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American Strategy in The War on Terror: An African Perspective

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Abstract

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, defined the presidency of George W. Bush, who responded by projecting U.S. military power on a global scale. In the months following the attacks, the administration forcefully evicted the Taliban regime and its Al Qaeda sponsors from Afghanistan, while expanding basing rights and military cooperation, for the first time, in Central and South Asia. Indeed, Osama bin Laden is reportedly responsible for a number of these attacks on U.S. government personnel and others during Clinton administration, including the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the attack on the USS Cole in the Yemeni port of Aden in 2000. The study analyzes the various U.S. regimes efforts on the war on terror and its geo- strategic implications especially Africa. In doing this, the study conceptualizes Strategy, Grand Strategy, American National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. It explores the account of the war on terror by U.S. regimes and concludes that Africa's effort in this regard must remain visible to attract American policy makers.

Keywords: Strategy, Grand Strategy Terrorism, America, Africa

INTRODUCTION

The United States has waged this war on terrorism against the backdrop of more traditional geo-political concerns. America has long realized the strategic importance of Asia for international stability and economic growth, but continuing political, economic, and military development poses new and significant challenges to U.S. leadership in the region. The rise of China and India, as well as Russia's struggles to resume a leading global role, are indicative of 'tectonic shifts' [1] in geo-political power and influence in Asia. Additional issues including possible conflict over Kashmir, tension in Taiwan Strait, the maturing nuclear threat from North Korea, and political stability in Central, South and Southeast Asia, all assume new meaning in the light of the ongoing war on terrorism and radical Islamism.

This period is characterized by a very different kind of threat: not new one, by any means, but a threat that has the means to carry out massively destructive acts 'unbridled by the interests, form and structure of a state'. The terrorist threat is a brute use of force, more understandable in a medieval context than in post modern society. Although it does not compare directly to the military might gathered by the two great ideological movements of fascism and communism, its implications are nonetheless potentially momentous. The use of terrorism implies an attempt to 'de-legitimize the concept of sovereignty' and even the structure of the state system itself.[2]

When George W. Bush became the 43rd President of American after a tightly contested election, he presided over a country that, having emerged triumphant from almost 50years of the cold war, hoped to enjoy, a long period peace and security. By this period, the Soviet Union had disappeared, and the Warsaw Pact, which had posed such a formidable military threat to the U.S. and its allies, was no more.

It is understandable; this state of affairs was judged to be both “propitious and desirable”. Although some analyst expressed skepticism about the stability of this new post-cold war order, most viewed this unipolar moment as offering the United States an unprecedented opportunity to create a durable peace that would provide order and stability globally, while permitting its citizens to enjoy the peace dividend that could only be dreamt about during their struggle with the Soviet Union.[3]

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in Washington DC, New York City and Pennsylvania were acts of war against the United States of America and its allies, and against the very idea of civilized society. President Bush declared that:

No group or nation should mistake America's intentions: We will not rest until terrorist groups of global reach have been found, have been stopped and have been defeated. No cause justifies terrorism. The world must respond and fight this evil that is intent on threatening and destroying our basic freedoms and our way of life, freedom and fear are at war.[4]

This call for the world to respond and fight terrorism by the U.S. falls on the lapse of Africa. Inasmuch as Africa “is not a central concern of U.S. security policy is beyond question when placed within the context of other key U.S foreign policy priorities”. In contrast to regions such as South and Central Asia where the activity and resilience of terrorist organizations that harbor strong anti-US sentiment pose a more potent threat to U.S security. The decrease of violent conflict across the African continent further diminishes Africa’s status as a global security risk.[5]

The study assesses American war on terror with special focus on George W. Bush and Barack Obama regimes. Towards this end, it is divided into six sections. The first conceptualizes strategy and grand strategy. The second evaluates American National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, third, looks at the account of George W. Bush in war on terror; four assesses Barack Obama anti-terror stance, five surveys U.S. anti terror war and the effect on African continent. Finally, the conclusion highlights some consequences of the confrontation with terrorism for America’s strategic role in the world.

UNDERSTANDING STRATEGY

Strategy has several meanings, some narrowly defined, some broadly. Several apply to the nature of strategy, strategic theory or strategic studies. The first set pertains or concerns the use of military force and war between political communities. The word strategy has its origin in the Greek word “strategos”, which is normally translated as “general”, or the “art of the general”. [6]

Following post-Clausewitzian interpretation of the word, strategy is the bridge that relates military power to political purpose. It tells one how to conduct a war, or how to achieve political objectives, using the military instruments. In the Clausewitzian sense, strategy is the use that is made of force and the threat of force for the ends of policy.[7]

Literally, Clausewitz stated that strategy is the use of engagements for the object of the war. Freely translated he tells us that strategy is the use of tacit and explicit threats, as well as of actual battles and campaigns, to advance political purposes. However, strategy may not be (purely) military strategy; instead it may be grand strategy that uses “engagements”, meaning all of the relevant instruments of power as threats or in action, for the objectives of statecraft.[8]

Strategy thus provides the conceptual link between action and effect and between instrument and objective. It is an idea. Strategy is a plan of action designed in order to achieve some end; a purpose together with a system of measures for its accomplishment.[9]

Liddell-Hart suggests that strategy is the art of distributing and applying military means to fulfill the ends of policy.[10] Andre Baufre captured the interactive nature, the dueling character of strategic behaviour, when he states that strategy is the art of the dialectic of two opposing wills using force to resolve their dispute.[11]

A recently posited definition emphasizes the dynamic nature of this process, and of this constant adaptation to shifting conditions and circumstances in a world where chance, uncertainty and ambiguity dominate.[12]

Strategic Studies is the use of policy approach to attain set objectives within target time and at the minimum cost possible. In strategic studies, there is active as well as passive strategy. But about as much as ninety percent of active strategy consists of crisis management, the active form of strategy is more critical to our study. This is because it is directed as designed situation.

It is a policy science and vital in maximizing returns or rewards. It is in this pragmatic sense that strategy is all about planning to excel. Planning therefore, represents a crucial element in strategy. Today, as it were, every business engages in strategic planning. Thus, we can speak correctly of strategic investment, strategic weapons, strategic theatre, strategic thought, legal strategy, football strategy or even market strategy.[13]

Has the end of cold war symbolised the end of strategic studies? Proponents of this line of thought are saying that in the post cold war period, the strategic studies has yielded its way to the security studies due to widespread of security concerns in the world society nowadays.[14] This line of thought was supported with the classification of strategic studies into three stages, arising from the birth of nuclear weapons.

The first stage began in early 1950s, with few theoretical achievements worth noting since it was the time of infancy for the concept formation. The second stage, between 1956 and 1985 became the golden age of strategic studies. This was the period strategic studies was introduced in the universities with academic and practical significance to policy making, and the theories related to nuclear deterrence became core values of strategic studies.

It appears the third stage came up in the late 1980s as the cold war drew to an end. Security concerns played dominant part and possible signs of paradigm shifting occurred. For some, the sign might indicate a weak theory tendency that seemed unable to explain the world appropriately. Indeed, not much progress in theoretical improvement in strategic studies to justify its state-centric academic stand. It would appear that the core values that strategic studies once cherished and built for in the cold war period were called into serious questions.[15]

As the debate rages, among the social, political, economic, environmental and military (grand strategy), a great distinction is discernible. Military strategy is the one that is not peculiar in character to individuals or nations, but one which defines the fate of every man or woman in the nuclear urban world. It is a subset of national or grand strategy, a scientific knowledge

which studies the conditions and the nature of future wars. Also, the methods for its preparation and conduct, the services of the armed forces and the foundations for their strategic utilization as well as foundation for the material and technical support and leadership of war and the armed forces.[16]

Lastly, strategic thought is not an abstraction; it is the intellectual realm of strategy, a pragmatic science in the mode of thinking of statesmen, military intellectuals, especially political and historian strategists on the concepts, mode, principles, tactics and conventions on the planning and conduct of war. In its pragmatic stance of the conduct of war, it is influenced by prevailing strategic circumstances of the time.

Strategic thought is the province of political scientists, historians and historically oriented military thinkers, and essentially students and practitioners of international relations, diplomacy and strategic studies. For instance, B.H. Liddell-Hart, J.F.C. Fuller, Giubio Douhet, Bayon de Jomini, Carl Marie von Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Napoleon Bonaparte, Shaka Zulu, Mao Zedong and Niccolo Machiavelli were among the military historian strategists. Jomini and Clausewitz, the first major conceptualisers of military strategy were primarily influenced in their strategic thinking and writing by the Napoleonic wars and early historical experience.[17]

AMERICAN NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR COMBATING TERRORISM

The United States government is not letting anything lying low in the war against terrorism as she declared that America is at war with a transnational terrorist movement fueled by a radical ideology of hatred, oppression and murder. U.S National Strategy for Combating Terrorism was first publish in February 2003 which recognizes that she is at war and protecting and defending her homeland, the American people, and their livelihood remains her first and most solemn obligation.

Emphasizing further, U.S Strategy also recognizes that the war on Terror is a different kind of war, which from the beginning has been both a battle of arms and a battle of ideas. Not only does she fight her terrorist enemies on the battlefield, she promotes freedom and human dignity as alternatives to the terrorist's perverse vision of oppression and totalitarian rule.

The document further indicated that the paradigm for combating terrorism now involves the application of all elements of her national power and influence. Not only does she employ military power, she uses diplomatic, financial, intelligence and enforcement activities to protect her homeland and extend her defenses, disrupt terrorists operation, and deprive the enemies of what they need to operate and survive.[18]

The 2003 United States Strategy on Terrorism stated that "combating terrorism and securing the U.S. homeland from future attacks are our top priorities". This is in support of National Security Strategy of the country. As its highlight states "we live in an age with tremendous opportunities to foster a world consistent with interests and values embraced by the United States and freedom loving people around the world"

Section 111 on Strategy for Combating Terrorism further supports National Security by "expounding on our need to destroy terrorist organizations, win the "war of ideas", and strengthen America's security at home and abroad". In the same line "National Strategy for Homeland Security focuses on preventing terrorist attacks within the United States". It includes in its distinction that "the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism focuses on identifying and defusing threats before they reach our border".[19]

To win the War on Terror, America intends to:

- **Advance effective democracies as the long-term antidote to the ideology of terrorism.**
- **Prevent attacks by terrorist networks**
- **Deny weapons of mass destruction to rogue states and terrorist allies who seek to use them;**
- **Deny terrorists the support and sanctuary of rogue states**
- **Deny terrorists control of any nation they would use as a base and launching pad for terror; and**
- **Lay the foundation and build the institutions and structures we need to carry the fight forward against terror and help ensure our ultimate success.**

In less than five years from September 11, 2001, America has successfully acknowledged the following:

- **We have deprived al-Qaida of safe haven in Afghanistan**
- **A multinational coalition joined by the Iraqis are aggressively prosecuting the war against the terrorists in Iraq**
- **We have significantly degraded the al-Qaida network.**
- **We have led an unprecedented international campaign to combat in terrorist financing...etc.[20]**

So far the study has devoted the last section on the American strategies in the war on terror; it is by no means exhaustive. These are challenges, goals and objectives need more analysis as the account of George W. Bush era would proffer.

GEORGE W. BUSH AND THE WAR ON TERROR

Some assessment questions here would direct the analysis:

- **If someone else had been president of the United States, would he also have invaded Afghanistan and Iraq?**
- **Was it a good idea for the United States to have invaded the two countries at all?**
- **To what extent has Bush's War on Terror been successful?**
- **Has Bush's democratization of the greater Middle East succeeded?**

The attacks of 9/11 were far more dramatic and shocking than anything else Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida had done before. It gave rise to some sense that America itself was vulnerable and the fear that more of such attacks on its soil could come up. The Taliban did not adhere to the U.S. ultimatum to turn Bin Laden over hence the invasion that successfully drove the regime from power by the end of 2001.

The truth is that President Bush was in power during the attack and his administration conceptualized the War on Terror and designed its strategy that culminated in the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. The government's terror policies had several goals one of which was to prevent another attack on the American homeland. Bush administration was successful in this direction.

The capture and execution of Osama bin Laden by U.S. Naval Seals and destroy al-Qaida ability to attack the U.S. Homeland have been achieved in the regime of President Barack Obama. But the two signature policies of Bush's War on Terror, namely the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, have had mixed results. The authoritarian regimes of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein

had been successfully dethroned. But the U.S. has not succeeded in establishing peace and security in both countries and subsequent withdrawal of substantial of its troop buildup.

Reflecting on the above submissions, the highly ambitious U.S. goal of the democratization of the greater Middle East remained uncertain. According to Mark Katz, "it is clear that President Bush did not achieve his ambitious goal of democratizing the greater Middle East. The United States has fostered democracy in Iraq, but it is extremely fragile and has not succeeded in overcoming bitter ethnic and sectarian divisions" [21]. It was envisioned that U.S government support for democratization in the greater Middle East would lead to peace and prosperity there. Consequently, these countries would not support authoritarian opposition movements such as al-Qaida.

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA'S ASSESSMENT OF WAR ON TERROR

The administration of Barack Obama opposed substantially his predecessor's handling of the War on Terror, particularly in resources expended so far. Also the U.S. led interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan has not prevented the spread of radical Islamist in Iraq and Afghanistan or elsewhere. Bush unilateralism in war on terror had harmed America's relations not only with the Muslim world, but also the western allies. Obama's policy on resumption of office in January 2009 tilted towards implementation of a strategy that was the opposite of the Bush era in several aspects.

President Obama insisted on pursuing a multilateral policy in conjunction with America's allies and partners to improve relations with them. The government was determined to withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq and provide additional resources for the war in Afghanistan and the struggle against al-Qaida. Analysts argue that it would require the various factions to cooperate with one another.

On the democratization of the greater Middle East, Obama made it clear that he is not in that direction. According to him, "governments that protect rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure". It is not what can or should be imposed upon one nation by another. With the political situation in that region Obama called upon Israel to modify its behaviour toward Palestine. He is well aware that the state of Israeli-Palestinian relations has a strong impact on how successful America manages the war on terror.[22]

How successful has President Obama's changed approach toward the war on terror from his predecessor? He opined:

In the decade since those attacks, we have significantly strengthened our defenses and built a steadfast international coalition. In the past two and a half years, we have eliminated more key al-Qaida leaders in rapid succession than any time since September 11, 2001, including Osama Bin Laden, the only leader that al-Qaida had ever known. We can say with growing confidence that we have put al-Qaida on the path to defeat... we will not rest until that job is done.[23]

In addition, there is the improvement in America's ties with many governments that had opposed the U.S. led intervention in Iraq and had been alienated by the Bush administration's unilateralism. Nevertheless, old problems remained as Iraq and especially Afghanistan have shown that these conflicts are far from over. Neither is likely to end just because the United States leaves.

U.S.-AFRICA POLICY AND WAR ON TERROR

Peter Schrader in his work argued that “soon after the Second World War, the basic assumption that influenced U.S. policy toward Africa was that external communist pressure was the root of African conflict”, as exemplified by President Truman. During the Kennedy years, the anti-communist consciousness literarily overshadowed any tendency to believe that internal national conditions gave rise to insurgency in African countries.[24]

George Kitato submits that while the historical trajectories between the United States and individual African countries undoubtedly vary, one can construe a clear narrative of how the U.S. has engaged with the region in modern history.

The end of the Cold War, however, eroded the strategic importance of African countries within U.S. foreign policy.[25] Robert L. Ostergard’s theatrical in the following comment linked U.S. post WW11 policy contradictions to the present war on terror, thus:

Terrorism is first and foremost a problem of governance, either in response to government policy or as an act of government policy. In this sense, the major contradiction in America’s post-world war II foreign policy has been that while the U.S. government has been willing to response to Wilson’s liberal vision to make the world safe for democracy, it has done so only as a matter of convenience to Americas national interest. That historical contradiction has now crossed paths with the war on terrorism (Africa affected).[26]

There are some statements made in official quarters during Lyndon Johnson’s presidency as issues about Africa “petered out as quickly as it had risen... (Africa is) the last issue considered, the first aid budget cut.”[27]

It was the administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerard Ford that took intervention in Africa to a new level but was not sustained by Jimmy Carter as there was a change in policy.[28]

The following passage as Banjo wrote represents the direction of President Carter and Ronald Reagan’s Africa policy thrust:

The Carter administration again fought a complicated battle between containment policy and the threat of Soviet expansionism and the need to look at internal roots of crises...within African nations themselves. Reagan characterized the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” which was the primary sources of instability in Africa. [29]

At the time George Bush (Snr) took over from Ronald Reagan, he tried to distance from the Old World Order of East versus West politics, as he was not burdened with the same fears that the Soviet Union would succeed in spreading communism to developing regimes in Africa. As Michael Clough opined, “the turnabout in U.S. priorities was most marked in the Horn of Africa.”[30]

To lend credence to the above “turnabout” of U.S. Clinton’s policy to African conflict especially Liberia issue:

It is on record that, when the Liberian problem came up, it looked like an internal issue. Majority of the international community saw it that way and no state or the

United Nations were ready to intervene. United Nations intervention was limited to sending some observers and providing funds for ECOMOG operation in Liberia. ECOWAS rose creditably to the challenges of conflict management and peace keeping in West Africa at a time when the great powers (U.S.) had literally abandoned West Africa, and indeed the continent as a whole...[31]

It was understood, for reasons of international strategy, that Africa's conflicts rank lower than those in Bosnia or the former Soviet Union. "Thus at the point of Clinton's entry into the White House, Africa still ranks lowest on the USA's totem pole of international concerns".[32]

According to J. Peter Pham, President George W. Bush "took the shock of the 9/11 attacks to shift the focus of American policy makers and analysts back to Africa in a concerted manner as U.S. geopolitical vision was reassessed in the light of what became known as the 'global war on terrorism'".[33]

President Barack Obama provided some insights into the reality of dealing with Africa policy as one that fits into his primary campaign message 'change' or one that is closer to the shifts of policy. According to Laura White, in early 2010, in Ghana, "President Obama gave an address emphasizing that he viewed good governance as a key to the success of African states, and that this was something that African leaders need to take responsibility for....also insisted that U.S. security interests are at stake in Africa."[34]

The shift is not without its ironies considering the long history of U.S. conflict with terrorists in Africa. Supporting the above, it was understood that the post 9/11 US thinking has metamorphosed into 'if you are not for me, then you are against me'. Therefore, political neutrality or non-alignment on the war on terror suddenly becomes expensive positioning for African States. It was in keeping with the above accounts that the Bush administration announced the US Africa command (AFRICOM) which assumed responsibility for US security relations with 42 out of Africa 53 countries.[35]

President Barack Obama's election as the first African American was accompanied by extraordinarily high expectations for US policy towards Africa. His personal knowledge of and interest in Africa, multilateralism world view generated optimism in conducting relations with African nations. At least, his visit to Ghana, where he made the famous statements, his nominations of several seasoned diplomats having knowledge about Africa, provided earlier indications that there was light in the horizon about Africa.[36]

One of the driving questions of this section is whether Obama's election precipitated any kind of a qualitative shift in the way that the US approaches African affairs. Some African advocates do conclude that Africa is ignored by the United States particularly their policy makers. This is different from others who believed that US-Africa relations have been characterized in the main by indifference and neglect, punctuated by flurries of interest and action.

Would Obama presidency give Africa something to cheer? A popular adage says action speaks more than words as President Obama publicly noted that "our security interests will sometimes require that we work with regimes with which we have fundamental disagreements". Moreover, Obama's policies remain situated within the broader approaches to energy and security which governed U.S. foreign policy for some time and which his administration has not significantly altered. It was for this reason that his heritage and familiarity with issues relevant to the continent are not likely to change the pattern of his policies than the structural relationships that exist between the U.S. and Africa.

CONCLUSION

The article has attempted an overview of American strategy in the war on terror and the African perspective toward the success of this fight. U.S. strategy for combating the menace have been laid bay and discussed exhaustively. The two main administrations of George W. Bush and Barack Obama in the eye of the storm have been assessed. Africa's efforts towards war on terror have been put on the table leaving some areas for further research.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, defined the presidency of George W. Bush and Barack Obama, who responded by projecting U.S. military power on a global scale. The efforts led to the forceful eviction of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, defeated Saddam Hussein's army in Iraq, hounded and killed Osama Bin Laden and some al-Qaida leaders.

U.S. Strategies for Combating Terrorism, beyond the challenges posed by al-Qaida and other radical Islamist terror groups, has fought relentlessly additional threats that emerged in the post September 11 world vis fallout from weak and failed states, the global effects of political instability in the greater Middle East and Asia, risks posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their potential nexus with terrorist groups.

Africa's efforts to the war on terror has not waned, yet whether U.S. shift to a more critical tone will translate into a significant change to the substance of U.S. Africa policy remains to be seen. It should be understood that the strategic interests and importance of Africa to U.S. is not immediately apparent or self evident in contrast to regions such as South and Central Asia, which harbour strong anti-U.S sentiment pose a more potent threat to her security. Contrary to high expectations within Africa that the Obama presidency would herald a new age of U.S Africa relations in war on terror, the reality thus far seems to suggest continuity rather than change.

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The Structure and Development of University Students' Frustration Field Study in Jordan

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Abstract

Aim : The goal of the present study was to investigate the frustration structure of university undergraduates, and find out how their frustration changes during their years of study. The psychological concept of a mental state of frustration was employed to identify the reasons, situations or mechanisms that stop students from achieving their learning goals in the university. **Tool and Sample**: An open-ended questionnaire was developed asking students to mention five different situations or incidents that caused them frustration. A sample of 425 subjects responded to the questionnaire during class hours. Eighty percent of the subjects were females. **Results**: The content analysis of the responses of the subjects revealed that six aspects of university life were mentioned more than others as sources of frustration. The lecturers' negative behaviors such as discriminating between students and unfair marking. Also lecturers' outdated scientific knowledge, and not knowing how to deliver lectures. Fellow students' violent behavior, oral and physical harassment, disruption of classes during lectures, littering classrooms and sitting areas. The university's registration system and the departments during registration period. Problems included most classes being closed, registration occurring during lectures. Other aspects of university life were mentioned as a source of frustration less often but still with more than five percent frequency. These included the university infrastructure, such as, classrooms or laboratories being unsuitable or not properly equipped. The courses taught were described as not relevant to students' specialty, or having lots of material to read. The non-academic staff was mentioned as a source of frustration. They were described as not helpful to students and unfair. **Conclusion**: Certain policies can be adopted by university's top management, such as orientation seminars for academic staff before they start teaching in the university, covering treatment of students, lecturing and exams preparation, solving problems.

Key Words: Frustration University Students University Management Content Analysis Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

This study was intended to identify the sources of frustration among undergraduate students at the University of Jordan. This is a part of the general university policy designed to develop and improve the quality of its graduates' attainment of scientific theoretical knowledge and practical skills, and positive attitudes and behaviour as members of society in Jordan and humanity in general. The university's effort is part of a general effort in Jordan as a whole to improve the education and work standards of Jordanians.

Therefore this study was intended to find out why university students did not achieve the standards expected and required by University of Jordan, as a representative sample of all universities in Jordan.

The psychological state of frustration was chosen to find out what happened to students during their study at the University of Jordan that stopped them from achieving the standards

required by the University of Jordan, and expected by the students themselves, who joined the university with high expectations of learning new scientific skills, knowledge, and attitudes. This concept is a major psychological concept used to understand behaviour for the sake of developing, improving and controlling individual's performance (Mullins 1996).

Need satisfaction leads to positive feelings such as joy and happiness, and therefore to more of the same behaviour. In contrast, stopping satisfaction creates negative feelings such as disappointment, tension and anger, and the consequence is that people stop practicing the behaviour that caused such painful feelings. Such feelings disrupt daily life practices, including learning activities. In other words, the consequences of such disruption affects negatively students's performance in university learning situations (Gulzar.S et al 2012, Prodrigo et al 2009, Sierpinska, A 2008, Snow et al 2003, Regiew 1999, Specter 1978).

The Meaning of Frustration Mental State

Frustration is defined in the Oxford English Language Dictionary (2002) as the stopping of actions intended by an individual to satisfy a need or achieve a goal. The Oxford Dictionary of Psychology (Andrew M. Colman 2001) adds to this meaning the resultant emotional state or states, such as dissatisfaction, anger and exhaustion. But these emotions are also connected to physiological changes in the body, such as high tension, tiredness, high blood pressure, fast heart beat, and rapid breathing.

In other words, in the case of successful effort to satisfy a need, the outcome will be a mental state characterised by pleasant and happy feelings and emotions. The individual likes to repeat such states time and time again. Also, he or she will not suffer boredom. On the other hand, the results of preventing someone from achieving satisfaction will be a negative and painful mental state characterised by feelings such as dissatisfaction, anger, tension and fear, coupled with physiological changes such as high blood pressure, fast heart beat and rapid breathing. Such feelings are painful, and the individual does not want to experience them again. Therefore, frustration in psychological literature means a negative mental state as a result of stopping someone from satisfying one of his needs or goals, and the resultant emotions and physiological changes.

Still, there are psychologists who use the terms of anxiety, psychological stress, psychological pressure, burnout and frustration as synonyms, i.e. to indicate the same meaning as shown above for the term frustration (Chen and Spector, 1992 and Lazarus, 1966).

If the negative mental psychological state continues for long periods of time, then more negative and painful feelings such as worry, fear, anxiety, low morale, and low well-being will emerge, accompanied by painful physiological changes such as fast heart beat and high blood pressure. Such painful mental states will disrupt daily normal life of adults, which include productive work at work settings, and successful learning activities in learning settings such as universities.

Therefore, if university students go through severe or permanent mental states of frustration as a result of problems they encounter while trying to satisfy their needs, then their learning activities will be hampered. They will not learn what they are supposed to learn (Gulzar, S et al., 2012, Sierpinska, A 2008).

All people, irrespective of age, gender, culture or race, have thousands of needs, goals and motives that they need to satisfy, every hour if not every minute. If they succeed, that creates

pleasant feelings and they like to repeat the activities. But if for any reason their efforts fail to help them attain the goal or satisfy any of the need or needs in question, this creates painful feelings which the person does not want to experience again. If the need continues demanding satisfaction in spite of persistent obstacles, the negative feelings and emotions will develop physiological changes in the individual that will stop the normal routine of daily life until the situation is resolved successfully. That means the person's daily activities will be disrupted, including productive activities such as learning in a university.

There are very few psychological studies devoted to studying the effects of frustration in general on learning behaviour at the university level (Gulzar, S 2012, Sierpinska, A 2008) compared to the enormous literature identifying its effects on workers' productivity in industrial settings, (Regiew, D. 1999, Spector, P.E. and Fox S. 1999, Spector, P.E. 1975.).

Nevertheless, many studies have concentrated on discovering the effects of frustration in certain individual aspects of university learning, such as learning mathematics (Tohm, C. 2012, Horspool, A. & Yang, S.S. 2010, Rodrigo, M.T. et al. 2009, Sierpinska, A 2008, Alessio, H. 2004, , Burns, R.B. 1991).

Therefore, this study is intended to find out the sources of these states of frustration among University of Jordan students, and how the sources correlate to the year of study in the university, for the purpose of intervention to improve university graduates' standards in attaining better scientific knowledge and skills and in applying scientific knowledge in work settings, and to improve students' attitudes towards society and the world at large.

Frustration Mental State Duration and Intensity

Several factors affect frustration state intensity and duration. The level of importance the individual attributes to his need makes a lot of difference for his or her reaction to whatever blocks the way to satisfy the need. But his reaction is also influenced by several other factors related to his personality characteristics (Mullins, 1996).

If his personality is labelled as type A, his reaction to any frustration will be far more intense and severe than those with type B personalities. Type A personality people are usually not patient. They like to compete and achieve more and very fast. Their responses to a frustration situation usually invoke harmful physiological changes.

Kobasa(1982)introduced the concept of hard personality characteristics. People with such characteristics can stand and successfully resist the consequences of frustration, because they trust their ability to shape their life and future and to influence their environment. This concept is very close in meaning to the concept of locus of control in personality literature. Those who perceive what happens to them is a result of their own will and their own planning and actions have less chance of being affected by frustration consequences than those who feel that they have no control over what happens to them (Holahan et al 1984, Lazarus 1966, Butterfield 1964).

The intensity and duration of a frustration state can also be affected by the type of work the individual is doing. It has been found that blue collar workers suffer from higher levels of frustration than those with white collar jobs (Lowenberg 1998, Cobb & Rose 1973).

The individual's ability to learn different ways to overcome different causes of frustration states helps him to successfully satisfy his needs and achieve his goals. But if he does not have that ability or knowledge, he will suffer painful frustration states that may last a long time.

In other words, the duration of a frustration state and its intensity depends upon the interaction between external factors, such as work and work management style, the type of need and its importance to the individual, his personality characteristics, and his knowledge and experience in coping with obstacles stopping him from achieving his goals.

In short, individuals differ in the way they respond to frustrating situations because they differ in need strength, personality type, and in their perception of the situations (Mullins 1996).

LITERATURE REVIEW

It has been interesting to notice that the number of studies using the term frustration to identify problems of achievement in university settings is very few compared to those studies using the same term in investigating problems of productivity in industrial work settings.

Nevertheless, Gulzar et al (2012) in a study conducted in Pakistan, found that university students were affected severely by incidents that took place outside the university boundaries and environment such as the death of one of their loved ones, especially their parents. Such incidents caused negative strong feelings. Such feelings caused a depressed mood, crying spells and feelings of fatigue and anger. This state of affairs led students to have difficulty in making the right decisions, and separated them from family and friends. Such negative feelings went on for around one month. Unfortunately this study did not report any sources of frustration caused by the learning institution, i.e. the university.

Jemal (2012) studied the adjustment problems of freshman students in an Ethiopian university and found that the major adjustment problems were in social relations. Female students were affected by such problems more than males.

Similar results were found by Burns (1991) in an Australian university. He found that overseas students suffered from higher degrees of stress than local students in areas of managing the demands of study, such as study methods, independent learning, language skills, participation, and time management.

Lazar et al (2005) studied the impact of computer user frustration on university students and found that time lost, time to fix the problem, and importance of the task strongly correlate with frustration levels for students.

Mudhovozi (2012) studied adjustment problems of first year students in a South African University. The results showed that first year students had various social and academic adjustment problems. The students over-relied on social networks and efficacious beliefs to cope with the challenges.

Rodrigo et al (2009) found that it is possible to detect frustration from students' behaviour within a learning environment.

Sierpiska (2008), in a study of students' performance in prerequisite mathematics courses, identified several sources of frustration as important among the respondents: fast pace of the courses, insufficient learning strategies, the need to change previously acquired ways of

thinking, difficult rapport with truth and reasoning in mathematics, being forced to take these courses, insufficient academic and moral support on the part of their teachers, and poor achievement. These sources of frustration had an impact on the quality of mathematical knowledge that students developed in the courses.

Brenders et al (1999) found that university bureaucracy and balkanization of information were factors that negatively influence students' perceptions of the quality of university services. They found also that students' strategies for service recovery could contribute to the overall confusion and poor performance of students.

Dean (1998) found that students perceived the classroom environment as a barrier to their success in the university, or blame factors not in their control, and lack of orientation and guidance from the university.

Rithbart,et al (1971) studied the effects of teachers' expectations of students' academic achievement on student-teacher interaction in Canada and found that teachers were far more attentive to high expectation students. However, that did not affect the amount of reinforcement given by teachers to students both high and low on the expectancy measure. Teachers described the low expectation group as less intelligent, having a smaller chance of success in the future and having a higher need for approval.

A study by Tohm (2012) of student satisfaction and frustration with online education showed that computer mediated communication theory should advance to reflect current channel and rate capacity if we are to fully understand the potential of online education.

Ditcher and Tetley (1999) found that academics and students agreed that the most important factor affecting students' success or failure is the availability of self-motivation for success and lack of self-motivation for failure. Academic staff and students also agreed on three other factors among the next five affecting success: fair and appropriate assessment, ability to manage stress, and good time management and organisational skills. Also, both groups agreed on another three factors affecting failure: insufficient effort, poor time management and organisational skills, and inability to manage stress.

Horspool & Yang (2010) found no significant differences in success learning music online versus face-to-face as measured by final grades.

Alessio (2004) found that students perceived traditional teacher-centered learning more favourably than student-centered education. Nevertheless, test scores were similar. Negative student perceptions about learning in problem-based learning classes did not support either teacher observations of learning activity in the classroom or compromised test performances.

METHOD

Research Objectives

The main objectives of this study were:

- (a) to discover the main sources or causes of university students' frustration as reported by students themselves. This part represents the structure of frustration elements, i.e. which aspects of university life represent a hurdle or obstacle that keeps the individual student from satisfying his learning goals.**

(b) to find whether the year of study of the student affects his frustration causes structure. For example, is it reasonable to expect that certain elements in university life affect students in their first year, but not during the fourth or final year of their study?

The Development of the Study Questionnaire

It was decided that this study would follow the qualitative style of research in order to let student subjects use their own words to express themselves and to describe their experiences in the university. It was decided that they should decide whether an element of university life is a problem for them or not. From the outset of this study it was decided to allow students to decide what aspects or elements of university life could be viewed as a source of dissatisfaction and hence be considered as a cause of frustration, or what makes an element or part of university life a problem for the individual student.

The expectation was that this style of research would be able to draw an overall or gestalt picture of university life and services offered from the point view of students.

Since this was a qualitative study, one way to do it was to develop an open-ended question, asking students to think of incidents, situations or experiences they came across during their presence in the university and caused them to feel disappointed, dissatisfied, or angry so that their learning attainment schedule was negatively affected.

Many researchers have used this methodology in different formats. Some asked respondents to complete an incomplete sentence. Others asked respondents to respond to one question and give—if possible—twenty different answers (Manfurd Kuhn 1978). Other researchers were satisfied with 10 different answers, while still others were looking for five different answers (Delany et al 2010).

Therefore, a question was phrased in such a way as to encourage students to think of their university experience during the previous academic year and to recall incidents or situations that created in them feelings of disappointment, dissatisfaction, anger or unhappiness and stopped them for a while from continued learning according to their learning schedules. Each answer was given two lines to describe the incident or situation in detail if possible. The answers were numbered from one to five. Also, respondents were asked to say why that incident created the disappointment or dissatisfaction feelings in them.

The second part of the questionnaire asked students to give some demographic data such as age, year of study, sex, college and total grade average, to get an idea about the characteristics of the sample.

The questionnaire was distributed to several psychologists in the Department of Psychology and other departments in the College of Education for comments. Their remarks were taken into consideration and improved the wording and the layout of the questionnaire.

Then the questionnaire was administered to a class in the department of psychology. Examining students' responses showed that all the responses were of the type expected. Minor changes to the layout and fonts of the printed questionnaire were suggested and implemented.

Pre-Testing

Before the final data collection started, the open-ended questionnaire was administered again to another class of students to make sure that the final version of the questionnaire was clearly understood by students and the responses they gave would be within the expectations of the researcher.

The examination of the responses showed that the elicited responses were of the expected response type, i.e. they were related to the meaning of the frustration concept. Therefore, the next stage was administering the questionnaire to collect the needed data.

Participants

The sample consisted of 425 undergraduate students in a major state university in Amman, the capital of Jordan. All of the students were enrolled in two courses (Introduction to Psychology, an elective course for all university students, and a non-elective course, the National Awareness course, which is a required course for all university students). The students in the study through these classes were approached by the class instructors. The author explained the aim of administering the questionnaire and assured them that the data would be used only for scientific purposes and no one need to write his or her name anywhere on the questionnaire sheet. This sample method can be labelled "opportunistic or convenient" sample.

The participants' mean age was 20 years ($sd = 4$). 157 students (37 %) were from year one, 112 (26.4 %) from year two, 93 (21.4 %) students from year three and 63 students (15 %) from the final year. The overall grade average was 2.8. Of the total sample, 352 students (83%) were female, and 74 students (17 %) were male. The administration of the open-ended questionnaire lasted 20 to 25 minutes.

Content Analysis and Themes Extraction

After the data collection, participants' responses to the open-ended question were content analysed. The quantification process (sampling and finding themes) was done in line with the guidelines of Sommer & Sommer (1986). A sample of 100 subjects' responses was chosen randomly from the 425-subject sample to create the list of themes representing all the causes of frustration mentioned or reported by the study subjects.

The sub sample of 100 respondents' responses was used to create a single long list of responses, i.e. causes of frustration. All the responses were listed. The next step was to create a short list that combined all those responses similar in meaning into a single response or cause. Possible disagreements between different coders were sorted out by consulting a small group of students enrolled in the master's degree program of the psychology department.

After creating the complete list of causes of frustration mentioned by the subjects, the author content analysed the sample taken from the subjects following the steps mentioned above. The level of agreement between the two final lists of themes was measured by Cohen's Kappa. The results was $K = 0.82$, which is a very acceptable level of agreement, i.e the reliability level of the coding method is acceptable. It is worth mentioning here that the validity of open-ended questions and all qualitative methods of research relies on face validity, concept validity or theoretical validity, and practical validity. The actual responses given by the subjects were in line with the expected responses.

Then the author created a list of major themes, which further summarized the long list of very specific themes. This shorter list, which consolidated all the long list themes, may help to guide the policies of future intervention for possible improvement of Jordanian universities.

The resultant final list of major and sub themes is presented in Table 1, with the frequency and corresponding percentage of subjects that mentioned each theme separately.

RESULTS

The result of the content analysis procedure was a list of 36 separate mutually exclusive categories or themes mentioned by all the study respondents. However, it was found that these could be categorised into six different major aspects of academic life in any university. Those major categories are the major sources of frustration in any university. They are as follows: 1) academic staff i.e. the lecturers; 2) fellow students or colleagues; 3) the university registration system; 4) the university infrastructure and physical facilities; 5) the study courses offered; 6) the non-academic staff with whom students have to be in contact at different stages of their life in the university. These six major categories covered 95% of the subjects' responses. The remaining responses were mentioned just once by just one or two respondents. Some such responses were not readable or could not be coded. These responses totalled less than five percent of all the responses given by all the subjects in the study sample.

Therefore the coding system is organized into major categories and themes (sub-categories), and these are presented in Table 1 along with the frequency and percentage of individuals mentioning each specific category or theme.

All the major themes and sub themes are presented in order from higher percentage to lower percentage of subjects mentioning each one.

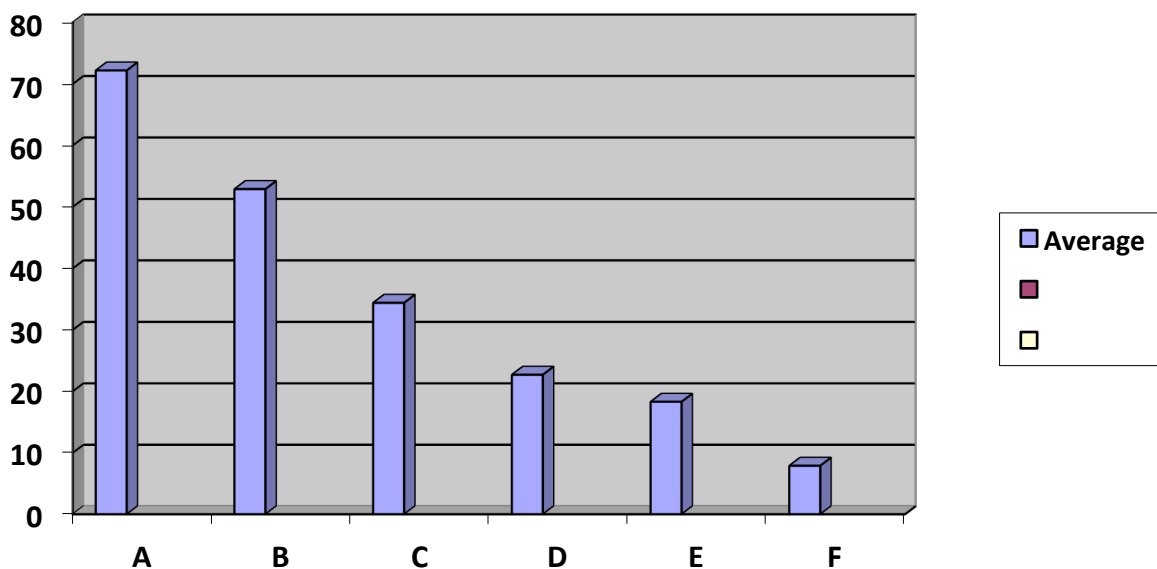


Figure 1 percentage of subjects mentioning each of the major categories

- Key : A - Relations with academic staff
B - Relations with other students
C - University registration system
D - University infrastructure buildings
E - Study courses

F – Relations with non-academic staff

RESULTS**The Structure of University Student's Frustration**

Categories and sub themes of the major frustration sources of university students as a whole irrespective of year of study

Looking at Table 1 reveals a very striking picture divided into just two overarching categories. First, relations with others, formed by three themes listed by percentage of reporting from higher to lower: relations with academic staff, relations with other students, and relations with non-academic staff. A very small percentage of students came into contact with non-academic employees, mostly during the final two years of university; on the other hand, relations with lecturers and other students affect students throughout their study in the university.

The second half of the picture consists of students' feelings and attitudes towards the university's system of doing things: the university registration system, the university infrastructure (such as buildings and classrooms), and the students' attitudes towards the study courses offered by the university academic staff.

It is worth looking closely into each major category or aspect of university life which is seen by a sizable number of students as a source of frustration to find out how these aspects may be sources of frustration.

Table 1: Frequency and percentage of subjects mentioning each sub-theme in each major category:

Major categories	sub-themes	
A – Relations with academic staff (72.7 %)		
1 - <i>Wasta</i> , discriminating between students based on family or tribal grounds		112 (23 %)
2 - Unfair marking		100 (20.5 %)
3 - Not knowing how to treat students		84 (17.2 %)
4 - Unable to teach properly		76 (15.6 %)
5 - Not allowing students to be two minutes late		36 (7.4 %)
6 - Coming very late to lectures		28 (5.7 %)
7 – A lot of material to study		28 (5.7 %)
8 - Not up to-date in their specialty		24 (4.9 %)
B – Relations with other students		
1 - Students' union election violence		76 (19 %)
2 - Behaving against Islamic values during Ramadan		76 (19%)
3 - Verbal & physical harassment		60 (15 %)
4 - Quarreling for silly reasons		48 (12 %)
5 - Discriminating between students based on tribal or racial grounds		44 (11%)
6 - Not wanting or being unable to learn		40 (10%)
7 - Disrupting lectures with loud noises		32 (8 %)
8 - Littering classrooms and sitting places with rubbish		24 (6 %)

C – University registration system

1 - Exams time table and frequency	60 (27.3 %)
2 - Classes closed	56 (25.5 %)
3 - Fees payment before registration	40 (18.2 %)
4 Lectures' time table not suitable	28 (12.7 %)
5 - <i>Wasta</i> in registration	20 (9.1 %)
6 - Registration during lectures	16 (7.3%)
7 - Registration staff not helpful	16 (7.3 %)

D – University infrastructure

1 - Classrooms very hot or very cold	80 (37 %)
2 - Very dirty toilets	40 (18.5 %)
3 - Computer lab printers without paper and ink	32 (14.8 %)
4 - College buildings very far from classrooms	24 (11.11 %)
5 - No good transport system in the university	20 (9.3 %)
6 - Bad seats	
	20 (9.3 %)

E – Study courses

1 - Courses not being up to-date	28 (31.2 %)
2 - A lot of material to study	24 (27.3 %)
3 - Laboratories without equipment	16 (18.18 %)
4 - Courses without practical part	12 (13.6 %)
5 - Courses not useful or relevant to student specialty	8 (9.1 %)

F – Relations with non-academic staff

1 - <i>Wasta</i> and not helping students	48 (63.2 %)
2 - Discriminating between students on basis of backgrounds	28 (36.8 %)

A – University lecturers as a source of frustration

How can university lecturers become a source of frustration for their students? University students said that lecturers behaving in the following ways were a source of frustration:

A-1 – Some lecturers were seen as showing preference to certain students on certain bases such as tribal, familial or religious factors and *wasta* (influential connections). The frequency of students who mentioned such behaviour was 112, representing 26 % of the total sample.

A-2 - Lecturers were judged by students as not fair in marking exam papers. 100 students mentioned this type of behaviour, 20.5% of those who mentioned the lecturers' behaviour.

A-3 – Respondents said lecturers did not know how to treat their students properly in different situations. %?

A-4 – Lecturers were considered by students as bad teachers or not able to teach properly. %?

A-5 – Lecturers were seen as very strict and did not allow students to be late two minutes to attend the class. %?

A-6 – Lecturers were reported as coming very late to lectures. %?

A-7 – Lecturers gave students a very large amount of material to study for exams. %?

A-8 – Lecturers were seen as not up to date on scientific knowledge in their own specialty.

The first aspect of behaviour was mentioned by 112 students but the last and the least mentioned was mentioned by 24 students, 4.9% of students.

B – Fellow university students as a source of frustration

B-1 and B-2 – Two different types of negative behaviour were most frequently mentioned as a source of frustration, by the same number of students: the violence that erupts among students during student union election time, and neglecting Islamic values for behaviour during the holy month of Ramadan. In each case 76 students mentioned this type of behaviour as a source of frustration, for 19% of students mentioning each.

B-3 – Verbal and physical harassment and bullying of female students by male students was mentioned by 60 subjects, 15% of students in the sample.

B-4 - Students who quarrel for silly reasons frighten other students. This type of behaviour was mentioned by 48 students, 12% of the sample.

B-5 – Students who discriminate against other students on tribal, racial and familial grounds were mentioned by 44 students, 11% of the sample.

B-6 – Students who do not want to learn or cannot learn were mentioned by 40 students, 10% of the study subjects.

B-7 – Students who disrupt lectures with loud voices and noises, making it difficult for those who want to learn to do so were mentioned by 32 subjects.

B-8 – Students who litter classrooms and campus seating areas with rubbish were mentioned by 24 subjects.

C – University registration system

C-1 – The time table and frequency of exams was mentioned as a source of frustration by 60 students, 27.3% of the sample. Students felt there were a lot of exams and their time table was not suitable. Most of the time, many students have two exams per day and sometimes two different exams on the same day and at the same time, which they cannot fulfil properly. This does not fit here, not related to registration.

C-2 – Classes closed for computer registration was mentioned with second frequency. The system of first come first served means those who start registration first have the chance to choose suitable times for themselves and those who register later find the classes suitable for their time table closed, through no fault of their own.

C-3 – Fee payment before registration forces students to pay the fees before having a chance to choose the right schedule for themselves. This causes frustration when all the suitable times for them have been taken up by other students.

C-4 – The lectures timetable was seen always unsuitable for a certain number of students, making their life during the whole term terrible.

C-5 – Wasta enables students with influential connections to choose the best timetable for themselves with the help of the staff in the registration department. Twenty students, 9.1% of the sample, mentioned this.

C-6 – Registration time occurring during the times of other lectures creates a very awkward situation for some students. They have to choose between attending the lecture or registering for the next term, and each choice has negative consequences for them.

C-7 – Registration staff not helping students to understand the procedure of registration so as to make the task easier for them was reported by 16 students (7.3%).

D – University infrastructure

This category included college buildings, classrooms, seats and bathrooms. Students complained about several different aspects, as follows.

D-1 – Eighty subjects (37%) reported that classroom temperatures were very hot in the summer and very cold in the winter. There is no air-conditioning and with many students in

classrooms that makes breathing difficult and the conditions are not conducive to listening and understanding what the lecturer is saying.

D-2 Dirty toilets that are impossible to use when urgently needed were mentioned by 40 subjects (18.5%).

D-3 Eleven students (11.1%) reported that computer laboratories were always without paper and ink, and this was very irritating for them.

D-4 Some college buildings are very far from classrooms, which makes it very difficult for a certain percentage of students to be on time for classes. For some students being late is unavoidable, and that does not please the lecturer.

D-5 There is no good transport system within the university campus. Twenty subjects (9.3 %) mentioned as a source of frustration.

D-6 Bad seats in classrooms were mentioned by 20 subjects (9.3%). Some seats can hurt students' backs and need attention.

E – Study courses

In this aspect of university life, students made comments concerning the value of the courses they are studying.

E-1 Certain courses are not up to date in their contents, i.e. the scientific knowledge is outdated and not useful for students. Perhaps the some of the texts were written several decades back. Twenty-eight subjects (31.2 %) mentioned this as a source of frustration.

E-2 The amount of material given by certain lecturers is huge and one cannot study it all. Twenty-four subjects (27.3%) mentioned this.

E-3 Sixteen students (18.18%) were frustrated by many laboratories without modern equipment.

E-4 Some courses do not have accompanying practical lessons, which makes studying them useless in certain situations. Twelve students mentioned this (13.6%).

E-5 Likewise, 12 students (13.6%) reported that certain courses they are studying are not relevant to their specialty and will not be helpful to them when the time comes to practice their specialty.

F – Non-academic staff

Though the non-academic staff is not very frequently in contact with students, apart from the secretaries of departments and colleges and the security staff, nevertheless students reported that they do not help them as they expected. Students made two different types of comments in this category, though they are not mutually exclusive.

F-1 – Wasta (influential connections) can help students. If a student wants some help, he will look for someone he or she knows in a high position, or with influential connections. This person can help the concerned student to get the needed help he or she wants.

F-2 – Twenty eight respondents (36.8%) mentioned that these employees discriminate between students on the basis of race, religion, tribe or family.

Key for Table 2 is presented here:

- A - Relations with academic staff
- B - Relation with other students
- C - University registration system
- D - University infrastructure
- E - Study courses
- F - Relations with non-academic staff

Table 2 Frequency of subjects in each year of study mentioning each of the major categories, and their corresponding percentages

Major themes	1	2	3	4	AVERAGE
A	99 63.1 %	85 75.9 %	75 80.6 %	48 76.2 %	72.2 %
B	84 53.5 %	58 51.8%	53 56.9 %	30 47.6 %	52.9 %
C	64 40.7 %	42 37.5	15 17.1 %	25 39.7 %	34.4 %
D	55 35.1 %	37 33.1 %	16 17.1 %	3 4.7 %	22.7 %
E	16 10.2 %	25 22.3 %	17 18.3 %	15 23.8 %	18.3 %
F	8 5.1 %	6 5.4 %	14 10.1 %	7 11.1 %	7.9 %

RESULTS: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FRUSTRATION DEVELOPMENT

Frustration sources change in accordance with year of study in the university. Looking carefully at Table 2, which lists the frequency and percentages of subjects mentioning each of the major categories, irrespective of its sub themes, broken down by year of the subjects' study at the university reveals the following:

More university students in the third and fourth year mentioned the non-academic staff of the university as a source of dissatisfaction and disappointment, i.e. frustration. This seems logical, since students at this level start thinking of graduation day and how they can meet all the requirements to achieve their goal, which is the graduation from the university. University employees are the ones entrusted with the task of making sure that students meet all the requirements and criteria for graduation. Some students may have difficulties in this regard; hence the complaints about the university's non-academic employees. The percentages of third and fourth year students mentioning this aspect of university life is double that of the first and second years. However, the figures are very small indeed, 10.1% and 11.1% respectively, since most students are expected to go through their university education without any major problems stopping them from graduating.

As far as the university infrastructure and physical facilities such as college buildings, classrooms, seats, cleanness, transport and air-conditioning, Table 2 show that fewer third and fourth year students mention this aspect as a source of frustration: 17.1 % of third year and 4.7 % of fourth year students, compared with 35.1% of first year and 33.1% of second year students.

Among first year students, very few expressed complaints or concerns about the study courses. Only 10.2% did so, which is roughly half of the percentages of the second, third and fourth years.

Also, a smaller percentage of first year students complained about the academic staff, i.e. the lecturers: 63.1%, which though high is substantially smaller than the percentages for the second, third and fourth years.

It is interesting to notice that the percentage of third year students to complain about the registration system was the smallest among the percentages for the various years of study.

However, the number of students complaining about relations with fellow students in class or in the university at large did not differ very much from year to year. Around 51% of the students in each year complained about problems with other students, i.e. their colleagues.

DISCUSSION

To improve the quality standards of a university, most probably we need to start with answering the simple question: What is a university? One answer is that a university is a learning community entrusted with one or both of the following tasks: science application and science creation Dreijmanis (2008).

These two tasks are mutually exclusive. They are very different in nature. Hence, very few universities in the world shoulder both goals at the same time, and very few universities in the world devote themselves to science creation only.

But all learning communities are work institutions. Like any work institution, they employ a large number of people. Perhaps each employee hates or likes his duties. Perhaps they know their duties, perhaps not. Each one has colleagues and bosses. Each one has a timetable and deadlines. Each has someone who evaluates his work quality, and whose judgment is instrumental in the rewards that he may get as a result of his effort. Each work institution's output varies in the eyes of other people. Sometimes it is good, sometimes better, sometimes worse. Institutions try to improve their standards and be continually up-to-date, since change is always taking place. The University of Jordan is no exception.

Psychologists have used several concepts to improve ultimate output quality and quantity. The following terms are among those used for these concepts: morale, satisfaction, motivation, wellbeing, happiness and frustration.

The present study employed the term frustration to pinpoint obstacles in the different aspects of university life that kept students from achieving what they wanted to achieve by entering the university. A qualitative style of research method was employed to let students who found it difficult or impossible to achieve their goals to express themselves using their own words to identify those obstacles.

The results were interesting. Students identified various obstacles as stopping them from achieving what they wanted to achieve. They identified those obstacles as follows.

- 1. Academic staff, i.e. the lecturers, behaving unfairly or unhelpfully. If the lecturers do not treat them in an acceptable way, if they do not evaluate their performance on exams in a just way, then feelings of happiness or joy will not be created as far as Freud's theory is concerned. In Pavlov's terminology, there will be no rewards received by those students. In the end, learned helplessness (Seligman 1967) will be the result. That means they will not try to achieve what they are supposed to achieve, since learned behaviour (in Skinner's terminology) is the function of its consequences.**
- 2. If some of their colleagues harass them physically or verbally, keep them from following the lecture by creating disruptive noises in lectures, behave in ways not in line with their value system, or make the environment dirty, then there is nothing in the environment that encourages them to make the necessary effort to**

learn and achieve what they came to university to achieve. The social pressure from negative behaviour of academic staff and fellow students is not conducive to learning. On the contrary, it is it encourages students not to bother. In this case there is no positive conformity to learn, in social psychological terms.

3. If lecture and exam time tables and frequency are not convenient to students' circumstances and not creating a convenient environment, then the university life is not conducive to learning.
4. The classrooms become very hot during summer, especially if they are crammed with students. Heat and lack of fresh air to breathe makes learning a difficult venture. Listening to and concentrating on the lecturer becomes an impossible task.
5. Two other aspects of university life were mentioned by a very small percentage of subjects. On the relational side, some subjects mentioned non-academic employees who do not help students or discriminate between them and rely on wasta (influential connections) to help students. This creates feelings of injustice as far as some students are concerned. This is a very painful feeling and prevents some students from learning what they wanted to learn.
6. The second aspect of university life that received little mention is the study courses themselves. If those courses are out of date, irrelevant or too large, this creates negative feelings and makes learning an unpleasant experience since it becomes a waste of time. Such feelings make motivation to concentrate, absorb the information, understand and make connections between the different elements of information impossible. The end result will be a negative learning experience which students do not want to continue or repeat.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study show that certain measures and policies can be implemented to improve the performance of the university's academic and non-academic staff and thus to improve the quality standards of its graduates.

1. **Orientation and training seminars for newly appointed lecturers are conducted by many universities around the globe. In such seminars, some of the problems mentioned by students can be addressed by experienced lecturers in the university. Exam preparation, administration and marking can be discussed in detail, along with how to answer questions frequently asked by students. The amount of scientific knowledge to be given to students can be presented, as can examples of recurrent problems and how one can solve such problems. Lecturers can be shown where to get assistance and advice in difficult situations. Lecturers can be introduced to the university's philosophy of teaching, such as teacher-based, student-based or problem-based.**
2. **Students can be directed to take courses that teach them how to approach others and establish successful relationships, whether with fellow students or lecturers, and how to solve problems peacefully and successfully.**
3. **The university can address problems with registration by talking to students. The advancements in the world of computers make this very possible.**

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research can draw from other universities in the country, especially in the far south and the far north. Perhaps problems in such places differ from the problems in Amman, the capital

of the country. Also, a quantitative study based on the present qualitative research might be very useful to work out the causality relationship between dependant and independent variables.

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Determinants of Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Students in South-South, Nigerian Universities

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Abstract

The study is aimed to find out the determinants of contraceptive behaviours of female undergraduate students in South-South, Nigerian Universities using demographic variables of age, place of residence, year of study in the university and pattern of drug use. Four research questions and four hypotheses were raised to guide the study. Descriptive survey design was used for the study. The population for the study comprised 40,800 female undergraduate student studying in the ten government owned universities. A simple random sampling technique was used to draw 2,040 female students from the six universities. A questionnaire tagged "Determinants of Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Student Questionnaire" (DCBFSQ) was used for the collection of data. The reliability coefficient index of the instrument was 0.72. Frequencies, ANOVA, t-test and Multiple Regressions were used to analyse data obtained. Decisions were taken at a 0.05 level of significance. The results showed that the contraceptive behaviours of female students in the South-South Nigerian universities were significantly determined by age, place of residence, year of study in the university and pattern of drug use. Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made: reproductive health education should be made part of general course study for all years I and II students in Nigeria universities. This would help provide contraceptive knowledge that would help influence positive contraceptive behaviours. Counseling units should be established in the Student Affairs Department of all universities to offer counseling services on women reproductive health with emphasis on contraception. Health centres in the universities should provide family planning services to female students.

BACKGROUND

The introduction to sexual activities during adolescent stage of development, according to Skolnik (2012), is an experience common to all youths. Frost, Henshaw and Sonfields (2010) attributed the rise in sexual activities to early maturation, social civilization and greater awareness of sexuality among the youths.

Further, World Health Organization (WHO, 2012) reported that the assault on sexual morality starts in life with availability of television, books, magazines, movies and music that feature sex and the use of contraceptives. Low rate of contraceptive use among female youths had resulted in about two million adolescent girls in developing countries undergoing unsafe abortion each year (Schneider, 2011).

In Nigeria, the rate of contraceptive use among female youths is low (Okonofua, 2010). Arowojolu and Adekunle (2004) reported that in Western and Southern Nigeria, the rate of contraceptive use by sexually active females still remained at 30 per cent. This was

considerably lower than the 80 per cent contraceptive use rate reported for youths in developed countries (Okpani & Okpani, 2002).

More than 610,000 Nigerian women obtained abortion each year, and about one-third of them remained students in tertiary institutions (Odebede, 2004), Falola (2005) reported of a baby being abandoned in female hostel in Federal Polytechnic, Bida, Niger State, Nigeria. Given the ills associated with unprotected sex, one would conclude that young women, including female students in Nigerian Universities would make effective use of contraceptive measures to protect themselves against the hazard of sexual intercourse.

At all levels, Nigerian government established family planning units in hospitals, and universities, trained workers and provided the required facilities and equipment to ensure effective provision of contraceptive services to women. Despite the effort by government, young women including female students in South-South Nigerian Universities may tend to have poor contraceptive use behaviours. Their behaviours toward contraceptive use are seemingly influenced by certain factors such as age, residential location, year of study in the university, and pattern of drug use and the likes. To ascertain the influence of these factors, empirical evidence was required.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of the study was to find out the determinants of contraceptive behaviours of female undergraduate students in South-South Nigerian Universities based on:

- 1. their different age groups**
- 2. their place of residence**
- 3. their years of study in the University**
- 4. their pattern of drug use.**

In considering the perceived determinants of contraceptive behaviours of female undergraduate students in South-South Nigerian Universities four research questions and four research hypotheses were formulated to guide the study.

RESEARCH METHODS

The descriptive survey research design was used for the study. This design was appropriate because the researcher has no control over the independent variables (age, place of residence, years of study in the university and pattern of drug use).

Area of the Study

The area of the study was the South-South geo-political zone of Nigeria which comprises six states (Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers States). The South-South zone of Nigeria accounts for main economic base of the country which is crude oil and gas.

Population of the Study

There were about 40,800 undergraduate female students studying in the ten government-owned universities in South-South geo-political zone in 2011/2012 academic session (NUC, 2011). The age range of students was between 17-32 years.

A total sample size of 2040 female students participated in the study. The sample size represented about five per cent of the study population of 40,800.

Instrument for Data Collection

The instrument for data collection was a questionnaire tagged “Determinants of Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Students (DCBFS)”. The instrument had two sections (A and B). Section A had four items which sought information from the respondents about their demographic variables (age, place of residence, years of study in the university and pattern of drug use). Section B had 18 items to elicit, information on respondents’ contraceptive behaviours. The items had four responses options: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D) and Strongly Disagree (SD).

Reliability of the Instrument

The split-half method of reliability testing was used, and the reliability on co-efficient was calculated using Pearson Product Moment Correlation (R) statistics. The result yielded an index of 0.72.

Method of Data Analysis

Data collected were analysed using frequencies and percentages, ANOVA and t-test. Scheffe post-hoc test was used to test significant mean difference. Decisions were taken at a 0.05 level of significance.

RESULTS

Research Questions One to Four

Data answering research questions one to four contained in Table 1.

Table 1: Means Responses of the Subjects About Their Contraceptive Behaviours in Relation to The Different Demographic Variables of The Study (N = 2040)

Variable	F	X	Decision
Age in Years			
17-21	615	1.03	N
22-26	803	3.00	P
27-31	214	3.16	P
32 and above	408	3.40	P
Place of Residence			
On campus	442	2.84	P
Off campus	699	3.10	P
Year of Study			
Part I	408	1.20	N
Part II	408	1.53	N
Part III	408	3.50	P
Part IV	408	3.62	P
Part V	408	3.62	P

Variable	F	X	Decision
Pattern of Drug Use			
Use drug very often	120	3.87	P
Use drug often	406	2.79	P
Use drug occasionally	710	1.40	N
Drug not used at all	804	1.02	N

P = positive contraceptive behaviour – those using contraceptives

N = negative contraceptive behaviour – those not using contraceptives

Mean of 2.75 and above = positive behaviour

Mean score below 2.75 represent negative contraceptive behaviour

Table 1 presents the mean responses of the subjects about their contraceptive behaviours based on the demographic variables of the study. The mean score of 2.75 and above represent positive contraceptive behavior and mean score below 2.75 represent negative contraceptive behaviours.

Hypothesis 1

Age of the female students in South-South Nigerian Universities has no significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours.

Table 2: ANOVA Summary of the Influence of Ages of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	f-cal	Table value
Between groups	1073.03	3	357.68	11.67	8.53
Within Groups	62419.688	2036	30.658		
Total	62526.99	2039			

As shown in Table 2, the calculated F-value of 11.67 was greater than the critical F value of 8.53 at .05 level of significant. The result was statistically significant. This meant that ages of female students in South-South Nigerian universities had significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours. Hence, hypothesis 1 was rejected. However, to identify the independent age groups between which the significant difference existed, the Scheffé test analysis was done.

Table 3: Scheffé post-hoc test of the Age of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours N = 2040

Age	Age	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.
17-21	21-26	.028*	1.113	.000
	27-31	-2.414*	1.320	.000
	32 and above	-2.28*	1.024	.000
21-26	17-21	-.028*	1.113	.000
	27-31	-2.442	1.555	.000
	32 and above	-2.55	1.313	.000

27-31	17-21	2.414*	1.320	.000
	21-26	2.442	1.555	.483
	32 and above	2.186	1.492	.544
32 and above	17-21	.228*	1.024	.000
	21-26	.256	1.313	.998
	27-31	-2.186	1.492	.544

The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

As shown in Table 3, the post-hoc analysis using Scheffe procedure showed that there was a significant influence at a level of 0.05 between the 17 – 21 years age group to other age groups.

Hypothesis 2

Places of Residence of the Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities do not significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours

Table 4: t-test comparison of respondents mean scores on place of Residence of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities and Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Place of residence	N	\bar{X}	SD	Df	t.cal.	t.crit.
On campus	883	56.04	11.41	2038	38.73*	1.96
Off campus	1157	43.49	9.16			

* Significant at .05 Alpha level

As indicated in Table 4, the calculated t-test value of 38.73 was greater than the critical t-value of 1.96 at 0.05 level of significance and df of 2038.

The result was therefore statistically significant. This meant that places of residence (on-campus/off-campus) of female students in Nigerian Universities did significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours. Hence, the null hypothesis 2 stated above was rejected.

Hypothesis 3

Years of study of the female students in South-South Nigerian universities do not significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours

Table 5: ANOVA Summary of Influence of Year of Study of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	f-cal	Table value
Between groups	4637.525	4	1159.381	29.443	5.63
Within Groups	80132.195	2035	38.377		
Total	84769.72	2039			

The summary of one-way analysis of variance as shown in Table 5, indicate a calculated F-value of 29.443, which was greater than the critical F value of 5.63 at a 0.05 level of significance. The result was statistically significant. This result meant that year of study of the female students in South-South Nigerian Universities did significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours. Hypothesis 3 therefore, was rejected.

However, Scheffé test was applied to determine the specific year of study groups between which the difference existed. This is shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Scheffé post-hoc test of the Year of Study of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Year of study		Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Part I	Part II	-1.415	1.386	.903
	Part III	-11.341*	1.386	.000
	Part IV	-7.610*	1.386	.000
	Part V	-11.095*	1.395	.000
Part II	Part I	1.415	1.386	.903
	Part III	-9.927*	1.386	.000
	Part IV	-6.195*	1.386	.001
	Part V	-9.680*	1.395	.000
Part III	Part I	11.341*	1.386	.000
	Part II	9.927*	1.386	.000
	Part IV	3.732	1.386	.128
	Part V	.247	1.395	1.000
Part IV	Part I	7.610*	1.386	.000
	Part II	6.195*	1.386	.001
	Part III	-3.732	1.386	.128
	Part V	-3.485	1.395	.186
Part V	Part I	11.095*	1.395	.000
	Part II	9.680*	1.395	.000
	Part III	-.247	1.395	1.000
	Part IV	3.485	1.395	.186

* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

Scheffé post-hoc test in Table 6 indicate that the significant differences existed among all the year of study groups on their contraceptive behaviours, except Part I and Part II that differ from Part III, Part IV and Part V.

Hypothesis 4

Pattern of drug use by female students in Nigerian universities do not significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours.

Table 7: ANOVA Summary of Influence of Pattern of Drug Use of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	f-cal	Table value
Between groups	5257.079	3	1752.36	65.732	8.63
Within Groups	54277.724	2036	26.656		
Total	69534.803	2039			

As in Table 7, the calculated F-value of 65.732 was greater than the critical F value of 8.63 at a 0.05 level of significance. The result was statistically significant. This therefore meant that

pattern of drug use of the female students in South-South Nigerian Universities did significantly influence their contraceptive behaviours. Hypothesis 4 was therefore rejected.

Scheffé's test was used to determine the specific groups in pattern of drug use where the significant difference occurred. This is shown in Table 7.

