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EDITORIAL:

In Volume 14 1 2010, the ASR published Isabela de Aranzadi's brilliant ethnographic piece on the Annobonese and the Fernandinos musical culture *(A Transatlantic drum's Journey after the slavery from Africa to America and Back: Annobonese and Fernandinos musical culture)*. It was a study of a transatlantic drum's journey from Africa to America and back. The piece, we gathered, was very much welcomed by scholars of returning ex-slaves to Africa and anthropologists interested in the rituals, dance and music of this group of Africans. We follow this up, in this issue, with another of such work with Aranzadi's engaging piece on the Ñañigos of Fernando Po. The Ñañigos were members of Cuban society who were deported to Fernando Po in the nineteenth century. Aranzadi discusses this group of Cuban deportees to Fernando Po, using a combination of reports in Spanish newspapers of the period, archival documents and interviewing those that could be referred to as carriers of history (oral historians). She highlights the historical reasons for the presence of the group in Fernando Po, pointing to their cultural (music, dance and rituals) resistance to colonization. It was the resistance that spurred the Spanish government to use Fernando Po to harbor them: the resisting group was sent off to the island. Aranzadi developed a narrative of memory embodied in music, songs and dance. In the narrative, the thread in the movement out of Africa through slavery and the movement back as ex-slaves and anti-oppression fighters is laid bare thus giving the piece its strength and in a way connecting it to her earlier piece in the journal

Dans son volume 14 1 2010, la RAS a publié le travail ethnographique brillant d'Isabela de Aranzadi sur la culture musicale des Annobonese et des Fernandinos*(A Transatlantic drum's Journey after the slavery from Africa to America and Back: Annobonese and Fernandinos musical culture)* Ce fut une étude sur le voyage, aller-retour, transatlantique d'un tambour de l'Afrique à l'Amérique. L'article a été très bien accueilli par les intellectuels d'anciens esclaves de retour en Afrique et par les anthropologues qui s'intéressent aux rituels, à la danse et à la musique de ce groupe d'Africains. Dans ce présent numéro, nous poursuivons ce qui précède, avec un autre travail similaire et captivant d'Aranzadi sur les Ñañigos de Fernando Po. Les Ñañigos étaient des membres de la société cubaine déportés à Fernando Po au XIXe siècle. Aranzadi traite ce groupe de déportés cubains à Fernando Po, en utilisant une combinaison de rapports dans les journaux espagnols de l'époque, des archives et des entretiens avec ceux qui pourraient être considérés comme des porteurs de l'histoire (des historiens oraux). Elle éclaire les raisons historiques de la présence du groupe à Fernando Po, en mettant l'accent sur leur résistance culturel (musique, danse et rituels) face à la colonisation. Ce fut la résistance qui avait poussé le gouvernement espagnol à utiliser Fernando Po comme lieu de déportation : le groupe des résistants a été envoyé sur l'île. Aranzadi a développé un récit de mémoire incarnée dans la musique, les chants et la danse. Dans le récit, le fil dans le mouvement hors de l'Afrique à travers l'esclavage et le mouvement de retour comme anciens esclaves et combattants « anti-oppression » est mis à nu donnant ainsi à l'article sa force avec une connexion, en quelque sorte, à l'article précédemment publié dans la revue.

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Ndorobo Notions of Relationship with Other

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Abstract

Among the Maa-speaking Ndorobo people on the southern Mau escarpment in Kenya, basic assumptions concerning Other are foundational for how an individual interacts with all that is outside of Self.[1] In the course of field research in the Ndorobo homeland, three categories of significant Other were distinguished in Ndorobo world view.[2] In this article these three Ndorobo categories of Other will be discussed with particular attention given to how these categories govern notions of relationship between Ndorobo and their classifications of Other. Classificatory distinctions are made between relationships of an individual Ndorobo with: (1) community Other (community in-group), (2) earthly Other (ethnic out-groups), and (3) supernatural Other (spirit beings).
Keywords: *Community, Harmony/unity, Relationship, Ndorobo, Supernatural, Ethnicity*

Resume

Parmi les personnes Maa -saxons Ndorobo sur le sud escarpement de Mau au Kenya , les hypothèses de base concernant les autres sont à la base de la façon dont un individu interagit avec tout ce qui est en dehors de soi . Dans le cadre de recherches sur le terrain dans la patrie Ndorobo , trois catégories de Significant Other ont été distingués dans Ndorobo vision du monde . Dans cet article, ces trois catégories de Ndorobo Autre seront examinées avec une attention particulière à la façon dont ces catégories régissent les notions de relation entre Ndorobo et leurs classifications des Autres . Classificatoires distinctions sont faites entre les relations d'un individu Ndorobo avec : (1) Autres communauté (communauté en groupe) , (2) Autres terrestre (hors- groupes ethniques) , et (3) Autres (surnaturels êtres spirituels) .
Mots-clés: *Communauté , Harmony / unité , relation,*

Introduction

The centrality of categorization to human cognitive processing is well established across academic disciplines. Anthropologists such as Barth (1969:p.10) and Jenkins (1997:p.54) recognized ethnic groups using classification to distinguish one's ethnic identity and expected behavior between Self and all who are not. It is possible to study categories of self identity at the macro-race or macro-national level and at the micro-individual, unofficial level (Brubaker et al 2004:p.33). The micro-individual level operates as self understanding by a smaller bundled community which serves to bring meaning, identity, and obligatory expectations to daily life. Ethnography has documented categories people use in everyday life which invariably supersede official macro-categories (Longman 2001:p.350; Levine 1987:p.71). In Kenya, the idea "we are all Kenyans" is trumped by one's ethnic classification (i.e. Ndorobo, Maasai, Kikuyu…), "I am Ndorobo."

Distinguishing between Other is an interpretation by the perceiver of how the world is relationally organized. The Ndorobo perspective on their life experience believes significant distinctions of Other affecting their lives fall into either the category of community Other, earthly Other, or supernatural Other. These cognitive categories serve to structure for Ndorobo what Zerubavel calls the "socio-mental" domain (1997:p.5). Ndorobo world view notions of Other is a kind of socially shared cognition organized in this socio-mental domain (Edwards (1991:p.517).

The present article first discusses why a Ndorobo individual is taught to look on the horizontal plane to community Other for support and guidance. Further consideration examines self-in-community as the prime directive in individual experience for the relationship between individual Ndorobo and community Other. As Tajfel and Turner's social categorization research has suggested in general, Ndorobo classifications reveal "a robust tendency toward in-group bias" (1986:p.13).

In-group bias is heightened by accentuation effects. There is a tendency in human cognition to exaggerate the closeness of in-group members and magnify differences between the in-group category and categories of out-groups (Hogg and Abrams 1988:p.19). Those outside Ndorobo community are thought of in terms of Them vs. Us. Earthly Other is a salient category in Ndorobo world view that contains those who are viewed as living the life experience on a parallel course toward death. Ndorobo view this parallel plane as that which must be defended against and exploited. Why? Because earthly Other is characterized as just that - Other.

The section will highlight the relationships of mistrust Ndorobo have with earthly Other characterized as self-in-opposition to outsiders. Ndorobo cognitive structures of Other like many ethnic classifications transform "unique persons to exemplars of named groups" (Levine 1999:p.169). Individuals are depersonalized by their Other classification. Ndorobo relationship with earthly Other is marked by a seemingly endless series of plots and counterplots to contend against schemes by outsiders. Ndorobo and earthly Other relate around the dance of exploitation.

The final class of Other, supernatural Other, to be discussed is recognized by Ndorobo as vested with controlling authority over the life of each and every individual. This class

1 *Self is a world view universal category. It accounts for both collectivist and individualist orientations. Self awareness is the beginning of self identity whether oriented toward group or an individual focus.*

2 *Interviews with Ndorobo informants were conducted between 1997-2000 in the Olchorro Area of the southern Mau Escarpment, Kenya and included two Maa-speaking Ndorobo groups: the 1) Ilekiminkish Group, and 2) Saleita Group.*

distinction is true to the Ndorobo perception of what they believe to be naturally so. The supernatural holds a prominent place in Ndorobo world view and requires recognition and an organizational plan for relationship. The category of supernatural Other allows Ndorobo to explain elements of daily life unexplainable by any other means. Ndorobo look up to a vertical plane and acknowledge dependency on Creator *Enkai* to explain negative causality by evil spirits. The relationship between a Ndorobo person and supernatural Other may be depicted as self-in-subjection to a hierarch.

Self and Community Other

A Ndorobo individual is defined and life experience played out in an inherent union with their community in-group based on interdependency. That is, the Ndorobo community an individual Ndorobo has membership in is a closed society operating on in-group membership (insiders). It is at once a relationship of mutual benefit and mutual need by divine design.[3] Community Other is perpetuated by single members, and individual selves find personal definition through interrelations with the community in-group. This interdependent image makes individual Ndorobo and their relationship with community Other the primary relational consequence in discussion of Ndorobo world view.

A wholesome individual only comes through relationship with community Other. In fact, this relationship is a moral imperative and not viewed as voluntary. Each person born into a Ndorobo community has been placed there according to the will of *Enkai*. If you are born a Ndorobo, then you remain a Ndorobo forever. One's destiny as a Ndorobo is to assume the role and duties of a community member. The relationship between Self and community Other recognizes self-in-community as the prime directive in individual experience. Community Other works towards a relationship with each Ndorobo community member that restricts or curves personal elements such as emotion and desire in submission to the authority and expectations of the community. Self autonomy is not lost but cooperation and the need for cooperation to achieve self fulfillment is emphasized.

Strategic to Ndorobo interdependence with community is a greater awareness of members in the sense that all behavior is expected to conform to the social norm. Coelho and Figueiredo use the term intersubjectivity to describe this interconnectedness between one's community in-group and one's self (2003:p.193). Ndorobo view community Other as those on the same plane following the same course of life. A Ndorobo individual sees community Other as a horizontal distribution of equals each supporting the other.

The relationship between each Ndorobo community member and community Other is founded upon the common interest and identity of Ndorobo-ness. It is believed there is a general Ndorobo character (*empukunoto*) each individual inherits from the social

3 Ndorobo believe the divine Creator Enkai created the earth and the Ndorobo ethnic group.

environment, described as: (1) attitude of avoiding conflict, (2) attitude of respecting elders by accepting discipline and advice, (3) attitude of community support and cooperation, and (4) attitude of individual responsibility of social role.[4]

Ndorobo-ness includes the willingness to extend mutual help for whatever reason and cooperate in effort for the good of the whole. The social relations one shares with kin and community members is a high cultural value. A person is emotionally attached to community Other, external control is high, and personal values tend to be social. The closeness of Ndorobo to their community in-group is reflected in life meaning derived from being a Ndorobo community member and the social pressure levied on behavior.

The relationship of a person with community Other begins with social acceptance conceived in explicit terms of behavior. The desirability of social acceptance is very high and has two relational values: (1) harmony in interpersonal relations, and (2) sensitivity to the social courtesies of hospitality and reciprocity. Key terms in one's relationship with community are defined in collectivist terms such as harmony, unity, friendship, hospitality, respect, and sociability.

The social world one occupies with community Other is a world regulated by harmony and unity, both features of Ndorobo-ness. Harmony here requires *aning*. *Aning* is translated many ways but in its basic form begins with the meaning of 'to hear.' Community Other are persons to be heard and responded to as a voice, not merely to be noticed as a passing presence. Relations are held together by a harmony of sounds, in other words a blending with others by obedient conduct. To coin a phrase used by Ong, Self perceives community Other in terms of "world-as-presence" (1969:p.646). A Ndorobo is enveloped by community in immediacy of being and relevance for life. In this way, community Other is to be the guide and supporter of Self.

Harmony is derived from the Ndorobo concept of unity. Relations with community Other give Ndorobo a sense of belonging and generate deep rooted loyalty to one's community in-group. Solidarity and camaraderie are coupled with a protective and sympathetic attitude toward community. Every Ndorobo is obligated to exhibit loyalty toward other community members and accept a measure of responsibility for their welfare. A proverb advises, "Be as familiar with your surroundings as you are with your home," meaning one should develop friendship with neighbors as extended kinsmen. Thus a feeling of unity binds a person with community Other psychologically in shared interests and activities. Harmony and unity are synonymous with love and togetherness.

The feeling of togetherness in the life experience comes across in sayings such as: "Love one another's noses," "Have a sweet smell," *Matoningoto!* or "Let us hear!" meaning, "Let us agree!" A blessing spoken by an elder over someone traveling begins with, "O God, may [this person] have a sweet fragrance!…Return home sweet smelling".[5] A general blessing given for family prosperity speaks to the intertwining relationship between

4 Julius Ngayami, personal interview, September 14, 1999.

5 Impaayo Ngayami, personal interview, August 18, 1997.

the family homestead and community: "O God, may this community have a sweet fragrance! Live long! Live long! Be victorious over life! Be a wise community of elders!".[6] Here family is synonymous with community and all members of both are compelled to live together in love. The phrase "sweet fragrance" is used to refer to love encompassing the community with peace.

Phrases such as "Love one another's noses" are commonly spoken at community ceremonies and figure significantly in the value of ceremonies. One informant explained the most important reason for ceremonies or rituals is to bring the community together. The most valued statement an elder speaks at all ceremonies involves love, respect, and unity. All are values attributed to a life surrendered to society and thus deemed virtues.[7]

The bond of unity and display of friendship at social events define a meaningful existence for a person. Events of community ritual are not numerous among Ndorobo, however they are valued for the in-group solidarity each promote. And in-group solidarity contributes to greater conformity of each community member to community expectations. The sacrifice of olive leaves is one community ritual performed two or three times a year to prevent or resolve challenges between community members. The purpose is to invoke peace and prosperity from God by committing to or restoring community harmony. Women gather fresh olive leaves and vine leaves from the forest to be used by the men to make a fire in the middle of a sheep/cattle pen or where there are many beehives. As the leaves are burned and smoke rises, chosen elders pray a ritual blessing over the community for continued peace, love, and prosperity.

The prayer given at the sacrifice of olive leaves speaks of the community being blessed "with the sweet fragrance of the olive tree and sweet as honey in the Morintat Forest". The olive tree symbolizes that which is holy, and honey represents purity. These are attributes of relational harmony. Prosperity will only visit the community if this harmony, practiced through loving actions, is present between community members. The text of the Sacrifice of Olive Leaves Prayer is as follows:

Section One: Given by first elder.

Metoropilo metaa inaishi naishi metaa oloinea ole morintat.
May the community be blessed with a sweet fragrance of the olive tree and sweet as honey in the Morintat Forest.
Nai aatoomono Pasinai nchoo iyiook enkishon, nchoo iyiook inkishu, nchoo iyiook iltungana, nchoo iyiook inkera.
O God, I pray you will give us life, cattle, people and children.
Pasinai atoomono Enkai ai naishu wena sipa naishu Enkai ina atomono
Oh God, I pray to my earthly God [surroundings/concerns] and true God who cannot be seen.

6 *Impaayo Ngayami, personal interview, August 18, 1997.*
7 *Julius Ngayami, personal interview, January 14, 2000.*

Pasinai nchoo iyiook pooki toki. Nchoo iyiok isidain torishe iyiook intorrok.
Oh God, give us all things. Give us good things and keep away bad things.
Torishe iyiook enyamali torishe iyiook ilowuarak le kewarie ole dama.
Prevent any problem from us and protect us from wild animals both day and night.
Inchooki nkera nikicho inkishu nikicho ntomonok nikicho pooki toki.
Grant me children, cattle, wives and all good things.
Tadamu olosho lang intaba anaa oldoinyo Keri intaba iyiook anaa oldonyio Oibor
Remember our nation and make it [big and strong] like Mt. Kenya and Mt. Kilimanjaro.
Aatomono Pasinai atoomono mbunga iyiook openy.
Oh God, I pray you will hold us in your hand.
Tipika iyiook enkilata enanka narok tipika iyiok enipik ilakir dama.
Hide us where evil cannot find us in the heavens with the stars.
Kitoomono iyie nonkipa ai kitoomono iyie nchoo iyiook pooki toki.
God who sends rain, we pray you give us all good things.

Section Two: Given by second elder.

Nchoo iyiook nkishu nchoo iyiook imbarbali nemelang ilmotonyi eirag.
Grant us herds of cattle [so great in number] that the birds cannot fly over without resting.
Nchoo iyiook imemut owurak nememut motonyi.
Give us so much food that wild animals and even birds cannot finish eating it.
Kitomono iyie pa Sinai nchoo iyiook inkera nicho ntomonok nicho inkishu nicho pooki toki.
O God, we pray you give us children, wives, cattle and all good things.
Intonyorra iyiook olosho.
Let us live in peace with all peoples.[8]

Relational harmony is a facility for avoiding outward signs of conflict. This does not preclude open disagreement moving toward resolution but does exclude any physical violence or outward sign of rage. Harmony denotes being agreeable in difficult situations and connotes the smile, friendly lift of the eyebrow, hand shaking, head patting, a word of concern or interest in each other, etc. It is personality overtly manifested as a social duty. An elder who has an extended earlobe untorn is respected as someone who able to control his emotions and allow his good *olkuak* to guide his behavior. Earlobes are frequently targeted in a fight so as to damage the honor of those in dispute.

