notes that the increase in personal authority of the party leader is contradicted by the presence of parliamentary deputies who naturally favour decentralisation which allows them to dominate the party. There is evidence in Botswana that supports his observation. In this regard, Duverger predicts conflict between the personalised authority of the leader on the one hand, and parliamentary deputies on the other hand. We will show that this observation is correct about the opposition BNF which experienced serious conflicts between its long standing President Kenneth Koma and parliamentary deputies who broke off in 1998 to form the Botswana Congress Party (BCP). However, Duverger's observation is wrong about the BDP where the first three presidents and parliamentary deputes enjoyed cordial relationships.

There is an emerging literature on political parties in Botswana and in the Southern Africa region. This literature has focused on parties and democratisation[9], one party dominance[10] and elite conflict[11]. The Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) organised a series of workshops from 2004, on 'dialogue on political parties and governance in Southern Africa', producing two publications. EISA treated countries as the unit of analysis, focusing on bringing dialogue between opposition and ruling parties to address electoral violence. Another initiative was undertaken by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Mozambique Office) that sought to study the phenomenon of dominant parties in Southern Africa. This initiative treated parties as the unit of analysis, looking at their support base, funding and electioneering. Both these initiatives avoided looking closely at the internal organisation of political parties. John Makgala's research on *elite competition* in Botswana came close to discussing the internal

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[5.] Ibid., 170.
[6.] Ibid.
[7.] Ibid., 160.
[8.] Ibid., 168.

[9.] Durverger.
[10.] EISA, Dialogu on political parties and governance in the SADC region.
[11.] Maundeni et al. dominant political parties: the case of Botswana.
[12.] Makgala, elite conflict in Botswana.

organisation of parties. We are seeking to add to this continuing debate.

III. Internal Instability and Repression in the BNF

Our observation is that internal conflict and internal repression have defined the history of the opposition BNF. This view is shared by Otsweletse Moupo (former president of the BNF) and Akanyang Magama[12] (former secretary general of the BNF). It is also shared by other researchers such as John Makgala[13]. The BNF has been torn apart by factionalism and the struggle for the control of the party between the parliamentary deputies on the one hand, and the leaders and activists on the other hand. As one of the authors observes elsewhere, 'factionalism is two pronged as it can enhance internal party democracy by encouraging self criticism, self renewal, reform and constant debate but can also destroy political parties if it combines with intolerance, factional fighting and factional suppression'.[14] Why has the BNF suffered so much instability and repression from within the party?

To begin with, political power in the BNF was personalised. Otswletse Moupo is quoted arguing that 'the BNF's failure to develop a solid organisational and administrative structure and sustain a programme of political education which would have enabled it to train a politically sophisticated cadre facilitated the development of KK's (Koma) cultism'[15]. Akanyang Magama adds that 'Koma from time to time revised Pamphlet No. 1 without consulting other members of the BNF[16]. In these instances, the party rules were sufficiently vague, allowing Koma to entrench his cult and to alter party documents without input from the party structures.

Second, the veterans (that is those who rose through the ranks) in the BNF have been hostile towards newcomers, whom they saw as threats to their positions, in the process labelling the newcomers as 'opportunists'.[17] The veterans have tried to use ideology to legitimise their clinging to party positions, claiming that new men are not adequately initiated into the traditions of the party. The struggles for entry into the inner circle of BNF executives, for the authority to appoint leaders, and for fair internal party elections, have paralysed the party in the sense that party rules

were not sufficiently developed, and expulsions and resignations became the order of the day.

The BNF leadership (including Otsweletse Moupo) has also explained the party's internal instability in terms of ideological conflict emanating from the party's mass character. Its former president, Otsweletse Moupo argues that 'the incoherent multi-class character of the BNF endows it with an organizational complexity which imparts some level of instability'.[18] What he means is that the BNF is characterised by associational membership such as trade unions, student associations and others who do not necessarily share the same social origin and conflicted for the dominance of the party. Our observation is that the entry of new men in a party that failed to develop party rules was most likely to trigger competition and rivalry.