Table 8: Scheffé post-hoc test of the Pattern of Drug Use of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities on Their Contraceptive Behaviours (N = 2040)

Pattern of Drug Use		Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.
Use drug very often	Use drug often	3.350	1.695	.275
	Use drug occasionally	8.385*	1.612	.000
	Drug not used at all	15.129*	1.598	.000
Use drug often	Use drug very often	-3.350	1.695	.275
	Use drug occasionally	5.035*	1.013	.000
	Drug not used at all	11.780	.992	.000
Use drug occasionally	Use drug very often	-8.385*	1.612	.000
	Use drug often	-5.035*	1.013	.000
	Drug not used at all	6.744*	.842	.000
Drug not used at all	Use drug very often	-15.129*	1.598	.000
	Use drug often	-11.780	.992	.000
	Use drug occasionally	-6.744*	.842	.000

* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

Data in Table 8 indicate that the significant difference occurred among all the groups except the groups that use drug very often and the group that use drug often. This showed that these groups did not differ in their contraceptive behaviours based on their pattern of drug use.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The discussion of findings was done based on the outcome of data analysis for each of the hypotheses.

Ages of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities and their Contraceptive Behaviours

The descriptive analysis in Table 1 clearly showed that the university female students within the ages of 22 – 26 years, 27 – 31 years and 32+ years had positive contraceptive behaviours, while those in the 17 – 21 years age bracket had negative contraceptive behaviours. This implied that age of university female students had influence on their contraceptive behaviours. The reason for the observed results might be that young female students (17-21 years) lacked knowledge about contraception. This result did not occur by chance. Further analysis with ANOVA confirmed that age of the female students in South-South Nigerian Universities had significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours. This showed that age was a major determinant of contraceptive behaviours of female students in South-South Nigerian universities. This finding came out as observed by Kaye, Suellentron and Sloup (2011) that the sexually active young women (age 15 – 19 years) were less likely to use contraception than adults (20 – 30 years), even with marriage. The present finding was further collaborated by Briggs and Peter-Kuo (2011) who reported that in Rivers State, Nigeria, the proportion of new acceptors of contraceptives in the 15 – 19 years age group was low. Islam and Mahmud (1995)

stated that studies in developing countries demonstrated that the behavioural patterns of contraceptive acceptance and use differ significantly between female adolescents (10 – 19 years of age) and adult women (20 – 40 years). This suggested less contraceptive practices and negative contraceptive behaviours among these sexually active age groups. This might be because these 17 – 21 years were not yet exposed and might still be under their parents watch eye.

Place of Residence and Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities

Based on the result, the second hypothesis, which stated that the place of residence of female students in South-South Nigerian Universities had no significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours, was rejected, as the calculated t-test value of 38.73 was significant at 0.05 level of significance. The descriptive data in Table 1 showed that the off-campus female students had a higher mean score of 3.1 on contraceptive behaviours than the on-campus female students with mean score of 2.84. Both groups however, expressed positive behaviours towards contraceptive use.

From the analysis of data, it became evident that place of residence of female students in South-South Nigerian Universities had significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours. The result could be explained based on the fact that the female students, irrespective of their place of residences were exposed to a number of sexual partners. Hence, they were likely to get prepared at all times for unplanned, unexpected and forced sexual intercourse by using contraceptives, particularly the condom. Many of the students also were frequently involved in sexual activities as a result, used contraceptive to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections. Previous investigation had reported of female students being involved in coercive sexual intercourse (Moreno, 2012).

The present finding further suggested that the off-campus female university students used contraceptive more than the on-campus students. The reason might rest on the fact that off-campus female students were more exposed to opportunities for sexual intercourse than did the on-campus female students. Leaving off-campus also gave female students an unrestricted freedom from parents and close relations to do what they wanted. According to Magadi and Curtis (2003), contraceptives provided female students the opportunity to get involved in sexual relations without fear of conception. In other words, having sex without fear. In this respect, Adhikari and Tamana (2009) opined that the differences in levels of contraceptive use by women based on location of residence vary among countries. In 59 out of 60 surveyed developing countries, the rates of contraceptive use among women in rural areas were lower than in urban areas (Moreno, 2012).

In contrast, Curtis and Neilzel (2006) reported that in countries in Eastern and Central Asia, differences in contraceptive behaviours among sexually active women were quite small. In Jamaica, the behaviours of urban and rural women towards contraceptive use were same according to the authors.

Year of Study and Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities

From the result in Table 10, it was evident that year of study of female students in South-South Nigerian Universities had significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours. Descriptive data indicated that the female students in part I and part II had negative contraceptive

behaviours whereas those in part III, IV and V had positive behaviours towards contraceptive use. The reason for the observed results might be that the female students in part I and part II were not fully exposed or knowledgeable about contraceptives. Moreover, they might rarely cultivate desire for sexual intercourse, and besides, they might lack access to family planning information and services. They might also be trying to adjust to the new university environment. This result agreed with Resmick (2010) that the more years of school that a woman had completed, the higher their contraceptives use, and the lower their fertility. In Malawi, for example, Gupta and Mahy (2011) obtained the result that further corroborated with the present finding. The authors reported that women with no education and those in their early years in post-secondary institutions had lower contraceptive use rate than did those in their third and fourth year of studies.

Patterns of Drug Use and Contraceptive Behaviours of Female Students in South-South Nigerian Universities

The result obtained indicated that the patterns of drug use by female students in South-South Nigerian Universities had significant influence on their contraceptive behaviours. The descriptive analysis using mean clearly showed that the female students in the subset of “use drug very often” had a mean score of 3.87, and those who “use drug often” had a mean score of 2.79, which showed that they had positive contraceptive behaviours. Whereas, those that did not use drug at all had mean score of 1.02, and those that use drug occasionally with a mean score of 1.4 had negative contraceptive behaviours. The Scheffé analysis revealed that the rate of influence of drug use on the students’ contraceptive behaviours did differ. The observed difference laid specifically in the subsets or groups of female students tagged “drug not used at all” and “use drug occasionally”. The result might be attributed to the fact that drug use promoted sexual urge and involvement in sexual activity. For this reason, the sexually active female students who use drugs, particularly alcohol, used contraceptives to prevent unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections for their frequent engagements in sexual intercourse.

Fryar, et al. (2010) found that the contraceptive behaviours of female prostitutes (sex workers) were commonly influenced by their stimulated sexual drive induced by drugs and alcohol agreed with the present result. The current finding was further collaborated by Uba, Nwosu and Tahir (2003) who found that many self-sponsored female students relied on having sex with men for money and they usually deaden their minds with drugs (cigarettes, marijuana, alcohol) and prepared themselves with various forms of contraceptives before setting out for their sexual activities.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the findings of this study, it was concluded that age, place of residence, year of study and pattern of drug use of the female students in South-South Nigerian universities were the major determinants of the female students’ contraceptive behaviour.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were made:

- 1. Women reproductive health education should be introduced as a general course of study for all Part I and Part II students in Nigerian universities in order to provide contraceptive knowledge, which may lead to students acquiring positive influence on contraceptive behaviours.**

- 2. Guidance and counselling units should be established in the Students Affairs Departments of every university to render counselling services on women reproductive health with particular emphasis on contraception.**
- 3. Family planning unit should be established in health centres of universities to provide family planning services to female students.**

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Assessment of Training and Development Practices in Xyz Gold Mines Limited (Xyzgml) In Ghana

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Abstract

This study assessed the effectiveness of training and development (T&D) in XYZ Gold Mines Limited (XYZGML). The census method was employed as the study was targeted at 53 junior staff employees who participated in engineering training programmes between July to September 2009; and 9 direct supervisors. Questionnaires were used to collect data for the study. The findings indicate that knowledge and skills level of trained staff in terms of engineering principles, techniques and practices increased after the training programme. However, the results showed that supervisors failed to review their performance regularly and were also not provided the needed feedback to improve their performance. The absence of a recognition scheme to reward trained employees militated against the learning transfer. In spite of these challenges, the training led to significant and moderate improvement in employees' job performance. The study recommends that XYZGML develops a detailed procedure on training transfer; design and implement both financial and non-financial recognition schemes to reward supervisors and trainees who consistently demonstrate the new knowledge and skills on the job; and ensure trainees and their supervisors sign training performance contract specifying performance standards and expectations.

Key words: Training, development, training needs assessment, knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs), Kirkpatrick's training model.

INTRODUCTION

The constant change in the workplace has created the need for organisations to continuously provide their employees with certain knowledge, skills, abilities, and other characteristics (KSAOs) in order to maintain market competitiveness and business survival (Lee & Bruvold, 2003; Buckley & Caple, 2007; Jamil & Som, 2007). Effective training and development (T&D) which aims at updating the knowledge, skills, abilities (KSAs) and perspectives of new employees as well as existing workforce on regular basis has been identified as the only best way to facilitate the ongoing change in the workplace (McArdle, 2007; Moskowitz, 2008). According to Tung-Chun (2001), educated and well-trained employees are prerequisites for an organisation's competitive advantage. Given its increasing critical role, organisations now invest heavily in the T&D of their workforce (Kraiger, McLinden & Casper, 2004; Merriam & Leahy, 2005).

In 2006, organisations in the United States alone spent over \$129 billion on employee training and development (ASTD, 2007). This investment increased to about \$134 billion in 2007 (Paradise, 2008). A recent study of 15 mining companies in 10 countries also indicated that Ghanaian mining companies spend an average of \$273 annually in training a machine operator (Swann Global, 2009). These investments clearly emphasise the value that organisations place on their human resources as the key source of sustainable competitive advantage (Noe, 2005; McKenna & Beech, 2008; Torrington & Hall 2008; Opperman & Meyer, 2008).

The significant investment in T&D by organisations also stems from the belief that T&D enhances individual and organisational performance (Kearns, 2000; Thorne & Machray, 2000; Harrison, 2005). T&D activities enable corporations to achieve their vision, mission, and company-wide strategic goals by facilitating positive changes in employees' knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours that improve individual job performance and contribute to the overall effectiveness of organisations (Moskowitz, 2008). Additionally, effective T&D has the associated benefits of increased profits, higher productivity rates, lower turnover rates, improved team and individual performance, and increased company loyalty (Hughey & Mussnug, 1997; Burden & Proctor, 2000; Armstrong, 2001; Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009). Individual employees also benefit from T&D through self-empowerment and lifelong learning (Wall, Wood & Leach, 2004; Nickson, 2007). Thus, employee T&D is now a big business and almost every organisation, city and state has become involved in job training (Goldstein & Ford, 2002).

In spite of the tangible and intangible benefits associated with T&D, many analysts of T&D programmes contend that much of the money being spent on employee T&D efforts is not being well spent. This is because most organisations neither assess their T&D needs adequately nor evaluate the benefits of training to organisations (Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Noe, 2005; Brinkerhoff, 2005). Such conclusions have led to widespread perceptions and criticisms that T&D are expensive activities (Gómez-Mejía, Balkin, Cardy, 2010). Consequently, organisational T&D activities are normally treated as optional schemes and not a strategic activity (White, 1998).

The whole area of employee T&D presents both an opportunity and a challenge for organisations. It presents an opportunity for organisations to leverage their T&D practices to improve the KSAs of their employees and the challenge of ensuring that learned knowledge and skills successfully transfer to the job environment to improve the overall effectiveness of organisations.

Using Kirkpatrick's Level 2 (learning) and Level 3 (behaviour) training evaluation model, this study strives to contribute to the area of employee T&D by investigating the effectiveness of training and development programmes for junior staff being undertaken by XYZ Gold Mines Limited (XYZGML). In this regard, the extent to which trainees attitudes' changed, knowledge and skills increased as a result of attending the training programme (Level 2) were assessed, as well as the extent to which their performance on the job improved following participation in the training programme (Level 3) (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Evidence from benchmarking studies by the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) suggests that organisations are investing more heavily in the T&D of their employees (Van Buren & Erskine, 2002; Moskowitz, 2008). As a result of the significant investment, it is important that the T&D efforts demonstrate a convincing value-addition to organisations

(Dowling & Welch, 2004; Noe, 2005). Additionally, since the desired outcome of any T&D activity is improved performance, it is inadequate if T&D efforts do not produce significant new behaviours in the workplace (Wang & Wentling, 2001; Goldstein & Ford, 2002).

However, researchers have shown that only about 10% to 40% of training provided transfers to the job environment (Broad & Newstrom, 1992; Holton & Baldwin, 2003; Merriam & Leahy, 2005). Following the commissioning of its Sulfide Expansion Project in 2007, XYZGML has initiated a number of T&D activities at the mine. From 2006 to 2009, over two hundred junior staff employees have benefited from various engineering training programmes at the AngloGold Training Centre, Obuasi. Although XYZGML is putting in much effort towards the T&D of its junior staff workforce, no formal training evaluation has been conducted to assess the effectiveness of these programmes. The question therefore is “how effective have these junior staff engineering T&D programmes been in achieving their specific objectives?”

The study, therefore, was guided by four research questions as follows:

- 1. To what extent did the T&D programmes increase the knowledge and skills level of employees participating in company-sponsored training programmes?**
- 2. To what extent have employees transferred the knowledge and skills they acquired from company-sponsored training programmes to the job?**
- 3. What factors hindered the application of knowledge and skills gained through the T&D to the workplace?**
- 4. To what extent have the T&D programmes resulted in positive changes in employee performance on the job?**

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a descriptive cross-sectional survey design (Creswell, 2008). To achieve the study objective, data was collected on training participants' perceptions and opinions about the programme, their learning experiences and their job behaviours after the T&D programme. The population of the study comprised 909 employees of XYZGML. Out of this total, 63 represent management, 158 senior, and 688 junior staff. However, the target population for the study comprised 53 junior staff employees of the Plant and Mine Maintenance departments who participated in the engineering training programmes from July 2014 to September 2014 and all the 9 direct supervisors of those employees. This study employed the census method as the study population was small. Questionnaires were used to collect data from the study population. Two sets of questionnaires were used for the study: one for the training participants and the other for the direct supervisors of the training participants. The questionnaires were adapted from Kirkpatrick and Kirkpatrick's (2007) practical guide for evaluating training programmes but were modified to suit the research questions of the study. Closed-ended questions and scale items were used to collect data from respondents. The validity and reliability of the questionnaires designed for the study were pre-tested with 10 training participants from the Plant Maintenance Department and 5 training participants from the Mine Maintenance Department.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of training

On a very general level, training can be described as a process of providing job-related competencies to employees to enable them to perform their current jobs effectively. Training has also been defined as a planned effort whereby an organisation helps its employees acquire job-related knowledge, skills, abilities, and behaviours to improve their performance on the job (DeCenzo & Robbins, 1998; Bohlander & Snell, 2004; Noe et al., 2006). Therefore, training

programmes are planned to produce a more competent technician in the workplace or leaders of complex organisations (Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Armstrong, 2006). Non-managers are normally trained in their current jobs to develop technical skills and competencies (Stoner, Freeman & Gilbert, 1995; Eugene, 2003). In some literature, training is used synonymously with development

The concept of employee development

The concept of employee development has engaged the concern of experts and practitioners. Development has been conceptualised as a process whereby an employee through learning and maturation becomes increasingly complex, more elaborate and differentiated, and able to adapt to the changing business environment (Beardwell & Holden, 1997; Beardwell & Claydon, 2007). It also encompasses the whole change of the employee in the course of their experience and growth through career and lifespan (Gibb, 2002; Harrison, 2005). The individual employee, through development process, improves their abilities to perform a wide variety of roles within and outside the organisation as well as enhancing their adaptability in work performance both in the short-term and the long-term (Mumford & Gold, 2004; Wilson, 2005; Armstrong, 2006). Development activities therefore seek to prepare employees for the next job opportunity (Noe, 2005; Werner & DeSimone, 2006; Moskowitz, 2008).

Thus, in the workplace, employees are trained and managers and professionals are developed (Gibb, 2002). Development programmes emphasise on personal development and planned learning from experience (Armstrong, 2006) and also purport to enhance the ability of the employees to advance in the company (Eugene, 2003).

Business case for training and development in organisations

Training plays a pivotal role in organisational functioning (Goldstein, 1993). According to O'Toole and Lawler (2006), understanding the phenomenon of employee training and development (T&D) requires the appreciation of the following changes that take place as a result of learning: rapid changes in technology, job exploration, downsizing, global competition and aging workforce. As the generator of new knowledge, employee T&D is placed within a broader strategic context of human resources management with the goal of benefiting both the organisation and employees (Vemic, 2007). Benefits for the organisation include improved employee work performance, increased productivity, decrease in wastage, fewer accidents, less absenteeism, and greater customer satisfaction (Aquinas, 2006; Buckley & Caple, 2007). Individual employees also benefit from company-sponsored training through intrinsic job satisfaction (performing tasks well) and extrinsic job satisfaction derived from extra earnings accrued through improved performance and enhancement of career and promotion prospects within and outside the organisation (Buckley & Caple, 2007). The strategic context of T&D also extends to a wide range of learning actions from training for tasks and knowledge sharing to improved customer service and career development (Noe, 2005, Beardwell & Claydon, 2007). T&D efforts enable organisations to increase their competitiveness and ensure their survival in the face of constant change in the workplace (Jamil & Som, 2007; Moskowitz, 2008; Aguinis & Kraiger, 2009).

Additionally, changes in work systems, technological developments, and new services continue to create obsolescence in the workplace. Obsolescence results when employees no longer possess the knowledge and skills needed to perform successfully on the job (Werther & Davis, 1996). However, training and developing employees leads to increased employee satisfaction and commitment, improves operational flexibility by extending the range of skills possessed by

employees (Armstrong, 2001), and strengthens the organisation's competitiveness (Hughey & Mussnug, 1997; Burden & Proctor, 2000).

Furthermore, training-related changes result in improved job performance and other positive changes like acquisition of new skills and knowledge (Hill & Lent, 2006; Satterfield & Hughes, 2007) that serve as antecedents of job performance (Kraiger, 2002). Thus, T&D activities do not only enable corporations to achieve their vision, mission, and company-wide strategic goals but facilitate positive changes in employees' knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours that improve individual job performance and contribute to the overall effectiveness of organisations (Moskowitz, 2008, Opperman & Meyer, 2008).

Training and development needs assessment

A training needs assessment (TNA) is a process of determining whether training is the right solution to a workplace problem (Tobey, 2005; Mathis & Jackson, 2007; Cekada, 2010). It is the gap between the knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSAs) already possessed by the trainee (Rao, 2005). TNA is therefore the first step in the training and development process (Elkeles & Phillips, 2007; Kirkpatrick & Kirkpatrick, 2007; Opperman & Meyer, 2008), and the basis for the training plan (Van der Wagen, 2007). In order to be successful and achieve their objectives, each type of T&D initiatives must target a certain training need (Bhattacharyya, 2007; McArdle, 2007). This need must always be linked to the essential knowledge, skills and attitudes (KSAs) that individuals must possess to perform their jobs competently thereby accomplishing the desired results (Opperman & Meyer, 2008). It is believed that TNA not only ensures returns on investments on T&D by organisations, but also as the first step of T&D cycle, it minimises errors possibly made in the training programmes (Elbadri, 2001). A considerable relationship is also claimed to exist between TNA and training effectiveness (Tung-Chun, 2001). TNA also serves as the foundation for determining instructional objectives, the selection and design of instructional programmes, the implementation of the programmes and the evaluation of the training provided (Miller & Osinski, 2002).

However, many organisations fail to acknowledge the importance of TNA in practice (Jamil & Som, 2007). Researchers have shown that approaches to T&D are often conducted informally and unsystematically with most organisations relying heavily on top management judgements to make training decisions such as types of training to invest in and which employees to receive training (Aagnaia, 1996; Elbadri, 2001; Gargiulo et al; 2006; Buckley & Caple, 2007).

To be effective, TNA must be conducted at three levels of analysis, namely: organisational analysis, task analysis, and person analysis (Miller & Osinski, 2002; Noe, 2005; Mathis & Jackson; 2007; Dessler, 2008). While any one of the three levels of analysis might indicate a need for training, it is recommended that information from all three levels of analysis are collected before a decision to devote time and money for training is made (Noe, 2005).

Methods of training have been presented in a lot of papers and we will not dwell on that. The next section discusses transfer of training.

Transfer of training

According to Broad and Newstron (1992), training transfer refers to "the effective and continuing application, by trainees to their jobs, of knowledge and skills gained in training – both on and off the job" (p.6). Holton III and Baldwin (2003), on the other hand, define transfer as the degree to which employees use newly acquired knowledge and skills to perform their job effectively and enhance organisational effectiveness. It has been widely acknowledged

that training transfer is important for organisations to ensure that training leads to desired work outcomes such as improvement in knowledge and skills and increased job performance (Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Noe, 2005; Velada et al., 2007).

Nevertheless, researchers have acknowledged that transfer problems always occur when training employees (Broad & Newstrom, 1992; Rouiller & Goldstein, 1993, Montesino, 2002). For instance, Broad and Newstrom (1992) identify the following four barriers that inhibit the transfer of the newly acquired knowledge and skills back to the job: (1) lack of involvement by top management in the behaviour change process; (2) lack of reinforcement on the job to support trainees in applying knowledge and skills to their jobs; (3) interference by the immediate environment (work and time pressures, insufficient authority, ineffective work processes, inadequate equipment or facilities), and (4) lack of active support by the organisational climate or culture.

Kirkpatrick's model of evaluating training and development

A number of scholars have developed models of evaluation at some point in time, however the Kirkpatrick's evaluation framework has been articulated as the most influential and widely used framework for evaluating T&D efforts in organisations (Phillips, 1997; Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Noe, 2005; Truelove, 2006; Beardwell & Claydon, 2007), which this study adopts. The widely acceptance of the Kirkpatrick evaluation model was confirmed in 1997 when the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) assessed the nationwide prevalence of the importance of measurement and evaluation to HRD executives by surveying a panel of 300 HRD executives from various U.S. organisations. Survey results indicated that the majority (81%) of the HRD executives attached some level of importance to evaluation and over half (67%) used the Kirkpatrick Model (ASTD, 1997). According to Beardwell and Claydon (2007), the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD) 2006 Learning and Development survey revealed the pervasive usage of the Kirkpatrick's training evaluation model: 98% evaluate at Level 1, 75% at level 2, 62% at Level 3, and 36% evaluate as far as Level 4.

The Kirkpatrick Model has also been the foundation on which subsequent models for evaluating training and performance are built (Russ-Eft & Preskill, 2001). Truelove (2006) concludes that the model has endured because it is simple, logical, and useful. Bee and Bee (2003) also believe that the Kirkpatrick Model is useful because each evaluation level contributes to building up a complete picture of the whole T&D evaluation process. Popularly known as the four-level model, Kirkpatrick's hierarchical model has the following components: reaction (level 1), learning (level 2), behaviour (level 3), and results (level 4) (Kirkpatrick, 1994).

Bates (2004) posits that there are at least three limitations of the Kirkpatrick Model that have implications on the ability of training evaluators to deliver training benefits to organisational clients. These limitations include the incompleteness of the model, the assumption of causality, and incremental importance of information. Despite the foregoing criticisms and limitations of the Kirkpatrick four-level training evaluation model, the model has dominated the evaluation literature.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The key results that emerged from research objective 1 are that majority of the employees (64.1%) confirmed that they had little knowledge prior to the training. The knowledge and

skills level of employees were confirmed by 77.8% of supervisors who acknowledged that their subordinates had little knowledge and skills level before their participation in the training programme. However, employees' knowledge and skills level improved after the training. This was confirmed by 32% of the employees who indicated their knowledge level was very high after the training, and 49.1% acknowledging high level of knowledge and skills after the training. Increase in employees' level of knowledge after the training was also confirmed by 11.1% of the supervisors as very high and 66.7% indicated high level of knowledge after the training.

With regard to research objective 2, the following were the key results. Twenty-four (45.3%) of employees reported that they were not given the opportunity to use the new knowledge and skills gained through the training on the job. In contrast, however, 20 (37.8%) of the employees confirmed that they were given the required opportunity to utilize the newly acquired knowledge and skills on the job. Eight out of the 9 supervisors (88.9%), on the other hand, reported that their subordinates (being the trained employees) were offered the needed opportunity to experiment the new knowledge and skills acquired from the training on the job. Working tools to enable trained employees to perform their assigned responsibilities were found to be either non-existent or inadequate. Thirty-two employees (60.3%) out of the 53 surveyed attested to this weakness in the company and was confirmed by 22.2% of their supervisors. Twenty-five (46.9%) of the trained employees submitted that their performance after training was not regularly reviewed and were also not provided the required feedback on their performance. On the contrary, however, 36.2% of the trained employees indicated that their performance after training were reviewed regularly and also received regular feedback on their performance. All the nine supervisors (100%) agreed strongly or agreed that they reviewed their subordinates' performance and provided regular feedback on their performance to them. There is no scheme in place to reward employees who consistently apply the new knowledge and skills gained through the training to the job. Forty-eight of the trained staff (90.6%) stated that there was no reward scheme in place for employees who continuously demonstrated the new competencies acquired from the training on the job, and 88.9% of the supervisors acknowledged this reality. However, both supervisors (66.7%) and employees (90.6%) agreed strongly or agreed that trained staff who failed to consistently apply the new competencies gained through the company-sponsored training to the job were sanctioned.

The key results highlighted in the study under research objective 3 were that the company has implemented monitoring mechanisms to evaluate employees' performance on the job after training. The on-the-job performance of the majority of the trained staff (41.5%) improved significantly after the training programme. Majority of the supervisors (44.5%) also confirmed significant improvement in the trained staff's performance after the training. Nineteen employees (35.9%), however, indicated that they experienced moderate performance improvement after the training, and 22.6% attested that they experienced little improvement in their job performance after the engineering training programme. The moderate and little performance improvement experienced by the trained staff were also observed by 33.3% and 22.2% of their direct supervisors respectively.

Discussion

The results for research question 1 revealed that training participants' knowledge and skills level improved after the training programme. Thus, trainees absorbed and understood the principles, facts and techniques taught in the course of the training programme (Kirkpatrick, 1994). Learning acquired through the training also improved the theoretical knowledge of trainees (Bee & Bee, 2003; Werner & DeSimone, 2006) as well as increasing their skills and

attitudes (Armstrong, 2001; Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Gully & Chen, 2010). However, the slightly mixed results reported by few trainees that there was no change in their knowledge level after participating in the training programme could be linked to Bee and Bee's (2003) interpretation of what is actually meant by learning. According to Bee and Bee (2003), learning evaluation is not an assessment to ascertain whether learning has been transferred to the workplace but rather it seeks to measure what has been learned from the programme. It can therefore be concluded that trainees who indicated that there was no change in their knowledge after the training programme did experience some level of learning but were unable to make a distinction between knowledge transfer to the workplace and theoretical knowledge gained through the training programme.

With regard to research question 2, majority of the training participants and their immediate supervisors agreed that the knowledge and skills acquired from the training programme were transferred to the job. This finding confirms studies conducted by researchers (Rothwell & Sredl, 1992; Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Noe, 2005) into training transfer which found that supportive organisation environment such as organisational climate, supervisor support, and co-worker encourages training transfer. Further research studies have also shown that when trainees perceive that their supervisors support the application of newly developed knowledge and skills, they are more likely to transfer these competencies back to the job (Brinkerhoff & Montesino, 1995; Colquitt et al., 2000; Noe, 2005; Tracey & Tews, 2005). Clearly, trainees who reported that they applied the new knowledge and skills to the job received the needed support from their immediate supervisors and co-workers. Ford et al (1998) also found that performance self-efficacy, which refers to the individuals' general belief that they are able to change their performance when desired, is strongly related to transfer of training. They observed that trainees with higher self-efficacy are more likely to transfer the training to the job. Contrary to the findings, few of the training participants, on the other hand, reported that they did not continuously apply the knowledge and skills gained from the training to the job. This result could, therefore, be attributed to low self-efficacy on the part of the trainees to apply the new knowledge and skills to the job as well as lack of supervisory support during the application of the new knowledge and concepts to the job after the training programme.

The findings for research question 3 revealed mixed responses from training participants and their immediate supervisors though some of the results supported the findings in the literature. Factors preventing the transfer of training were grouped into supervisory and co-worker support. With regard to supervisory support, most of the training participants and their supervisors confirmed that there were no adequate working tools in place to enable the trainees to perform their assigned jobs competently after training. Additionally, recognition for good performance after the training was also non-existent; hence, there was no incentive in place for employees who implemented the knowledge and skills acquired from the training. However, these results are in contrast with findings by Broad and Newstrom (1992) who indicated that on-the-job reinforcements initiated by supervisors enable trainees to apply the newly acquired knowledge and skills to their jobs. The finding also contradicts Hale's (2002) observation that to encourage the application of new knowledge and skills to the job, employees must be rewarded for exhibiting the new behaviours.

Regarding the opportunity to use the new knowledge and skills acquired from the training as well as performance feedback provided to trainees, training participants and their immediate supervisors offered contrasting views on the two variables. Whereas the immediate supervisors of training participants agreed that they provided adequate opportunity to their

subordinates to use the new knowledge and skills on the job and also provided the necessary feedback on their performance, the trainees disagreed with the observation made by their immediate supervisors, thereby contradicting researchers' findings on the effectiveness of these two variables on learning transfer. As noted by several researchers, supervisory support in providing performance feedback and using effective communication practices enhances transfer of learning to the job (Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Holton & Baldwin, 2003; Tracey & Tews, 2005; Chiaburu & Taklead, 2005). Tracey et al (1995) also found opportunity to use the newly acquired knowledge and skills on the job as one of the indicators of supportive organisational climate that facilitates transfer of training to the workplace.

The disagreement relating to opportunity to use new skills also raises doubts as to whether, indeed, an action plan was developed to guide the training transfer. In spite of the foregoing contradictions in the literature, training participants and their immediate supervisors agreed that action plan was developed to facilitate training transfer and sanctions for non-performance after participating in a training programme were also in place to support learning transfer. Furthermore, training participants articulated the high level of support received from their co-workers, confirming research findings relating co-worker or peer support as one of the indicators of transfer climate that influences training transfer to the workplace (Rothwell & Sredl, 1992; Goldstein & Ford, 2002; Holton & Baldwin, 2003; Tracey & Tews, 2005).

Finally, with respect to findings relating to research question 4, study participants indicated that trainees' on-the-job performance improved after their participation in the engineering training programme. This result confirms similar findings by Barber (2004). In a study involving mechanics in Northern India, Barber found that trained mechanics learned to build two Jeep bodies utilizing a home-made hammer, chisel, and oxyacetylene. Other researchers have also found that training-related changes result in improved performance on the job (Kraiger, 2002; Hill & Lent, 2006; Satterfield & Hughes, 2007). Similarly, trainees' self-report of performance improvement after training was found by Velada et al (2007) as the most important and valid source of the measurement of job performance since trainees' perceptions drive their motivation and performance on the job. Thus, trainees' self-report that their performance on the job improved following their participation in the engineering training programme provides enough justification that the changes in their performance were attributable to the new knowledge and skills acquired from the training programme.

CONCLUSIONS

The extent to which trained employees transfer the newly acquired knowledge, skills and abilities back to the job is critical for the success of any training intervention designed to rectify knowledge or performance deficiency identified through training needs assessment. Such successful transfer of learning will indeed be facilitated by a supportive organisational environment consisting of appropriate organisational climate, supervisor support as well as co-worker support.

With regard to this study, knowledge and skills level of trained staff in terms of engineering principles, techniques and practices increased after the training programme. However, the required organisational climate and supervisory support to facilitate the transfer of the new knowledge and skills to the job was lacking, resulting in a controversy between supervisors and their subordinates as to the interpretation of the level of support required and provided. For instance, majority of the trained staff and their supervisors lamented on the lack of working tools to perform assigned duties. Additionally, the trained staff emphasized that their

supervisors failed to review their performance regularly and were also not provided the needed feedback to improve their performance. Furthermore, the absence of a recognition scheme to reward trained employees who consistently demonstrate the application of the new knowledge, techniques and concepts acquired from the training to the workplace militated against the learning transfer.

In spite of the challenges confronted by trained staff, the training led to significant and moderate improvement in employees' job performance. This significant and moderate improvement in performance notwithstanding, some employees experienced little performance improvement. Overall, the engineering training programme was successful as it resulted in increased knowledge and skills level of employees and also contributed to improved employee performance on the job.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY FORMULATION

The foregoing findings and conclusions point to fundamental concerns that must be addressed to maximise return on training and development efforts in XYZ Gold Mines Limited (XYZGML). It is recommended that Management of XYZGML should:

- 1. Develop a detailed procedure on training transfer. This procedure should specify the responsibilities of management in the areas of required logistics and working tools, supervisory and co-work support. Highlighted in supervisory responsibilities should include but not limited to the development of action plans to support training transfer, regular performance review, feedback, coaching and mentoring. Co-workers should be encouraged to support trained staff and not to undermine their efforts when exhibiting the new competencies on the job.**
- 2. Implement a recognition scheme, both financial and non-financial, to reward both supervisors and trainees who consistently demonstrate/apply the new knowledge and skills on the job respectively.**
- 3. Ensure trainees and their supervisors sign training performance contract specifying performance standards and expectations to eliminate any argument relating to the achievement or non-achievement of the level of performance expected from trainees after the training, and also reduce subjectivity in rating employees' performance level after training.**

LIMITATIONS

The two main limitations inherent in this study are the sample size and the scheduling of participants for training. The study used the census approach due to the small size of the study population. The study population, comprised of fifty-three (53) junior staff employees and all their nine (9) direct supervisors, was surveyed during the research. This limitation has an impact on external validity and makes the results difficult to generalise to other employees in similar or other work settings.

These limitations notwithstanding, the study is important as it hopes to augment the existing body of knowledge and also to raise new aspects for discussion in future research concerning the effectiveness of employees T&D programmes in organisations. The study therefore seeks to contribute to the theory and practice in the field of HRD of which T&D constitutes the largest realm (Swanson & Holton, 2009).

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

To enable generalisation of the findings, it is suggested that this research be replicated in other mining companies. Additionally, some of the issues identified in this study can be used as a focus of future research, particularly issues relating to training transfer. Further research may also consider factors that facilitate training transfer in the workplace. Finally, it is suggested that future studies in either private or public organisations in relation to T&D activities should consider implementing the full training evaluation model conceptualised by Kirkpatrick as follows: Level 1 (reaction), Level 2 (learning), Level 3 (behaviour), and Level 4 (results).

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Covered in Some Colours: Use and Meaning of Paint to Asante and Kassena Nankana Ethnicities of Ghana

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Abstract

Cave art stands as a universal artistic heritage, harking to humanity's quest to proliferate reality, as well as live in a colourful ambience. It is logical to reason that, this Palaeolithic evidence of cave painting that occurred over the various continents extended into ancient cultures and subsequent generations the world over. Yet in documenting history of traditional African art, authors hardly delve into the subject of paint. Up to now, far too little attention has been paid to paint and its role in art among traditional Ghanaian ethnicities. This study therefore focused on the two regions of Ashanti (Asante) and Upper East. Using ethnographical, historical and phenomenological methods, 23 respondents were purposively selected and interviewed by snowball. At the end of the study 11 paints and pigments were found as integral to traditional Ghanaian art of ethnicities in these regions. The study revealed unique ways in which these media were sourced and employed as well as the philosophical meanings that underpinned them. The significance of this work is found in its systematic study of paints and pigments, as a contribution to discourse on traditional African art media.

Keywords: African art; traditional Ghanaian art; paint; colour; autochthonous art

INTRODUCTION

Paints and dyes have been proven over the centuries across the world as indispensable art media. Why and how has paint as a medium proven ubiquitous in the universal journey of the visual creative process? The answer lies in its liquefied nature, and a consistency that could be achieved and controlled by the user lending it to extensive mode of application techniques. Though occurring in different forms among different people, in different parts of the world, with different materials and methods, the characteristics are always the same. It is only the consistency that may need to be thinned or thickened. While marking scratching or dry drawing tools are excellent in registering linear effects, they are difficult to use in covering broader areas whereas paint does with gracious ease. A light form of engraving technique is even possible using a stylus, when paint is applied on a hard surface and left to dry. It is also possible to apply using an atomizer or air-brush technique. Needless to say, the medium lends itself to a myriad of application techniques making paints and dyes indispensable in the pursuit of artistic expressions. Palaeolithic humans, having explored earth, vegetables and other colour sources, familiarized themselves early with the techniques discussed above. Thus resourced, they had enough facility to express all the fine works that lined the interior walls of their living quarters.

The use of paint, as begun among these folks, was not abruptly abandoned. But being a practice among particular people, one could safely surmise that the activity was handed down from one generation to the other, to ancient cultures and subsequently to generations of later civilizations. Though this may not be the development on all other continents, the African story inclines towards this perspective as averred by Picton (n.d), Durden (1974) and Vansina (1984).

Narrowing further to Ghana, one would encounter authors with three different perspectives. In dealing with traditional Ghanaian art, there are authors who do not state whether or not paint and painting originated within the Ghanaian culture. Another school insists that paint and painting are integral to the Ghanaian culture (Asihene, 1978). The third school categorically states that paint and painting do not emanate from the Ghanaian culture, and hence is foreign to it (Antubam, 1963). These positions assume crucial academic concerns since the perspectives under discussion distil across and beyond mere student novices finding their representations among university professorial minds, who in turn impart to students according to their leanings.

The historiography of past centuries immersed in its dominant narratives failed to pay due attention to other micro-histories, equally necessary to establish a more accurate picture of the past. The story is no different in the history of African art. Though authors such as Kasfir (1984), Picton (n.d), Vogel & Ebong (1991), Vansina (1984) and many others of the new art history, have written to portray a more diversified and acceptable view of African art, certain areas still continue to suffer in the dark. One of such areas is the use of paint in traditional African, and for that matter, Ghanaian art. Consequently, this paper sought to study paint in traditional Ghanaian art, with twofold focus on how they were used and the philosophical significance derived by the ethnicities that employed them.

For structural sequence of this paper, we look at literature that concerns the art forms to be tackled within the ethnicities cited earlier. We further look at the methodology employed for the study and the sampling procedure, as well as how data was transcribed and analysed. This is followed by discussion of findings and conclusion.

Traditional Ghanaian Art Defined

We look at traditional Ghanaian art as art forms executed by indigenes that lived within the current borders of Ghana from circa 1000 to 1400 AD. Most of these works have continued in their basic forms of production up to now, with only relative changes in adaptation to the times. The definition covers that art which is "... village-based and is made by artists who work mainly for members of their own ethnic group. They have been trained through a relaxed form of traditional teaching - apprenticeship - and make works that serve old functions" (Vogel & Ebong, 1991).

Textiles and the Pigments Applied

The Indigenous textile industry has been sustained by the people of Asante, Ewe and those of the Northern part of Ghana. Oral tradition of most ethnic groups in Ghana reports of the use of the bark of kyenkyen (*antiaris toxicaria*) as cloth. The bark of the tree is softened and beaten on wood with wooden mallet until a soft thick blanket-like cloth is achieved (Adu-Akwaboa, 1994). This agrees with Cole & Ross (1977), who takes a further look at early dyed Asante kente cloth. Anquandah (2006), registers blue and white for this Asante kente cloth. This blue brings the indigo plant to mind (Schumach & Thonn, 1954). The indigo plant was a widespread plant introduced from Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria to Cameroon as well as Equatorial

Guinea (Lovejoy, 2000). Courtney (1990) reports of the Bogolan fini mud cloth painted by Malian women.

Like the Asante, kente is produced by the Ewe people of Kpetoe and Kpando. The kind of woven cloth that is produced from Northern Ghana is called fugu. In addition to the kente cloth, the Asante produce other varieties such as the kuntunkuni, brisi, kobene, ntiamu or adinkra and nwomu (Adu-Akwaboa, 1994). The story traditionally runs that the King of Gyaman, named Adinkra, annoyed the Asantehene (King of Asante) by making a replica of the Golden Stool of Asante, and for that reason war was declared on him because he was captured wearing the Adinkra cloth. The Asante later forced the war prisoners of the Gyaman to teach them the technique of making this fascinating cloth (Arthur, 2001); (Adu-Akwaboa, 1994).

Sculpture and the Pigment Applied

The traditional sculptor or carver occupied a very important place as regards works that form the repertoire of traditional art forms. In addition to the carving of stools, he carved drums, deity and initiation masks, ancestral figurines, games, linguists' staffs, sword handles and handles for agricultural implements and even domestic utensils. Traditional sculptors stained their sculpture using the indigo dye (the pigment from the indigo plant) (Schumach & Thonn, 1954); (Cole and Ross, 1977:108).

Stool Painting (Blackening)

The Akan stool, is a piece of wood designed as seat used in households before the introduction of European chair designs (Sarpong, 1971). The author averred at the time of writing that "houses have more stools than chairs" (p. 7). However, in current Ghanaian contemporary culture, the stool is gradually getting extinct as a result of major setbacks at the point of production (Antwi & Adi-Dako, 2015). Some five basic stool patterns that serve as models for carvers are the porcupine stool used by the chief's council, the moon stool, which is used by ordinary people of either sex, the draughtboard stool, the amulet stool and the leopard stool (Sarpong, 1971). These are all generally classified under two categories: stools meant for domestic activities and stools meant for rulership and governance. Whilst the reverence of the stool stems from its traditional symbol, the power of the stool lies in the pigment that adorns its appearance coupled by the prayers and libation it receives every Adaye - a forty-day period in the Akan traditional calendar. Stools belonging to leaders that have led worthy lives are commemorated by blackening to join the ranks of respectable ancestors and kept at the royal stool house.

Hearth and Bed Painting

Schneider (1999) alludes to the word in reference to the nature and elements of Paleolithic home setting. MacMorrighan (n.d) tells of Ayaba, the hearth-goddess of the Fon tribe of Benin, West Africa. The author explains that it was wood culled on behalf of her brother Loko—the spirit of trees—that allowed for fires to be kindled within the home and food to be cooked. Jordan (2004) adds that it is also conceivable that Ayaba may have been invoked, along with her brother (Loko), when medicines were prepared over her sacred flame for consumption. Early homes in Ghana had hearths in either enclosed or open kitchens with its structure transforming from simple stones to more permanent clay-moulded props, a clear indication of change from a previously nomadic life to a more sedentary one. Appearing in the traditional Ghanaian kitchen, it changed further, making it more useful and lasting. To prevent the clay from cracking, it was painted daily with red ochre paint. Whether in an open or enclosed kitchen, traditional Akan women delighted themselves in the early morning painting of their

hearths before setting fire to cook. Faber (1938) reports that "on ceremonious occasions the hearth was draped in red and the Vestal Virgins, the priestesses of the Roman deity of the hearth, wore a head-dress of red woollen threads in the form of a diadem", explaining that red was believed to protect them from evil forces. Probably the Akans covered their hearths in red paint for the same reasons.

Wall Painting

Willet (1994) asserts that the Dogon of the Niger bend do decorate their rectangular houses and tube-like granaries with vertical and rectangular relief works similar to those appearing on their masks. In similar vein, "Ndebele women of South Africa apply painted versions of their beaded initiations attire to the exterior walls of their compound dwellings to maximize the communicative effects of the" (Aronson, 1991: 565-566). The African woman sees her role in the community as essential and indispensable, which therefore must be preserved from one generation to another. In her brilliant work of photographic documentation, Courtney-Clarke (1990) states certain earth pigments sourced and used across Africa by women in wall paintings. She refers to yellow, red, black and ochre soils processed and used on walls. Anaba (1995) documents of mural decorations in Southern Ghana where the art is used to decorate important structures such as palaces, shrines and headquarters of Asafo companies. The author revealed that in the 15th century a mural school was established to offer training to indigenous court artists in Asante. Anquandah (2006) showed that white paint was derived from mollusk shells, sourced from the ocean streams or lagoons for the painting of the upper part of traditional buildings and red ochre was also used for the lower part of the buildings.

Leather Painting

Faber (1938) gives account of some ancient dying processes indicating that clean white Cordovan leather and the scraped hair-side were taken and washed with alum. Then a mixture of madder and wine was heated and poured over the fire in a brass cauldron, but only so far "that one can still dip one's finger in it", after which the leather was immersed in the liquid, moving it to and fro until it assumed a red colour. Finally, the leather was spread on a level slab and smoothed with a boxen roller. Before it was dried, the entire skin was rubbed with fat.

It is well known that the Ancients were masters in the dyeing of leather. Purple, scarlet, golden, and black shoes are colours frequently referred to. Apart from tanning agents, which in themselves contain dye, the materials most frequently used for dyeing leather, were the bark of the lotus tree (*diospyros lotos* l.) which dyed yellow, madder, scarlet, ivy, and especially bluestone or copper vitriol.

Faber (1938), reporting of Heraclius in similar vein mentions ivy that "... the branches should be tapped with an awl in several places. The juice which is then discharged turns scarlet or blood red when boiled. From this the rose-coloured Parthia-dye is made ...for colouring sheep and goat-skins." Also, Parthia skins were dyed red, and were always costly. Typically, the purple shoes of the Roman emperors were of Parthian leather. Manufacturers and merchants trading with this leather were known as parthiarii.

METHODOLOGY

We adopted flexible or qualitative research design for this study. The reason being that it allows a kind of freedom in data collection procedure that is absent in other designs, and for the fact that the unit of research is qualitatively measurable yielding "unquantifiable facts" (Berg, 2007:8). Our target populations were Ashanti and Upper East regions of Ghana and 23 people were specifically accessed from Ahwiaa, Ntonso, Asokwa, Ayigya and Sirigu

communities of these two regions. They were selected on the basis of their historical connection with traditional colour medium being the unit of research. In dealing with the 23 respondents, we adopted three main sampling methods: purposive, expert and snowball. Direct participant observation, personal observation, informal interviews and focus group discussions were employed successfully. Also, we subjected the data to qualitative analysis, which is dialectical (Jorgensen, 1989) by transcribing and coding them under thematic categories. We followed Geertz's (1973) skill of foundational "thick description", reasonably to facilitate interpretation. Additionally, we made use of constant comparison method and content analysis. Thus, all three stages stressed by Patton (1987), in data analysis were explored: data organization, data reduction through summarization and categorization, and finally, the identification and linking of patterns that arose in the data.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Traditional Period

The stone-age man probably inhabited Ghana about half a million years ago, and archaeologically, knowledge of agriculture and pottery is set about 2000-1500 B.C. (Cole and Ross, 1977:4). Defining this period and demonstrating an appreciation of the practices of these times in relation to modern era enhances the understanding of the culture and arts, upon which this paper is hinged. The present discussion therefore considers as its focus, the conscious attempt to define the period of history that demarcates the boundary of the traditional era and the inception of colonization.

Maté (1966) avers that the movement of the ancestors to this country started about the middle of the thirteenth century and continued up to the early part of the sixteenth century at the latest. He details that the people who came in were the Akan, Moshii-Dagomba, Ga-Adangbe and Ewe. The Akan did not come in one body to this country but arrived in three sections – the Guan, Fante and Twi people respectively. The Fante were the second wave of Akan to enter the country from Techiman, near the source of the Tano river, where they had made their home to occupy the coastal stretch of land from Cape Three Points to Cape coast. This occupation of the coast took place about A.D. 1400. It is believed that the Twi-speaking people were the last Akan section to enter the country in about A.D.1550. The earliest groups among these people to form themselves into states were the Adansi, Akwamu and Denkyira. Later, the Asante set up a state which became the most powerful kingdom in the country and remained so until 1901 when they were vanquished by the British (Boahen, 2003).

Anquandah (1982) also affirms that the period A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1400 seemed to have witnessed the emergence of the earliest towns and principalities with centralised political authority and social institutions in the Akan areas of Asebu, Ahanta, Fetu, Elmina, Abrem, Kommenda, Adanse, Twifo, Bono Manso and Begho. Typical Akan regalia associated with statehood such as the wooden stools, drums, ivory trumpets and military array were on display when Diego d'Azambuja – the Portuguese captain who built the Elmina castle arrived. It is evident, therefore, that the Edina monarchy and policy associated with the stool were first established prior to the European advent. At Bono Manso, two main periods of town development have been distinguished. The first period, spanning the thirteenth century and the second period spanning the fifteenth century. The foregoing offer some idea of the period, probably, to have the most collection of autochthonous art forms within the Ghanaian culture.

Textiles at Ntonso/Asokwa

Application of pigment is done by the two processes of dyeing and printing. The cloth is dyed to obtain a specific background colour over which printing is done. For a kuntunkuni dye, for instance, the cotton cloth is submerged into the boiling dye and removed to be dried. Dyeing and drying continues till the desired intensity of russet brown is acquired. Following the dyeing is the printing which is done using the stamps - adwini nnua. After the background colour is done and dried, the cloth is spread taut on a padded ground or table by pegging the ends. The stamp is dipped into the print medium and applied directly to the stretched cloth. In earlier designs of Adinkra, Asihene (1978) avers that horizontal bands of silk yarns arranged in repeat pattern of yellow, red, black, green, blue and red are done prior to printing to heighten the design. This nwɔmu design, which is one of the traditional designs, is gradually phasing out of production for the obvious reason of time.

The Asante people of Ntonso and Asokwa have a well-grounded colour range of three categories with their symbolism. These are black – tuntum, white – fitaa/fufuo, and red – kokɔɔ. Tuntum designates all dark shades, from lighter shades including all ranges of blue to total blackness. It is associated with night, death, loss, ancestors, history chthonic creatures and demons. It does not connote defilement and profanation as Hagan (1970: 9) indicates. Fitaa or Fufuo stands for all pale white, grey and cream colours and are associated with innocence, peace, coolness, purity, virtue, victory, virtuosity, happiness, God and other deified spirits including that of the ancestors. Kokɔɔ refers to all shades of browns, reds and yellows. Red is in association with grief, anger, heat, blood, danger and crisis. This interpretation agrees with that of Antubam (1963).

Paints and pigments are applied to these cloths for the three fold purposes of beauty, documentation and communication. It is obvious that the traditional artist envisions a beautiful product in working on his Adinkra piece. He considers the colour in the background as against what is to be used for stamping. The work has to be visually appealing to his patron(s) as well as to communicate a message.

Secondly, the material nature of the cloth, dyes and the Adinkra designs rendered assumes a documentary status eligible for future contextual referencing and learning, conceptually akin to Arthur's (2001) metaphorical treatment of traditional Adinkra cloth where he evaluates it among others as a system of writing. Finally, wearers of the cloth used it to communicate their thoughts or philosophies on occasions of social gatherings. If one appeared in a function wearing an Adinkra cloth of aya – (fern) designs, the wearer meant to say he is not afraid of anyone.

Sculpture staining/painting at Ahwiaa

The black or red produced from the root bark is directly applied to the sculpture with a fibrous twig beaten at one end or with a clean rag. This results in a stain of red or black on the wood. If the artist incorporated any incision designs on the art work, these would be filled with white clay before the red or black is finally applied. The processed soot and red ochre are likewise applied with beaten twig or rag. The white paint is easily applied with a smaller end of a beaten twig or directly with the hand. In recent times, additives such as polyvinyl acetate commonly known as white glue is introduced into some of the pigments to increase adhesion to the wooden surface. In another process, after the soot is applied, a grey like effect is registered. The piece is then exposed to fire to heat up the surface without burning. After the surface is well heated, the soft part of banana or plantain stem stump is scooped by hand and applied parsimoniously all over the hot surface resulting in sizzling sounds. A variegated antique effect

is achieved on drying. Green colour is also coldly extracted from turkey berries (*Solanum Torvum*), known in Twi as kwau-nsusua.

Paint or colour is applied to sculpture by artists at Ahwiaa for preservation and beautification. The artists at Ahwiaa could be studied under two groups of carvers and shop owners. Finishing of sculpture pieces and figurines by way of pigment application is usually carried out by the shop keepers who deal directly with customers.

Apart from rendering it presentable to the society, colouring of sculptures is done to categorize works according to cultural norms and values. For example, all ancestral figures together with all other pieces associated with the ancestors must appear black in accordance with the cultural appreciation that age darkens. Thus, soot collected from the traditional kitchen is literally referred to as 'aged smoke' – apupuna wisie, hence the concept of darkness is associated with the historical and aged. Further to this, most sculpture pieces are finished black to withstand the dirt accumulation that might be encountered over several years through handling. Most sculptures are finished with indigo dye, a common fabric pigment effectively used across West Africa as reported by Schumach and Thonn (1945).

Stool Painting in Ashanti

On the fateful day of blackening, which is also a day of mourning, all the chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders are to be present. The stools are brought out of their abode under the supervision of the Nkonwasuafoɔ, the designated office in charge of royal stools, and assembled in the palace hall from that of the earliest departed ancestor to the most recent. First, libation of alcohol is offered the ancestors to praise them for their gallantry and thoughtful provision for posterity; their blessings are invoked on the day's ceremony. This prayer is offered to the predecessors by pouring on all the stools from the eldest to the youngest. Next, eggs are broken into a calabash mixed with the spider web, soot and sheep's blood. This mixture is applied to smear the whole surface of the stool to be blackened. Larbi (1993) indicates the inclusion of gun powder without mentioning spider's web. After this process of smearing the mixture with the hand all over the stool, the stool becomes a sacred object, known as Akonwa Tuntum (Black Stool). This stool, however, is a sacred religious object with taboos and prohibitions, and it is revered by the elders of the state. On posing the question whether human blood may ever be part of the mixture for blackening? The response given was that under no circumstance should that happen. However, Perbi's (2011) comment that "Slaves did suffer a number of disabilities. The first was the possibility of being sacrificed in accordance with traditional customs and religious beliefs" suggests that, the idea of human blood in blackening of stools cannot be entirely ruled out.

Apart from the great need to preserve this royal and religious object by reason of its continual existence to receive offering and homage from the state, the black stool is painted this way to assume habitation of the spirit of the departed. It is imperative to indicate that the most used stool of the ancestor while living on earth is the one blackened. The items involved in the mixture; spider web, eggs, soot and gunpowder are believed to possess some preservative abilities that prevent the wood from decay. This traditional approach to conservation has been scientifically confirmed (Larbi, 1993). As a royal and religious object these stools (ancestors) are marked to occasionally receive ceremonial food and drinks during the Adaye and other festivals. During such times the Nkonwasofoɔ would offer marshed yam and eggs, alcohol and blood to the ancestors. Sprinkling blood and alcohol continually on a stool will eventually darken anyway. It is better therefore to blacken them than leaving them in their natural state.

Black is usually associated with night, death, loss and ancestors. Nana Frimpong, a respondent, explains that, since black remains the colour of mourning, it is appropriate for the living to commemorate the dead with this colour in order to reflect their state of mourning and sadness at the departure of the ancestors. He further alludes to the fear ascribed to things black, saying the living must venerate the royal ancestors with deep respect and the stools are made black to invoke this feeling.

Hearth and Bed Painting at Ayigya

Among the people of Asante the building of the hearth is a feminine role, and so is the painting of it. In the morning, the woman of the house clears the hearth of all ashes, charred coal and any pieces of wood. She then proceeds to paint – kwa using the plantain rag lying wet in the paint and start rubbing it all over the hearth. The rag is dipped again into the paint when it feels dryer in her hand and brought back rubbing over the hearth. The hearth may be constructed in several different designs. There are those designed on little platforms in the corner of the kitchen floor. Others are designed to have a kind of shelve at the back. Sometimes this projection may rise to about half the interior wall height. During painting, platforms, backshelves and wall projections are all painted. When the surface is dried, the varnish prepared from the left over fufu is mashed and applied – kuta as varnish using a fresh plantain rag for the painting, resulting in a shiny patina on the surface.

Unlike hearths, the construction of beds is a masculine role. Deemed as heavy duty assignment, the role could parallel the construction of the house itself which is the lot for men. Painting the bed is approached the same way as that of hearths, which is also feminine role. The only difference is that after painting the bed, which may be located in one corner of the room, one goes ahead to paint the whole floor also. Beds are not varnished, and painting does not have to be done daily but weekly. Painting of hearths and beds in traditional homes are done primarily for maintenance. It is reasonable that hearths that are daily exposed to fire are painted daily and beds are painted weekly because their surfaces relatively go undisturbed.

Traditional Ghanaian core values upheld the woman as an effective wife, mother and home manager. In order to honourably deploy these characteristics, the woman of the house creatively seeks out and initiates skilful actions that will make her the delight of her husband, the joy of her children and the happiness of the wider extended family and strangers. By engaging in such initiatives including these paintings, she distinguishes herself as a valuable and resourceful woman of worth. Using Maame Akosua Manu's words, one of the respondents, *Enye obaa biao ne oyebaa*, which literally means "Not every woman is a real woman".

Wall Painting at Sirigu

Mural Painting in Sirigu, has been practiced by women apparently since the ethnic group immigrated to the area as a means of, among other roles of women, building a hospitable homestead that deploys all the support and care that family members and strangers may expect. Doubtless, these paintings do more than meets the eyes. As confirmed on the field it expresses the values, beliefs, concerns, interests and ambitions of the women folks who engage in them. Avae (1990) holds the view that murals reflect the characteristics of the communities within which they are found. In the same vein Adams (1993) writes of the murals of the women of Canton Boo of Western Cote d'Ivoire, linking beautiful murals with high managerial skills and home management. The findings of the study reveal that the decorative murals of Sirigu have evolved in adaptation to cultural make and expression. The period of painting provides not only a time of respite from farm work, but also that of merrymaking, sharing and good neighbourliness, all being qualities necessary for effective community living. While the

execution and process of the work themselves echoes the indispensable essence of womanhood.

Red, white and black are the colours found in Sirigu mural painting. Similarly, the Akan people down south are limited to the same palette; red white and black – kokoo fufuo/fitaa and tuntum. No symbolic significance was attributed to these colours on the field. This leads one to conclude that the people of Sirigu do not give any symbolic meanings to these three colours. Though this conclusion concords with Wemegah (2009), but runs contrary to Anaba (1995), who found among the people of Sirigu that white stood for purity, happiness and faultlessness; black represented death, gloom, wickedness and uncertainty; and red represented danger and importance.

We observed that plastering, painting and varnishing combine to beautify and preserve the building. The Sirigu murals beautify the home and the society and gives presence and identity to the woman/women of the house. Also, it provides an expressive seal of hospitality, home management and effective womanhood to strangers, friends and family.

Leather Painting at Sirigu

Leather craft is commonly practiced among the northern and upper regions of Ghana. Some of the animals whose hide are used for such goods are goat, sheep and cattle. The other animals are bush cow, python and crocodile. In Sirigu, two main colours of black and red were discovered applicable to leather. Between these colours, two other tones of reddish and dark browns are obtainable. The black colour is obtained by placing ferrous metals into lime juice or pito (a local drink made from millet) for about a week or two, after which a black liquid results. Karandafi (sorghum bicolor) which yields the red colour, is simply prepared by boiling the stalk of this plant in water to extract it.

The pigment is creatively applied to the dried leather according to the design conceived by the artist using the hand, twig or a pointed metal scribe. In using the tool with a sharper point, a deeper colour registration is obtained on the leather surface due to the abrasions in the process. Alternatively, the whole leather is immersed in a bath to assume a red or black colour. Intensity of the colour depends upon the concentration of the colour bath, the structure of the leather, and the length of time the leather remains in it. A shade between the two colours mentioned which is brown, could be obtained by immersing the leather in the red bath, and then the black for shorter moments. Unlike the Asante, the Sirigu people do not recognise any symbolism of their colours. The colour is mainly applied to leather for the purpose of design to enhance the aesthetic value of the final product.

CONCLUSION

The study explored the use of paint and pigments within two ethnicities in Ghana from a traditional perspective. The essence of the study lies in re-looking at the manner paint and its manifested works weave into the historical and philosophical narrative among other art forms of traditional African (Ghanaian) art. The assertion that both painting and sculpture are autochthonous to the Ghanaian culture is not alien to Ghanaian historical facts. In fact literature agree that the two forms of art were concurrently practiced during the traditional era (Asihene, 1978). These art forms as witnessed today were originated by the people as they sought to enrich their individual lives and better the livelihood of the community. For this reason, the works created as well as the philosophies that uphold them have been crafted to develop the individual and sustain the community to which they belong. The rule that all

individual endeavours must inure to the immediate and ultimate benefit of the community was strictly adhered to.

The important contribution of traditional art to the foundational development of aesthetic concepts and experiences cannot be overlooked, as it offered particular opportunities including the building of earlier distinctive features of aesthetic practice and visual representation in processing art as in its making and experiencing; these are rich concepts that were built upon as evident in later institutional manifestations.

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Mimesis and Aesthetics of Drum Languages as a Cultural Artefact of Some Asafo Companies among the Oguaa People of Ghana

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Abstract

Drum languages as a cultural artefact is very pivotal in the Asafo system as far as their activities in the various communities are concerned. However, much documentation has not been done on the mimesis of the Asafo drum languages. Qualitative research methods were used to obtain all relevant data as well as accessing the knowledge and understanding of the drum languages from the prospective respondents. The research revealed that Asafo drums are a set of four but only one thus the Asafokyin (tuaakwan) is used to perform the all drum languages. Again, members of the various selected Asafo communities and even some members of the Asafo groups do have foreknowledge about Asafo drum languages but cannot interpret or comprehend some of the drum languages. Institutions like schools, radio and television stations and IT companies should be encouraged to use digitized drum languages as part of their system to enhance the fore knowledge and understanding of Asafo drum languages as a cultural artefact.

Keywords: Aesthetics, Asafo, cultural artefact, drum language, mimesis

INTRODUCTION

Asafo groups of the Oguaa (Cape Coast) people in the Central Region of Ghana play an important role in the celebration of festivals and in the political structure of the community or traditional area in which they find themselves. Asafo is an ancient warrior organization that existed in all Akan societies of Ghana. The origin of the 'Asafo'), even though somehow speculative due to lack of evident literature or verbal account on the when and how, Turkson (1982) describes the 'Asafo' as a traditional military unit of a local society, which consists of able-bodied young and old men under a leader to initiate or expel opposing forces and also perform social, political as well as religious functions in time of peace. Acquah (2002) posits that the Asafo is a quasi-military organization, which is part of the socio-political set-up of almost all Akan societies to protect and defend their communities. Situating it in modern military parlance, Perkins (1994) and Acquah (2002) describe Asafo as militia in defence of the state. As a result, all able-bodied young men are initiated into the Asafo irrespective of his patrilineal status (Bentum, 2006). These Asafo groups use drums and special drum languages to communicate their messages, which are of utmost significance to the people.

Before telephones, television, emails and many others, sending messages quickly across distance was not easy but different cultures especially Africans solved this problem through the use of drums or message drums. Johnson (2011) describes the drum as a tool for telegraph system of communication in Africa – the drum was used by our ancestors to communicate from village to village, community to community among others across the length and breadth of Africa as well as used to communicate with the supernatural world. The drum set the pace for dance and worship, ritual and rites. Other practical uses include signalling the start of the day, lead celebrations and notify the people as well. According to Johnson (2011), each drum language is influenced by the geographical location, the size of drum, the drum style, number of drums and the rhythm or beat pattern. Talking drums, and for that matter, drum languages have their roots in the ancient Ghana empire Epan (2008). Carrington (1949) also identifies how the Kele-speaking people of the Democratic Republic of Congo were using drum language to communicate mysterious messages among the villages in the forest in an expert manner.

There is no internationally accepted drum language but exists within a cultural or linguistic background. Drum communications are not languages in their own right but are based on actual natural language (Wikipedia encyclopedia). Sounds produced are idiomatic signals based on a particular speech pattern with fixed context-dependent message. This makes drum languages culturally defined, depending on the linguistic boundaries of that culture. Sometimes misinterpretations occur in decoding the message. Therefore not all, even of that same culture or linguistic background, are likely to understand the phrase or words of the message.

Turkson (1982) further indicates that Asafo drums are used as a dance instrument and a speech instrument – used to imitate speech and also intended to be heard as a language than a signal. This is because only one drum is used by the Asafo in this respect.

Nketia (1963) states that “to the Akan, the drum can and does speak”, meaning, phrases and words can be transformed into drum sounds. Again, he identifies three modes of drumming among the Akans and they are:

- 1. Signaling mode of drumming – all forms of drumming that are considered as signals.**
- 2. Speech mode of drumming – all forms of drumming which imitate speech or can be translated into words to be understood.**
- 3. Dance mode of drumming – all forms of drumming which elicit movement, gesture or dance. This means there are various drum sets for the various drumming modes.**

Turkson (1982) classifies the tonal pattern in Asafo music into two; unison and bitonal. The bitonal pattern is employed in the speech mode of drumming with two tonal levels whilst the dance mode of drumming employs the unison pattern.

Drums are used to recount histories, praise people and perform religious and secular dances. Drum languages are non-verbal and the drum is the medium through which intangible heritage of drum text or language is made known. Drum texts are intangible aspects of art and can be assessed or discussed through the emotional and expressive qualities or theory of aesthetics. The intangible messages and their meaning help enhance the aesthetic appreciation of the Asafo and Akan art in general (Labi, 2009).

This paper therefore analyses the drum language and the songs, performed by three Asafo companies of the Oguaa traditional area – Bentsir No.1, Anafo No. 2 and Ntsin No. 3 companies – as well as its aesthetic values and philosophical meanings to the people.

METHODOLOGY

The study area, Oguaa Traditional Area, otherwise known as Guaa (or Cape Coast being the anglicized name), is a predominantly fishing community in the Central Region of Ghana. It is also the administrative capital of the Central Region, as well as the first capital town of then Gold Coast, before the capital town was moved to Accra. Fante is the language spoken in the area. The social, political and economic structure, of the Oguaa town, cannot be discussed without enumerating the significant contribution of the Asafo Company, the Asafo drums, and their language/text.

As the study is primarily focused on the mimesis and aesthetics of drum language of three Oguaa Asafo companies, the research problem was best answered by a qualitative research approach. The researcher visited the selected Asafo companies from time to time and also as and when some performances were taking place. Some sampled leaders and prospective respondents were met at appointed dates for the interviews, discussion and explanations. Also, some drum carvers in the study area were interviewed through the snowball technique. Additionally, participatory observation was employed to enable the researchers fully examine the modes, gestures and rhythm of the drum languages.

The population for this research was classified into two: the Target and Accessible population. The target population comprised three Asafo companies namely: Bentsir No.1 Asafo Company, Ntsin No. 3 Asafo Company (Siwdu) and Anafo No. 3 Asafo Company. The accessible population comprised Asafo leaders, Asafo drummers and members of the ensemble, drum carvers and other traditional drummers within the Oguaa traditional area.

Purposive sampling technique which best fit this study was employed to extract the data, because the respondent population that could offer the necessary information for the purpose of this study was clear to the researchers. From a homogeneous population, the sample population was classified as Asafo leaders (Supi), Asafo drummers, members of the Asafo group and the general public from the various communities. Through the snowball effects, carvers of Asafo drums were assessed to form the heterogeneous sample population. These selected samples were in a better position to give clear, accurate and reliable information for the purpose of this study. In all 3 Chiefs, 3 Tufuhene, 3 supi, 3 Asafohene, 55 Asafo members (drummers) from the selected companies and 120 persons from the various communities which totalled 187 respondents were covered.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1: Distribution of participants according to gender

Gender	Number	Percentage
MALE	146	82%
FEMALE	41	18%
TOTAL	187 (100%)	100%

Analysis of Table 1

From the table above, there were a total of 228 persons of both sexes to form a 100% respondents output for the study. Out of this, 187 males were involved in the study forming 82% of the total respondents and the females respondent involved were 41 in number making 18% of the total respondents. This result from Table 1 is a clear indication of the supremacy or dominance of males in the Asafo institution among the Akans in their various communities.