Disruption of harmonious relationships require the mediation of elders or the village *loibon* (diviner). The use of mediators is utilized to avoid possible conflict or remedy an existing problem. Prayers for forgiveness and restoration do not admonish either party directly. Statements tend to rebuke and state fact and reconciliation all at once. Supplication integrates community Other into the actions and consequences of self(ves),

8 *Ikayo Lolokula, personal interview, August, 16, 1997.*

hence the affect of individual action always includes community Other. Of foremost importance is restoring social harmony and preserving group affiliation for offending members.

Elders or the village *loibon* offer a blessing for reconciliation after a dispute has been resolved.[9] The emphasis being on outward signs of love and acceptance of others by "fighting for your age-mates" and living in harmony and unity through this love. The attitude is that once said, it is then law and relationships have returned to a peaceful, natural state.

It is the conscience which presses upon the individual to seek resolution and restore proper community relations. The person yields to social pressure because his conscience has been leaned upon in such a way as to cause shame and guilt. This comes from the knowledge elders remind offending parties that one's actions affect not just one but the entire community in-group as well. Love is found in the actions of community relationships that are without conflict. Community members must live in unity and harmony, if they do not calamities such as famine, sickness, and drought will come from Creator *Enkai* to cause repentance. Prosperity will only visit the community if this love of close friendship is practiced between community members. This means sharing good fortune with community Other to insure against the withdrawal of favor by the divine power dispensing it.

The fabric of village relationships is sewn together by two compelling social courtesies, hospitality and reciprocity. In actuality, hospitality is a form of reciprocity. Generous hospitality is generally reciprocated and smiled upon by community Other. The mechanics of hospitality and reciprocity are represented in the way Ndorobo refer to the legs, "Two legs represent unity because they work together and share all things together".[10] Hospitality encourages solidarity of relationships between individuals and community Other and reciprocity ensures the means necessary for defending interests through cooperative efforts.

The more relationships one enters into, the more benefits become available. Reciprocity in Ndorobo relationships is defined in terms of friendliness, hospitality, or an extraordinary service, each of which may or may not be solicited yet demand some type of return. The return given need not be equal in value or time; and giving is rarely, if ever, anonymous. Part of the significance of giving is in the action as a witnessed event. The question being, "How can others reciprocate without knowing to whom they are indebted?"

Hospitality carries ideas of personalization. Pascasio (1981:p.81) contends that personalization (recognizing the person as such in relationship) conforms to cultural norms and concept of self, and this is certainly true for Ndorobo. How a person overtly

9 *A loibon is a person with spiritual sensitivities and knowledge of African Traditional Religion practices to engage the supernatural entities.*

10 *Julius Ngayami, personal interview, June 15, 1998.*

treats another community member is significant. Social hospitality is a strategic action in relationship between an individual and community Other. Ndorobo pursue these social relations under conditions that maximize incurring social obligation.

One illustration is the custom of offering *chai,* a concoction of tea, milk and sugar, to passing neighbors. Food is essential for the maintenance of life; therefore, if one provides this essential commodity, they will have established a positive relationship with the receiver. In this regard, it is an essential step toward friendship and closeness. The proverb, "Friendship comes from the stomach," is indicative of this belief. The word 'friendship' is *osotuaa* and is translated 'love,' 'the one of close relationship,' 'peace,' and 'umbilical cord.' It also has the meaning of 'a gift out of friendship.' Hospitality is a validation of the worth of the guest and reconfirms the commitment of the host to the relationship.

The role of any community member forbids refusal of a request by another community member in order to maintain smooth interpersonal relations. To do so would be to sever relations with the requesting neighbor and this is intolerable in community affairs. It is viewed as a breach of community harmony and thus weakens community solidarity i.e. threatens survival. Failure to reciprocate places a certain amount of shame on the individual but more importantly, the person is perceived as selfish and condemns himself in the eyes of Creator *Enkai* and community Other. Ndorobo use shame more in the sense of moral propriety than social which gives conformity to community norms greater emphasis. Failure to live up to social standards is a breach with that which *Enkai* has ordained.

Consequences for unsociable and inhospitable behavior are manifested in varying ways. For instance, a head first birth is normal, a feet first delivery is abnormal. There must be a broken taboo or cultural sin in the family to cause a feet first delivery. Examples include failure to care for elders, ignoring the needy, hoarding resources, etc. The baby is then expected to have abnormalities after such a feet first birth (fainting, early death, bad spirit). People treat the baby differently as if it was cursed. However, a celebration called *Emasho e inoto e nkerai* is always given after the birth of any child. If a feet first child turns out to be a good person, it is thought the birth celebration washed whatever impurity away through the blessings and prayers spoken.

The interdependent relationship reflected in Ndorobo conduct, norms, scripts for social interaction, events, and linguistic conventions among others have been shown to ensure a self-in-community relationship forms between every Ndorobo and community Other. Community Other serves as the supreme object of importance to Ndorobo and in doing so functions in Burnett's (1979:p.308) understanding as religion. Each person relates to community Other by submitting to Ndorobo way of life which pervades all of life and greatly influences behavior. Behavior is dependent on whether the interaction is with a Ndorobo (community member) or earthly Other. Who the Other is must be identified for the terms of the relationship to be implemented.

A Ndorobo individual has a dynamic relationship with community Other and supernatural Other. The relationship of a person to Ndorobo society directly affects the relationship between a person and supernatural Other. A Ndorobo actively participates in the general condition of his community. If the relationship has been strained for some reason, one can expect the relationship with supernatural Other will become disturbed as a result. The moral rules of life are bound up in keeping harmony in the relationship a community member shares with community Other.

Self and Earthly Other

The common thread of Ndorobo-ness which lumps an individual with community Other also differentiates Ndorobo from earthly Other. Anyone not a member of a Ndorobo community is automatically deemed a competitor, foe, or an exploitable resource. Earthly Other are viewed as living the life experience on a parallel course toward the finality of death but just that - parallel. A proverb teaches, "Enemies cannot get to know each other." People who do not live together with a shared identity, that is share daily struggles for survival and share the resources to meet those challenges, cannot possible know each other in the sense of seeing and understanding the person. Ndorobo and earthly Other are headed in the same direction and probably with the same desires for happiness, but the two cannot and will not meet. Quite simply, they are unknown to one another.

Relationship with earthly Other is marked by a seemingly endless series of plots and counterplots to contend against or prevent the schemes of community outsiders. Self and earthly Other shuffle in and out of gaining the upper hand in the exchange of resources. The steps are measured to see who can exploit who first and for how much.

It is natural to desire more in life and generally speaking, Ndorobo believe no one is ever truly satisfied with their station in life. A proverb states, "The hide of your calf is not enough for you," meaning a person is never satisfied with his own possessions. This being the case, "Do not ever tempt warriors with cattle." Never leave cattle unguarded if warriors (young men) from another group are near because the cattle will surely be stolen.

Traditionally, raiding cattle and stealing were considered a legitimate means of economic survival. However, taking from another community member is taboo and self defeating to community vitality, ergo the custom of stealing from earthly Other became the norm. Pillaging from outsiders to improve one's own situation is thought to be clever even today. Earthly Other are to be exploited while community Other are to be supported.

It is not surprising that Ndorobo have a defensive relationship with earthly Other. The world outside the community is hostile and seeks to encroach upon an individual and their community at any given time. The relationship with earthly Other is one of mistrust. This attitude of dubiety comes from the basic cultural character contained in a person's character (*empukunoto)*. It is believed the Ndorobo character element is naturally

suspicious of out-group members by divine design and environmental training. A proverb warns, "No one is so clever that he cannot be cheated." Anyone can be swindled, however chicanery goes both ways. One can cheat others no matter how powerful or clever they may be, and one can fall victim to thievery by a multiplicity of others.

The immense loyalty Ndorobo feel toward community Other is replaced with a firm division marking the lines of contention between themselves and earthly Other. It is a relationship of self-in-opposition to outsiders. It is not so much that Ndorobo wish earthly Other would disappear for the resources exploited from earthly Other are necessary. Rather, Self seeks to maximize this opposing relationship to the sole benefit of each person and the community as a whole.

Self and Supernatural Other

Supernatural Other is recognized by Ndorobo as vested with controlling authority over the life of an individual. *Enkai* as Creator God and spirit entities allowed to work evil or good are looked upon as the hierarch in relations with a person. An individual entertains a vertical relationship with supernatural Other based on the need of humanity for supernatural services. People cry out in prayer to *Enkai* for him to send spirits to intervene in the cause of a person, but *Enkai* and spirit entities neither pray nor need humanity (see Figure 1).[11]

As *Olaitoriani* or Leader over all, *Enkai* is the Supreme Master an individual looks to for decisions of survival, blessing, and consequence. He rules the heavens and the earth and "everything happens by the will of *Enkai*".[12] In a ritual prayer offered at a community sacrifice in times of drought and famine, elders beseech *Enkai* to provide the very essence of survival:

Nai injoo iyiook enkare pus.
O God give us pure (blue) water.
Nai nailepu reyieta.
O God make (milk) the rivers flow.
Nai midung inkulak.
O God do not stop the rain (urine).
Nai mimut iyiook intayio.
O God do not finish (kill) us and all your creation (you fashioned).
Ni torrinyo enkarrii.
O God keep drought away.[13]

11 *Ikayo Lolokula, personal interview, June 24, 1998.*
12 *Nkarusel Ngiria, personal interview, June 25, 1998.*
13 *Maleta Matulel, personal interview, September 8, 1997.*

Creator Enkai *fashioned* or created all things so it is within his divine right to *finish* or kill all creation. Creator *Enkai* has ultimate power over all and designs the life experience of all. This ceremony is a very solemn occasion for the will of the divine to bend toward favorable treatment of his creation.

Spirits likewise have a certain amount of ruling power in that these entities occupy a controlling position in the life of every person in prompting behavior and dispensing divine judgment and will. Spirits have appointed authority in creation with either the best interests of people in mind or an opposing motive. Good spirits (*inkiyanget supati*) are thought to represent the Spirit of *Enkai* in the role of patron for protecting a person.

Evil spirits (*inkiyanget torrok*) represent all that is void of divine character and meaning. The role of destroyer replaces the defender role of *Enkai*. The Creator and good spirits are contenders for goodness in the life of a person, and evil spirits are contenders for any and all evil doings. The one seeks to benefit life experience, the other works to destroy life experience; one is to be heard and followed, the other is to be ignored. *Enkai* and *inkiyanget supati* seek to overcome evil in and around a person; *inkiyanget torrok* work to overcome a person with evil. Thus the relationship between a person and supernatural Other may be depicted as self-in-subjection to a hierarch.

Figure 1: Three types of Relationship with Other distinguished by the Ndorobo.

The relationship between an individual and supernatural Other is founded on the principle of if I-do-do-do the right things, then *Enkai*-must-give-give-give from his unlimited goodness to honor my conduct. As ultimate benefactor, *Enkai* must give to each person their due and always use his creator power to intervene with help. He is called *Olaietoni* or Helper understood as *Olanapani*, the Bearer or Carrier, meaning someone who carries another. It is his divine nature as Father of mercy, *Papa lolngurr*, which evokes divine pity toward people.

Creator God as the giver of *enkishui* is the keeper of life. As such, Ndorobo feel rather adamantly the use of *Enkai's* services are mandatory on his part. He is the guarantor of life and has the responsibility to mete out judgment fairly by honoring good with happiness and evil with calamity. The Creator is the keeper and protector of life force by using whatever he deems necessary to protect a person from an evil end. A proverb explains, "Treatment brings pain but results in recovery," meaning discipline hurts but eventually leads to happiness. Creator *Enkai* rewards a good life with visible blessings and will discipline a bad life through bad consequences to alter behavior.

It is a divine duty of *Enkai* as caretaker of humanity to aid the needy and help those in distress. As benefactor of humanity, the divine has a charitable relationship with a person in which all possible advantage is to be pursued. The commissioning of a new

family leader is just such a case in which Ndorobo appeal to *Enkai* for all possible divine blessing. The Ceremony of Eldership, *Enpikata o Ilkataari*, is conducted at the death of the oldest male, usually the father. The prayers offered correspond to the following text:

1st Prayer

Metoropilo, mikinchoo Enkai inkera nabaanaa iyiook o nkishu mikitasheyie Enkai endukuya.
Be blessed, may *Enkai* [give/bless] you children like us [elders] and cattle. May *Enkai* give you a long life.

2nd Prayer

Mikitareto kuna amulak, tuudungie ilmasin omelok anaa enaisho enkidong.
Let this blessing [of spit] help you perform your ceremonies successfully.

3rd Prayer

Metoropilo, mikinchoo Enkai inkera o kishu olporror.
Be blessed, may *Enkai* [give/bless] you children, cattle and age-mates.

4th Prayer

Tumanyana, torropilo, mikichoo Enkai enkishon tobikoi naabik ildonyio noto omom.
Many blessings, may God let your life be long like the mountains.[14]

The oldest son is then commissioned to assume the role as family elder and usher him into greater manhood and responsibility. The ritual text of the prayers is spoken to obligate *Enkai* in the matters of the family. The new family elder is dependent on *Enkai* to continue the family line, provide daily sustenance, and give a long life to guide the family as leader. These are conditions only *Enkai* can supply. The prayers seek to show the dependence and humility of the new leader on *Enkai* and impress upon the new elder the gravity of his responsibilities.

Ndorobo have relationship with the supernatural because it is profitable to do so. *Enkai* dispenses all good and has the power to stay the hand of evil. His relationship with people is characterized by munificent qualities. The advantage of having an interested Supreme Creator on one's side is self explanatory. The blessing of *Enkai* is needed to extend life for the individual and community with continued blessing and he does so with openhandedness. For prosperity to thrive, the relationship between humanity and their Creator must remain humble subservience as client to the great Patron.

14 Kamunge Ololosir, personal interview, August 12, 1997.

Conclusion

The Other in Ndorobo world view is divided into three categories that aid an individual in survival, life meaning, and success. The three classifications provide a relational understanding for Ndorobo toward their community, those outside their community, and those in the noncorporeal dimension. Self is taught to look on both sides of the horizontal plane to other community members for support and guidance. Intergroup bias studies has shown this is the norm when people are divided in two categories (Messick and Mackie 1989:59). Like so many others, Ndorobo look with favor and preference on their community while sharply distancing themselves from other out-groups.

Self looks across to the parallel plane to see who to defend against and exploit in earthly Other. Ndorobo reject the notion that their communities would benefit from overcoming "a divided past in such a way that 'The Other' becomes 'us'" (Young 2012:p.127). It is just not possible for Earthy Other to become an expanded version of Ndorobo community. Earthly Other is categorically different so to merge earthly Other with community Other would destroy Ndorobo-ness.

And finally, Ndorobo look up to the vertical plane to acknowledge dependency and need for protection from supernatural Other. The category of supernatural Other makes the strength and benefit of being a member of community Other possible. It is the highest resource for individual and community blessing and the defense against all that threaten. The consequences for relationship with supernatural Other curtail social behavior and uphold Ndorobo-ness.

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Strengthening Peace Research and Peace Education in African Universities

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Abstract

This paper explores the problems and challenges of promoting and embedding conflict-sensitive peace education in African higher education, especially in the universities. The paper also proffers some constructive policy recommendations and intervention strategies. Universities have traditionally been concerned with imparting specialized knowledge and skills in various fields of study capable of helping beneficiaries to make useful contributions to societal development and also earn meaningful livelihood from a legitimate occupation. There is increasing interest in the role of higher education in promoting peace and security at all levels of society, particularly in volatile conflict-prone and war-affected societies. This research has been mainly conceived to help strengthen the growing body of policy-relevant knowledge on the functional application of peace research and peace education in Africa.
Keywords: *peace education. Higher education, policy, structural violence; conflict resolution*

Resume

Ce document explore les problèmes et les défis de la promotion et de l'intégration éducation à la paix sensible au conflit dans l'enseignement supérieur de l'Afrique, en particulier dans les universités. Le papier profère aussi quelques constructive des recommandations politiques et des stratégies d'intervention.. Les universités ont traditionnellement été concernés par la transmission des connaissances et des compétences spécialisées dans divers domaines d'étude capable d'aider les bénéficiaires à faire des contributions utiles au développement de la société et aussi gagner de subsistance significative d'une occupation légitime. Il ya un intérêt croissant pour le rôle de l'enseignement supérieur dans la promotion de la paix et de la sécurité à tous les niveaux de la société, en particulier dans les sociétés sujettes aux conflits et touchées par la guerre volatils. Cette recherche a été principalement conçu pour aider à renforcer la masse croissante de connaissances pertinentes pour la politique sur l'application fonctionnelle de la recherche de la paix et de l'éducation de la
Mots clés: *éducation à la paix. L'enseignement supérieur, la politique, la violence structurelle ; résolution de conflit*

Introduction

Peace researchers and proponents of peace education have increasingly focused on understanding the potential contributions that universities can make to long-term peacebuilding and the most impactful strategies they could adopt. From the experience of diverse research and capacity-building projects completed in recent years in a number of post-conflict countries in Africa like Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC, northern Uganda, Burundi, and South Sudan, it is apparent that key stakeholders such as the state, society and the private and voluntary sectors have a twofold expectation about the role of universities, namely: (a) that universities should provide employment-relevant education and training; and (b) that universities should shed part of their ivory tower pomposity and aloofness to reach out, and be functionally relevant to the everyday challenges and needs of their host communities (Omeje ed., 2009; *LUGUSI Network Newsletter*, 2010-2012; Stiasny & Gore eds., 2014).