Whether BNF internal instability is a product of personalised rule, competition between new men and the old guard, class conflict and multi-class, the issue is that party executives have simply failed to design clear rules that they could adhere to. The absence of clear party rules allowed party activists to unleash violence on their internal opponents. Rather than resolve the factional disputes in a constitutional manner by clarifying party rules and adhering to them, the BNF executives exacerbated internal instability by taking sides in party primary elections, in regional party elections and in making some unapologetic if not irresponsible utterances, in the process rendering factional compromises and reconciliation impossible. This factional mismanagement continues with a devastating weakening of the BNF.

A few examples will suffice to demonstrate that failure to develop and to clarify party rules enabled the personalisation of power that has a long history in the BNF. In 1969, a traditional chief, the elderly Bathoen II of Bangwaketse ethnic group, quit chieftainship and joined the BNF, immediately becoming its aging leader in 1970. Bathoen's election was supported by the party founder - Kenneth Koma and activists who supported him. The entry of a new man straight into the BNF presidency without the requirement to fulfil minimal conditions, clearly shows the absence of a strong culture of adhering to rules. But as Houten[19] points out, leaders can threaten the political career of regional leaders and of those in the other camp. Bathoen II's authoritarian style worked against the adherence to rules, and fuelled factionalism within the BNF.[20] Among others, Bathoen II suppressed and marginalised most of the leftists within the party and prevented them from joining its inner circle.[21] With Kenneth Koma's approval,

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[13.] Moupo and Magama organised a faction that took over power in the BNF after Koma had retired.

[14.] Makgala, J. 'Dr Kenneth Koma and the Botswana Democratic party'.

[15.] Maundeni, 'Majority rule, life presidency and factional politics', 379.

[16.] Makgala, 'The Relationship between Keenth Koma and the Botswana Democratic Party', 310.

[17.] Ibid.

[18.] Maundeni, 'Majority rule, life presidency and factional politics', 381-382.

[19.] Sunday Standard.

[20.] Houten, 'Multi-Level Relations in Political Parties'.

[21.] Makgala, 'So Far So Good'; *Elite Conflict*.

[22.] Maundeni, 'Majority rule, life presidency and factional politics', 381-382.

Bathoen II allegedly altered the party manifesto and changed the scheduled venue of the congress to his traditional capital, Kanye.[22] Rather than resolve these issues by referring to rules, the BNF executives and activists tolerated and encouraged Bathoen's style of leadership. For instance, party founder Kenneth Koma dismissed the complaints against Bathoen II's leadership style and argued that 'a few more chaps would have to go for the BNF to advance.[23] Thus, chances were missed, and party rules were never developed, clarified and adhered to.

In protest against Bathoen's leadership style and his marginalisation of internal rivals, many veterans quit the BNF[24] while the urban constituencies refused to campaign for the party so long as he led it. [25] As more and more people quit the BNF, among them its interim President Ray Molomo and its interim Deputy Daniel Kwele, both of whom joined the ruling BDP in 1976 citing BNF's loss of direction, the then party Secretary General Mareledi Giddie stated that 'every serious political party strengthened itself by occasional purge, expulsion and resignations of misplaced individuals, a process he referred to as 'purification by elimination'.[26] Thus, the BNF was expected to grow, not by improving its adherence to party rules and retaining members and leaders, but by purification by elimination. Unfortunately, Secretary General Giddie who popularised this misguided philosophy later became its victim when he was ignored after alleging the rigging of primary elections. He too quit the BNF.

A more recent example of failure to develop and adhere to party rules was the election of attorney Duma Boko in 2010. He allegedly belonged to the faction that formed the New Democratic Front (NDF) a splinter group from the BNF. This allegation was made by Olibele Gaborone, Moupo's deputy who wanted to contest for the BNF presidency. It was also made by the BNF's youth wing that actually took the matter to court as shall be shown later.