Table 3: Distribution of participants according to Asafo Company

Name of Asafo company	Number of persons	Number of participants from age 20 - 40	Number of participants from age 40 - ABOVE	Percentage %
<i>Bentsir</i> No. 1	17	11 (65%)	6 (35%)	31%
<i>Ntsin</i> No. 3 (Siwdu)	21	13 (62%)	8 (38%)	38%
<i>Anafo</i> No. 2	17	11 (65%)	6 (35%)	31%
Total	55 (100%)	35 (63 %)	20 (36%)	

As shown in the table, fifty-five (55) persons formed the total respondents and participants from the three selected Asafo companies. Out of this, seventeen (17) respondents and participants constituting thirty-one (31%) percent were from *Bentsir* Asafo Company, twenty-one (21) constituting thirty-eight (38%) percent and seventeen (17) constituting thirty-one (31%) percent respondents and participants were also from the *Ntsin* and *Anafo* Asafo companies respectively. From the table, within the *Bentsir* Asafo group eleven (11) respondents representing sixty-five (65%) percent were within the ages of 20 to 40 and the remaining six (6) representing thirty-five (35%) percent were aged 40 and above. *Ntsin* Asafo group was represented by thirteen (13) respondents within the ages of 20 to 40 to represent sixty-two (62%) percent of the response and eight (8) representing thirty-eight (38%) percent were aged 40 and above. *Anafo* Asafo group also represented sixty-five (65%) percent of the response with eleven (11) members between the ages of 20 to 40 whilst six of them representing thirty-five (35%) percent were also aged 40 and above. On the average, sixty-four (64%) of members in the various Asafo groups are between the ages of 20 to 40. The African Youth Charter as well as the National Youth Policy of Ghana define persons within the age bracket of fifteen (15) and thirty-five (35) as youth. By this definition and with figures from the table, the Asafo institution can be described as a youthful institution made up of able-bodied men within the community.

Table 2: Distribution of participants with regard to knowledge about drum language

	Total respondent	Respondents who have fore knowledge about Asafo drum language	Respondents who understand Asafo drum language on most occasions	Respondents who understand Asafo drum language on some occasions	Respondents who do not understand Asafo drum language on all occasions	Percentage %
Chiefs	3	3 (100%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	-	2%
Tufohene	3	3 (100%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	-	2%
Supi	3	3 (100%)	-	3 (100%)	-	2%
Safohene	3	3 (100%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	-	2%
Asafo members	55	55 (100%)	7 (13%)	13 (24%)	35 (64%)	29%
Section of the community	120	101 (84%)	-	21(18%)	99 (83%)	64%

TOTAL	187 (100%)	168 (90%)	11 (6%)	42 (22%)	134 (72%)	
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From the Table 2, 3 chiefs, 3 Tufuhene, 3 Supi, 3 Safohene, 55 Asafo members and 120 members from the community totalling 187 served as respondents to the interview. The table shows that three chiefs were interviewed and all three representing 100% have fore knowledge about Asafo drum language. On the other hand, 2 representing 65% do understand the drum languages being played on all or most occasions whilst 1 representing 33% also understands the drum language on some occasions. This means, the chiefs are quite knowledgeable about the drum languages being played by the Asafo companies.

The three Tufuhene also representing a 100% of interviewed audience within that category had the fore knowledge. However, 1 representing 33% does understand the drum language played on most occasions with 2 representing 67 % can interpret the drum language on some occasions. The three Supi and three Safohene representing 100% respectively also have fore knowledge about Asafo drum language. Whilst the three Supis representing 100% only understand the Asafo drum language been played on some occasions, 2 Safohene representing 67% do in this respect with only 1 representing 33% does understand the drum language on most occasions just as the Tufuhene. This shows that the top hierarchies of Asafo company leaders are versed with traditions of their ancestors and communities which probably is a requisite to understanding drum languages. Again, activities and the chain of command within the Asafo are carried out by them before it gets to the drummer. This probably can be the reason of their appreciable knowledge of the drum and drum languages.

All 55 members from the three selected companies representing 100% have fore knowledge about Asafo drum languages. Out of this number, 7 persons representing 13% understand the drum language on most occasions. 13 persons representing 24% also understand the drum language on some occasions whilst the remaining 35 persons representing 64% do not understand the drum language on all occasions. From the table, it shows that more than half the current members of the Asafo groups do not understand the drum language being played by the Asafo on some and most occasions when they perform. Probably, this can be attributed to the multiple effects of globalization and acculturation on the youth within the Asafo groups because the majority of respondents were within that age bracket. Again, the drum languages are played on rare occasions within the communities and this affects the registrations of the drum language patterns on the minds of the individual members. Moreover, it was found out that there is no conscious and practical training for members of the group on how to play the drums and the drum language but the act is picked unconsciously within some of the Asafo groups. The 37% respondents who have a quite understanding probably can be attributed to decades of exposure to some of the drum language patterns.

On the table, out of 120 people interviewed from the heterogeneous communities of the three selected Asafo groups formed a 100% for that category. 101 respondents representing 84% have fore knowledge about Asafo drum languages. This means majority of people in the various communities are aware that the Asafo drums are used to send drum languages. Out of the 120 respondents, none could comprehend the drum language of the Asafo on all or most occasions. 21 respondents representing 18% do understand the drum language on some occasions whilst 99 respondents representing 83% have no understanding of the drum languages performed on all occasions. Relating this analysis to the research question [what is the peoples' understanding about the drum and drum languages], it shows that although persons in the communities have fore knowledge about Asafo drums being used to send drum languages, they do not clearly understand the drum languages performed or sent by the Asafo

groups. However they relate accordingly to the message when it is explained to them by the drummer or anyone who also understands the message being sent. Interestingly, the drum languages are just imitations of the dialect of the people in tonal patterns but they are not easily comprehended by them. Even within the Asafo group, not all members have a total understanding of the drum language they perform on most occasions. With this, drum languages can be described as proverbial and idiomatic tones of a particular language that is linguistically and culturally defined in context. Akin to proverbs, it requires a sober reflection and deep thinking of the individual to comprehend. Again, drum languages like proverbs are codes which are appreciated with difficulty. The fluency of an individual in his or her dialect and an in-depth knowledge of oral traditions and past events of his community or town cannot guarantee the understanding of drum languages. On the other hand, these traits are necessary for the drummer.

The constituents of Asafo drums among Asafo groups of Oguaa (Cape Coast)

According to the carvers, there are five categories of drums set in the Akan community. They are Apirede, Kete, Fontonfrom, Moses kyin and Asafo kyin. These drum sets come in four, five or more pieces. The Asafo drums among the Asafo companies in this study and in Cape Coast are made up of four pieces in the set.

Table 3: Musical instruments of the Asafo groups in Cape Coast

Instruments		Asafo Groups						
		<i>Bentsir</i>	<i>Anafo</i>	<i>Ntsin</i>	<i>Nkum</i>	<i>Abrofomba</i>	<i>Akrampa</i>	<i>Amanful</i>
Drum	<i>Asafo kyin</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	<i>Agyegyedo</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	<i>ɔpintsin</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	<i>Akroma</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gong	<i>Dawur amponsah</i>		✓					
	<i>Dawur ngyegyedo</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	<i>Dawur mfae</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bell			✓					
Side drum						✓		
Whistle	✓			✓				
Horn		✓						
Bigel				✓				
Kɛkrɛdae(rattle)					✓			

[What drums (types) are used by the Asafo Company?] From the table above, it shows and illustrates that the Asafo drum constituents of Asafo groups in Cape Coast are a set of four and can be described as the open ended type of drums. The four pieces as illustrated in order of sizes are; 1. Asafo kyin also known as Tuaakwan, 2. Agyegyedo or Adam, 3. pintsin or Ampae and 4. Akroma or Ansaba / Ansarba



Figure 1: Asafo kyin (Tuaakwan) drums



Figure 2: Agyegyedo/ Adedem drums



Figure 3: Xpintsin or Ampae drum

An exclusive conversation with Odomankoma Kyerama Pra (the master drummer for Anafo Asafo group), also revealed that the Akrampa Asafo group, originally by their creation, were

not using this set of drums but were using some contemporary drums such as the side drum. This means that some years back, this group did not perform any drum language. However, they have since and currently being using these drum pieces.



Figure 4: Ansaba or Akroma drum

Prefix of Asafo drum language

At the start of a play of any of the drum patterns and drum languages, the master drummer with the Asafo kyin will play the drum:

Kon! Kon! Kon! (3x)
Xdomankoma bo adze, brzbrz boo adze
Me abodzin wofrz me Kweku Shibura

The “kon kon kon” is like an alarm to draw attention to him and to prepare the minds of the people in the community for the message. The drummer then proceeds to show appreciation to God the creator of the universe and nature. He plays appellations as well in honour of the gods, ancestors and so on as recognition of the source of his life, strength and skills and finally announces his presence by drumming his name. Depending on the occasion, the drummer greets the community and plays some appellations of the community and then goes on to greet his Asafo company and other Asafo companies if there is any present. The Asafo greeting drum text is played three times. Also, the significance of the greeting to other Asafo companies is to find out if they will want to help. Notably, all these drum texts are prefixed to the main message.

- **Asafo drum language text for the death of a member**

The death of a chief, queen mother or any prominent figure in the community

Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa akxtx (town appellations)
Akyemfo birefi Akyemfo (Asafo groups' appellations)

Odomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz Bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
Woridzi aszm btn
Fun n'abasa gu n'akoko (2x)
Hommbra Hommbra
Hommbra mpiren mpiren
Oguan no wuda xdasanyi wu da
Kwesi Antobam kx ne samankyir
Kumkum brzbrz

Literally

The 'kon kon kon' is a drum cry is first sounded to the 'Asafo' groups of the community for a message. In line 2-5 we hear of drums sounding appellations of the town, the Asafo groups and of God the creator (Odomankoma Bxadze). The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are in a seeming confrontation with each other. What could be the reason for this? (Lines 6-7). Line 7 provides the most probable answer- a corpse lay motionless with its hands across the chest. The proverb – 'Oguan no wuda, xdasanyi wu da' means human beings can die unexpectedly just as what happens to sheep (Oguan).

From the text, the drummer greets the town and recounts the history of the town and his Asafo group as well as acknowledging the creator and the atmosphere or setting. This part of the text is also seen as a call for members and other groups to sensitize them about the funeral and to help in other arrangement. The same drum language is played in the case of a chief, queen mother or any prominent figure but with emphasis on their stool name or title as required by tradition. After playing this text, the drummer then plays appellation about or for the dead amidst some proverbs. The dead is also sometimes given a message through the drum to take to the underworld.

Appellations

Mbabanyin wodzi no akosam
Eben nsu na mboba wx mu
Bosompo na mboba wx mu

Kwame Ataapem, Akyemfo birefi mu Akyemfo
Yema wo damirifa due koszkosz
Due na amandzehu

Literally

Lines 1-3 ask of what length one's valour could take him?
To the ends of the stream or even to the rocks under the sea?
Kwame Ataapem, you tried to brave the storm
We say sorry for the tragedy
Sorry for the suffering (lines 5-6)

Mpaapaemu (farewell message)-this is the parting and a farewell message for the victim.

Kwame Ataapem
Yzma wo damirifa due

Damirifa due nantsew yie
Sz ekx a, ma ewuako foo

Literally, the text reads

Kwame Ataapem, you have our sympathy and we bid you farewell in your journey to join the ancestors. Our message for them is that they should accept you in their bosom. Fare thee well. The purpose of the appreciation is to sing the praise and valour of the son of the land-Ataapem.

Installation of a chief or an Asafo leader

Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa Akxtx (town appellations)
Akyemfo birefi Akyemfo (Asafo groups' appellations)
Odomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
woridzi aszm bzn
Nkum Asafo enya adaano fofor / panyin fofor
Sansaw fa adze a xdze kyerz

Literally translated as:

Kon kon kon that is the drum cry assembling people and sounding the appellations (Oguaa Akxtx) of the Oguaa town's people and the Asafo group itself (in lines 1-3). Lines 4-5 sound the appellation of God (Odomankoma Bxadze ...). The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are in a seeming confrontation with each other. What could be the reason or issue at stake? (Lines 6-7). Line 8 report that the Nkum Asafo have now had a new leader and that it is prudent that he (the Nkum Asafo leader) be introduced to the public (sansaw fa adze a xyerz) in line 9.

The loss of a person in the forest

Kon! Kon! Kon! and plays appellation of the town or community
Nkusukum yzma hom akye (3x)
Xdomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Aszm esi aszm kzse esi
Pxw etu ehu
Wxmma yzndz pxw mu (2x)
Opia Mensah Abrompah (huandzin) (2x)
Wxayew, enyiwa ahwer no
Hommbra Hommbra (2x)
Hommbra nkuma nkuma (2x)
Hommbra promprom (3x)

Literally translated as

As explained early on, the kon kon kon which is the drum cry first invites the community folks to assemble before the message is delivered. In line 2, the drummer greets the assembly good morning in the name of God (Xdomankoma Bxadze, Brz brz bxadze). He then lays before the

gathering the reason for the call and the assignment before them (in lines 5-7). Opia Mensa Abormmpa is proclaimed lost (line 9) necessitating a search by the group.

After this the drummer goes his own way to play some proverbs, some historical interludes about the group and motivational messages to urge the group on in the search.

Drowning in the sea

Kon! Kon! Kon! and plays appellation of the community

Nkusukrum yzma hom akye (3x)

Xdomankoma Bxadze

Brz brz bxadze

Aszm asi, aszm kzse esi

Nsu ano afxw

Wxmma yznsi mpoano

Opia Mensah- Abrompah (huandzin) (2x)

Wxayew, enyiwa ahwer no

Hommbra Hommbra (2x)

Hommbra nkuma kuma (2x)

Hommbra promprom (3x)

Literally

The drummer having played the prefix as explained then outlines the reason for the summons that is one of them cannot be traced and invites them to the beach for a search (lines 5-7). Opia Mensa-Abrommpa is mentioned as the one missing at the beach. He is ostensibly drowning and must be rescued. (lines 8-9). The group is urged on in the search. (lines 10-12)

The capsizing of a boat

Kon! Kon! Kon! and plays appellation of the community

Ekusukrum yzma hom akye (3x)

Xdomankoma Bxadze

Brz brz bxadze

Aszm asi, aszm kzse esi

Nsu ano afxw

Hommbra yznsi mpoano

Hommbra wxmbra (2x)

Hommbra nkuma kuma (2x)

Hommbra promprom (3x)

The drum language for a drowned person and the capsizing of boat are the same. However, in the case of a drowned person, the huandzin which literally can mean the 'soubriquet' or the epithet of the lost person is played by the drummer and not the actual name as in a lost person. Explaining this Xdomankoma Okyerema Pra said:

The 'huandzin' is believed to carry the soul of the person so the drum with that characteristics of communicating to the soul and spirits is used; the drum is used to ask the soul of the lost person to ask permission from the spirit in the river that his body is needed by his people for proper burial rites.

Appellation is played when the person or body is found to thank the spirits or ancestors and also to congratulate themselves.

Drum language for festival times

*Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa Akxtx
Xdomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
Woridzi aszm btn
Mbarimba wxkaan nda a, nda no aso
afrenhyia pa afrenhyia pa*

Or

*Bxbxr Mfantse akan nda ma afe aso
afrenhyia pa afe nko mbxto hzn*

Literally translated as

Kon! Kon! Kon! that is the drum cry assembling people for the festival, sounds the appellations of the Oguaa people and God almighty (Odomankoma Bxadze, Brz brz bxadze) in lines 2-4. The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are against each other. What could be the reason for this antagonism? (Lines 5-6). The countdown of days for the festival ends and the drummer wishes the men of valour a happy new year (line 7-8)

Or

Bxbxr Mfantse have counted the days of the year. The drummer wishes you many heavy returns. (lines 9-10)

Fire outbreak

*Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa Akxtx (town appellations)
Akyemfo birefi Akyemfo (Asafo groups' appellations)
Odomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
Woridzi aszm btn
Aszm asi aszm kzse esi
Hommbra nkuma kuma
Hommbra mpiren mpiren
Sz nkran dodx a, ofi woana?
Sz nkran atow apetse a, ofi woana?*

The drum text is translated literally as

Kon! Kon! Kon! that is the drum cry assembling people and then appellations of the Asafo group and God almighty (in lines 1-5). The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are against each other. What could be the reason for this antagonism? (Lines 6-7).

In line 8, the drummer announces the reason for the assemblage – fire. Then calls them to proceed quickly. Like ants scattered in all directions, where from these colonies of ants? For whose sake have they come?

The collapse of a building, bush fire, flooding or any calamity

*Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa Akxtx
Xdomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
Woridzi aszm btn
yze- nya amandze
yze- nya amandze
Hommbra mpiren mpiren (played at a faster rate)
Adzekyee mu nszm dxx so
Obi nyim xkyena
Hommbra mpiren mpiren*

The drum text is translated literally as

Kon! Kon! Kon! that is the drum cry assembling people and then appellations of the Asafo group and God almighty (in lines 1-4). The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are against each other. What could be the reason for this antagonism? (Lines 5-6).

In lines 7-9 the drummer tells the gathering that we have landed into serious trouble (yeenya amandze) and that the people should come in all haste (hommbra mpiren mpiren).

Each day brings its own problems (Adzekyee mu nszm dxx so). No one knows what tomorrow will be (Obi nyim xkyena). So come in all haste (Hommbra mpiren mpiren) lines 10-12.

Banishing someone from the community

*Kon! Kon! Kon!
Oguaa Akxtx
Odomankoma Bxadze
Brz brz bxadze
Asaase na huntuma abx ngua
Woridzi aszm btn

Kweku Mensa na Maame Mensima
xman nye hzn atsew towa mu
xman nye hzn ebu mena mu*

The drum text is translated literally as

Kon! Kon! Kon! that is the drum cry assembling people and then appellations of the Asafo group and God almighty (in lines 1-4). The earth (Asaase) and dust (huntuma) are against each other. What could be the reason for this antagonism? (Lines 5-6).

In lines 7-9 the drummer announces that kweku Mensa na Maame Mensima have been banished, i.e. the people of the community have broken relationship with them (xman nye hzn atsew towa mu, xman nye hzn ebu mena mu).

The various drum language texts and their matching occasions are an indication that the drum languages are performed not ordinarily but for and on essential issues and valued persons in the community. The drum languages themselves in texts are not made up of ordinary language but rich in proverbs which arise based on the situations and occasions. The appellations and their subsequent drum language as explained by Odomankoma kyerama Pra are not pre-meditated but spontaneously inspired. To quote him, 'kyin kasa no odwir....' Metaphorically 'odwir' means arriving or descending. This can be metaphorically understood in the sense of canoes arriving ashore so the message and appellation of the drum language 'arrive' on the drummer and that the drummer becomes just a mere medium through which the message is put across. At this point the drummer may or may not be conscious of the message he is conveying. This means that there is more to the playing of Asafo drum language. A player may be a 'physical drummer' or a 'divine drummer'. A physical drummer has the characteristics of only playing for entertainment and relay of drum messages to the public whilst the 'divine drummer' has the characteristics of knowing both the physical and spiritual aspect of drums and can contact, differentiate as well as interpret messages from spirits like dwarfs, gods, ancestors, elves (samanta) and human spirits.

Aesthetic, philosophical and psychological aspects of Asafo drums and drum language

The aesthetic, philosophical and psychological aspects of the drum language as observed by the researchers were inter-related and of double effect therefore, the combined analysis. The roles of Asafo drum languages in the religious, social and political life of the people of Cape Coast is one that cannot be overlooked. There is an adage among the Akans that if you know the sound of your chief's drum, you will not get lost in public gathering. This drums home the importance of having knowledge and being able to identify with some elements of where we belong in the community. The prefix to the almost all the drum languages in which homage and reverence is paid to God the creator of the universe (Odomankoma Bxadze, Brz brz bxadze) psychologically psyches the drummer and gives him hope of a successful outcome to the issue at hand after he delivers the message – the favour of the Supreme Being shall prevail.

Psychologically, the drum patterns and language serve as a social consciousness to the people to an extent that the sound from the drum programme the psyche of the members of the community to respond socially to the meaning of the drum language in a common manner. As observed during the organized performances, the strike of the drum by the master drummer unconsciously attracted or was like a call for both members of the group and other able bodied youth in the community who were not present at the place where the performance was taking place. In response to a personal interview with some of the Asafo members who came later to join and members of the community who had gathered there, they said:

When we heard the sound we had no option than to come and find out what was going on so that we could all help to tackle whatever problem there was or support the group.

In this sense, the drums and drum language patterns philosophically promote unity and serves as a binder for the people in the community, promoting a sense of belongingness and a platform for expressing social brotherliness.

The manner in which members of the community responded to the drum call expresses some aesthetic quality of attitude of the group in relation to the sound of the Asafo drum and this helps to promote peaceful co-existence and social interaction among the people. The drum language as observed is a medium through which social status or class is distinguished and acknowledged among the indigenes. During some processions, the master drummer stops at some identified spot in the community and plays appellations or recounts some successes chalked by that individual or his ancestors and so on. Both Okyerema Pra and Okyerama Shiburaba (master drummers for Asafo No. 2 and 3 companies respectively) expressed that:

There are some spots in the community where there are gods and we need to acknowledge them before we pass that spot. Also in our route when we get to the house of may be our chief, sub chiefs, elders of the Asafo group and other prominent citizens of the community or society we have to pay homage or greet before we continue our journey.

Aesthetically and psychologically, the repeated rhythmic patterns of the drumming and drum language alter the brain waves of the priest from beta brain waves to delta brain waves which induces the priest into a trance which enables him to act as a medium to communicate cryptic messages from the ancestors and the spirit world to conscientize the indigenes. This communiqué of cryptic messages psychologically breed emotional satisfaction among the people over issues that are bedeviling them. It also serves as a re-assurance to the people when they get the message from the ancestors through the priest.

A real life situation recounted by Odomankoma Okyerama Pra of an old man (a former member of the Asafo) who was bedridden in his room suddenly began to walk to the place where the Asafo company was performing the drum patterns and language. Such an experience expresses aesthetically the therapeutic effect of the sound of the drums and drum language. Again, a personal interview with some of the drummers revealed that the therapeutic effect of the drumming and drum language psychologically put them at ease and also serves as a form of exercising the body to become physically fit. This means the drumming and drum languages are a measure of healing psychologically and physically. Psychologically, the drum language aids in finding solutions to issues and challenges facing the community. For instance, when a person gets drowned, the drum language is employed as a vital key to seeking the soul of the drowned hence the surfacing of the body. This makes them relaxed, satisfied emotionally as well as upholds their beliefs and concepts in the use of the drum and drum language.

The skill and technique of the drummer and the drum to achieve effective communication through the use of codes and imitated human speech semblance to the human speech is warmly accepted by the people also as a rich and proper form of communication. Drum patterns and language are performed with some passion, energy; strength and joy in a right manner which produces sound that connotes youthfulness in tones making the act youthful, which is an element of African aesthetics. The shapes of the drums which are exquisite handmade products are a display of skilful craftsmanship and mastery of medium to achieving the purpose in terms of durability of the drum shell and better resonance of sound. The drums eye as carefully designed psychologically affect the mind frame of the drummer in terms of enjoying maximum protection from the spirits or ancestors and therefore enable him to play the desired drum pattern in a relaxed manner. Symbolism is an aesthetic aspect of African art hence the clothing of the Asafo kyin with the white cloth amongst the other pieces of drums is to signify it as the 'head' or 'lead' drum as well as a sacred drum pure to commune with the ancestors and the underworld for assistance and appreciation. The all over hatching grooves

which are of elaborate decorations that give texture to the drum shell. The polished surface also gives it that shine and luster which is an element of aesthetic appeal as well as a connotation of good state.

The seating arrangement hence the position of the drum enhances the co-ordination among the players thereby creating unity, harmony and a balance in the resonance of sound. Again the value accorded each drum irrespective of size as well as other instruments in a performance breeds respect or is a sign of respect members' accord to one another to enhance a communal living. Asafo drum languages are couched in idiomatic diction which aesthetically reveals the richness of the spoken dialect and the varied ways of expressions to eliminate monotony in the spoken dialect.

The premise of African aesthetics as expressed by Gyekye (1996) is much wider than in other cultures considering its values and focuses such proper, good, ethics, and morals and so on. Molokwane (n.d) also argues in his paper that 'African aesthetics exist as a socio-psychological and anthropological phenomenon'. This means that African aesthetics does not strictly conform to the view point of the occidentals such as Baumgarten and Kant. Therefore, the central notion in African aesthetics does not lie only in the beauty of an art work. This is expressed in the functional, the symbolic and the beauty in the human (physical traits) and cultural lifestyle of the individual which expresses social functions, the relevance, appropriateness and meaning to the people who use and perceive it. Therefore the canons or philosophy behind the aesthetics of African art works are grounded on the functional, symbolism, moral character, speech or mannerism. Depending on the art form involved, the aesthetic quality or value may be expressed based on the appropriateness, quality of presentation, significance movement, and narrator audience satisfaction, speech, good resonance, dramatic gestures and so on and is contrary to the European or the contemporary conception of 'art for art's sake', thus a purely aesthetic conception of art. The elements as identified by Molokwane and general to the Africans include togetherness, craftsmanship, symbolism, self-composure, luminosity, youthfulness and resemblance to human being. This clearly suggests that each art form has its own language for the judgments of aesthetics. All these aesthetic qualities are perfectly expressed in the art of the drum languages of the people of Oguaa (Cape Coast).

CONCLUSIONS

Although it is accepted that no culture can exist entirely without the infusion of another cultural traits, it must be noted that the gradual infusion of other cultural traits, character and elements over that of the people of Oguaa Traditional Area and consequently their Asafo companies is not in the right spectrum of acceptance. Oguaa Traditional Area is gradually becoming a cosmopolitan area with all kinds of deliberations and infiltration among indigenes and visitors of diverse cultures. This is partly due to an inevitable current system of governance and modernity. However, its offshoot is that presently, the expected natural role of the Asafo groups in the socio-cultural and socio-political lifestyle of Oguaa Traditional Area is one that is on the diminishing trend. Hence, much is not seen frequently about the activities of the Asafo companies that require for the use of the drum and performance of the drum language. This cumulatively has affected the fore knowledge and the understanding of Asafo drums and drum languages and the Asafo activities in their entirety.

As a measure to promote and sustain the interest of Asafo activities in the people of Cape Coast, the Oguaa Traditional Council in partnership with other relevant bodies in the field of

promoting and preserving culture should periodically organize workshops or programmes on drums and drum languages of Cape Coast Asafo companies. This will help bring to the fore the values, foreknowledge and understanding of the drum languages performed by the Asafo groups. It will also create the awareness of the important role of the drum in the set-up of any Asafo group as well as the types of drums being used by them.

To promote the foreknowledge and understanding of Asafo drums and drum languages, the traditional council should organize performances occasionally for the various Asafo groups to perform their drum languages in their various communities for admiration and appreciation. This will help to make up for the loss of the natural occurrence for their performance giving the current circumstances. Also, institutions like schools, radio and television stations and IT companies should be encouraged to use digitized drum languages as part of their system to enhance the foreknowledge and understanding of Asafo drum languages as a cultural artefact. In addition, it will help to rejuvenate and deepen the relationship between members of the community and the Asafo group hence a sustenance and growth of the group.

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Influence of Sex on Students' Study Orientation at Secondary Level

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Abstract

The influence of sex on students' study orientation at secondary level was compared and measured through a modified Study Orientation Scale (SOS), which consists 52 items on different aspects of study habit. The study was conducted in the year 2014 for obtaining data of students' study orientation. The scale was administered on the sample of 360 students those were studying in class X in different schools of Purulia district. Similarly, academic achievement was measured through marks obtained by the students in the school level examination of class IX. The analysis of data revealed that the boys and girls have average level study orientation. The girls are slightly better than the boys in respect of their study orientation. The study also revealed that sex doesn't show any significant influence on students' study orientation in secondary schools.

Key words: Study orientation, Academic achievement, Study Orientation Scale, Secondary School, Sex.

INTRODUCTION

Study orientation simply means how a pupil manages his or her time in such a way that he/her lessons in school regularly. It becomes a habit or a way of life for the child, just like brushing the teeth after eating, taking a bath everyday, washing hands before eating, or saying a prayer before sleeping. It is true that we are all born with the ability to learn. We do it every day of our lives, often without being aware of it. However, studying is a special form of learning and it is achieved with some specific purpose in mind. All of us need to learn how to study [1]. If we want to do best that we can, as a student, we need to understand what would we want out of studying and what learning means to us.

A student who has his or her proper study orientation cannot sleep or go to school without studying the assigned lessons. As a teacher educator the investigator feels that a student can be intelligent and have self confidence in class compared to those do not have their proper study orientation. A student who does not have good study orientation he/she cannot do well in class performance. Good study orientation is the tools to success. Study habits have tremendous effect on the achievement [5]. Poor study method clearly disrupt the progress of students [6]. Lee [7] found that development of study skills, increased student achievement. Young [10] observed that students' study habits seem to show differences in how they learn and how serious they are about learning.

The performance of every individual is not equal. There is a lot of variability and dispersion. A number of factors influence the child's achievement. Gender of the child is one of those factor that influences the child's academic achievement [4]. Sarwar¹, Bashir, Khan, and Khan [8] observed that male and female students have significance difference in their study orientations. Singh (1984) found that study habits of boys and girls differed significantly at

different levels of academic achievement. Vijayalaxmi and Natesan [9] also showed that girls have a higher academic achievement compared to boys. Nagaraju [3] found that students in Secondary Schools in India usually do not devote sufficient time to their studies and seldom have proper study habits. However, the study habits significantly influenced on reading achievement of high school students. Without well-developed study orientation, a student cannot perform well in class, develop less self confidence and surely, he or she cannot reach his or her ambition in life.

In spite of our every effort for creating good study orientation among the school students the goal, in respect of their academic performance, is far to achieve. There is a clear distinction in academic performance among the high and low achievers in school. We see that a major portion of the students are not competent in higher education and failed to achieve their desired goal due to their lack of proper study orientation. It is easier to us if we try to build the proper study orientation from the early stage of individual's life. The main hurdle in promoting a good study orientation today is that there is a lack of proper knowledge regarding the development of study orientation and correlation between study orientations of high and low achievers. Keeping in view of the above the present study was an attempt to find out the answer of the following question -

Is there any relation between sex and study orientation of secondary school students?

OBJECTIVE

The objectives of the study were:

- 1. To find out the study orientation level among the boys and girls in secondary school.**
- 2. To study the influence of sex on study orientation of secondary school students.**

HYPOTHESIS

To realize the above objectives the following null hypotheses were formulated for testing:

- 1. There would not be, in general, good study orientation among the boys and girls in secondary school.**
- 2. There would be no significant difference between boys and girls' in respect of their study orientation.**

METHODS

The present study was conducted by using survey research method. The study was conducted on 360 secondary school students among them 207 were boys and 153 were girls. The students getting more than 60% marks were taken as high achievers and the students getting less than 45% marks were taken as low achievers. The sample was taken from 10th grade students those were studying at secondary schools under WBBSE in Purulia district of West Bengal. The Stratified Random Sampling technique was used to collect the sample for the present study. For sampling, the population was divided into two strata viz. boys and girls. Required samples were collected from each stratum.

A Study Orientation Scale (SOS) was developed on the lines of M. Mukhopadhyay and D. N. Sansanwal's Study Habit Inventory [2] scale keeping in view its relevance and suitability for the students of Purulia in West Bengal. The final form of the scale was consisting 52 items and it was divided into the following sub-components namely Comprehension (12 items), Concentration (10 items), Task Orientation (9 items), Study Sets (7 items), Interaction (3

items), Drilling (4 items), Supports (4 items), Recording (2 items) and Language (1 item). The items of the scale were arranged randomly in the scale to avoid any mechanistic pattern of response.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

To test the hypotheses of the study mean, SD (Standard Deviation) and t- test techniques were employed and results have been presented in Table 1 and Table 2.

Hypothesis 1: There would not be, in general, good study orientation among the boys and girls in secondary school. In order to find out the study orientation level among the boys and girls of secondary school students mean and SD were computed to test the hypothesis 1. The result of mean and SD have been presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Mean and SD on study orientation scores of boys and girls of secondary school.

• Category	• N	• Mean	• SD
• Boys	• 207	124.60	19.40
• Girls	• 153	127.75	19.06

It is evident from Table-1 that the mean and SD of boys and girls study orientation scores are 124.60 & 19.40 and 127.27 & 19.06 respectively. It shows that the study orientation level is average in both the cases i.e. boys and girls. The mean value of study orientation levels of girls is slightly more than the boys. It is concluded that the boys and girls of secondary school do not have good study orientation. Hence, hypothesis 1 is accepted for the variable sex.

Hypothesis 2: There would be no significant difference between boys and girls' in respect of their study orientation. In order to find out the significant difference between boys and girls of secondary school in study orientation t-test technique was used to test the hypothesis 2. The results of t-test have been presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Computed t-value on study orientation scores of boys and girls students.

Variables	No. of Students	Study Orientation scores		Mean difference	df	t value
		Mean	σ			
Boys	207	124.60	19.40	3.15	358	1.54*
Girls	153	127.75	19.06			

* = t value is not significant at 0.05 level

It is seen from Table-2 that the boys and girls of secondary school have secured mean 124.60 and 127.75 respectively in their study orientation. Comparison of the mean of the two groups indicates that the girls have secured a higher mean than compare to the boys of secondary schools. The calculated t-value for the sex variable is 1.54, which is not significant at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, the null hypothesis 2 is accepted. It may be interpreted that the difference of mean of study orientation scores between the boys and girls is not significant and sex has no significance influence on study orientation of the students. In other words the boys and girls of secondary schools do not differ significantly in study orientation.

FINDINGS

The statistical treatment of the data reveals the following findings of the study –

- 1. The mean value of the study orientation scores of boys and girls are 124.60 and 127.75 respectively which is in average as per study orientation norms. Hence, the boys and girls both have average study orientation level.**
- 2. The mean value of boys (124.60) is less than that of girls (127.75). It is concluded that the study orientation of girls are slightly better than boys.**

- 3. Sex doesn't show any significant influence on students' study orientation scores. It means the boys and girls of secondary schools do not differ significantly in their study orientation.**

CONCLUSION

It is concluded that the study orientation level of boys and girls are average and the study orientation of girls are slightly better than boys. It is also concluded that there is no significant difference in the study orientation of boys and girls. To sustain and increase the good study orientation efforts are to be taken by the teachers as well as parents. They should try to inculcate in their students to plan a balanced activities for studying each subject soon after class.

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Towards enabling construction organizations' adaptation to environmental sustainable construction in developing countries

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Abstract

Giant strides have been taken in developed countries towards the achievement of sustainable development goals. This has been pursued largely through the establishment of relevant policies and regulations and that significantly require the construction industry's role. Environmental sustainability is foundational as far as the pursuit of sustainable development is concerned. However, in developing countries, construction organizations are yet to be enabled to adapt to Environmental Sustainable Construction. How can these organizations be enabled to adapt to ESC? The aim of this paper is to find out enablers of construction organizations' adaptation to ESC in developing countries. A review of literature on the enablers of sustainability within the construction industry has been conducted and the need to identify enablers within the context of developing countries have been revealed. A content analysis of qualitative data obtained from an averagely 1½ hour in-depth interview of 13 construction organizations has been used to develop a relational model outlining primary elements required to enable commencement of regularization of ESC practices. On this basis, a conceptual framework explaining different time zones required for regularizing ESC, has been developed. Thus, a clear direction towards the development of a broader framework towards construction organizations' adaptation to ESC in a developing country context has been provided.

Keywords: adaptation, enablers, construction organizations, environmental sustainable construction, developing countries

INTRODUCTION

Since the release of the Brundtland report of the World Commission on Environmental Development (WCED) [1] sustainability has become a paramount issue and a significant drive for competitiveness among economies and in the corporate world. The report puts emphasis on the three traditional pillars of sustainable development (SD): Environmental, Economic and Social. Environmental sustainability is found to be foundational to overall achievement of the goals of SD [2, 3]. Although the seventh of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) strongly challenges all economies, to achieve environmental sustainability, the achievement of the MGDs by the target year of 2015, is now clearly a mirage [4].

As aftermath developments of the 1987 commission, various sustainable development summits such as: the 1992 summit in Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil; the 1995 social development summit in Copenhagen, Denmark, with review in 2000 in Geneva, Switzerland; and the Sustainable Development summit 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa, have been held to drive home the SD agenda. During all these summits, environmental sustainability remained paramount. The construction industry in developing countries needs to give primary attention to environmental sustainability in their construction activities.

The 1992 summit resulted in the Agenda 21 for Sustainable Construction in Developing Countries (A21-SCDC). Among the contents of the A21-SCDC is a framework that proposes how sustainable construction can be adopted and implemented in developing countries. However, sustainable construction has still not been established in developing countries [5]. It is reported that in Ghana, a developing country, unsustainable development practices continue to cause irreparable damage resulting in deforestation, land degradation, air and water pollution, soil erosion, overgrazing, and destruction of biodiversity, [6] as well as energy wastage [7].

More than a decade after Bon and Hutchinson [8], Ofori [9] and Hill and Bowen [10] had indicated that economic, framework and resource inequalities between developed and less-developed countries pose challenges to the establishment of sustainable construction concept, other recent studies still confirm this menace of construction industry stakeholders inability to establish sustainable construction in developing countries [11, 12, 5]. Less-built capacity, inadequate resources, knowledge, systemic and framework gaps have been cited as major challenges contributing to low or lack of performance in sustainable construction in developing countries. These challenges are sources of concern that require more efforts from researchers, industry practitioners and governments to find practical and effective ways of enabling stakeholders to implement environmental sustainable construction practices.

Within the construction industry, construction organizations remain major front liners [13]. Hence, their ability to adopt and practice sustainability in their daily construction activities is paramount to the achievement of global sustainable development. The objective of this paper is to therefore identify the enablers of ESC in construction organizations in the context of developing countries.

Environmental Sustainability in the Construction Industry

The emerging direction of research activities into sustainable development indicates that sustainability is timely and an important area driven by global concerns. Climate change, depletion of fossil energy resources and the alarming trends of carbon foot prints are some of the developments that must be given urgent attention not only by emerging economies but also the developing world. However, achieving consensus requires the various parties, especially the construction organizations, which are the implementers of construction projects, and have direct relationship with biodiversity, to be knowledgeable and well equipped to meet the demands of sustainable development.

Bouchlaghem [14] indicates that the built environment is widely recognized as a major consumer of energy and contributor to the overall CO₂ emissions into the atmosphere. The role of the built environment industry is therefore highly necessary for the achievement of environmental sustainable development goals globally.

While there is a call for a holistic approach to implementation of sustainability principles, sustainability technology, knowledge and practices identified have not been effectively utilized [15]. Corbera et al. [16] and Robichaud and Anantatmula [17] also acknowledge that little research has been conducted on how, for instance, construction activities can be done without causing rise in greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions, especially carbon, which is the most common. Moreover, there is/are lack of framework(s) to guide practices that would ensure achieving sustainability in developing countries [41]. Hence, it is highly necessary to explore ways of establishing sustainable development practices by stakeholders in the construction industry in the context of a developing country.

The global nature of environmental sustainability challenges

To overcome the challenges associated with environmental sustainability within the corporate domain, globalisation has an important role to play [18]. Porritt [19], Capra [20] and Shrivastava [21] argue that by the very nature of certain problems such as global warming and the melting polar ice caps, which are environmentally threatening, a strategy with global dimension would be required to deal with the associated global effects. This implies that the actions conducted in one part of the world affect the physical conditions felt by the occupants of another.

Factors relating to a holistic approach, which are acknowledged as: 'organizational learning disability' [22] and 'failure of organizations to understand their holistic role' [23], are essential in dealing with the problems of environmental sustainability in developed, emerging and developing economies. Borland [2: p. 13] argues that "while the market economy (in developed and some emerging economies) is improving its physical environment in terms of reduced pollution and reduced natural resource usage, much of the most polluting activities, such as commodity processing and heavy manufacturing, are being relocated to the emerging market economies." Therefore, given the much larger population base in these developing countries, their rapid industrialization could easily offset the environmental gains made by developed economies.

Construction organizations in developing countries are also susceptible to the influx of some of these environmental polluting activities. Thomas [23] recognized the laxity of the corporate world in dealing with the problems that confront environmental sustainability and indicated that pursuit of the financial bottom line and a focus on shareholder value by many organizations have led them to ignore the wider implications of the role of the corporate entity in society and the environment. It will therefore be counter-productive if construction organizations ignore their responsibility to uphold and pursue the global efforts required to deal with environmental sustainability challenges as advocated by the industry in developed economies. A collaboration between construction organizations in these economies is obviously needed to enable the execution of local construction works without compromising on the principles of environmental sustainability. The resulting improvement could be the institution of relevant organizational policies and initiatives that will guide regularized execution of ESC practices.

It is, however, worthy to note that, in employing a holistic approach to deal with environmental sustainability challenges, regional peculiarities should not be ignored. Overlooking features that are peculiar to a given region could result in development of inappropriate solutions. For instance, Amekudzie et al. [24] advocate that carbon management is highly necessary for achieving sustainable development in any country. But this can be effectively achieved by taking comprehensive approach; exploring different standards and targets for different

typologies of countries based on their present levels of development. The authors asserted that this may be helpful in developing the consensus needed for global standards for effective carbon management. Du Plessis [25] also buttresses this by drawing attention to the fact that due to differences in developmental agenda of developed and developing countries, special knowledge and skills are required to establish a sustainable development plan in developing countries.

Capability of local construction industry to initiate ESC regularization

It has been argued that to enable sustainable construction in the local construction industry, "...it is first necessary to create a capable and viable local construction sector; second, it is necessary to ensure that the sector is able to respond to the demands sustainable development places on its activities" (Du Plessis, 2007:71). Contractors therefore need to build their ability in order to respond to the demands of sustainable development. However, the construction industry's viability and ability to practice sustainable construction would need to be first hinged on an enabling atmosphere. In Ghana, a developing country, large construction works are undertaken by foreign firms rather than the indigenous ones, duties of capacity challenges that face indigenous construction firms [26]. To ensure that sustainable construction targets are set and achieved in developing countries, indigenous firms need to build up skills, knowledge and innovation that will enable the application of sustainability practices at all stages of construction works.

Sustainable construction is a major medium for achieving environmentally friendly construction, low carbon economy and the goals of sustainable development. Therefore, the construction industry would need to play a pivotal role in ensuring that construction activities are executed without compromising on sustainability principles. This pivotal role creates the opportunity, and also the obligation, for construction organizations to take up the leadership position [27]. Such a position is critical to the minimization of destruction of the ecosystem due to construction activities.

Taking up this leadership role will require going beyond the execution of the routine construction work, to act as advocates in preparing the broader public sector, business and public opinions for the huge task of realizing sustainable construction. The construction industry should be able to set an example in its own practices. Overall, though, the task will require new thinking, new ways of doing familiar things, and the acquisition of skills. Involvement of construction organizations and other relevant bodies in this task would create the opportunity for securing a competitive advantage both locally and internationally [28].

Since governmental initiatives are not adequate to solve the environmental problems we face, the need for the construction industry to take up the leadership in ensuring that environmental sustainable construction practices are adopted in order to reduce negative effects, such as global warming on the ecology, is becoming increasingly important. This important role of construction business organizations is buttressed by the statement given in the Green House Gases (GHG) protocol reporting standard of the World Resources Institute and World Business Council for Sustainable Development, WRI/WBCSD [29 p. 3], that:

"Emissions of the anthropogenic greenhouse gases (GHG) that drive climate change and its impacts around the world are growing. According to climate scientists, global carbon dioxide emissions must be cut by as much as 85 percent below 2000 levels by 2050 to limit global mean temperature increase to 2 degrees Celsius above pre-

industrial levels. Temperature rise above this level will produce increasingly unpredictable and dangerous impacts for people and ecosystems. As a result, the need to accelerate efforts to reduce anthropogenic GHG emissions is increasingly urgent. Existing government policies will not sufficiently solve the problem. Leadership and innovation from business is vital to making progress."

Construction industry's environmental regulations and policies

The environmental management capacity of an organization is highly necessary for its efficient performance. Attention needs to be given to the ability of construction contractors to adopt and implement environmental sustainability practices that will foster promotion and achievement of construction sustainability industry-wide. To be able to establish an environmental management system within a construction business organization, it is important to have enablers that will provide an encouraging atmosphere for adoption and implementation of any environmental management strategy.

Environmental sustainability is the prime concern in the pursuit of sustainable development. It seeks to sustain global life-support systems indefinitely. This principally refers to those systems that maintain human life. Protection of the environment must be a responsibility of all sectors of an economy. The construction industry is widely known as one of the largest sectors whose activities have significant effect on the environment [28, 30, 31]. Therefore, organizations within the construction industry have role to play in ensuring environmental sustainability.

In a study into the drivers of contractors' green innovation, Qi et al. [32] found out that for a contractor to be able to adopt green practices in its organization, factors such as managerial concern, environmental regulations and size of firm are important drivers. The research findings were obtained in the Chinese context and there is need to also find out, in a developing country context in Africa, the factors that would enable and drive contractors' adoption and implementation of ESC practices. Also, whether some of these drivers identified by Qi et al. [32] are present in a developing country context, such as Ghana, is something that needs to be investigated.

Construction organization's ability to adopt sustainability practices comes with some advantages. Chief among such benefits is the organization's competitiveness. Tan et al. [28] asserts that a contractor's ability to implement sustainable construction practices contributes to the improvement of its competitive performance. He further developed a model to show that there exists a relationship between the sustainability performance and business competitiveness of a contractor and determined that the relationship is positive.

Also, adherence to environmental regulations had been considered by Porter and Van der Linde [33] as a driver of innovation and efficiency in resource use in any business organization. Tan et al. [28] and Testa et al. [30] have argued for the fact that environmental regulation is one of the important drivers of contractors' environmental and competitive performance. Environmental regulations are normally instituted to ensure that organizations whose activities affect the environment take measures to eradicate or minimize the negative effects of their action on the environment. These also sometimes impose penalties on defaulting organizations; penalties meant to serve as 'compensation' to the social-ecological system affected by unsustainable practices. The construction industry stands as one of the major sectors whose activities result in a lot of depletion of natural resources, and by nature, have significant negative effect on the environment especially in terms of carbon emissions. In view

of this, governments in some countries have instituted regulations to ensure that construction activities are environmentally-friendly [34].

Construction contractors are regarded to be at the forefront of construction activities and therefore hold much responsibility in taking steps towards complying with such environmental policies. Other operational features of environmental regulations such as: penalty like cost/charges for carbon emissions; rewards like tax rebate and loan schemes for carbon reduction efforts; more severe ratings/standards; and receiving education and training from governments and professional associations, have also enhanced efforts to promote environmental sustainability (35, 36, 37, 38, 39)

However, Testa et al. [30] found out that the building and construction sector is considered to be under the threat of losing its competitiveness due to compliance with extensive energy and environmental regulations. This could be among the reasons for the findings that emanated from the study of Wong et al. [13]. The contractors who were involved in the study to find out how contractors respond to CO₂ reduction policies in the sector might not adjust their attitudes in carbon reduction strategy adoption for the sake of avoiding 'penalty' given in regulations. The authors admitted that this finding is thought provoking and more research needs to be done into the behavioural drift of contractors towards adoption of environmental protection strategies.

The implication is that in spite of the existence of these regulations, regarded as sustainability drivers, further research needs to be carried out among construction organizations in developing countries. The ability of such policies to foster environmental sustainable construction practices can be ascertained through such further studies. In a developing country, such as Ghana, the compliance with sustainability practices and principles is more relaxed among construction industry practitioners [40]. Therefore, there is the need to find out the enablers and drivers of construction organization's ESC.

Barriers/Challenges to the practicing of ESC

Having organization's ESC policies in place, apart from governmental environmental regulations, could be an enabler of sustainable construction practice. However, Du Plessis's [41] revelation about the situation where sustainable construction in developing countries is yet to be established, seems to suggest that contractors may not have their own organizational policies on how to ensure environmental sustainable construction practices. There could be the presence of both internal and external organizational challenges requiring investigation. Such challenges may have the tendency to affect the ability of construction organizations to adapt to ESC.

For instance, as advocated by, Global Reporting Initiatives (GRI) [42], construction organizations should be able to report on their sustainability performances in order to enhance their chances of complying with relevant environmental regulations. What needs to be ascertained is whether construction organizations in a developing country have the ability to assess their sustainability performance to serve as a basis for reporting on such performances. What has not been assessed cannot be reported on properly. Zhou et al. [43] emphasizes the growing need for sustainability in construction to be adequately measured. For sustainability assessment to be carried out effectively and economically in an organization, it would be required to have the relevant staff that wields the needed knowledge and skills in sustainable construction. However, such personnel are lacking in many business organizations in some developing countries [44].

Other barriers that could hinder organizations' from reporting on sustainability performance using the GRI standard exist. Some of these have been highlighted by Fonseca [45] as: lack of capacity-building at sites; lack of interest from local stakeholders; unclear cost-benefits; increased information management task and excessive corporate exposure.

Besides the need to overcome some of the barriers outlined above in order to report effectively on sustainability matters, construction organizations should have the ability to pursue specific efforts directed at achieving specific environmental sustainability goals. For instance, on the basis of inventory proposal by European Network of Construction Companies for Research and Development (ENCORD) [46], a specific goal such as reducing carbon emissions from construction activities would require planning well on how to reduce fuel usage and electricity consumption on a given project and, in general, daily business operations.

In Africa, where most of the developing countries exist, such sustainability strategies may not be well established. The ability of contractors to network with other sister construction organizations both locally and internationally and use such platforms for benchmarking and enabling sustainable construction practices seems to be useful in supporting a holistic establishment of sustainable construction in developing countries. However, should there be the existence of some barriers against the international and local networking efforts of construction organizations, these should be investigated and minimized to facilitate establishment of ESC in developing countries.

There are environmental policies that have been put forward by bodies such as the United Nations Environment Programme, UNEP [38]. Some of these include: introduction of carbon trade off mechanism; maximizing carbon reduction in the renovation of buildings; reduction technologies demonstration on buildings and advertising places to increase awareness amongst public; movement to holistic application of sustainable buildings solutions systematically; and working with the government to develop policies that would make a difference in the negative effects of construction organizations' activities on the environment. Adegbite et al. [44] also indicated that private stakeholders' collaborative initiative with government is necessary for promoting sustainability nationally. Regularized adoption of these strategies by construction organizations in developing countries could foster effective environmental sustainable construction practices. This will require holistic development of the ability of construction industry players, after creation of an enabling atmosphere, to foster a holistic adaptation to a system of ESC practices.

Governmental collaboration and commitment

Creating an enabling atmosphere would demand close collaboration and support from governments, which may also be critical to the attainment of such a system that provides the wheels for sustainable construction. Therefore, the commitment of the government to achieving construction industry sustainability in its delivery of infrastructure should be a matter of interest to the objectives of this research. There seem to be non-existence of such government-private business collaborative efforts in the developing countries. This kind of collaborative effort is recommended by Adegbite et al. [44]. They found out that although businesses in Nigeria have started pursuing sustainable development programmes to improve their corporate social responsibility, there have not been efforts by the government to develop sustainable development policies towards the private organizations sustainability practices. Their study covered organizations in the oil and gas, telecommunication and banking industries. The capability of the construction sector to embark upon self-initiated sustainable

development programmes and also take the initiative to prompt governments to be engaged in collaborative efforts for the establishment and promotion of ESC practices is also crucial to the attainment of the overall objective of realizing the adaptability of construction organizations.

Adapting to sustainable practices and compliance amidst regulations would require the understanding and positive response of construction organizations towards making significant changes in traditional construction methods. This would require innovation and readiness to employ modern construction technologies and methods.

In the view of Wong et al. [13] construction organizations in Australia would rather be motivated to adapt to environmentally friendly practices on the pedestal of organizational policies. Institution of such policies could stem from the desire to increase marketability and competitiveness. It is possible for such a desire to also drive innovation among construction organizations in developing countries. However, Wei and Lin [47] and Yitmen [48] have also argued that the construction industry, compared to others, is backward and would fail to innovate in order to progress higher in technological advancement.

Qi et al. [32] brought in another dimension regarding what could drive contractors' green innovation. The authors found a strong correlation between government regulations and size of business, suggesting that the larger the size of a company the higher its ability to comply with regulations on environmentally-friendly practices. Within the context of developing countries, the drivers of construction organization's environmental sustainability practices need to be established as well as the features, which when possessed, would enhance the ability to adapt to ESC practices.

Green rating in Ghanaian construction industry

Policy making bodies such as government and relevant established institutions play significant role in the formulation and enforcement of environmental regulations. Most of the green rating systems exist in the developed countries [49]. Whilst green rating tools like the LEED by the US Green Building Council and the BREEAM by the British Research Establishment in UK have been established and have been in use for the past two decades, Ghana, a developing country, has now been able to establish the Ghana Green Building Council (GHGBC) in 2009.

The GHGBC is at its infantile stage and has not been able to establish regulations, in collaboration with the government, for enforcement among relevant stakeholders. It has the aim of developing a green rating tool for the property industry in Ghana. The purpose of this rating system is to: establish a common language; set a standard of measurement for green buildings; promote integrated, whole-building design; recognise environmental leadership; identify building life-cycle impacts; and raise awareness of green building benefits [50].

It seems stakeholders in the Ghanaian construction industry, such as construction organizations, are not aware of green building benefits associated with SD. In view of the efforts by the GHGBC to instill the principles of sustainable development in the local property/construction industry, there is the need for construction organizations, who are the implementers of professional plans and designs, to reposition themselves for adapting to green construction practices [29, 32]. This will facilitate establishment of an ESC system and promote sustainable development principles.

Kibert [51] outlines the Pennsylvania Governor's Green Government Council (GGGC) and this defines the requirements for ensuring environmental sustainability or improved green practices of a building project. Awareness of some of these requirements by the construction industry in developing countries is necessary and this can be generated through international collaborations, knowledge creation and dissemination. It is important that the human resources within construction organizations in developing countries are well equipped with requisite knowledge and skills in order to overcome challenges associated with establishment of sustainable construction [52]. This would contribute to establishing effective ESC within a contractor's organization. Environmental regulations and standards used elsewhere may also be relevant to building the foundation for construction organization's policy set up. Nonetheless, within the context of developing country, there might be certain peculiarities that must be considered to create a relevant and effective ESC 'system' for effective adaptation to the sustainable construction concept.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative approach, after extensive review of pertinent literature, was used to explore how ESC could be enabled among construction organizations. First, literature on construction organizations' twelve sustainability practices, in light of global trends of sustainable development, were reviewed. Secondly, a semi-structured interview of built environment professionals working with thirteen construction organizations in Ghana was carried out. Adopting a combination of the critical review of literature and semi-structured interview was found to be an effective strategy. Other works that probed sustainability issues, as a growing concept, using this approach successfully include: Al Surf et al. [53] and Opoku and Fortune [27]. Moreover, the approach is found to be appropriate due to the exploratory nature of the research problem [54].

The participating construction organizations have Ministry of Water resources Works and Housing (MWRWH) Classification D1/K1 . The organizations were purposively sampled such that only participants who bear the needed characteristics that meet the research objective were interviewed. The criteria set for the selection of the organizations, among others, included: having comparatively higher organizational and structural ability; being currently active construction organization operating with variety of on-site construction equipment; and having qualified built environments professionals. This was to enable effective achievement of the larger aim of the research, which is to find out how construction organizations would be able to adapt to environmental sustainable construction practices.

The semi-structured interview involved asking a number of predetermined open-ended questions [54]. Interviewees were questioned in a systematic and consistent order [55, 58]. Besides the predetermined questions, other questions were framed during the interview for the purpose of probing unclear responses. The semi-structured interviews allowed greater flexibility and permitted more valid responses from the participants resulting in clear revelation of their perception of the research subject [56]. Peripheral records of observations of site practices and office organization were kept for purposes of having in-depth discussion of transcribed interview data [57, 58].

The transcribed qualitative data were analysed using conventional content analysis [59, 60, 61]. The focus of the questions was on the ESC practices adopted by the construction organizations. In addition, questions on associated barriers, drivers and enablers of adaptation to ESC were also posed. These were meant to feed into future directions of the research.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Ad hoc performance of ESC activities

The interview and observations carried out among the organizations involved in this study revealed that some of the ESC activities are being carried out without necessarily pursuing SD agenda. Interviewees had learnt about some of the ESC activities. However, few of these activities were being practiced. Moreover, the mode of practice was found to be ad hoc.

Observation of site practices revealed the use of signage to ensure compliance to health and safety requirements. The signage could not have been deemed as adequate in view of sparse placements at the construction site. The most common signage observed was the type that contained information on health and safety. Signage outlining how environmental sustainability should be ensured on site was not observed. Some of the interviewees were of the opinion that the Health and Safety portfolio created is adequate to deal with all environmental requirements of the construction. However others who were found to have little concern for Health and Safety issues were of the view that, for construction organizations to be enabled to carry out ESC practices comprehensively, there is the need to create an office for ensuring the organization's strict compliance to ESC practices.

It was found that some organizations perform ESC activities but not with the objective of pursuing sustainability. One of the interviewees remarked:

"We have made it our priority to ensure waste minimization on all our sites, so that we can reduce cost and also increase profit. We are not doing this because we want to practice ESC. In order to achieve this waste minimization and efficiency in our construction activities, we have instituted a reward system for the site that achieves the highest waste minimization" – R-07

Involvement of Government

Respondent 07's (R-07) statement about site waste minimization initiative indicates the importance of an organization's commitment as a primary step for adaptation to ESC. This level of commitment was not the case across all the other organizations. Rather, a situation where organizations tend to rely on the assistance of government, which is the largest client, for instituting ESC measures, was portrayed. For a more regularized ESC practice, a legislative charter from the government was recognized as a fundamental enabler for the ESC. The participants emphasized the need for having a law from the government to regularize sustainability requirements in the construction industry.

The need for tax incentives to reduce the construction organizations financial commitment towards importation of sustainable technologies was also a point of emphasis. Interviewees acknowledged the relatively expensive nature of importing construction plant and other materials such as geo-panels, plastic materials and metal props for use of formworks. Introduction of tax incentives and import duty waivers by the government to motivate contractors to pursue sustainable technologies was realized as one of the governmental assistance to enable ESC.

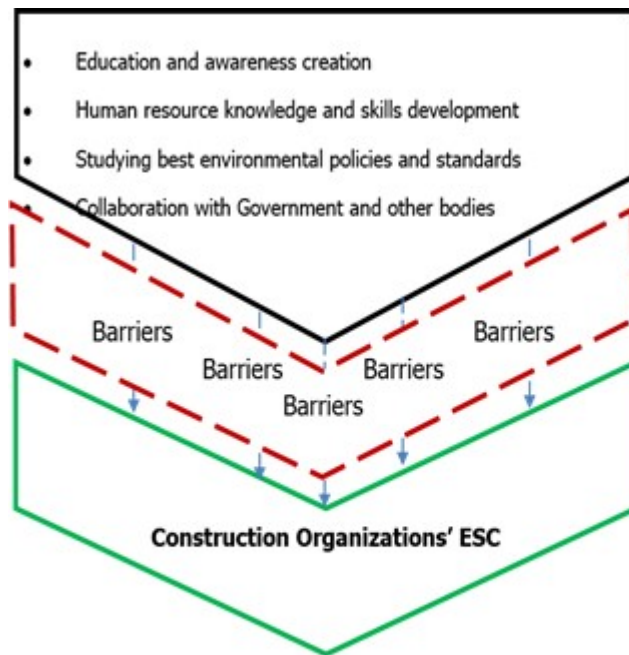


Fig. 1 – Relational model of construction organization's path to ESC

Primary elements of ESC in a construction organization

Qualitative data from the interview revealed some primary elements (as indicated in Fig. 1) that are necessary to create an enabling situation for ESC to happen in a construction organization in developing country. These elements include: education and awareness creation; human resource knowledge and skills development; studying best environmental policies and standards; and collaboration with government and other relevant bodies. Without the dynamics of education, awareness creation, building the required knowledge and developing skills, learning from best sustainable construction practices and collaborating with the government, creation of an enabling environment for the adaptation to ESC may be difficult, if not impossible.

Sustainable procurement requirements and short term profit as potential ESC drivers

It also emerged that including the capacity of a contractor to satisfy environmental sustainable requirements in the selection criteria during tendering could be used to check compliance with environmental regulations. Construction organizations are always inclined towards satisfying tendering and contractual requirements. In the light of this, the reformation of tendering requirements and contractual provisions to include sustainable development demands is necessary for ensuring adaptation to ESC. This could call for a second look at the existing procurement laws in developing countries to evaluate the presence and adequacy of sustainable construction provisions.

The desire to have a sustainable environment could drive the practices among construction organizations. However, the interview revealed that the overarching driver of construction organizations' ESC practices is short term business profit. This was expressed clearly in a participant's statement: "...having an environment that can sustain future construction activities is important but as an organization, our aim is to get profit and so if a work calls for a minimum destruction to the environment, but will bring us profit, we will carry it out"- R-11

Organizations supporting this opinion perceive that 'associated high initial cost' is a challenge to the practicing of sustainable construction in developing countries. This perception is comparable to the finding of Qi et al. [32] about the difficulty in adopting green building practices by developers in Malaysia. With this perception, it is not surprising to find out that short term profit would drive ESC among construction organizations rather than long term benefits associated with ESC.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the relational model and findings from the interview, a conceptual framework of ESC enablers for a construction organization has been developed as shown in Fig 2. The concept behind the framework is adopted from DuPlessis (2007). The various kinds of enablers are therefore explained in subsequent passages. The framework is developed by taking into account organizational, national and international considerations that must be made by construction organizations in a developing country towards adaptation to ESC. These considerations are highly necessary since SC enablers are informed by local development needs as well as global environmental considerations [5]. Also, to have ESC well established, an approach requiring a construction organization to operate at different time scales: short, medium and long terms, is imperative.

Short term Enablers

Due to the lack of knowledge in sustainable construction issues among stakeholders and lack of understanding, especially by clients, it would be prudent for the knowledge base of stakeholders in developing countries such as Ghana, to be strengthened [62, Du Plessis, 2007]. In the immediate term, this would require effective collaboration with global bodies that are well experienced and have adopted and practiced sustainable construction for more than a decade, in especially the developed countries. It is possible that this could increase the business operation cost of contractor organization, seeing that this is an initial additional cost associated with establishing sustainable development [27, 63].

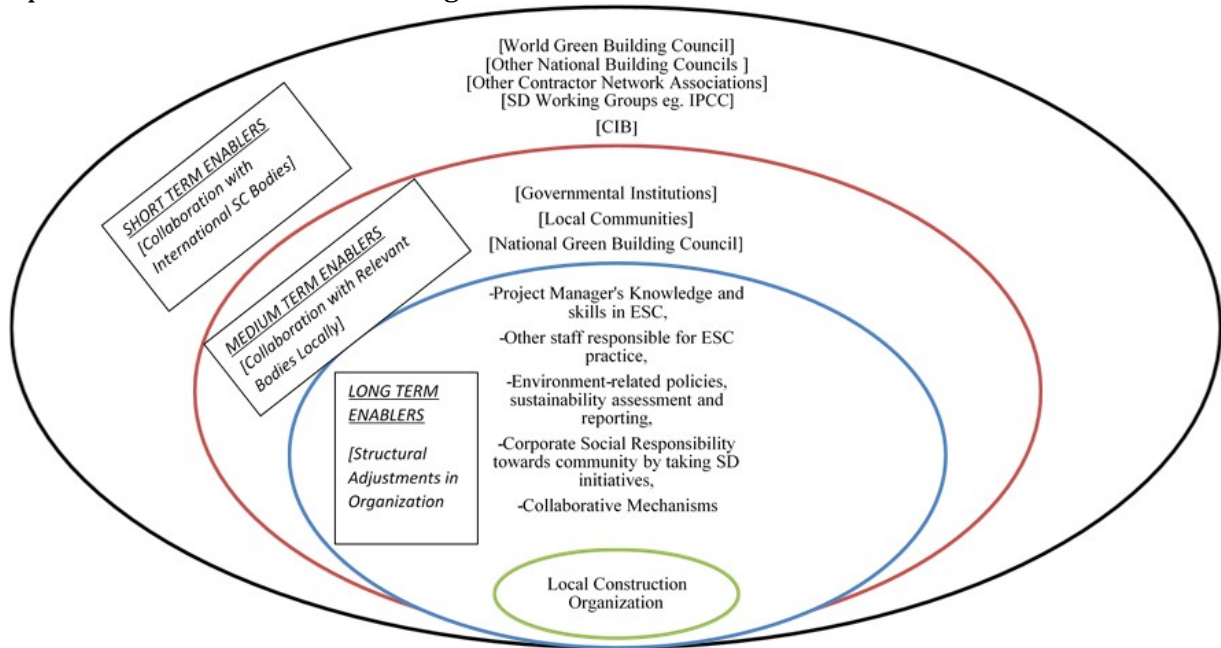
There is a strong relationship between sustainability practice and contractor's business competitiveness [28]. This expected organizational competitiveness, due to establishment of sustainable construction principles, is likely to be a motivating factor for a construction organization's ESC practice. A framework indicating how government can collaborate by providing political and financial support to contractors who prove to be sustainability-oriented could also be a channel for overcoming this perceived huge initial cost challenge.

Medium term enablers

Overcoming some initial challenges in the creation of short term enablers, points to the need for some other medium term enablers. There is no perceived pressure from government, the largest client in the construction industry, and local communities, to drive sustainable construction agenda [32]. Therefore, it will be necessary for contractors to take the initiative using primary knowledge and skills acquired to collaborate with government and national green building council in promoting their understanding as well as advocating for their cooperation in the implementation of ESC [44].

Collaboration with national sustainability-related bodies such as GHGBC is an important step to be taken by building contractors. Contractors need to be aware of the role of such councils in the implementation and compliance with sustainable construction requirements. For instance, executing a building that is required to meet green rating standards would demand that a

construction organization is knowledgeable in the constituents of green rating [50]. Teaming up with green building councils would create platform for organizations' education and awareness in green rating. This is also likely to increase the international business competitiveness of construction organizations.



LONG TERM ENABLERS

Managerial concern has been found to be the most important driver for the adoption of green practices in China [32]. Similarly, to have ESC established in the long term in a construction organization in the developing country's context, managerial decision would be crucial. Teriö and Kähkönen [64] recognized the criticality of management's decision in initiating changes in an organization. Adopting action research approach, they proposed an environmental management system solution purposefully for the attention of management within some contracting organizations.

Liyin et al. [65], like Tan et al. [28], acknowledge that construction organization's environmental management system is driven by external forces such as legal enforcement and governmental incentives. However, the authors argue that the effectiveness of such environmental management practices cannot be gained if internal motivation does not exist. Therefore there is the need for an environmentally-friendly culture to be maintained within the organization. It is therefore important to note that construction organizations need to target having such an atmosphere within their organization in order to realize long term establishment of ESC.

Since practicing of sustainable construction requires change in traditional practices and the introduction of innovations in construction activities, there will be the need for structural adjustments within an organization in the long term. The project manager's skills and knowledge in ESC, for instance, is crucial in delivering sustainable construction [52]. In Ghana the procurement law [66] which regulates construction procurement in Ghana, highly recognizes the position and reinforces the role of the project manager for the client in the management of public procurement. Since construction organizations also invariably utilizes the services of project managers, managerial decision has to be taken to ensure that existing or new project managers are well equipped with the requisite knowledge and skills to be able to operate within acceptable standards of sustainable construction.