The conventional approach in many post-conflict societies like Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Northern Uganda where the idea of universities playing a role in peacebuilding has been embraced is to confine such a role to the social sciences and humanities, faculties where new courses such as peace, conflict and security studies are offered. Consequently and too often, the idea of conflict-sensitive education and peacebuilding is further limited to students enrolled in some of the new emerging courses like peace studies, conflict resolution, security studies, governance and leadership studies, and so forth. This restrictive approach ostensibly misses the mark as it tends to exclude the vast majority of university students enrolled in mainstream social sciences (e.g. sociology, political science and economics) and the considerably non-cognate courses such as the natural and applied sciences, from the vital knowledge and skills of conflict-sensitive education and peacebuilding. Based on an exploratory analysis of the evolution of peace research and peace education in Africa, this paper aims to elucidate the challenges and limitations of embedding conflict-sensitive and functionally relevant peace education in the universities on the African continent.

The Evolution of Modern Peace Research and Peace Education

Peace research emerged as a response to the destructiveness of violent conflicts, especially in the Western world. Conflict is as old as human society and research into how to mitigate and stem the tide of violent conflict has engaged the attention of philosophers, statesmen and public intellectuals of all ages. These philosophical, scholarly and policy intervention-oriented inquiries of the past are a major part of the intellectual heritage of modern peace research and peace education. Many peace, conflict and social science theories have emerged from this robust intellectual heritage.

Until the end of World War II (precisely, late 1950s through early 1960s) the dominant preoccupation in peace research was practically limited to elimination of war and active violence. Various internationalist movements emerged in Europe and North America after World War I to help prevent future wars. The occurrence of World War II and the added threat posed by nuclear weapons created an additional impetus for peace research and the need to transcend the preoccupation with management and termination of armed conflict. With no distinct disciplinary status of its own, peace and conflict research was conducted within the many social science disciplines and the humanities. Some of the key scholars that pioneered peace and conflict research within the various social science disciplines are Quincy Wright (1890-1970, international law Professor), Pitirim Sorokin (1889-1968; anti-communist historical sociologist) and Lewis Richardson (1881-1953; pacifist natural/social scientist).

In spite of the growing volume of scholarly works, for far too long, the existence of peace remained associated with the absence of violent conflict. Prior to the famous studies of the Norwegian peace researcher, Johan Galtung, beginning from the 1960s, peace was definitionally linked to absence of war or organised violence. Social policy and peace activism were mostly informed by this perspective. Pacifists and activists of different intellectual orientations (notably international law, diplomatic history, social psychology, and political philosophy) completely abhorred and condemned the instrumentality of the use of force or violence in society. Galtung described this dominant approach as "negative peace," which he consequently distinguished from "positive peace." Galtung (1996) defined negative peace as the absence of war and direct violence which inflict human suffering at individual, national, regional and international levels. Negative peace is essentially status quo-oriented, and its purposes and intents, at any rate, are often mediated by the interests of hegemonic power. In situations of conflict settlement and war-to-peace transition, negative peace in most cases corresponds to "victor's peace," which may result in the sequestration of the vanquished opponents and an unsustainable peace that could unravel sooner or later. To guarantee sustainable peace and an equitable social order, Galtung (1996) proposes the need for positive peace, which he defines as working towards the elimination of unjust structures, inequitable relationships at inter-personal, group, national, regional and international levels (see also, Galtung & Jabsen, 2000). He associates positive peace with the progressive and systematic elimination of structural violence in society – i.e. subtle violence embedded in the structures of society and state policies which cause human suffering and avoidable gradual death. In other words, peace goes beyond the absence of war, to encompass economic, social, and cultural justice, as well as freedom from discrimination based on race, class, gender, or religion (Husin ed. 2002). Galtung advocates that peace research should, as a matter of necessity, be value-driven and his predilection is for values of positive peace as opposed to negative peace.

Experts differ considerably on whether or not peace research should be value-driven and on what values and whose values should be preeminent. Some of the core values favoured by positive peace proponents include: social justice, freedom, peace by peaceful means (non-violence); environmental protection, human security and policy relevance (whose policy?). Some more critical pundits include values of supposedly "positive" or "constructive" violence – supporting violent struggles for freedom from oppression, exploitation, domination, colonization and discrimination. Consequently, some scholars have argued that peace research should be driven by such goals as intellectual and practical knowledge production, value and culture transmission, and the more policy-oriented utilitarian function of serving the peace, conflict and security industry (see Arrighi, 2002).

Rogers and Ramsbotham (1999:741) have characterized peace research as *inter-alia* distinguished by:

1. A recognition of the multifaceted nature of violent conflicts and need for an inter-disciplinary response.
2. Search for peaceful strategies for dispute settlement, including the debate on whether the use of force could be an option.
3. Espousal of multi-level of analysis of conflict (individual, group, state, inter-state, etc), de-emphasising the undue dichotomy between internal and external factors.
4. Adoption of a global multi-cultural approach with emphasis on the values of peace and non-violent social transformation across cultures.

Modern peace education is predicated on the progressive achievements of peace research and has been popularly defined as "the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth, and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intra-personal, inter-personal, inter-group, national or international level (Fountain, 1999:1; UNESCO, 2002). Even though most proponents tend to agree that peace education has to do with the generation and/or application of a specific set of "knowledge, skills, and attitudes," experts markedly disagree on the actual content and focus of the "knowledge, skills and attitudes" that comprise peace education. Hence, the primary content and concern of peace education remain a philosophical dispute amongst scholars and practitioners, with some advocating and proposing universal objectives while others favouring a more flexible context-specific approach.

Some of the major universal objectives canvassed by a section of the proponents include an education that prepares people in different societies for: (1) overcoming feelings and conditions of powerlessness, (2) confronting deep-seated fears and conditions of violence, (3) reconciliation of divided and antagonistic communities; (4) working towards the achievement of freedom, justice, diversity, gender equality, human rights

and environmental protection; (5) development of good governance, leadership and peacebuilding skills, and (6) the pursuit of peace by peaceful means (Hicks, 1985; Harris, 1988; Deveci *et al*, 2008). Within this broad universalist framework, some proponents have drawn a close parallel between peace education and citizenship education, arguing that the formers (citizenship education) aims to empower individuals to become responsible legally and socially functional members of society through civic training while the latter (peace education) pursues a similar goal by promoting the concepts of non-violence, human rights, social justice, world-mindedness, ecological balance, meaningful participation, and personal peace (see Hicks, 2004; Cook, 2008:892).

There is also a growing moral-theological school of thought that approaches peace education from a religious angle, arguing that peaceful and aggressive behaviours are inherent [super]natural impulses and tendencies; therefore peace research and education should aim to encourage and develop the important "virtue ethics" needed for the good of the individual and ultimately society (see Page, 2004:2). For scholars with a leaning to Christian theology, these important virtue ethics needed for the wholesomeness of the individual can be derived from the biblical teachings of Jesus Christ which emphasize virtues such as love, kindness, forgiveness, tolerance, hospitality, patience, generosity, servant-oriented leadership, selflessness and forbearance. The Judaeo-Christian version of contemporary theological approach to peace education was foreshadowed by the classical philosophical studies of early Church fathers like St. Augustine (354 – 430 AD) and Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274).

In Indonesia and some parts of the Muslim world, peace education curricula have been developed at different levels of schooling emphasizing some key dimensions of Islam's view of peace such as: "(1) All-encompassing peace in the context of the human relation with Allah the Creator that emerges when humans live in conformity with their primordial created nature in recognizing God as Creator (*fitrah*); (2) Peace with oneself that emerges when one is free from internal conflict; (3) Peace with the wider community that can only be achieved if humans experience the absence of war and discrimination and the existence of justice in their daily life; and (4) Peace with the environment, utilizing natural resources not merely as resources for material development but also as a reserve for the well-being of future generations" (Husin ed. 2002; see also Erekat, 2015). The practical challenge with conceptions about the spiritual dimension and a moral-theological approach to peace education is that there is a mosaic of religions in the world and different religions and sects within a specific religion yield different interpretations, meanings and conditions for peace, which can sometimes become irreconcilable fault-lines for conflict.

The important assumption underlying modern peace education is best illustrated by UNESCO's (2002) mantra that "the peaceful resolution of conflict and prevention of violence, whether interpersonal or societal, overt or structural, is a positive value to be promoted on a global level through education." The UN system, in particular UNESCO, has since the 1990s been strongly associated with espousing and promoting a global "culture of peace" through education, corresponding to a universalistic concept of peace education or what is alternatively reconceptualised as "education-for-peace." "Since wars begin in the minds of men," UNESCO (2002) contends, "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." The universal or transnational peace education championed by UNESCO is seen as a type of education that promotes peace and tolerance in a globalized multicultural setting; and further seeks to understand and transform hatred, suspicion and violence. The UN General Assembly proclaimed 2001-2010: "The International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World". The UN General Assembly Declaration and Programme of Action of September 1999 defines a culture of peace as: "all the values, attitudes and forms of behaviour that reflect respect for life, for human dignity and for all human rights; the rejection of violence in all its forms and commitment to the principles of freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance and understanding between people."

As an offshoot of peace and conflict studies, modern peace education was conceived to be a value-driven and problem-solving oriented discipline (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, 2005). As such, many experts who espouse a more flexible context-specific approach to peace education are generally of the view that the conceptualization of peace education should be based on the specific nature of 'problem' (i.e. violence and conflict broadly defined) it is conceived to tackle in society (Francis ed., 2008; Alimba, 2013:340). Conceptually, a conflict-sensitive approach to peace education is synonymous with the flexible context-specific approach. A further illustration of how this approach works in practice will suffice. Practically, exponents are of the view that in deeply divided multi-ethnic societies emerging from war and ravaged by institutional and infrastructural collapse, as well as extreme poverty and mass illiteracy, peace education could for instance be oriented towards the reconciliation of bitterly divided ethnic communities; promotion of institutional reconstruction; provision of public infrastructure, education and skills training; job creation and poverty reduction (Francis ed., 2008; Alimba, 2013). In some other relatively more stable and functional societies marked by social alienation of immigrant minorities, racial tension between the host population and immigrant communities, and drugs and gun violence by young adults from highly disadvantaged immigrant communities, peace education could for instance be deliberately structured to focus on promoting multiculturalism and respect for diversity, inter-community cohesion, awareness of the dangers of illicit drugs and guns, rehabilitation of drug victims, gun control, skills training and employment for disadvantaged young people. Many scholars and activists from the Global South tend to favour this type of context-specific or conflict-sensitive approach to peace education because of its perceived sensitivity to the local conflict environment – both "active and latent conflict" (Burton, 1990). A conflict-sensitive peace education is believed to be vital for societies characterised by "deep-rooted structures of prejudice, suspicion and

hostilities in a society, as well as attitudes that tend to perceive recourse to violence as legitimate" (Brown, 2012). There are of course a large number of exponents both from the global North and South who argue that universal peace education and conflict-sensitive peace education need not be seen as competitive and contradictory. The two can be mutually inclusive and therefore a healthy practical balance could be achieved between the two in every circumstance through constructive curriculum development and training.

Peace Education in African Universities

Modern peace education originated from the West in the years following World War II with the result that by the 1960s peace education had become a well-established subject in many western universities and colleges, either offered as an independent academic programme or as a course (module) within one of the traditional disciplines of the Social Sciences and Humanities. For instance, the first Peace Studies Department and Undergraduate Programme (in Conflict Resolution) was established in 1948 in Manchester College, Indiana, USA and became a model for hundreds of similar programmes across America (Abrams, 2010). Generally, some of the oldest peace and conflict studies university departments, academic journals and research institutes were established in the West between the 1950s and mid-1970s. Prominent among these pioneer peace research facilities include the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* established at the University of Michigan in 1957 and the Peace Research Institute established in Oslo in 1959, where the famous *Journal of Peace Research* was later founded in 1964. Dozens of other research centres and journals followed in the 1960s and 1970s, founded mostly in Europe, North America and Japan.

Whilst modern peace education emerged in the west as a consequence of World War II and the correlated events of the Cold War, the field of study emerged in Africa in the 1990s following the end of the Cold War and what was popularly known as "the African crisis" (Arrighi, 2002:5). The African crisis was a term coined in the 1980s for describing the series of convoluted development disaster that beset many African economies in the 1980s and 1990s, aggravated by the World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP), and culminating in varied intensities of state failure and armed conflicts. Prior to the end of the Cold War, a limited number of studies of African conflicts were undertaken by different policy think tanks (mostly development studies-oriented e.g. CODESRIA), academic researchers within the various mainstream social sciences and allied disciplines, as well as area studies research centres and departments in the west. Like in most other fields of study offered in the continent, the vast majority of the subject specialists that pioneers African peace and conflict research were Africans and Africanists of expatriate origin who were mainly trained in the west. The fact that these pioneers were mainly trained in the west meant that they were imbued with non-African (western) conceptual tools, imaginations of reality, outlooks and research methodologies, a phenomenon that has continued to vitiate the development of a regional pool of expertise and indigenous capacity for research (Brock-Utne, 1998). Significantly, this epistemological and methodological limitation is not exclusive to peace research; it is a challenge that cuts across the entire spectrum of higher education in Africa and partly linked to the neo-colonial foundation and heritage of African educational systems.

Even though peace education has come to stay in contemporary Africa tertiary education, problems persist with the epistemological and scholastic content of most curricula. Ostensibly, the most serious challenge and limitation to contemporary peace education in African universities is the authenticity crisis, a problem that is mainly associated with the dominance of western realism, philosophy and epistemology in the curricula of existing study programmes (Francis, 2009; Omeje, 2015). Consequently, many of the emerging peace education-centred training programmes in African universities since the 1990s, especially training and study programmes in volatile conflict-prone and war-affected countries that a account for a preponderant proportion of the new courses, have been designed in the west or introduced with preponderant western epistemological, cultural and material influence (Francis, 2009; Omeje, 2014). This structural twist has significantly impacted the epistemological content and predilection of research, teaching and learning in the universities and, by logical implication, the paradigm and limits of change achievable in society.

The more practical challenges to peace education in African universities include paucity of requisite expertise, weak capacity amongst available scholars, shortage of research and teaching materials (e.g. relevant books, journals and libraries), and limited employment and career development opportunities for subject-area graduates and practitioners – a problem that is clearly linked to the weak absorptive capacities of African economies and the short-term nature of many donor-driven projects that create jobs in the peace and conflict industry (see Francis ed., 2008; Alimba, 2013).

To a large extent, peace education in Africa seems to be focused on the formal education sector, especially the level of tertiary education. At other levels of formal education, traditional citizenship or civic education tends to be more prevalent, although in many post-conflict societies like Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Liberia, and Uganda, citizenship education - sometimes structured as part of Social Studies - at primary and post-primary levels have significant lessons in non-violent methods of dispute settlement and peacebuilding (see *LUGUSI Network Newsletter*, 2010-2012; WANEP, 2012).

Given the proliferation of structures of conflict in Africa (both structural and active violence), the limitations of peace education must be clearly underscored. It will be practically misleading and futile to hinge the solution to African conflicts on peace education which seems to be one of the common mistakes made by some experts

and practitioners. As important as it is, well-structured and effectively delivered comprehensive peace education cannot be a substitute for political and economic reforms, democratization and good governance. Many independent and authoritative research studies have demonstrated that effective political, constitutional and economic reforms are some of the indispensable conditions to sustainable peace, stability and development on the continent (see Moyo, 2009; Ascher & Mirovitskaya, 2013).

Peace Education in Africa: Understanding the Structural Impediments

One of the strongest impediments to peace in many African countries, especially in volatile conflict-prone states and countries emerging from armed conflicts is the legacy of violence, which actively feeds a deep-rooted perception among antagonistic communities and large sections of the populations that violence is a legitimate instrument for conducting public affairs and pursuit of goals. Social psychologists have shown that when people are exposed to a prolonged culture of violence and armed conflict, they are left with a twisted worldview that tends to perceive the use of violence; aggressive behaviour and resort to disorder as a normal way of life (see Kelman, 2010). The consequences of perpetuating a culture of violence in society are more blatant for children and people who have lived all the cognitive stages of their lives under conditions of embedded hostilities, abuse and armed violence.

An analysis of the embedded culture of violence in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) certainly makes greater sense against the backdrop of Africa's population dynamics. In terms geo-demographic base factor, Africa's population has witnessed a rapid increase since the 1970s. Africa's population has grown from about 221 million in 1950 to 408 million in 1975, 796 million in 2000 and 1.1 billion in 2013 (UNFPA, 2010; World Bank, 2013; WPR, 2015). Among the many factors that have contributed to Africa's population growth rate (e.g. decreasing infant and maternal mortality, gains made in combating infectious diseases and HIV, etc), the most significant is the fact that there is a large number of women who, under circumstances of rapid cultural, socio-demographic and economic change, have no access to and opportunities for family planning (UNFPA, 2010; Zinkina & Korotayev, 2014). Under conditions of extreme poverty and prolonged conflict as is the case in many parts of SSA, high population growth rate has been tempered with low life expectancy at birth (the average in SSA being about 55 years in 2013) and "a worrying youth bulge" – i.e. a large percentage of unemployed young people within the population (BBC, 2009; World Bank, 2013; WPR, 2015). In most countries of SSA, at least 50% of the population is below the age of 25 years, and a further 43% of the population is below the age of 15 (UNFPA, 2010; PRB, 2013).