The absence of a political culture of developing party rules and promoting the adherence to those rules, promoted the politics of rivalry, intolerance, and internal instability. BNF's internal instability led to the formation of several splinter parties such as the Botswana Freedom Party (1989), Botswana Workers Front (1993), United Socialist Party and Secretary General Giddie's Social Democratic Party (both in 1994). However, the most devastating split spearheaded by parliamentary deputies came in 1998. Parliamentary deputies sought to reform the party in order to assert their control over it and clashed with their aging president and party

activists who sought to block the reforms. In the build up to this split, the BNF was polarised into rival executives, one group of executives comprised of those opposed to reforms (the party president and veteran activists) while the other comprised of reformers (most parliamentary deputies and their activists).[27] The party's old guards who resisted reforms were labelled as conservatives, while the Parliamentary deputies who spearheaded the reforms, were labelled as progressives.[28] While the reformers had emerged victorious over the conservatives in the party's 1997 leadership elections, the aging party leader Kenneth Koma, who openly supported the non-reformers, told the former to leave and form their own party if they did not want him as the BNF leader.[29] Out of frustration, and after a violent power struggle that saw windows and buildings being destroyed in the Palapye Township, the reformers quit the BNF and formed the Botswana Congress Party (BCP). While the BNF had performed exceptionally well by Botswana standards in the 1994 elections, winning 13 or 37 % of the 40 contested parliamentary seats, the 1998 split severely weakened it as it won just 6 or 15 % of parliamentary seats in the 1999 general election.[30] It was only able to send 6 deputies to parliament after the 2009 elections. The party has never recovered and ceased to be a viable project in electoral terms.

The aging Kenneth Koma (he had even become physically blind by this time) finally stood down as BNF leader in 2001 but tried to control his succession, another clear sign of the absence of party rules or poor adherence to them. Rather than let the delegates decide his successor in accordance with the party rules, Koma backed and publicly campaigned (the party rules were silent on this) for a candidate (Peter Woto) who lost the leadership contest to Otsweletse Moupo. The losing group, without citing the violation of any rules, refused to accept the results and started distabilising the party. After destabilising the party for two years, in 2003, Koma, Woto, and allegedly Duma Boko and their militants quit the BNF and formed the New Democratic Front (NDF). This later became the contention of the BNF youth wing that claimed that Boko never rejoined the BNF and wanted him disqualified from standing for its presidency in 2010.

While the subsequent BNF leader (2001-2010), Otsweletse Moupo (a lawyer by training), had campaigned on a platform of reforming the party and its constitution, he equally proved unable to develop and follow party rules in an environment characterised by deep party divisions. Moupo's new inner circle quickly fractured, with a splinter faction led by his own Deputy Kathleen Letshabo, an academic with the local

[23.] Makgala, 'So Far So Good', 54; *Elite Conflict*, 130.
[24.] *Botswana Daily News*, January 21, 1970.
[25.] Makgala, *Elite Conflict*, 130.
[26.] Holm and Darnolf, 'Democratizing the Administrative State in Botswana', 124.
[27.] Maundeni, 'Majority rule, life presidency and factional politics', 382.

[28.] Molomo, 'Understanding Government and Opposition', 81.
[29.] Makgala, 'So Far So Good', 58.
[30.] *Mmegi,* May 1-7, *1998.*
[31.] Report of 1999 Elections.

university. This time around (2007 onwards), the BNF executives and militants were equally divided over Moupo's personal problems, allegedly characterised by insolvency that were splashed in the media. Moupo and his activists sought to impose party discipline, something that made them authoritarian over their rivals, and embarked upon systematic suspensions and expulsion of the dissenting executives. By 2008, Moupo was nullifying primary election victories of his opponents and imposing candidates he preferred and who had lost in the party primary elections. Thus, Moupo drove the BNF further into chaos, political intolerance and internal repression.

As the 2009 elections approached the BNF spent most of the time in the courts of law as some members of the rival faction that called itself *Temporary Platform* contested the nullification of their primary election victories. On the one hand, the High Court reinstated some of their victories in the party's primary elections, but others quit the party and stood as independent candidates (one of them actually won the 2009 general elections against the BNF and the BDP, and defected in 2010 to the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) – a new splinter from the BDP that will be discussed below). On the other hand, some of the suspended and expelled BNF executives such as Elmon Tafa, continued to engage the party leadership and to cause chaos for it by continuing to regard themselves as, and to address political rallies in, BNF colours. In the 2009 elections that followed, the BNF performed dismally, winning just six or 10 % of the 57 contested parliamentary seats. Initially, it almost surrendered its official opposition status to the BCP and its partners that won five parliamentary seats,[31] and subsequently, it surrendered its status as the official opposition to the newly (2010) formed BMD that became the main opposition in parliament.