CONCLUSION

Giant strides have been taken in developed countries on the establishment of sustainable development principles to guide activities of the construction industry. Across the developing countries sustainable construction is not established. Environmental sustainability is foundational in establishing sustainable construction in a developing country context. This requires the immediate attention of frontline construction industry stakeholders such as construction organizations. Thus, the overarching need to investigate into how to enable construction organizations to adapt to environment sustainable construction (ESC).

National environmental regulations and policies exist and can be regarded as enablers of ESC. In developing countries. However, governmental initiatives are not adequate to solve the environmental problems faced in developing countries. Existing government policies have not proved sufficient to deal with the environmental challenges associated with construction industry's activities in developing countries. Therefore, the need for the construction industry to take up the leadership role to ensure adaptation to environmental sustainable construction practices is becoming increasingly critical. This is especially so because conformance to sustainability practices and principles seem to be lacking among construction industry practitioners in Ghana, a developing country [40] Leadership and innovation from construction organization businesses in developing countries is vital to making progress [29].

The realization of existence of 'initial high cost' challenge associated with ESC requires local construction organizations' collaboration with government and other relevant bodies, both internationally and locally. This seem to be a necessary ingredient for adapting to ESC practices.

A conventional content analysis of the qualitative data obtained from the interview has revealed some construction organizations ESC primary elements and enablers. Some of ESC challenges that emerged include perception of associated high initial cost of practicing ESC coupled with lack of awareness of sustainable construction technologies and associated benefits. Governmental laws and regulations as well as governmental incentives have also been realized as primary enablers of ESC. The incorporation of sustainability requirements into the tendering selection criteria and then inclusion in contractual requirements for which execution thereof would not affect contractors' short term profit also emerged. These are considered as potential ESC drivers and require further investigation.

In light of these identified primary elements of ESC, a relational model was developed to indicate the path towards commencing construction organizations adaptation to ESC in developing countries. The relational model formed a basis for development of a conceptual framework of construction organizations ESC enablers in short-term, medium-term and long-term. This framework paves a clearer path towards the development of a broader framework required to enhance total adaptability of construction organizations to the ESC in a developing country context.

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Sexual Self-Concept through a Cross-Cultural Lens: Qualitative Case Studies of Iranian-American Women

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Abstract

Recently scholars have examined more closely the topic of female sexual self-concept as an aspect of sexual well-being. Few studies have focused on migrated women's life experiences cross-culturally, and how that informs a woman's view of herself as a sexual being. This is particularly true about most middle-eastern cultures, including Iranian-American women. Four case studies draw on qualitative data from interviews with first generation Iranian-American women in the USA to describe the sexual self-concepts evolving as a result of life in both cultures. Applying narrative methodology and feminist theoretical perspectives two themes were revealed. These are i) the influence of family power, and ii) patriarchal social practices. The analysis introduces a multidimensional aspect and process associated with each woman's view of her sexual self-concept, which takes into account their behaviours, cognitions, and emotions developed in each life stage, and inform her sexual subjectivity (view of herself as a sexual being). Implications of these findings for clinicians and policy makers involved in sexual health care for women are briefly discussed.

Keywords: sexual self-concept, cross-cultural, Iranian-American women, sexuality, power relations

INTRODUCTION

Sexuality, as a core part of a human life experience [1], has been historically studied by scholars. Traditionally, this involved sexual dysfunction, reproductive care, and STIs [2-3], but a much wider and more inclusive framework includes emotional and mental sexual-well-being as a significant aspect of sexual health [4], and sexual self-hood (i.e., view of self as a sexual-being) [2]. Qualitative investigations [5] have been a powerful tool in exploring women's sexual self-hood. For example, Daniluk [6] used both a feminist and qualitative approach to explore the experience and the meaning-making process of female sexuality, and to learn about women's sexual experience and the associated meanings with those experiences. Ellison [7], also revealed the importance of a woman's sexual-self by stating that "our sexual-self is that aspect of who we are through which we experience and express our sexuality" (p. 13).

Sexual self-concept has regularly been studied in western society, within the mainstream female population, which includes sexually abused homeless youth [8] and people with

physical disabilities [9]. Sexual self-concept includes various complexities, in particular amongst women from non-western populations [10]. But research on female sexual self-concept for non-western immigrant women particularly Asian & Middle Eastern women seems to be limited. Much more information is needed on the dichotomy between pre-migration cultural norms and values compared to post-migration. It is likely that the differences between these two value systems may potentially impact on the women's view of their sexual self-hood, and possibly influence and change ideas about what are sexually permissible, which can also impact their sexual health [11].

In the following sections, we reviewed the literature about certain cultural challenges that Iranian-American women experienced both pre and post migration. This is followed by an examination of developmental aspects of female sexual self-concept.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The 1979 political revolution in Iran had a profound impact on many aspects of public policy and social discourse. Many of the resulting issues relate to a shift from a pro-western society to one that underscores the traditional Iranian collective culture, which emphasized curtailment of women's social individualism [12-13]. The on-going political issues led many urbanized and educated families to immigrate to what were believed to be more liberal nations, including the United States and Canada [14-15]. A significant number of the Iranian women migrated to the USA due to spouse's political situations post-revolution.

Historically in Iran, discussions related to women's sexuality were taboo [16]. Politically, these issues were even more suppressed after the revolution. At that point, migration was seen as a way of escape from cultural impositions and social stigmatizations designed for women. Examples of the impositions that women can experience in Iran include: i) sexual socialization [17], ii) social construction of sexual life after divorce [18], and iii) a lack of female sexual rights [19]. In addition, the help-seeking behaviours of Iranian women related to sexual disorders are of concern because they partly relate to the experience of shame and these women's belief of the inability of doctors to provide adequate help [19]. A primary question for Iranian-American women arises: how does she question and re-examine female gender roles and personal relationships across migration? In addition, how does she make sense of how her life experiences, both pre and post migration, shape her current sexual self-concept?

The current population of the Iranian-American female in the United States is estimated to be about one-half million. It is suggested that the Iranian-American assimilation process of individuals is similar to that of other immigrant communities in the United States. Each Iranian individual has experienced their own unique assimilation process according to their daily interactions with others, their unique experiences, specific economic status, and cultural ties [20].

SEXUAL SELF-CONCEPT

Sexual self-concept develops through subjective interpretations of sexual experiences [21-22], sexual socialization [23], social contrasts [24] and from mutual relationships over time [25]. Sexual self-concept has been known as a view of self as a sexual person, which involves sensations that are produced [26]. As Johnson and colleague [8] note: "The belief in one's ability to deal with oneself and others as a sexual person and to feel in control of the sexual aspects of one's life" (p. 45). Others have suggested that "sexual self-concept is a multidimensional construct that refers to an individual's positive and negative perceptions and feelings about him/herself as a sexual being" [27](p.277). Winter [28] suggested that the

concept of the self as a sexual person is not solid or fixed, and develops with age and time. The literature on self-concept reveals that it also includes sexual self-efficacy (i.e., the level of confidence in one's ability to engage and/or refuse sexual behaviors) [27]. Sexual self-concept is conceptualized to be the difference between desired and actual sexual activities, including its negative feelings such as guilt, shame, anxiety, and feeling pressured or forced, that are associated with sexual activities [29].

Feminine ideology has focused on the ideas, norms, and restrictions about what constitutes normal, acceptable, ideal womanhood, including sexual expression [30]. Other variables that may impact sexual self-concept are introduced as sexual agency [26], sexual subjectivity [31], sexual self-esteem [32], and sexual empowerment [33]. Finally, the examination of sexual self-concept models provides a broader sexual context via its relationship with other aspects of sexuality, such as sexual cognition, affect, interpersonal, behavioral, and socialization. Various scales have been developed such as the Multidimensional Sexual Self-Concept Questionnaire [34](MSSQ), and the Women's Sexual Self-Concept Scale [29](WSSCS) that are now widely used in quantitative studies.

Qualitative studies also reveal important insights into the development of female sexuality continues to be influenced by cultural double standards such as the importance of sex for males, and the lack of encouragement for female sexual desire and empowerment [35]. The development of female sexual subjectivity not only needs the experience of sexual pleasure, but the experience of emotional and cognitive interaction and reflection in order for females to have sexual self-awareness. This is essential if they are to ever know their sexual-selves [22]. A female who knows her sexual-self eliminates self-silencing in intimate relationships, and increases self-esteem and the sense of empowerment in both sexual and non-sexual arenas [21]. Sexual agency refers to women having a voice in their intimate relationships, and gives them the power to resist sexual double standards. A lack of sexual subjectivity lowers a woman's ability to effectively communicate her wants and desires in her relationships, and therefore negatively impacts her both physically and emotionally [36].

Of significance to our study is the work of Schnarch [37] who proposed that a woman may develop, across her lifespan, a reflected sexual-self through the composite social practices within a male dominated culture. Sociocultural and situational factors impact women's sexual expression in varying degrees [38]. Therefore, women's sexual self-concept is likely to change over time based on life experiences [39]. Other scholars [40] argue that the influence of cultural ideologies experienced by women during their upbringing may create difficulty in their ability to identify their own sexual-self. This sense of self is primarily a social entity that is culturally constructed as the human self is a "reflected sense of self", dependent on culture and group identity [37]. One effect of a reflected sense of self, for example, is that women may choose to engage in sexual activities that are desired by their partners even when they disagree with them, which will impact her self-view as a sexual being [22].

Given the limitations of the literature on the sexual self-experiences of women born in Middle Eastern cultures and who have subsequently moved to the West, this article aims to explore the Iranian-American women's sexual self-concepts. With the focus on the effect of socialization, migration and unique life events, our case studies offered first-hand information about how each woman is able to describe herself as a sexual being by reflecting on her individual past, and current sexual experiences, cross-culturally.

METHODOLOGY

We selected four stories as case studies for this article from our larger qualitative research (2006 – 2011) [41]. The original sample included twenty four first generation Iranian-American women, age 18 years and older, and residents of Southern California. Within the context of our study, first-generation Iranian-Americans refer to those individuals who immigrated to the United States from Iran [20]. The recruitment process began once the University’s ethical approval was granted. The study information and the types of questions were provided initially by family physicians, followed by a snowball sampling technique for the recruiting process. After obtaining signed consents, an informal semi-structured conversational style interview technique was used [42]. Pseudo names protected the identity of the participants. The four informants were selected because they offered an in-depth understanding of the sexual life experiences within Iranian culture and articulated the themes traversing all other interviews. Table 1 below provides a description of the four women.

The first author, a first generation Iranian-American female herself, and a psychotherapist, conducted each interview in order to facilitate a safe environment for the participants to share their stories. Participants used mix language of both English and Farsi, depending upon their comfort level and understanding of differing concepts. Many sexually related concepts were verbalized in English, as participants were mostly unable to find comparable words in Farsi (official Iranian language), and/or felt more expressive using English language. Participants’ demographic information, both pre and post migration are presented in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table1: Participants’ Demographic Information at the Onset of Migration to the USA

Participant’s Name	Mahnaz	Mitra	Ziba	Aida
Year of Migration to USA	1977	1985	1993	1980
Age	17	21	11	19
Marital Status	Married	Married	Single	Married
Religion	Muslim	Muslim	Muslim	Jewish mother & Muslim father
Educational Background	Incomplete High School	Incomplete High School	Elementary School	Incomplete High School
Self-Perceived Socio-Economical Status in Iran	Higher Status	Middle Class	Middle Class	Higher Status
Reason for Migration	Marital Decision	Spouse Decision	Parents’ Decision	Legal Issues
Prime Source of Income	Fiancé	Spouse	Parents	Self
First time Learning English	Onset of Migration	Onset of Migration	Attending School in India	Onset of Migration

Each unstructured face-to-face interview lasted approximately three hours. Interviews were tape recorded in an attempt to extract more details and elaborate on certain areas of importance. Interviews began with a broad question: “Looking back at your life, living in both cultures of Iran and the USA, how do you see yourself as a sexual being today?” Subsequently, probing questions were used in order to explore areas of interest (i.e., “Please tell me more...”).

Interviews explored a broad range of concepts including; i) – How did they learn about their sexuality growing up in Iran, ii) – How past experiences reflected on their current intimate relationships iii) – How each woman was able to view herself as a sexual being as a result of living in both cultures, iv) – What were the contributing factors that formed their current sexual self-concepts.

The first author transcribed each interview for confidentiality purposes. Each case transcription was read through several times in order to gain an in-depth understanding of each story. Additionally, the first author sought consultation from advisors in order to be aware of any biases. Conceptual notes were made on the transcripts. Attention was paid to how events were related, how each story linked past and present life experiences. Quotes were selected based on key themes emerging in the data, issue of collective concerns, participant's emphasis, and the role it played in the story voiced.

Table 2: Participants' Demographic Information at the Onset of Interview in California, USA

Participant's Name	Mahnaz	Mitra	Ziba	Aida
Age	47	43	26	46
Years Lived in USA	30	22	15	27
Marital Status	Divorced	Divorced	Single	Divorced
Level of Education	Masters of Science	Incomplete High School	Graduate Student	High School
Employment Status	College Professor	Cosmetologist	School Counsellor	Self-Employed
Self-Perceived Economical Status in USA	Middle Class	Middle Class	Middle Class	Upper Middle Class
Source of Income	Employed	Self-Employed	Employed	Self-Employed

RESULTS: THE CASE STUDIES

Each participant voiced her story of how her sexual self-concept was constructed. Two main categories of themes emerged from narratives. The first category included family power and life events during childhood, which was central to internalizing her submissive female role. For participants in each case study, early sexual experiences were viewed negatively, as they were characterized by "secrecy, isolation, fear, shame, guilt, and ignorance." The second category is linked to Iran's official dogma (i.e. religious doctrine, education, mass media) that often defined and limited her proscribed sexual-self, and the challenges to these notions as a result of the migration to the USA. The differences between the two cultural experiences, while initially giving them a more optimistic self-view, also were combined with older feelings of shame and guilt, which led to conflictual and confusing thoughts about differentiating from their home culture.

MAHNAZ'S STORY

After Mahnaz expressed her interest to participate, we met at her apartment. She introduced her story as "scary". During the interview, sexually related words were verbalized in English

and others in Farsi. Mahnaz began her story by revealing a “significant life changing experience”. At the age of five she was sexually molested by a male housekeeper.

“...after breaking my brother’s toy, I feared punishment by my mother, who was not home at the time. The housekeeper kindly promised that he would fix the toy...for my comfort he took me onto his lap and eventually attempted to penetrate me. My mother arrived and was horrified at what she thought she saw. She began hitting me while questioning about what was going on...I did not know what to do... (looking sad...)”

Mahnaz’s family held her responsible for the “crime of participating in a sexual act” and for “not maintaining family honour.” However, she felt a strange sensation “there” without knowing what it was and in which it remained a part of her life onto adulthood.

“I re-experience those same feelings by touching myself, which soon became a habit I kept as a secret across my life. The confusion about the incident, the body sensation, and fear of further punishment kept me isolated...my younger brothers became my chaperon anyway...”

Mahnaz grew up with fear and confusion throughout the remainder of her childhood. At the age 9, she was molested for the second time by her family physician.

“... as the doctor was examining my throat, he moved his hands to my chest and began to kiss me. I was fearful of him... and... confused for sensations I felt...”

Due to fear of punishment, she kept the incident to herself. Both molestation episodes and the confusing feelings within her body made her feel “bad” about herself. She felt ashamed and more confused when she used her hand to linger on her genital long enough, to experience the pleasurable sensation. Often, she made a silent promise with herself that she would touch herself just one more time and never again, but she could never keep her promise. Feeling fearful that God was watching her, still, often she did give in, masturbated as surreptitiously and quickly as possible in attempt to avoid the feelings of fear, shame and guilt. Meanwhile, she carefully attempted to hide her bodily changes and curiosity as secret.

“...I was thirteen years old when I made my first suicide attempt by taking pills...my father punished me by mistaking my menstrual period as a sign of losing my virginity... I did not know what was happening to me and why I was bleeding that way and from there... (Tearful).”

Mahnaz felt “sad” when she woke up in the hospital and didn’t die. She was released from the hospital to a married male family friend. On her way home she was crying, and upon the kind offer of the family friend, she told him about her parents’ abusive behaviour. For the first time Mahnaz felt supported. But, sadly, as he held Mahnaz in his arms for comfort, he began to fondle her breasts. Confused and fearful, Mahnaz ran away and walked all the way home. However, he continuously approached Mahnaz as various opportunities arose and continued sexually “molesting” her despite her “protests”.

“...I eventually enjoyed being with him that way...and...learned that was sort of having sex... a sinful thing... but, no matter what I said, I ended up surrendering myself to him...another secret...(Covered her face).”

Finally, the secret was revealed. Once again, Mahnaz was blamed for “seducing” a grown man with a wife and two children. This time she was beaten extensively with a belt by her father and she made another suicide attempt by overdosing on pills and woke up in the hospital hearing her mother ordering the nurses to “let Mahnaz die”, as she was the shame of the family. Mahnaz was sent to Tehran to live with her “controlling” grandmother. However, eventually the controls were “ineffectual”, which gave Mahnaz the opportunity to explore other activities outside school felt comfortable making friends at school, but, still was not allowed to associate with them alone.

At the age of 16, a husband was chosen for her who was twenty years her senior, a widower with two children who needed a step-mother to look after his children. To avoid marriage, Mahnaz made another suicide attempt. Rather than marry her, her fiancé, now her primary decision maker, decided to send her away to the United States so that she could be away from both families. Mahnaz explains:

“...I started my new life in Los Angeles at the age of 17...I finally got my break!...”

Mahnaz lived with her fiancé's family, he returned back to Iran and announced to both families that the engagement was over and that Mahnaz was not to return back to Iran. “...it sounded like a miracle” she said. After completing high school, Mahnaz got a job, and attended College. Her ex-fiancé continued to help her financially occasionally. Knowing that she would not be welcome back to Iran, Mahnaz never wanted to contact her parents; however, she missed her siblings.

“... Finally, me, the lifelong shame of the family was sent as far away as possible from them... but, this was the beginning of freedom for me...”

She enjoyed attending college and learning about opportunities. After college, she became a teacher. Financial independency made her feel “powerful”. While working, she started sociology program, and it was then that she met her husband. Mahnaz said:

“...feeling uncomfortable to share about her pre-marital relationship... (Blushing). He was a very nice man. After one year of a steady relationship, he proposed, and I accepted. We did not have a traditional Iranian wedding...and I even never received a wedding present from my parents... (Silence)...”

While raising their children, Mahnaz decided to return to school for higher education and eventually became a college instructor. Across marriage she found that having sex with her husband felt “sinful” and “shameful”, but she “went along with it” since she believed it was her “duty” to “satisfy” her husband's sexual needs:

“I felt fearful to share my sexual feelings. They may have been considered bad by him. There were times when I was next to my husband in bed, holding him from back, skintight, while I felt thousands of miles away and apart from him. Ohhhh....eventually he had an affair and we got divorced.”

After divorce, Mahnaz kept herself away from her Iranian-American community. She felt “unwelcomed” by them as a “divorcee” woman. Since her divorce she has not had any other intimate relationship, whether with Iranian or non-Iranian men. She had minimal contact with

her family in Iran. This was “working better” for her. She believes that she was severely emotionally injured first by her parents, rules and life in Iran. Her injured emotions, guide her life to a large extent:

“I see...(crying)...how I was destroyed as a result of my past...following a patriarchal system so blindly...if that is the right pathway...how can the system destroy lives... sometimes I even think that perhaps my mother had no choice since she learned from that system how a woman should behave to be a good woman...well, who knows why...I learned to live a life that sacrificing its women did not matter to anyone, for the sake of culture ...even including my own parent...this is normal in my culture ...(Silence...)”

Although Mahnaz felt she felt freer in the United States, she never felt fully free of the cultural “shackles” that had placed a hold over her mind since she was a young child:

“I still do not have a peaceful life... my sexual-self...it is who I am today...sexually, I know how to please myself... still masturbating... beside spending time with my children , I don't want anything else to look for...”

Her story supports her last words during this interview.

“...despite my successful professional life, I feel trapped by my past... (Looking down).”

MITRA'S STORY

We met at her beauty shop after working hours. Mitra, a 43-year-old “cosmetologist” presented as a regal, elegant woman who interprets her sexual life experiences as filled with “betrayal and pain”.

“My family was powerful and conservative Islamic... therefore, men dictated women's behavior and we had to obey...”

At 14, Mitra was “stunned” by the news of her “imminent” arranged marriage. She was under the legal age, but her father's influence authorized her marriage. Mitra thought of marriage as a “party” and was completely unprepared for what came next.

“...I did not know anything about marriage...nothing...nothing about what was happening when one becomes a bride except looking pretty...”

After the reception, instead of “going home with parents”, she was “forced” into a room, with a man as her husband. Women remained outside the door while giggling, and making jokes about her going inside the room. Her husband had to have sex with her and prove her virginity by showing both families a blood-stained white cloth as part of their tradition. She described her first sexual experience as one of “shocking”.

“...Up to that night, I did not even think about men...he told me to open up my legs as wide as possible for him to penetrate me...had no idea what was happening...why was he allowed to touch my vagina when I even never touched myself ...what was done there for him...touching it was a bad, sinful thing to do for a girl...I remember feeling afraid...ever since, up until I moved from Iran, I kept my feelings to myself...no one cared and I just had to obey my husband...after moving here, eventually I learned that

what happened to me was nothing short of being raped as a child...in the name of marriage..."

Her first period was still six months in the future after getting married. In the next nine years, Mitra gave birth to two children and kept her "submissiveness". Even though her husband had extra-marital affairs she remained loyal and satisfied her husband's sexual demands. After migration to the United States they moved in with extended family in California, where life among her relatives proved to be a microcosm of her Muslim upper-class life in a small town in Iran. Overtime, Mitra felt challenged by social differences between Iran and California and the "difficulty" placed upon her.

"... I wanted to know more about this new place...to learn the English...to drive a car. But, my husband did not give me permission...Instead, he reminded me about my prime household responsibilities...my parents told me the same thing...as a woman my place was at home to take care of him and our children... as a woman I was considered incapable of learning professional skills...I even didn't have a High School diploma..."

However, she witnessed non-Iranian women's life style in Los Angeles and wanted to be like them. Within a few years, despite her family disagreement, she asked for divorce due to her husband frequent affairs with other women. To her surprise, her husband agreed, because he wanted to "play around freely". After her divorce, Mitra, while still a traditional woman, decided on cosmetology given her lack of English fluency and higher education. Her ex-husband supported her financially for cosmetology school, including paying her mortgage, after their divorce. Mitra said:

"...Though not unusual in Iranian culture, this arrangement is a modern-day extension of a very old tradition, jayrat (zeal), which holds that a woman always belongs to her husband, from virginity to death...otherwise he would have risked his honor due to possibility of me getting married again which means having sex with another man."

Although she had a boyfriend, she refused making permanent commitment. Years of betrayal and cultural traditions had fostered fear and mistrust.

"I don't know anything about my...self...didn't know that my...self...is different from what I am told that I am...know nothing about my sexual-self...I even didn't know what it was or how it was related to me until this interview...(smiling)...Perhaps, it will take a while for me to discover it. When I do, I will share about it..."

Mitra felt both the strong hold of her submissive identity while experiencing some level of comfort with her new life in the United States. Stepping outside home cultural boundaries is far more difficult than she anticipated.

ZIBA'S STORY

Ziba, was born in Iran and moved to India at age five. Her family migrated to USA when she was eleven years old. She described her home as a "deeply religious household," a place for "prayer" and therefore to be kept "as clean as a Mosque." That included "preventing non-Muslim people from visiting their home, which could make it "unworthy of Allah". We met at her home upon her mother's approval. Life in India included wearing conservative outfits because she was a girl, had limited all female friends and activities, and saying daily prayers.

"...being a female...expressing about yourself as a sexual being...sex talk... are taboo topics in our culture... in fact... really BAD...sinful subject to bring up ...being a good girl is all about how my actions, thoughts can keep my family honor...within Persian (Iranian) community...to me...it all meant not to share the truth about how I was feeling, thinking...as I actually am..."

As she became older, her limitations increased but not for her older brother. She was never allowed to ask questions about puberty and associated experiences such as her bodily changes, and the feelings that were generated.

"...I learned about a woman's reproductive cycle from a video that I watched in fifth grade as part of school activity here..."

The saddest message for her was that "as a girl, she was less valued than a son". Primarily she questioned the "fairness" of girls' treatment even when and after she moved to the USA.

"Once we arrived to L.A., additional new rules were applied to both me and my brother. ...we were...forbidden to speak English in our home...forbidden to have American friends. However, my brother was allowed to have a non-Iranian girlfriend when he was 15... because he was a boy."

Ziba continued to experience "confusion" and "frustration" about having to measure up to the "unreachable, impossible, made up standards" standards of a "perfect Muslim girl". Her focus was primarily on school activities and on "fitting in" with other girls at school. At home, her parents continued to "remind" Ziba about "good Muslim girl" duties.

"...My mother worried that I was becoming Americanized...she was correct...since very soon I wanted to be like my friends...it was fun...they talked about boys... sex... how it felt to them...eventually, to fit in, , I changed my hijab as soon as I got to school and changed again when it was time to go back home...I became an American girl at school and a perfect Muslim Iranian girl at home...it was very frustrating to do this in particular when my brother had no restriction...he had girlfriends...(silence)...(tearful)...(voice shacking)...this was A LOT FOR ME TO HANDLE...IT...WAS...NOT...FAIR (shouting...crying)...I still hate myself for being a girl..."

Soon, Ziba had a secret relationship with a college student from India.

"...at sixteen...he raped me... (Tearful)... was my first sexual experience ...losing my virginity... that way... made me feel as if I was a doomed person...had to be kept as a secret... for family honor..."

Receiving a promise of marriage, she felt "forced" to satisfy his sexual needs as often as he demanded sex for the next two years. However, Ziba "dreamed" about going to college and forming a "different life".

"...eventually I was able to focus on my academic and professional goals..."

She convinced her family about enrolling in a four-year college in another city, rather than getting married to someone that would have been selected for her by her mother.

"...I was desirable even though I was not a virgin. I dated other boyfriends and had serious relationships with three...each boyfriend was kind, but..., none of them were Iranian or Indian...never took that chance since I was not a virgin. (Crying)."

Her last boyfriend was an American. But, she had not yet told her mother about the relationship since he was not Muslim.

"Sometimes I think that my first boyfriend took a whole lot more away from me than my virginity..."

As a young woman she felt confused about her "different way of thinking" as it felt offending the traditions and values she had grown up with. She lived a separate secret life apart from her family, where she can be expressive about herself. She feels lucky for moving to the USA at the age she did, since this allowed her to learn about her passions, desires, and ultimately herself.

"...as a perfect Muslim girl, I do read Quran, and pretend to pray five times a day... but, the real me ...I... am very sexual... makes me feel free as a person...because I teach at school I meet girls who were raised just like me...I have been helping a few of them with questions about themselves...the truth is that there are no real answers... to survive this battle, our young generation follow traditions when around family and friends...other times, we are just ourselves...(looking sad)..."

Ziba's biggest challenge was to find a conscious balance in order to maintain both perspectives that she was raised with in Iran, India, and in Los Angeles.

AIDA'S STORY

Aida was born in Germany to a Muslim Iranian father and a German-Jewish mother. We met at her house. Once the prime question was asked, while laughing, she said:

"... isn't it true that our culture says... that talk about sex, orgasm...all that is sinful for women... sex...sharing bodies...love...touching...feeling sexual...or...anything sexual for women is ...sinful ...when I talk about sex... my friends tell me I am a whore...(laughing harder)... since when talking about sex is permitted....?"

Aida lived a "comfortable, secular lifestyle" in Germany until she was 5, when her parents divorced. A year later, her father "kidnapped" her and took her back to a small city in Iran in an attempt to force her mother to join them to form a "traditional Iranian family". Aida's mother refused mainly because her husband could have prevented her from leaving Iran per law. Aida was seven years old, her mother committed suicide.

"...I still recall my happy childhood days in Germany...but...in Iran... I was to change in order to become a traditional Iranian girl... I should have been left behind in Germany to grow up as a free German girl..."

Because of Aida's blond hair, fair-complexion, and hazel eyes, the local community in Iran was curious about her. Aida's father re-married twice, and each time she felt mistreated by her step mothers.

"...teen years were tough for me. Boys noticed my beautiful face and body, and wanted to talk to me... gossip began to circulate, and my father kept me under constant observation. I was being punished because I was a girl and a beautiful one too."

At fifteen, her father "forced" Aida to marry a man 20 years her senior. Aida was subjected to a "virginity verification test" by a doctor before her marriage. She felt "humiliated" and was "traumatized" by the experience. During the first few years of marriage, Aida became a housewife and was given limited options by her husband. Sex was not a "pleasure" but a "painful chore", causing ongoing trauma. Aida's husband had an "insatiable sex drive".

"...Every night he demanded sex multiple times, telling me it was my duty to provide it, regardless of whether I wanted it or not. Each time I was, in effect, raped...therefore...I believed that being a woman was a humiliation in and of itself. Night after night for many years, his routine remained unvaried... He would spit...into my vagina to lubricate it... and then mount me in the missionary position...usually at 20-minute intervals four to six times per night...I was never relaxed nor was I emotionally or physically excited or aroused and never willingly engaged in sexual activities with my husband....sex with him always hurt...and I would always describe it as rape. It was all humiliating when he spit on my vagina...It felt as if he was spitting on my soul."

Five years after her marriage and birth of two children, Aida found herself attracted to another man. He was "patient and encouraging", shared a pleasurable side of sex.

"... (Tearful)...I even didn't know how to describe my feelings...with him... (Looking down)...I felt so warm...I became myself when I was talking with him on the phone... the real me... that I lost years ago... that was never valued or acknowledged or loved...there is nothing but nothingness for women of Iran..."

Sometime into their relationship they made love. "It felt good," she said. "It felt right to do." However, her happiness did not last long and her infidelity was uncovered.

"... (Crying)...As we met for the last time, we were caught and taken to jail. The police hurled insults at me, calling me a whore... while brutally beating him...next...my father and husband arrived, both with enough influence to get me released into their custody for the night. However, I was immediately sentenced to be executed by stoning within a short few days...aaahhhh... That night, I had to say goodbye to my life in Iran...to my kids...I kissed them goodnight...opened a window and stepped outside taking with me only my wallet... (Tearful)...don't know how...but... managed to get myself to the Iran-Turkey border and went to Istanbul..., and with the help of a friend, eventually...I made it to the United States... (Long silence...)"

To feel "safe", and due to "English language barrier" Aida maintained close contact with the Iranian community, and worked at various Iranian restaurants, getting paid "under the table" for less than minimum wage. She did not mind doing the work in exchange for her "freedom". She quickly started to learn English. Having limited money, she read old newspaper to help her to learn English. Soon, she saw an advertisement for a job in a boutique. She borrowed an outfit

from another waitress and applied for the job in person. Her German-Iranian feature, coupled with her ability to communicate with wealthy Farsi-speaking patrons, helped her get the job in Beverly Hills. For the next few years Aida developed her skills in fashion, and devoted her time to learning all the aspects of this business, while avoiding all intimate relationships. Also she managed to visit her children two other times in Turkey without her husband's permission. She eventually asked for a divorce, and it was granted to her, along with revocation of her sentence to be stoned. He agreed to not press charges against Aida.

"...the only thing that kept me going was the hope to make enough money so that I could bring my children to USA. I just had to do it... every night I kept praying to God to give me strength so that I could survive my life and have them by my side...every night I prayed for the well-being of the man that I fell in love with, and asked God for forgiveness...every night I cried myself to sleep... (Crying)..."

Aida eventually established her own boutique. It became very popular among fashion leaders locally and in particular among the Iranian community. During this time she also received her Green Card and started to travel overseas to further expand her fashion business. To Aida's relief and happiness, her husband finally decided to send the children to live with Aida with the promise of financial support. She ultimately had her children with her, but the financial support never came:

"...I was constantly... working, struggling, and trying to make a good living for them... I went through several different businesses...made financial mistakes... went through bankruptcy... but no matter how difficult it was, I gave my kids the best that I could..."

As a beautiful woman, men showed interest in her, and she found herself responding back to them. She still felt a "cultural tie" to the Iranian community, but, as a single woman, she did not feel "right, safe" initiating an intimate relationship:

"...I worried about my image in both the Iranian community in Los Angeles and in Iran among my family members. I kept my sex life a secret, trying to maintain the image of a chaste woman... I also felt guilty for having sexual feelings. But, I was able to convince myself that in Los Angeles it was acceptable for women to have intimate relationships as long as it was hidden from the Iranian community. Eventually, I started thinking and feeling differently about myself as a sexual woman... doing this was not an easy one... many times I...felt guilty, shameful, and sinful, for having sex with other men."

As her business grew, she began to feel more empowered and less connected with her Iranian culture. Through this change, Aida gained a sense of "self-worth". As a successful businesswoman she felt comfortable and "in control" of whom she wanted to have intimate relationships with.

"I am a complete woman now...I know all about my sexual desires...every time I have sex with a different man, I make a new discovery about my body and desires...I have learned that masturbation is a healthy way of living, and I don't deny it to myself...I am a highly sexual woman and proud of it..."

With every new relationship, Aida felt more “empowered” and more “in touch” with her “sexual-self”. She was surprised by the level of “sexual enjoyment” she experienced in subsequent relationships with both Iranian and non-Iranian men:

“...This was the time for me to enjoy myself and my womanhood. It was not easy at first to allow myself to experience sexual feelings, but eventually I learned to trust my boyfriend...during all the years I have known him, he is the only one who has proven himself to truly love me... not my body... my father who used to come to L.A. a lot met with him too and he liked him...”

Aida still feels influenced by her past. Her successful business offers her a sense of “power” and “independence” that she never experienced before. Still, she feels vulnerable in sexual relationships and controls her “emotions” by keeping them largely to herself.

“If I managed to run away from death, then, I can do just about anything.”

DISCUSSION

This article explored the sexual self-concepts of first generation of Iranian-American women using four case studies. Our aim was to learn how various life events experienced in Iran and the United States shaped their view of themselves as sexual beings. Each case provides diverse insights into the nature of Iranian-American women’s sexual self-concepts. The rich narratives reflect the realities of Iranian-American women’s sexual life from their own perspective, shaped both in Iran and USA, and establish a cross-culturally based understanding of sexual self-concepts. There is a universal message that has been taught to women who were subjected to a culture that supports patriarchy. It is that gender inequality is an inherent aspect of politics, religion, and culture, with real consequences for women [43]. It creates within the women tremendous pressure, which includes the suppression of their true sexual-selves, and creates a mandated compliance with female submissiveness [35].

Each case study illuminated the many internal conflicts and social challenges experienced as a result of cultural clashes. At the time of interview, these conflicts were still affecting their lives. Although difficult, it appears that each participant had learned how to self-reflect, as opposed to being controlled by other people’s perspectives. This new skill of self-reflection enabled them to change certain beliefs and behaviors, and also helped motivate them to trust themselves in a way they could never have done prior to migration. These narratives clearly show the many ways in which these women were socialized in adolescence and adulthood, and how this unfolds to influence their understanding of their sexual self at the time of the interview. Each story reflects on social identity theory, which suggests that personal definitions are associated with gender, culture, religious affiliation, and socio-economic status [44].

There are both systematic individual differences and similarities among their stories. While living in Iran, their view of womanhood shared similarities such as agreement with submissiveness, and conforming to cultural norms. Post-migration, they collectively realized that their beliefs had been shaped by Iran’s patriarchal culture. Other similarities that presented challenges included psychosocial pressures, conflicting sets of cultural expectations, and the pressure of role duality. This is in line with other research that suggests that many women after migration feel obligated to maintain multiple roles from both cultures as survival mechanisms [45]. Within this context, variation in autonomy is partially due to the fear of rejection from their family of origin, as well as breaking conventional Iranian sexually

proscribed norms for female adults. However, each story supports that upon arrival to the United States, women who received less help from immediate family and friends, took greater charge of their lives more quickly, and developed a higher overall level of autonomy. This study sheds light on an important aspect of the migration of the Iranian-American women and those with similar cultural background. It does this by portraying women's alteration of their sexual-self concepts across migration. This gradual alteration takes shape as women adapt to the host cultural norms, while retaining their home cultural ties and messages about themselves as sexual-beings. Ellison's theory [7] supports the finding that it appears likely that these women's pre-migration view of their sexual-self serves as a fundamental foundation to their sexual self-concept shaped post-migration. Our findings suggest the need for more qualitative studies to understand female sexual self-concept for other immigrant women from non-western patriarchal societies. Additionally, our narratives suggest that there are systematic individual differences in female sexual self-concept. These differences highlight the multilayered nature of women's sexual self-concepts and offer insightful understanding of the cognitive mechanisms involved in female sexuality. Plus, in qualitative studies, there is a need to add cross-cultural perspectives to the existing sexual self-concept with the focus on marginalized women.

IMPLICATIONS

Our findings suggest several important social and clinical implications. Each case study showed that knowing about the sexual self-concept of immigrant women may work as a valuable tool in understanding gender specific social norms within diverse cultures. In addition, understanding women's perception and affective views could provide information regarding the formation of their self-worth and self-esteem. This suggests that sexual self-concept, if developed in suppressive environments, negatively affect women's sense of autonomy and empowerment within society. This article provides a starting point for clinicians to target specific areas in their effort to modify a woman's negative sexual view of self across migration.

Due to the cultural differences between the US and Iran, it took years for these women to understand and appreciate their newly discovered sexual-selves, and to realize their new sexual freedoms. But, they still, to various degrees, hold earlier beliefs about their sexual-selves and sexual behaviours. In each case study, none of the participants made a direct reference to experiencing any form of sexual disorders. However, they shared about having difficulty participating in sexual activities. While this is not per se an indication of having a sexual disorder, it can still be an area of concern. Other researchers suggest that women in Iran have difficulty sharing sexual concerns with their physicians [46]. Therefore, as a part of effective sexual health care, it is essential for health care professionals to utilize a cross-cultural approach when dealing with this population. The core aspect of cross-cultural competency is the health care professionals' skill in empathizing and facilitating open communication with their culturally diverse patients. It is especially important for health care professionals to understand how powerful the cultural taboo against discussing female sexuality affects women both pre and post migration. Therefore, more training about a cross-cultural approach related to sexuality with female immigrant population is proposed.

This article does not purport to represent all Iranian or Iranian-American women. But, it makes an important contribution in understanding the factors affecting female sexual self-concept of women cross-culturally. Future studies that investigate larger samples of such narratives can help to substantiate these findings, and offer further insight into the Iranian-American female sexual-self. In conclusion, sexuality in the Iranian-American community is a

concern due to patriarchal values and established gender roles, which all too often eliminate the opportunity for women to express themselves as sexual-beings.

CONCLUSIONS

As we explored the sexual self-concepts of the Iranian-American women, we learn that there is a marked difference between cultural norm expectations and the actual subjective experiences that these women have lived. These case studies illustrate the dual nature of, on the one hand, being female in a culture that prizes "fitting in" above all else, and on the other hand, a culture which acknowledges the sanctity of each individual life. Through the discussion of four women's sexual life stories we have endeavored to show how this duality exists within the minds and hearts simultaneously of these women. At the same time, we hope that further explorations of this dichotomy will shed light on the subject-object dilemma of female existence as it relates to their sexuality/sexual being, and how the issue of power vs powerlessness is experienced when cultural norms promote female objectivity, and the devastating effects that it has on the women who are the objectified population.

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Influence of Member Income on Table Banking Adoption Among Rural Households A survey of Machakos Country, Kenya

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to assess influence of the income level on table banking adoption. The study was guided by social capital theory and employed descriptive survey and explanatory research design. The target population was 1084 members of table banking groups in Machakos County. Simple random sampling technique was used to select a sample size of 188 members. The researcher used questionnaires to collect data from members of the group and interview schedule to collect data from table banking group leaders. Data on demographics was analysed by descriptive statistics which included means, frequencies and percentages. Hypothesis was tested by multiple regressions with the aid of SPSS. Results were presented in form of tables, graphs and charts. The study revealed that there is a negative and significant relationship between members' income ($r=-0.163$, $p=0.032$) <0.05) and table banking adoption. This means that the higher the income, the less likely they are to adopt table banking. Thus, encouraging the members to participate in formal and beneficial social networking would go a long way in making sure that the members are well informed in terms of improvement of their saving culture through the adoption of table banking.

Keywords: Members' Income, Social Networking, Adoption, Table Banking

INTRODUCTION

Around the world, poor households save in various forms and for various purposes. Although empirical evidence suggests that the poor would deposit if appropriate financial institutions and savings facilities were available, little progress has been made to establish microfinance institutions (MFIs) as full-fledged financial intermediaries (World Bank, 2013). Today most MFIs offer only credit, and savings mobilization remains the forgotten half of microfinance. People in upcountry Kenya have been challenged to set the pace for saving culture in the country since they are closer to numerous opportunities (Faulu, 2012). Creating a savings culture is very important. Table banking helps the member to save even 50 Kenya shillings a week (Ruto, 2013).

Table banking is a group funding strategy where members save and borrow immediately from their savings on the table, either in short term or long term loans. Within Kenya, table-banking was initially developed by the Poverty Eradication Commission (PEC) under the former Ministry of Planning, targeting Millennium Development Goal (M.D.G) on eradicating abject poverty, especially in rural settings in Kenya (GoK, 2012). Table-banking is anchored on the model of the Grameen bank of Bangladesh and the village savings and loans schemes of Zanzibar (JOYWO, 2014).

In Kenya, Table banking project being an initiative to enable community group members build their financial base and to start small enterprises has proved to be an effective way of local members saving among the groups Resource Oriented Development Initiatives (RODI) works with. The table banking groups have gone beyond financing household activities into small business creation through saving, borrowing their own money and repaying at some interest (R.O.D.I, 2013). However, few studies conducted have tried to show various determinants of table banking. Table Banking Groups in Machakos County have adopted this model and it has rapidly grown. This has been attributed to increased awareness among communities on the importance of informal savings. However, little research has been conducted to establish the influence of income and adoption of informal saving. Savings groups through 'table banking' model have unveiled a vehicle aimed at fulfilling the MDG goals and Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation agenda on poverty alleviation among the citizenry (GoK, 2005).

Income is regarded as one of the clearest indicators of socio-economic status and well-being in the developed world (Easterlin, 2001). Despite its importance, there remain issues as to the accuracy of income collected as part of surveys. These include the sensitivity of asking about income; whether weekly, monthly or annual income is reported; respondent knowledge of different definitions of income (gross compared to net for instance); and the more fundamental issue of whether respondents actually know their income. In addition, there is no consensus as to the ideal way to minimise these problems or the best way to collect income data in surveys. Some surveys ask a single question others use a number of more detailed questions, some ask for exact amounts, others for a banded range. These differences all lead to potential bias in the data (Micklewright and Schnepf, 2010; Moore et al., 2000). In this study, the researcher will ask a single question of actual income. The main advantage for this method is that the researcher is able to cluster the income with respect to amounts earned by the respondents.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Access to basic banking services in Sub-Saharan Africa remains limited particularly to people with low income, and lags far behind other parts of the developing world. Chaia et al. (2009) combine a number of data sources to estimate that only about 20% of households in Sub-Saharan Africa were banked in the early 2000s. While there has been some progress in recent years, Kendall et al. (2010) obtain similar results using more recent data. While developing countries have only 28% as many bank accounts per adult as do developed countries, the figure in Sub-Saharan Africa is far lower at only 16% (World Bank, 2007). People on low incomes are much more likely to save informally, most often keeping cash at home, or with family members. In many low-income countries, people use mutual savings clubs or self-help groups, for example, savings and credit associations, which build up savers' funds to lend to members of the group. Loans may be long-term, or short-term to cover emergencies. The groups are self-managed, community-based and democratic. Research from the UK found that a high proportion of low-income households saved in informal groups for birthdays and holidays, but did not save for the long term (Dolphin, 2009). Methods of saving were often informal as well as keeping cash at home, it was common to overpay on fuel prepayment meters, or put money into a 'hamper scheme'. These schemes enable people to save towards a basket of food or other goods and are often used to spread the cost of Christmas or other festivals. Creation of informal saving mechanism such as table banking provides people with low income an opportunity to save, proper distribution of income and creating more job opportunities (Sawani and Patterson, 2010).

However, in the last decade, the adoption of table banking among the low income earners has witnessed a tremendous increase (Ruto, 2013). This has been attributed to increased awareness among communities on the importance of informal savings as a tool of poverty reduction. Despite the increase in adoption, World Bank report (2013), indicates that Kenya's poverty level in some rural areas remain at 62%. This means, if table banking and other forms of informal savings are successfully modelled, the overall level of savings and investment will increase and push economic growth rates thus reduce poverty. Studies on table banking in Kenya have given little attention on how income levels of household affect their decisions to engage in table banking. This study hypothesized that

H01: There is no significant relationship between members' income levels and table banking adoption.

LITERATURE REVIEW

introduction

This section reviewed both theoretical and empirical literature related to members income and table banking adoption. To understand this relationship, relevant theoretical underpinnings and empirical studies were reviewed. A conceptual framework, which formed a basis of comparison of data analysis and the models or relevant theories, was developed. The chapter goes on to identified knowledge gaps that were as a result of analyzing the theoretical and empirical literature

Theoretical review

Social capital theory

Coleman, often identified as the 'father' of social capital theory, offers a broad interpretation of social capital as a type of resource available to an economic actor through her relationship with others, and defined by its function: It is not a single entity but a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether personal or corporate actors – within the structure Social capital is a sociological concept which has been applied to a variety of issues in recent times. Bard, 1985 defined the concept as “the aggregate or the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition. As the concept experienced considerable theoretical and empirical analysis various other definitions have emerged over the years. Baker (1990) defined the concept as a “resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationship among actors”.

According to Omola (2012) assume that being a member of an informal group made a greater contribution to social capital if the group was more heterogeneous across kinship groups, more inclusive and horizontal and better functioning. Hence the contribution of each group to social capital was made an equally weighted sub-index of these three characteristics. Other studies which have used characteristics of group membership as proxy for social capital include Maluccio et al. (2008). The main characteristics considered were gender composition, group performance, income heterogeneity and measures of meeting attendance by group members. Both studies found positive and significant impact of social capital on household welfare.

Member's Income Levels and table banking adoption

Kulikov, Paabut and Staehr (2007) study how household characteristics affect saving behaviour in Estonia by using household budget surveys for 2002-2005. They controlled

income and income variability, various measures of wealth and proxies for credit access as well as household composition, education and the employment status of the household head and of other members of the household. They used two different saving measures, the saving rate and the log saving rate. They found that higher levels of income lead to higher levels of saving.

For Philippines, Bersales et al. (2006) analyse the Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES) for seven non-consecutive years. They conduct a descriptive study using micro data. They observe that there are sizeable regional differences in aggregate savings. They also found that saving increases with income and that the lowest income quintile disserves.

Chamon and Prasad (2008) in their analysis found positive relationship between income and savings which increases over time. Controlling for education, occupation, industry and others, they argue that the positive relationship between income and joining informal savings group is driven by the fact that households choose to save the transitory part of the idiosyncratic income shocks. Anderson and Baland (2008) use data from ROSCA in a low-income neighbourhood in Nairobi, Kenya to argue that ROSCA participation is a strategy married women use to protect household savings against claims by husbands for immediate consumption.

Kulikov, Paabut and Staehr (2007) considering a more comprehensive definition of wealth concluded that there is no significant effect of ownership of real estate on saving, while ownership of durable consumer goods reduces household saving. Ownership of stocks of various financial assets and liabilities, and accessibility to liquid assets affect saving negatively. However, if wealth is in the form of productive assets such as farm land, it can have a positive impact on saving. Larger land ownership helps the farmers to benefit from economies of scale and, hence, higher production and earning. Secured land ownership can be used as collateral for loans by the farmers (Ambec, and Treich, 2007). Credit if utilized for improving the productivity of land enhances the income level of the households, leading to higher saving. Thus, farm size can significantly and positively affect saving of farm households (Komicha (2007)).

Recent research on saving behaviour of the households in developing countries indicates that income and saving are positively associated (Gardiol, 2006). Some studies have even considered human wealth in their analysis. For Gardiol (2006) and Kulikov, Paabut and Staehr (2007) education as a human wealth ensures employability and stability of income and, hence, it can have negative impact on saving. However, education improves awareness and financial literacy of people by enabling them to apprehend the complex procedures and formalities and associated risk and return involved in various financial instruments and institutions.

Chamon and Prasad (2008) in their analysis found positive relationship between income and savings which increases over time. Controlling for education, occupation, industry and others, they argue that the positive relationship between income and joining informal savings group is driven by the fact that households choose to save the transitory part of the idiosyncratic income shocks.

Common to all the studies reviewed here was that they only have qualitative analysis and hence, they were confined to descriptive analysis. In contrast, the present study thus had the advantage of being based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis. A second limitation of previous studies was the meagre use made of the survey data to create explanatory variables. The lack of explanatory variables, in turn, makes discrimination between members' income

levels, and say promotion or formal status of the group impossible. Therefore, there may be a tendency in previous studies to overestimate the association between members' income levels and adoption of table banking.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the literature above there is some evidence that level of income is seen as a popular mechanism that determines members' choice to adopt saving institution such as table banking (Stiglitz 2006; Wilson, 2010). However, the previous studies have given little attentions on how income levels affect adoption of table banking particularly in developing countries such as Kenya. The study therefore developed the following model demonstrating the linkage between income level of members and table banking adoptions.

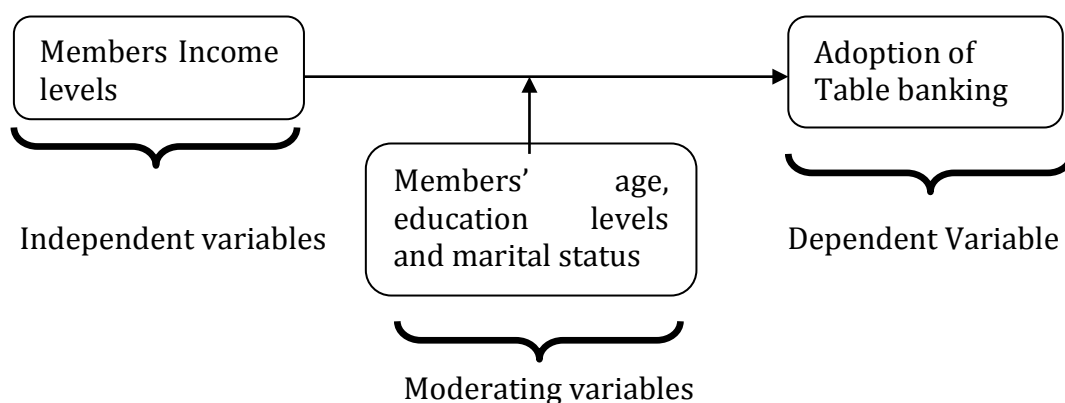


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the relationship between members' income levels and adoption of table banking.

From the model above, the study independent variable is Members Income levels which is assumed to either positively or negatively affect adoption of table banking.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The study used a combination of descriptive survey and explanatory research design. The researcher used theories or hypothesis to account for the forces that caused a certain phenomenon to occur (Cooper and Schindler, 2008).

Sampling Technique

The study used the list of table banking groups to get a target population of 1084 members drawn from 41 table banking groups in Machakos County in Kenya. The study used Nassiuma, (2000) sample size formula to get a sample size of 188 members which was then distributed across the sub counties (clusters) using the Neyman allocation formula. The study used multistage sampling where lottery method was used to pick sampled members from each cluster.

Research Instruments & data collection procedure

The research utilized both primary and secondary data. A questionnaire is a data collection tool. The questionnaires were formulated according to study objectives in a systematic procedure. In this study, validity was taken to mean the extent to which the instruments covered the research questions. The research supervisors, colleagues, helped the researcher obtain an expert opinion to determine the validity of the research instruments. The questionnaire was piloted in two table banking groups in the neighboring Makueni County, a

locality similar to the study area but not involved in the study. Nine members who were not involved in the study were asked to complete the questionnaire. Data collected from the pilot study was not reported but was used to rephrase and reorganize the format of the questionnaire. Reliability assessment of internal consistency of the items was determined using Cronbach alpha coefficient. The SPSS computer software aided in working out this coefficient achieved. From the study findings, table banking adoption alpha value of 0.727 and members income of 0.843 found to be reliable and within the range prescribed by Kline (1999) who points out that an alpha value of 0.7 to 0.8 is an acceptable value for Cronbach's alpha while lower values indicate an unreliable scale.

Table 1: Reliability Analysis

Reliability Statistics				
	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Standardized Items	Alpha Based on N of Items	
Table banking adoption	0.727	0.730		4
Member income level	0.843	0.849		5

Data Processing and Analysis

Income level was measured as the actual income level of members per month. This data was collected through questionnaire. Table banking adoption was measured using total amount of deposit the members had in the group. The study further used Pearson correlation to test the relationship between income level and adoption of table banking. This was appropriate because it showed strength and magnitude of the relationship between the two variables. With income level being the independent variable x, and table banking adoption the dependent variable y, the researcher multiplied the income level with table banking adoption to get (xy). Take the square of the income level (x²) and table banking adoption (y²). Add up all of the numbers in the columns and put the result at the bottom to get then using the following formula the researcher calculated Pearson r coefficient which varied between -1 and +1, with +1 indicating a perfect positive relationship (a high score on variable X = a high score on variable Y), -1 a perfect negative relationship (a high score on X = a low score on Y), and 0 no relationship (Hauke and Kossowski, 2011)

$$r = \frac{n(\sum xy) - (\sum x)(\sum y)}{\sqrt{[n \sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2][n \sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2]}}$$

The significance level was 0.05. Further to show influence of actual income regression equations (2) was used

Table 1: Data Analysis Summary

	Research objectives	Independent variable	Dependent variable	Data analysis procedure
1	determine how the income level influence table banking adoption	Income levels	Adoption of table banking	Descriptive statistics and pearson correlation.

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

Background Information of the Table Banking Members

The study findings revealed that 82.5% of the group members were above 30 years old and that the propensity of being a group member and hence starting a saving behavior increased with the age of the individual. Table banking's eligibility age is between 18-35 years of age and one should hold a valid Kenyan National Identity Card. This shows that most of the members were eligible to join table banking. Majority of the group members, 92 (48.9%) had finished high school. In addition, out of the 188 group members sampled for inclusion in the study, over 80% that is, 152 had attained either primary or high school level of education while the number of group members with higher education qualification than high school accounted for over 19% of the respondents only. The above finding implies that most of table banking members are literate enough to know benefits and cost of joining table banking. However, with high number of members having high school education only, it implies that most of table banking members are those who might find hard to find a white collar job or a well-paying job.

The findings revealed that 41% of the respondents had been in the group for between 1 to 4 years while 31.4% of them had been in the group for less than a year. This means that overall; over 72% of the respondents had been members of the group for less than 4 years. Findings also showed a decrease in the number respondents with the increase in the number of years they have been members in the group and shows that there is an element of attrition in the number of members in the group with increase in the number of years. Results indicated that 80.3% of the groups were involved in the repaying of loans, and 75.5% were engaged in giving loans while 60.1% of the groups were engaged in social activities which give an indication of the ability of the groups to access loans to run their projects and thus makes them ideal candidates for the implementation of table banking to make their transactions in terms of making loan repayments, accessing loans and saving their money easier.

Sources of Income

The study was aimed at establishing the major sources of income that the group members were engaged in. This would point out the relationship between these sources of income and the level of adoption of table banking. The findings were summarized and presented in figure 1. From the findings, it was shown that the major source of income for 53.7% of the group members was farming.

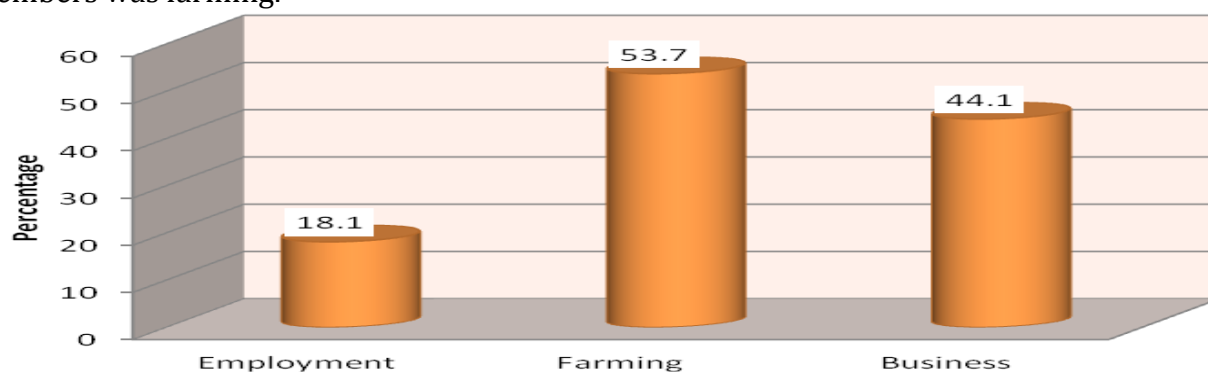


Figure 5: Member Income

Results from the study indicate that the group members are engaged in only one income generating activity although a few of them engaged in business while some were employed. This shows that there are very low levels of diversification in term of income generating activities and encouraging the farmers to diversify and adopt other income generating

activities would enable them to supplement the income they get from farming. This would increase the savings and would probably result in increased adoption of table banking.

Members Earnings

The study sought to establish group members' specific details concerning the earnings from the income generating activities that they were engaged in. The findings were summarized and presented in table 4.8.

Findings in table 3 showed that the mean salary earnings per month were KShs. 49589.23 and translated to KShs. 164849.9 salary earnings per year. In terms of sales, the mean poultry sales earnings per month were KShs. 8569.565 and KShs. 54743.48 per year while the mean farm sales per month were KShs. 7998.529 and KShs. 94236.52 per year. The mean total earnings per month were KShs. 24611.59 and KShs. 175688.90 per year. These findings confirm that majority of the members' source of income was farming and business.

Table 3: Member Earnings

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Salary	218358.8	160222.6
Dairy earning	91038.24	72098.09
Poultry sales earning	65191.5	82155.96
Farm sales	104702.2	45502.63
Total earnings	203188.8	274329.5

From the findings, the salaries paid on a daily basis take a huge portion of the earning from the income generating activities. This implies that when other expenses are added, the total earnings would be very little to even support savings and hence the need to have the group members be taken through essential financial management training apart from trainings on how to increase their output from their income generating activities which would result in high income levels that would enable the group members to save.

Relationship between Income Levels and Table Banking Adoption

To test the effect of income levels on table banking the study used partial Pearson correlation. The findings were summarized and presented in table 4. From the findings, there was a significant and negative correlation between members income and the adoption of table banking ($r = -0.163$, $p = 0.032$).

Table 4: Effect of Income levels on Table Banking Adoption

		Table banking adoption	Members income
Table banking adoption	Pearson Correlation	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)		
Members income	Pearson Correlation	-0.163*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.032	

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

These findings indicate that the levels of income of the group members is low and because of this, there is a higher likelihood of the group members exhibiting low levels of table banking adoption. This also implies that the income generating activities of the group members whether at individual level or as a group do not yield favorable returns and thus the need to

enhance the income of the members through improved ways of running their farming and business activities which would eventually result in the members being more receptive to the adoption of table banking.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings revealed that 41.4% of the group members have been utilizing table banking for 1 month with 90% of them utilizing table banking in their saving activities and shows that over 58% of the group members have not adopted table banking and this presents a gap since a significant number of the group members have not adopted table banking and this might have an influence on the levels of savings among this particular group members given that the major source of income, 53.7% was farming and that the amount of savings was far less as compared to the total earnings per month and presented only 3.36% of the total earnings per month and gives a clear picture that the saving culture is not that strong among the members and although 99% of the members were willing to save more in the group. The findings also revealed that members' savings had a positive and significant relationship with table banking adoption. The findings agree with past research that shows that because many low-income households in developing countries have a small informal family business or a farm, they invest part of their savings in the production unit, in order to increase future income (Campero, 2013) clearly indicating that characteristics such as source of income and levels of income as well as the willingness to save in the future defines the saving culture of the group members. In addition to this, Chamon and Prasad (2008) in their analysis found positive relationship between income and savings which increases over time while Gardiol (2006) showed that income and saving are positively associated.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSION

The study findings indicated that Members income was positively related with adoption of table banking. This implies that those with higher income are less likely to joining table banking. The findings agree with past research that shows that because many low-income households in developing countries have a small informal family business or a farm, they invest part of their savings in the production unit, in order to increase future income (Campero, 2013) clearly indicating that characteristics such as source of income and levels of income as well as the willingness to save in the future defines the saving culture of the group members. In addition to this, Chamon and Prasad (2008) in their analysis found positive relationship between income and savings which increases over time while Gardiol (2006) showed that income and saving are positively associated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these findings, the following recommendations were made that could influence the way financial institutions, groups as well as other stakeholders especially in their approach to community based saving as well as adoption of table banking. Investing in activities that would enable the members to invest in profitable income generating activities would ensure that there is an increase in the members' savings hence the probable uptake of table banking. Since majority of the group members are engaged in farming, financial institutions and organizations are encouraged to invest in farming activities that are profitable as well as ensuring that the farmers gain access to the market to sell their produce so that their farming activities become important income generating activities for the group members.

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The “Yes, We Can” Slogan Stranded In Obama’s Myriad of Vows

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Abstract

At the beginning of his presidency in January 2009, President Obama not only made an effort to mobilize the Middle East to support his bid for “change”, but he also mobilized the English language to achieve his purpose; and for the first time, we heard pledges to break the U.S.-Israel “kabuki dance” . With his vows to adopt a different posture, President Obama changed George W. Bush’s tone and rhetoric towards the Muslim world, and promised to commit the United States to bring about an end to the 60-year Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He initially condemned Israeli settlements, the major obstacle to peace for decades now, as “illegal”, and set their “complete freeze” as a prerequisite to resuming peace talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis. It did, after all, seem to the Palestinians too good to be true that the settlements had to stop before the peace process would get back on track.

Near the end of Obama’s second term now, Obama’s slogan of “yes, we can” in the Middle East has been stranded in his procrastination whether to confront Israel’s right wing Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Consequently, change has become more and more elusive, and the prospects of peace in the region are in shambles. President Obama gradually backed away from his condemnation of Israel’s settlements policy in the Palestinian territories. Obama’s failure to make good on his words with respect to the peace process became gradually clear in his three U.N. General Assembly talks from 2009 to 2011 which this work takes as case studies. The tone and the verbiage of these three speeches revealed that Obama’s 2009 promises of change would most likely fail to materialize, and the initial euphoria of Obama’s vows of resetting the button of the US foreign policy in the Middle East was incrementally dampened with each of Obama’s U.N. General Assembly speeches. In the end, all that changed for the Palestinian-Israeli peace process are the tone and the rhetoric rather than the reality of things on the ground. With at least two bloody wars have been fought in Gaza in October 2012 and July 2014, and when war crimes were committed , the situation has even deteriorated and the prospects of peace have become more and more elusive since Obama took office in January 2009.

Abstract: Obama, Netanyahu, Palestine, Settlements, United Nations, Quartet, change

ARTICLE

As former President George W. Bush used to look at the world from the prism of good and evil, President Barak Obama, distancing himself from Bush’s apocalyptic vision of world politics, has said that he sees the world consisting of countries with varying interests and values . The Bush administration relied solely on hard military power and unilateralism; Obama promised at the beginning of his first term in January 2009 to bring an end to America’s unilateralism, as force always failed to change foes into faithful friends. Obama vowed to take a new path, ostensibly to embellish America’s image in the Middle East, which was heavily tarnished, particularly by his predecessor’s obvious bias towards Israel . It was a path, however, that would not necessarily be new in character but certainly new in its tone. “Tone is not mere form”, as Antony Blinken, the deputy secretary of state and a former White House speechwriter, puts it. “Tone matters, especially in some communities where you have a sense of grievance born out of a history of humiliation” (Traub, Foreign Policy, February 2015) . It

seemed at the beginning that the change Obama promised was not only a change of tone but also of posture and consciousness.

In other words, President Obama said all the right things in the right tone. Embracing new sentiments and a new style, he took the issue to the Muslim world, and he did it in the right style. In his speech in Turkey on April 6, 2009, President Obama said that “all of us have to change. And sometimes change is hard” (*italics added*) .

Indeed, tangible change in the Middle East has been not only “hard” but also unattainable; President Obama’s multiple promises for “change” in the region notwithstanding. He vowed a new beginning in the U.S.-Muslim world interaction during his famous Cairo speech on June 4, 2009 before a rapt audience. He promised “change” in the American approach to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and a deeper American involvement in order to bring this conflict to an end. Aware of the sense of urgency to deal with the “demonization of America” in the Muslim world, largely because of the perceived American bias in handling the Israeli-Palestinian issue, Obama stated that he was not going “to wait until the end of [his] administration to deal with Palestinian and Israeli peace”, as his predecessors had always done. He also stated that “ultimately, people [we]re going to judge [him] not by [his] words but by [his] actions and [his] administration's actions” ; such a strong rhetoric opened a glimmer of hope among the populace in the Middle East.

Hence comes the *raison d’être* of this article which seeks to answer the central question whether Obama’s new political discourse in 2009 has been just a “change” of tone rather than a change of strategy. The longitudinal demarcation line of this paper is January 2009 when Barak Obama was inaugurated as the 44th President of the United States, which almost coincided with the March 2009 second Benjamin Netanyahu government in Israel, up to the last of Obama’s remarks before the United Nations General Assembly on September 22, 2011.

The methodology has been based on a selection of a corpus consisting of a sample of President Obama’s speeches about the Israeli settlements problem in relation to resuming the peace process. The selection of data has been dictated by the political importance and content of the speeches and remarks regarding the main questions of this paper. The longitudinal method is also adopted in order to highlight the incremental as well as the chronological shift in Obama’s political discourse and overtures with respect to the issue of Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territories and the Arab-Israeli conflict in general.

This work, however, does not seek to analyze the impact the myriad pro-Israel lobbies in the United States have had on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, as this question was extensively studied by John Mearsheimer and Steven Walt (2007). The corpus of this article, however, consists of a sample of Obama’s speeches, primarily his two major Muslim speeches—the Turkey Speech on April 6, 2009 and the Cairo Speech of June 9, 2009—and his three United Nations General Assembly speeches in 2009, 2010 and 2011, which will also be studied extensively. Studying these speeches and remarks will highlight the flip-flopping position of the Obama administration on the core issue pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict- settlements—which is the major obstacle to an ultimate solution for a chronic problem that needs action on the ground rather than words in the air. President Obama started by stating in June 2009 that Israeli settlements “violate[d] previous agreements and undermine[d] efforts to achieve peace” and ended in May 2011 by warning that the United States “will hold the Palestinians accountable for their actions and for their rhetoric” .