The implication of the rapid demographic change in SSA for the embedded culture of violence profile is that in most volatile conflict-prone and war-affected countries and regions such as South Sudan, Darfur (western Sudan), northern Uganda, Eastern DRC, Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Nigeria and, to a lesser extent, post-war Sierra Leone and Liberia, well over half of the population in these countries or sub-national regions have more or less lived their entire lives under a highly dysfunctional culture of violence. The rebel war waged by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda lasted for 20 year (1986 – 2006). The liberation war in South Sudan lasted for nearly 40 years (1955 – 1972 and 1983 – 2005) and the country has once more relapsed to armed conflict since December 2013. The civil war in Darfur has been fought since 2003. The civil war in Liberia lasted for 14 years (1989 – 2003). The war in Eastern DRC has gone on since 1996. The political histories of Chad, Burundi and CAR have been characterized by violent military coups and repeated relapse to armed conflict since independence. Similarly, since the end of the Biafra civil war in 1970, Nigeria's history has been marred by political instability and endemic structures of communal violence and militia insurgencies in different sub-national regions leading to a prolonged state of "no war, no peace" in the country (Obi, 2009:132). When violence becomes entrenched as a means of conducting and settling political affairs, it inadvertently robs off on the dominant culture of politics, leaving behind a convoluted culture in which resort to armed conflict becomes an acceptable framework for political action and behaviour (Jackson & Jackson, 1997).

Both within and in the aftermath of the conflict life span, the observed embedded culture of violence is what largely shapes the mentality, attitudes, temperament, behavioural patterns and idiosyncrasies of large sections of the populations. It is further solidified and perpetuated by informal agencies of political socialization such as the family, religious and cultural institutions, mass media, and political parties. The practical challenge of peace education in these circumstances is how to foremost deconstruct the endemic culture of violence and in its place construct and embed a culture of peace. It is apparent that peace education planners in most of these volatile countries do not appreciate the deep-rootedness of a virulent culture of violence among their populace, hence studying the phenomenon with a view to designing appropriate remedial interventions has been scarcely reflected in existing peace education curricula (Alimba, 2013; Omeje, 2013).

There are two major factors that have either in isolation or combination contributed to an aggravation of the culture of violence in many countries of SSA. The first is the impact of prolonged dictatorship, political repression and a culture of impunity in national politics. Virtually all the volatile conflict-prone and war-affected African states have been victims of prolonged dictatorship and political repression partly due to the weak institutionalisation of the state, including its key regulatory and governance apparatuses, tempered by its instrumentalization for promoting sectional interest and

prebendal accumulation (cf. Joseph ed., 1999; Bach 2011). Institutionalization, from a neo-Weberian standpoint, is a process by which the state organs, agencies and structures acquire value and stability over time through a political culture based, not on politics of patronage, but on constructive juridical or constitutional (rational-legal) norms (Matlosa, 2003:88). Weak or low state institutionalization in itself is not a sufficient condition for political violence. Weak institutionalization culminates in political violence when it is challenged or strongly contradicted by high level of countervailing political mobilisation and participation. From African political history, mobilization by sections of the disaffected elite or groups to challenge a lawless regime that takes undue advantage of weak institutionalization is often organized along ethno-communal lines, which further polarizes and fragments the state, provoking authoritarian crackdown from the top and heightening the prospect of rebel insurgency from below. As Africa's post-colonial history has amply demonstrated, the motives behind rebel insurgencies in most states marred by weak institutionalization, prolonged dictatorship and prebendal corruption has hardly risen above the lust for power, and the perquisites of political office. In the case of natural resource-rich states, the outbreak of armed conflict and rebel insurgencies have been particularly aggravated by the allure of shadow economies, including both "lootable" and "obstructible" conflict goods, notably diamond, oil, cobalt and timber (Collier, 2008; Ross, 2012). It is pertinent to point out that it is not only rebels and militias that exploit the problem of weak institutionalization by resorting to armed violence at the slightest opportunity. Both the governing elite and rebel forces are often mutually engaged in the "political instrumentalization of disorder" for self-serving aggrandizement (Chabal and Deloz, 1999). The evidence from the history of rebel and militia insurgencies against the prolonged dictatorships in Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC, Sudan, Nigeria, Chad, and CAR more or less lends credence to this point.

The second factor that has aggravated the culture of violence in many countries of SSA is the structural feature of micro-level communal conflicts within and between states, most of which have a protracted history that dates back to (pre-)colonial times. A large number of the micro-communal conflicts in SSA are linked to ambiguities surrounding the issue of land tenure in many states (notably issues about who has the right to own, use, and expropriate lands); the age-old tradition of cattle raiding and blood feuding between the youth of various affected tribes and communities (notably in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa), as well as the fact that many feuding ethnic communities straddle between national borders leading to cross-border mobilization of ethnic combatants and retreating/reinforcing of fighting forces. Other micro-communal conflict aggravating factors include the high incidence of cattle rustling and destruction of farm crops associated with pastoralists' herding of their livestock into sedentary farming communities; and the rapid proliferation of small arms and light weapons among hostile communities (Omeje & Hepner 2013). It suffices to provide a number of examples of longstanding, recurrent and seemingly intractable micro-communal

conflicts in SSA. In South Sudan, protracted communal conflicts over grazing land and the customary tradition of cattle-raiding have been incessantly waged between various ethnic communities - the Dinka and Lou Nuer in Uror County of Jonglei State; the Lou Nuer and Murle in Jonglei state; the Shilluk and Dinka in Upper Nile State; and the Mundari and Dinka Aliap. Similar traditional blood feuding occurs elsewhere in Kenya between the Turkana and Pokot; and between the pastoral Maasai and the sedentary Kikuyu/Kalenjin in Laikipia District of Rift Valley; as well as in Uganda between the Karimojong and Iteso. It is further discernible among the Borana, Gabra and Garri ethnic communities inhabiting the (semi-)arid lands of Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia; between the Karimojong in Uganda and the Pokot and Turkana in Kenya; between the Karimojong in Uganda and Toposa in Sudan; as well as between the resettled Hutu refugees and local Tutsi in North Kivu (Masisi and Ruzizi Plain) following the Rwandan genocide (Omeje, 2013). Some of these recurrent communal conflicts such as those among the ethnic communities in South Sudan, and to a lesser extent Kenya are aggravated by the fact that their cattle-raiding tradition is linked to the customary requirement of large number of cattle from a potential bridegroom as payment for bride price in traditional marriage ceremonies. Another aggravating factor is the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region over the years as a consequence of the decades of state failure and major armed conflicts (Omeje, 2013).

Elsewhere in West Africa (notably Northern Nigeria, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, and northern Cameroun), similar structures of micro-communal conflicts are associated with inter-community disputes over cultivable and grazing lands (herder versus farmer), as well contestation over which of the communities domiciled in a place form an indigenous community as opposed to a settler or non-indigenous community – classifications that have implications for the right of land ownership, use and transfer (see Omeje, 2007; ICG, 2012; *West Africa Insight,* 2014). The observed structural impediments cannot be over-emphasised. The vicious role of the post-colonial state sometimes compounds the challenge of redressing communal conflicts in Africa because as Fantu Cheru (2002:193) has aptly pointed out, the framework of colonial laws and institutions inherited by some states had been designed to exploit local divisions and not to overcome them. For peace education to make the desired impact of mitigating and eradicating armed conflicts in SSA, there is a need to recognise the regressive bottleneck posed by the ubiquitously embedded culture of violence in many parts of the region and to adopt a context-specific or conflict-sensitive strategy for their deconstruction.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

One of the core arguments of this paper is that the philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of peace education in African universities is still preponderantly tied to its western origin and as such remains substantially divorced from African realism and conflict dynamics. Hence, the first policy challenge is clearly at the epistemological and pedagogical level – the need to review and re-orient training curricula to make them more conflict-sensitive, defined from an African standpoint. A more constructive and dynamic stakeholder-centred curriculum development and review model that is at the same time consultative, inclusive, participatory and integrative has to be embraced at the university level. Such a framework model should be designed to bring together key stakeholders in university peace education programmes to brainstorming workshops aimed at (re-)crafting training curricula in a way that they will enjoy African authenticity and conflict-sensitivity. Inclusive stakeholder workshops of this nature are not only necessary for developing new peace education programmes but also for reviewing existing programmes and ensuring both their content validity and context relevance on a periodic basis (e.g. five-yearly). Notable among the stakeholders to be invited in such brainstorming workshops include relevant lecturers and subject specialists, students, university administrators, government quality control and accreditation bodies, and representatives of the potential employment sectors (NGOs, public sector, regional and international organisations, etc). It is important that the stakeholder workshops are facilitated by a team of African subject specialists and preceded by stimulating seminar presentations (well-research papers) by the latter on various aspects of authentic African peace education such as the driving normative values and philosophical underpinnings; issues of curriculum content and coverage; pedagogical imperatives and learning outcomes; alternative methods of course assessment and programme review; applied learning and practical ways of linking higher education and work in the peace industry; as well as harmonizing local training with the imperatives of living in an inter-connected regional and global environment. This type of research-informed seminar will be invaluable in helping to set the context of deliberation in any curriculum development and review workshops. Depending on the logistical and administrative realities of the different universities and countries, the proposed workshops could be convened by individual universities or a network of universities working in partnership with other stakeholders. Interested international agencies (e.g. foreign universities, research centres and donors) could play a supportive role such as offering financial and logistical assistance but should be no means hijack or drive the philosophical and intellectual agenda. Having western stakeholders drive the philosophical and intellectual agendas of peace education curriculum development, and, to a lesser extent, their implementation and periodic review have been the strongest bane of most existing peace education programmes in Africa, especially in the more fragile post-conflict states.

Beyond the foregoing philosophical and epistemological imperatives of an authentic African peace education, it is important to acknowledge the contribution of many foreign donors and technical partners in promoting peace research and peace education in Africa. A large number of the new peace education-oriented university training programmes and scholarship opportunities on the continent would not have been possible without the well-intentioned support of diverse external agencies. For understandable reasons, external interest and support for peace education in Africa have had a greater focus on volatile conflict-prone and post-conflict countries where the training programmes are apparently most needed. However, it suffices to recommend that in countries emerging from war or considered prone to war, donor-interests need to go beyond funding the development and mainstreaming of new university programmes in peace and conflict studies to include robust investments in need assessment for local educational and training priorities, programme assessment, as well as staff training and capacitation of higher education regulatory bodies. Ideally, it would have been much better that all aspects of the African educational sectors be completely funded by African governments without external development aid and donor support as a way of ensuring the much needed focus on national priorities and local ownership. However, the reality is that most African governments, especially the heavily aid-dependent post-conflict states do not have the necessary resources to fund their national development and educational programmes. As such, external stakeholder support remains vital but it is incumbent on the aid recipient governments to ensure that on no account should external stakeholders hijack and drive the philosophical and intellectual agendas of their national education, especially the education-for-peace. There is the need to systematically subject foreign donor support and development assistance in the educational sector to national development priorities. This requires strong and visionary political leadership. Rwanda and Ethiopia are two contemporary African states that have been relatively successful in regulating donor assistance in national education, ensuring that external support lines up with national priorities. The governments of the two countries have for many years demonstrated robust visionary leadership in and beyond their educational sectors regardless of the persisting controversies surrounding their democratic credentials which I have no intention to minimize.

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Recreating African Futures through literary imagination. The newest gender, racial, national and African identities as revealed in Mario Lúcio Sousa's O Novíssimo Testamento (The newest Testament) (Cape Verde)

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Abstract:

The role of literature in imagining and building African identities, social roles, economic dynamics and political structures cannot be underestimated. Indeed, from anti-colonialism through the pre- and immediate post-independence periods up to the contemporary postcolonial state, literature has been path breaking: it was through literature that pre-existing realities and historical processes were critically revised in important ways. And it was also through literature that future projects were designed that inspired political agents of all sorts, the most important example being the very construction of African states as described by the poets and storytellers that were decisive in creating the "imagined communities" that would sustain political struggle.

Resume

Le rôle de la littérature dans les enquêtes et la construction des identités africaines, les rôles sociaux, la dynamique économique et les structures politiques ne peut pas être sous-estimée. En effet, de l'anti-colonialisme à travers le pré et les périodes post-indépendance immédiate à l'État post-colonial contemporain, la littérature a été de chemin de rupture: il était à travers la littérature que les réalités post-existantes et les processus historiques ont été grièvement révisées de façon importante . Et ce fut à travers la littérature que les futurs projets ont été conçus que les agents politiques inspirées de toutes sortes, l'exemple le plus important étant la façon la construction des Etats africains comme décrit par les poètes et les conteurs qui étaient décisif dans la création des «sociétés imaginaires» qui soutiendraient politique luttes.

Mots clés: *la littérature africaine, les femmes africaines, l'état post-colonial, communautés imaginées, le Cap-Vert*

Introduction:

The need for critical revision of the past and for the imagination of new realities for Africa continues to be an important motivation of African literary writing. This paper proposes an analysis of O Novíssimo Testamento ("The Newest Testament") by the Cape Verdean novelist, musician and Minister of Culture, Mário Lúcio Sousa, as the recreation of a future for an African country that implies the return to the very roots of its creation: religious revelation. Mário Lúcio Sousa's novel offers a complete new map for understanding gender, racial, national and African identities from the specific situation of Cape Verdean insularity, one that needs particular attention when dealing with the future of the Continent as a whole.

The role of literature in imagining and building African identities, social roles, economic dynamics and political structures cannot be underestimated. Indeed, from anti-colonialism through the pre- and immediate post-independence periods up to the contemporary postcolonial state, literature has been path breaking: it was through literature that pre-existing realities and historical processes were critically revised in important ways. And it was also through literature that future projects were designed that inspired political agents of all sorts, the most important example being the very construction of African states as described by the poets and storytellers that were decisive in creating the "imagined communities" that would sustain political struggle.

Of course, this is not new and is common in literature from all over Africa. Yet, this process contains some specificity in the Cape-Verdean case, due to the insularity of this country and the fact that its territory had not been inhabited prior to Portuguese colonization, the arrival of West Africans as slaves, and the gradual development of a creole elite that used literature and culture to construct a national identity modelled more often according to white references of the imperial metropolis than to the heritage of the black continent. Despite the legacy of Amílcar Cabral, the country's founder, several ambiguities remain in the self-comprehension of Cape-Verdeans and their national and racial identities concerning the African continent, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a particular relationship with the North, which is sought-for by marking a difference between contemporary Cape-Verdean politics and social realities and the patterns of governance and social development that dominate in the Continent. Indeed, although the archipelago presents remarkable internal heterogeneities, the narrative of a creole nation, that has outgrown its Africanness and become a more refined hybrid, although preserving African elements in its culture, is very much present in the country's self-understanding and presentation to the outer world. This is, I believe, the message of Cape-Verdean Minister of Culture's, the well-known musician Mário Lúcio Sousa's CD entitled Kreol, which includes duets with musicians from the old colonial metropolis and from countries on both sides of the Atlantic (Africa and Central and South America), thus reinforcing

this non-continental, but Atlantic, mestizo and diasporic identity. As Sousa states in an interview: "My writing and my music inhabit this creole world" that is not only European, African or American, but rather "tries to harmonize these bifurcations" (Freitas, 2010). Cape Verde's geographic location and function as a former axis of commerce in the globalized economic web of early colonialism, namely through slave trade, are reinvented: the country appears now as an Atlantic platform of encounter and circulation mid-way between the South and the North, including Africa and South America on one side, and Europe and North America on the other. This new centrality, allied to hybridity understood as openness and as the capacity to establish strategic bonds and build fruitful synthesis, seem to be the core of a national identity that will sustain the country's impulse towards development. Sousa's CD marks this creole national identity, which is not new in itself, with a clear geopolitical trait as a bridge between cultures and ways of living that are reciprocally enriching. In a way Kreol reinscribes Cape-Verde on the map as the center of an idealized and aestheticized world where harmony flows from and to every cardinal point, through the archipelago as a concentrating and irradiating knot.

The attempt to focus on a new world geography that dislocates its axis from the North to the center of the Atlantic is also present in Mário Lúcio Sousa's novel O Novíssimo Testamento. E se Jesus ressuscitasse mulher? ("The Newest Testament. What if Jesus resuscitated as a woman?"). Jesus resuscitates as a Cape-Verdean woman, in a tiny village of a small island in the middle of the Atlantic. From this new geographic epicenter, the author attempts the deconstruction of religious, historical and epistemological narratives that sustain social paradigms and identities, world geopolitics and human ethics.

The religious problematic is frequent in African literature: decolonizing African culture generally involves returning to the sources of autochthonous religious worldviews and practices that have been destroyed, erased or marginalized by the colonial imposition of Christianity and giving them a renewed legitimacy. In this sense, a great number of novels depicts and brings to the fore a broad spectrum of what the Christian Church banned as witchcraft, superstition, blasphemy or sin. Indeed, this is central in the construction of a pre-colonial African identity. This identity is strongly marked by a particular unity with a fantastic Nature inhabited by spiritual forces and which is the source of a wide variety of knowledge that was forgotten, obliterated or put aside by colonialism. Christianity is thus presented as un-African and questioned as part of the destructive violence of colonialism upon African culture. Other tendencies of dealing with the problem of the Africans' relation with Christianity are the acceptance of a paradoxical syncretism with local religious beliefs and practices: while some Christian principles are shown as ridiculous in African contexts, others are incorporated (African women writers blame African patriarchy for using Christian values in order to reinforce its power). In some cases the Bible is read as a description of African lives and experiences, namely in Egypt, and an appropriation of this African ancient knowledge by the West is denounced.