Otsweletse Moupo finally stood down from the BNF leadership in 2010, and amid allegation of the violation of party rules, the party voted for a human rights lawyer Duma Boko, to replace him. The candidacy of Boko prompted the outgoing Vice President Olebile Gaborone, who wanted to stand for the presidency, to quit the BNF, alleging that Boko was an NDF and not a BNF member. The BNF youth wing actually took Boko to court, contesting his candidature, and lost. In a recent (May 2011) BNF leadership meeting, the party youth wing complained that its members were denied the right to make comments and to ask questions as they were not chosen to speak[32]. It is not yet clear whether Boko would be able to develop party rules and develop a culture of following them and revive the BNF project which has almost collapsed. Whether he can institute a political culture of following rules in the BNF for the first time and revive its lost fortunes, whether he can build and empower party structures to make decisions for the party, remain to be seen. However, it should be noted that the BNF has never had a political culture of following rules, to rely on. BNF's politics of not following rules, intolerance and internal repression calls for a tough leader and judges him by that standard. Whether Boko too, would slide into authoritarianism like his predessors, remains a possibility.

IV. INTERNAL STABILITY IN THE DOMINANT BDP

This section looks at internal stability in the ruling BDP, noting that its political culture of developing and following party rules, of preventing leadership aging and of smooth presidencial succession, promoted internal party stability. The party conducted relatively fairer primary elections and better organised congresses that might be argued, created less disgruntlement within the party. Makgala thinks that the ruling BDP benefited from incumbency (rewarding party loyalists through patronage and other mechanisms)[33]. Our argument is that the BDP maintained internal stability not just through incumbency, but by promoting a political culture of developing and following party rules, practising fair processes of choosing parliamentary candidates and promoting mutual accommodation between internal rivals.

To begin with, Seretse Khama-, first leader of the BDP-, observed party rules and the constitutional rules of his country. Michael Crowder observes that 'unlike other African leaders he did not seek to manipulate the constitution to suit his own needs or that of his governing party. Rather, he seems to have taken pride in operating a constitution he had helped to design…He was unnstentious – like most Batswana, whether Chiefs or Commoners'[34]. In addition, the BDP followed clearly laid down rules of succession. President Seretse Khama died in office in 1980. There is no doubt that the death of any president has the potential to distabilise the party and the country. However, the first BDP change of leadership was conducted within parliament in accordance with the country's constitution, and outside the party, preventing activists from politicising it. The country's constitution, which the BDP had been instrumental in drawing up, required parliament to meet within seven days to choose a new president. This constitutional provision granted appointing powers to parliamentary deputies only, excluding party activists and members, thus, helping to minimise the impact of the succession struggle. Thus, the death of the first president was turned into a constitutional rather than a political matter. The little

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32. Independent Electoral Commission.
33. Botswana Guardian, 6th May 2011.
34. Makgala, *Elite Conflict*.
35. Crowder, 'Botswana and the survival of liberal democracy', 463.

campaign that took place was limited to caucasing of ruling party parliamentary deputies. What resulted was a smooth change of leadership that lowered the possibility of heightened rivalry and promoted internal stability.

In addition, the fact that the vice president succeeded also minimised shocks associated with the entry of a new leader from elsewhere. The successor, Ketumile Masire had been the first president, Seretse Khama's deputy for 14 years and kept more or less the same team that he inherited. This smooth leadership change could not generate the kind of destructive factionalism that split the BNF several times as shown in the previous section.

But with the entry of new men into the party, factionalism visited the BDP in the 1990s and 2000s. Its politics have been dominated by two factions: the Kwelagobe/Kedikilwe faction that emerged after Vice President (and chairman of the BDP), Peter Mmusi and Secretary General Daniel Kwelagobe were accused of corruption in a presidential commission of inquiry that was improperly conducted (it had collected evidence in camera and not in public as required by law). Maundeni[35] and Makgala[36] believe that the presidential commission of inquiry of 1991[37], spearheaed by Festus Mogae (former permanent secretary to the president) and Mompati Merafhe (former army chief), sparked factional rivalry within the BDP and may have sparked a struggle for power and wealth as well.[38] Vice President Mmusi and Daniel Kwelagobe who had been suspended from their positions in the party resigned their cabinet positions in order to take the government to court over corruption allegations against them. Most party activists supported them. Thus, internal instability was introduced in the BDP due to the mishandling of a presidential commission of inquiry that laid corruption charges on some of its executives.