From 2009 to 2011 Obama's rhetoric about the settlements issue in the West Bank became gradually more procrastinating and less vigorous until he reached the point at which he was just seeking a face-saving exit to avoid a diplomatic row with Israel after Netanyahu rejected the U.S. President's pressure regarding the freeze of Israeli settlements in the West Bank as a precondition for resuming the peace process. Therefore, the main purpose of this work is to explore the hypothesis that Obama's new reconciliatory political discourse toward the Middle East at the beginning of his first term was just a change of tone rather than a change of strategy, and not a deviation from America's classic posture in the Middle East.

First and foremost, there has been little controversy that Israeli settlement in the Palestinian territories is illegal from the standpoint of international law. Article 6 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, for example, notes that "the Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies". Moreover, the International Court of Justice was clear about the legal standing of the Israeli settlements. The 2004 Court ruling on this issue stated that "the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, are illegal and an obstacle to peace and to economic and social development [and] have been established in breach of international law".

Up to the first Obama's administration there was little "change" with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, which has stalled because of one structural issue—Israeli Settlements in the 1967 occupied territories, where more than 310,000 Israelis live in settlements in the occupied West Bank, besides the 200,000 who live in a dozen settlement neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. So far, Israeli constructions in the occupied territories have caused virtually all of Obama's promises of a tangible "change" in the U.S.-Middle East relationship to fail, and dampened most of the enthusiasm about Obama's initial vows of bringing to an end a 63-year conflict. A conflict whose resolution needs not a political miracle but the political will to do so, as the peace terms are already detailed in international documents, such as the Quartet's "Road Map" and the pertinent United Nations resolutions since 1947. Obama himself said on May 19, 2011 that "while the core issues of the conflict must be negotiated, the basis of those negotiations is clear".

Furthermore, the U.N. Security Council Resolution 465, which was unanimously adopted in 1980, stated that "Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants" in the Occupied Territories constitutes "a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East". The Security Council then called upon Israel to "dismantle the existing settlements and in particular to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction or planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem". As for the United States official position on this issue, it was already expressed in Herbert Hansell's words more than thirty years ago. Hansell was a State Department legal adviser who wrote in 1978 a letter to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs stating that "the establishment of the civilian settlements in those [Palestinian] territories [wa]s inconsistent with international law". Practically, however, successive American administrations till 2009, except the 1976 Carter administration, failed to recognize publicly the illegality of Israeli settlements.

By the advent of the 2009 Obama administration, however, President Obama adopted an unprecedented rigorous tone regarding what were called "illegal" Israeli settlements in the 1967 occupied territories. For the new Obama administration, the settlements issue was now a serious obstacle to resuming peace talks between the two parties. During his first direct

contact with the Middle East in Cairo in June 2009, President Obama stated, among other things, that "the United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements". He also added that settlement "construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop" (ibid). "In Cairo, Obama delivered the most ambitious, the most eagerly anticipated, and the most excruciatingly crafted foreign-policy address of his first term, and perhaps of his presidency to date" (Traub, Foreign Policy, February 2015).

Moreover, in his September 2009 speech to the U.N. General Assembly President Obama also said "We continue to emphasize that America does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements", which was a further assertion of his strong position regarding the settlements issue already expressed in his historic Cairo Speech in June 2009. Though Obama fell short of announcing that Israeli settlements were an obstacle to peace, and just regarded them as illegitimate, pre-conditioning the resumption of the stalled peace process with a settlements freeze was already revolutionary posture.

This dramatic shift, at least in the U.S. perception of, if not strategy towards, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was further confirmed by President Obama when he admitted on the National Public Radio (NPR) in July 2009 that "there [were] times where we [were] not as honest as we should be about the fact that the current direction, the current trajectory in the region [wa]s profoundly negative, not only for Israeli interests but also U.S. interests" (Italics added). Never before did an American incumbent publicly admit that the U.S. pro-Israel policies were not conducive to American interests and its image in the Middle East, which was understood as a break with the past American posture in the region. Obama's NPR statement confirmed what John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago and Stephen Walt, the then dean of the Law School in Harvard, had advanced in 2006 in their prominent work "The Israel Lobby", and were criticized for what was perceived by the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) champions as an "anti-Semitic" stance.

The Obama administration then pledged to break up the ongoing "kabuki dance" between the United States and Israel for decades, and with that pledge people in the Middle East believed it was a rare opportunity to end once and for all the Israeli-Palestinian stalemate. For the United States, resolving the Israeli-Palestinian problem was already of strategic significance to national security. Former President Bill Clinton had stated, during a visit to Egypt in October 2010 that resolving the Israel-Palestine problem "would have more impact by far than anything else that could be done". Furthermore, on the issue of settlements, Clinton said that the Israelis "complicated the problem demographically by not doing this in 2000. It must be done" (ibid). Therefore, it became widely accepted among the Obama administration that a credible American commitment to settling the Israeli-Palestinian issue would be in the best interests not only of the Palestinians but also of the United States as well (Mattair, "Israeli-Palestinian Peace: What Is the U.S. National Security Interest?", Middle East Council, Journal Essay). This was true for an already damaged image of the United States in the Middle East, especially after eight long years of Bush's trail of wars of choice.

Hillary Clinton, Obama's Secretary of State, herself showed at the beginning of the Obama administration the same vigor and forcefulness when demanding a full freeze on settlements and vowing to continue pressuring Netanyahu with an unusually blunt call for a halt to settlement growth. She reassured the Palestinians that this time the Americans "intend[ed] to press that point". Secretary Clinton, in a meeting with Arab foreign ministers in Morocco on November 2nd, 2009, stated that the United States rejected a recent offer by Israel just to

“restrain” settlement construction, for it fell short of U.S. expectations of a complete freeze instead of “restraint” as a prerequisite to restart the peace process (*italics added*).

As for the Palestinians, Presidents Arafat and Abbas kept complaining for almost two decades about Israeli construction in the West Bank and Jerusalem, but accepted to conduct peace talks with Israel while construction in the Jewish settlements never stopped. The complaints from the Palestinian leadership were sporadic, but at no time did the Palestinians put a complete settlement freeze as a pre-condition for peace talks (*ibid*). Khaled Abu Toameh, an Israeli-Arab journalist who is perceived by Palestinians as a “traitor” for his pro-Israel views, in the Hudson New York online argues that “Abbas and his predecessor, Yasser Arafat, talked and worked with Israel while the construction was continuing. Abbas was negotiating with former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and his Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni, while the settlements were being expanded. Ironically, the Olmert government built more in the settlements than the “right-wing” government of Binyamin Netanyahu”.

Abu Toameh goes further to ask why “the Palestinian leaders “forgot”, when they signed the Oslo Accords with Israel in 1993, to demand that the agreement include an Israeli commitment to stop building the settlements” (*ibid*). There was also no mention at all of Palestinian “self-determination” or “independence” or “a Palestinian State” in Oslo Accords. Moreover, though the October 2002 Road Map presented by former President George W. Bush on behalf of the Quartet specified that “consistent with the Mitchell Report, [Israel] [ought to] freeze all settlement activity (including natural growth of the settlements)”, Israel never stopped “constructions”, to use Israel’s euphemism in referring to the contentious issue of settlements in the occupied territories.

Israel, however, perceived settlements and peace talks as two “separate” processes, and the Palestinians continued to talk to successive Israeli governments, the continuing of settlements notwithstanding. Why successive Palestinian governments had accepted to negotiate with the Israelis without necessarily setting a freeze on settlements as a pre-condition, as the Obama administration did in 2009, needs to be further explored, though this question is beyond the scope of this work.

By the advent of the Obama administration and the latter’s adoption of a historically strong position vis-à-vis the settlements issue, however, the Palestinian Authority could not be softer on the Israelis than the Americans themselves. President Abbas found himself in the uncomfortable position where President Barack Obama appeared to be more Palestinian than the Palestinians themselves with respect to the settlements issue. As a consequence, the Palestinian Authority joined the Obama call for a full freeze on settlement expansion as a pre-condition before any peace negotiations could restart.

Accordingly, Gary Ackerman, the New York Congressman and a staunch friend of Israel, argued that if Israel was serious about making peace with the Palestinians, Tel Aviv had to stop seeking “sticks and tricks” to evade U.S. peace initiatives, like that of Obama, which particularly called for a settlement freeze as a prerequisite to putting the peace process back on track. Furthermore, Debra DeLee, the former Chair of the Democratic National Committee and the president and CEO of Americans for Peace Now said that “in early 2009 we felt that Obama genuinely mean[t] it when he sa[id] he intend[ed] to push vigorously for a comprehensive Middle East peace deal that include[d] the creation of a Palestinian state”. She

continued saying that they believed that President Obama “mean[t] what he sa[id] and sa[id] what he th[ought]” (ibid).

The intensity and vigor of the Obama posture regarding the settlements issue not only surprised the world but also stunned the Israelis themselves. Robert Malley, former special assistant for Arab-Israeli Affairs to Clinton, commented that “the surprise in this is not the Israeli position. The surprise is the forcefulness of the American one. Rarely have we seen it at this pace and with this intensity and unambiguity. The United States has taken a position that doesn’t give much wriggle room at all to the Israeli government” . What was also surprising was the unusual link President Obama himself made between Israeli intransigence with respect to the settlements issue and America’s national security (ibid), which was the strongest statement ever by an American president over the settlements question.

In Israel, Netanyahu’s second government of March 2009, which ran in and won the 2009 general elections in Israel on a right-wing, neoconservative and anti-peace platform, was categorical about the settlements question. It is worth mentioning here that during his first term as Prime Minister from June 1996 to July 1999 Netanyahu was in constant conflict with the Clinton administration over how to implement the 1993 Oslo Accords . Then Netanyahu speeded up illegal Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem (ibid). Politically, he opposed the 1993 Oslo Accords and “he ran for the [2009] elections on a pledge of giving a proper burial to the peace process” .

Avigdor Liberman, Netanyahu’s Foreign Minister, said in April 2009 that Israel was not obligated to abide by the November 2007 Annapolis agreement to pursue peace talks with the Palestinians . As for Netanyahu, he found it difficult to accept a complete freeze on settlements, given his political affiliation with the right-wing Likud Party, for such a posture would also have caused his neoconservative coalition with Liberman’s ultra-nationalist party Yisrael Beitenu and the ultra-orthodox Shas party to founder. Although the Israeli Labor Party was part of Netanyahu’s team, it [seemed that] it lost “all of its values” by joining a right-wing government, as former Labor Minister Moshe Shahal said .

Moreover, in reaction to Obama’s new stand on the issue of Israeli settlements, Israel’s new interior Minister said in the Kenesset that Tel Aviv would not take orders from the United States, and Israel did not want to become America’s 51st state. “Israel does not take orders from Obama”, was the reaction of Gilad Erdan, a senior Cabinet Minister belonging to the Likud Party. Erdan said that the people of Israel, by voting for Netanyahu, had sent a message that “they will not become the 51st State of the U.S” . It was the first time that Israel and the United States, two traditional and strategic allies, would talk to each other through the media. It was unprecedented to see that Washington and Tel Aviv would argue tit for tat, and publicly. Was this a good reason to believe that the U.S.-Israel special relationship was foundering? If we let facts speak for themselves, the answer is hardly yes.

America’s attempts to mediate peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis were simply motivated by a basic variable—peace was in Israel’s interest as President Obama himself made clear during his last AIPAC speech of May 22, 2011. He said that the U.S.-Israel “friendship [wa]s rooted deeply in a shared history and shared values. Our commitment to Israel’s security is unshakeable...And it is precisely because of our commitment to Israel’s long-term security that we have worked to advance peace between Israelis and Palestinians” .

Encouraged by Obama's procrastination in front of a strong Israel lobby in Washington, DC., and already having quite a good experience in playing the White House against Capitol Hill, as he had done in 1996 with former President Bill Clinton, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu not only rejected all of Obama's attempts to pressure him into a complete and permanent freeze on settlements so that peace talks could resume, but he also went further to try to dictate Obama's foreign policy priorities. Netanyahu argued from day one in power that America's priority ought to be Iran's nuclear program before any peace talks could restart.

Nevertheless, taking almost a year to test Obama's will and vigor, Benjamin Netanyahu proposed in November 2009 a ten-month moratorium on settlements in the West Bank but not in East Jerusalem, for he believed that the latter was Israel's "indivisible" capital. "We do not put any restrictions on building in our sovereign capital", Netanyahu said in his moratorium announcement, which he characterized as a gesture of good will that "will help launch meaningful negotiations to reach a historic peace agreement that would finally end the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians". At the beginning, Netanyahu's temporary and partial moratorium was quickly welcomed by the Obama administration as a step toward resuming the stalled Israeli-Palestinian peace process. Hillary Clinton also hailed the moratorium decision and said that "Today's announcement by the government of Israel helps move forward toward resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict".

Netanyahu's moratorium, however, turned out to be a political and diplomatic trap for the Palestinians. The decision to freeze settlement-building was an Israeli maneuver to show to the United States and the world that Israel was indeed interested in peace, and even on American terms. According to Haaretz, Netanyahu told his right-wing cabinet that "this step will advance Israel's broad international interests. This is not a simple step, nor an easy one; but it has many more advantages than disadvantages...It will enable us to show the world this simple truth: The Government of Israel wants to enter into negotiations with the Palestinians, is taking practical steps to enter into negotiations and is very serious in its intention to advance peace".

Indeed, Netanyahu's moratorium was meant to turn the tables on the Palestinians. He and his cabinet knew that the Palestinian Authority would not be able to accept a partial, instead of complete, freeze on settlements, as the Palestinians had already accepted Obama's pledge of a "complete" and irrevocable freeze on settlements in the 1967 occupied territories, where the prospective Palestinian state would be founded (*italics added*). Moreover, Netanyahu understood that the Palestinians would turn down any Israeli freeze suggestion that would not include East Jerusalem, which they want to be the capital of their future state. In brief, the Netanyahu partial and temporary settlements freeze fell short of the minimum conditions for them to accept resuming peace talks, as it did not meet Obama's initial request for a "complete" stop of Israeli settlements. So, Netanyahu's freeze initiative was just meant to absorb U.S. and world pressure to respond to serious calls to resume the peace process with the Palestinians and to refute the allegation that the stalled peace process was Israel's fault.

Eventually, Netanyahu managed to demonstrate, especially to the Obama administration, that it was the Palestinians' fault and not Israel's that peace talks could not be restarted. Besides, he was able to take American pressure off Israel for ten months, as the United States peace envoy to the Middle East George Mitchell spent the whole moratorium period shuttling in vain between the two parties to start what he first termed as proximity talks and then direct talks. Mitchell himself welcomed Netanyahu's moratorium, saying that "it falls short of a full settlement freeze, but it is more than any Israeli government has done before and can help

movement toward agreement between the parties...Nothing like this occurred during the Bush administration” .

Meanwhile, the Netanyahu cabinet continued constructions in East Jerusalem, even in the presence of the U.S. Vice President Joe Biden. On March 8, 2010, while Biden was in Jerusalem on a state visit to Israel, purportedly to reassure the Israelis that if they were to accept returning to peace talks, America would guarantee their strategic edge against their neighbors, Netanyahu's Interior Ministry announced a new settlements package in East Jerusalem. The package included building 8,253 new homes, including 1,600 homes in the ultra-Orthodox settlement of Ramat Shlomo . The Israeli newspaper Yedioth Ahronoth published a similar list of 19 plans, identifying 7,038 housing units awaiting approval. All of them were in East Jerusalem settlements, including Givat Hamatos, Pisgat Ze'ev, Neve Ya'acov, Gilo and Ramot (ibid). Justifying Israel's move, Israeli cabinet secretary Zvi Hauser told Israel Radio that "Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and construction there will be carried out like in Tel Aviv or any other city – in every part of Jerusalem according to the plan...Jerusalem is a big city. It is a city that has to grow” .

The Israeli settlement announcement, coinciding with the U.S. Vice President's visit, was a double blow; the first was to the peace process and the second to America's image and credibility in the region. It almost caused a diplomatic row between Washington and Tel Aviv, but in the end it turned out that America "had no better friend" than Israel as Biden himself rectified his previous condemnation of Israel's provocative settlements announcement during his presence in the country . One day before the Israeli announcement, Biden said that "progress occurs in the Middle East when everyone knows there is simply no space between the United States and Israel" , but he soon realized that, with Netanyahu as premier in Israel, there was still a great deal of space if not between Israel and the United States, then definitely between Benjamin Netanyahu and Barack Obama.

In reaction to Israel's brazen move, Secretary of state Hillary Clinton condemned the surprise announcement and told the online Israeli Ynetnews paper that the "Netanyahu announcement of A plan to build more Jewish homes in East Jerusalem contradicts the spirit of Biden's Mideast trip and undermines confidence in peace process” . But the public Israeli-American row soon dissipated and the maximum punitive measure the United States was able to take was the decision of Joe Biden to arrive 90 minutes late to a scheduled dinner with Prime Minister Netanyahu the following day. The tension between the two "friends", to use Biden's words, was lowered when Israel's Interior Minister, Eli Yishai, apologized for "the distress caused" to the person of the U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, who had spent the day assuring Israel of America's unconditional support if it accepted renewing peace efforts that would involve proximity negotiations as a confidence-building measure .

The Palestinians, seizing on Israel's settlements announcement in Biden's presence and building on previous American guarantees to push Israel into accepting a full curb on settlements, argued that they would not take part in any peace talks unless Israel cancelled the recently announced Ramat Shlomo construction plan. Hanan Ashrawi, a prominent Palestinian politician, said: "Israeli deliberate measures at expanding settlement activities, at carrying out further building of illegal settlements in and around Jerusalem – all these are designed to scuttle all American efforts at trying to re-launch any kind of talks be they direct or indirect, proximity or long-distance” . In the end, it turned out that the Netanyahu cabinet had decided to announce its settlements surprise upon the arrival of Joe Biden and "sacrifice" America's friendship temporarily because it had learnt that the Palestinians had just yielded to Mitchell's

pressure to enter proximity talks despite the partial Israeli freeze on settlements. Netanyahu simply wanted to topple what George Mitchell had been trying to achieve for months—to get the Palestinians to approve peace talks with Israel while settlement-building was going on in East Jerusalem, ironically Palestine’s presumed capital.

Now as Netanyahu’s 2009 settlement moratorium was coming to an end in few months, the Obama administration decided to continue pursuing the reopening of the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. President Obama was clearly running out of time as the end of the moratorium on September 26, 2010 was looming, and Obama’s ability to bring Binyamin Netanyahu to extend his settlements moratorium would be his Middle East litmus test, and probably the last chance for the peace process under his first term. The Obama administration now needed to do something about resuming peace talks before the end of Netanyahu’s moratorium to save a peace process it had vowed to work on from day one in office, and not wait till the end of Obama’s term.

At the eleventh hour, President Obama organized a kind of peace conference on September 4, 2010 in Washington, D.C., to which he invited not only Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, but also King Abdullah of Jordan and the then Egyptian President Hosni Mubarek. Obama launched his initiative as a last-minute attempt to try to bring about a peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians within a year, which he described as a “moment of opportunity that may not soon come again” .

Obama’s initiative was seen as a test of his willingness to take the necessary political risks to live up to his early pledge of a new American policy in the Middle East. During the Washington peace conference, one heard agreeable words phrased eloquently, such as the Israeli Premier calling President Abbas “my partner in peace” , and the latter saying that their meeting was “a sincere opportunity to make peace” . As for President Obama, he was more realistic than his counterparts when he reminded the audience that he was “under no illusions. Passions run deep. Each side has legitimate and enduring interests...[and] years of mistrust will not disappear overnight” (ibid). But Obama restated that though resolving the conflict was in all parties’ national interests, Washington would not try to “impose a solution” (ibid), nor to impose on Netanyahu an extension on his settlements moratorium in almost two weeks time from the conference, which was understood as Obama’s first retraction from his initial commitment to a complete freeze on Israeli settlements in Palestinian territories. The question here was whether Netanyahu would meet Obama’s expectations or he would push him to lower the ceiling of his high expectations about Israel’s readiness for peace.

Within the three weeks between the September 2nd, 2010 Washington Peace Conference and the end of Netanyahu’s settlement moratorium on September 26, 2010, a handful of Israeli-Palestinian meetings took place in Washington and later in Egypt. Nothing came out of these meetings, because all the parties concerned focused more on whether Netanyahu would extend his settlements moratorium to give a chance for peace talks to resume or would jeopardize the last peace opportunity. Resuming settlements would also jeopardize America’s efforts over the previous two years to bring the two rivals back to the table of negotiations on the initial American basis that settlements were “dangerous” for the peace process and must therefore stop .

During this period, Middle Eastern politics was about guessing and threatening, rather than about talking peace. Netanyahu told Tony Blair, the then Quartet envoy of the Middle East

peace mediators on September 12, 2010, two weeks before the presumed end of his construction moratorium in the West Bank, that "the Palestinians demand that after September 26, there will be zero building [in the West Bank, and this] will not happen" . The Palestinians in their turn reiterated time and again that "should the settlement construction and expansion continue, we are out" (ibid). Indeed, on September 26, 2010, Israeli bulldozers were back to work throughout the West bank and East Jerusalem, which theoretically constituted part of the Palestinian state. Work began on at least 2,000 new housing units and a number of new schools in Jewish communities throughout the Palestinian territories. Israeli Nationalists celebrated the end of the freeze, and new cornerstones were laid for new homes.

Eventually, Netanyahu carried out his pledge to his right wing cabinet and ended the settlements moratorium, but at the same time he expressed his wish that "President Abbas w[ould] remain in the talks and continue with me on the path of peace which we started three weeks ago". Netanyahu added that "many in the world have now realized that my intentions of reaching peace are serious and sincere and that I honor my commitments" . The Israeli premier, however, ignored all pleas from both the Americans and the Palestinians alike not to jeopardize the last chance for peace and to extend his partial and temporary freeze on settlements in the West Bank. Benjamin Netanyahu also ignored a letter from President Obama requesting at least a sixty-day extension to the settlements moratorium beyond September 26, 2010.

David Makovsky from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy said that the U.S. President requested that Netanyahu extend his West Bank construction moratorium for just sixty days to give a chance for peace talks to take hold. Obama pleaded with Netanyahu in a letter negotiated with Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Chief Israeli peace negotiator Yitzhak Molch . The letter committed the U.S. to veto any probable U.N. Security Council proposal regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 2011. Obama also sent his guarantees that he would not ask Netanyahu for another moratorium beyond sixty days, as the settlements issue ought to be dealt with as part of what was called "territorial swaps" (ibid).

The Obama letter to Netanyahu on the eve of the expiration of the latter's moratorium on settlements in the West Bank was mainly about an incentive package which included more F-35 Joint Strike Fighter jets for around \$3 billion, together with additional funding for missile defense systems that Israel was planning to deploy throughout the country (ibid). The U.S. Congress had approved in early 2010 another package of "\$205 million for Israel's Iron Dome short-range rocket defense system. The money was expected to allow the IDF to buy an additional six batteries for the system" (ibid). But Netanyahu in the end yielded to his cabinet, and not to Obama's plea. A member in the Knesset from Likud, Netanyahu's party, Danny Danon, told thousands of right-wing activists who were counting down the remaining seconds of the settlements moratorium "Tonight, we are returning this decree to the trash bin of history...Starting tomorrow morning, we will resume building" . Danon also added that he wanted "to send a message to Obama. We have a lot of respect for the American president and for the American people, but we ask you to respect our democracy and the rights of the Jewish people to build their homes in the Land of Israel" (ibid). President Obama, in his turn, received Danny Danon's "message" to "respect...the rights of the Jewish people to build their homes in the Land of Israel", which meant an end to settlements freeze, and as a consequence an end to the peace process for the foreseeable future.

Now towards the end of 2011 and for almost two years, Obama kept trying, sometimes hard, with Netanyahu, but in vain. Despite all the time, the efforts, and the incentives, the Netanyahu

cabinet wanted to keep building in the territories which were the subject of peace talks and asked that the Palestinians continue peace talks regardless of the settlements issue. This had been possible from 1993 up to the advent of the Obama administration, which sided with the Palestinian request for the first time that settlements in the 1967 occupied territories and peace talks were incompatible, and housing construction therefore had to stop before any negotiations could resume. President Obama had said in 2009 that “construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop” ; and the Palestinians, as previously mentioned, counted on Obama. They could not be more lenient about the settlements issue than the Americans after they had heard both President Obama, his Secretary of State, and his Vice President reiterating time and again that Israel had to stop constructions before any peace talks could restart .

Having been publicly humiliated by Netanyahu, who simply turned down his plea to maintain the settlements moratorium, President Obama was probably awakened to the harsh reality of American politics that as the president of the sole superpower on earth, he had failed, after trying for two years, to pressure Israel into acquiescing to his “advice” regarding a complete or a partial freeze on settlements as a prerequisite to resuming peace talks with the Palestinians. “Wisely, in my view, the administration is bending to reality”, said Robert Malley, a peace negotiator in the Clinton administration . In his annual speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 24, 2010, two days before the end of the settlements moratorium, Obama put his own credibility on the line when he spoke to world leaders, essentially demanding that Israel extend the moratorium. He said: “We believe that the moratorium should be extended. We also believe that talks should press on until completed. Now is the time for the parties to help each other overcome this obstacle...Now is the time for this opportunity to be seized, so that it does not slip away” .

However, five days after President Obama spoke at the United Nations, Prime Minister Netanyahu ignored his request for an additional sixty-day settlement freeze, and the direct talks the president had striven for simply collapsed, resulting not only in disappointment among the Palestinians but also in a strangely dramatic shift in Obama’s perception of the peace process in the Middle East.

In December 2010 the Obama administration decided to end its two-year push for Israel to stop settlement construction as a precondition for negotiations with the Palestinians. The New York Times reported that “after three weeks of fruitless haggling with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the Obama administration has given up its effort to persuade the Israeli government to freeze construction of Jewish settlements” in order to give a chance for the recently brokered direct peace talks to continue . Obama’s star-crossed campaign for three years to live up to his June 2009 Cairo speech pledge to bring about an end to the 60-year old Israeli-Palestinian conflict now foundered on Israel’s door.

Moreover, the Obama administration strategy for and perception of the Middle East conflict would change dramatically by 2011. The first back shift of Obama’s posture was his decision to quit seeking an Israeli settlements curb. It was President Obama who had declared in his famous 2009 Cairo Speech that settlements and peace were incompatible, and therefore Israeli housing construction ought to stop as a precondition for the two parties to resume peace talks. As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, a freeze on Israeli settlements had not been a Palestinian precondition to talk to the Israelis. After all, Israeli constructions in the 1967 occupied territories never stopped from the 1993 Oslo Accords up to the 2009 advent of the

Obama administration. By requesting from the beginning of his term in 2009 that Israeli settlements stop before any peace negotiations could restart, Obama simply climbed the peace tree and the Palestinians had little choice but to climb with him. Now, after trying in vain with an intransigent Netanyahu for almost two years, President Obama simply gave up, but justified his failure by Netanyahu's political vulnerability in his ruling coalition. The latter's failure to heed to American peace appeals "revealed a degree of weakness in his coalition", said Daniel C. Kurtzer, a former American ambassador to Israel . Nevertheless, the United States reiterated that it would "continue to protect Israel's security and fight efforts to challenge its legitimacy in international organizations" (ibid).

Indeed, Obama's pledge to "fight efforts to challenge [Israel's] legitimacy in international organizations" was carried out just a couple of months later when the United States vetoed a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlements in the 1967 occupied territories, adding another veto to the list of America's already 60 vetoes to shield Israel from international pressure or criticism. Despite warnings from Aaron David Miller, a former U.S. negotiator, that the United States ought not to be seen as "Israel's lawyer" by exerting more pressure on the Palestinians than the Israelis, the Obama administration used its first veto in February 2011 to thwart a U.N. resolution denouncing the resumption of Israeli housing constructions in the Palestinian territories, which derailed a series of American attempts to restart the peace process. What was unfortunate for Obama was the fact that the United States stood alone against the other fourteen Security Council members in defending Israel on an issue which ironically President Obama himself had set as a precondition in June 2009 to resuming the peace process, then kept pressuring Netanyahu in vain to extend his settlements moratorium, whose end toppled Washington's September 2010 "last chance" for peace.

On the one hand, President Obama recognized in his Cairo speech of June 4, 2009 that those settlements were "illegitimate" and "must stop" before the peace process could be put back on track. On the other hand, Obama's Representative Susan Rice in the U.N. Security Council not only vetoed a unanimous condemnation by the Council of the Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territories, but also defended that action as an attempt to encourage the rivals in the Middle East to resume peace talks. Rice rather oddly explained that Washington's "opposition to the resolution...should not be misunderstood to mean we support settlement activity...On the contrary, we reject in the strongest terms the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity" .

Even America's closest allies in the Security Council distanced themselves from Washington's controversial and contradictory February 2011 veto. Britain, France and Germany issued a joint statement in which they explained why they supported the U.N. resolution condemning recent Israeli settlement activities, and took a different stance from that of the United States. The European statement read: "because our views on settlements, including East Jerusalem, are clear: they are illegal under international law, an obstacle to peace, and constitute a threat to a two-state solution. All settlement activity, including in East Jerusalem, should cease immediately" (UK Mission to the United Nations, February 22, 2011). A European Troika statement further isolated the Obama administration which "risked the appearance of weakness in its approach to the search for Middle East peace and set it on a contradictory course to its earlier tough language against the settlements" (*italics added*) .

The United States February veto was a contradiction with what had been called Obama's approach to the conflict; an approach that was expressed in a series of his major speeches and

remarks, mainly in Cairo and Turkey in 2009, and in the U.N. General Assembly both in 2009 and 2010. Obama's first veto not only highlighted a congenital procrastination in his perception of the conflict but also shed doubts about America's neutrality as a peace broker. As a matter of fact, "by the end of 2009, Obama had finished introducing himself to the world, and The era of the heraldic oration delivered to euphoric crowds had largely come to an end" (Traub, Foreign Policy, February 2015).

The Palestinians were particularly angered by the Obama administration's veto, since they believed it was Obama who had made the settlements an issue in the first place. "It was Obama who suggested a full settlement freeze", Abbas told Newsweek . Wondering about what may have happened to the President Obama who had supported the Palestinian cause more than any of his predecessors, Abbas added "we both went up the tree. After that, he came down with a ladder and he removed the ladder and said to me, jump. Three times he did it" (ibid).

Actually, as early as January 2010 Obama gave an interview to Time magazine in which he conceded that he had "overestimated [the US] ability" to persuade both sides to make painful concessions, and that he "might not have raised expectations as high", had he understood the intractability of the situation. Ironically, as late as 2011, President Abbas was still citing Obama's 2009 U.N. address as inspiration, calling it the "Obama promise" and saying: "if he said it, he must have meant it" . But did Obama really mean what he had said?

As a matter of fact, Obama's failure was due to the discrepancy between Obama's euphoric tone and the political tools he had at his disposal. Ben Rhodes, Obama's speechwriter said that the United States "came in surfing [a] wave of expectations.... [but] also came in with enormous resource constraints staring us in the face. If we had come in a different era, you could have seen him announcing some incredibly ambitious development initiative. We tried with what we have" (Traub, Foreign Policy, February 2015). After all, Obama's National Security Council (NSC) could only approve the classified directive outlining the modest initiatives promised in Cairo two years after the speech, which shows that even the President's house was indeed divided against itself regarding Obama's Cairo wild goose chase.

In addition to the dichotomy between Obama's rhetoric and legacy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there are also serious questions about whether President Obama from the offset had an approach in the first place. Daniel Levy, a former adviser to an earlier Israeli prime minister said that "People don't think there's an Obama-specific approach...You're seeing a very similar approach to what we've seen in the past – an approach that didn't deliver" . Levy added that "the script for now is still being written more by the Netanyahu government than the Obama administration" (ibid). Within the span of two years from 2009 to 2011, President Obama gradually softened his rhetoric about the issue of the Israeli settlements from the position that "America does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements" to America seeking peace just in "Israel's interest" for demographic and security considerations. We saw President Obama gradually backing down on his initial position regarding Israeli settlements till he reached the point of vetoing a U.N. Security Council resolution on the settlements issue in 2011 while he himself had requested in 2009 that Israel stop those settlements before peace talks could resume.

It was as early as 2010 when President Obama started stepping back from his initial position with respect to the settlements issue. He then stated that "Israel's settlement moratorium ha[d] made a difference on the ground and improved the atmosphere for talks". The following year,

Obama was no longer talking about settlements nor about the peace prospects, but he came to the United Nations and talked in a defeatist and resigned tone. He later said on September 21, 2011 that "Peace is hard work...expectations have gone unmet. Israeli settlement activity continues. Palestinians have walked away from talks". This sounded like balancing the two sides' responsibility for the stalled peace process without stating clearly who rejected most peace suggestions. President Obama had already moved from an "America [that] will not turn its back on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own" in June 2009 to a different political discourse in May 2011 before AIPAC when he declared that "for the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won't create an independent state" .

Although this work is not about the myriad of Israel lobbies in the United States and their influence on Washington's perception of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as previously mentioned in the introduction, it is worth noting that President Obama found it difficult to persuade a historically pro-Israel Congress to "forgive" the Palestinians for their September 2011 United Nations bid. Ironically, the Obama administration turned to Israel to solicit the help of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in urging members of Congress not to block the 50 million dollars in aid to the Palestinian Authority . Although the U.S. Congress eventually bent to Israel's "pressure" and authorized funds to the Palestinians, it reminded the Palestinian Authority that it would still use the power of the purse if it continued its pursuit of U.N. membership. The other irony here was that the State Department managed to persuade Netanyahu to intervene with Congress by arguing that blocking Palestinian aid could jeopardize Palestinian police training, which could ultimately have serious consequences on Israeli security.

Furthermore, in Obama's three U.N. speeches of 2009, 2010 and 2011 one can notice a consistent reference to Israeli and Palestinian children, whom he said had the right to live in peace, but he kept inconsistently shifting from Israeli girls and Palestinian boys and vice versa. In his U.N. speech 2009, President Obama said that "We must remember that the greatest price of this conflict is not paid by us. It's not paid by politicians. It's paid by the Israeli girl in Sderot who closes her eyes in fear that a rocket will take her life in the middle of the night. It's paid for by the Palestinian boy in Gaza who has no clean water and no country to call his own. These are all God's children". In September 2010, President Obama said before the U.N. General Assembly that "this time, we will think not of ourselves, but of the young girl in Gaza who wants to have no ceiling on her dreams, or the young boy in Sderot who wants to sleep without the nightmare of rocket fire". In this case, he simply reversed the gender of the Israeli and Palestinian children, but kept the same image of a young Israeli victim scared to death by a probable Palestinian "rocket" at night. In both references to Israeli and Palestinian children, Obama used the term "rocket" but "in the middle of the night" in the first speech, and "sleep without the nightmare" in the second speech. In short, he kept the same context not only of alleged Palestinian terror but also of the dark in order to maximize sympathy with a frightened Israeli child, as dark for children usually evokes more fear than daytime does.

In his 2011 U.N. speech, which was welcomed by almost all major American Jewish organizations and media as his most pro-Israeli yet, President Obama came back with yet another reference to children, though this time he mentioned neither cities nor sexes; instead he talked about "Israeli and Palestinian children" in general. He said: "The measure of our actions must always be whether they advance the right of Israeli and Palestinian children to live lives of peace and security and dignity and opportunity" . This generalization could only reflect the sense of vagueness and even confusion about the situation in the Middle East. In

talking about “the right of Israeli and Palestinian children to live lives of peace”, instead of drawing the bleak picture of an Israeli child frightened by a Palestinian rocket in the dark, Obama came a bit closer to balancing the two sides, instead of referring to an Israeli victim versus a Palestinian demanding “clean water”.

What is common, however, in all the three speeches, was that President Obama failed to offer any tangible results that would have changed the lives of those Israeli and Palestinian children he said he was more worried about than about politics. President Obama could only offer a further stalemate in the peace process, an attractive political discourse but without real change, an American veto in February 2011 on a Security Council resolution condemning Israel’s rejection of all pleas, including American ones, to extend its settlements moratorium in September 2010, and eventually a promise to veto any Palestinian bid for statehood in the United Nations or any other effort that would undermine Israel’s legitimacy. “We will stand against attempts to single it out for criticism in international forums”, President Obama promised in a May 2011 Middle East Speech in the Department of State’s Dean Acheson Room.

The gradual shift in Obama’s political discourse in his three U.N. General Assembly speeches in 2009, 2010 and 2011 testify to his awakening to the complexity of Washington’s politics that however sympathetic he may be to the Palestinian cause, if ever he was, he had little to offer to them, simply because America’s foreign policy in the Middle East is shaped by variables other than the President’s personal wish. Obama’s failure to live up to his 2009 promises to the Muslim world and his successive policy contradictions in dealing with the Israelis and Palestinians reveal his political impotence. President Obama, the president of the sole superpower on earth, unwittingly showed that he had little leverage to persuade Israel, a tiny country whose security and economic well being largely depends on American subsidies and interest-free loans, to extend its freeze on settlement growth for just sixty days. As Peter Beinart from the City University of New York and The Daily Beast columnist put it “It was, by any historical standard, a remarkable turn of events—a prime minister of Israel demonstrating a willingness to humiliate a U.S. president—and demonstrating also his ability to do so with the full-throated complicity of the U.S. Congress” .

Faced with “scathing attacks by Republican presidential rivals for supposedly abandoning Israel”, President Obama had now to make the necessary “readjustments” to save his reelection chances in 2012 . With presidential elections drawing nearer, caution on the Israel-Palestine issue became a traditional survival strategy, in view of Obama’s economic woes, which may explain the shift in President Obama’s tone. Former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, Obama’s main Republican rival for the 2012 presidential elections, kept repeating his much-quoted line--“it is the culmination of President Obama’s repeated efforts over three years to throw Israel under the bus” . Another Republican presidential frontrunner, Texas Governor Rick Perry, characterized “the Obama policy in the Middle East [as] naive, arrogant, misguided and dangerous” (ibid).

As the 2012 presidential elections loomed nearer and nearer, President Obama started working early enough to regain American Jewish support; the short cut was the AIPAC annual forum. AIPAC meets every year towards the middle of spring, which offers a chance for political contenders in the United States to try to win a short time span to give a speech reiterating the classical discourse of the United States-Israel ironclad relationship. President Obama was not an exception at the AIPAC May 2011 forum. Jennifer Laslo Mizrahi, President of The Israel Project, a pro-Israel public affairs group, said that Obama had told the people in the room what

they wanted to hear. He told the audience that "we reaffirmed that fundamental truth that has guided our presidents and prime ministers for more than 60 years — that even while we may at times disagree, as friends sometimes will, the bonds between the United States and Israel are unbreakable — (applause)". Indeed, "Israel is as much a part of American values and traditions as are hot dogs, apple pie and freedom", as Mizrahi put it.

At the beginning of his term, President Obama took it upon himself that his administration would be judged by its actions and not its words regarding the Palestinian problem, which had bedeviled eleven American presidents before him. The time was then for deeds and not for words. Now, judging Obama's record with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by the same token, it seems that he said what he did not mean, as substantial change has been hard to achieve in view of the stalemate in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that has grinded on for more than 63 years now. In short, for the Arab-Israeli conflict, one can see striking similarities between Obama's approach and legacy to those of his predecessor, leading the discussion back to what this paper hypothesized at the beginning, that Obama's new political discourse towards the Middle East has been just a cosmetic "change" of tone rather than a substantive change of strategy.

Moreover, a quick scanning of Obama's new lexicon would show that he simply substituted new terms for Bush's old ones. He has tried to embellish old tactics, and using a new political discourse, thereby distancing himself from Bush's controversial tone and style. As a matter of fact, the change in Obama's political discourse and the copious promises of changing the tone and style of America's dealing with the Middle East are overshadowed by the failure to see those promises materialize on the ground. "What had changed since 2009 was [that] Obama himself seemed to have lost faith in the efficacy of oratory. A speech is a transaction between orator and listener; some crucial energy had dissipated from both sides of that transaction. Obama's words no longer carry a charge. It is hard to recapture, even to remember, the sense of excitement he once generated" (Traub, *Foreign Policy*, February 2015).

As Obama's initial change in tone has not reflected any change of strategy, it transpires that America's interests do not change with successive presidents, no matter who is in the White House. It seems that the Obama administration has been caught in that familiar trap between rhetoric and policy options. Regardless of what President Obama has said or will say tomorrow, Washington's policy options with respect to the Palestinian problem will likely confront the constraints of America's domestic politics that have been conducted on two basic variables—the distributions of foreign policy prerogatives among the executive and the legislative, and the susceptibility of the latter to the influence of pressure groups and lobbies. So, why expect President Obama to make good on promises when it is obvious he cannot?

The main purpose of this work, therefore, has been to explore the hypothesis that Obama's new reconciliatory political discourse toward the Middle East at the beginning of his term in 2009 was just a change of tactic and tone rather than a change of strategy. It has taken the issue of the Israeli settlements in the 1967 Palestinian territories as a case study.

The findings of this work can be summed up in the selection of these three quotations from President Obama's three United Nations speeches in 2009, 2010 and 2011. He said on September 23, 2009: "We continue to emphasize that America does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements". One year later, Obama softened his tone over that issue. He said: "Israel's settlement moratorium has made a difference on the ground and improved the atmosphere for talks". In his 2011 speech, however, President Obama went to the United

Nations with this: “peace is hard work. If it were that easy, it would have been accomplished by now”. He also warned the Palestinians threatening a U.N. membership application that “peace will not come through statements and resolutions at the United Nations”. These quotations have shown the paradoxically gradual change in Obama’s tone and rhetoric in dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict over the last three years. He started in 2009 with unprecedentedly strong rhetoric about Israel’s “obligation” to stop settlements for peace talks to resume, but he kept softening his tone with Israel and hardening it towards the Palestinians till he ended in 2011 with reiterating the American-Israeli “unshakeable” bond, and warning the Palestinians not to seek United Nations membership in reaction to the U.S. failure to put the peace process back on track.

This paper has argued that Obama’s philosophy in pursuing peace in the Middle East, like that of his predecessors, stemmed from the premise that peace was in Israel’s interest. This posture could explain why the United States, from Henry Kissinger in the 1970s to John Kerry today, has tried to broker peace in the region. Obama did substantiate this point when he said before AIPAC in May 2011 that the United States had tried to mediate peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians; he said that it is precisely because of the U.S. “commitment to Israel’s long-term security that we have worked to advance peace between Israelis and Palestinians” . By then President Obama had already conceded most of what Netanyahu could have asked for. He no longer offered any criticism of new Israeli settlements, as he had done in Cairo two years before. He no longer talked about “the 194th new member state of the United Nations”—the Palestinian State (Obama’s Speech at the U.N. on September 23, 2010). Ironically, he was now warning the Palestinians against going forward with their U.N. bid, which raises the question about to whom President Obama addressed his January 2009 pledge that “ultimately, people are going to judge [him] not by [his] words but by [his] actions and [his] administration’s actions” . Finally, as James Traub, the Foreign Policy contributor, put it “in the end, [Obama’s] failure to move the world as he hoped to is our tragedy, far more than it is his”.

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timetable about how to move Israelis and Palestinians over three years to the creation of a Palestinian state that should exist in peace with Israel. Although the Palestinians and Israelis accepted the basic outlines of the plan shortly after it was formally introduced in June 2003, none of its provisions has been fully observed, and the two-state solution is still elusive.

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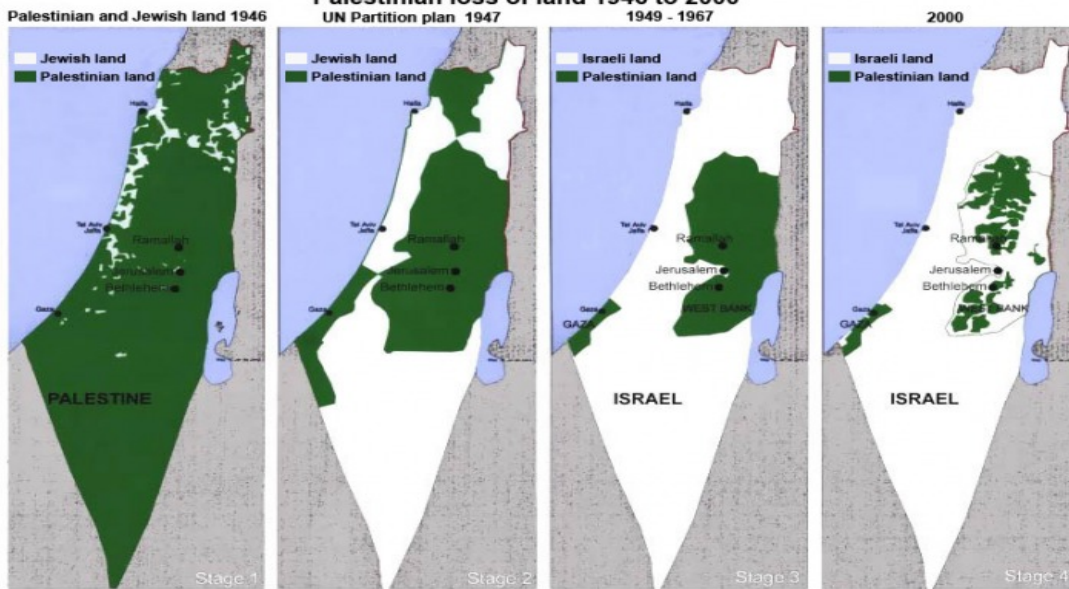
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APPENDIX

Palestinian loss of land 1946 to 2000



A Study on College Students' Entrepreneurship Practice in Guangzhou :A Case of GDUFS

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Abstract

In the past 10 years, the ratio of college graduates' self-employment has demonstrated a rising tendency in China. During the process of starting business, college students are inclined to get involved into various troubles as lacking of experience. This research aims to analyze the plights at different stages of starting business, and try to give some suggestions based on the case of Guangdong University of Foreign Studies(GDUFS).

Key Word: predicament of starting a business, entrepreneurship, university students, GDUFS

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, more and more graduates students have decided to embark on a new course of self-employment after graduation. However, starting a new business is a complicated process which dynamically involves the identification and capture of opportunities, the assessment and acquisition of resources, the establishment of new organizations and the management. During this process, college students who are willing to start their own business are more inclined to plunge into various difficulties as lacking of experience. Therefore, it is an necessity to pay attention to the management situation of the entrepreneurial groups of students by helping them identify the obstacles and put forward countermeasures.

This study focuses on the following questions:

- 1. What is the current status of the start-up enterprises operated by students in Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GDUFS)?**
- 2. What difficulties and challenges those entrepreneurs have encountered when managing their business?**
- 3. How to help the venture teams break through the dilemma ?**

The methods adopted in this research mainly include:

- 1. Field study: Field trips to the pioneer parks and entrepreneurial shops have been carried out to record some basic information such as the number of starting-up**

enterprise pioneered by college students and their business range as well as the managing environment, 24 entrepreneurial enterprises are interviewed for further information .

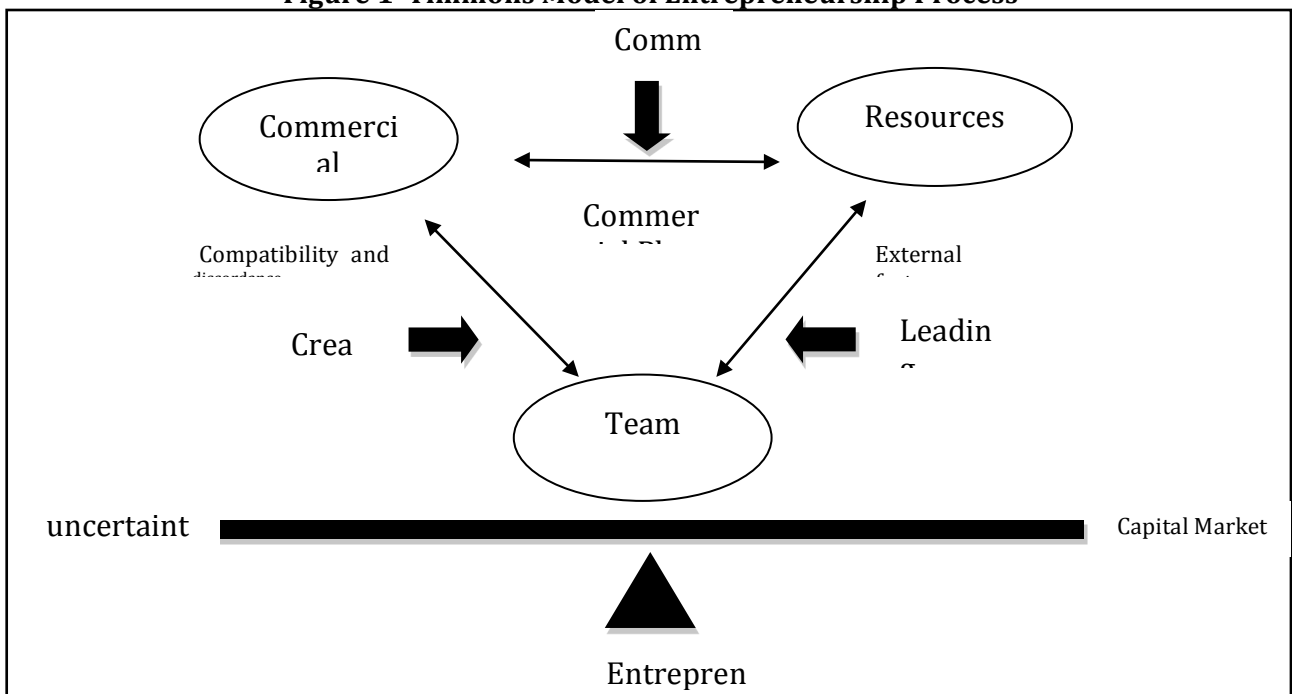
- 2. Semi-structured interview: 14 of the 24 entrepreneurial enterprises mentioned above are informally interviewed based on a rough outline. Interviewers are required to make adjustments whenever necessary to adapt to the practical situation, the information collected through interview should be handled timely. Before the interview, the assignment should be properly distributed and sound recording is a necessity.**

THEORETIC FRAMEWORK: TIMMONS MODEL

Timmons Model, advanced by Jeffery Timmons (2005) and integrated by dynamism and complexity, is one of the most significant theoretic models of entrepreneurship process. It provides valuable framework for the identification of internal mechanism and inherent rules of entrepreneurship process. In this model, opportunity, resources and team work are three essential elements, and entrepreneurship process is dynamic-balanced with the goal of opportunities being pursued, resources and team members properly distributed.

Under this framework, entrepreneurs are required to make full use of their creativity to discover opportunities in the indefinite and uncertain environment and to synthesize resources with the help from outside like the capital market, in the meantime, efficient team should be built, leading the enterprise to realize the value of the opportunities. Through the process, the relationship between resources and opportunities dynamically proceeds from compatibility to discordance then to compatibility again.

Figure 1 Timmons Model of Entrepreneurship Process



. Feature Analysis of Students' Entrepreneurial Teams of GDUFs

Since 2012, more than 10 entrepreneurial teams have successfully applied for the programs of undertaking practice, members who have participated in this program often actively exchanged their learning experience, and the Center of Employment and Entrepreneurship Management of GDUFs also held sharing session, inviting the team of Innovated Flowers to

share their experience in starting their business. Except in the form of team cooperation applied in the entrepreneurial programs, some students positively have dipped their toes into this field both individually and collectively as a team. The enthusiasm of students in entrepreneurship is so great that the atmosphere has pervaded through different colleges, majors and grades. And for the entrepreneurs, the value of their practice lies in that it can enrich campus life, exercise their own personal ability.

Most of the entrepreneurs of the 14 interviewed enterprises have the experience of working in students' associations, which contributes to enhance their practical ability and expand their social circle by the increased chances to contact with colleagues from other colleges. A lot of entrepreneurial team members have met each other during community work.

Among the 14 enterprises being interviewed, 77% of the members' major is business, the rest are mainly majored in computer science and advertisement, etc. The students of business are more likely to be exposed to the business cases during their academic study, and the competition activities held in their colleges are also mostly focused on commercial operation, all together have bolstered the students' sensibility to business opportunities.

Description of Entrepreneurial Companies' Operating Situation

The 24 entrepreneurial companies are distributed in both north and south campuses with a ratio of 6:18, and in which, 18 are project-supported. For the 14 interviewed enterprises, 5 have been operating within only 3 months and 3 of them died young, 1 company has not started yet, the other 1 is still operating; 3 have operated above 3 months and under 1 year; 6 have operated for more than 3 year while 2 of them died young.

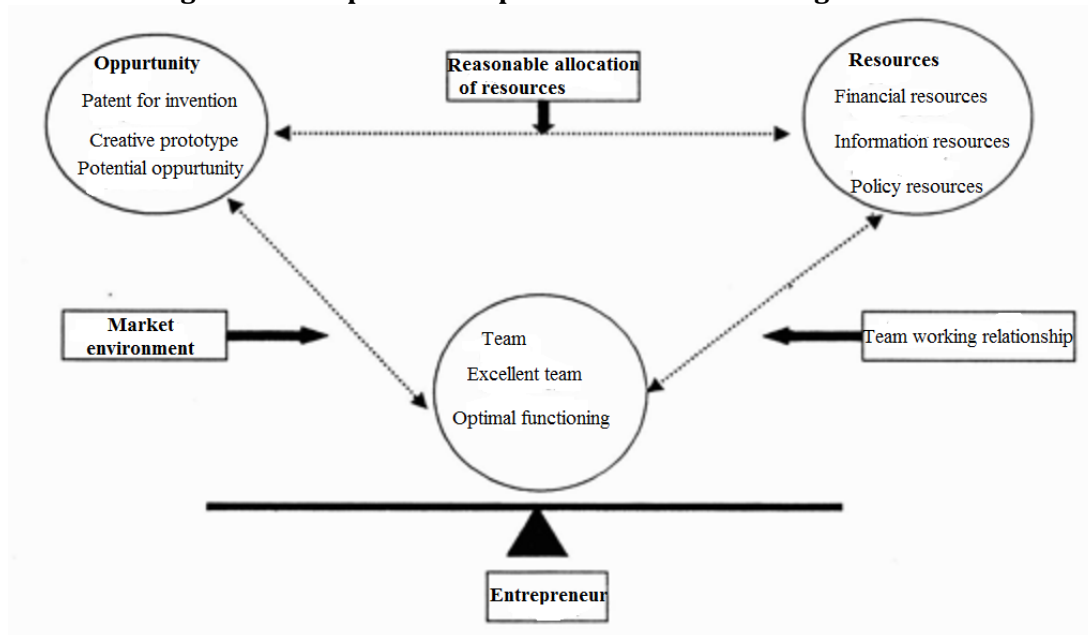
Among those companies which have opened for business, 9 of them are profitable and 4 are at loss (1 has not started yet). Of the 4 profit-loss companies, 2 have the potential profit possibility while the rest will suffer further losses. In terms of entrepreneurship direction, 10 companies are focused on providing intellectual service, in which, 3 are high-tech focused; 3 are sale-based; 3 are intellectual service centered and together with 2 are independently opened up. Beside these, there are 3 sale agents.

It can be concluded that: the students' entrepreneurship is still at high failure rate, as the survey shows, 5 of the interviewed companies have failed, reaching a failure rate of 36%; the students who are committed to entrepreneurship practice mostly from the south campus, with the enterprises acquiring project support, only one is from north campus; the companies which are run at loss are all under operation within 3 months without any project supporting; more than half of the students' entrepreneurial enterprises are offering intellectual services and they are all profitable (though 1 is now at loss, still get potential to obtain earnings in the future.)

PROBLEMS EXISTING IN ENTREPRENEURIAL COMPANIES

College students' entrepreneurial process can be divided into three key stages: preparation for starting business, company's inception and the stage of management. Mu(2008) holds that a combining analysis, that is, synthesizing the three kernel factors of opportunity, resource and team with other aspects of different phases of starting a business, can come at an entrepreneurship process mode of college students based on the existing framework of Timmons mode. (shown in Figure 2)

Figure 2 Entrepreneurship Process Mode of College Students



According to this mode, for entrepreneurs, a matched balance among the three factors of opportunity, resource, team should be maintained. However, each phase of entrepreneurship has different tasks to focus on, thereby creating different dilemmas for the students. Hence, to further explore the existing problems of college students when establishing their companies, this research classifies the different stages of 14 interviewed venture enterprises and summarizes the prominent issues of different team stages from three perspectives of opportunity resources and team.

Preparation Stage

In preparation for the entrepreneurship, the priority should be given to the exploitation and selection of business opportunities, while during this process of choosing opportunities and screening information, students are susceptible to various factors such as personal traits, entrepreneurial behaviors and the values of surrounding community, education on entrepreneurship, social values and the overall entrepreneurial culture. Based on this, it is believed that when choosing business opportunities and screening information, the following problems are prominent for the students at GDUFs:

- **Single-minded pursuit of market void, ignoring the managing risks.**
When selecting business opportunities, most entrepreneurs lay emphasis on looking for market void. Of the 14 interviewed companies, 9 are pioneers whose products or profit-making patterns are totally new in their regional markets. However, while enjoying the benefit of markets potential brought by the identity of pioneers, entrepreneurs should also take the management risks of the new products or model into consideration. One of the entrepreneurial teams in GDUFs — Fast Delivery of Refreshment to Dormitories, has found the strong market demand for door-to-door delivery on campus which has not been exploited yet through their own observation and experiences, hoped to establish the platform of fast delivery service together with the cooperation with surrounding snack merchants. However, the later practice proved that this profit model brought little or no revenue as it was extremely restricted by the market demand and the labor cost was also high, eventually leading to the business failure.
- **Low-level business model with less competitiveness and substitutability**

The entrepreneurs of college students possess the advantage of having a command of professional expertise when choosing their business directions, which contributes to improving the competitiveness of their companies in the market to some extent. In this survey, 10 of the 14 interviewed companies provide intelligence services, 3 are sales agents and the last one runs a physical store independently. The services of the 3 sales agents—Kkoklily Fashion House (taobao shop), Door to Door Refreshment Delivery, Lolita's Sanitary Napkin Monopoly, are similar to the early E - Go network service platform which acts as purchasing agency, the business model is to earn intermediary service fees by building connections between merchants and consumers. At the preliminary stage, there is a great chance to survive for those companies under this profit-making pattern as the market demand is strong, as the Lolita's Sanitary Napkin Monopoly has demonstrated. While as more competitors flood into the market or market demand decreases, it is an urgency to re-choose business opportunities, transform the business model, otherwise may cause major failure.

Inception stage

At the stage of business inception, the central task for students entrepreneurs is to instantly acquire and integrate resources that are necessary for exploiting business opportunities, including resources of finance, information and policy, etc., and try to realize a matched balance between resource and business opportunities. Whereas they are relatively lack of entrepreneurial resources and the accessible channels are limited. Therefore, the biggest dilemma confronting the college students is the scarcity of resources.

a. Human Resources

GDUFS is an university with focuses on liberal arts and commerce, which leads to a deficiency in technical talents. Among the 14 investigated enterprises, 3 are high-tech companies which are: DNA Media, E-GO Network Service Platform and Run-studio, and the major services provided are online marketing, third-partner-online shop, software outsourcing. The owners of the 3 companies have expressed their worries for the lack of technical personnel. One of the starters of "Run-studio" said that some technicians who had already worked for a while would ask for quitting due to the heavy workload. To solve this problem, some entrepreneurs have tried to attract the talents by recommendation and open recruitment, but little achievements have been made.

b. Disconnection between entrepreneurial projects and the actual demand of the entrepreneurs

By now, 9 of the 14 interviewed enterprises have applied for the entrepreneurial projects of GDUFS and are widely supported in capital, place, professional guidance and competing fields. During the interview, the interviewees have fully expressed their gratefulness to the support given by their faculties. However, the fact is the support provided by the entrepreneurial project is disconnected with the practical requirement of entrepreneurs to a certain extent. For example, for starter of Red Soul Wine Club, the fund issuance for entrepreneurship in GDUFS has to be checked repeatedly, which leads to the deferred actual use of the capital. In the same time, both the English training center of "Falling love with English" and "Ai Yin Si Tan Musical Training Institution" have expressed their dissatisfaction with the non-professional instructors. In addition, "Ditto Piggy Bun" and "XZ Room Escape" have all refused to apply for the entrepreneurship project and when being asked why, they replied that the flexibility of the entrepreneurship was in conflict with the normalization of the projects, and the instructors' ignorance of the specific industry is also what they are concerned about.

c. College students who are not well-connected are lack of enough market information

Of the 14 entrepreneurial companies, 9 are in the business of building connections between merchants and consumers, and their target audiences are students at universities. While the same problem they need to resolve is where to find merchants for cooperation, which results from the deficiency in market information. For example, "Kkoklily Clothing Store (Taobao shop)" is difficult to find suitable clothing manufacturers to replenish its stock; "Run Studio" which has developed the calling positioning system has also failed to put its products into actual use due to the taxi drivers are reluctant to be partners; and the owner of "DNA Creative Media" said that its aims of conducting B2B business could not be realized as the commercial clients are hard to dig.

Growth stage

At the growth phase of entrepreneurial companies, the more intensified market competition requires more talented partners to form an outstanding team. Therefore, the most notable problem at the growth stage is how to effectively manage the team.

a. Intimate relationship between team members making the disagreement difficult to resolve

Among the interviewed enterprises, both the youth English training center "In Love with English" and the "E - Go Network Service Platform" have established their own teams made up of members from the same dormitories and classes. At the early stage, the intimate relationship between members brings much convenience to effective communication, however, as the operation of the enterprises goes on, they are prone to disagreeing with each other when in the face of many decision-making problems, thereby creating handicap for the dilemma solving.

b. Supplementary Predicament Confronting Teams

Among the 14 interviewed companies, members of the 12 enterprises are all from GDUFs, and most of them have been working together in the same association. Only 2 companies, ie. "Aiqin House" and "Keep it" are organized by students from different faculties, but still no experienced people outside the faculty has been invited for cooperation. From the analysis, it can be seen that when choosing team members, the students are inclined to select partners with the similar background, leading to the supplementary predicament, that is, as the degree of similarity of members increases, the overlapping of knowledge, skill and social network would be more obvious.

c. Management issue occurred along with the team expansion

At the growth stage, the entrepreneurial team grows along with the scale expansion of the company, which sets higher demands in the capability of team managing for entrepreneurs. For example, as the business of "Lolita" has largely developed, it needs more sales forces. But the fact is that, the mobility of sales person is so high that it is against the improvement of service quality and experience accumulation. Likewise, the music training agency of "Ai Yin Si Tan" has mostly employed students of lower grade with insufficient expertise. The "E - Go Network Service Platform" is also faced with the same problem: as it is preparing for the building of foreign trade business platform, new members are in need to take in charge of this section. How to manage and maintain the relationship between the new entrants and the experienced one is a challenge confronting "E-go".

d. Sustainability of Teams

It is no doubt that the newly established enterprises will meet various difficulties, and whether the team members can work together to sail through the hardship matters the

survival of the company. When being interviewed, the entrepreneur of “DNA Media” told the interviewers that it had 5 core members before, while 2 left midway. The members are lack of entrepreneurial passion and can't efficiently integrate into the process of entrepreneurship. At last, its entrepreneurial project failed due to the improper operation of the successors. At the same time, the starters of “Run-studio” also showed that its members quit as they can't bear the over-tiredness, and mobility of employees was great and frequent as well. Beside these, the teams of “Door-to Door Refreshment Delivery of GDUFS” and “XZ Escape the Room” all announced dismissal due to the unresolved disagreement among members, finally leading to the business failure. In terms of the existing companies, they are also confronted with the same problem of sustainability. This is because that speaking of companies' future development, individual members have different expectations, which is one of influencing factors in operating efficiency. Some of the members regard the entrepreneurship as a life experience, while some with an aim of expanding the business scale. As most of the starters are sophomores or juniors, the newly founded enterprises always step into the predicament of intensified mobility of employees when graduation season comes.

COUNTERMEASURES AND SUGGESTIONS

Mu(2008) argues that , the entrepreneurial process of college students is affected by various factors which can be classified into 4 levels ,ie. individual, group, school and society.

Of these 4 levels, individual variables are connected with the personality and innovation capability; group variables are with community values and entrepreneurial experience; school variables are with entrepreneurship education and support; social variables are with overall entrepreneurial culture and policies. Based on this, this research puts forward corresponding measures and suggestions for college students' entrepreneurship predicaments from the perspectives of the above mentioned 4 levels.

1. From the individual level

As the main body of entrepreneurs, college students play a vital role through the whole entrepreneurial process. Firstly, at the preparing stage, choosing appropriate models for managing and profit-making is of great significance. The starters should make an intensive analysis of market competition and risk prediction. To capture business opportunities and exploit the strength of the companies, methods like field survey should be applied to investigate the macro environment and market demands, thus having a fully grasp of the competition situation and gaining more edge in the market. In the meanwhile, adequate reserves should be set aside in case of running out of cash. And to meet the human resources demand from the newly established companies, college students should actively participate in outdoor activities and social practice, such as part-time job and work-study program, to seek potential partners who are supplementary in knowledge, skill and experience, thereby establishing and expanding their social network and reserving talents for entrepreneurship in advance. In addition, passion, executive ability and perseverance are 3 essential factors throughout the business process. The cause of entrepreneurship is no doubt beset of hardship and obstacles, and the attitudes of entrepreneurs are the prerequisite to solving the problems.

2. from the group level

At this level, it is suggested that college students who are willing to start business set up an entrepreneurship association, or make use of the associations already existed to provide a platform for regular information sharing, creating strong entrepreneurial atmosphere and fostering practical view of entrepreneurship.

At the same time, the association can also be utilized as the reserve base for talents, absorbing the students of passion and action, during which the connection between the members and the newly established companies can be enhanced and thereby cultivating potential successors for the growing enterprise. By doing this, more talents can be enrolled into the newborn companies and the sustainable development can be achieved after sailing through the transitional period.

3. from the faculty level

Faculties are required to enhance the entrepreneurial education and further improve the curriculum setting; teacher development is also in need to provide students with both professional and practical guidance. Specifically, the faculties can encourage teachers to practice in some well-known enterprises, for improving their own practice ability; faculties can also organize students to conduct field survey in the successful enterprises to investigate their developing cause and managing situation;

Alumni with experience can be invited as mentors to give lectures regularly, which is an useful way to motivate students' awareness and interests in business starting. At last, the construction of innovation park should be perfected in its procedure and flexibility. Resources like funds and dependable information are to be offered in time, establishing practice platform for college students.

4. from the level of society

The whole society should advocate the culture of innovation and encourage college students to have pioneering spirit through various channels: the media can pay more attention to the report of college students' entrepreneurship, setting successful examples for students, and interview some professionals to make thorough analysis of college students' entrepreneurial practice from multiple angles. The government should also perform its functions in various fields: in terms of policy formulation, it can create favorable conditions for the construction of entrepreneurship incubation base, setting up platforms for the students. For example, it can offer help through policy support, system design and tax preference. The government also needs to follow up college students' entrepreneurship and provide support until the new enterprises have solid strength to survive; beside these, the regulation of government policy should be strengthened. In the meanwhile, it can increase financial support, through financial taxation and other means, further standardizing the department responsibility and authority, simplifying procedures and improving the service efficiency.