Mário Lúcio Sousa, however, attempts something else: the rewriting of the Gospel

and of many other works of the Christian tradition as it was built during several centuries in Europe and brought to Africa with colonialism. Sousa does not reject Christianity as a part of Cape-Verdean or African identity. Indeed, his concern is not primarily the assertion of a particular national or continental identity, but a problem that became universal since the Christian church and ethics spread worldwide. Sousa attacks Christianity's core, not because it is un-African, but more importantly because it is inhuman. He develops a strategy that is original in relation to most tendencies in African literature: he combines the audacity to deal with a universal subject from a point of view that is African but does not proclaim this identity. Not because Sousa disowns in any way his origins, but because he is beyond the need to assert his continental or national identity. The Cape-Verdeans depicted in the novel are simply and above all human. In this sense, the author is more inspired by literary works from the North than by his African counterparts, the most important influence in content and style being the Portuguese Nobel-prize winner José Saramago and his novel O Evangelho Segundo Jesus Cristo ("The Gospel according to Jesus Christ"). The Portuguese writer does not feel the need to define the location where he is writing from, like most works from the North that deal with subjects with ambitions of universality, such as religion and ethics. Similarly, Sousa has overcome the need to state an Africanness and choses Humanity as his inspiration, his motivation and his ambition. In O Novíssimo Testamento we witness an attempt to develop a religious message that will do justice to a broad concept of Humanity. This concept is significantly modelled upon one of the smallest and most isolated communities of the world, a microcosm that nonetheless is enough to point out the need for a new humanism. This seems to mean that in African literature writers are beyond the need of rejecting everything that is exogenous as a way of affirming what is African, but prefer to write from the position of universality that the North had so far reserved for itself and claim this position for Africans as well.

Still, the global is achieved by preserving the local: the microcosm upon which the new idea of humanism is modelled is a panorama of Cape-Verdean society that simultaneously builds a new notion of national identity, one that presents a stronger contrast to Western references than to African ones. Indeed, as Jesus resuscitates among Cape-Verdeans, who thus become the chosen people, these are thoroughly and extensively depicted. The narrator shows a wonderful mix of humor and irony with pride and compassion to portray a community that is rich and diverse due to the characteristics and survival skills of each particular individual, but is so because it lives in utmost poverty and abandonment under an uncaring colonial rule. Misery is such that people – mostly women – come to Jesus to be heard and cannot find ways of expressing their disgrace. Cape-Verdean women talk of deep problems of an intimate, private and gendered nature that men do not normally express (infertility, adultery, children to feed). Also, the description of magic or aberrant creatures becomes a powerful metaphor for a world that has attained the extreme depth of despair – one that no language has words

for (103) - and for the need of a new message and a new society: "… She walked from village to village, ate and drank with the poor, and heard affliction from the people's voices, truths that had never been narrated, and that's how Jesus understood the real sense of the need for a new world, for Jesus had never been able to imagine how old the old world already was … and thus, little by little, from woman to woman, Jesus gradually understood that in that dead end of the world where She found herself, pain was too big for only one God, because behind the common words of suffering lay a world in decadence, physical decadence and alimentary decadence, and, finally, moral and spiritual decadence, men had started to build the end of their own condition…" (Sousa, 2010: 103-4, my translation).

As the word spreads that Jesus has resuscitated, strangers from all over the archipelago and from all over the world arrive. The island of Santiago must lodge thousands of pilgrims. This way, a forgotten point in the middle of the ocean becomes the center of the world. The inversion is signaled by the narrator in a number of humorous and imaginative ways: due to the weight of the immense crowds that occupy every millimeter of the island, as if the whole humankind had concentrated there, the island loses balance and starts tipping to one side, thus also causing the direction of the flow of rivers to be inverted. These start to flow inland, instead of into the sea. This is a clever way of underlining that the novel intends to operate deep inversions at many levels, culminating in a new broad religious faith that is a new universal narrative. The first inversion happens when a process of colonization in reverse begins, for if the island is in some way occupied by foreigners from the North, these do not impose their culture and customs. Instead they must adapt to the strategies of survival and the particular phenomena of an extremely poor and isolated community that does not know the meaning of progress. Here northern development paradigms are most inadequate, useless and absurd, and must be replaced by endogenous century-old knowledge, which is best suitable to the region's natural and human particularities. This represents, of course, an anticolonial statement against the epistemicides caused by hegemonic paradigms of knowledge and technology. These are exposed to ridicule by nature and by the simplicity of local solutions for problems which islanders have known for a long time. In turn, capitalism, the economic paradigm that shapes western societies and cultures and is the motor of colonialism, must be suspended, for even if foreigners bring a lot of money to spend, they quickly discover that there are neither goods nor services to be bought. Indeed, the island does not possess any natural resources that might be exploited and human resources are quickly exhausted, which makes such an economic system obsolete. Each person must work within the community to guarantee something to eat and a place to sleep, there are neither employers nor employees. It is capitalists who must thus adapt to living in scarcity and to the solidarity and sharing that poverty implies. This situation is presented in the novel with deep irony and humor, yet represents one of its most radical proposals for an alternative future, because economic and social systems are radically

altered due to what might be the actual evolution of capitalism and the exploitation of resources: overpopulation, exhaustion and implosion. Thus, the dissolution of capitalism becomes one of the preconditions for the path towards a new humanism, one that is already present in the daily ways of living of the described insular African community. Finally, we witness the devaluation of modern logics and rationality which are shown as too ridiculously narrow to be able to grasp the diversity of human phenomena of such a small island, phenomena that would fall into the categories of the absurd or the magic, according to Western paradigms, yet are part of the archipelago's normality. Here, Sousa's imagination and the description of a long list of fantastic characters such as a boy who unbuttons other people's clothes by whistling or a woman forever tied to its child by an unbreakable umbilical cord echo the magical realism of South American writers, thus operating a literary fusion that corresponds to the author's conception of Cape-Verde as a bridge between cultures. More than this, it is an epistemological, political and ethical statement, one that asserts the need to alter the cognitive eye that establishes normality and creates abysses of invisibility where all those who in some way do not correspond to this standard land. As Jesus, in her preaching, underlines madness as true freedom as opposed to the chains of rationality, Sousa clearly denounces that Christianity sustains and is supported by this system of knowledge and political power and is a mechanism of exclusion rather than of inclusion. The reinvention of the Gospel is an attempt to erase the abyssal lines, namely those created not only by religion but by western modernity. Again, the reality of a poor small village closed in itself in an insignificant island in the middle of the Atlantic seems the best place to bring about such global changes. "Lem", the name of the village where Jesus chose to resuscitate, as opposed to "Além" (meaning "Beyond", that is, transcendental) signals the author's call for a return to the local, the simple, the down-to-earth humanity that must found the basis of a radically new understanding of the world.

The deepest revolution however is, of course, the resuscitation of Jesus as a woman and a Cap-Verdean. The new faith, the new humanism, the new future will be built upon the image of a subaltern among the subaltern: a black woman, an African, an islander, a poor. This is the author's most daring statement, one that inverts the submission of women in all the big monotheistic religions and elevates Woman to the epitome of Human. Though feminist and revolutionary, this statement however falls into some traps from a feminist point of view: it presents a mythical womanhood that is still stereotypical and builds upon a rather traditional conception of binary sexual identities. It is true that Sousa does not construct the typical African Woman-mythos, located somewhere between Mother Africa, the sacrificed victim of poverty, or the embodiment of exuberant sensuality (although traits of all three are present). Jesus in the novel is actually split between the sacred words that are spoken by a portrait – the divine voice accorded to the otherwise always silenced women – and the female body that experiences earthly realities and develops earthly knowledge. Sousa's Jesus undergoes a process of learning what being

human is about, a process that was denied to Jesus in the Bible, and is deepened in the novel by the fact that as a woman, She is stereotypically presented as more sensitive and closer to nature and other beings than men. Jesus learns about the body, the senses, and emotions and builds her spirituality upon this empiric learning. Unlike the biblical Jesus, this new female Jesus is allowed to fully live her humanity and discover joy, pleasure (food, wine, caresses) and pain, laughter and weeping, sensuality (her own body and its carnality) and passionate love for a man (though She is prevented from actually experiencing physical love), loneliness and nostalgia (the Cape-Verdean sodade). She is allowed to make errors, is weak and listens and observes a lot. In fact She disappoints many followers for She is often incapable of offering more remedy than the solidarity of her own human weakness, again as opposed to the Christian Gospel. Her doctrine is as humble as it is radical. Indeed she pleads for an illuminated faith that questions and rejects a blind faith that requires simple obeisance. Foremost She preaches the fullness of human existence, deeply diminishes the notion of sin and guilt, and does not associate passion with the concept of sacrifice but rather with a new way of corresponding to the gift of Life by grasping it in its paradoxical richness. Indeed, for Sousa's Jesus there can be no knowledge without freedom and the completeness of the sensual and emotional apprehension of the human, which in turn is the essence of the divine. This celebration of life and humanity is again a message of inclusion and of bonding, a comprehensive embrace of the human kind that is so extensively portrayed in the novel through the many types of Cape-Verdeans. The author goes further: it is Jesus's "revolution of love" and her preaching of radical freedom that lead to the outbreak of national consciousness as the most varied social groups understand the meaning of liberty and connect this with independence and the future for their country, a fact that is, of course, closely connected with the aggravation of poverty: "… now even women already spoke of freedom (…), students already wanted independence and children openly questioned the future of the nation. In sum, for the authorities, Jesus was the cause of national conscience and it was not because cows were so thin and old people could not recall a farming year as bad as this…" (Sousa, 2010: 247, my translation).

To be true, the independence claims that arise among Cape-Verdeans in the novel are not attached to a notion of nation as an "imagined community" based on common cultural references, symbols and heroes, nor by shared narratives from the past. Indeed this imagination of a community is not present in the novel. Independence thoughts arise due to suffering and to the discovery of the concept of rights versus oppression that is associated with Jesus's doctrine of freedom. Understanding freedom and claiming rights implies identifying the oppressor. This happens at different levels among Cape-Verdeans in the novel, and is at first more a dissociating process than a unifying one, for different groups with different oppressors within the society, for instance sexual and class oppression, start rebelling against each other. Independence thoughts and concepts such as nation or a people appear only when the colonial administration is

identified as the final oppressor. This means that what unites Cape-Verdeans as a people is the difference from the oppressor and the perception of a submission to a power that prevents individuals from living in dignity and fulfilling their needs, wishes and claims. The novel underlines that Cape-Verdeans are diverse amongst themselves, which means that the construction of a nation in Sousa's narrative does not happen through a process of homogenization, as is common in nationalist discourse, but by preserving an extreme social heterogeneity, that is united mainly by ethical and political principles. These cannot be dissociated from the doctrine of freedom and humanity preached by Jesus. Colonialism annuls freedom, is thus inhuman and must be fought. This is, again, a universal message, although it comes, once more, from a small island as a microcosm of the world. Sousa seems to be stating that oppressive powers must and can be fought without creating and reinforcing the often artificial group characteristics that sustain nationalisms and various types of irreconcilable differences between an I or a We and some kind of Other. While stressing the importance of diversity - Jesus preaches the inclusion of radical difference and destroys the idea of a norm - unity is achieved by a common identity of everyone as human. This legitimizes the political act against every power that is inhuman.

Unfortunately conservative ideas and the various social powers that support colonialism end up defeating Jesus, who is condemned to death. In the end, the whole story is presented as a dream of an old, very bigot lady who had not fully enjoyed life because she was too religious. She had, for instance, remained a virgin, something that the narrator considers to be radically opposed to the importance of sex in Cape-Verdean culture.1 The conclusion of the novel is somewhat unsatisfactory for the reader who hopes for a revolution incited by the new revelation, a new future for this particular, insular part of Africa. Still, most of the novel points in this direction: it underlines the importance of the individual as a human being, thus stressing the value that everyone possesses, specially the excluded and subaltern, that is, those who do not correspond to a given social norm that is an expression of a power hierarchy. This is why the author resists placing his characters in categories, an exception being sexual identities. Moreover, as stated above, in a sort of ecological vision of the world's future under economic capitalism, the novel foresees this system's implosion and a return to simple, solidary and communitarian economies in which accumulation and surplus value are unthinkable and work cannot be nor sold nor bought. Finally, the author claims a new ethics of freedom and humanism that is the key to end all forms of oppression. The fact

1 In some of the novel's most humorous pages, we learn that the language of the islands has an enormous number of words to designate female genitals, as opposed to Swedish that counts only 3 (Sousa: 2010: 53). Curiously, this is one of the very few characteristics of a national culture present in the novel, since as afore mentioned, the author prefers to operate from the point of view of diversity and the human that a Cape-Verdean, African community is chosen as the elected people that represents the full extent of human kind

is in itself an assertion of the human dignity of the racially excluded, the economically exploited, and the socially and politically oppressed. As I said before, Sousa's novel opts for a post-African point of view, one that aims for the universality that the western literary canon had reserved for itself. In this sense the author is also coherent with his conception of Cape-Verdean identity as a bridge between cultures from North and South, as a crossroads of cultural influences that once were propelled by the politics of colonialism but now must be redrawn according to an ethics of equality and freedom. Cape-Verde is the axis which allows us to see the globe as it actually is: round, with no upper or lower sides. To this roundness should correspond the absence of power hierarchies. According to Sousa, Africans must have the courage to assume this identity and this role. Only then will they be equal to peoples from all other geographies.

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Family Structure, Race, Gender and Poverty: The Case of Food Deprivation in South Africa

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Abstract

This study sought to examine the relationship between race, family structure and gender on one hand, and food deprivation as a measure of poverty on the other hand in South Africa. Main effects were found for race, residence, presence of children and adults, while interaction effect was found for race and family structure. Whites, and to a large extent Indians/Asians, were less likely to experience food deprivation, while black Africans and coloureds were most likely to experience food deprivation. Couple-headed households were the least likely to experience food deprivation, compared to households headed by either male or female. Finally, the presence of children and the elderly in a household was negatively associated with food deprivation, a finding which supports the view that most poor families in the country depend on social grants to children and the elderly for survival.

Keywords: *Households, Social grants, Children, Elderly, Labour migration.*

Resume

Cette étude visait à examiner la relation entre la race , la structure familiale et le sexe d'une part , et la privation de nourriture comme une mesure de la pauvreté d'autre part en Afrique du Sud . Les principaux effets ont été trouvés pour la race, la résidence , la présence d' enfants et les adultes , tandis que l'effet de l'interaction a été trouvé pour la course et la structure familiale . Les Blancs , les Indiens / Asiatiques , étaient moins susceptibles de connaître la privation de nourriture , alors que les Africains noirs et métis étaient plus susceptibles de connaître la privation de nourriture . Les ménages de conjoints jouvoyeurs étaient les moins susceptibles d'éprouver la privation de nourriture , par rapport aux ménages dirigés par un homme ou une femme . Enfin , la présence d'enfants et les personnes âgées dans un ménage était associeé négativement à la privation de nourriture , une constatation qui soutient le point de vue que la plupart des familles pauvres dans le pays dépendant des aides sociales pour les enfants et les personnes âgées pour la survie .

Mots-clés: *les ménages , les subventions sociales, enfants, personnes âgées , la migration*

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Introduction

Domestic organisation in Africa has been undergoing transformations ever since the inauguration of the colonial project on the continent in the 19th century. The coordinates of change in household structures in sub-Saharan Africa are multifaceted and include such factors as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, migratory labour, non-marital births, cohabitation, poverty, and unemployment. Within this context of change, some of the family structural changes that have been associated with the above-mentioned processes include size, composition and headship of households. Several studies have noted that household size has declined in countries that have borne the brunt of the HIV/AIDS disease. For example, the World Bank (1997) has noted that in Kagera, Tanzania, the average size of households has declined by less than one person from 6 to 5.7, while in Rakai, Uganda, the mean household size dropped from 6.4 to 4.7 (Menon et al., 1998).

Monasch and Boerma (2004) have noted the increasing prevalence of non-traditional family structure in Africa where children are increasingly living in single-parent households, either headed by the father or the mother. They have noted that in sub-Saharan Africa, 9% of children aged 15 years do not have at least one parent. Lloyd and Blanc (1996) found that in five of the seven countries they studied, 27–28% of youth aged 6–14 were not living with a biological parent while in Kenya and Namibia the corresponding figures were 20% and 51% respectively. These family structures have been shown to be associated with poverty in different ways (Castigla, 1999).

For instance, in the United States, family poverty became more concentrated in mother-child families in the 1960s and early 1970s, less concentrated in these families in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and again more concentrated in single-parent families after the mid-1980s (Bianchi, 1999). Several studies have examined some of these implications in areas such as the educational outcomes of children and psychosocial and economic experiences of members of households. We seek to contribute to the burgeoning literature on the relationship between family structure, race and gender on one hand, and poverty on the other in South Africa in the present study.

Review of empirical literature

The extent of poverty, especially in Africa is not only large, but has also increased both in absolute and relative terms since the 1990s (World Bank, 2001). In South Africa, Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, and Argent (2010) analysed survey data on income distribution between 1993 and 2008 and found that the country's high aggregate level of income inequality increased during this period. They also observed an increase in inequality within each of South Africa's four major racial groups. Specifically, while income poverty fell slightly in the aggregate, it persisted at acute levels for the African and coloured racial groups.