One group of party executives consisted of the Cabinet that had approved the report of the presidential commission of inquiry. These were Vice President Festus Mogae as the driver and Lt. Gen. Merafhe (a retired first commander of the Botswana army) who became the spokesperson of the anti-corruption movement. To the delight of the media, Vice President Mogae had previously compelled Cabinet ministers (including President Masire) to pay back huge (ranging from one million Pula upwards for each of them) sums of money they owed to the government National Development Bank. Those who supported Mogae consolidated themselves into the Merafhe/Nkate faction of the BDP and were later joined by Vice President Lt. Gen. Khama in 1998-, son of the first president and

second commander of the army and a traditional chief of the largest ethnic group in the country-, the Bangwato. Lt. Gen. Khama had become the Vice President of Botswana since 1998 (President Mogae brought him into the government in order to help him fight corruption and to regain control of the factionalised party). Khama was very popular with party activists, with the ordinary supporters of the party and with the general membership.

However, the BDP relied on its old culture of developing and following party rules and reformed the country's constitution to limit the presidential term of office and to allow automatic succession of the vice president to the presidency. In actual fact, there were two constitutional amendments in 1997: first, the BDP spearheaded the amendment of the national constitution to allow automatic succession of the vice president to the presidency. Second, the BDP constitution was also amended to allow presidential elections within the party. By these measures, presidential succession was made a constitutional rather than a political matter, thus reducing its potential for divisive politics. The announcement that the presidency of the country and party was becoming vacant due to Masire's impending retirement in 1998, did not necessarily heighten factionalism as no presidential elections were impending as the party and national constitutions had been amended, promoting automatic succession of the vice president. As a result, in 1998, President Sir Ketumile Masire peacefully retired and Vice Preisident Festus Mogae succeeded as president. In 2008, President Festus Mogae peacefully retired and Vice President Ian Khama succeeded as president. In both cases, the leadership transition was smooth.

The BDP tried to supplement the observance of party rules with a culture of political accommodation and mutuality between rival party factions. For instance, during the Masire presidency in 1997, the BDP cancelled its congress elections because the party was too divided. At the time, the party was polarised between the so-called Kwelagobe/Kedikilwe and Merafhe/Nkate factions. It was alleged that the latter camp had threatened to boycott the elections ostensibly in protest, because the former camp had reneged on an earlier deal not to challenge Mogae for the chairmanship of the party'.[39] Kedikilwe refused to compromise in 1997 and stood against Vice President Mogae for party chairmanship. It was then that President Masire initiated a compromise in which the election was set aside and leaders of the two factions agreed to equally share the executive positions in the party. Mogae withdraw his candidacy and Kedikilwe continued as party chairman. This was clear evidence that the BDP did not follow its constitution blindly, but supplemented it with a political

35. Maundeni, 'Majority rule, life presidency and factional politics'.
36. Makgala, *Elite Conflict*, 170-173.
37. Republic of Botswana, 1991. Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Problems in Mogoditshane and other Peri-Urban Villages
38. Makgala, *Elite Conflict*.

39. Molomo, 'Political Parties and Democratic Governance', 306.

culture of mutual accommodation to reduce internal political tensions. Thus, incumbency, compromises and constitutionalism led to a win-win situation between the rival factions. It was therefore not just incumbency but constitutionalism and compromises that kept the BDP internally stable.

V. The New BDP and Internal Instability

Signs of disruption to the BDP's political culture started showing during the Mogae presidency (1998-2008). The BDP's political culture that promoted adherence to party rules and mutual accommodation between party factions, sometimes got disrupted. This came in many ways, such as through what may be termed constitutional fundamentalism-, insistence that constitutional provisions should be strictly followed even when they worsen political instabilty. Disruptions also came through new entrants wanting to introduce radical changes in the running of the party and government, and through other means.