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Rethinking Peace, Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Interventions in Northern Uganda: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract

On 15 October 2007 the Government of Uganda (GoU), launched the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, including Acholi, Lango, Teso, West Nile, Karamoja, and Elgon. The PRDP is a comprehensive development framework aimed at improving socio-economic indicators in those areas affected by conflict and a serious breakdown in law and order and bringing them into line with national standards. It replaced the Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan (EHAP) and its Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The study sought to assess the contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda. The study was conducted in Gulu and Pader in Northern Uganda for comparative reasons. This is due to the fact that these areas were the epicentre of the conflict and witnessed the brunt of the violent conflict with massive displacements and atrocities. Some respondents were interviewed in Kampala. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were used. A total of 145 respondents participated in the study. PRDP has contributed in building infrastructure like schools, access roads, health centre facilities. Livelihood support was also given to the returnees. It also helped the police in putting up police posts and purchasing vehicles. Some of the youth were not properly demobilized and re integrated into society and so they still have weapons. Land disputes are rampant thereby destabilizing the current wave of peace being experienced which translates in part into food insecurity. Although PRDP supports setting up of infrastructure, it does not monitor the maintenance and functioning of these units. For example they do not recruit teachers or health workers for the schools and health facilities respectively.

Key words: Peace, Post conflict reconstruction, development

INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Northern Uganda is deeply rooted in inter-ethnic competition for power in both government and military. The conditions for this competition were largely set during colonial rule and then manipulated by post-independence governments. The pattern until the NRM came to power in 1986 was one of economic and political division between North and South, with further regional subdivisions, particularly in the North between the Acholi, Langi and West Nile. The victory of the National Resistance Army (NRM), mainly from south and central Uganda, produced new cleavages that have yet to be overcome and is manifested clearly in the armed struggle (International Crisis Group, 2004).

The North-South divide results from an economic imbalance that suited the objectives of the colonial administration. Before the Second World War, Ugandans, from North and South, were recruited into the British colonial armed force, the King's African Rifles (KAR), but this changed radically after 1945. Those at the vanguard of the anti-colonial struggle came mainly from the South, which had the greatest concentration of the country's economic and educational elite.

Fearing the consequences if that region also had large numbers of trained soldiers, the British colonialists began to recruit mainly in the North. Consequently, the Acholi and West Nile ethnic groups came to dominate the KAR. This also meant there was a balance of power between largely Southern civilian and largely Northern military elites. At the same time, the British deliberately reserved the introduction of industry and cash crop production to the South, for which the North became a reservoir of cheap labour (Mamdani, 1983, Gersony, 1997).

According to International Crisis Group (ICG) (2004), these policies created an intractable challenge to building a unified nation-state when independence came on 9 October 1962. The Acholi in particular had been told by their colonial masters that they were born warriors, effectively transforming them into a military ethnocracy. The post-colonial governments of Milton Obote and Idi Amin found this formula politically expedient, which in turn further fuelled ethnic polarisation and the militarisation of politics. The key role of the military, according to ICG (2004) in politics and of ethnic competition became evident under the first government of Milton Obote, who used the army to overthrow the constitution and the king of Buganda, a region from which the constitutional monarchy originated. Obote's use of the military opened a Pandora's Box that led to his overthrow by Idi Amin, who was himself toppled by the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A), assisted by the Tanzanian army, in 1978. The brief presidencies of Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa followed, while a military commission held real power (Mutibwa, 1992).

After Obote allegedly rigged the 1980 elections, the political system that had existed since independence was challenged by Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA), which began a protracted guerrilla war in the south and northwest in 1980. Massacres in the Luwero Triangle during Operation Bonanza, perpetrated by Obote's mainly Acholi and Langi troops, are estimated to have cost at least 300,000 lives mostly of Baganda people (Mutibwa, 1992). They continue to cast a shadow over attempts to solve present day North-South problems. For many, the NRA insurgency against Obote was merely a continuation of the ethnic competition that typified Ugandan politics – a case of Bantu-speaking Southerners wanting to remove from power Nilotic Speaking Northerners. Some of the former supporters of Obote's government, notably, Olara Otunnu, who is the President of Uganda People's Congress have maintained that the NRA were equally responsible for the Luwero massacres demanding for a Commission of Inquiry, a request which has been denied by the government.

Obote was deposed for a second time in June 1985, by the top UNLA commanders led by General Bazilio Olara Okello and General Tito Okello Lutwa, both Acholi. There had been growing resistance among some in the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) to Obote's refusal to negotiate with the NRA, as well as a feeling that the killing had reached an unacceptable level. Many Acholi in the army felt they were bearing the brunt of the fighting. However, the principal reason for the coup was the higher status Obote had bestowed upon key UNLA officers from his Langi tribe (ICG, 2004). The sharp division increased with the death of Army Chief of Staff, General David Oyite Ojok in a mysterious helicopter crash in 1985 and his replacement with Brigadier Smith Opon Acak, a Langi, from Obote's ethnic group who was a junior Officer compared to other senior army officers like Bazilio Olara Okello who was Chairman of the Military Council, and de facto head of state between 27 and 29 July 1985. On 29 July, General Tito Okello, who was Commander of the Ugandan National Liberation Army from 1980 to 1985, replaced Olara-Okello as Chairman of the Military Council, and Olara-Okello was promoted from the rank of Brigadier to that of Lieutenant General, and named chief of the armed forces.

After a protracted guerilla war which lasted for five years, Museveni-led National Resistance Army/Movement captured power in January 1986. Most of the UNLA soldiers retreated northwards with their weapons. In August 1986, the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) launched an attack on NRA forces. In response, however, the National Resistance Army /Movement (NRA/M) added fuel for popular support among the Acholi for UPDA efforts. According to Behrend (1989), the NRA then ordered general disarming of the Acholi, and carried out 'operations' and in the course of which many Acholi were tortured or disappeared into the so-called 'politicization camps'. In late 1986, a temporary but significant figure emerged on this conflict scene in the form of Alice Auma Lakwena. Lakwena was significant in the conflict for several reasons; her Holy Spirit Movement Front (HSMF) came closest to succeeding in effectively engaging militarily with the NRM government; the HSMF was the only early resistance to the NRA/M to claim moral and religious grounds in attempting to influence the conflict and it seems that Lakwena, rather than the UPDA, provided the greatest inspiration for Joseph Kony, the leader of the later rebel group, though he himself was hitherto enrolled in the UPDA ranks (Gersony, 1997). Unlike the other rebel groups, the Lord's Resistance Army, with the backing of Sudan, persisted causing havoc and displacing 1.8 million people in northern Uganda mainly in Acholi, Lango, and Teso regions. The LRA's tumultuous rebel activities continued with wrath until around 2004 when Joseph Kony agreed, probably under the pressure from International Criminal Court, to participate in the 2006 Juba peace talks which in the end he refused to sign-off, though paving way for relative peace in northern Uganda. This allowed the displaced people to abandon the camps and returned to their homes amidst challenges of Explosive Remnants of War (ERW), poor basic services delivery and land conflicts (UNDP, 2007).

What have been some of the efforts in addressing the needs of the IDPs in Uganda?

According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2010) Uganda has an elaborate policy framework for responding to internal displacement. It was one of the first countries in the world to develop a formal policy on IDPs. The national IDP policy, which was adopted in 2004, guarantees (in Section 3.4) the right of IDPs to freely choose between return, local integration or settlement elsewhere in the country. In May 2008 the government issued Camp Phase-Out Guidelines (OPM, 2008), followed in June of the same year by Guidelines for the Demolition of Abandoned Structures. In January 2010 Uganda became the first country to ratify the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa (also known as the Kampala Convention). Uganda has also ratified the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region (the Great Lakes Pact), including the Pact on IDP Protocol and the Protocol on the Property Rights of Returning Persons.

On 15 October 2007 the Government of Uganda (GoU), launched the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, including Acholi, Lango, Teso, West Nile, Karamoja, and Elgon. The PRDP is a comprehensive development framework aimed at improving socio-economic indicators in those areas affected by conflict and a serious breakdown in law and order and bringing them into line with national standards. It replaced the Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan (EHAP) and its Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The PRDP possesses four strategic objectives: consolidation of state authority, rebuilding and empowering communities, revitalizing the economy, peace building and reconciliation. The total estimated cost of the PRDP is \$606 million over a three-year period (Government of Uganda, 2007, pp.vi-ix). It is thought that at the end of the three-year period, empowerment and development in terms of restored law and order in areas affected by conflict, and livelihoods reconstruction in line with national standards would be achieved.

An important concern raised about the PRDP is that its focus on technical solutions at the expense of the underlying political dynamics of the conflict erodes the chance for achieving national reconciliation. Reconciliation is not a matter of reconciling the combatants and the people who were majority victims to the insurgency, but reconciliation is characterized by national issues of fair distribution of the national cake and equitable distribution of resources, which if not addressed, the chances for sustainable peace are slim. The government has not come out to openly admit its part of the crimes as believed by the people apart from placing blame only on the LRA. Government does even accept any degree of responsibility for the marginalisation of the North, yet, the former IDPs feel they have been deliberately left out from mainstream development. It is also the former IDPs feeling that government could have done more to stop the insurgency from bringing about the enormous suffering on the people.

Whereas the PRDP defines the North in terms of 40 districts in lieu of focusing on LRA-affected regions, there are concerns about how the recovery efforts will address the specific needs and grievances of the people in Northern Uganda. It appears therefore that to achieve positive peace in Northern Uganda, the government and its partners should pay greater attention to the imperatives of specific needs of the people in Northern Uganda.

Statement of the Problem

Following the failed peace talks between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda (GoU) in 2006, the latter declared the end to the violent conflict in Northern Uganda. Together with other development partners, the GoU put in place programmes for resettlement and closed many of the Internally Displaced Peoples Camps. However, there have been concerns on whether adequate preparations were put in place to address both the state and human security of the former IDPs in Northern Uganda.

The region has seen several interventions carried out since the conflict begun in 1986. Between 1992 and 2006, the GoU implemented several plans for recovery in Northern Uganda that had limited impact on the people for which they were intended. For example there was the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme (NURP) I (1992-1998) budget was around USD 600m, Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme-II in 1999.

Then came the World Bank funded Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF 1, 2) (Marino, 2008), which was considered a 'bottom up' project where the beneficiaries would write projects and submit to the district based on their needs and priorities.

Achieving positive peace seems to be an elusive task in Northern Uganda and it is a missed opportunity for reconciliation in Northern Uganda with some politicians from Northern Uganda like Beatrice Anywar, the Woman Member of Parliament for Kitgum calling for the creation a Nile Republic. Beatrice Anywar says it would not be desirable that they fragment the country. However considering how far Northern Uganda has been pushed, they feel that they have had enough, are marginalized and are not desired by the government.

She adds that they had the LRA war and thought that with the recovery process, somebody would care that they recover fast. However it's unfortunate that President Yoweri Museveni in particular has not catered for their interests which he has shown in the handling of the swindled Peace, Recovery and Development Plan funds case. There have also been reports on wide spread corruption in the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) which is charged with overseeing the implementation of the PRDP. This has forced four major contributing countries

(Ireland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) to the PRDP to suspend their contributions casting doubts at the future and sustainability of PDRP and putting the lives of many returnees at stake. As a matter of policy, Ireland demanded for and received its contribution back from the government. Corruption is also reported to be wide spread at the district levels.

Anywar says that looking at infrastructure, education, health and development makes it seem as though Northern Uganda is part of Southern Sudan. The Kitgum woman MP says they are now ready to operationalize the creation of the Nile Republic.

The tough-talking MP says that they are canvassing signatures from all leaders in the Acholi sub-region, including traditional leaders. She says the search for signatures will include leaders from Teso and Lango regions as they will be part of the Nile Republic (<http://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/acholi-mps-collect-signatures-to-form-nile-republic#ixzz3hP1bHiPC>)

Unless the above concerns are addressed by the government, the resettlement of IDPs in Northern Uganda will undermine peace building hence cultivating and creating a conflict prone environment, posing more security challenges and under development in the region. The question is will PRDP make any substantial difference or it is business as usual?

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this research was to assess the contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The development of the region depends to a greater extent on the security as well as stability in the area. The technocrats at the local and central governments especially at the Ministries of Local Government, Finance, Planning and Economic Development, and the Office of the Prime Minister, may incorporate the findings in their planning process to address some of the challenges related to accountability, sustainable peace and development in the region. Through the good practices identified during the research, Uganda's 'Development Partners' may equally benefit from this study in their attempt to contribute towards the development of Uganda in general.

It is hoped that the results of this study will add knowledge in the field of security studies as well. The study is important to the policy makers and implementation organs alike, especially at the local and central governments levels. The findings of the study will be relevant to them because the research will try to address the pertinent issues of resettlement and peace building which is very central if the post-conflict affected areas are to recover from the prolonged violent conflict situation and attain the desired minimum socioeconomic and political development.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study covered a period of seven years (2007-2014). This is because the main government document of resettlement was meant to begin in 2007 although it never took off until 2009/2010 financial year.

Conceptually, the study limited itself to issues related to Peace, Post Conflict Reconstruction and development Interventions in Northern Uganda. It further looked at the appropriateness of

PRDP in rebuilding Acholi sub region. Geographically, this study was conducted in Gulu and Pader districts in Northern Uganda. This is due to the fact that these areas were the epicentre of the conflict and witnessed the brunt of the violent conflict with massive displacements and atrocities allegedly committed by the LRA and the Government of Uganda for two decades. Apart from Northern Uganda, the researcher also conducted some interviews in Kampala because some institutions and respondents were based in Kampala.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical framework adopted for this study will be based on a combination of theories like Positive and Negative Peace by Johan Galtung (addressing the root causes vs suppression), Human Needs Theory (HNT) and Relative Deprivation Theory by John Burton (identity, recognition, security, and personal development), The Human Development Report 1994 -New Dimensions of Human Security, and lastly The Anti-Politics Machine (1994) by James Ferguson.

The Basic Human Needs Approach by Maslow (1954), Galtung (1969), and Burton (1990) will help in expounding the theoretical framework of this study. According to Bobichand (2012), many conflicts, which seemed resolved, recur once again over time. It is because the root causes of the conflict were not really addressed. There are also many situations, which have been described as peaceful, and become violent once again and protracted. This is also because the conflict was not transformed by addressing the systemic failures and structural violence to guarantee compatible relations between the parties. Moreover, the kind of peace established was negative peace and positive peace was not built by meeting the needs even though interests of the parties are fulfilled. Positive peace can only be built by meeting Basic Human Needs.

Humans need a number of essentials to survive. According to Maslow (1954) and the conflict scholar Burton (1990), these essentials go beyond just food, water, and shelter. They include both physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain. For Maslow, needs are hierarchical in nature. That is, each need has a specific ranking or order of obtainment. Maslow's needs pyramid starts with the basic items of food, water, and shelter. These are followed by the need for safety and security, then belonging or love, self-esteem, and finally, personal fulfillment. Burton and other needs theorists who have adopted Maslow's ideas to conflict theory, however, perceive human needs in a different way — as an emergent collection of human development essentials.

Furthermore, they contend needs do not have a hierarchical order. Rather, needs are sought simultaneously in an intense and relentless manner. Needs theorists' list of human essentials include: Safety/Security – the need for structure, predictability, stability, and freedom from fear and anxiety; Belongingness/Love – the need to be accepted by others and to have strong personal ties with one's family, friends, and identity groups; Self-esteem – the need to be recognized by oneself and others as strong, competent, and capable. It also includes the need to know that one has some effect on her/his environment; Personal fulfillment – the need to reach one's potential in all areas of life; Identity – goes beyond a psychological sense of self. Burton and other human needs theorists define identity as a sense of self in relation to the outside world. Identity becomes a problem when one's identity is not recognized as legitimate, or when it is considered inferior or is threatened by others with different identifications; Cultural security – is related to identity, the need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas, and concepts; Freedom – is the condition of having no physical, political, or civil restraints; having the capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of one's life;

Distributive justice – is the need for the fair allocation of resources among all members of a community; Participation – is the need to be able to actively partake in and influence civil society (Bobichand ,2012).

According to Galtung (1969), the basic human needs are categorized as – Survival, Well-being, Identity, and Freedom. In other words, human needs to survive. With survival, human naturally needs to live with well-being. Human naturally needs identity to live with dignity. If a human cannot have his/her respectable identity, his existence is in question. Over and above these, the most critical is the freedom to determine how to survive, how can be well-being; and which identity to be embraced.

Burton (1990), argue that one of the primary causes of protracted or intractable conflict is people's unyielding drive to meet their unmet needs on the individual, group, and societal level. Human needs theorists further offer a new dimension to conflict theory. This approach provides an important conceptual tool that not only connects and addresses human needs on all levels. Furthermore, it recognises the existence of negotiable and non-negotiable issues. That is, needs theorists understand that needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for. Basic human needs are uncompromisable and indivisible. Thus, the human needs approach makes a case for turning away from traditional negotiation models that do not take into account nonnegotiable issues. These include interest-based negotiation models that view conflict in terms of win-win or other consensus-based solutions, and conventional power models (primarily used in the field of negotiation and international relations) that construct conflict and conflict management in terms of factual and zero-sum game perspectives.

According to Bobichand (2012), most scholars and practitioners agree that issues of identity, security, and recognition, are critical in many or even most intractable conflicts. They may not be the only issue, but they are one of the important issues that must be dealt with if an intractable conflict is to be transformed. Ignoring the underlying needs and just negotiating the interests may at times lead to a short-term settlement, but it rarely will lead to long-term resolution. If basic human needs are not met, there cannot be positive peace. If basic human needs are denied, it is certain to use any means – violent or non-violent – available to them to meet their basic needs.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

The concept of Internally Displaced Person (IDP) contains three important aspects: i). the causes of the IDPs, ii). the IDP and iii). the IDP situation. According to Mundt and Ferris (2008), Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) can be defined as 'persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border as reflected in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (OCHA 1998). For Mooney (2005) an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) is someone who has been forced to leave their home for reasons such as natural or man-made disasters, including religious or political persecution or war, but has not crossed an international border.

The components of the IDP definition as provided by OCHA (2004) in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement highlights two crucial elements: first, there is the coercive or otherwise involuntary character of the movement. Coercive or involuntary movement may stem from

armed conflict, violence, human rights violations and natural disasters. What these causes have in common is that the affected persons or people have no choice but to leave their homes and belongings. This deprive them of the most essential protection mechanisms, such as community networks, access to services, resources and livelihoods; secondly, it is the fact that such movement takes place within national borders. Unlike refugees, who have been deprived of the protection of their state of origin, IDPs remain legally under the protection of national authorities of their country of habitual residence. IDPs should therefore enjoy the same rights as the rest of the population (Mundt and Ferris, 2008).

The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Africa, (2009) defines internally displaced persons as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. The Government of Uganda's commitments to the IDP guiding policy principles emphasizes protection of citizens against arbitrary displacements, search for durable solutions as well as facilitation of voluntary return, resettlement, integration and reintegration.

It is for this very reason that interventions designed and developed to return and resettle the people where they have bad memories must put a number of critical issues in perspective so as to ensure these people's return to sustainable self-empowerment in a bid to rebuild their lives. Given the spectrum of experiences that are associated with return, resettlement, and reintegration of displaced persons, it is imperative to ask: Have interventions that have been designed and developed to address the human security needs of the formerly displaced persons been appropriate in addressing their needs?

The context for the occurrence of the phenomenon of forced displacement in Uganda can be associated to four fundamental factors. Firstly, there was political persecution meted out by the different regimes of the day upon its people.

Secondly, there were ethnic rivalries which become manifested as communal wars in which severe violence was employed to annihilate the opponent. The phenomenon of displaced persons originating from ethnic-tribal and/or communal violence in Uganda has been associated with the cattle rustling phenomenon by the Karamojong. This was common between the Itesot and the Karamojong.

Thirdly, there have been various armed struggles (some for liberation against an unpopular regime and some being the work of war lords). As a result, three distinct phases of armed struggles have taken place in the country: (i) The 1978/79 liberation war by the exiles' forces against Idi Amin's regime; (ii) the 1980/81 to 1986 protracted armed struggle by the NRM/A against the Obote II regime and short lived Okello Military Junta government; and (iii) the post-NRM/A power takeover phase that was characterized by a number of armed resistances against it especially in the Northern and West Nile regions of Uganda.

The most significant armed struggle in the post NRM/A Uganda is the war launched by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which turned out to be the most costly insurgency against the people in Northern Uganda. In these areas, insecurity has been the predominant factor perpetuating internal displacement of persons within the boundaries of Uganda. IDPs in these

areas have been created by LRA conflict and the cattle rustling and forced disarmament in Karamoja region that have perpetuated insecurity problems.

Political history reveals that some Acholi who had supported Obote during his two stints in power had remained unreconciled to Museveni's NRM/A government since it came to power in 1986 following the overthrow of the Tito Okello's government. According to Gersony (1997), some of these unreconciled elements formed the Holy Spirit Movement Front (HSMF) led by Alice Lakwena and later the LRA resistance led by Joseph Kony. The inability of the NRM/A government to defeat the rebellion of the LRA in the north had not only left many people embittered towards the government, but had also created many IDPs and promoted opportunity for the NRM/A government to devise compulsory forced confinement into what came to be commonly known as the IDPs Camps. Despite the forced confinement of people in IDPs camps, the LRA war continued until the early 2000s causing havoc in the area and victimizing the inhabitants of Eastern and Northern Uganda. During this time, a number of atrocities were committed adding to the fear among the people leading more and more people to flee into the IDPs camps.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTS OF STATE SECURITY AND HUMAN SECURITY

According to Bajpai (2000), the concept of security with the end of the Cold War has increasingly come under scrutiny from scholars and parishioners alike. Bajpai (2000), emphasize that in the classical formulation, security is about how states use force to manage threats to their territorial integrity, their autonomy, and their domestic political order, primarily from other states. The traditional security framework therefore, focuses on state security that is ability of states to protect their borders and their citizens from real or perceived external threats. However some states have failed to provide a minimum level of security for their people, and in many cases, states themselves have become significant causes of insecurity.

The classical understanding of security, often referred to as 'national security', meant different uses of military force to defend the integrity of the state, generally in a strategically oriented, rational-choice perspective of analysis. Neither the growing interdependence of the 1970s along with the advance of the neo-institutionalist approach in international relations, nor the more realist-oriented efforts of linking the economy with security truly challenged a classical understanding of the concept of security (Krasner, 1999).

From 1945, many of the most significant threats to state security have been internal rather than external, a shift which has only accelerated and which may have profound consequences in the conduct of international relations. State security therefore has been threatened by any change that has been aimed at undermining its monopoly of violence whether through external violence or internal rebellion. Security in International Relations was traditionally defined in terms of national security, a concept with roots stemming from the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia and Realist ideology where states are the primary actors, and their survival is the main pre-occupation. At the end of colonialism, many African States inherited this Westphalia-model state, which viewed security purely in terms of protecting national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and treated these principles as it is most fundamental and legitimate concerns (Morgenthau, 1966).

However, although this concept seemed to work during colonialism when security was defined in terms of protecting the interests of the Empire, it sowed disaster for Africa's newly

independent States. Its effects were further exacerbated by the dynamics of the bi-polar Cold War world in which Africa had little or no importance to the protagonists who were primarily preoccupied with ideology to teach the new African leaders how to run a State in the African setting. As a result, new African institutions turned against the people they were created to serve. Consequently, the notion of "security" has had noxious consequences for the modern African state. In part, this is a result of the legacy of colonial administrations, which tended to view security in the very narrow sense of 'establishment and maintenance of colonial hegemony', causing extraordinary coercion and violence, directed against 'subject populations'. This notion that the regime, and not its subjects, was the appropriate referent object survived the transition into independent Africa.

The concept of human security, however, according to Nef (2001), shifts focus from traditional territorial security to the person. This concept recognizes that the personal protection of the individual comes not just from the safeguarding of the state as a political unit, but also involves people's right to live, work, and participate without fear and social, political and economic structures that affect their lives. Indeed state security and human security are two mutually reinforcing concepts. It should be noted that secure states do not necessarily mean secure citizens. In this context, Rojas-Aravena (2002), asserts that inter-state and intra-state issues are often too narrowly defined. In this regard, the challenge lies in linking the concept of human security with those of traditional state security, and projecting those linkages into the international system.

At the international level the concept of human security was used for the first time in 1994 in the United Nations Report on Human Development. The UNDP Report (1994) defined two main components of human security: Freedom from fear and freedom from want. In this regard, the report stresses that the world will never have security from war, if men and women do not have security in their homes and in their jobs. The concept entails a list of threats that are grouped under seven categories that affect various phases of action: personal security, economic security, food security, health security, community security, environmental security, and political security. To date UNDP's definition of human security remains the most widely cited explanation of the term although different scholars as well as international organizations and coalitions have worked on the concept.

At its core, the human security agenda is an effort to construct a global society in which the safety and well-being of the individual is an international priority and a motivating force for international action; a society in which international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced, woven into a coherent web protecting the individual, where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and finally, a society in which the global, regional and bilateral institutions—present and future—are built and equipped to promote and enforce these standards (Kilgour, 2000). Human security is achieved when and where individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental and social rights, and have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options and actively participate in attaining these options (Lonergan, 2002). While Myers (1993) argues that human security applies most at the level of the individual citizen, it amounts to human well-being, not only protection from harm and injury but access to other basic requisites that are considered important to every person on earth.

According to Human Security Report (2003), human security is concerned with reducing and—when possible removing -- the insecurities that plague human lives. It contrasts with the notion of State security, which concentrates primarily on safeguarding the integrity and robustness of

the State and thus only has an indirect connection with the security of the human beings who live in these States. Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill their own potential (Annan, 2000). Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict which would translate to development, which according to Sen (1999), means freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment ; these are the interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national security.

Human security also reinforces human dignity. People's horizons extend far beyond survival, to matters of love, culture and faith. Human security must also aim at developing the capabilities of individuals and communities to make informed choices and to act on behalf of causes and interests in many spheres of life. That is why human security starts from the recognition that people are the most active participants in determining their well-being. It builds on people's efforts, strengthening what they do for themselves.

According to Sen (1999), human security means protecting vital freedoms—fundamental to human existence and development. Human security means protection people from severe and persuasive threats, both national and social, and empowering individuals and communities to develop the capabilities of making informed choices and acting on their behalf (Oberleitner, 2002). Human security is also safety from both violent and non-violent threats.

Krause (2004), emphasizes that many human security concerns are understood as achieving freedom from fear and not about the broad vision of freedom from want by evacuating the threat of violence from social political, and economic life at local, national, regional and international levels implicate small arms and light weapons including such issues as promoting and safeguarding human rights (security from state violence) protecting minorities (from communal violence or repression, fighting organized crime and random violence, combating terrorism (from domestic or international forces) and ensuring economic security. It is therefore very important to integrate these different interpretations of human security into the general framework of resettlement and integration processes in Northern Uganda if sustainable peace and development is to be achieved.

The concept of human security is also linked to development. Therefore, in the development field, scholars are now talking about the 'securitization of development', in that, insecurities and underdevelopment create conditions for wars and armed conflicts. The development in northern Uganda should be addressed as a security issue, failure of which might lead to insecurity in those particular communities. Human security incorporates a multi-dimensional focus on creating and protecting the conditions for the eradication of both income poverty (material dimension) and human dignity poverty (promotion of human dignity).

But the puzzling question remains: how does one measure human insecurity?. According to Ogata (1999) human security requires including the excluded. It therefore focuses on the widest possible range of people having enough confidence in their future, protecting and empowering people to create genuine possibilities for people to live in safety and dignity. Human security therefore reinforces State security but does not replace it. Ogata (1999) elaborates further that human security complements human development by focusing on the downside risks.

These questions invite simple answers from the grassroots level of society concerning Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear as illustrated by Sen (1999).

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative design as an overall methodological approach. This approach was appropriate for this study because the researcher was interested in in-depth responses from the respondents based on their own words, experiences and interaction in natural settings. In other words, qualitative approach is a research design that refers to a range of techniques including participant observation, intensive interviewing, focused group discussions and documentary analysis (Kumar, 2005). The researcher adopted three research designs: a case study, a cross sectional, and descriptive research designs. A case study seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically while a cross sectional research design was used by the researcher for different respondents at different times on the same topic. Here the researcher was interested in getting information from different respondents with the view of identifying any patterns in answers or views from respondents at different times.

On the other hand, descriptive research unravels the state of affairs as it exists. The researcher then reports the findings.

The study population included the former Internally Displaced Persons, officials from the central and local governments, local and International NGOs, former abductees, and rebels, Members of Parliament, cultural/traditional leaders, Military Officers, and religious leaders. These categories have been involved in either resolving or escalating the conflict. Some of them have also been instrumental in the resettlement process.

Since this was largely a qualitative research, the sample size was not predetermined at hand. However, the researcher endeavored to have a representative sample drawn across from the study population. The researcher stopped interviewing more respondents after reaching saturation point, which means that there was no new information coming from interviewing more respondents because they had started repeating what had already been said. For this reason, the researcher used purposive sampling based on an individual's relative understanding of the subject matter under investigation. This refers to the fact that participants to be interviewed had knowledge of the research topic, their own experiences and understanding of the conflict, and the ongoing resettlement process in Northern Uganda.

The decision to employ purposive sampling is based on the premise that careful selecting of the people involved in resettlement directly or indirectly is a good criterion for matching interviews with respondents (Bloor. N. & Wood.F. 2006). In final analysis, a total of 145 respondents were interviewed for this study.

In-depth interviews were used for the key informants. In-depth interview was considered appropriate because of its flexibility. This method was relevant since the researcher was interested in in-depth information from the respondents. This method is also helpful, particularly with respondents whose writing skills are weak or have none at all or who are less motivated to make the effort to respond fully or for other unknown reasons (Meredith, 2010, Bechhofer. F. & Paterson.L, n.d).

This method was supplemented by focus group discussions which were conducted with the former IDPs and project beneficiaries. This method was deemed appropriate for this group

because of their homogeneity given the fact that most of them have been affected by the conflict in different ways.

The researcher also made participant observation during the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Observation checklist was used as the instrument during the study. The researcher observed the general conditions on the ground regarding the facilities like health centers, water sources, and other relevant infrastructures that have been put in place under the PRDP. Finally, documentary analysis from policy-related information, and research reports from local and international organizations were also consulted.

Since this research was largely qualitative in nature, the main approach to analyse the data was content analysis. According to Kumar, (2005) content analysis means analysis of the contents of an interview in order to identify the main themes that emerge from the responses given by the respondents which involve a number of steps.

First, it involves identifying the main themes by carefully going through the responses given by the different respondents to each question in order to understand the meaning they communicate. From these themes the researcher identified the emerging patterns, and described the situations based on the findings.

The use of verbatim responses to keep the feel in responses was be maintained. However, this was only done with the express permission of the respondents upon consultation to protect their identity.

The main limitation of this study related to research fatigue in Northern Uganda as many people have conducted a lot of research. This posed a challenge. However, the researcher over came this by explaining the purpose of the study backed up with introduction letters from the university and the authorities from the study areas.

The contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda.

PRDP has contributed to building and rebuilding infrastructures like schools, access roads, health centre etc. There are many of such facilities which have been constructed. PRDP does not monitor the maintenance and functioning of the units e.g. they do not recruit teachers or health workers for the schools and health facilities which have been put in place.

Therefore, most of these facilities like health units are empty and lack the personnel to run them. This is a major weakness of the PRDP.

Livelihood support was given to the returnees. A number of groups have benefited from projects like fruit growing, cattle and goats through what is called 'Group Project identification'. Some of these animals are supposed to rotate among the group members. The government claims this has promoted reconciliation among the returnees while the critics have claimed that these projects have created more gaps and hatred among the returnees. Some returnees claim that those who caused more chaos are the biggest beneficiaries while those who were not involved in rebel activities are the worst hit when it comes to benefiting from government projects.

The youths have been trained in tailoring, carpentry and building skills but more needs to be done.

There was lack of adequate, timely, and sustained funding for the activities drawn out of the National IDPs Policy and the PRDP. These inadequacies, delayed the implementation of the PRDP (Marino, 2008). This affected the implementation of the selected projects-which sent wrong signals of 'we are used to such, it is not new'.

The success and challenges of revitalizing the economy in northern Uganda

Livelihood support e.g. animals, seedlings of citrus fruits were given to the returnees. Not all the returnees got these items but some members within the group. This has also created tensions between those who got something and those who never got anything at all.

Oxen and ox ploughs were also given to some people and groups for cultivation.

A major problem facing the region is charcoal burning: deforestation & conflict over land ownership. Whereas some respondents claimed this is an opportunity for them to cash out from nature since they have missed out on government hand outs, the reality is that there is massive deforestation taking place. This problem is closely linked to land conflicts.

There are six ways in which land conflicts is taking place in Acholi region (i) indigenous land owners themselves over boundaries; (ii) indigenous land owners and diasporas based people who reportedly dish out massive amount of money to buy off land; (iii) indigenous land owners and their elected or appointed leaders and some 'powerful' individuals mostly in the army; (iv) indigenous people and government interests; (v) indigenous people and outside interests reflected most times as investors and (vi) family members among themselves over their share or entitlements. This is a security threat in the region and might be the main trigger of conflict in the region if not attended to.

Open and sophisticated corruption i.e. the OPM scandals (PAC Report 2014) and the procurement of livelihood projects- animals, sign posts etc at the district levels. (Ireland, Sweden, Norway, & Denmark) Ireland demanded for a refund.

Whereas the government has opened up new access roads in the region, the main roads under central governments are in poor state. This state of poor road networks has affected the region in that accessibility to areas by outsiders is normally a big challenge especially during rainy season.

The extent to which PRDP has contributed to peace building and reconciliation in northern Uganda

With the help of funds from PRDP, it has been possible for the police to create and put up police posts and purchased new vehicles. These posts have helped in reducing crime since the posts are nearer to the people. The vehicles make it easier for police to respond to emergencies and crime scene faster than in the past.

The formation of groups of between 9-12 members has greatly improved relations between former enemies in the villages. It is a precondition for any group to access or benefit from any project to form a group. This membership has to come from the same area. This means that if one is interested in benefiting from the project, he or she must be in a group. This has brought about working together and reconciliation among the members.

The Juba Peace Talks was supposed to lead to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). However, this never took place. Because of the failure of DDR some former rebels still have weapons which are normally found in the bushes or gardens by civilians.

There are also limited and sometimes no systematic psycho-social support given to the ex-combatants. A number of them just found their ways in the communities without any serious support.

The role of International Criminal Court has drawn mixed reactions in northern Uganda. Some people are in support while others are against it, pointing to the fact the national army, the Uganda People's Defense Forces must also account for their role in the two decade conflict. The army has denied any wrong doing in the area, a claim denied by the rebels and some civilians.

Most of the donors have since lost interest in Northern Uganda (donor fatigue, The Anti-Politics Machine?). This may be understandable given the many years that they have been operating in northern Uganda but it could be related to the mismanagement of their funds as well.

The biggest worry to the present peace in the region is the fear of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) - South Sudan connection. If Joseph Kony, the leader of LRA, is still at large, anything is possible.

CONCLUSIONS

Relative peace has returned to the region. Former returnees have made strides in uplifting their lives. Government and development partners have tried to rebuild the region.

The war in South Sudan poses a security threat in the region and should be addressed by the regional leadership.

If the donors are worried about their money, then they should adopt a new approach to provide the services to the people i.e. Norwegian Refugee Council building classrooms instead of giving the work to the government.

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Celebrities and Music as Brand Recall Cues - an Experimental Study of TV Commercials

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Abstract

This article reports on an aided brand recall experiment testing the effect of celebrities compared to popular music in TV advertisements. The effect of three cues, celebrity, music, and celebrity + music, was analysed and crosschecked with the moderating effect of familiarity with the cues. The results show a stronger effect of the celebrity cue compared to music. Familiarity with the celebrity leads to higher recall than non-familiarity, whereas the results for familiarity with the music are inconsistent with stronger recall for non-familiar music for some of the cues. The results enrich the understanding of how celebrities and music can be used as advertising cues.

Key words: TV commercials; brand recall; celebrities; music; familiarity

INTRODUCTION

Brand recall is an important concept in advertising studies, and it is generally argued that there are cues in advertising that influence the level of brand recall in consumers (1-3). There is support for the view that some advertising cues hold a more prominent position based on their popularity, reach and impact on consumer behaviour. The celebrity endorsement literature suggests that using a well-known person in a commercial can have a powerful influence on brand recall (4, 5). A second powerful cue is the use of popular music that not only sets a mood and enhances brand recall, but also acts as an important cultural marker and identifier for consumer groups when linked with brands (6). Both music and celebrities are used in advertising in order to create a strong recall of the brand when facing a category need, and also to create positive brand attitudes or associations (7, 8).

In comparison to other executional elements as storyline, colour palette and prominence of the brand, they have to be paid for and are expensive to be used within a commercial. However, they have a major advantage distinguishing them from other cues and make them relevant to study and compare. They can function as retrieval cues and enforce aided brand recall. They appear outside the campaign as they are connected to popular culture and brand recall may be triggered when seeing the celebrity or hearing the music. In addition, they can be used as a planned and intended retrieval cue in another setting as part of the campaign.

Interestingly enough, little is known about the relative effectiveness of the two advertising cues. So far, research combining music in advertising literature together with celebrity endorsement literature dealt only with the music influence on the perception of the brand endorser (9), but no research has compared the two cues in terms of their combined effect on the consumer.

This article reports on an experiment testing the effectiveness of celebrities compared with popular music, as advertising cues, in the context of audio-visual forms of advertising (more specifically in TV commercials). The dependent variable in the experiment is brand recall and the manipulated cues are popular music, celebrities and the combination of the two. The experiment is designed to isolate the effect of each of them as retrieval cues, comparing their relative effectiveness on brand recall.

The experiment evaluates the relative effectiveness of each of the three cues and how it varies depending on the familiarity with the music and with the celebrity, based on the assumption that familiarity with the celebrity and/or with the music has an impact on the brand recall for the three cues. In the experiment the results were also controlled for the following additional moderating factors: attention and previous exposure to the ad, usage and interest in the product, age and gender.

Based on the above the purpose of the article is to analyse the effects of celebrities and popular music as both independent and combined advertising retrieval cues in aided brand recall and to describe the moderating effects of music and celebrity familiarity.

More specifically the article will address the following research questions:

- **How do celebrities, music, and the combination of the two as retrieval cues affect brand recall?**
- **What is the moderating effect of familiarity with one or both of the retrieval cues?**

BRAND RECALL

When advertising effectiveness is measured in terms of learning or memory, recall and recognition are two commonly used dependent variables (10, 11). Although the concepts were launched a long time ago, there is still an ongoing debate on the understanding of them (12).

This article uses the definition of Bagozzi and Silk (13) who regard recall as the mental reproduction of some previously learned or experienced target item whereas recognition is described as the awareness of having previously been exposed to that stimuli. In recall settings, respondents have to retrieve the advertised product/brand from memory after having been exposed to a contextual cue. Recognition, however, means that the targeted product or brand is provided while the contextual circumstances of the previous exposure shall be retrieved (13). The main difference between recall and recognition is that for recall, the participants should be able to identify the absent stimulus, while for recognition, the stimulus which was formerly presented, should be recognized by the participants as being seen or heard before (14). Recognition and recall are sometimes perceived as being the same, since recognition can be considered as a very aided form of recall (15). With the inherent time lag between exposure to an ad and the actual purchase occasion, it is generally argued that recall is the more important measure of the two, since it requires a deeper mental activity and therefore enable people to remember the add message (12), although this is disputed by some authors (11).

Grover and Vriens (16) define brand recall as the actual retrieval of a brand element from memory when exposed to a related probe or cue. An important distinction is between unaided recall or cued-recall (17) and aided recall which includes various types of cues to help consumers to recall (18). Aided recall makes it easier to do controlled experiments where the researcher can manipulate cues and control for different contextual factors. This also makes aided recall popular among advertisers (19).

Recall is the variable chosen over recognition in tracking advertising studies (20) due to the fact that recognition has been criticized to show higher values than recall even in tests where the exposure for the recall used more repetitions of exposure to the ad or longer ad messages (10) and because recognition scores seem to not decline over time, although they could be sensitive to memory loss (21).

Celebrity Endorsers and Brand Recall

Public figures, spanning from movie stars to music personalities and big names in sports, have long been employed as part of a brand's marketing mix (5, 22). McCracken (23, p. 310) defines a celebrity endorser as "any individual who enjoys public recognition on behalf of a consumer's good by appearing with it in an advertisement". The growing literature on celebrity endorsement has shown that the use of celebrities for advertising purposes is a both common and effective practice (24). Research supports the view that there is a direct link between the use of a celebrity and brand recall, assuming that the celebrity is part of the individual cognitive schemata (25). It can therefore be assumed that the familiarity with the celebrity is a crucial factor.

Large sums are invested into celebrity endorsers as they are believed to increase the effectiveness of advertisements (26). This is especially as they are known to break through advertising clutter as well as having the ability to keep the attention of consumers (27).

Existing experimental research indicates that using celebrities in advertising can enhance attention and recall. Consumers are more likely to remember a product or brand if the ads feature a celebrity (28). More specifically, it was found that celebrity endorsements can increase the degree of attention, appeal and brand recall (29). Moreover, they are said to support brand name recognition (30), enhance message recall (31) and trigger quick memorability, recall and recognition (2). Hence they influence advertising effectiveness, brand recognition and brand recall (32).

Literature also suggests that a matching between the celebrity and the brand/product features can lead to higher recall (22, 23, 33, 34).

However, some authors are sceptical, pointing out that these positive effects assigned to celebrities are usually just conventional wisdom, based on general belief rather than research (28). Additionally, even though advertisements with celebrities stand out and cut through the advertising noise, Evans (35) claims that there is always a risk that the celebrity may overshadow the brand instead of supporting it. This phenomenon, also referred to as the "vampire effect" is often overlooked, but highly important. Celebrity overexposure can cause severe damage to the campaign, stealing the spotlight from the brand and decrease its value substantially. It has to be ensured that the product is the main star, not the endorser (36).

The general belief among marketers is that advertisements in which celebrities are endorsed provide a higher degree of attention and eventually message recall than those using non-

celebrities (28) which is also supported by the current literature on celebrity endorsements. Less, however, is known about the effectiveness of using celebrities relative to other cues, as e.g. music in terms of brand recall.

Music and Brand Recall

In addition to celebrity endorsements, music in advertising has recently started to get more attention. Music is one of the elements which is most frequently used in advertising materials, with some studies indicating that television advertisements using music exceed 90% (37). It is also said to be one of the most prominent and creative elements (38, 39). One might have his/her eyes closed or look away while being exposed to an image (or video), while music is a cue which cannot be easily ignored. Acoustic stimuli are more forced, as there is no comparable way to elude sounds (except purposefully shutting ears).

The idea of a matching between a cue (in this case music) and a more precise effect (brand recall) is very much alive in the music in advertising literature (40). A music piece can be associated with a brand rather quickly – such connection can be created with as little as a single exposure (9).

There are studies examining which particular components of music pieces can lead to higher recall (of either brand or the ad itself). They show that various components can facilitate ad message processing, for instance, musical and voice fit (41), musical fit with ad message (42), specifically created music (43), tempo (44), familiarity (45), and both tempo and familiarity (46). In the same way, recall appears to be enhanced when the music and the message are congruent, as opposed to the condition when music is only used as an attention getting instrument (20, 39).

The results when it comes to music in advertising from a recall perspective are however inconclusive. Some studies did not identify any measurable music effect on recall scores (47) and some even found a negative effect (48-51). There are authors (50, 52-54) who have discussed the phenomenon of music diverting the listener's attention from the message and as such negatively affecting brand recall.

METHOD

Experimental Design

In order to analyse how celebrities and music work together to strengthen brand recall in TV-commercials, three retrieval cues: music, celebrity and endorser + music, were tested across 30 different TV advertisements. The experiment results in a 3 (cues: music, celebrity, celebrity + music) X 3 (commercial sets of 10 TV advertisements each) factorial design. In an experiment setting, aided recall makes it possible to test the effects of different cues in a more controlled way. The aided recall test isolates each of the three cues in order to compare their relative effectiveness as retrieval cues, and the focus of such a test is on checking the respondents' ability to connect a cue with a specific brand. In a non-aided recall test it is impossible to isolate the effects of each of the cues, and the focus in such a test would be on the commercial as a whole, rather than specific cues appearing in it.

In the period March-November 2013, 126 students were recruited as experiment participants. A convenience sample was used and the group had an average age of 23.4 years, and was rather equally split between male and female participants. The majority of students were Swedish (25%) or German (18%) while the other participants were coming from countries as

e.g. The Netherlands, Lithuania, Romania, China, Russia and Mexico. The choice of university students is debated and it is sometimes argued it should be avoided due to the low external validity when students are used as proxies for average customers (55). With this study's focus on celebrities and popular music we, on the contrary, argue that a student sample matches the profile of ordinary, young, consumers well. A university student in his/her early twenties is in many ways a good respondent for the consumer profile companies are aiming at in their use of celebrities and popular music. Similar arguments are used by Hunter (56) in his study of celebrity endorsement.

Each experiment group consisted of 14 individuals. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the groups. They were first exposed to one set of commercials and afterwards presented with one of the cues (music, celebrity or celebrity + music). Each cue was presented to three experiment groups in the second part of the experiment, with a total of 42 participants for each cue.

Each experiment session lasted for approximately 30 minutes: 10 minutes for presenting the experiment procedure, 10 minutes for showing the 10 ads and completing the questionnaire and 10 minutes for presenting the cues and completing the recall task. For each commercial, participants were exposed to 20 seconds of one of the cues (either music, screenshot of the celebrity or screenshot + music) for each of the 10 ads. The cues were presented in a different order as the commercials, but the same order was kept for both commercials and cues between the experiments based on the same set of commercials.

All in all, the sample consisted of 1.260 observations of 126 individuals, each individual being exposed to a set of 10 TV commercials and one of the three cues afterwards.

The participants were presented with a video stimulus, which combines both visual and auditory elements. In total, 30 ads were used. The ads selected were TV commercials developed for multinational brands in order to match the international profile of the sample. Moreover, the ads were selected in order to cover a wide range of products and be available online at a good quality. The airing of the commercial (country or year) was not considered, but the participants had to state for each commercial whether they had previously been exposed to it, in order to be aware of potential biases.

Procedure

At the beginning of the experiment, the participants were briefly introduced to the procedure of the experiment, and instructed on how to fill out the form given without mentioning the fact that cues would be provided and a recall test run, which might have increased the participants' focus during the experiment. The fact that the participants' focus was bigger in this type of experiment than under normal conditions of watching TV commercials embedded in a TV program has been considered. However, the participants were only exposed once to each commercial during the experiment, compared to a higher frequency in a real-life setting. The reduced number of exposures thus attenuates to some extent the forced exposure conditions, so the current research results can be expected to be similar to those after a high number of exposures to the same stimulus.

The fact that some of the commercials present longer exposure to the product and the brand was also considered as having an impact on the recall of one brand over another, but the decision to not interfere in any way with these differences was taken in favour of the advertisers' decision making and in order to keep the natural conditions of watching the

commercials. The alternative would have been to present the name of the brand on-screen before the commercial was shown.

MEASURES AND SCALES

The current research used the recall concept as a dependent variable and tested the change in recall when manipulating the three cues – music, celebrity and celebrity + music. Thus, brand recall stood for the dependent variable, while the celebrity and music cues were independent variables.

The data was recorded using a survey instrument that included four interval scales measuring the attention paid to the commercial, the familiarity with the celebrity, the music and the brand. Questions related to the previous exposure to the commercial, and a 1-6 Likert scale measuring the attention when watching a TV commercial and demographic questions were used. For the recall tests, a value of 1 was attributed to the correct answers, and a value of 0 to the incorrect or missing ones.

The familiarity with the celebrity was measured in the study on a 1-6 Likert scale, showing in the results a mean value of 4.34 and the standard deviation is 1.94. The familiarity with the music was measured in the study on a 1-6 Likert scale, showing in the results a mean value of 2.88 and a standard deviation of 1.82. In general, observations show a higher familiarity with the celebrity than with music (see Table 1).

Table 1: Familiarity Means And Distribution

	Standard deviation	Mean value	Pearson correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)	N
Familiarity with the Celebrity	1,94	4,3	.172	< .001	1260
Familiarity with the Music	1,82	2,9			

The Pearson correlation shows there is a low positive correlation between the familiarity with the music and the familiarity with the celebrity. The R-squared in the Pearson Correlation (.1722) shows that about 3% of the variance in the familiarity the celebrity is explained by the familiarity with the music.

In order to see the moderating effect that familiarity with the celebrity and/or music have on the brand recall of TV advertisements based on different cues, two groups were created within the sample. Those participants with values of 1-4 (4.3 mean value) were considered as not familiar with the celebrity while the values 5 and 6 were considered as familiar with the celebrity. Hence, familiarity with the music was shown by values from 3-6 (2.9 mean value) and values below that were considered as not familiar with the music (see Table 2). The recall of those samples that were familiar with one of the cues were compared with each other and to the ones which were considered as not familiar.

Table 2: Familiarity Boundaries

	Likert	
	not familiar	familiar
Celebrity	1-4	5-6
Music	1-2	3-6

RESULTS

Brand Recall for Each Recall Cue

In Table 3 below the brand recall for each cue is summarized, and the differences between the cues are measured for significance, based on ANOVA and T-test analysis, allowing the comparison of the mean scores on the continuous variables. These techniques will give an indication of whether the difference between groups is 'statistically significant', or not likely to have occurred by chance

Table 3
ANOVA. Scheffe coef, sig = .043

Celebrity	Music	Celebrity + Music
62% (420)	43% (420)	71% (420)

ANOVA. Scheffe coef. Sig = <.001

ANOVA. Scheffe. Coef. Sig = <.001

Brand Recall For Each Recall Cue (Number Of Observations)

Brand recall shows different values based on the type of cue provided for the TV advertisement. The level of recall for the music cue is 43%, for the celebrity cue is 62% and for both cues shown together - music + celebrity - it is 71%. The Scheffe coefficient in the ANOVA test shows values lower than .05, indicating a significant difference in brand recall between the three groups. It can thus be said that a celebrity cue has greater effect on brand recall than a music cue, and that combining both cues generates higher brand recall than each of the cues taken individually.

Brand Recall based on Familiarity with Celebrities and Music

The next step is to see if the overall brand recall (not sorted in the three cues) varies depending on the familiarity with celebrity and music. In Table 4 the brand recall is measured for the four combinations of familiarity. Independent sample t-tests were conducted in order to see whether there is a statistically significant difference between groups when the celebrity is familiar vs. when the celebrity is not familiar, as well as for when the music is familiar vs. when the music is not familiar.

Table 4: Brand Recall For Combined Familiarities (Number Of Observations)

	Celebrity is not familiar	Celebrity is familiar
Music is not familiar	47%(295)	68%(355)
Music is familiar	48%(206)	65%(404)

At first, only the cases when the music is not familiar were selected, with 650 (295+355) observations in this group. An independent sample t-test considered brand recall as the test variable and the familiarity with the celebrity as the grouping variable, with 1 for values of low familiarity and 2 for values with high familiarity. The t-test shows that within the group of observations that are not familiar with the music, there is a 47% brand recall when the celebrity is not familiar and a 68% recall when the celebrity is familiar. The sig. (2-tailed) has

the value $< .001$, showing that the difference in brand recall between the two groups (celebrity is familiar vs. celebrity is not familiar), is statistically significant.

Secondly, only the cases when the music is familiar were selected and by the same procedure as above, the t-test on 610 (206+404) observations shows the sig. (2-tailed) value $< .001$, indicating a statistically significant difference between the two groups: when the celebrity is not familiar (48% brand recall) and when the celebrity is familiar (65% brand recall).

For a third analysis, only the cases when the celebrity is not familiar were selected in order to perform an independent sample t-test. A total number of 501 (295+206) observations belong to this group, and the independent sample t-test shows a 47% brand recall when the music is not familiar and a 48% recall when the music is familiar, with no statistically significant difference between the two groups (sig. 2-tailed = .980)

In the fourth case, only the observations when the celebrity is familiar was considered, a total of 759 (355+404) cases. The t-test shows again no statistically significant difference between groups, with a sig. (2-tailed) value of .424 (between 68% recall when the music is not familiar and 65% brand recall when the music is familiar).

The analysis above indicate that the familiarity with the celebrity has a higher influence on brand recall than the familiarity with the music, showing a high influence in either of the cases when the music is familiar and when the music is not familiar. On the other hand, familiarity with the music seems to have no substantial effect on brand recall neither when the celebrity is familiar nor when the celebrity is not familiar.

Brand Recall for Each Recall Cue Based on Separate Familiarities

The next step is to check which effect each of the different types of familiarity has for the brand recall for the three cues. The results are shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Brand Recall For Each Recall Cue Based On Separate Familiarities (Number Of Observations)

	Celebrity	Music	Celebrity + Music
Celebrity is not Familiar	47(170)	36(182)	62(149)
Celebrity is familiar	73(250)	48(238)	75(271)
Significance	.000(47 vs. 73)	.013(36 vs. 48)	.006(62 vs. 75)
Music is not familiar	66 (231)	41(223)	70(196)
Music is familiar	58(189)	46(197)	71(224)
Significance	.110(66 to 58)	.315(42 vs. 46)	.732(70 vs. 71)

The same t-test analysis as for brand recall in each group was applied between groups in order to compare the brand recall variance on each cue. Differences are again significant only for the group that is not familiar with the celebrity vs. the group that is familiar with the celebrity (significance, sig. 2-tailed $< .05$), whilst when comparing the group that is familiar with the music vs. the group which is not familiar with the music, sig 2-tailed in the t-test shows values $> .05$, signalling no statistically significant difference. As before, independent of which cue was presented, familiarity with the music made no statistically significant difference on brand recall, while familiarity with the celebrity has an influence no matter what cue was presented (sig $< .05$) in all three cases. The highest difference in brand recall for the group that is not

familiar with the celebrity vs. the group which is familiar with the celebrity is when the screenshot/celebrity cue was presented (47% vs. 73%). For the celebrity cue being familiar with the music even scored lower than not familiar with music (58% vs. 66%), even though the difference is not statistically significant.

Brand Recall for Each Recall Cue Based on Combined Familiarities

The final step in the presentation of the findings is to crosscheck for the combined effects of familiarity with celebrity and music. From the previous step it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant difference in recall for all three cues between familiar with celebrity and not familiar with celebrity. The difference between familiar and not familiar with music is not statistically significant. Is there a difference in recall for the cues when looking at the combined familiarities? When, for instance, the celebrity is familiar, does the familiarity with the music make a difference? And when the music is familiar, does the familiarity with the celebrity make a difference, and so forth? In Table 6 below, the findings from this extended analysis are summarized.

Table 6: Brand Recall For Each Recall Cue Based On Combined Familiarities (Number Of Observations)

	Celebrity		Music		Celebrity + Music	
	Music is not familiar	Music is familiar	Music is not familiar	Music is familiar	Music is not familiar	Music is familiar
Celebrity is not familiar	51%(112)	38%(58)	37%(107)	35%(75)	57%(76)	68%(73)
Celebrity is familiar	80%(119)	67%(131)	44%(116)	52%(122)	78%(120)	73%(151)
Celebrity is not familiar	<.001(51 vs. 80)	<.001(38 vs. 67)	.320(37 vs. 44)	.014(35 vs. 52)	.002(57 vs. 78)	.501(68 vs. 73)
Celebrity is familiar	Celebrity is not familiar	Celebrity is familiar	Celebrity is not familiar	Celebrity is familiar	Celebrity is not familiar	Celebrity is familiar
Celebrity is not familiar	51%(112)	80%(119)	37%(107)	44%(116)	57%(76)	78%(120)
Celebrity is familiar	38%(58)	67%(131)	37%(75)	52%(122)	68%(73)	73%(151)
Sig. 2 Tailed	.107(51 vs. 38)	.023(80 vs. 67)	.709(37 vs. 35)	.192(44 vs. 52)	.135(57 vs. 68)	.2980%37%6 (78 vs. 73)

When applying t-test analysis for brand recall between groups on each cue, and cross-checking for music and celebrity familiarity, several results appear.

The differences in brand recall are only significant in five out of 12 situations when looking at the brand recall for each cue in combination with familiarity with the celebrity and/or the music. Four of those cases show a significant difference when comparing the familiarity to the non-familiarity with the celebrity, with a significant difference in brand recall. For the remaining two cases the familiarity with the celebrity plays a less important role in the difference in brand recall, but even though the difference is not statistically significant it still

points in the same direction (familiarity with the celebrity giving higher recall than not familiar).

Only one of the six cases is significant when comparing the familiarity to the non-familiarity with the music. The brand recall difference between the two groups only shows a statically significant difference for the case when the celebrity cue is presented and the celebrity is familiar (sig. 2-tailed = .023). Moreover, in this case, the brand recall shows a statistically significant higher value (80%) when the music is not familiar vs. 67% when the music is familiar.

For the celebrity cue, as expected, brand recall is significantly higher when the celebrity is familiar. Against previous expectations this difference is even bigger when the music is not familiar. If the celebrity is not familiar, there is no significant difference in recall (but pointing in the same direction as above, with brand recall being higher when music is not familiar).

For the music cue a significant difference in recall could only be shown when the music is familiar. In those cases the recall was higher when the celebrity was also familiar (52%), compared to non-familiarity with the celebrity (35%). The same goes for the situation when the music is not familiar, with higher recall for familiar with celebrity (44%) compared to not familiar with celebrity (37%), although this difference is not statistically significant.

For the combined cues, the difference in brand recall was only significant when the music was not familiar. In those cases familiarity with the celebrity (78%) led to higher recall than non-familiarity (57%). When the music is familiar there is still a difference in the same direction (68% recall when celebrity is not familiar, and 73% when celebrity is familiar), although not statistically significant.

Independent from familiarity with the music, familiarity with the celebrity resulted in higher recall than when the celebrity was not familiar for all cues, however only statistically relevant in four out of six cases.

Familiarity with the music however led to more contradictory results. Familiarity with the music resulted in lower recall when combined with a familiar celebrity (statistically significant) as well as in two more not significant cases. The other three cases led to higher recall, however not statistically significant.

Additional Moderating Factors

The recall was also tested against four additional moderating factors: attention paid to the commercial, previous exposure to the commercial, usage of the product in the household, and interest in the product. The t-test shows a statistically significant relationship between the recalled brands and the attention paid to the commercial. Recalled brands score higher (.3) in the attention paid to the commercial than unrecalled brands. The t-test also shows a significant difference between the recalled brands vs. unrecalled brands in terms of the previous exposure to the commercial. The previous exposure to the commercial was measured in the current research using a yes/no answer to the question 'Have you seen the commercial before'. The results show 17% of commercials seen before for the recalled brands vs. 9% of commercial seen before for the un-recalled brands, with a significant difference between groups within the t-test. It can thus be concluded that multiple exposures to commercials increased brand recall. The recalled brands showed a 32% usage of the product in the household, vs. the unrecalled

brands only 26%. The t-test between the recalled/unrecalled brands showed a significant difference on this value. It can thus be said that recalled brands were more likely to have been used within the household vs. the unrecalled brands.

Alternatively, when the products are being used in the household, the recall increases by 8% vs. when not being used (64% vs. 56%), with a significant result in the independent sample t-test. This shows that the brands which are used in the household are more likely to be recalled than the brands which are not. No significant difference in terms of the interest in the product was found between the recalled brands and the interest in the product.

Predicting Brand Recall

After seeing which of the variables make a difference in the values of the brand recall, a binary logistic regression was conducted in order to see what factors predict the brand recall (see Table 7). The brand recall was the dichotomous dependent variable of the analysis, while 8 other variables were used as predictors: commercial seen before, attention paid to the commercial, interest in the product, and usage of the product in the household, familiarity with the music and familiarity with the celebrity. The regression analysis also controlled for gender and age. The binary logistic regression gives an indication of the importance of each predictor variable or the interaction among the predictor variables.

The Omnibus Test of Model Coefficients shows a chi-square coefficient of 77.2 with 8 degrees of freedom, while the Hosmer and Lemeshow test has a chi-square of 7.89, with a sig.=.444 (>.05 supporting the model).

Between 6% and 8% of brand recall is explained by the set of variables (Cox and Snell R Square = .059, Nagelkerke R Square = .080)

The variables that contribute significantly to the predictive ability of the model are: commercial seen before, attention paid to the commercial and familiarity with the celebrity. The interest in the product, familiarity with the music, gender and age did not contribute significantly to the model.

Table 7: Binary Regression Of Moderating Factors

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp. (B)	95% CI for Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Familiarity with the celebrity	.181	.032	32.121	1	<.001	1.198	1.126	1.276	
Familiarity with the music	.002	.034	.002	1	.964	1.002	.937	1.071	
Commercial seen before	.583	.187	9.748	1	.002	1.792	1.242	2.584	
Attention paid to the commercial	.116	.048	5.936	1	.015	1.123	1.023	1.234	
Interest in the product	-.004	.036	.010	1	.919	.996	.929	1.069	
Usage of the product in the house hold	.180	.134	1.807	1	.179	1.197	.921	1.557	
Gender	-.149	.124	1.449	1	.229	.862	.677	1.098	
Age	.004	.020	.048	1	.826	1.004	.965	1.045	
Constant	-1.107	.519	4.550	1	.033	.330			

For the three variables that have a significant influence in the model the B value is positive, showing a positive relation between the brand recall and the predictive variable, e.g. an increase in the attention paid to the commercial will result in higher brand recall.

The odds of a person recalling the brand are 1.79 higher for someone who has seen the commercial before, 1.19 times higher for somebody who is familiar with the celebrity and 1.12 times higher for somebody who paid attention to the commercial. The familiarity with the music proves to not contribute significantly in predicting brand recall.

DISCUSSION

The above findings clearly show that certain individual predispositions and factors related to the advertisement mediate the brand recall of TV advertisements when exposed to one of the cues. In particular, the familiarity with the music and the endorsed celebrity as well as the ad retrieval cues will be discussed since those variables can be controlled by advertisers, through the specific choice of music and celebrities in ads as well as later on implemented cues supporting the recall.

Generally, brand recall based on each cue has been found to be significantly different when neglecting familiarity with the celebrity or music and other moderating factors. The combined visual and audio cue was, as expected, yielding the highest recall (71%) compared to only the visual image of the celebrity (62%) and a lot weaker recall for the audio/music cue (43%). The higher recall values for the celebrity cue compared to the music cue may among other reasons be due to the so called phenomenon of "visual dominance" which can be defined as a preferred processing of visual stimuli compared to e.g., haptic, kinaesthetic or auditory cues (57-59). It can be explained by the fact that the visual system provides the most reliable information about the identity of an object within a natural environment (60). In the experiment, this phenomenon may have led to a predominance of the visual cue (celebrity) in the recognition memory as well as a higher recognition rate for the audio cue (music) (61, 62). If both cues are combined, the recall would be even higher as the audio will add to the recognition memory from the visual cue and hence increase the recall of the brand compared to when only a single cue is presented.

Only looking at brand recall related to familiarity with the endorsed celebrity and/or music and neglecting the recall cues, the brand recall is significantly higher for ads with a familiar celebrity compared to a non-familiar celebrity, independent from the familiarity with the music. This is in line with Menon, Boone, and Rogers (28) who found that consumers are more likely to remember a product or brand if the ads feature a celebrity. Even when the respondent is not exposed to the celebrity cue they are still able to recall the brand when they are familiar with the celebrity in the commercial to a much larger extent compared to when they are not familiar with the celebrity. This effect seems to transcend the memory effect of only hearing the music cue. On the other hand, no considerable difference between the brand recall comparing familiar to non-familiar music had been found. This is further supported by the binary logistic regression presented which showed the familiarity with the celebrity to have a strong effect on brand recall.

When looking at the brand recall for each cue in combination with familiarity with the celebrity and/or the music, the differences in brand recall are only significant in five out of 12 situations. Four of those cases show a significant difference when comparing the familiarity to the non-

familiarity with the celebrity, and only one case is significant when comparing the familiarity to the non-familiarity with the music.

For the celebrity cue, brand recall was found to be significantly higher when the celebrity is familiar. This result was expected considering research on facial recognition which states that familiar faces/people (such as a well-known celebrity) are easier to remember and recall, including the situation/ad they had appeared in. Research on human cognitive functions suggests that people have a strong capacity to remember and recognize images, and especially human faces, and that this function is stronger when the face is familiar. The model of face recognition developed by Bruce and Young (1986) suggests that there are different cognitive processes involved in processing familiar 63 unfamiliar faces. This would explain why familiar with celebrity yields higher recall scores than not familiar with celebrity, for all the three cues and regardless if music is familiar or not.

Against previous expectations this effect is even stronger when the music is not familiar. A possible explanation for this may be that familiar music was distracting the focus from the celebrity. For the celebrity cue, the combination of a familiar celebrity and familiar music gave a statistically significant lower recall than the combination of familiar celebrity and non-familiar music. So when only the picture of the celebrity was shown, those cases where the celebrity only was familiar led to stronger recall. If the celebrity is not familiar, there is no significant difference in recall. Research on music in advertising has suggested a distraction factor which could partly help to understand this result. Edell (64) explains that each sensory mode may have an effect on the processing of an ad by a) directly evoking cognitive and affective reactions or b) indirectly affecting the processing of other sensory modes. For example a person watching a TV commercial may really like the song (a direct, positive, affective reaction) but the music may distract that person from processing the text of the audio track (indirect effect). This example given by Edell and Keller (65) may be adapted to the case at hand and open up for an explanation for the higher recall values when the celebrity was familiar and the music was not familiar compared to familiar music. Hence, if the participant who watches the TV ad is familiar with the music, this may potentially evoke a stronger direct reaction as liking or recalling other memories related to the song which at the same time indirectly affects the processing of the visual stimuli (celebrity) or in other words distract from the celebrity. As it has been argued before, an unfamiliar celebrity results in a weaker recall since familiar faces are recalled more easily which will stay the same independent from music familiarity. In addition, Olsen (66) showed that TV ads with music gave lower recall than ads with silence, suggesting that silence can increase the attention paid to the ad. Oakes and North (54) studied the effects of fast and slow tempo music on brand recall in TV commercials, and found that fast tempo music gave lower recall than slow tempo.

For the music cue, a significant difference in recall could only be shown when the music was familiar. In those cases, the recall was higher when the celebrity was also familiar (52%) compared to non-familiarity with the celebrity (35%). Literature suggests that people make sense of their environment by connecting different impressions as visual and audio input and build a story in their mind (source). If one of the input factors is more familiar, it may have a stronger memory effect since it is also connected to stored data in the mind and receives greater value. Hence, familiar music appearing in an ad may be connected to a familiar celebrity and together they then lead to increased/stronger brand recall.

For the combined cues, the difference in brand recall was only significant when the music was not familiar. In those cases familiarity with the celebrity (78%) led to significantly higher recall

than non-familiarity (57%). Celebrity familiarity clearly leads to higher recall which was however only found to be significant when the music was not familiar. Interestingly, the combination of a familiar celebrity and familiar music led to lower recall (however not statistically significant) than the combination of a familiar celebrity and an unfamiliar song. This finding conflicts with previous expectations of brand recall being highest when the celebrity and music in the ad were familiar. Since there was no significant difference in recall between familiarity and non-familiarity with the music, it can be assumed, supported by the findings of Johnson and Zatorre (61) and Cohen, Horowitz, and Wolfe (62) that the visual cue seems to have a stronger effect on recall than the audio cue.

MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

The results discussed are based on the experiment where the conditions of aided recall were tested for three different cues. In the experiment the effects of familiarity and other moderating factors were isolated for each of the cues. A relevant question is what kind of useful information aided recall based on our experiment carry for advertisers, outside the experiment situation?

If aiming at highest brand recall, the highest effects will most likely appear when incorporating both, a well-known celebrity and popular music and then trying to aid brand recall through a combination of the audio and visual retrieval cue from the original ad. However, since this is rather hard to fulfil in a real setting, the results suggest to opt for a celebrity within the TV commercial and supported with a printed campaign (billboards, posters, magazines etc.) featuring the endorsed celebrity. This may stimulate higher recall rather than a possible radio ad or music played in-store with a popular song from the commercial.

Moreover, the effectiveness of integrating a well-known celebrity is considerably higher than that of a well-known popular song when looking at brand recall. Hence, neglecting all other factors as price, image, fit etc., it seems to be more effective to invest in a well-known celebrity than a popular song to enhance brand recall. However, the strength of recall also depends a lot on the selected cue that will be used to aid the recall after the exposure to the ad. The additional form of advertising used as part of a media campaign to support the recall of the brand, both, in-store and outside should be considered. If printed advertisements/images of the endorsed celebrity will be used to stimulate brand recall it seems to be advisable to not pair the celebrity in the TV ad with a well-known song since that combination has been shown to result in significantly lower brand recall. Those printed images of the celebrity could be for example in magazines, on posters or billboards, or directly at the point of sale as a part of the package design of the product or a display stand.

Furthermore, the results of this study point at an interesting asymmetry between celebrities and music when looking at the moderating role of familiarity (see Table 6). Brand recall is always higher when the celebrity is familiar compared to not familiar (and statistically significant in four out of six cases). When looking at familiarity with music a different picture emerges, with higher recall figures for not being familiar with music compared to being familiar. This pattern can be seen in four out of six situations (even though only statistically significant in one situation (for the celebrity cue and music is familiar).

FUTURE RESEARCH

Further research is needed to explain the finding that non-familiarity with the music results in higher recall than being familiar with the music in an advertisement. Moreover, it would be

interesting to experiment with different test groups (e.g. student vs. non-student) and in a real-life setting.

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An Analysis of Parallel Education Systems in Pakistan, and the Challenges They Pose in Education Research

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Abstract

Education system in Pakistan is complex. Unlike most of the other education systems in the world which can easily be divided on the basis of urban and rural, or public and private; Pakistan also has parallel education systems with their own distinctive, sometimes contrasting curriculum, teaching methodologies, examination systems, education culture and boards/ organizations that regulate and conduct exams in them. Although there are many, the most important ones are government boards affiliated (leading to SSC- Secondary School Certificate- and HSSC- Higher Secondary School Certificate), deeni madaris/ religious schools (either working independently or controlled by independent boards/ waqfs) and British Council affiliated schools (leading to GCE- General Certificate of Education/ GCSE -General Certificate of Secondary Education). Although many other countries in the world also have parallel education systems, their numbers and influence is not as high as in Pakistan. The presence of these systems also causes confusions in the findings of the research as the findings of one education system is taken as the finding of all. In some cases, the data is also mixed, causing confusions with findings. This papers looks at the parallel education systems in Pakistan, their spread, characteristics, merits and demerits. It also looks at the possible challenges and confusions that such education systems can cause in educatin research. It also suggests ways to help overcome the challenges.

Keywords: parallel education system in Pakistan, deeni madaris, confusion in research findings, O level schools,

INTRODUCTION

Education system in Pakistan is not homogeneous in its structure and settings. Pakistan has parallel education systems which includes government boards (divisional/ provincial/ federal) affiliated schools (leading to SSC- Secondary School Certificate and HSSC- Higher Secondary School Certificate), British Council affiliated schools (leading to GCE- General Certificate of Education, and GCSE- General Certificate of Secondary Education aka Ordinary and Advance level) and deeni madaris. Although, some other education systems also work in the country, their number and influence is not significant. These three big education systems are highly diverse in nature, setting and characteristics; and at times, even contrasting and conflicting in ideology and approach. These systems have their own books and syllabus, boards/ bodies that regulate and conduct examinations, use different pedagogies, examination systems, and school

and classroom culture [1][2]. Most of the times, the research that is conducted about the education system in Pakistan does not consider these diverse and parallel systems and settings. Often the schools are grouped based on location (urban or rural) or ownership (public or private). This division is not illogical, but it fails to show a proper and clear picture as public or private schools can be deeni madrisa (religious school), government boards or British Council affiliated schools. Urban and rural division also faces the same problem as the above mentioned school systems can be located in both urban and rural areas.

This paper discusses parallel education system in Pakistan, their characteristics, settlements and spread. It also analyses their merits and demerits. It further points out the challenges and confusions that can be caused due to this parallel setting in Pakistan's education system.

EDUCATION SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

At school level, education system in Pakistan can be divided into five levels: pre-primary, primary (grade 1 to 5), middle (grade 6 to 8), secondary (grade 9 and 10) and higher secondary (grade 11 and 12) [1][3]. This division is for the schools that follow government boards affiliated schools system (curriculum set by provisional governments, and exams carried out by divisional/ provincial boards). British Council affiliated schools, and deeni madaris (religious schools) have their own names for these levels; but by and large, divisions for the levels are quite similar.

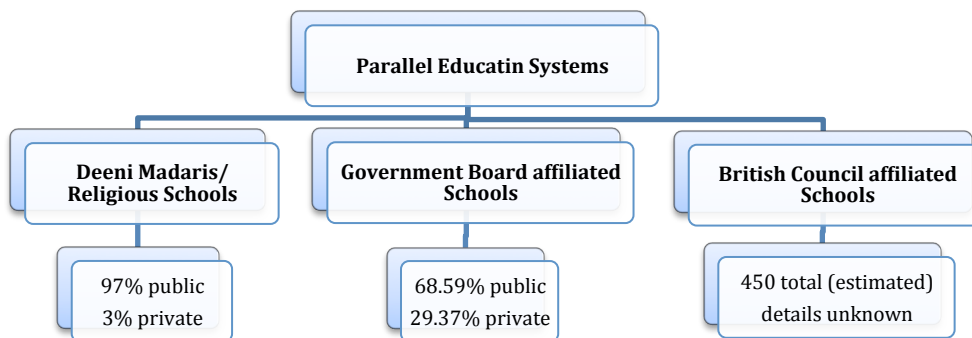
According to Pakistan Education Statistics (2015, p. 6) [3], there are 260,568 educational institutions in Pakistan. This number includes all public and private schools, colleges, universities, religious schools, and training and vocational institutions. Out of them, 69% are located in public sector while 31% are in private sector. These institutions cater the needs of 42.92 million students all over the country. 63% of these students go to public schools while 37% attend different kinds of private institutions [3]. As per location, 49,191 institutions (22% of all) are located in urban areas whereas 175,846 (78%) are in rural areas. Private sector makes up for 63% of the institutions in the urban and 20% in the rural areas respectively [3]. These figures are till degree college level (grade 14).

Along with the common problems and challenges that education in Pakistan is facing such as financial constraints, issues pertaining to teachers' training and qualification, ghost schools, lack of proper infrastructure and basic needs in the schools, outdated curriculum, gender issues and parents' want of awareness about the importance of education [4][5][6]; Pakistan education system also faces the dilemma of parallel education system which causes various problems and confusions.

PARALLEL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

Parallel education system does not mean a private school or a chain of private schools that are affiliated with government board, It means that the school or the chain of schools has its own curriculum, examination system (those examinations might be conducted by the school itself or board/ body that organizes them) and degrees/ certificates. There are many private schools in Pakistan which are governed by and affiliated with international school systems, but at the same time are affiliated and registered with government boards (Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education) and their students appear in SSC and HSSC examinations held by these boards.

Figure i. Parallel Education Systems in Pakistan



The most wide spread education system in Pakistan is government boards affiliated system which caters the needs of majority of the students in Pakistan; but along with it, there are a number of education systems in the country which either work independently or are affiliated with international networks in other countries. Some of such parallel education systems have their own independent regulating bodies or boards. Three of the biggest and most influential education systems are government boards affiliated schools, British Council affiliated schools and deeni madaris (figure i). They have their own unique characteristics and settings.

Deeni Madaris/ Religious Schools

Table i. Total Number of Deeni Madaris/ Religious Schools in Pakistan and Enrollment in them

	Public	Other Public*	Private
Total Number	345	48	13012
Total (Public + Other Public + Private)			13,405
Enrolment	47,750	6,230	1,782,163
Total Enrolment (Public + Other Public + Private)			1,836,143

Deeni Madaris provide religious education or education with predominant religious curriculum to the students. As table i shows, there are 13,405 deeni madaris all over the country [3]. A vast majority of them (13,012) are private. There are five governing and regulating boards in Pakistan called waqfs (seminary boards). Each waqf is governing body for the madaris belonging to its school of thought or sect. Most of these madaris are affiliated with one of these waqfs. Ittehad Tanzimat Madaris-e-Deeniya is the apex committee of these waqfs [14]. Only 345 madaris are governed and regulated by government controlled bodies. Yet there is a very large number of madaris (3,889) which work independently and are not regulated and controlled by any body or waqf. Still another 827 madaris were not reported as per Pakistan Education Statistics (2015, p. 72) [3]. All of these madaris provide education to 1,836,143 students. These madaris strictly follow segregated education system for boys and girls. They have separate madaris for them.

Most of these madaris provide exclusively religious education about the knowledge of Quran, hadith (sayings of the prophet Muhammad S.A.W), Islamic Jurisprudence and its principles, Arabic language and its grammar and some other subjects related to them. Although, in the recent years, there has been a campaign by the government of Pakistan to modernize madaris and include the subjects of different branches of science (or general science) and English, these efforts have not been able to meet the desired results due to resistance from the madaris and Waqfs [9] [10]. Certificates and degrees are awarded by these Waqfs or madrasa itself if it is working independently.

These deeni madaris usually provide free education and books. The boarding students are also provided with lodging and meal free of cost. Some madaris also give a meager stipend to the students [14]. As a result, they have great appeal to poor classes of the society who cannot afford to pay tuition fee (in case of private schools) or any other expenses (uniform, books, stationary etc.). Those families do not have to worry about their food or other daily expenses even. They also have great attraction for religious minded segment of the society. Most of them are situated in rural or underdeveloped areas of the country.

Deeni madaris are one of the biggest welfare networks in the field of education as they provide free of cost education and adequate living to those who would have not been able to get it otherwise, but the drawbacks and negatives outweigh the positives. Most of these madaris provide only religious education without the knowledge of English, science and mathematics; strongly hampering the students' chances to find suitable jobs and positions in the society once they leave the madaris. At the most, they can be Imam in a mosque (a person who leads the prayers) or a teacher in the same kind of madrasa. They cannot find a professional, highly paid or white collar job based on their education. Some of them do their own business, but as most of the deeni madaris students themselves belong to poor families, they more often than not do not have the capital to start a good business. Often these students would also send their children to deeni madaris for education continuing that vicious circle of poverty and backwardness. They often create a class in the society which is different in their mindset and suffers financially.

Government Boards affiliated School System (Leading to SSC- Secondary School Certificate/ HSSC- Higher Secondary School Certificate)

Table ii. Total Number of Pre-primary to Higher Secondary Schools in Pakistan (affiliated with government boards).

	Public	Other Public*	Private**
Pre-primary Schools	-	-	422
Primary Schools	124,284	3,586	17,621
Middle Schools	16,242	396	26,282
Secondary Schools	11,934	442	18,237
Higher Secondary Schools	1,621	147	3,411
Total	154,081	4,571	65,973
Total (public + other public + private)			224,625

Table iii. Total Enrollment in Pre-primary to Higher Secondary in Pakistan (affiliated with government boards).

	Public	Other Public*	Private**
Pre-primary	4,725,007	116,489	3,716,470
Primary	10,973,729	360,145	6,535,985
Middle	3,992,374	126,512	2,176,585
Secondary	1,309,514	63,338	940,988
Higher Secondary	901,471	20,961	302,049
Total	21,902,095	687,445	13,672,077
Total (public + other public + private)			36,261,617

Most of the schools in the country follow government boards affiliated school system. That means that they are registered and affiliated with different government boards according to their level. These schools are found in every nook and corner of the country, and are easily accessible for every student. According to the latest data released by Pakistan Education

Statistics (2015), there are 224,625 schools in both public and private sector (up to higher secondary level) [3]. Most of them are in public sector (154,081) while private sector also contributes substantially (65,973) (Table ii.). The numbers given here are a little mixed as they also include GCE and GCSE (pre-O -Ordinary, O- Ordinary, and A- Advance Level) schools. As the Table iii. shows, these schools cater the needs of a large number of students (36,261,617) in both public and private sector. Most of these schools offer separate education for boys and girls in both public and private sector. Some schools in in private sector offer co-education.

These schools mostly follow the books and curriculum designed by the national and provincial curriculum and text books boards (formerly known as text book boards) [7]. National curriculum and text book board is the apex body whereas the provincial boards are responsible for the publication of textbooks in their respective provinces. Some private schools use books published by private or foreign publishers (e.g. Oxford) as course books at primary and middle level, but at secondary and higher secondary level, almost all the schools use books published by the provincial boards. Curriculum is quite balanced including English, Urdu, social studies/ Pakistan studies and sciences (chemistry, biology, physics, computer science and general science, depending if the student takes science subjects or arts); but it is outdated especially in reference to science subject and does not meet the demands of evolving times [11]. Exams are conducted by various boards for different levels, but the most important ones- SSC (secondary school certificate) and HSSC (Higher Secondary School Certificate)- are conducted by boards of intermediate and secondary education established at federal, provincial and divisional level.

The public schools are almost free [8], but in some provinces a very small amount is charged from the students as education fund. For example in Punjab, a petty amount of 20 Pakistani rupees (equal to 0.2 US\$ as of September 2015) is charged from every student on monthly basis as faroogh-e-taleem fund (Fund for the spread/ growth of education). The fee structure in the private schools is comparatively higher but mostly ranges from 200 to 2,000 Pakistani rupees depending on the level and the school (equal to 2 to 20 US\$). In public schools, the students are also provided with free course books. In some areas where the girls are lagging behind, special scholarships are also announced for them to encourage them to attend the school. Majority of the students in these schools come from lower, middle and upper middle class families.

Although, this education system serves the needs of more than 90% of the nation; it has many flaws and shortcomings. The overall standard of education in most of the schools (in both public and private sector) is not up to the mark. The students might obtain certificates after completing their education, but they are not equipped with necessary skills and knowledge. Many schools do not have proper infrastructure, and lack even the basic needs such as boundary walls, clean drinking water and toilets [3][12]. The examination system is mostly based on rote learning and cramming, and does not improve creative skills of the students [13]. Most of the teachers do not know how to make full use of the curriculum and teach it to enhance students' skills [11]. In villages and far off places, there are a number of ghost schools in the public sector. In this situation, either the building does not exist at all or is used by local landlords and other influential figures for their own personal use.

British Council affiliated GCE/ GCSE School

The third most important and influential education system in the country consists of those schools which provide pre-O, O and A (pre-Ordinary, Ordinary and Advance) level education.

Most of these schools are affiliated with the British Council, Pakistan which is responsible for the supervision of the schools, conducting examinations and teachers' training etc. There are more than 450 pre-O, O and A level schools in the country with more than 1,70,000 students in them (Pakistan Times, 14 January 2012). After the United Kingdom, Pakistan has world's second largest number of students following this education system. A very large percentage of these schools are situated in big cities or well-off areas. With the exception of a few public or other public, almost all of these schools are private (either working independently or as a part of large network). Pakistan Education Statistics Report and other data usually do not mention them separately, and they are part of "public", "other public" or "private" category. As a result, their exact number is not known. A vast majority of these schools offer co-education with boys and girls studying in the same class.

These schools use the curriculum and syllabus set by either edexcel or CIE (Cambridge International Examinations). The medium of instructions is English, and other than Urdu, all the subjects are taught and examined in English. In most of the schools, Urdu is taught as second language. As a result, a large number of the students can read and write better English than Urdu. The examination system is more conceptual than textbooks-based rote learning.

These schools charge very high fee. Some of them charge as much as 50,000 Pak rupees per month (equal to 500 US\$). An average school charges 10,000 to 15,000 Pak rupees per month (100 to 150 US\$) for O level classes. This fee structure is huge keeping in mind that a common person earns around 35,000 Pak rupees in a month. The students also have to pay huge sums of money as examination fee for O and A level examinations (more than 20,000 Pak rupees-200 US\$ per paper for O levels). As the result, this system of education is only affordable to the students belonging to well-off and posh families.

Like deeni madaris, these schools also produce a class which is much different than majority of the population. The environment and culture in the school is much more liberal and open than the rest of the society. Similarity, many students are not able to use Urdu as comfortably as they can use English (especially in reading and writing), further separating that distinctive and elite class from the rest.

CHALLENGES IN EDUCATION RESEARCH AND SUGGESTIONS

This parallel education system and its contrasting and conflicting characteristics raise a lot of challenges in education research and confusion in its findings.

- Some of the researchers, even from Pakistan cannot distinguish the parallel education system and mix them up. Some confuse them with private and public, urban and rural divide. One researcher in a paper stated that there are three types of schools in Pakistan: public, private and deeni madaris.
- The data compiled by Pakistan Education Statistics and other organizations mention deeni madaris separately, but put British Council affiliated schools along with government boards affiliated schools (dividing them on the basis of urban and rural, and public and private). These schools have their own unique settings and characteristics and stand poles apart from government boards affiliated schools. It would be much better and clearer if British Council affiliated schools are also mentioned separately.

- Even the researcher who write papers, most of them divide the data on the basis of those two lines (urban and rural, public and private). As a result, the findings can be ambiguous and confusing as any of this division can contain government board affiliated school, British Council affiliated school, deeni madrasa or all. It would be much better to conduct research on the bases of parallel education system. It can further be divided on the basis of urban and rural, or public and private schools if the research question requires so. In this way, the findings would be more representative and clear.
- These parallel education systems cause problems in data collection as well. As the environment and the culture of each system is different and pose its own unique challenges. Due to the recent operation against Taliban and their supporters, deeni madaris have “besieged mentality”, and looks at everyone looking to get information about them suspiciously. Similarly, the attacks on schools from Taliban, have forced the schools to beef up security measures, making any attempt to gather primary data more difficult. As a result if someone wants to get data from all systems, he needs to be prepared for different kind of reactions and challenges.
- Most of the students of the deeni madaris cannot read and write English (most from government boards affiliated schools are also not very good at it). On the other hand, the students of British Council affiliated schools feel less comfortable reading and writing Urdu. As a result to gather data from all education systems, one will have to give questionnaires to them in different languages, causing some problems. It might be better to have a bilingual questionnaire for more general use.

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Effect of Gender on Academic Competence of Primary Education Department Students of College of Education Akwanga Nasarawa State Nigeria

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Abstract

This study was undertaken to find out if there is any significant difference in the performance of males and females in the Primary Education Department of the College of Education. Akwanga. The sample for the study was made up of a set of students admitted into the department in the 2011/2012 academic session. There were 127 males, and 74 females, making a total of 201 students. One null hypothesis was formulated to guide the study. Session results of the students that have been summarized into Grade Point Average (GPA), were obtained from the department and separated according to gender. The data so obtained were subjected to the t-test at 0.05 level of significance. Results showed that there was no significant difference between the performance of the males and the females. It was suggested that more research be conducted to find out the influence of culture on gender as it affects achievement of students in schools, taking note of such differences at the various levels of education from primary to tertiary levels.

Key words: Gender, Performance, students, comparison.

INTRODUCTION

In September 2000, world leaders gathered in their numbers in New York to discuss issues of common interest. The meeting saw a coming together of 189 countries from all over the world, culminating in setting some goals to be pursued for the prosperity of mankind. By the year 2015, the world leaders pledged that they would achieve measurable improvements in the most critical areas of human development (UNICEF). One of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is to promote gender equality and empower women (UNDP 2015). By accenting to this as a challenge that has attracted the attention of the whole world, implies that there is a general agreement that the female gender has been denied opportunities to be what they ought to be in the nations. As Adetutu (2015) noted, Nigerian women especially in the 19th century were not rated equally, nor given the same status as the men. They were to bear children and assist their husbands in the farms. One of the areas where the women folk lagged behind their male counterparts is in the area of education. According to Abdu (2015), the female folk are left behind in accessing formal education. To her the reasons are varied from early marriage, poverty of parents that gives preference to the training of boys with the available resources, street hawking, teenage pregnancies, and the like. Another area where women are behind the men according to Adetutu (2015) is economic empowerment. The main reason for this to her is cultural. Women have been made to see themselves as inferior to men. Some fought that, while others have come to settle with that inferior status, and this has made them to lack the zeal to pursue viable economic ventures.

Many of the aspects where there has been agitations of gender inequality are quantitative in nature. They emphasize number. However, there has been an increase of concern in education circles about the disparity in academic achievement between males and females in schools. Research is inconclusive as to whether males or females do better academically in schools. Zembar and Blume (2011) noted that most studies show that girls do better than boys in schools. They reported a research covering 35 countries, to see if males or females achieve more in literacy and mathematics skills. Results show that females outscored males on reading literacy in every country. There was no significant difference in mathematics scores in the males and females. They however noted that from the age of 12, the boys begin to do better than girls in mathematics and science related courses. In another study, Weis, Hiecamp and Trommsdorff (2013) tested 53 German fifth graders (19 boys and 34 girls). The participants were tested in German and mathematics. Results showed that girls performed better than the boys. Dayioglu and Turut-asit (2004) discovered that girls, though enter the university in turkey with lower grades compared with their male counterparts, on the long run performed better than the boys. Odagboyi (2015) in a study with a sample size of 88 Senior Secondary (SS1) students including 49 males and 39 females. The participants were tested in biology after 12 weeks of exposure to concepts in micro organisms. A Biology Achievement Test (BAT) with 20 objective questions was administered to them. Results showed that there was a significant difference in the performance of the males and females in favour of the males. In a study with 342 SS2 students from nine secondary schools comprising 228 males and 114 females, Igbo, Onu and Obiyo (2015), males performed better than females on Student Mathematics Achievement Test (SMAT). However, Abubakar and Oguguo (2011) and Uduosoro (2011) found no significant difference between males and females. Various reasons have been advanced for this disparity in academic performance. Sutton (2013) cited in Weiss et al (2013) noted that boys develop gender stereotypes according to which girls are perceived as academically superior with regard to motivation, ability, performance and self regulation. In the same vein, Igbo et al (2015) attributed the poorer performance of girls compared to the boys to stereotypic views that affect individual's self cognitive development as well as their feelings, actions, and attitudes. To them, a stereotype is a rigid, simplistic caricature of a particular group of people.

While research efforts should continue, it seems more likely that this disparity in academic performance could be due to cultural influences that have effects on motivation and other affective factors. This study looks at the effect of gender on the academic competence of Primary Education Department students. The rationale for the study is to repeat the studies in different cultures to generate enough evidence to make acceptable generalizations.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It is expected that students who have been exposed to secondary education, and passed the prescribed examination, should upon gaining entrance to the college of education, should perform creditable well regardless of gender. This is more so because the students are exposed to the same curriculum and similar environmental conditions.

However research reports indicate that there is disparity in academic performance between males and females. While some reports favour males to perform better than females, others report the contrary. Still others find no significant difference. Some of the reports reviewed from the Western world show the females as doing better than the males, while those in Nigeria show the contrary.

Could these differences be arising from differentia in cultural settings? This study therefore is conducted to see whether students in the College of Education Akwanga in Nigeria, Department of Primary Education shows this disparity in performance due to gender.

HYPOTHESIS

There is no significant difference in the academic competence of males and females in Primary Education Department.

SAMPLE

The sample for the study is 201 students admitted in 2011/2012 academic session in the department of Primary Education, made up of 127 males, and 74 females.

DATA COLLECTION

The compiled examination results for the whole set of students sampled for the study were collected for the three academic sessions beginning from the first to the last session.

PROCEDURE

Students' results are collated according to the various courses taken in the department, educational courses, and those from the general studies department. The scores are compiled per student, and the Grade Point Average (GPA) determined for each session. The GPA for each session are collected and grouped according to gender.

PROCEDURE FOR DATA ANALYSIS

For each semester, the GPAs are sorted according to gender. Means and standard deviations are determined, and the means are subjected to t-test to determine the differences.

RESULTS

Table 1: t-test comparing male and female performances (NCE1)

	Male	Female
Mean	1.540157	1.396351
Variance	0.591505	0.565714
Observstions	127	74
Hyphthesized mean difference	0	
Df	156	
T stat	1.296535	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.098353	
T critical one-tail	1.65468	
P(T<=T) two-tail	0.196706	
T critical two-tail	1.975287	

Table 1 shows that the calculated t is 1.29, while the critical value 1.65. this implies that there is no significant difference in the performance of the male and female students in the first session.

Table 2: t-test comparing male and female performances (NCE2)

	Male	Female
Mean	1.923622	1.893103
Variance	0.808803	0.093673
Observations	127	87
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	178	
T stat	0.235768	
P(T<=t)one-tail	0.406942	
T critical one-tail	1.653459	
P(T<=t)one-tail	0.813884	
T critical two-tail	1.973381	

Table 2 shows that the calculated t is 0.23, while the critical value 1.65. This implies that there is no significant difference in the performance of the male and female students in the second session.

Table 3: t-test comparing male and female performances (NCE3)

	Male	Female
Mean	1.952288	2.01375
Variance	0.480384	0.434284
Observations	118	80
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	175	
T stat	-0.6306	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.264563	
T critical one-tail	1.653607	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.529126	
T critical two-tail	1.973612	

Table 3 shows that the calculated t is - 0.63, while the critical value 1.65. This implies that there is no significant difference in the performance of the male and female students in the final session. Thereby, the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant difference in the academic competence of males and females in Primary Education Department, is not rejected.

DISCUSSION

Results as shown in tables 1,2 and 3, shows that in all the sessions, the academic competencies of males do not differ significantly from those of the females. This agrees with the findings of Dayioglu and Turut-asit (2004), Zembar and Blume (2011), Abubakar and Oguguo (2011), and Uduosoro (2011), but differs from those of Weis, Hiecamp and Trommsdorff (2013) who found that girls performed better than boys. Results of this study also differs from those of Odagboyi (2015), Igbo, Onu and Obiyo (2015), Alordia, Akpadaka, and Oviogbolu (2015) who found that boys performed better than girls.

Research reports on achievement based on gender are varied, evidence from recent literature are showing that while in Africa, boys tend to do better than girls, Odagboyi (2015), Igbo, Onu and Obiyo (2015), Alordia, Akpadaka, and Oviogbolu (2015), those of the European countries show the contrary. However, when students are subjected to the similar conditions, and

experience the same curriculum, they are expected to perform more or less equally. The factors that contribute to the differential achievement could be cultural.

CONCLUSION

This study found that students who are exposed to similar conditions, exposed to the same curriculum over a period of three years did not differ in performance on the basis of gender.

SUGGESTION

More studies should be carried out on the influence of culture on gender, and the performance of students in schools. Such studies should take into consideration, levels of education from the primary to the tertiary levels, and at what levels do these differences show the most.

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Repetition and Content Implications in Advertising Wear Out: A Practitioner's View.

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Abstract

One of the main advertisers' dilemmas is: How long should their commercials or campaigns keep running? Repetition might enhance awareness, but too much exposure might diminish its effectiveness. The article examines theories that support the declining effectiveness of advertising over time, and suggests exposure and content strategies to advertisers. The literature review stresses that added repetition leads to greater and faster wear-out. Ease of processing, as a result of ad content, and resource availability speed up wear-out. The study suggests that along traditional effectiveness measures, advertisers should test their ads and campaigns for wear-in and wear-out. These tests should provide information on advertising and campaign longevity.

Keywords: advertising, wear-out, effectiveness, information processing.

INTRODUCTION

The declining effectiveness of a commercial or campaign associated with increased exposure is defined as advertising wear-out. (Kinnucan, Chang and Venkateswaran, 1993). Research indicates that even when television commercials are initially effective, subsequent exposures cause effectiveness to decline (Appel 1971; Grass 1968; Grass and Wallace 1969). Keeping an ad running is likely to enhance its attitudinal effects, keep commercial production costs low, and allocate more resources to other marketing strategies. On the other hand, repeated exposure, even to advertising that scores high on persuasion, may cause a campaign to lose its effectiveness. This relationship between repeated exposures and advertising effectiveness, poses a dilemma to advertisers. This article will review wear-out theories and the related inferences on advertising effectiveness. Implications on applicable advertising strategies will be suggested.

REPETITION EFFECTS

Berlyne's (1970) two factor theory is the most broadly accepted explanation of advertising repetition effects. He proposes a two-part process, which repetition influences message response. During the first phase, called "wear-in", might be a certain amount of hostility or uncertainty about an unfamiliar message. This is the habituation phase, where initial levels of message repetition help to increase positive attitude by reducing negative responses to the new stimuli. In lower levels of repetition, advertising effectiveness increases (Campbell and Keller, 2003). During the second phase, the "wear-out" phase, repeated exposure results in the onset of tedium. Tedium arises because of boredom, less opportunity to learn and reactance against the repeated message. As a result, message effectiveness decreases.

Ciacioppo and Petty (1979) have proved that cognitive responses to the message appear to mediate the effects of repetition on the reactions aroused by advertising. Supporting arguments first increase and then, decrease with repetition. Counterarguments on the other side, decrease at first and then increase with repetition. Under low levels of repetition resources are not sufficient for complete processing but high levels of repetition prompt

counter argumentation Repetition has its greatest effect at moderate levels. Anand and Sternthal (1990) show that in addition to the effects of resource availability resource requirements for processing influence the effects of repetition. They show that the facility of processing information moderates the influence of repetition on brand attitude. Greater processing difficulty slows down the habituation and tedium experienced by the consumer so that the point at which ad wear-out occurs is delayed, while low processing difficulty speeds up the point at which wear-out occurs. According to them, both resource availability and resource requirements influence information processing when repetition effects will be greatest (Campbell and Keller, 2003).

LIFE CYCLES MECHANISMS

According to life cycle theories, each advertisement has its own three-stage response pattern. During stage one, the opportunity of the ad to entertain and inform is at its greatest level. This occurs when an ad just started to be aired (Weilbacher, 1970). During this phase attention levels increase rapidly. This result in cumulative learning which in turn sets the ground of attitude improvement. In the second phase, consumers stop responding to the ad. This might happen because of problems related to the ad content itself, or because of consumer attitudes, like self-confidence (Wright 1975). This phase marks the peak level of attention and the onset of forgetting. In the third phase, the consumer has seen the ad so often that it becomes boring and even inappropriate or insulting. Any further exposure to the ad causes boredom and tedium arousal, because all the information has been extracted from the ad and there's nothing new to learn (Weilbacher, 1970).

LEARNING-BASED PROCESSES

According to learning-based theories, wear-out occurs because continual repetition of the stimuli causes reduction in attention and motivation (Rethans, Swasy and Marks, 1986). These theories draw parallels between mental processes involved in learning "nonsense information" and in learning from television (Kinnucan, Chang and Venkateswaran, 1993). In these cases the information resides in short-term memory and will be quickly forgotten unless repeated exposure occurs (Craig, Sternthal and Leavitt, 1976). During first exposures, repetition of the stimuli produces a positive effect because it increases the opportunity to learn and reduces the uncertainty toward the stimulus (Rethans, Swasy, and Marks, 1986). But the positive effect is substituted with a negative response as further exposures lead to decreased cumulative learning, satiation, reactance and boredom. Even though repetition is necessary for learning, too much exposures can induce cognitive responses (inattention, reactance) or affective responses (boredom, tedium), which in turn prevent learning.

INFORMATION PROCESSING

Calder and Sternthal's (1980) information processing theory states that message recipients rehearse two kinds of thoughts, thoughts stimulated directly by the message which reflect the message content, and other thoughts based on associations and reflecting personal experiences. The first is termed "message-related thoughts" and the second "own thoughts". With the initial exposures to a message, the individual's thoughts tend to be message-related. At some level of repetition, however, the thought which come to mind are generated mainly from associations and are indirectly linked to the message. These own thoughts, in general are less positive toward the product than message-related thoughts, because these were selected by the consumer to be highly positive (Calder and Sternthal, 1980).

Cacciopo and Petty's (1979) work on the Elaboration Likelihood Model, has shown that elaboration mediates the attitudinal effects of message repetition. It refers to the counter and support arguments that consumers generate when exposed to advertisement. First exposures provide the opportunity to think about the message arguments and elaborate them. This ongoing processing supports ad's strengths and qualities, which in turn enhance persuasion. High repetition on the other hand, causes reactance and tedium, which dominate information processing. The counter arguing draws the cognitive processes, which decrease persuasion and message acceptance. Wear-out occurs because elaborations induced by repeated exposure are increasingly composed of counter-argumentation, which reduces the ad's persuasive power (Kinnucan, Chang and Venkateswaran, 1993).

Berlyne (1970) has found that when a consumer sees for the first time an ad for an unfamiliar brand, he is faced with two sources of unfamiliarity to which he could react negatively: the ad itself, which is novel, and the brand, which is also novel. On the other hand, when a consumer sees a new ad for a familiar brand, there is only one source of unfamiliarity, only the ad. Thus, negative uncertainty created by unfamiliarity should be higher for a new ad from an unfamiliar brand as compared with a familiar one. Habituation is the process by which initial uncertainty to an unfamiliar stimulus is attenuated. Tedium derives from boredom, annoyance and reactance to the repeated message (Anand and Sternthal 1990; Berlyne 1970). When consumers are repeatedly exposed to an ad for an unfamiliar brand, they process primarily in order to learn about the brand. Once they have been exposed to the same ad several times, there is very little information to process or learn (Krugman 1972). Consumers are likely to process ads for familiar brands less extensively than those for unfamiliar brands, because they have stored knowledge, for familiar, but not unfamiliar brands. The stored knowledge provides processing material for familiar brands, but not for unfamiliar brands. Thus, consumers continue to process an ad for a familiar brand over repeated exposures to the ad, in addition, the brand knowledge that exists in memory provides context for continued processing (Britton and Tesser 1982). Since no additional knowledge exists for unfamiliar brands in the consumers' memory, they will have no more information to process with repeated exposure to the same ad (Anand and Sternthal 1990). Because of a lack of stored knowledge, the processing requirements are much lower for the same ad for an unfamiliar than for a familiar brand, which will accelerate the wear-out expansion.

BRAND FAMILIARITY AND EXPOSURE WEAR-OUT

When a customer is exposed to ads repeatedly, he can become bored, irritated or simply lose interest as the benefits of processing the ad are perceived to be worthless (Berlyne, 1970; Weilbacher 1970).

Brand familiarity reflects the extent of a consumer's direct and indirect experience with a brand (Kent and Allen, 1994). Brand familiarity is buildup of the brand associations that exist within a consumer's memory. Familiar and unfamiliar brands differ in terms of the knowledge regarding the brand that a consumer has stored in memory.

Because of knowledge differences, consumers are likely to have different processing goals when exposed to ads for unfamiliar and familiar brands. People tend to learn about and evaluate new stimuli. When consumers are exposed to an ad for an unfamiliar brand they are likely to have a goal of learning about and forming an accurate impression of the brand (Hilton and Darley, 1991). If ads for an unfamiliar brand appear more novel and interesting, they will therefore elicit more extensive processing. On the other hand, when exposed to an ad for a familiar brand, consumers already have some knowledge about the brand and, therefore, are

more likely to update their existing knowledge (Snyder and Stukas, 1999). Since consumers already know something about familiar brands, they are likely to engage in relatively less extensive, more confirmation-based processing when exposed to and ad for a familiar brand (Keller 1991; MacKenzie and Spreng, 1992). The more extensive processing drawn by ads for unfamiliar brands, the more increases resource availability. Therefore, unfamiliar brands show decreased repetition effectiveness at a lower number of ad exposures relative to ads for familiar brands (Campbell and Keller, 2003).

COPY WEAROUT

Content wear-out is the decay in advertising effectiveness due to passage of time and independent of the amount of advertising aired. Such decay may be result of change in consumers' conditions such as increased knowledge about product attributes, imitation of an ad strategy, or increase in ad clutter (Bass, Bruce, Majumdar, Murthi 2007). Wear-out effects may also depend on the change in ad content. Grass and Wallace (1969) suggest that variations in copy improve the effectiveness, specifically recall of ads. Ray and Saywer (1971) also studied the effect of different messages on repetitions functions. They found that "grabber" ads were less effective than "non- grabber" ads, over repetitions. According to MacInnis et al. (2002) emotional ads have less rapid wear-out than rational ads. They have found evidence of a significant positive relationship between ad repetition and sales when emotional ads are employed, compared to rational ads. Experimental evidences show that emotional ads wear-out more slowly than ads based on rational appeals.

Tellis (2009) generalizes after a literature review on advertising content; Changes in the creative, medium, target segment, or product itself sometimes lead to changes in sales, even though increases in the level of advertising repetition by itself does not. Informative messages are more important early than late in the product's life cycle. Emotional appeals, on the other side, are more effective late rather than early in a product's life cycle.

MEMORY AND FORGETTING

Forgetting has a negative effect on brand awareness, but on the other hand there are studies that suggest that there's a rejuvenating effect of advertising when and ad is taken off the media (Grass and Wallace, 1969, Greenberg and Suttoni, 1973). A period of no advertising enhances consumers' attention to ads. Similarly, Carlder and Sternthal (1980) have found that the amount of cognitive responses increases when there is a break in advertising. The argument stresses that the improvement I quality, when an ad is not aired for a period of time, is that consumers may forget the particulars of a given ad and may consider it as renewed when introduced. This suggests, that as the period that and ad is pulled off the media increases, there's a corresponding increase in forgetting and a consequent restoration of the ad's quality (Corkindale and Newall, 1978 cited by Bass et al. 2003).

CONCLUSION

The evidences deriving from previous studies and experiments show that repeated exposure of ads enhances awareness, but in some circumstances it might diminish its effectiveness. Uncontrolled repetition leads to greater and faster wear-out. Summarizing these studies and experiments leads us to these conclusions;

- Wear-out mechanisms developed to provide explanations for the declining effectiveness of single ads can be applied to the whole campaign. Since repeated exposure to the same commercial leads to boredom and loss of interest, introducing a new ad with the same

message but different execution, may revive attention. But the wear-out of the new ad might be much more rapid, since the consumer is already aware of the concept induced.

- Rational ads are more important in early life-cycle.
- Emotional ads are more effective for mature brands.
- Ads for frequently-purchased products may wear-out far more easily than ads for luxury goods, because of their in market life cycle and consumer behavior related characteristics.
- An ad may be pulled off the media for a period of time, in order to restore its differentiating qualities. Attention should be stressed in evaluating the proper amount of time keeping the ad off air. Wear-out for the second burst will be much faster than for the first one.
- Emotional ads wear out far more slowly than rational ads. Therefore marketers should be aware when employing emotional versus rational, promotional versus brand awareness, luxury product versus everyday purchased-products advertising strategies.
- Marketers of unfamiliar brands need to build familiarity to compete better with more familiar brands, but they must be careful how they use heavy weighted ad schedules, in order to avoid alienating consumers. A high-frequency ad schedule for unfamiliar brands, is not a good option to build positive attitudes compared with familiar brands. Consumers should be kept engaged by showing a variety of messages, or increasing message complexity and content for processing, in order to avoid wear-out.
- Added repetition leads to greater and faster wear-out. Ease of processing, as a result of ad content, speeds up wear-out.
- Under extensive repetition unfamiliar brand ads, wear-out faster than ads for familiar brands.
- Repeated exposure will result inevitably in boredom and tedium.
- Wear out can be slowed down by spacing ads over time.
- Complex ads wear out more slowly.
- Effective advertising wears out faster.
- Content and executions problems concerning the ad itself may become prominent with further repetitions.
- Alike executions in brand category or other categories tend to wear out faster.
- The consumer becomes self-confident under repeated exposures.
- To increase effectiveness, advertisers should modify content more than increasing weight or frequency.
- Advertisers should test their advertisement for wear-in and wear-out. These tests should provide information on advertising and campaign duration.

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Third Party Intervention based on Matrix Representation for Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

The model of third part intervention is developed and analyzed using the decision support system (Matrix Representation for Conflict Resolution) (MCRDSS). MRCR is based on the Graph Model for Conflict Resolution (GMCR) framework that provides a suitable and efficient means to model and analyze a strategic conflict. Until now, a little work has been made on modeling third party interventions. In this paper, the equilibrium state of photovoltaic conflict is identified before and after the intervention of a third party. It is clear to see the third party that involves in a conflict and mediation is most effective.

Key words: third party intervention; GMCR; international trade; decision makers; stability analysis; equilibrium state

INTRODUCTION

Disputes happen everywhere; inside of a household, at work among colleagues or employers and employees, between organizations, inside a country on a politic side, economic side, religious side or elsewhere.[1] Not all disputes can be solved by decision maker themselves. One of the best way to solve all those conflicts is to let a third party help, especially when the third party stands for an impartial solution.

When it comes to “third party” we immediately think of a person or group of people besides the two primarily involved in a situation, especially a dispute. It is a phenomenon that more than 70 percent of the conflicts that happened all over the world, attracted an intervention of a third party. Two common types of third-party intervention are mediation and arbitration. Third parties might act as consultants, they help one side or both sides make a concrete analysis of the dispute or conflict and plan a more or less adequate response. The third party can be invited to take part in a conflict or can just intervene because it has an interest in seeing the conflict solved. In other words, when it is about arbitration, the third party listens the two parties and then makes a decision, which can either be advisory or be binding.[2]

Although most research has focused on mediation, not so many studies have been done in the modeling and the analyzing of mediation[3].So this paper is to resolve the conflict between two decision makers by including a third decision maker which is acting as the third party.

In this paper, I will introduce decision support system of Matrix Representation for Conflict Resolution in chapter 2.PV conflict without third party will be modeled and analyzed in chapter 3.In chapter 4,I'll make a new model of third party involved and analyze.

THE DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEM OF MRCR

Matrix Representation for Conflict Resolution (GMCR)

The Graph Model for Conflict Resolution is used to analyze a strategic conflict means to investigate the interaction of two or more decision makers (DMs) to identify possible outcomes.[4,5]The GMCR technique represents a conflict as moving from state to state via transitions controlled by the decision makers. We use vertices of the graph represent states, arcs of the graph represent transitions. To sum up, a Graph Model has altogether four components, that is:

- N, the set of decision-makers (DMs), where $2 \leq |N| < \infty$. We write $N = \{1,2,\dots,n\}$.
- S, the set of (distinguishable) states, satisfying $2 \leq |S| < \infty$. One particular state, s_0 , is designated as the status quo state.
- For each $i \in N$, DM i 's directed graph $G_i = (S, A_i)$. The arc set $A_i \subseteq S \times S$ has the property that if $(s,t) \in A_i$ then $s \neq t$; in other words, G_i contains no loops. The entries of A_i are the state transitions controlled by DM i .
- For each $i \in N$, a complete binary relation \sim_i on S that specifies DM i 's preference over
- These logical definition has brought great difficulties for algorithm development. So professor Xu proposed matrix representation. Then we can determine the states' stability by the value of matrix representation. Here are some definitions for Matrix Representation:[7]
- For $i \in N$,reachability matrix J_i is a $|S| \times |S|$ 0-1 matrix defined by

$$J_i(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 & (s, q) \in A_i \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, \text{ which means DM } i \text{ can move from state } s \text{ to state } q \text{ in one step.}$$

- For $i \in N$, unilateral improvement (UI) matrix J_i^+ is a $|S| \times |S|$ 0-1 matrix defined by

$$J_i^+(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 & J_i(s, q) = 1, q \text{ f}_i s \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}.$$

- For $i \in N, s \in S$, we define preference matrix as followed:

$$P_i^+(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 & q \text{ f}_i s \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, P_i^-(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 & s \text{ f}_i q \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, P_i^{\sim}(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 & s \sim_i q \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases},$$

$$\text{and } P_i^{-\sim}(s, q) = \begin{cases} 1 - P_i^+(s, q) & s \sim_i q \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}.$$

The comparison is mentioned under the following table, where the preference information and the stability (and post-stability) analyze are represented for both GMCR and MRCR.

MRCRDSS

The availability of software that analyzed Graph Models quickly, completely, and reliably resulted in an increase in the number and range of applications of the Graph Model methodology, which in turn provided convincing evidence of the utility of the approach. But the need to justify these models and interpret the results of the analysis created the need to analyze even more Graph Models, typically related to the initial models but distinct from them.

Decision Support System for GMCR is called GMCR II.[8] The DSS GMCR II offers model management and stability analysis and includes some basic coalition analysis and status quo

analysis for simple preference. At present, GMCR II allows for status quo analysis, but does not implement it fully.

Different from GMCR II, MRCRDSS is strongly in stability analysis. I'll show you how to use it by a simple example.

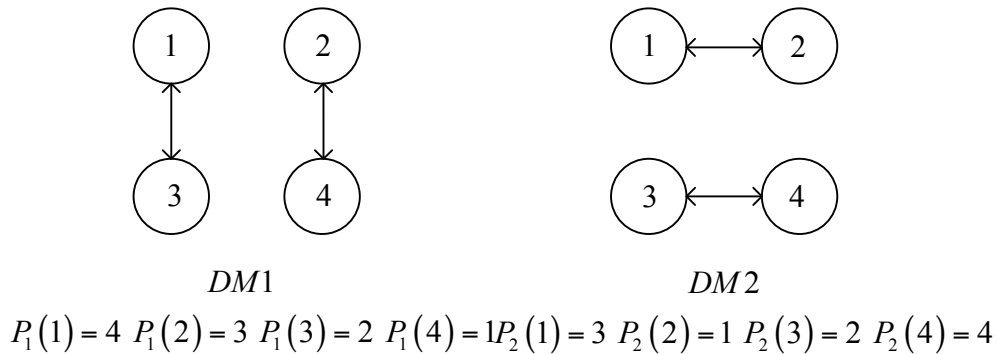


Figure 2.1 The graph model for chicken game

Step 1: Click on the user bar and login. The user name `_welcome_` and password `_123_` are provided on the welcome page.



Figure 2.2 Welcome page of MRSC software

Step 2: Setting the number of Decision makers and the amount of options for each Decision Maker. Those information are to be input in the “setting” bar.

Step 3: Input state in the same “setting” bar. Only the states to be considered are counted in.

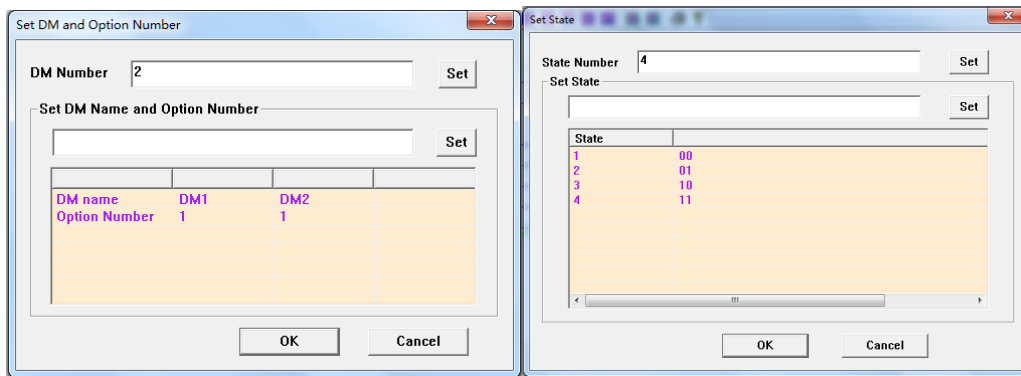


Figure 2.3 DMs and option number, input states

Step 4: under the setting bar, using the direct ranking to get the preferences.

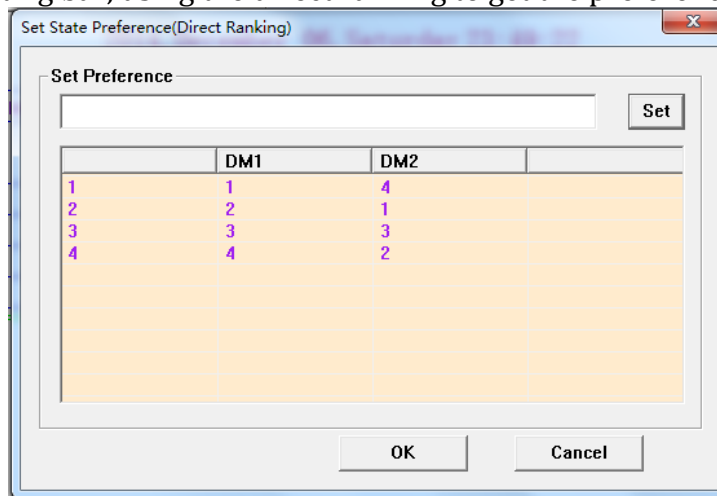
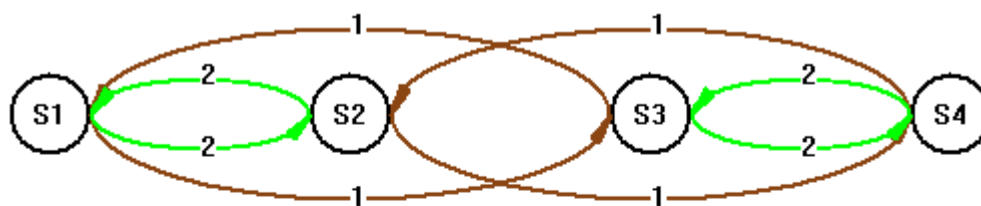


Figure 2.4 Preference (direct ranking)

Step 5: the “calculate” bar provides the graph model of the conflict. This is according to the transfer made from one state to another. For each decision maker, it is considered only the transfers with a unique change from “Y” to “N” or vice-versa. The following figure shows the graph obtained.



DM1 DM2

Figure 2.5 Graph model

Step 6: After analyzing these inputs using the MRSC software, a stability tableau is produced defining which states are stable according to different solution concepts or stability definitions. Under “calculate” bar, we use the stability analysis to get the final solution. The solution concepts used are the four ones mentioned before, i.e. NASH, GMR, SMR and SEQ.

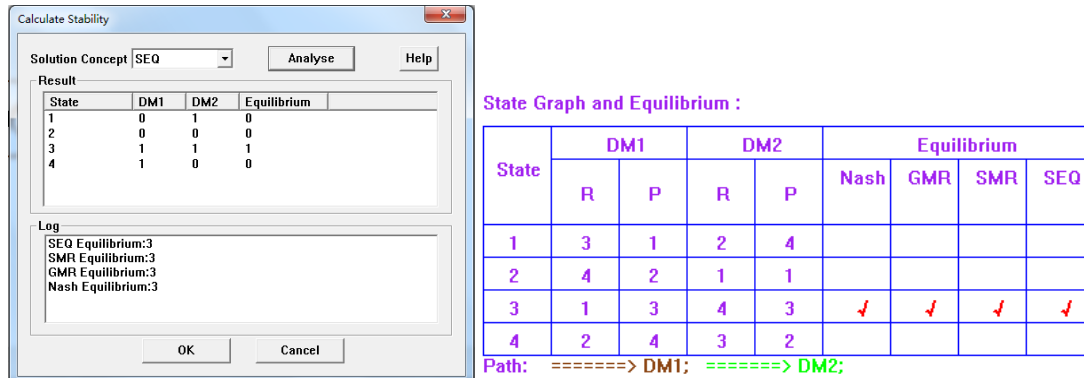


FIGURE 2.6 STABILITY ANALYSIS

Photovoltaic conflict without the third party

The solar industry of China has over the past few decades promptly appeared as the most dynamic and fastest-growing in the world. The amount of trade frictions between the European Union and China in the area of solar panels and other related equipment has grown speedily in recent months. In early September 2012, the European Commission initiated an anti-dumping investigation into imports of solar panels and some of their key components (namely, solar cells and solar wafers) manufactured in China and exported to EU. Two months later, in early November, it also launched an anti-subsidy probe about the same set of products. In February 2013, the European Commission opened a new anti-dumping inquiry into imports of solar glass made from China, pointing out that this was “a stand-alone investigation touching a complete different product” from the solar panels cases of late 2012.

On June 6th, 2012, the Commission inflicted interim anti-dumping duties. Those duties were calculated to be of 11.8 percent on all the imports of solar panels, and other solar equipment such as cells and wafers coming from China. If the two disputants had not yet agreed on a mutual concert throughout negotiations, by Aug.6th, 2012, which is two months later, the duty would be lifted up until 47.6 percent. Tensions flared by the time the European officials announced officially that the EU was getting ready to place anti-dumping tariff rates up to 67.9 percent on all Chinese-made solar panels and related supplies. Thus, the EU-China solar dispute is the most significant anti-dumping accusation the European Commission has ever investigated.

Right after the European complaint and as a retaliation gesture over EU attempts to strike Chinese solar panels with punitive import duties, Beijing started the inquiry into whether Europe was exporting its wine to China at invidiously low prices. China then started an anti-dumping investigation into wine imports from the European Union.

Although most countries of the EU had conflict with China, Geman support China.

Decision Maker (DMs):

So the very first thing we should notice about this case is that there are two decision makers which are the European Union (DM1) on one side and China (DM2) on the other side.

Options: Table 3-1 describes the options for each DM.

Table 3.1 Decision makers (DMs) and description of their options

Decision Makers	Options	Description
EU	1. lower the local price	1* EU lows the price of its solar panel on the local market, EU can therefore compete with the Chinese solar panel sold in Europe
	2. implement high anti-dumping tariffs on Chinese solar panels	2* EU advocates for increasing the tariffs on Chinese solar panels, up to 47.6% on imports of solar panels
China	3. investigate into the European wine	3* China, in response to the complaint made by the EU, complained in turn about the exported European wine to China.
	4. get help from Germany	4* For some reasons, Germany is on Chinese side. China could therefore push Germany to convince the majority of the EU countries to be on the Chinese side as well.
	5. reject the high tariffs	5* China has the right to refuse the tariffs imposed by the EU. In fact, those tariffs are too high that China cannot afford to accept them.

States: These are series or combinations of Yes (noted Y) and No (noted N). Nevertheless, all the states are not to be considered; some states reveal cases that would never happen in a real economic event.

Table 3.2 Possible states

EU	1. lower the local price	N Y N Y N Y N Y
	2. impose high tariffs on Chinese panels	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y
China	3. investigate into the European wine	N N N N Y Y Y Y
	4. use German help to gain support from other EU's countries (get help from Germany)	N N Y Y N N Y Y
	5. reject the high tariffs	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y

Preferences:

The best case scenario for EU would be not to lower its panel's local price and to impose high tariffs on Chinese panels. And the great thing that could happen to China in this case is to reject the high tariffs imposed by the EU.

In this conflict, EU will prefer the following states in a descending order: 1>3>5>7>2>4>6>8. China in turn will prefer the following states in a descending order: 7>8>5>6>3>4>1>2.

Table 3.3 Preferences

DMs	States							
European union	1	3	5	7	2	4	6	8
China	7	8	5	6	3	4	1	2
	Most preferred				Least preferred			

Then we input all the information to the MCRDSS software.

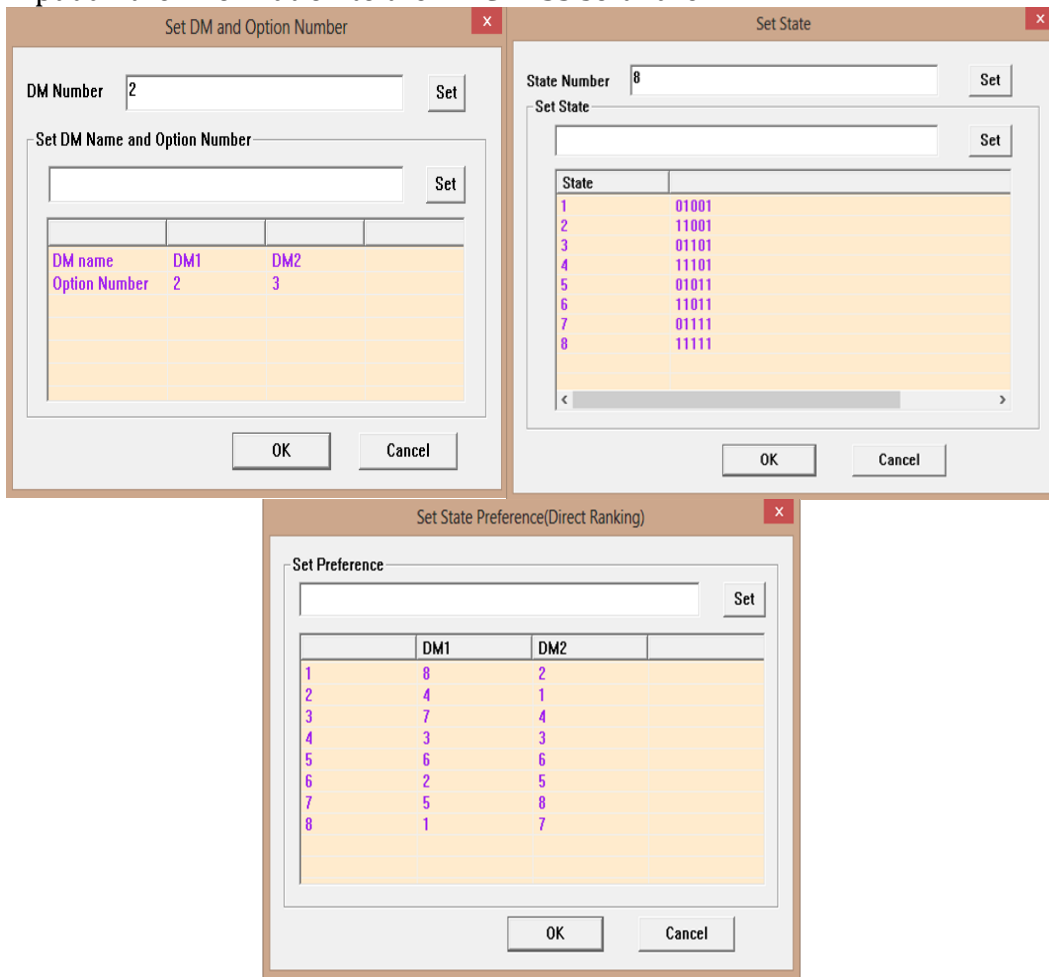
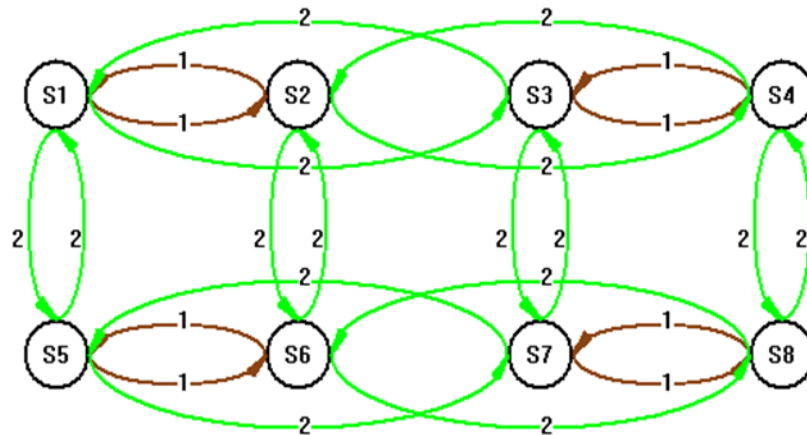


Figure 3.1 DMs and option number, input States, Preference

The graph model and the solution we got are shown in the following pictures:



DM1 DM2

Figure 3.2 Graph model for the PV conflict

State Graph and Equilibrium :

State	DM1		DM2		Equilibrium			
	R	P	R	P	Nash	GMR	SMR	SEQ
1	2	8	3,5	2				
2	1	4	4,6	1				
3	4	7	1,7	4				
4	3	3	2,8	3				
5	6	6	1,7	6				
6	5	2	2,8	5				
7	8	5	3,5	8	↓	↓	↓	↓
8	7	1	4,6	7				

Path: =====> DM1; =====> DM2;

Figure 3.3 Stability analysis result

The solution we got clearly shows that the case reveals a conflict. That is because the state 7 is the equilibrium state and it represent a case where EU does not decrease the European price of their solar panel but does charge the Chinese solar panels with a high anti-dumping tariff rate (about 47.6%). State 7 is also when China does charge the European wine and does use help from Germany to get as much support as possible from countries of the EU itself, China does also reject the high tariff rate imposed by the EU. So it is necessary to let third party intervene in the conflict in order to partially resolve it.

Photovoltaic conflict involves the third party in I choose the European Commission and China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) as a third party in this study. Those two organizations will work together in order to resolve the photovoltaic conflict and make sure there is a win-win agreement.

Table 4.1 Third party and the description of its options

THIRD PARTY	OPTIONS	DESCRIPTION
European Commission & the CCPIT	6. adjust the tariff rates	6* the two organizations acting as one same party can negotiate and try to decide of a new tariff rate lower than the one imposed by the EU.
	7. establish quotas	7* the third party can also determine a fixed amount of Chinese panels that are to be exported to Europe.

The following table shows the 24 states to be considered in this paper:

Table 4.2 Possible states under third party

1. lower the local price	N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y N Y
2. impose high tariffs on Chinese panels	Y Y
3. investigate the European wine	N N Y Y N N Y Y N N Y Y N N Y Y N N Y Y N N Y Y
4. get help from Germany	N N N N Y Y Y Y N N N N Y Y Y Y N N N N Y Y Y Y
5. reject the high tariffs	Y Y
6. adjust the tariff rate	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y N N N N N N N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y
7. establish quotas	N N N N N N N N Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y
States number	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

To be fair, each side has an organization in the third party, but we still don't know which side the third party prefer. So the preferences for the third party are uncertain.

If the third party consider two sides' interest, new preferences are to be made as it shown in table 3.5.

Table 4.3 All the Decision makers and their preferences

DMs	States
EU	9 11 13 15 10 12 14 16 17 19 21 23 18 20 22 24 1 3 5 7 2 4 6 8
China	7 8 5 6 3 4 1 2 23 24 21 22 19 20 17 18 15 16 13 14 11 12 9 10
Third Party	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
	Most preferred Least preferred

This is the graph model:

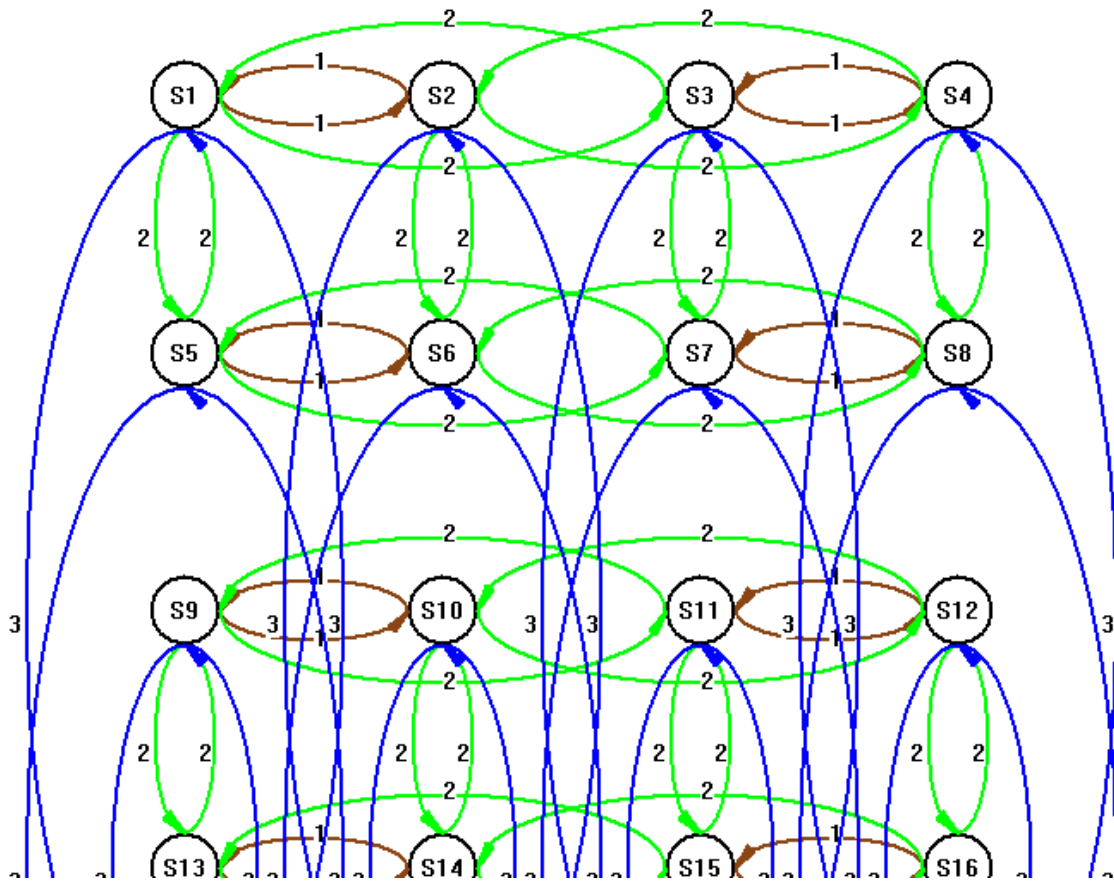


Figure 4.1 Graph model for the PV conflict including third party

And this is the analysis result table:

Table 4.4 Stability analysis with the Third Party → equilibrium state

State	DM1		DM2		DM3		Equilibrium			
	R	P	R	P	R	P	Nash	GMR	SMR	SEQ
1	2	8	3,5	18	17	16				
2	1	4	4,6	17	18	15				
3	4	7	1,7	20	19	14				
4	3	3	2,8	19	20	13				
5	6	6	1,7	22	21	12				
6	5	2	2,8	21	22	11				
7	8	5	3,5	24	23	10				
8	7	1	4,6	23	24	9				
9	10	24	11,13	2	17	8				
10	9	20	12,14	1	18	7				
11	12	23	9,15	4	19	6				
12	11	19	10,16	3	20	5				
13	14	22	9,15	6	21	4				
14	13	18	10,16	5	22	3				
15	16	21	11,13	8	23	2				
16	15	17	12,14	7	24	1				
17	18	16	19,21	10	1,9	24		✓	✓	
18	17	12	20,22	9	2,10	23		✓	✓	
19	20	15	17,23	12	3,11	22		✓	✓	
20	19	11	18,24	11	4,12	21		✓	✓	
21	22	14	17,23	14	5,13	20		✓	✓	
22	21	10	18,24	13	6,14	19		✓	✓	
22	21	10	18,24	13	6,14	19		✓	✓	
23	24	13	19,21	16	7,15	18	✓	✓	✓	✓
24	23	9	20,22	15	8,16	17		✓	✓	

So we can see the 23rd state is equilibrium. That is to say EU agree to low the tariffs and China cut down the quantity of PV production.

If the third party prefer EU, they may establish quotas and not adjust the tariff rate. So the preference and the result will be shown in the table followed.