Poverty in urban areas has also increased despite the continual improvements in non-monetary well-being (for example, access to piped water, electricity and formal housing) over the entire post-apartheid period up to 2008. According to a study by Statistics South Africa (2009), even though poverty levels in South Africa decreased between 2000 and 2006, it increased between 2006 and 2009. Specifically, the poverty headcount increased from 24.8% to 36.9% based on the food poverty line, a situation which reflected the effects of the global economic recession which coincided with data collection for the LCS.

Several factors have been associated with poverty in the literature including: race (Lichter & Landale, 1995; Budlender, 2005), gender (Strier, 2005; Budlender, 2005; Awumbila, 2006) and family structure (Bianchi, 1999). The discourse on gender and poverty has been very well documented (Kabeer, 1997; Razavi, 2000; World Bank, 2001b; Strier, 2005; Awumbila, 2006). For instance, within this context of gender analysis, it has been argued that the processes by which people become poor and the ways in which they experience poverty are related to their position and situation in society. Since women, especially in the African context, play second fiddle to men in decision making, inheritance, child care among others they are affected the most by poverty. Thus, by any measuring of poverty, women are more likely than men to live in poverty (Elmelech and Lu 2004; Budlender, 2005).

In the United States, Bianchi (1999), in a review of the trends in feminization and juvenilization of poverty, showed that the relative risks of poverty among adult women between 1950 and the mid-to late-1970s, poverty feminized, but it did so as absolute poverty levels declined for women. In the early 1980s, this reversed: Poverty was no longer feminizing, except among the elderly (and perhaps young adults). Nevertheless, recent some studies showed that women still had higher incidence of poverty than men and their poverty was more severe than that of men (Awumbila, 2006).

Some studies have suggested that there may be a trend towards greater poverty among women, especially associated with rising rates of female-headed households. Moreover, studies have shown that countries with the highest levels of poverty also have the greatest levels of gender discrimination (Awumbila, 2006). Gender wage inequality over the years has diminished the ability of single mothers to support their children as poverty rates among children living with both parents are substantially lower than those for children living with a single parent (Lichter & Landale, 1995).

In South Africa, Statistics South Africa (2009) observed that while the rates have decreased, females continue to have higher unemployment rates compared to males. Women in paid employment still earn less than their male counterparts, which further exacerbates their vulnerability to poverty. Duncun (2010) noted that on average, South African women across all races earn 71% of the income of men averaged across all races. And these disparities in income correlate not only with gender, but also with race; African women earn 85% of what African men earn and they earn 71% of what white women earn and 46% of what white men earn (Van Aardt & Coetzee 2010, 2011).

Anderson and Allen (1984) and Budlender (1997) are of the view that economic needs of black families headed by women are greater than those headed by a man. This situation is compounded by limited economic resources and greater susceptibility to economic discrimination. The women therefore, tend to include other extended family members in the household to supplement household income. Budlender (1997) further explains that "in South Africa, in particular, analysis of the data from South Africa's Income and Expenditure Survey October 1995, calculation of mean monthly earned income from wages, salaries and self-employment revealed that households said to be headed by women earned less than a third (R1 178) of the amount earned by those headed by men (R3 767). The disparity is explained by fewer earners per household despite similar household size, a greater proportion of earners in self-employment rather than earning wages or salaries, and the generally lower earnings of those women fortunate enough to have an income.

Many people claim that the 'problem' is on the increase in South Africa. The Bureau of Market Research recorded an increase in the percentage of woman-headed households in the Witwatersrand from 14% in 1962 to 29% in 1985. In 1985, they said, 25% of all children and 20% of adults were living in such households (Buijs & Atherfold, 1995: 2). Though overall, households headed by women are poorer, there is great variation depending on the stage in the life cycle of the woman, and whether rural or urban areas are being considered.

Ardington (1994) describes how African households in former KwaZulu which were headed by younger women in urban areas, for example, had much better all-round indicators for all household members (income, employment, educational levels, among others), than did those of households headed by men or by women in the middle and older age cohorts. Households headed by young women in rural areas were the worst off; households headed by elderly women receiving pensions were among the very poor households, even with the pension income (Lund Report, 1996).

Meanwhile, it has been noted that gender gaps in access to ownership and control over resources make women more vulnerable to poverty than men (Awumbila, 2006; Shapiro & Tambashe, 2001). The bases of poverty can also be traced to gendered preference of child enrolment in school (Shapiro & Tambashe, 2001), gender inequalities in the labour market which puts most women in the non-wage informal sector employment (Awumbila, 2006). Poverty among women can also be attributed to the gendered internal division of family labour. Working mothers continue to bear the major responsibility for child care which impacts their poverty levels (Castigla, 1999).

Worldwide, female-headed families are increasing rapidly and the number of poor female-headed families doubled between 1950 and 1974 (Bianchi, 1999). Based on data in the United States, Pearce (1988) suggested that female-headed families were losing ground compared to families with an adult male present in the household, noting that the ratio of income in female-headed families to other families had declined between

1950 and 1974. He argued that if the trend continued, nearly all the poor would be living in female-headed families by the year 2000 (Pearce, 1988).

The present research

The above review of the empirical literature has shown that it is replete with studies on poverty both globally and in South Africa. However, the bulk of the studies of poverty, especially, in South Africa, have used as measures of poverty indicators like income, unemployment and monthly expenditure of members of households. Moreover, many studies of poverty have tended to focus on the correlates of poverty and have therefore examined factors such as race, gender, residence etc. in isolation.

This approach to the study of the problem renders the existing literature problematic in two major ways. First, in a country like South Africa, with its huge problem of unemployment, inequality and poverty, using a measure like income and or household expenditure is likely to bias the findings towards the few that earn a salary or a wage. In fact, according to the Committee of inquiry for a Comprehensive Social Security System (2002), there were 2.6 million unemployed individuals who lived in households where there was no one employed and where the monthly total expenditure of the households was less than R800 per month.

Access to food is basic and, in fact, in South Africa, a socioeconomic right. It is therefore more likely to reveal the extent of poverty in the general population than income and expenditure. Secondly, the focus on correlates of poverty in the form of the individual factors mentioned above hinders explanation. For example, female-headed households are but one dimension of family structure in the diverse family forms that exist in a multi-cultural society like South Africa. Therefore looking only at this family type does not help to advance the knowledge base as far as family structure's effect on poverty is concerned.

The present study seeks to fill this gap in the existing literature in two ways. Firstly, we use as a measure of poverty, access to food. Secondly, we use other dimensions of family structure such as male, single-headed and couple-headed households besides female, single-headed households. Thirdly, we control for factors such residence, age of the household head, presence of children and adults 60 years old and above in the household. Thus, we seek to contribute to this bourgeoning literature on changing household and family structures in South Africa by examining the implications of these emerging household structures for food security.

Specifically, our aim is to examine how variation in household types engenders food deprivation or otherwise across race and gender groups. The fundamental research question we seek to answer is: How does a household headed by a female, a male or a couple affect the household's access to food across race and gender groups?

Data and Methodsample design

The data for the study come from the 2009 General Household Survey (GHS) by Statistics South Africa. The sample design was based on a master sample (MS) that was originally designed for the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) and was used for the first time for the GHS in 2008 (Statistics South Africa, 2009). The master sample used a two-stage, stratified design with probability proportional to size (PPS) involving the sampling of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) from within strata, and systematic sampling of dwelling units (DUs) from the sampled primary sampling units (PSUs).

A Randomised Probability Proportional to Size (RPPS) systematic sample of PSUs was drawn in each stratum, with the measure of size being the number of households in the PSU. Altogether approximately 3 080 PSUs were selected. In each selected PSU a systematic sample of dwelling units was drawn. From these Primary Sampling Units, 25 728 households were selected randomly, representing about 94 263 individuals in the selected households.

The number of DUs selected per PSU varies from PSU to PSU and depends on the Inverse Sampling Ratios (ISR) of each PSU. A self-weighting design at provincial level was used and MS stratification was divided into two levels. Primary stratification was defined by metropolitan and non-metropolitan geographic area type. The design weights, which are the inverse sampling rate (ISR) for the province, are assigned to each of the households in a province. Information collected ranged from such individual characteristics as education, marital status, race, residence, gender and household characteristics such as relationship to the designated head of the household, educational attainment of the household, household possessions etc.

Measures

Family Structure: Using the United Nations' recommendation, Statistics South Africa defines a household as consisting of "a person, or a group of persons, who occupy a common dwelling (or a part of it) for at least four days a week and who provide for themselves jointly with food and other essentials for living" (Statistics South Africa 1996: 12). The 2009 General Household Survey defined nine relationship types within the household (head/acting head, spouse of the head, Children of the head, siblings of the head, parents of the head, grandparents/great grandparents of the head, grandchild/great grandchild of the head, other relative of the head and non-related person). Following this original classification, marital status and gender of the head were used as criteria to distinguish 12 household types. For the purpose of the present study, these types are further grouped into three broad types, female, single-headed, male, single-headed and couple headed.

Poverty: Poverty is not easy to measure in statistical terms because it is a complex phenomenon and takes many forms which make its definition and measurement problematic (Atkinson, 1987; Budlender, 2005). Poverty is multi-dimensional with complex interactive and causal relationships among the dimensions. The definitions of poverty have therefore been broadened to encompass dimensions such as lack of empowerment, opportunity, capacity and security (Awumbila, 2006). Given the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, in this study, we measure this concept by "food deprivation" which is derived from selected items on food security from the survey's section on food security, income and expenditure on food supply. Four items and their sub-items were selected for the creation of a "Food Deprivation Index". The items and their sub-items were "weighted" in order of importance as follows:

Q4.1. Did your Household run out of money to buy food during the past year?
If Yes=4 points.
Q4.1b. Has this happened 5 or more days in the past 30 days?
If Yes=2 points
Q4.2 Did you cut the size of meals during the past year because there was not enough food in the house?
If yes=4 points
Q4.2b. If this happened 5 or more times=2 points
Q4.3 Did you skip any meals during the past year because there was not enough food in the house?
If yes=4 points
Q4.3b. If this happened 5 or more times=2 points
Q4.4 Did you eat a smaller variety of food during the past year than you would have liked to, because there was not enough food in the house?
If Yes=2 points
Q4.4b. If this happened 5 or more times=1 point.

Thus, the total Deprivation Index score range from 0 (if they answered No to all questions) to 21 (if a respondent answered Yes to all questions).

Statistical Approach

The data are first weighted to take into account the complex survey design. To this effect, we employ the Rao-Scott Chi-Square statistics which is appropriate for weighted data to examine all bivariate relationships, while we employ the SURVEYLOGISTIC procedure in SAS for the multivariate analysis to test the study's hypotheses. The dependent variable, *food deprivation*, ranges from 0 to 21. This is dichotomized into 0='No deprivation' and 1='Any deprivation'. Dichotomizing food deprivation (the

dependent variable), makes it amenable to the use of the logistic regression statistical technique for the multivariate analysis as the technique requires the dependent variable to be binary. Since the log odds can be any number between minus and plus infinity, it can be modelled as a linear function of the predictor set. The equation for the logit model of the regression is expressed thus:

$$\log \frac{(\pi)}{1-\pi} = \alpha+\beta 1X1+\beta 2X2+.....+\beta kXk$$

In the present study, the log odds of a family becoming food deprived are regressed on family structure and selected socio-demographic factors. The predictor variables are represented by X1, X2, X3..... Xk. Specifically, the predictors include family structure, age of the household head, race of the head, the presence of children aged 0-17 in the household, the presence of adults aged 60 and above in the household, and type of place of residence.

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for the variables in the model. Seventy-three percent of the households in the sample report that they are not food deprived as opposed to 27% that have any food deprivation. Seventy-eight percent of the household heads are black African, 8% coloured, 3% Indian/Asian and 12% white. In terms of age, only 7% of the heads are aged between 10-24 years old, 21% are between 25 and 34 years old, 22% are aged between 35 and 44 years old, while slightly over one-fifth (20.42%) of the household heads are aged 60 and above years old; the mean age of a household head is 46 years old. Fifty-six percent and 10% of the households are in urban formal and urban informal areas respectively, while 28% and 6% of households are in tribal and rural formal areas respectively. Fifty-five percent of the households have no children in the household compared to 45% with children; the mean number of children in a household is 1.28. Finally, 78% of the households have no adult aged 60 and above, 17% have only one adult, while 6% have two or more adults.

Table 1: Distribution of Sample Characteristics

Variable	Number	Percent
Food Deprivation		
No	10440905	72.51
Yes	3957527	27.49
Race of Head		
Black African	11188327	77.71
Coloured	1155921	8.03
Indian/Asian	361224	2.51
White	1692959	11.76
Age of Head		
10-24	963912	6.69
25-34	2968602	20.62
35-44	3201680	22.24
45-59	4323921	30.03
60+	2940317	20.4211
Residence		
Urban formal	8089832	56.19
Urban informal	1396933	9.70
Tribal areas	4077189	28.32
Rural formal	834478	5.80
Presence of children		
No	7962223	55.30
Yes	6436209	44.70
Presence of Adults 60+		
No	11167944	77.56
1	2385681	16.57
2+	25934	5.87

Figure 1shows the distribution of family structure by race of the household head in the sample of households in the study. Over 40% of households amongst black Africans are headed by females only. This compares with 33%, 25% and 22% amongst coloureds, Indian/Asians and whites respectively. Conversely, because of the relatively higher marriage rates amongst whites and Indians/Asians almost two-thirds (65.45%) of white and 62% of Indian/Asian households respectively are headed by a couple, while 55% and 33% respectively of coloured and black African households are headed by a couple. The

same pattern of household structure is observed in the case of households headed by only males; 26% of black African households are headed by males only compared with 12%, 13% and 12% respectively amongst coloureds, Indians/Asians and whites.

Figure 1: %Distribution of Household Type by Race of Head

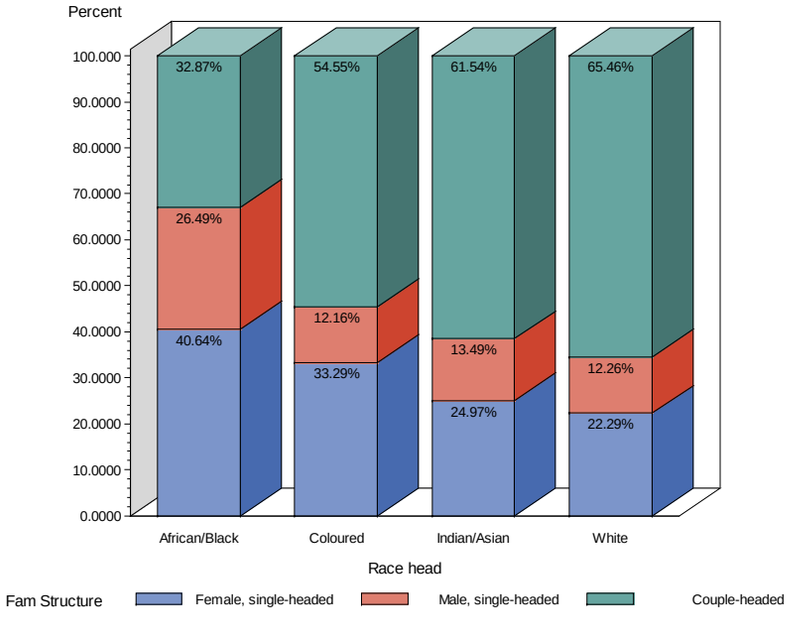


Table 2 shows the relationship between food deprivation and each of the predictor variables in the model, while table 3 shows the global logistic regression results of the multivariate analysis which essentially confirm the bivariate analysis results. The presence of children and adults 60 years and above appears to be negatively associated with food deprivation. In other words, households with children and adults aged 60 years and above are less likely to experience any deprivation and vice versa. For example, 28% of households where there is no adult member report food deprivation compared to only 19% of households with two or more adult members who report any food deprivation. Also, whereas one-third (33%) of households without any child report food deprivation, the same is true of slightly more than one-fifth (21%) of households with at least one child that report food deprivation.

While this finding may appear counterintuitive within the context of the "resource

dilution" theory, in South Africa, it supports the commonly-held belief that because of the widespread unemployment and poverty and the concomitant generous social welfare regime, many poor households depend on the old age and child support grants for survival[2]. Thus, the association between the presence of children and the elderly and the absence of food deprivation in a family is lends an empirical support to the fact that most poor households in South Africa rely on such grants as a major source of household income.

There is a statistically significant association between levels of urbanisation and the likelihood of food deprivation in South Africa. Households in urban formal and rural formal areas are less likely than those in urban informal and tribal areas to experience food deprivation. Thirty-six percent and 35% respectively of urban informal and tribal areas report food deprivation compared to only 22% and 24% respectively of urban formal and rural formal areas.

In terms of age, households headed by persons aged 35-59 years old are more likely to experience food deprivation followed by those headed by youth aged 10-24 years old, while households headed by adults aged 60 and above years and those headed by persons aged between 25 and 34 years old are less likely to experience food deprivation.

Household heads between ages 25 and 34 years old are in the prime working age group and are therefore likely to be gainfully employed, while heads aged 60 and above years old are likely to depend on old age and other types of social grants. On the other hand, the twin problem of lack of skills and unemployment facing the youth in the country is a plausible explanation of the likelihood of households headed by the youth experiencing food deprivation.