The party started well when in 2001, the BDP factions entered into another compromise when Vice President Lt. Gen. Khama was successfully persuaded by party elders not to challenge Ponatshego Kedikilwe for the party chairmanship. Lt. Gen. Khama reluctantly agreed to withdraw his candidature due to a covert deal whose terms were that Kedikilwe would retire from the chairmanship in 2003 so that Lt. Gen. Khama could become chairman without going through an election. When the BDP's 2003 elective congress scheduled for Gantsi Township approached, Kedikilwe betrayed the terms of the previous covert deal and announced his readiness to defend his position. Party elders such as Daniel Kwelagobe and Satar Dada tried to talk him out of the race but he was insistant. This lost him the support of the party president, party activists, the party elders and supporters. For the first time, the president of Botswana openly supported and campaigned for a candidate (Vice President Ian Khama) for party position. This was unprecedented and marked the entry of new and disruptive politics that did not follow BDP party rules.

In the case of the BDP, constitutional fundamentalism-, the insistence that party rules be followed no matter the circumstances-, was born in the party. As a result, in 2003, BDP central committee elections were held in accordance with the party constitution, but amid divisions. Kedikilwe inadvertently blamed his loss on the betrayal by the faction he led and on the partisan campaigns by President Mogae, and not on the fact that he went against the political culture of the party. His loss against Lt. Gen. Khama for the party chairmanship showed that he had lost support of most of the militants, most of delegates, elders and the party president.

President Festus Mogae also went against the mutual accommodative political culture of the party by being extremely faction-driven in his choosing of Cabinet members. He overlooked members of the rival faction when choosing the Cabinet-, (none of the leading members of the Kedikilwe/Kwelagobe faction were included. Both Kedikilwe and Kwelagobe themselves were left out). This was sure to spark a round of heightened internal rivalry, making further compromises difficult to reach. For instance, between November 2004 and May 2005 President Mogae initiated a compromise deal whose intention was to set central committee elections aside as it was normal. However, the attempted compromise collapsed and factional activists took up battle positions. From the beginning of negotiations in November 2004, the two most senior party positions-, the presidency (occupied by Mogae) and the party chairmanship (occupied by Khama)-, were excluded from the proposed deal. Excluding the presidency and chairmanship of the party from the puported compromise deal faced an outright rejection by the rival faction.

The trend of diverting from the established political culture of the BDP continued with President Ian Khama. During his presidency (2008-), BDP executives sought but failed to strike a compromise before the 2009 party congress held at Kanye. President Ian Khama insisted that women should take up most of the positions in the party central committee and went ahead and campaigned for them. This was meant to prevent the rival faction from winning positions in the party. This factional approach to politics worsened factional rivalry wthin his party, resulting in the split that followed in 2010. The divided activists embarked on the 2009 campaign trail for party positions and turned on each other. Except for the party presidency, all other central committee positions were competed for by the two factional executives. Worse for the BDP, the rival Kwelagobe/Kedikilwe faction emerged victorious in the central committee elections, defeating the Merafhe/Nkate faction which failed to win a single position in the elected central committee positions. This means that all the women candidates supported by the president failed to win a single seat. The stage was now set for the entrenchment of constitutional fundamentalism in pursuit of factional interests.

Party leader Ian Khama devised strategies to neutralise the victory of the Kedikilwe/Kwelagobe faction. He immediately used his constitutional appointing powers in the party constitution unilaterally to nominate additional members from the Merafhe/Nkate faction, including the faction's leaders, Mompati Merafhe and Jacob Nkate who had not stood for the congress elections. President Khama's appointments triggered anger from the Kedikilwe/Kwelagobe faction which felt that its hard fought victory was being undermined and neutralised. Its newly prominent

member, Gomolemo Motswaledi who had just been elected party secretary general publicly questioned Ian Khama's powers to unilaterally nominate additional members into the central committee. This led to President Khama suspending Motswaledi for 60 days and recalling his parliamentary candidate for Gaborone Central constituency. Motswaledi challenged his suspension and recall in the High Court and lost on grounds that Ian Khama as sitting state president had constitutional immunity from prosecution,[40] thus his decisions taken even within the party could not be challenged. Motswaledi went further and appealed against this decision to the High Court of Appeal which upheld the High Court ruling[41]. After the general election, disciplinary structures consisting of President Khama's activists, gave Motswaledi a hearing after which he was further suspended from the party for five years. Thus, factional rivalry, factional inbalance in which the party surrounded the president with members of the rival faction that controlled all elective positions in the central committee of the party combined with presidential sectarian appointments, and sectarian disciplinary structures, combined to create an explosive situation that threatened the very existence of the BDP government.