Table 4.5 All the decision makers and their preferences

DMs	States
EU	9 11 13 15 10 12 14 16 17 19 21 23 18 20 22 24 1 3 5 7 2 4 6 8
China	7 8 5 6 3 4 1 2 23 24 21 22 19 20 17 18 15 16 13 14 11 12 9 10
Third Party	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
	Most preferred Least preferred

Table 4.6 Stability analysis with the third party→ equilibrium state

State	R	P	R	P	R	P	Nash	GMR	SMR	SEQ
1	2	8	3,5	18	17	8				
2	1	4	4,6	17	18	7				
3	4	7	1,7	20	19	6				
4	3	3	2,8	19	20	5				
5	6	6	1,7	22	21	4				
6	5	2	2,8	21	22	3				
7	8	5	3,5	24	23	2				
8	7	1	4,6	23	24	1				
9	10	24	11,13	2	17	24				
10	9	20	12,14	1	18	23				
11	12	23	9,15	4	19	22				
12	11	19	10,16	3	20	21				
13	14	22	9,15	6	21	20				
14	13	18	10,16	5	22	19				
15	16	21	11,13	8	23	18	✓	✓	✓	✓
16	15	17	12,14	7	24	17		✓	✓	
17	18	16	19,21	10	1,9	16				
18	17	12	20,22	9	2,10	15				
19	20	15	17,23	12	3,11	14				
20	19	11	18,24	11	4,12	13				
21	22	14	17,23	14	5,13	12				
22	21	10	18,24	13	6,14	11				
23	24	13	19,21	16	7,15	10				
24	23	9	20,22	15	8,16	9				

If the third party prefer EU, the tariffs will still be so high, but the amount of export PV production will be decrease. The conflict still can't be work out.

If the third party prefer China, new preference will be made as this:

Table 4.7 All the decision makers and their preferences

DMs	States
EU	9 11 13 15 10 12 14 16 17 19 21 23 18 20 22 24 1 3 5 7 2 4 6 8
China	7 8 5 6 3 4 1 2 23 24 21 22 19 20 17 18 15 16 13 14 11 12 9 10
Third Party	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
	Most preferred Least preferred

Here is the result:

Table 4.8 Stability analysis with the third party → equilibrium state

State	R	P	R	P	R	P	Nash	GMR	SMR	SEQ
1	2	8	3,5	18	17	24		✓	✓	
2	1	4	4,6	17	18	23				
3	4	7	1,7	20	19	22		✓	✓	
4	3	3	2,8	19	20	21				
5	6	6	1,7	22	21	20		✓	✓	
6	5	2	2,8	21	22	19				
7	8	5	3,5	24	23	18	✓	✓	✓	✓
8	7	1	4,6	23	24	17				
9	10	24	11,13	2	17	8				
10	9	20	12,14	1	18	7				
11	12	23	9,15	4	19	6				
12	11	19	10,16	3	20	5				
13	14	22	9,15	6	21	4				
14	13	18	10,16	5	22	3				
15	16	21	11,13	8	23	2				
16	15	17	12,14	7	24	1				
17	18	16	19,21	10	1,9	16				
18	17	12	20,22	9	2,10	15				
19	20	15	17,23	12	3,11	14				
20	19	11	18,24	11	4,12	13				
21	22	14	17,23	14	5,13	12				
22	21	10	18,24	13	6,14	11				
23	24	13	19,21	16	7,15	10				
24	23	9	20,22	15	8,16	9				

Although there will be an appropriate tariff rate which two sides can all accept, the amount is still very large. This situation will still affect EU's market. So EU can't agree with it.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, the conflict between countries has been analyzed using a graph model, Graph Model for Conflict Resolution. This graph model helps to resolve the conflict between decision makers. In international trade, two nations can enter a dispute because of the law of protectionism. The conflict can be ended and the decision makers can choose the reasonable state and can create peace within each other. In another word, the decision makers can keep and strengthen their partnership if the conflict has been resolved. Case about the intervention of a third party in international trade's conflict has been introduced and analyzed how the graph model can be applied to resolve a conflict.

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Challenges Of Newly Created Districts In Ghana: A Case Study Of The Asante Akim North District

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Abstract

In an effort to bring governance to the doorstep of the people, promote participation in development, provide the citizenry with better conditions of living through better service delivery at the local level, many countries decentralize power and resources to the lower levels through the creation of new districts. Although this is laudable, existing studies do not adequately explain the challenges faced by newly created districts and how these can be overcome. Questionnaires and interview guides were used to interact with 54 high profile officers selected from the administration of the District Assembly, decentralized departments of the Assembly, Town Councils and Unit Committees of the Asante Akim North District to explore the challenges they face. It was revealed that the newly created district faces challenges in the delivery of their mandate. The challenges included incomplete institutional setup, inadequate human resources of key departments, weak logistical capacity, weak financial resource capacity, and poor management of built and natural environments. It is recommended that for newly created District Assemblies to effectively deliver their mandate, the exercise should adopt a comprehensive approach where all key departments are established and made functional. The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development and other relevant ministries should regularly build the capacity of these institutions to make them effective at all times. The newly created district should have its financial resilience built to ensure adequate financial resources for undertaking development programs and projects.

Keywords: Decentralization, District Assembly, Ghana, New Districts, local governance

INTRODUCTION

There have been many calls for decentralization in many developing countries. Decentralization has gained prominence in many African countries such as Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Even though the decentralization programs of these countries differ, there are some common features among them. One of such features is the existence of sub-national level administrative units (Akinyele, 1996; Malesky, 2005; Treisman, 2007; Green, 2008; Ayee, 2012). The decentralization

programs of many countries evolve around sub-national administrative units called States (Nigeria, Sudan, Ethiopia), Regions (Ghana, Tanzania), Districts (Ghana, Uganda), Provinces (South Africa, Kenya) and many others. In some of these countries such as Ghana, more than one of these units or structures operate. However, the composition, structures, functions of these units are different in many countries.

There has been extensive academic debate regarding the virtues and vices of the creation of new districts (see Oates, 1972; Lyons & Lowery, 1989 cited in Ayee, 2012). While a group of scholars support the creation of new districts, there are other scholars who oppose this idea. The main argument for the creation of new districts is the desire to improve service delivery and to encourage lower level participation. Creating new sub-national units helps to improve service delivery (Akinyele, 1996; Malesky, 2005). The better performance of some new districts than their mother districts is usually used to support this argument (Onyach-Olaa, 2013).

This argument is simplistic given the fact that, in most cases, when new districts are created, the districts share staff, revenue base, and transfers from central government on a pro-rata basis with the parent districts until the time that the new district is able to be independent. This forms the basis of scholars who argue against the creating of new district. For example, according to Onyach-Olaa (2013), one of the districts (new or parent district) is bound to lose owing to the nature of the sharing. Creating new districts add more burdens on central government ministries in the aspect of supervision, inspection, mentoring and training towards maintaining standards of service delivery. In the view of Green (2013), the benefits of the creation of new districts are mostly limited to a small number of people who gain access to political or administrative offices and in some instances; it creates as many logistical and administrative problems. The debate around this phenomenon is summed by Green (2013) who noted that, the growing trend of creating new districts in Africa is ascribed to a variety of factors including improved service delivery, electoral calculations, gerrymandering, and ethnic diversity (Suberu, 1991; Mawdsley, 2002; Malesky, 2005).

While the intensity of academic discourse around the motives and relevance of the creation of more sub-national level administrative units is increasing more such units are being created. The number of districts in Uganda increased from 16 in 1962 to 72 in 2006 (Green, 2013), Ghana's districts increased from 65 in 1988 to 216 in 2012 (Ayee, 2012). Although many studies on the creation of sub-national level administrative units have covered wide issues ranging from the performance of these units to issues of their role in the promotion of democratic good governance (Green, 2008; Ayee, 2012; Bwanika, 2012; Green, 2013), issues on how these newly created units operate and the challenges they face do not seem to have received adequate scholarly attention. This paper therefore seeks to examine the challenges of these newly created District Assemblies in delivering their legal mandates using the Asante Akim North District Assembly in Ashanti Region of Ghana which is one of the latest District Assemblies created in 2012.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF DECENTRALIZATION AND THE CREATION OF NEW DISTRICTS

The concept of decentralization is one of the most slippery and difficult-to-define terms since its inception into the realms of governance. Decentralization is a broad term which encompasses many aspects. The term has been conceptualized and re-conceptualized severally to the extent that it tends to mean everything in governance and perhaps development.

For Crook and Manor (2000: 1), decentralization is the “transfer of powers and resources from higher to lower levels in a political system”. In the view of Manor (1999), the concept of decentralization is categorized into three main types: deconcentration (administrative decentralization), fiscal decentralization and devolution (democratic decentralization). Deconcentration refers to the deliberate, conscious and planned movement of higher level agents of government to lower levels with the aim of enhancing governance. Fiscal decentralization has been taken to mean the transfer of control of budgetary functions and decisions to lower levels of government. Devolution is defined as the transfer of power, resources and tasks from higher levels to lower levels of government. Here, the receiving institution is independent from the controls by national government and are somehow democratic. Devolution can work best when there are enough resources both financial and human and an effective accountability system. Devolution is also strengthened by effective civil societal system, respect for the rule of law and formal regulations.

Treisman (2000) noted that decentralization is a system of two kinds i.e. decentralization as a state and decentralization as a process. ‘State’ decentralization is the condition of being decentralized while ‘process’ decentralization is the steps and stages involved in getting decentralized. Treisman (2000; 2002) further explained that decentralization could be looked at and understood from five main perspectives: the structural, decision, resources, electoral and institutional viewpoints. The United Nations Development Program has summarized the argument for decentralization as follows:

Decentralised governance, carefully planned, effectively implemented and appropriately managed, can lead to significant improvement in the welfare of people at the local level, the cumulative effect of which can lead to enhanced human development. Decentralised governance is not a panacea or a quick fix. The key to human development-friendly decentralised governance is to ensure that the voices and concerns of the poor, especially women, help guide its design, implementation and monitoring (UNDP, 2004: 2).

This above quote suggests that decentralization is good and can achieve the intended aim under three conditions: effective planning, effective implementation of plans and effective management. The implication of these is that the mere adoption and implementation of decentralization do not automatically lead to the intended aim of bringing about development in the lives of the local people for whose sake it has always been claimed to be implemented. The practice of decentralization is not a solution to ‘everything’. However, quick observations of the countries that have signed up to the practice appear to consider it as the solution to the problems of governance and development.

Decentralization and the quality of governance have produced mixed interpretations among scholars. Some argue that more decentralized countries (having more tiers) have higher quality governance processes than those countries which are less decentralized. The debate on whether the creation of more districts is a good or bad practice has not yet produced a consensus on the outcomes of decentralization, consequently the evidence is mixed (Oates, 1972; Ayee, 2012).

The theoretical basis of the proponents and opponents of the creation of more districts is based on the ideas of ‘consolidation’ and ‘fragmentation’ (Ayee, 2012). In this paper, scholars who argue for the creation of more districts are termed the ‘fragmentalists’ while those who do not support the creation of more districts are referred to as the ‘consolidationists’.

Consolidationists such as Fox and Gurley argue that larger governments can provide services at a lower cost per unit or deliver quality services at the same lower cost through economies of scale. The goods and services that are indivisible can be properly handled by larger government than very small units. Cost reduction by consolidation should be examined in a broader context to include population density, land area and geographic features rather than using only economies of scale. In a study conducted in Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, it was found that trust in local governments is negatively related to the size of local governments (Fox and Gurley, 2006).

Ayee (2012) has put up four main arguments in favour of consolidation. Firstly, consolidation ensures effective co-ordination. The existence of fewer districts will ensure better management, control and monitoring of the activities of local governments, thereby ensuring better delivery of public goods and services. Secondly, creation of fewer districts will boost regional and local economic development. This is because the creation of many districts which brings about competition among government units within the same region can reduce their economic potential through unnecessary divisions. The competition among units of government in a given region is unwarranted and should target external competitors rather than internal competitors. Thirdly, the creation of fewer districts helps ensure effective, comprehensive and integrated regional, local and land use planning. Lastly, consolidation ensures financial and economic efficiency. The creation of many districts drains national financial resource coffers. This has led to national governments intentionally and/or unintentionally cutting down or curtailing the number of districts by reducing or avoiding the transfer of financial resources to those units of government. In sum, "consolidationists" believe that consolidation of local governments has economic, service delivery, governance and development positives which promote the viability and capabilities of districts.

In the opinion of "fragmentalists", the creation of more districts promotes competition and reduces monopoly power among governments (Fox and Gurley, 2006). Mouiritzen (1989) using Danish survey data found that, smaller levels of governments provide greater satisfaction to customers (citizens). This is due primarily to the reason that smaller settlements are more uniform and homogenous and that participation and democracy are better served when more districts are created. It is also claimed that citizens or consumers in smaller jurisdictions have higher levels of satisfaction than those in larger jurisdictions (Fox and Gurley, 2006).

Fragmentalists believe that greater competition ensures efficiency which could be lost in consolidated governments, reduces the size of governments, and increases service quality, especially in primary and secondary education. Through fragmentation, governments face higher levels of competition which brings about efficient use of resources. Since consolidation limits competition, there is always less efficient and effective resources utilization (Fox and Gurley, 2006).

However, fragmentation is seen by "consolidationists" as a racial promoter which confines racial minority groups to decayed places, thereby secluding minority groups, bringing about government duplication and scale inefficiency, limits administrative expertise and leads to anarchy and irrational service structure (Orfield, 1997 cited in Ayee, 2012).

From the above discussions, it can be concluded that both fragmentation and consolidation have their upsides and downsides. This clearly calls for discretion and intuitive thinking. The

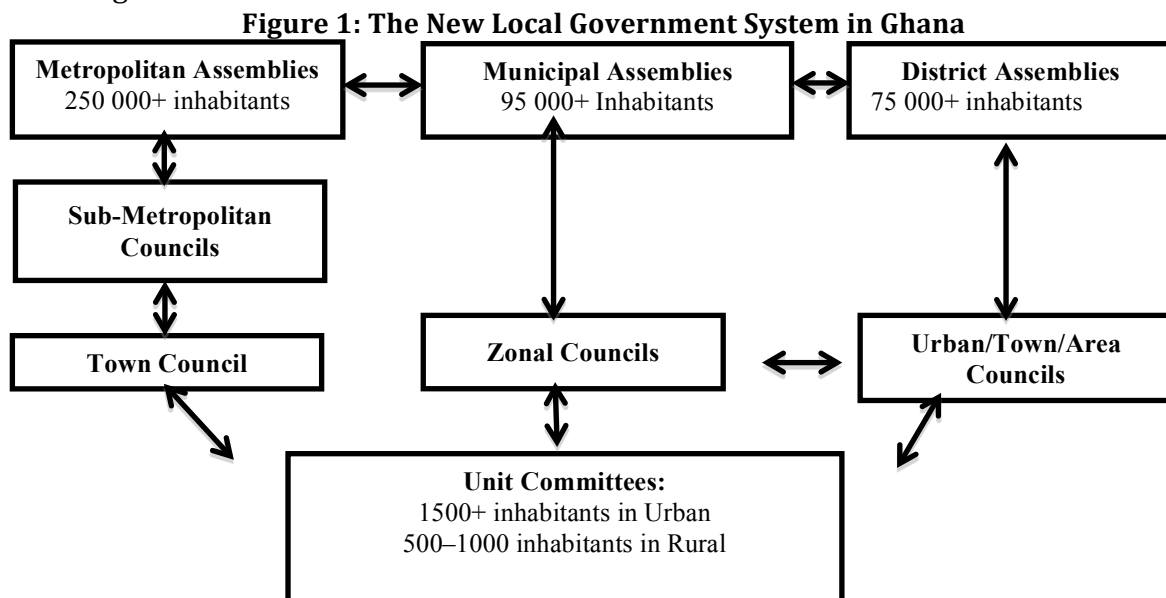
relevance of the use of discretion in this regard is underscored by Yilmaz et al. (2010: 259, 287) cited in Ayee (2012:627) that:

... to increase the developmental impact of decentralization ... it is essential to get the right local governance framework, balancing discretion and accountability ... reducing powers and functions is not a form of accountability. It simply makes local governments irrelevant. The cause of failure vis-à-vis all these complexities is the absence of effective accountability systems, both upward and downward ... upward accountability mechanisms introduced by central governments are necessary but not sufficient to ensure appropriate local discretion. Without sound mechanisms for downward accountability, a sole emphasis on upward accountability limits local government autonomy in decision making and service delivery, negating the intended empowering of local governments.

DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

Ghana implemented a decentralization program in 1988 under the PNDC Law 207 (1988) with the district being the focal point. Local governance is a key component in the decentralization system as provided by the Local Government Act, Act 462 (1993). Local governments are to play very important roles in administration and development at the local level. Being the focal point, the District Assembly is expected to coordinate activities of the lower level structures. Ghana's decentralization establishes a local government which shares central government responsibilities, functions, financial and human resources with local level units.

The decentralization system provides for various levels of administrative units establishing a four-tier system at Metropolitan level and a three-tier system at Municipal and District. The local government structure is classified into three types namely; Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies depending on the number of inhabitants in the area of jurisdiction as shown in Figure 1.



Source: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (1996)

Under the Metropolitan Assemblies are the Sub-Metropolis, Town Councils and the Unit Committees. Under the Municipal Assemblies are the Zonal Councils and the Unit Committees while District Assemblies have the Urban/Town/Area Councils and the Unit Committees under them. Thus, the Unit Committees are the lowest tier in all structures. The Metropolitan,

Municipal and District Assemblies are generally referred to as District Assemblies and this definition is applied to this paper.

LEGAL MANDATES OF MMDAS IN GHANA

Many legal frameworks which outline the mandate of District Assemblies in Ghana include:

1. The Civil Service Law, 1993 (PNDCL 327),
2. The Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462),
3. The National Development Planning (System) Act, 1994 (Act 479),
4. The National Development Planning Commission Act, 1994 (Act 480),
5. The District Assemblies' Common Fund Act, 1993 (Act 455),
6. The Local Government Service Act, 2003 (Act 656),
7. The Institute of Local Government Studies Act, 2003 (Act 647).

The functions of the Assembly are outlined around its executive, legislative and deliberative powers. Thus, the responsibilities assigned to each Assembly are enormous within the resource framework of resource implications. Backed by the various laws and acts, the District Assembly is the highest political and administrative authority in its area of jurisdiction and expected to carry out various responsibilities as outlined in section 10(3) of Act 462 including:

1. Responsible for the overall development of the district;
2. Formulate and execute development plans, programs and strategies for the effective mobilization of the resources necessary for the overall development of the district;
3. Promote and support productive activities and social development in the district and remove any obstacles to initiative and development;
4. Initiate programs for the development of basic infrastructure and provide municipal works and services in the district;
5. Responsible for the improvement and management of human settlements and the environment in the district;
6. Responsible for the maintenance of security and public safety in the district;
7. Ensure ready access to courts in the district for the promotion of justice;
8. Initiate, sponsor or carry out such studies as may be necessary for the discharge of any of the functions conferred by Act 462;
9. Guide, encourage and support sub-district structures, public agencies and local communities to perform their roles in the execution of approved development plans;
10. Initiate and encourage joint participation with other persons or bodies to execute approved development plans;
11. Promote other persons or bodies to undertake projects under approved development plans;
12. Monitor the execution of projects under approved development plans and assess and evaluate their impact on the people's development, the local, district and national economy; and
13. Co-ordinate, integrate and harmonize the execution of programs and projects under approved development plans for the district and other development programs promoted or carried out by Ministries, Departments, public corporations and other statutory bodies and non-governmental organizations in the district.

CREATION OF NEW DISTRICTS IN GHANA

Since the inception of the new decentralized system in 1988 as shown in Table 1, the country has sought to ensure improvement in the governance system through the introduction of administrative changes and increasing the number of districts. Both changes are backed by

legal provisions to ensure legitimacy. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana and the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) both provide for the creation of new districts as stipulated in Article 241 (2) of the constitution. Though the law gives parliament the power to create new districts, the authority is vested in the President as in Section 1(2) which empowers the President by executive instrument to declare any area within Ghana to be a district and assign a name to the district.

The Local Government Act (462) of 1993 provides guidelines for creating new districts. However, there have been persistent controversies in almost every single time new districts are created. Despite concerns surrounding the creation of new districts, Ghana has succeeded in creating new districts. The number of districts increased from 110 in 1988 to 216 in 2012 representing a 96.4% increase. The figures suggest that, the creation of new districts has formed an integral part of Ghana's decentralization program. However, it is not clear how the newly created District Assemblies are able to live up to their mandates.

Table 1: Trend of Creating New Districts in Ghana

Year	Number of Districts	No. additional Created	Total	Percentage Increase
Before 1988	65	45	110	69.2
2004	110	28	138	25.5
2008	138	32	170	23.2
2012	170	46	216	27.1

Source: Ayee (2012)

STUDY CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

The Asante Akim North District is one of the newly created districts in Ghana. It was carved out of the then Asante Akim North Municipality in 2012. It was established by Legislative Instrument (LI) 2057. It is located at the eastern part of Ashanti Region; and it shares boundaries with Sekyere Kumawu District and Sekyere Afram Plains Districts in the North, the Kwahu East District in the East, the Asante Akim South District in the South and the Sekyere East District in the West. It has a total land area of about 1,125 square kilometres. Agogo is the administrative capital (Figure 1).

The population of the district was 68,186 with females constituting 51.2 percent in 2010. About 53.5 percent of the population is rural. About 98.4 percent of the households in the district are involved in crop farming. About 21.7 percent of the district populations are migrants (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The district has three paramount chiefs located at Agogo, Juansa and Domeabra.

This paper employed the case study approach using more qualitative data than quantitative data. The focus of the analysis is on the challenges of newly created districts. The case study approach was considered more appropriate as it entails an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon which in this case is challenges of new district within its real life context (Yin, 2008). This approach, emphasising narratives has the advantage of allowing respondents to express their views, observations and sentiments which are sometimes missing in equally good approaches such as statistical approaches (Thomas, 2011; Gerring, 2007).

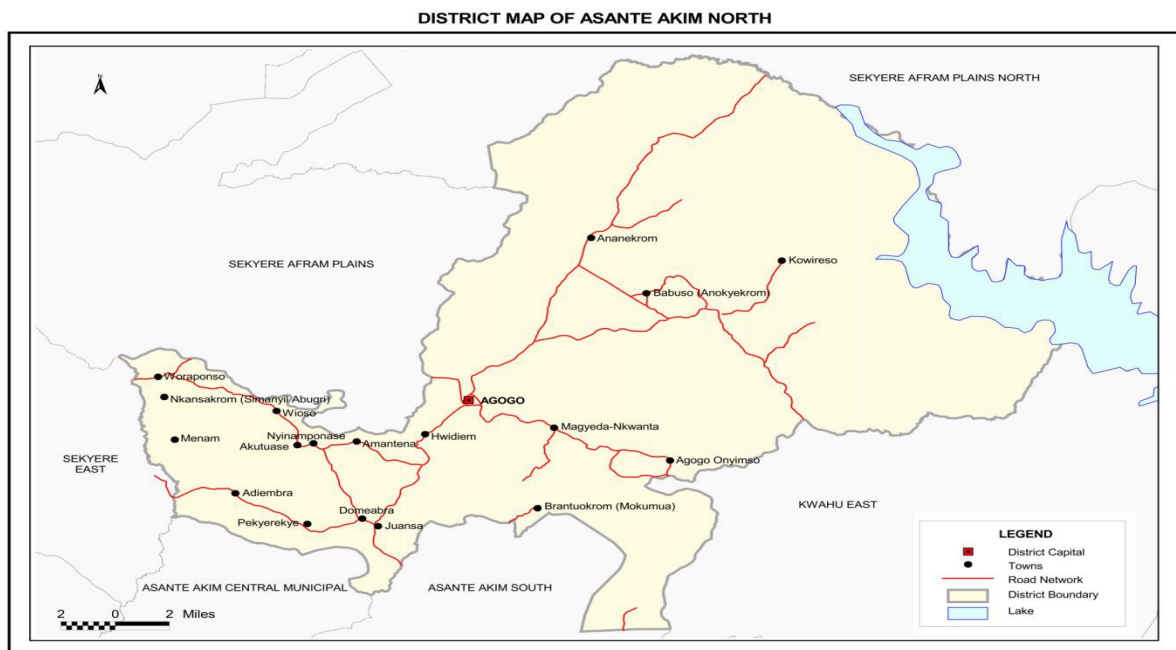


Figure 1: Map of Asante Akim North District

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2014)

The study population was made up of relevant stakeholders in the administration of the district. These included five officers of the central administration, heads of the nine decentralised departments and chairpersons of 10 Town Councils and 20 Unit Committee chairpersons. We also interviewed 10 key informants out of who five were traditional leaders and the other five comprised leaders of transport unions, market women, farmer groups, non-governmental organisation and a head of educational institution. Purposive sampling was employed in selecting the officers of the various departments and key informants.

Both primary and secondary data were collected for the study. Primary data was collected from the District Assembly, decentralized departments, sub-district structures and the key informants. This was done with the use of questionnaires and interview guides. Six weeks between October and November, 2014 were used to collect the primary data. Secondary data was obtained from published documents, journals articles, periodicals, the internet, newspapers and reports from governmental and other relevant organizations. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used in analyzing the data collected. Microsoft Excel was used to analyse the quantitative data while content analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Empirical evidence gathered revealed that challenges of Asante Akim North District Assembly included incomplete institutional setup, inadequate human resource of key departments, weak logistical capacity, weak financial resource capacity, and poor management of the built and natural environments.

Incomplete Institutional Setup

The study found that two of the statutory departments were non-existent in the Asante Akim North District Assembly as shown in Table 2. These were Natural Resources Conservation and

Trade and Industry. The absence of these departments made it difficult for the District Assembly to effectively administer and deliver its mandates.

Inadequate Human Resources of Key Departments

The study revealed that key units such as the District Planning Coordinating Unit, the District Education Unit and the Physical Planning Department were under resourced. High profile officers of the Assembly and key informants lamented that many of the key departments have inadequate number of qualified staff and that hindered the effective running of the day to day affairs of those departments. All available units of the Central Administration of the District Assembly had shortage of human resources. Each unit has a minimum backlog of two personnel as shown in Table 3. The Budgeting & Rating Unit, and Physical Planning Department, which form the pivot of district administration, had backlogs of eight and two persons respectively. Ideally, a District Assembly is expected to have a Planning Officer and a minimum of two assistants. The Asante Akim North District Assembly, however, had only one Planning Officer without any assistant. The case of the decentralized departments and non-decentralized departments was not different. National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) was short of three persons.

Table 2: Statutory Departments and Existing Departments of the Asante Akim North District Assembly

Statutory Departments	Existing Departments
1. Central Administration	1. Central Administration
2. Finance	2. Finance
3. Education, Youth and Sports	3. Education, Youth and Sports
4. District Health	4. District Health
5. Agriculture	5. Department of Agriculture
6. Physical Planning	6. Physical Planning Department
7. Social Welfare and Community Development	7. Department of Social Welfare and Community Development
8. Natural Resources Conservation	8. Not available
9. Works	9. Works Department
10. Industry and Trade	10. Not available
11. Disaster Prevention	11. Disaster Prevention

Source: Field Survey, 2014

The Town and Country Planning Department was established in the Asante Akim North District in February 2013, a year after the creation of the district. At the time of field work, the department was staffed with only two personnel who had no formal training in either human settlement planning and/or development planning. By law, the department was supposed to have five technical personnel and one Planner indicating a backlog of four technical officers.

Further interviews with assembly officials revealed that, the departments in the district would need an average of five additional workers in each existing department and the non-existing department established with personnel if all were to be effective. However, this could only be possible if the Ministry of Local Governance and Rural Development employed more staff as the District Assembly has no legal mandate to employ high caliber of workers.

Weak Logistical Capacity

The District Assembly needs vehicles, computers, photocopiers, printers, and office furniture in order to perform the core mandate. There was no vehicle for the central administration and this made it difficult to monitor projects in communities. The Budget and Rating Unit and the District Planning Coordinating Unit - of the central administration shared one office with one computer and a printer. The entire Assembly shared one photocopier. Less than 50 percent of

individual workers had their personal laptops to help in the administration of the Assembly. The administration was not connected to the internet, thereby making communication with the outside world and research activities very difficult.

Table 3: Human Resource Strength of Key Departments of Asante Akim North District Assembly

Department	No. of Personnel Required	No. of Personnel Available	Backlog
<i>Decentralized</i>			
Central Administration Department	22	13	9
Works Department	10	5	5
Physical Planning Department	6	2	4
Department of Agriculture	7	5	2
Department of Social Welfare and Community Development	6	3	3
Waste Management Department	20	13	7
Budgeting and Rating Unit	20	12	8
District Education Directorate	15	10	5
District Health Directorate	12	9	3
<i>Non-decentralized</i>			
National Commission for Civic Education	9	6	3
Total	127	80	47

Source: Field Survey (2014)

Adequate office space forms a basic component for effectiveness of any organisation and this should be provided before a new district is created. However, the District Administration operated from a compound house-like structure with only four rooms serving as offices. All decentralised departments were also faced with congestion in offices due to limited office space. Mensah (2005) observed that office accommodation would be a big problem when the Assemblies get the full complement.

Insufficient residential accommodation for the core staff of the District Assembly and heads of departments hindered effective running of the district. There was no Assembly owned residential facility although plans were said to be in place to provide some. The Assembly has rented accommodation for a few workers with about 96 percent of the workers providing for their own residential accommodation. This situation has led to some workers commuting to work from outside the district including Kumasi. The results were lateness, absenteeism and high cost of transportation to the staff. Interviews with Assembly officials revealed that central government left the provision of accommodation to the Assembly at the time of its establishment but the Assembly has been unable to do so due to limited funds.

Weak Financial Resource Capacity

The administration of revenue and expenditure influences the Assembly to deliver its mandate. Section 10 of the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) mandates District Assemblies to mobilise resources for development. The financial capacity of the Assembly depends on several factors including the resources available for the district to operate. Like other districts in

Ghana, Asante Akim North District benefits from various internal and external funds. The external sources of revenue for the district included District Assemblies Common Fund (DACF), District Development Facility (DDF) and other Intergovernmental transfers for the payment of salaries.

The level of revenue sources of the Asante Akim North District Assembly for 2012-2013 is presented in Table 4. There are differential contributions of the various IGF heads of the district. Fees and fines were the major sources of IGF contributing about 56 percent, 36 percent and 31 percent for 2012, 2013 and 2014 of IGF respectively. They were followed by rates which contributed about 18 percent, 25 and 27 percent in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. Over the three years, various revenue heads had been unstable. This could be seen from the decline in fees and fines from 56 percent of total IGF in 2012 to 31 percent in 2014, a decrease in rents from about eight percent in 2012 to two percent in 2014. There was an increase in rates from 18 percent in 2012 to 27 percent in 2014. These support the findings of Akudugu and Oppong-Pepurah (2013) that many districts in Ghana have not been able to maintain stable revenue flows. The instability of revenue heads affect planning for development programs which rely on those funds. The instability was attributed to poor mechanism of revenue collection which reflected in the inability to actually achieve revenue targets.

District Assemblies' Common Fund (DACF) and donor funds formed the major sources of revenue for the Asante Akim North District Assembly. The DACF, DDF and other grants contributed about 89 percent, 83 percent and 84 percent in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively as shown in Table 4. IGF contributed only 11 percent, 17 percent and 16 percent of the total revenue in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively. Though there was an increment in the contribution of IGF, it still formed the least contributor to total revenues of the district. Central government transfers in the form of DACF constituted the major source of revenue for the District Assembly in 2012, 2013 and 2014. This supports findings from many of such studies on the role of DACF in district development (see Adarkwa and Adamtey, 2007; Bavere, 2011).

DDF is a performance based grant therefore a district could not be sure about what amount it would receive. In addition, the releases of DACF often delay, thereby making development projects remaining unexecuted. Although such delays affect other District Assemblies in Ghana as well, the impact of this on newly created districts can be more than what older districts would experience. At the time of the survey, the Asante Akim North District Assembly had not received any of its quarterly allocation of the DACF for the past three quarters which made the implementation of projects and programs difficult. The uncertainty of external sources like DACF and DDF affected plan implementation in the district.

The case of Asante Akim North District Assembly revealed a challenge for new districts in effectively putting resource together to mobilize internally generated fund (IGF). Weak internal financial resource mobilization in the district was due to weak institutional set-up for IGF mobilization, inadequate logistics to effectively track revenue sources, inability to identify revenue potentials, inadequate support from regional and national level authorities toward resources mobilization. Thus, potential revenue sources remained untapped and unexploited more especially property taxes. Property tax was particularly unexploited due to the difficult in property valuation as a result of lack of professional valuers.

Table 4: Level of Revenue Sources for the Asante Akim North District Assembly

Revenue Heads	July-Dec 2012		2013		2014	
	GHC	%	GHC	%	GHC	%
Rates	11,664.40	18.06	53,062.40	25.63	76,839.35	26.70
Land	3,560.00	5.51	27,721.75	13.39	41,153.66	14.30
Fees and Fines	36,253.00	56.14	73,831.50	35.66	90,077.59	31.30
License	6786	10.51	31,583.50	15.25	41,297.55	14.35
Rent	4,869.00	7.54	5,467.75	2.64	6,906.91	2.40
Investment	0	0.00	7,971.00	3.85	8,633.63	3.00
Miscellaneous	1,445.00	2.24	7,401.31	3.57	22,879.13	7.95
Sub-total (IGF)	64,577.40	100.00 (11*)	207,039.31	100.00 (17.2*)	287,787.82	100.00 (16*)
District Assemblies' Common Fund (DACF)	521,772.00	100 (89*)	509,571.21	67.55 (42.3*)	844,438.87	55.66 (46.8*)
District Development Facility (DDF)	0	0	244,805.00	32.45 (20.3*)	250,146.48	16.49 (13.9*)
Others	0	0	244,805.00	32.45 (20.3*)	422,458.72	27.85 (24.4*)
Sub-Total (External Grants)	521,712.00	100 (89*)	754,376.00	100.00 (82.8*)	1,517,044.07	100 (84.1*)
Total	586,289.40	100.0	961,415.31	100.0	1,804,831.89	100.0

Note: *Sub-total of IGF and head external grants

Source: Asante Akim North District Assembly (2014).

The situation in the district goes beyond revenue mobilization to the domain of expenditure management. Capital expenditure is the main expenditure head of the Assembly constituting about 81 percent, 82 percent and 80 percent of the total expenditure of the Assembly in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively (see Table 5). This finding contradicts the finding of Osei-Akoto (2007) that, District Assemblies in Ghana incur more recurrent expenditures than capital expenditures. Capital expenditures are reflected in the numerous projects undertaken by the Assembly in the form of provision of schools and health facilities as well as water and sanitation facilities. The high expenditure on capital items by the District is consistent with the fact that the DACF is mandatorily assigned for capital expenditure and this forms the main source of revenue for the District.

Table 5: Levels and Share of Expenditures of the Asante Akim North District Assembly

Heads	July-Dec 2012		2013		2014	
	GHC	%	GHC	%	GHC	%
Personal Emolument	32,543.34	5.0	88,322.35	7.4	140,424.80	6.7
Travelling and Transport	49,465.88	7.6	62,064.36	5.2	148,808.30	7.1
General Expenditure	18,224.27	2.8	26,258.00	2.2	50,301.41	2.4
Maintenance, Repairs and Renewal	4,556.07	0.7	23,87.091	0.2	10,479.46	0.5
Miscellaneous	22,129.47	3.4	35,806.36	3.0	79,643.89	3.8
Capital Expenditure	527,202.1	81.0	977,513.6	81.9	1,666,234	79.5
Total	650,866.80	100.0	1,193,545.31	100.0	2,095,891.89	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

The Asante Akim North District Assembly has over the past three years spent more than its revenues, thereby recording a total deficit of GHC587,767.40 as presented in Table 6. This thus limited the scope and implementation of development projects proposed by the Assembly. The recording of deficits confirms the findings of Mensah (2005) that many District Assemblies in Ghana run on deficit accounts. Continuous record of deficits reduces credit worthiness of the Assembly in the sight of contractors and suppliers. Mensah (2005) also observed that District Assemblies could hardly perform without external funding so delays in the release of such funds greatly affect the District Assemblies irrespective of being old or new.

Table 6: Revenue-Expenditure Pattern of the Asante Akim North District Assembly

Item	2012	2013	2014	Total
Revenue (GHC)	586,289.40	961,415.31	1,804,831.89	3,352,536.60
Expenditure (GHC)	650,866.80	1,193,545.31	2,095,891.89	3,940,304.00
Deficit (GHC)	64,577.40	232,130.00	291,060.00	587,767.40

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

Poor Management of the Built and Natural Environments

Per Section 10 Sub-section 3 Clause 6 of Act 462, District Assemblies are mandated to take responsibility for the development, improvement and management of human settlements and the environment under their jurisdiction. This is to make built environment livable, capable, secured and competitive as well as to conserve and protect the natural environment. The built environment as a complex system is both directly and indirectly interrelated with the natural environment. The development of human settlements and the growing nature of residential and commercial activities in the study district have made the management of the district's built and natural environments extremely difficult. The existing Physical Planning Department is not empowered enough to manage these environments.

The Department of Town and Country Planning was supposed to manage the spatial development in settlements, however, many of the settlements in the district do not have layouts and this has led to haphazard development. The only settlement with a layout is the district capital, Agogo. Even there, enforcement is weak; building regulations were not complied with undermining the effectiveness of land-use pattern. The issue of enforcement of building regulations was almost beyond the capacity of the relevant institutions. This has culminated in the haphazard springing up of unauthorized building and structures in many parts of the district, especially in Agogo.

The housing environment in the main towns such as Agogo and Juansa were characterized by poor drains, heaps of solid waste, unkempt surroundings, and most of the households used the public dump for solid waste disposal. In terms of liquid waste disposal, about 90 percent of the households disposed their wastes either on their compounds, on the immediate street outside their houses or into nearby drains and gutters. There were inadequate public and household latrines, thereby exacerbating pressure on the few public toilets resulting in indiscriminate defecating. All these were attributed to the inability of the District Assembly to effectively manage activities in the built environment.

The natural environment of the Asante Akim North District has altered markedly owing to human activities. The forests, rivers and soils have all been negatively impacted. The natural environment was not effectively managed. The forests and grassland resource endowments of the District has got a multiplicity of interests including farmers, lumbers, sand winners and

most importantly the Fulani herdsmen. This has resulted in conflicts among Fulani herdsmen and the local community members, who are mainly crop farmers. The herdsmen often lead cattle to destroy farms and water bodies of the area.

Most of the key informants and Unit Committee members reported that the conflicts have instilled fear and insecurity among the local residents of the Asante Akim North District. Several people, especially crop farmers have lost their lives and livelihoods in the hands of the herdsmen who are armed with AK47 rifle and other deadly weapons. The complication of the conflict lies in the fact that the cattle were not only owned by the foreign Fulanis but there were also some of the cattle owned by the politically powerful individuals and chiefs in the area. These have empowered the Fulani herdsmen to continue to stay to cause havoc despite the High Court ruling to evict the herdsmen from the area.

THE WAY FORWARD

The challenges are a pointer to the areas which require action to enable newly created districts such as the Asante Akim North District to effectively perform their functions.

Comprehensive Approach to Creation of Districts

There is the need to move away from the incremental approach to establishing districts to a comprehensive approach. Comprehensive approach in this context refers to the process where districts are established with all structures and adequate resources put in place and functioning in full capacity. In the case of incremental approach, units and departments are established as the population of the district grows. This approach stifles effectiveness of the district, especially at the early stages. Adopting a comprehensive approach would help in reducing stress and pressure on a new District Assembly. In establishing new districts, effective planning needs to be adopted and implemented in the establishment process. This should be a collaborative effort among the central government, Ministry of Local Governance and Rural Development, all sectoral ministries, relevant traditional authorities and local communities.

Institutional Capacity Building

There is the need to build both human resource and logistical capacity of new District Assemblies. The integration of institutional capacity in the Functional Organizational Assessment tools for District Development Fund and Urban Development Facility is a positive step since District Assemblies do not have the legal mandate to employ staff. The Ministry of Local Governance and Rural Development should ensure each district is provided with adequate staff at the time of its establishment. This would help eliminate the situation where new districts work with just few staff but are expected to work effectively and efficiently. The central government should set aside a portion of funds transferred to newly created districts to be used for building logistical capacity. Funds should therefore be specifically made available for providing office and residential accommodation as well as logistics including computers, printers and vehicles needed for effective functioning of a district. These would help reduce the burden on the IGF of newly created districts at the early stages.

Building Financial Resilience of Districts

Building financial resilience of new districts through an established fund designed purposely for new districts will be a positive step towards an era where new districts will be fully operational with limited constraints. This fund should provide financial fallback mechanism to reduce the financial vulnerability of newly created district. The process of building the financial

resilience of new districts should incorporate building strong and effective local resources mobilizing institutions to effectively undertake local resource mobilization at the early ages of districts.

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that the Asante Akim North District, a newly created district is challenged in diverse ways, thereby limiting its effectiveness and efficiency to execute its mandate, vision and mission. The challenges include incomplete institutional setup, inadequate human resources of key departments, weak logistical capacity, weak financial resource capacity, and poor management of the built and natural environments.

Ensuring that the district serves as the highest administrative and legislative authority at the local level to promote socio-economic development requires that the creation of new districts be done comprehensively with all key departments in place. The financial resilience of new districts should be built to ensure the availability of financial resources for the execution of development projects and programs. The capacity of key institutions should also be built to ensure that all aspects of district development are effectively catered for by the government and other stakeholders.

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Looking towards the Forest: Women's Firewood Consumption and Environmental Degradation in Bayelsa State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The issue of deforestation as a contributory trigger for environmental degradation continues to stay at the centre of global debate on climate change. However, little empirical effort has been directed toward understanding the effect of firewood consumption by rural women and how this contributes to environmental degradation around the world. In the light of this knowledge gap, this paper sets off to show the effect of women's use of firewood on forest resources and how this contributes to environmental degradation in Bayelsa State and the Niger Delta in general. It asserts that women's dependence on firewood for domestic and commercial purposes leads to the progressive deterioration of forest resources and by extension environmental degradation. Based on the assumptions of the Materialist Feminist theory, the core argument in this paper is that women in the study area are materially marginalized and as a result, they depend on the natural environment for petite economic survival. As a result, the struggle to raise their income level drives women into putting pressure on forests resources through firewood consumption and this in turn creates conditions that lead to environmental degradation through the loss of biodiversity, increase in carbon emission and sustained flooding. The findings of the study have implications for policy and practice. It is based on these implications that useful suggestions and recommendations are made.

Keywords: Women, Firewood Consumption, Environmental Degradation, Bayelsa State.

BACKGROUND

The issue of deforestation as a contributory trigger for environmental degradation continues to stay at the centre of global debate on climate change and women play a significant role in the debate on environment and sustainable development both at the local and international arenas. Within the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, this relationship is only beginning to assume a central place in development discourse especially within the context of the deteriorating livelihood conditions in the rural areas. The patriarchal structure of communities in the Niger Delta and Nigeria at large which is often enabled by the culture of the people creates socio-economic disincentives for mostly women who are often left with no choice but to exploit their immediate environment in the quest for survival. Gabriel (2008) while supporting this position has argued that "there is a correlation between women facing adverse socio-economic

conditions in the Niger Delta region and natural resource use especially because they depend on the environment for their daily needs such as water, fuel, food, and many more”.

Gender perspectives in the study of global environment problems have shown that women not only endure the most of negative feedbacks from the environment, but also play a significant role in contributing to the problem of ecosystem degradation. This human-environment interplay poses worrisome challenges as they reduce the quality of life of women and the entire human population of the Niger Delta, Nigeria and the World in general. While the geographical scope of this paper is Bayelsa State, its central thesis is by no means limited to the state or the Niger Delta region bringing to mind one of the most frequently used slogan in environmental studies “think globally and act locally”.

In the Niger Delta, women tend to show a huge appetite for forest related activities and most of these have negative consequences for forest resources especially the cutting down of trees. It must be said however, that this adverse environmental action is not deliberate, but a falloff of the unenviable economic position that women find themselves as poor housewives who have to depend on forest resources for their daily sustenance. Adeyemi (2009) rightly captured this situation when he adduced that women in the Niger Delta are poor housewives usually petite farmers who use firewood for cooking and for commercial purposes. He went further to argue that, this condition, though small in nature, has a serious deleterious effect on our forest resources. Adeyemi’s position speaks volume of the relationship between women and deforestation in Bayelsa State and the Niger Delta region in general.

The overdependence on the use of firewood by women for domestic and commercial purposes act as a driver for deforestation and associated environmental problems. In Bayelsa State as well as other parts of the Niger Delta, indigenous communities continue to lose their natural forests—along with valuable biodiversity: soil, water conservation, and climate regulation which the ecosystems provide. Research has shown that human activities such as clearing of forest areas for domestic and industrial purposes are responsible for deforestation and ultimately environmental degradation.

This adverse environmental condition has been strongly linked to flooding, erosions and the more troubling global climatic change (GCC). However, while existing literatures have highlighted the human denominator in the depletion of the environment, the feminine dimension of this problem in rural areas is still empirically hazy suggesting a need for further studies. Based on this critical gap in knowledge on the use of forest resources, this study provides empirical insight into the relationship between women’s firewood consumption and environmental degradation in Bayelsa State, Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The major aim of the study is to provide systematic insight into the impact of women’s firewood consumption on environmental degradation in Bayelsa States. More specifically, the objectives of the study are to:

1. establish a relationship between women and firewood consumption in Bayelsa State
2. establish a relationship between women’s consumption of firewood and environmental degradation in Bayelsa State
3. recommend ways of reducing women’s consumption of firewood in the Niger Delta region

Hypotheses

H1: Poverty is likely to be a significant driver of firewood consumption by women in Bayelsa State

H2: Women's firewood consumption is likely to lead to deforestation and ultimately environmental degradation in Bayelsa State

Review of Related Literature

An examination of theoretical and practical literature on the subject matter suggest a strong link between gender, environment and natural resource utilization. However, very few of the studies have been able to clarify the gender differentials in the use of forest resources especially in a country like Nigeria where data capture is only beginning to gain grounds. Within the broad umbrella of environmental studies in the social sciences and the attempt to mainstream gender analysis into natural resource management and more broadly into development policy interventions, its tools and techniques seem to have completely deviated from the norm with regards to the theoretical norm of gender as an analytical approach (Leach, 2007).

Scholarly works in this area have been influenced by strands of feminist and post-colonial theories that effectively destabilize gender as a central analytical category. Worse still, they tend to explore multidimensional subjectivities surrounding relationship of gender to the subject matter especially in terms of how men and women exploit the physical environment. According to Leach (2007) this trajectory of thought served a specific rhetorical purpose that was intensified through the United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland) report in 1987, and a similar Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Brazil in 1992, where alliances amongst feminist activists from across the world were forged to produce the Women's Action Agenda 21.

While the theoretical haziness continued within the domains of international organizations such as the United Nations, country-specific concerns on the role of women in environment began to grow with evidence of polar arguments between those who see women as caregivers of nature and those who see them as exploiters of nature albeit other intervening variables. Agrawal (1992) reports that the exploration of the links between women and the environment in the World began in Asia, stimulated largely by compelling stories of rural and indigenous women saving trees and thwarting the destroyers of forests and forest livelihoods. Two popular strands – a particular variant of ecofeminism from a Southern perspective and Women, Environment and Development (WED) – posited natural connections between women and environmental resources, showing rural women as the unrecognized caretakers of the environment, and in whose care the Earth and its resources had better chances of surviving for future generations (Shiva, 1989). From the caregiving perspective, Shiva argued that where rural, indigenous women are the original givers of life and are therefore the rightful caretakers of nature, the earth gets motherly care. WED's logic, unlike Shiva's more spiritualist-cultural premise, was that women were adversely affected by environmental degradation due to a natural gender division of labour. According to Argawal (1992:31)

In this division, women are usually assigned reproductive roles, explaining why they were chiefly responsible for the collection of forest products and food for daily household subsistence. Planners interpreted this to mean that women should then be targeted in conservation projects since their daily roles connected them more closely to natural resources.

Among the variables that define the closeness of women to the exploitation of forest resources is the issue of poverty especially in rural areas. In another study, Agrawal (1994) identified poverty as the critical turning point for deforestation occasioned by fuelwood (firewood) consumption for household use and commercial purposes especially in rural areas. This is a view that is extended in different ways by contributors to the study of social relationships with environment especially those who hold the anthropocentric view in ecological studies. Together, they also challenge the position that gender is primarily relevant only within households (a view that is often stated in mainstream environmental and political ecology research) and instead see it as salient factor in policy and practice across a variety of scales, and within institutions central to natural resource governance, from gendered property relations to the gendered positions of actors within organizations charged with governing or managing natural resources (Resurrection and Elmhirst, 2008).

From the above position, it is not necessarily gender that depletes forest resources but rather poverty that drives humans to rely heavily on the exploitation of natural resources for their survival. The central thesis therefore as propounded by Adeyemi (2009), is the fact that in rural areas especially in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria where poverty high, women are more disposed to degrading the environment due to their vulnerability to adverse livelihood conditions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is possible to identify four main currents within feminist thought in social science literature; Liberal, Radical, Socialist; and Marxist Feminism. However, Materialist Feminism emerged as a theoretical bridge between the classical Marxist theory and the classical Feminist theories. Hennessy (1993) traces the origins of Materialist Feminism to the works of British and French feminists who preferred the term materialist feminism to Marxist feminism because, in their view, Marxism had to be transformed to be able to explain the sexual division of labour in society. Hennessy had pointed out that Marxism was inadequate to the task because of its class bias and focus on production, while feminism was also problematic due to its essentialist and idealist concept of woman; this is why materialist feminism emerged as a positive alternative both to Marxism and feminism (Hennessy, 1993).

Fundamentally, Materialist Feminism is built on the theoretical assumption that “the masculine nature of materialism in capitalist societies created a situation where women tend to be edged out, exploited and marginalized” (Ekpenyong, Raimi and Ekpenyong, 2009). Relating this to environmental degradation, Hennessy (1993) argued that as women remain outside the materialist framework of capitalism in favour of men, they are forced to rely on exploitation of available natural resources usually forest for their survival. This to them is the reason why women engage in fuelwood (firewood) consumption more pervasively than their male counterparts. This skewed pattern of social-economic relationship represents some degree of institutionalized patriarchy where a cultural and materialist form of alienation is perpetrated against women by their male counterparts in the Niger Delta region and most parts of the Nigerian society.

It is important to note that the broad context of materialism carries the notion of economic struggles within a definite mode of production. Much as this is the case, materialist feminist theory creates the opportunity for scholars of gender studies to delve into the analysis of the marginalization of women especially in terms of access to and use of economic resources. In this regard, the marginalization of women tend to create an enabling condition for their

impoverishment by men in society. This underlying assumption allows us to immediately understand the struggle for economic survival of women through the collection of firewood for domestic and commercial purposes especially in a place like Bayelsa State which is largely rural in nature. The theory is therefore relevant to this study especially as it creates the analytical opportunity to understand that women depend on firewood and other natural resources for livelihood incentives as a result of their marginalization from mainstream access to economic property by the structure of patriarchy in society.

METHODOLOGY/STUDY AREA

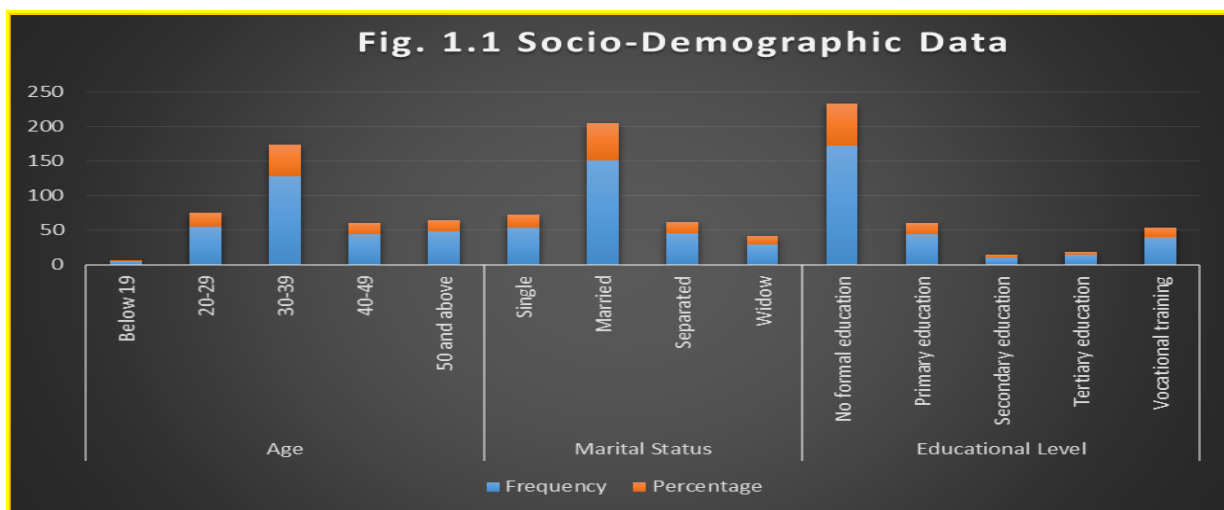
The study adopts the survey method. It was carried out in three Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Bayelsa State, Nigeria. Bayelsa State is located in the center of the Niger-Delta which is one of the world's largest wetlands and Africa's largest Delta covering 70,000km². Bayelsa State is dissected centrally, by longitudes 6 degrees East, and latitude 4 degrees 30 minutes North (Alagoa, 1999). There is a diversity of ethnic communities living side by side in the State. However, the dominant linguistic group is the Ijoid.

The three Local Government Areas where the study was undertaken are Nembe, Sagbama and Ekeremor. A total of 300 respondents were selected using cluster and systematic random sampling techniques out of which 100 women each were drafted from each of the LGAs. For collecting relevant data from the respondents, a self-designed instrument (questionnaire) and an interview schedule was prepared considering the objectives in view. The analytical methods include simple percentage and the Pearson Product Moment Correlation (r) statistical techniques.

RESULTS

The presentation and discussion is based on a collated questionnaire of 280 representing 93% of retrieved questionnaire. Simple descriptive histogram was used for the socio-demographic data, while Pearson Product Moment Correlation statistics was applied to test the hypotheses.

Respondents of various ages participated in the study. The most common age range was 30-39. Over 50% of participants were married. It is also important to note that a large number of the participants/respondents in this study had no formal education as the data reveals in Figure 1.1 below. This educational limitation accounted for why the service of an interpreter was invaluable as a field assistant.



Source: Field Survey, 2015

Figure 1.1 above shows information on three socio-demographic variables of respondents in the study. It is easy to see that 128(46%) of the respondents fall under the age bracket of 30-39 years, with the next highest age bracket being 20-29 years (20%), followed by 40-49 years age bracket (16%). On the other hand, the section on marital status reveal that 150(54%) of the respondents are married, 54(19%) are single, 46(16%) and 30(11%) of the respondents are separated and widowed respectively.

Finally, on the educational level of respondents, (172/61%) of the respondents have no formal education, 44(16%) of them had primary education, 10(4%) and 14(5%) had secondary and tertiary education respectively, while 40(14%) of them has vocational education/training. The data on level of education simply reminds our readers that a significant proportion of women population living in rural areas in Bayelsa State and indeed the entire Niger Delta region have very little formal education. This low literacy level apart from reducing the ability of rural women in terms of gaining meaningful employment and income, also constitute to a major setback in their knowledge of the relationship between firewood consumption, and environmental degradation in the region.

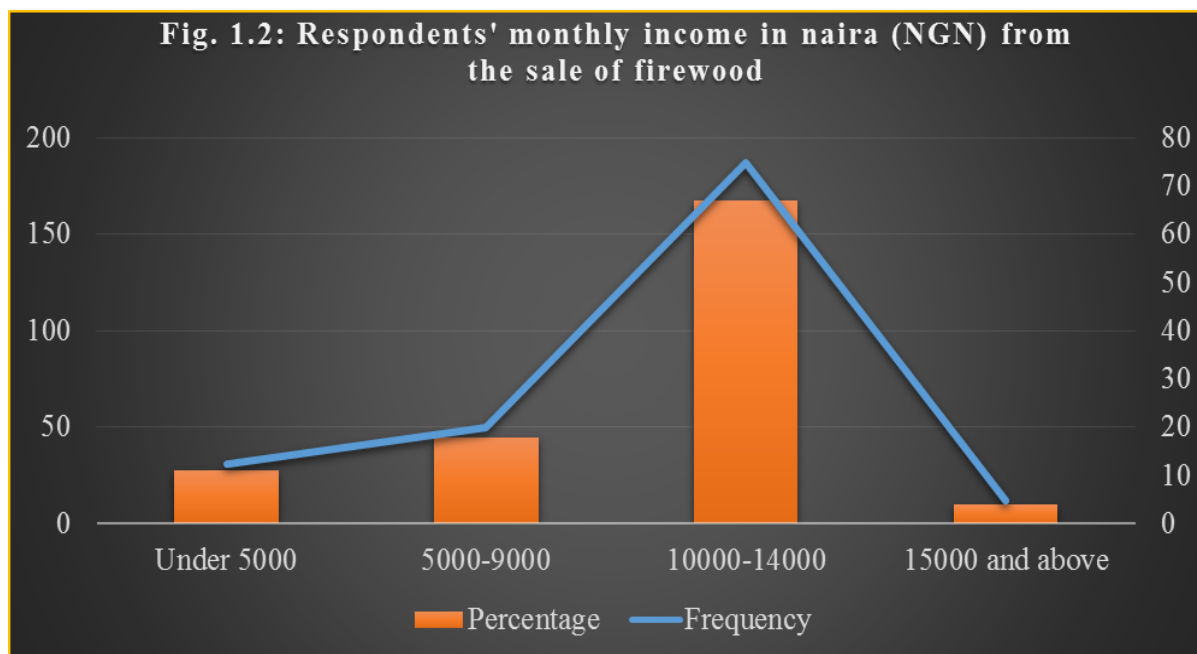
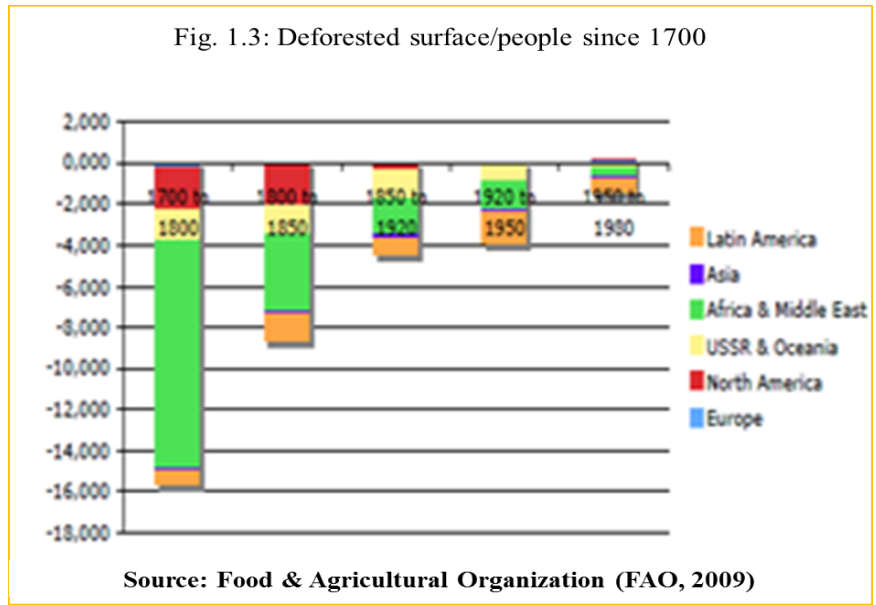


Figure 1.2 shows the average income of the respondents (in naira) based on the sale from firewood. The data represented in the figure revealed that 31(11%) of the respondents earn less than N5000.00 in a month from the sale of firewood, 50(18%) of the respondent earn between N5000 – N10, 000.00, 187(67%) of the respondents earn between N10, 000.00 and N15, 000.00 while about 12(4%) of them earn above N15, 000.00 monthly. It should be emphasized that as low income earners from the sale of firewood strive to raise the bar of their income, more pressure is put on available trees causing deforestation and by extension the natural environment continues to deteriorate leading to degradation. The relationship between low income and resource depletion does not only apply at the individual level alone, as indicated by macro studies. In other words, low income countries are known to put more pressure on forest resources more than high income countries of the world. This scenario is aptly captured in the report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of 2009 (see chart below).



According to the FAO (2009), since 1979 the total loss of forest land increased from 75,000 square kilometers to 126,000 square kilometers. This was followed in the 1980s by an annual increase of 132,000 km² (Myers, 1994). The World Bank (1992) estimates the overall annual rate of tropical deforestation worldwide, since the 1980s to have been 0.9 percent. According to this estimate Africa, South-East Asia and the 14 developing countries in South America, have already lost more than 250,000 hectares of tropical forests. Worldwide, however Latin America had the highest deforestation rate with 85 million hectares of forestland lost within the period described above especially in Brazil where nearly 150,000 square kilometers of forest has been depleted (Butler, 2010). Both the FAO and Global Forest Resources Assessment (GFRA, 2000) estimated that in just over 400 years all of the world's 3,869 million hectares of forest will be gone.

The depletion of forests as a result of firewood consumption in rural areas of Nigeria such as Bayelsa State in the Niger Delta region has significant deleterious consequences on the environment especially as it has been associated with climate change and flooding. Bariweni, Tawari and Abowei (2012) have argued that the loss of vegetation (deforestation) increases the risk of flooding, its duration and impact in the Niger Delta region.

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

H1: Poverty is likely to be a significant driver of firewood consumption by women in Bayelsa State

Table 1.1: Pearson Product Moment Correlation (r) Result for Hypothesis 1

Response	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²	$n\sum xy - \sum x \sum y$
SA	40	80	3200	1600	6400	6400
A	70	40	2800	4900	1600	
Undecided	42	40	1680	1764	1600	
SD	88	40	3520	7744	1600	
D	40	80	3200	1600	6400	
Total	280	280	14400	17608	17600	
n=5						$r=.665$

Source: Field Survey, 2015

Based on the correlation result in Table 1.1 above which shows that calculated r is equal to .665, the study upholds that there is a moderate correlation between poverty and firewood consumption by women in Bayelsa State. This simply leads to the conclusion that although poverty is a factor in firewood consumption by women, it does not sufficiently account for the magnitude of deforestation and environmental degradation in Bayelsa State.

H2: Firewood consumption is likely to lead to deforestation and ultimately environmental degradation in Bayelsa State

Response	X	Y	XY	X ²	Y ²	$n\sum XY - \sum X \sum Y$
SA	20	18	8000	400	324	54320
A	72	62	4464	5184	3844	
Undecided	40	38	1520	1600	1444	
SD	48	70	3360	2304	4900	
D	100	92	9200	10000	8464	
Total	280	280	26544	19488	18976	
n=5						$r=.970$

Source: Field Survey, 2015

Drawing from the r calculated result presented in Table 1.2 above which is equal to .970, the study upholds that there is a high correlation between firewood consumption, deforestation and environmental degradation in Bayelsa State. This finding is supported by previous researches. For instance, Mallo and Ochai (2009) in their study conclude that the search for firewood is one of the primary cause of deforestation in developing countries. In the same vein, Ayuba and Dami (2011) indicted firewood harvesting as a major cause of the massive destruction of the indigenous forest in Abuja the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, while Bello (2007) pointed out that the demand for firewood is a major cause of deforestation in northern Nigeria.

Based on the findings of this study, it is worthy to note that deforestation as a result of women's dependence of firewood for domestic and commercial purposes is both an economic and environmental problem. This is so because important values are lost, some perhaps irreversible. The cost of deforestation or forest depletion could be very high especially for the Niger Delta wetland which houses the largest mangrove forest in Africa (FAO, 2009). Adeyemi (2009) supports this economic argument when he adduced that the foregone cost or opportunity cost of forest use in terms of timber rentals from primary and secondary forestland is in the order of US\$ 625-750 million annually. This excludes the cost of logging damage, fire and other non-timber forest products. However, in Bayelsa State, overuse of forest resources by women leads to serious depletion and the inevitable destruction of habitats for diversity of life forms. Also, it destabilizes the entire ecosystem function thereby exposing the area to other forms of environmental hazards such as flooding and pollution.

As a result, it is a statement of fact that the mangrove forest of Nigeria's Niger Delta where Bayelsa is located has witnessed serious depletion. This is primarily owing to the fact that rural livelihood in this region is often enabled by the exploitation of the mangrove forest and its resources especially by poor women. The mangrove forest is utilized as a source of firewood,

stake pole production, fish traps, boat carving, fishing, platforms as well as shoreline protection.

The growing human population and overdependence on natural resources for livelihood have been described (Mmom, 2007) as major factors in mangrove forest depletion. Although crude oil exploration and exploitation in the region has been identified as a major causal factor with regard to environmental degradation in the Niger Delta, the unregulated use of firewood for domestic (such as cooking, heating and other artistic tools) and commercial purposes also contributes to a major aspect of environmental degradation such as climate change and flooding. This is even worse for Bayelsa State and the Niger Delta because its lush mangrove forest is gradually depleting and is likely to face extinction in the near future.

CONCLUSION/ RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has shown that poor rural women in Bayelsa State and the Niger Delta in general actually look to the forest for a large part of their livelihood. It showed clearly that firewood consumption for household (cooking) and commercial purposes pose significant threat to the lush mangrove forest of the region in addition to being a contributory factor to environmental degradation in the area. It is the conclusion this study that women in Bayelsa and indeed the Niger Delta region consume firewood since they engage more in household cooking and most often fending for their families. This gives justification to the fact that more women also engage in commercial sale of firewood for sustenance. Further, the paper concludes that a relationship exists between firewood consumption, deforestation and environmental degradation.

Sadly, women in Bayelsa State do not have the required infrastructure to use alternative means of cooking especially given their level of economic disadvantage. For instance, the absence of electricity in most rural areas in Bayelsa State seems to be a worrisome factor to the women who claimed they would have at least tried using electric cookers. It is clear that women are forced by their adverse economic conditions which is often exacerbated by their marginalization from property holdings to look towards the forest for their survival.

Based on the findings and conclusions reached in this study, the following recommendations are proffered to mitigate the problem of firewood consumption by women in Bayelsa State and the Niger Delta in general.

- There is every need to carry out a serious environmental sensitization campaign for rural women concerning the dangers of deforestation especially as it concerns the natural environment. This could be carried out through women leaders in rural areas to ensure that women under them take the campaign and the learning associated with it seriously.
- Having discovered the resource potentials of rural areas, it is necessary to develop a very sound environmental policy, specifically to look at women and firewood consumption. This new environmental policy should have serious sanctions in order to ensure that rural women adhere to it. Reducing the rate of deforestation could improve the incidents and severity of floods in the region.
- There is also the need to get serious with the issue of poverty alleviation for rural women in order to reduce their overdependence on firewood for cooking and most especially for commercial use. This can be done by government through a sound and sustained agricultural development programme for rural women.
- Rural infrastructure such as electricity should also be provided as this creates the much-needed alternative means of cooking for rural women.

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