2 *In South Africa, social grants in the form of child support grant, care dependency grant, foster child grant, disability, older person's grant, war veteran's grant and grant in aid are the main source of income for about 15% of households and almost one-third (28.3%) of individuals (Statistics South Africa, 2009).*

Table 2: Bivariate Analysis of the Relationship between Deprivation and Predictor Variables

Variable	%Deprived	Rao-Scott X^2	Value
Presence of Adults in Household		35.13	<.0.0001
0	28.25		
1	27.07		
2+	19.00		
Presence of Children in Household		285.09	<.0.0001
No	32.60		
Yes	21.16		
Residence		362.24	<.0.0001
Urban formal	22.21		
Urban informal	35.07		
Tribal areas	36.09		
Rural formal	23.89		
Age of Head		51.46	<0.0001
10-24	25.76		
25-34	25.02		
35-44	28.34		
45-59	30.58		
60+	25.05		
Race of Head		657.12	<0.0001
Black African	31.51		
Coloured	25.11		
Indian/Asia	9.04		
White	6.44		
Household type		136.95	<0.0001
Female, single-headed	32.41		
Male, single-headed	25.98		
Couple-headed	23.67		

Table 3 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis. Table 3's confirmation of the bivariate analysis in table 2 is evidenced by the fact that the main effects of race, presence of children and adults 60 and above, residence and age of the household head persist even after adjusting for the effects of all other factors in the model. The

shows the distribution of food deprivation by the race group of the household head. Both table 3 and figure 2 show that regardless of family structure, households headed by black Africans are more likely than any other household to experience food deprivation. For example, while 94% of white household heads report that they have no food deprivation, only 68% of black African household heads report no food deprivation; 91% and 75% of Indian/Asian and coloured household heads respectively report no food deprivation.

But, table 3 also shows that there is a significant interaction effect between family/household structure and race of the head of the household[3].

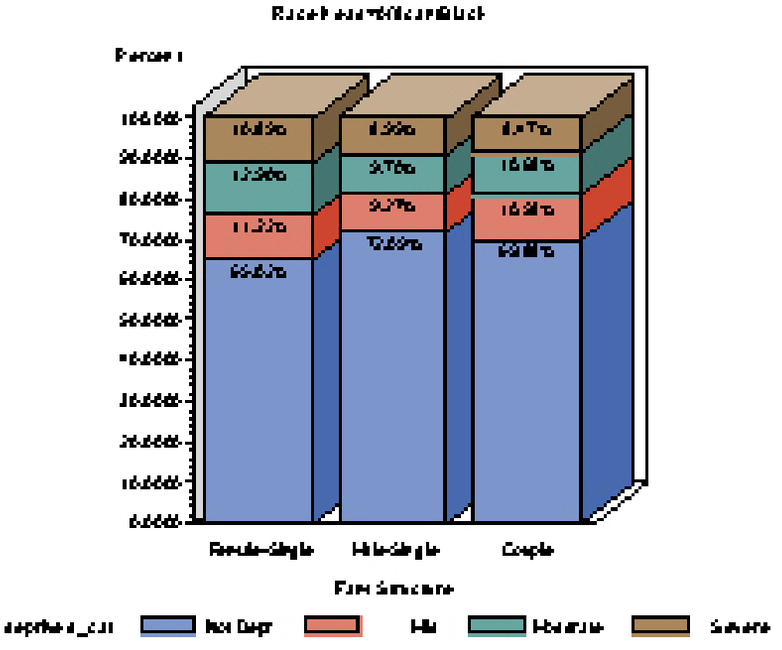
Table 3: Logistic Regression Analysis Results (Global)

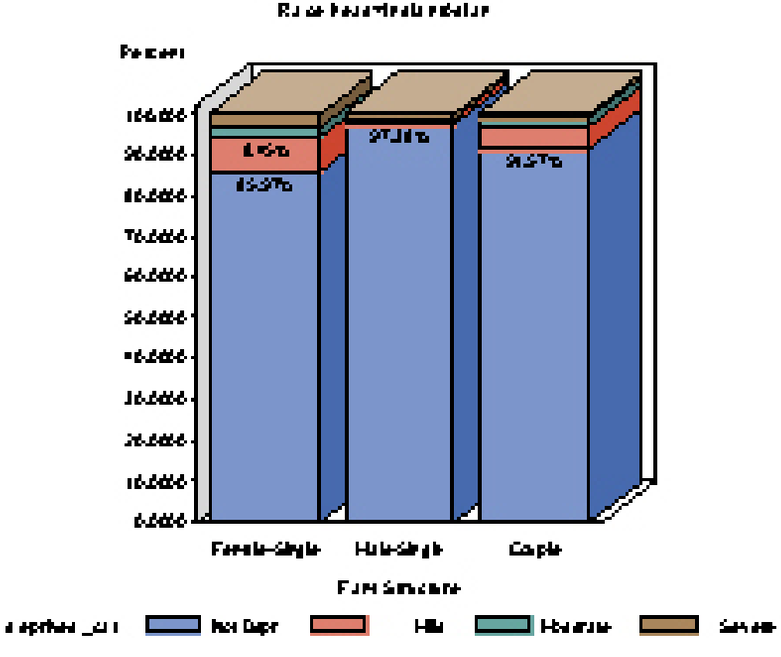
Effect	DF	Wald Chi-Square	p-value
Race	3	45.80	<0.0001
Household Structure	2	0.19	0.9107
Race*Household Structure	6	19.73	0.0031
Residence	2	84.27	<0.0001
Presence of Children	1	122.70	<0.0001
Age of head	4	59.12	<0.0001

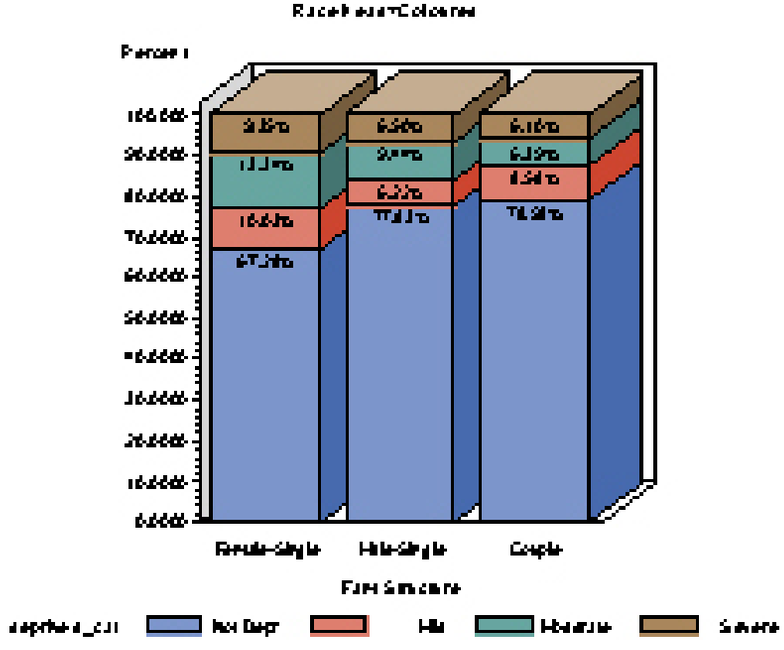
Figure 2: %Distribution of Food Deprivation by Race of Head

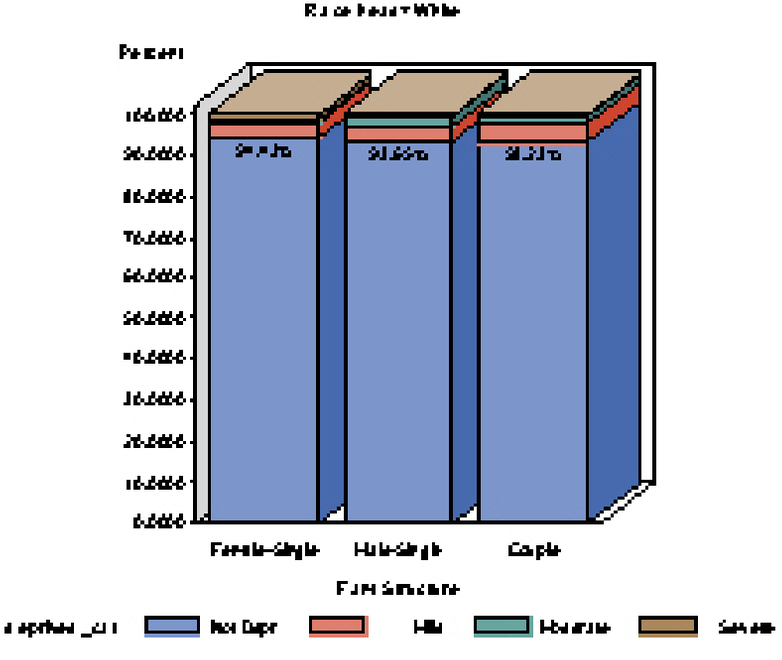
3 *The non-significant p-value of race and family structure is due to the interaction between the two variables.*

Figure 4: %Distribution of Food Deprivation by Family Structure and Race of Head









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Les Jeux Video en Negroculture : Contribution a Une Anthropologie de La Solidarite Chez Les Jeunes du Cameroun

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Résumé

En Afrique en général et au Cameroun en particulier, posséder une console de jeux vidéo n'est pas à la portée de tout le monde. Les jeunes puisque ce sont eux qui les affectionnent particulièrement, qui en possèdent une, font donc souvent appel à leurs pairs afin qu'ensemble, ils puissent s'amuser. L'espace où les jeunes jouent aux jeux vidéo devient de ce fait un espace où ces derniers s'affirment en tant que groupe à part entière. C'est un espace qui leur permet de se démarquer des adultes qui, le plus souvent dénigrent, voire méprisent cette activité ludique. Les jeunes y créent ainsi des « ethnométhodes » et développent une solidarité mécanique. Jouer aux jeux vidéo dans ce contexte n'est plus simplement une activité de loisir. L'espace de jeu devient un espace où se créent de nouvelles relations et où se raffermissent les anciennes. Mais également, un espace où se développent l'esprit de compétition et corrélativement même des conflits. Celui avec qui on s'amuse aux jeux vidéo devient celui à qui on se confie, avec qui on partage ses joies et ses peines. La console de jeux n' « appartient » plus à celui qui l'a achetée, mais à tous ceux qui la jouent. Il n'est donc pas rare qu'elle s'exporte du domicile de son propriétaire pour le domicile d'un autre adolescent. Il faut également préciser que le jeu vidéo reste en négroculture une activité essentiellement masculine ; l'espace de jeu est donc le fief du garçon et les filles n'ont rien à y faire. Le jeu vidéo développe ainsi un certain machisme, une fierté d'être homme plutôt que femme. Dans ce contexte, on peut noter une sorte de détribalisation. L'obédience ethnique de tout un chacun s'estompe pour laisser place à une société des jeunes tout court. Le jeu vidéo fait donc tomber les barrières raciales, tribales, ethniques. Et même si on peut y noter des effets pervers, ce qui est normal, puisque aucun système culturel n'est parfait, les jeux vidéo en contexte camerounais développent chez les adolescents le sentiment d'appartenance à une même classe d'âge.

Mots clé : *Jeu vidéo – communication – valeur culturelle – jeunesse*

Abstract

Video game console is not accessible to everyone in Africa, generally, and in Cameroon, especially. Those who own one, in particular, the young ones, play with it in the company of their peers. The space in which the young play video-games thus becomes one in which they have fun and assert themselves as full-fledged adult who stand out from adults who despise the

activities. They create new relationships in this space and develop competitive spirit. Though predominantly a male activity, females also participate considering themselves as 'men'. Significantly, the context allows for 'detribalization', dissolves ethnic obedience and develops a sense of belonging.
Keywords: *Video Game – Communication – cultural value –*

Introduction

En négroculture en général et au Cameroun en particulier, entrer en possession d'une console de jeux vidéo est une véritable gageure, vu la cherté de celle-ci. Cela n'est de ce fait pas étonnant que seuls quelques adolescents, le plus souvent appartenant à une classe aisée en possèdent. Toutefois, la console de jeux a ceci de particulier qu'on la joue rarement en solo, et quand on en a une, on fait toujours appel à ses amis, pour se mesurer avec ces derniers dans des compétitions, pour leur faire voir les exploits qu'on peut réaliser et aussi pour se détendre simplement avec eux. Avec la sophistication actuelle des consoles de jeux, ces dernières sont devenues de véritables canaux de communication et véhiculent la vision du monde d'une culture, qu'est la culture occidentale. Les jeux proposés sont porteurs des mythes, des arts, des institutions, des sports, etc. de cette culture. N'étant joués que par les enfants et les adolescents, il est évident que les jeux vidéo participent activement à leur éducation ou mieux, à leur socialisation, ce qui est susceptible d'être un danger pour leur personnalité culturelle. Pourtant, notre discours n'est pas de vilipender, mais plutôt de proposer un discours laudateur sur cet outil de communication qui peut être d'une réelle utilité s'il est utilisé à bon escient. Le jeu vidéo développe la solidarité et l'esprit de partage entre les jeunes ; ce qu'il faudrait, c'est l'adapter à nos réalités. Se situant à la lisière de l'anthropologie du jeu, de l'anthropologie urbaine et de l'anthropologie de la jeunesse, le présent article va montrer comment à partir du jeu vidéo, les jeunes développent des ethnométhodes permettant d'avoir un visu sur leur façon de développer la solidarité entre eux.

I. Le rapport méthodologique

Toute démarche scientifique nécessite l'élaboration d'un canevas méthodologique montrant comment les données ont été récoltées. Pour ce qui est de la rédaction du présent article, nous avons mis à contribution les techniques d'enquête qualitative suivantes :

- l'observation directe : elle a consisté à observer des parties de jeux vidéo organisées par des jeunes du quartier Biyem-Assi dans la capitale Cameroun : Yaoundé. Nous avons ainsi pu noter toutes les ethnométhodes relatives à cette activité.

- L'observation-participante : notre expérience personnelle des jeux vidéo nous a permis de nous mettre en situation de joueur ; et de ce fait, d'observer de l'intérieur l'activité vidéo-ludique. Les jeux vidéo auxquels nous nous sommes adonné sont ceux de football (FIFA, Pro-evolution) et d'infiltration militaire (Metal Gear).
- L'entretien collectif : nous avons mené un entretien collectif avec cinq (05) jeunes qui nous ont donné leurs appréciations sur les *videos games* et dans quelle mesure ces derniers participent à leur épanouissement quotidien.

II. La place des jeux vidéo dans la société camerounaise

La console de jeux vidéo dans la société camerounaise est un outil exclusivement utilisé par les jeunes, car le plus souvent, les adultes estiment que ce type de loisirs ne sied pas à leur statut. On constate ainsi que si les autres TIC comme le téléphone portable, l'ordinateur ou encore Internet sont employés comme moyens de communication par tout le monde, les jeux vidéo restent l'apanage des enfants et des adolescents. Notons déjà que, c'est au milieu des années 90 que se construit au Cameroun un véritable espace vidéoludique, avec les jeux sur Arcade qu'on retrouve dans des salles spécialement aménagées pour recevoir les *video-players*. Ensuite, des consoles comme Nintendo 64 sont apparues, achetées par des gens nantis qui les offraient à leurs enfants. Aujourd'hui, les jeunes camerounais ont fait la connaissance de consoles de jeux plus performantes et plus attrayantes comme la Nintendo DS, la Playstation 2, la X Box 360, la Wii, etc.

Retenons également que le jeu vidéo est une activité ludique essentiellement urbaine, ce qui fait que, dans les zones rurales, il est pratiquement impossible d'en trouver. Parmi les types de jeux vidéo qu'on retrouve ici, nous avons : les jeux d'aventure, les jeux de guerre, les jeux de combats, les jeux de sports et plus particulièrement le football, qui sont les plus prisés. S'il fallait faire une cartographie des jeux vidéo au Cameroun, on se rendra tout de même compte que les supports de jeux vidéo les plus sollicités aujourd'hui sont l'Arcade, la Playstation 2, les ordinateurs et les téléphones portables. Les deux premiers sont ceux qu'on retrouve aujourd'hui dans les salles publiques de jeux vidéo. Notons aussi que, des quatre origines des jeux notées par Roger CAILLOIS (1959) à savoir : l'*agôn* ou recherche du combat, de la compétition, l'*alea* ou abandon à la chance et au hasard, la *mimicry* ou simulacre et *l'ilinx* ou recherche du tourbillon, on peut placer le jeu vidéo dans la première et la troisième impulsion, parce qu'il développe l'esprit de compétition et fait participer le joueur.

III. Les jeux vidéo et les conflits de génération

Comme nous l'avons déjà précisé en sus, les jeux vidéo ne sont pas pratiqués par les adultes. Par adulte, nous n'entendons pas forcément ceux qui ont l'âge légal qui fait d'eux

des majeurs ; cet âge est de vingt et un ans au Cameroun. Par adultes, nous entendons les individus qui remplissent certaines conditions préalables, comme : avoir un emploi stable, être marié et avoir des enfants. Le jeu vidéo est ainsi méprisé par les adultes qui estiment ainsi que, les « vrais hommes » ne devraient pas s'abaisser à pratiquer une telle activité ludique. Pour la plupart, les consoles jeux vidéo doivent être la propriété des enfants qui n'ont pas encore l'âge de la puberté. Beaucoup estiment d'ailleurs que ces enfants ne doivent en jouer qu'à la maison, parce que pour eux, l'univers vidéoludique des salles entraîne l'enfant dans la délinquance ; d'un, parce qu'il l'amène à délaisser ses devoirs familiaux pour se rendre dans les salles de jeux vidéo et de deux, parce qu'il le pousse à commettre des larcins, car pour jouer dans ces salles, il faut des moyens financiers. La salle de jeux vidéo devient ainsi en quelque sorte pour les adultes, « un repaire pour bandits ».