The BDP faced the choice of either reverting back to its old political culture of mutual compromiseand of developing and following party rules, or, to continue the new trend of factional rivalry and unbalanced presidential appointments. It is clear that initially, the party leader with military background chose to confront the members of the rival faction whose reaction to the long suspension imposed on its central figure Secretary General Motswaledi-, was measured at first, with some of its activists decamping to the Merafhe/Nkate faction and others resigning their positions from the party central committee. However, more confrontantion followed when things took a dramatic turn with the leading members of the rival faction calling for a factional conference, inviting only activists of that faction across the country. Factional delegates (numbering over three hundred according to their own estimates) congregated just outside the City of Gaborone and decided to form a new party. The Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) was formed in mid 2010, with eight parliamentary deputies, scores of councillors and many more parliamentary deputies poised to quit the BDP. The BMD immediately became the main opposition in parliament.

The first BDP split initially sent shock waves throughout the Botswana politics. In the last quarter of 2010, constitutional fundamentalism characterised by

presidential factional appointments came to an end when President Khama had to make peace with leaders of the rival faction who had remained within the BDP. The political culture of mutual accommodation between the factions partially returned to the BDP and constitutional fundamentalism was watered down. As a result, defections from the party slowed down. Instead, three parliamentary deputies (two from BMD and one from BNF) defected to the BDP. But a strike organised by the public civil service unions in May 2011 saw President Ian Khama resorting to fundamentalist politics again, refusing to negotiate with the unions, alienating his Cabinet, Parliament and members of his own party. Signs of revolt within Parliament were already visible, with BDP MPs such as Tawana Moremi and Kentse Rammidi, questioning Khama's approach of avoiding the unions and of addressing rural meetings that had no relevance to the strike.

VI. CONCLUSION

Research into the internal organisation of parties has a long history. This article has sought to add to research on that topic, deploying a comparative approach centred on party organisation. Relying on evidence from Botswana's opposition BNF and the ruling BDP, it has shown that one party (BNF) suffered instability and repression-, and another (BDP) enjoyed internal stability.

The article has shown that the BNF suffered internal instability and repression primarily because it failed to develop and to adhere to party rules, allowed its leaders to personalise power, suppressed and expelled rivals from the party and favoured allies of the leaders. Such personalisation of power empowered the leader to own the party in the literal sense of the word, to block the advancement of internal opponents and to publicly favour internal allies with party positions and with wins in the primary elections or in any selection of election candidates. Personalisation of party power allows the leader to be answerable to himself only, to marginalise internal opponents and to instil fear and blind loyalty in the general membership of the party. But such politics infuriates and energises internal opponents into a permanent state of agitation and destabilisation, inviting the leader to invoke repression.

In contrast, this article has demonstrated that internal stability was enjoyed by the BDP because it established constitutionalism in its internal processes by adhering to party rules, promoted accommodation between internal opponents, regularised and depoliticised presidential succession and organised fair systems of choosing party executives and party candidates for national elections. The BDP either closed down presidential succession struggles by constitutionalising the ascendency of the vice president into the presidency without much competition, or by

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[40] Motswaledi vs BDP, case No: MAHLB-000486-09.
[41] Motswaledi vs BDP, Court of Appeal case No: CACLB-053-2009.

designating a particular institution(s) to choose presidential successors.

The BDP enjoyed internal stability and created mutuality between internal opponents by developing fair machanisms for selecting party executives and party candidates for the general elections, by building a culture of internal peace and accommodation, and by preventing leaders from taking sides in internal struggles for positions. However, the article has also shown that such a stable political party can be destabilised if its new leaders choose to disregard its historical norms, but that it can perhaps regain its balance if it restores the political culture of mutual accommodation and constitutionality.

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Conceptual Frame of Society and Politics

By Mohammed Viquaruddin

Deogiri College, Aurangabad

Abstract - Social need of human expands vicinity of multi dimensional approach to the society which includes study of social philosophy; practices and changes create the social dimensions for us. A significant alteration pace provide continuity of circumstances. Considering governance by an actual base of polis and society covers the attitude of development to any nation.

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CONCEPTUAL FRAME OF SOCIETY AND POLITICS

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Conceptual Frame of Society and Politics

Mohammed Viquaruddin

Abstract - Social need of human expands vicinity of multi dimensional approach to the society which includes study of social philosophy; practices and changes create the social dimensions for us. A significant alteration pace provide continuity of circumstances. Considering governance by an actual base of polis and society covers the attitude of development to any nation.

I. Introduction

Change is a Characteristics feature of human society a many sided process involving changes in all aspects of human thoughts and activity, social change is a philosophical, practical and strategic process to effect revolutionary change within society social values, (ethical values, group values, educational values economic values, individual values etc.) customs, traditions and social structure have always undergone change it includes social behaviour and structure.

The change in the external conditions brings change in the material culture of that society. Which in terms stimulates changes in non-material culture as well? The human efforts to control the external conditions set the process of social change hence social change is considered as by product of human efforts. Thus, social change is associated with change in culture of that society.

There is a close link between the social change and social problems which society faces at a given time. Social problems are the result of the inability of the established society to fulfill the needs and demands of the individuals. It is further stated that all problems have consequence for both individuals as well as the society of which they are the part. These changes typically require the expansion of peoples' loyalties and ties from small and immediate group to larger and more impersonal grouping. At the same time there is an increasing reliance values that are universal rather than particular and achievement on traditional position as a basis for judging individual.

II. Social Change

Social change is a process of discriminable significant alteration in the structure and functioning of particular social systems. It also signifies alteration of social structure including consequences and manifestation of such structure embodied in norm, values, culture. It means social change is concerned

with situational changes or may describe as "a social continuity seems to have been maintained in the face of technological change".

III. Politics Etymological

Historically, the term politics together with its various derivatives may be traced to the Greek concept of the polis the city-state unit of political association that is at the center of the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Owing to relatively small size of such societies in Athens it is not surprising that the scope of politics was regarded as virtually unlimited, extending to a range of human affairs as broad as is implied in such contemporary concepts as society social system and social order defined Political life for the Greeks minimised the modern distinction between social and persons aspects tended to treat most aspects of personal behavior as within the regulatory domain of the political system of any society functions in a broad context known as politics like birth, death, society, taxes, and poverty, politics is omnipresent in human affairs.

IV. Social Change and Social Reforms

Many times the terms social change, social reforms and social movement are used without much discrimination. Social change and social reforms are closely related to each other. The word reform suggests some changes is the arrangements of social pattern, changes in the social values and changes in the attitudes and outlook of the people towards the existing arrangements of the society. It aims at making the social conditions of the present society better than the earlier society.

V. Social Change and Politics

Though apparently seems to be different, social and political activities are closely related with each other. Almost all the social problems in general are related to politics. It is difficult to have a time of discrimination between political life and social life. A commonly observed made of adaptation has been the differentiation of spheres of activity so that the individual to operate in both the modern as well as the traditional spheres without experiencing any inconsistency.[4]

The human life being a complex phenomenon various aspects of human life viz; social ideological, economic, ethical and political aspects of life are interlinked. It such integrated view of human life is taken the corollary follows that the change in social environment influences the political life and vice-a-versa.

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VI. Conclusion

In conclusion things are in discussion coverage of social political conditions of Indian society. Even continuity in contemporary society of multicultural, ideological, democratic, social educational, political, ethical and progressive India. After Independence the pace of development and social political change were affected by the new communication policies. Industrialisation, modernisation, urbanisation and capitalism through the government by political parties, social groups, pressure groups, social, cultural, educational activists, non governmental organizations (NGOs) etc. After more than sixty year of independence and development still the contemporary India is in search of better alter-native attitudes.

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Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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