On voit donc que, si le jeu vidéo est pour le jeune un simple divertissement lui permettant de se retrouver avec ceux de son âge, cette activité est le plus souvent vue péjorativement par les adultes. S'il est vrai que l'adulte est plus tolérant lorsque l'activité vidéoludique se pratique à la maison, il faut savoir que là encore, l'usage de l'écran de télévision entraîne aussi des conflits. Il est donc évident que l'adulte acceptera rarement que le jeu vidéo bouleverse ses programmes de télévision ; aussi, demandera t-il aux jeunes d'arrêter leur divertissement si cela lui est nécessaire, ce qui peut entraîner des tensions au sein de la famille.

IV. Le jeu vidéo : une activité masculine

Il est important de noter ici que, en contexte camerounais, l'activité vidéoludique est exclusivement l'apanage des jeunes de sexe masculin. Lorsqu'une fille en joue, cela relève d'un fait étrange. Cette masculinisation du jeu vidéo est ainsi susceptible de développer un certain machisme, et devient de ce fait un moyen pour les garçons de mettre en valeur leur virilité. Par opposition aux adultes qui le dénigrent, le jeu vidéo est pour le jeune, une façon de s'affirmer en tant que homme, une façon de ne pas être femme ou fille. Et si la gent féminine est quelquefois acceptée là où se pratique l'activité vidéoludique, ce n'est qu'en tant que spectatrice. Et, il faut être clair sur ce point, la présence des filles ne peut être tolérée que quand la console de jeux se trouve à la maison. Il est donc pratiquement impossible de trouver une fille dans une salle de jeux vidéo.

V. Le jeu vidéo comme moyen de communication pour les jeunes du Cameroun

Au-delà de son aspect divertissant, le jeu vidéo est pour les jeunes un moyen d'expression et de communication. Le jeu vidéo renvoie aux joueurs une vision du monde, une façon propre à une société donnée de voir et de concevoir les réalités qui l'entourent. Toutefois, la vision du monde que promeut cette activité est celle de l'Occident, ce qui fait qu'il peut amener les jeunes Africains à perdre leur personnalité culturelle comme nous l'avons précisé à l'introduction.

VI. Le jeu vidéo et la perte des valeurs endogènes

Les ludiciels ou jeux vidéo qu'on retrouve en Afrique sont issus de la culture occidentale. Il va dès lors de soi que, celui qui s'y adonne est plongé dans l'univers socioculturel, idéel et idéologique des sociétés du Nord. Cette promotion des cultures étrangères que véhicule l'activité vidéoludique peut amener le vidéo-joueur à reléguer les valeurs culturelles endogènes à une place de strapontin. C'est la raison pour laquelle, Pierre François EDONGO NTEDE (2005 :50) pense que les jeux vidéo sont susceptibles de favoriser « *le déracinement culturel* ». Nous pouvons ainsi, dans cette optique, assimiler l'influence des ludiciels à celle des autres moyens de communication employés par les Occidentaux pour montrer et démontrer la supériorité de leur culture. Nous pouvons aussi mettre dans le même lot, les films, les clips, les dessins animés, les documentaires, etc. qui, grâce aux chaînes de télévision sur satellite, « endocolonisent » l'africain par un matraquage psychologique sans précédent.

Si nous prenons par exemple les jeux vidéo de sport, nous verrons que l'univers environnemental d'un jeu de football comme *Pro Evolution Soccer*, ne présente presque que les stades de football européens. Les équipes, en dehors des équipes nationales, sont pour la plupart des clubs européens. Cette présentation de l'environnement physique est remarquable dans tous les jeux. Les jeux historiques et épiques ne laissent entrevoir que l'histoire et les mythes des peuples occidentaux. Les jeux de guerre mettent en valeur leur attirail technologique et ainsi, la puissance de frappe de leurs armées. Les personnages sont le plus souvent de race blanche et ceux d'une autre race sont pour la plupart du temps présents, pour leur aspect décoratif. Nous voyons ainsi que, la place laissée aux réalités africaines est très infime, sinon inexistante. Le message envoyé par les jeux vidéo est donc simple : les sociétés du Nord jouissent d'une hégémonie culturelle qu'on ne peut pas leur disputer ; elles sont le modèle à suivre ; et si les autres cultures veulent exister, elles doivent inévitablement se coucher sur leur lit de procuste.

Il ne faut pas éluder que, les jeux vidéo sont conçus pour les enfants qui ont à partir de trois ans, ce qui fait qu'ils participent indubitablement à la socialisation du jeune ;

n'oublions pas que « *les jeux sont une imitation de la réalité* » (FAME NDONGO 1996 : 34). De ce fait, on assiste chez les jeunes Africains, à la gestation d'un ethno-alter-centrisme. Nous entendons par là, la mise en valeur des cultures des autres au mépris de la sienne.

VII. Le jeu vidéo, un élément valorisateur de l'altérité ?

S'il est vrai que le jeu vidéo agit comme un instrument qui donne une certaine dévaleur aux cultures africaines, parce que prônant celles des peuples de l'Occident, il faut toutefois reconnaître, en prenant un peu de recul, qu'il permet de mieux comprendre, cerner, appréhender ces peuples. En effet, en faisant la promotion des cultures du Nord, les jeux vidéo en apprennent aux jeunes africains sur elles, ce qui peut nous amener à penser qu'ils valorisent et favorisent l'altérité, donc permettent de mieux accepter la vision du monde de l'autre. Il est vrai que cela dépend du jeu, parce qu'il y en a qui banalisent la violence et d'autres qui ont un caractère raciste. Notons que le ludiciel met également en avant certaines valeurs comme l'honneur, l'amour, la persévérance, le courage, etc. Dans les jeux d'aventure par exemple, on met à l'épreuve, la persévérance, l'honneur et le courage du héros, ce qui peut avoir un impact positif sur le joueur. Il existe aussi des jeux éducatifs, qui non seulement, amènent celui qui joue à tester son potentiel intellectuel, mais aussi, enrichissent considérablement ses connaissances en culture générale. D'ailleurs, dans certaines universités européennes et américaines, les ludiciels sont de plus en plus utilisés comme support de communication pour transmettre le savoir aux élèves et étudiants ; car il faut bien le préciser : « *En définitive, on ne devrait pas croire que jeux vidéo et éducation soient incompatibles ou encore que les jeux vidéo soient, par nature une menace pour l'éducation de nos pupilles. Il existe, à côté des jeux violents, d'autres jeux relaxants et éducatifs permettant non seulement de se familiariser avec l'outil informatique, mais aussi d'enrichir la personnalité sociale et l'esprit de l'enfant* » (EDONGO NTEDE 2005 : 53).

De toutes les façons, ce qu'il faut retenir c'est que, le jeu vidéo donne la vision du monde de l'autre et est ainsi censé permettre, si on a assez d'ouverture d'esprit, d'adopter certains *items* culturels extragènes, sans pour autant rejeter ceux de sa propre culture. Le jeu vidéo devient dès lors un élément qui peut écarter les uns et les autres du racisme. Nous pensons que c'est de cette façon qu'on doit le concevoir, le voir ; *id est*, non pas comme ayant pour but d'asseoir l'hégémonie culturelle des Occidentaux, mais plutôt pour ceux-ci d'établir le contact avec les autres cultures. Il ne s'agit pas pour nous de dire que c'est le but des concepteurs des ludiciels, mais plutôt d'amener les Africains à ré-orienter la vision du monde qu'ils peuvent se faire des jeux vidéo.

VIII. Le jeu vidéo et la solidarité des jeunes

Comme la plupart des activités ludiques, le jeu vidéo met en connivence des individus qui partagent la même passion. Aussi, la « *culture participative* » (GENVO 2008 :3) développée par l'activité vidéoludique, puisqu'elle amène le jeune à se retrouver avec d'autres individus de la même génération que lui, crée entre eux une solidarité que nous pouvons qualuifier de mécanique. En effet, se développe parmi les joueurs, un sentiment d'appartenance à un même système de valeurs, et puisqu'on partage la même passion, on devient forcément alliés, voire amis. Peut-être adversaires, car le jeu vidéo développe l'esprit de compétition et de dépassement de soi, mais jamais ennemis, puisqu'au contraire, on a du respect pour les meilleurs joueurs qui deviennent des modèles pour les autres.

Le fait que tout le monde ne puisse être en possession d'un support ludiciel est également un avantage dans la consolidation des rapports sociaux qu'entretiennent les jeunes, parce que cela entraîne ceux qui n'en ont pas à se déporter chez celui qui en possède. Les jeunes peuvent aussi se retrouver en groupe dans les salles de jeux vidéo. Nous pouvons ainsi nous rendre compte que cette solidarité reste visible en dehors des situations vidéoludiques. Les liens créés entre les vidéo-joueurs deviennent en quelque sorte des liens de fraternité. De ce fait, cette relation sympathique, voire empathique qui naît parce qu'on joue ensemble aux jeux vidéo fait que, hors de ce contexte, on est enclin à aider son partenaire de jeu, quelque soit l'endroit où on le trouve en difficulté.

L'autre avantage des activités ludicielles est qu'elles favorisent la détribalisation auprès des jeunes. Le fait d'appartenir à un groupe ethnique particulier n'a pas d'importance entre les vidéo-joueurs ; ce qui fait qu'en contexte camerounais, le jeu vidéo dissout les obédiences tribales ou mieux les velléités de tribalisme. Il laisse simplement place à une « société de joueurs vidéo » qui développe ainsi ses ethnométhodes. Pas que le jeu vidéo entraîne forcément une perte des valeurs culturelles d'origine du joueur, mais est tout simplement la preuve que les ethnies peuvent cohabiter, être ensemble sans que cela n'entraîne toujours des heurts. C'est la preuve qu'on peut venir d'horizons différents, mais partager les mêmes idéocodes. Et si des conflits voient le jour, ils sont simplement dus au fait que, entre les individus, dans n'importe quelle société au monde, peuvent survenir des mésententes, des dissensions auxquelles on peut trouver une solution à l'intérieur de l'ethos groupal. L'activité vidéoludique fait également des salles de jeux vidéo des « non-lieux » (AUGE 1992) ; lieux qui appellent à respecter un certain canevas comportemental si on veut s'y insérer.

IX. L'activité vidéoludique comme phénomène social holistique

La preuve que les jeux vidéo créent une sorte de sous-culture, est qu'en les observant, on fait face à tous les pans qui seyent à un tissu social. Aussi, une « endosémie » des jeux vidéo au Cameroun nous permet par exemple de voir que ceux-ci sont producteurs de données économiques. Dans les salles de jeux vidéo, on donne d'abord de l'argent avant de pouvoir jouer ; on peut également noter des paris entre les joueurs.

Au niveau légal, le jeu vidéo impose des règles qu'il faut respecter, dans le cas contraire, on est sanctionné. Dans les salles de jeux vidéo par exemple, si un joueur est battu dans un jeu de combat, il doit tout de suite laisser la place à quelqu'un d'autre. Quand un joueur arrive en retard, il doit attendre un tour entier avant de pouvoir prendre les manettes, s'il s'agit d'un jeu de sport.

Le jeu vidéo est aussi révélateur de l'artistique ; pendant qu'ils jouent, les joueurs rivalisent d'adresse, de prouesses pour démontrer leur habilité. Dans un jeu de football par exemple, il ne s'agit pas simplement de vaincre son adversaire, mais de le vaincre avec la manière, c'est-à-dire en montrant qu'avec sa dextérité aux manettes, on peut amener l'intelligence artificielle des joueurs virtuels à réaliser les mêmes exploits techniques que les joueurs réels.

Le jeu vidéo peut aussi nous permettre d'observer certaines croyances ; même si elles ne sont pas nécessairement religieuses, elles laissent entrevoir une certaine superstition. On peut ainsi considérer qu'habiller une équipe de football virtuelle d'une certaine façon est susceptible de porter chance. Dans un jeu de combat, on préfèrera tel combattant plutôt que tel autre, parce qu'on estime qu'il est meilleur ou qu'il sied le mieux à la personnalité du joueur. On constate ainsi que celui qui s'adonne aux jeux vidéo donne une âme aux personnages virtuels et leur attribue des qualités qui ne dépendent pas de sa capacité à savoir manier les manettes de la console de jeux vidéo. On constate aussi que, le joueur s'identifie aux personnages des jeux vidéo et se fait eux ; le personnage du jeu vidéo devient lui et vice-versa. Cela renforce d'ailleurs le fait que le jeu vidéo peut entraîner une perte des valeurs endogènes des jeunes camerounais, dans la mesure où le personnage auquel s'identifie le vidéo-joueur reflète les canons idéels et idéologiques d'une culture autre que la sienne.

On peut s'arrêter là et affirmer qu'en effet, même si on appartient à d'autres sociétés, d'autres associations, il y a des normes à suivre pour appartenir à la société des vidéo-joueurs. Précisons que les individus dans une société sont appelés à y jouer plusieurs rôles. Aussi, un seul individu peut jouer comme le préconise l'interactionnisme symbolique de Herbert BLUMER, le rôle de médecin, de père de famille, de chef de village, de musulman, de membre d'une tontine, d'un groupe ethnique et dans notre cas, il peut jouer le rôle de vidéo-joueur.

X. Pour une adaptation endogène des jeux vidéo

Les jeux vidéo, puisqu'ils font désormais partie du paysage communicationnel des Africains en général et des Camerounais en particulier, doivent être acceptés et adoptés. Toutefois, il convient de les adapter à nos réalités endo-culturelles. Ce que nous voulons faire comprendre ici c'est que, tant que les jeunes continueront à se divertir avec les jeux vidéo proposés par les autres, ils courront toujours le risque de perdre leurs valeurs endogènes. Il s'agit donc de prendre les jeux vidéo, en tenant compte du fait que, quand ils sont créés, le sont pour refléter la vision du monde des Occidentaux et ne tiennent en aucun cas compte des Africains. Aussi, au lieu de les vilipender et les mépriser, il serait temps que les adultes prennent cet instrument au sérieux et que même l'organe étatique s'y intéresse.

En effet, si on veut relever les « défis de la mondialisation », comme aime souvent à le répéter le président camerounais Paul BIYA, on ne saurait éluder le fait que, les ludiciels, produits de l'informatique doivent aussi entrer en compte, que désormais, il faut appréhender *« Le jeu à son ère numérique »* (GENVO 2009). Le Cameroun recèle d'un réservoir d'informaticiens, capables de créer des jeux vidéo typiquement africains, le tout étant de savoir manier les programmes informatiques adéquats, puisque le *hardware* est déjà disponible. Il s'agit ainsi de produire des jeux vidéo authentiques, authenticité dans le sens du président Mobutu de la république du Zaïre, dans un discours prononcé le 4 Octobre 1973 où, parlant du peuple zaïrois, il disait que l'authenticité est une :

« prise de conscience du peuple zaïrois de recourir à ses sources propres, de chercher les valeurs de ses ancêtres afin d'en apprécier celles qui contribuent à son développement harmonieux et naturel. C'est le refus du peuple zaïrois d'épouser aveuglément les idéologies importées. C'est l'affirmation de l'homme zaïrois ou de l'homme tout court, là où il est, tel qu'il est avec ses structures mentales et sociales propres […] Car l'authenticité est non seulement une connaissance approfondie de sa propre culture, mais aussi un respect du patrimoine culturel d'autrui. » (Cité par LE THANH KOI 1991 : 101).

Donc, en attendant qu'un jour on assiste au Cameroun à une véritable révolution informatique, en fabriquant nous-mêmes nos propres consoles ou autres supports de jeux vidéo, nous pouvons déjà au moins élaborer des logiciels de jeux. Rappelons d'ailleurs qu'au Cameroun, on retrouve une société en l'occurrence, la société TEG qui fabrique des ordinateurs.

Si nous prenons par exemple l'industrie musicale, révolutionné aujourd'hui par l'usage du numérique et précisément du compact disc, on conviendra que, ce n'est pas parce qu'on utilise un matériel importé que nous ne pouvons écouter que de la musique occidentale. On peut faire le même constat dans le domaine cinématographique. Cela démontre justement qu'on a su maîtriser les logiciels permettant d'insérer les éléments de notre culture dans l'univers du numérique ; on peut donc faire la même chose avec les jeux vidéo.

Par exemple, au lieu de continuer à se limiter aux jeux de combat des asiatiques, on peut par exemple mettre sur ludiciel, des jeux de combats africains. Nous pensons ici

à la lutte traditionnelle sénégalaise, très populaire dans ce pays. Au Cameroun, nous avons la lutte traditionnelle que les Beti-Bulu appellent *mesin*. Si nous prenons un sport profondément ancré dans nos cultures comme le football, on peut y adapter un ludiciel à nos réalités ; au lieu de faire la part belle aux clubs de football européens, on pourra mettre plus d'intérêt aux équipes de football locales. En ce qui concerne les jeux de réflexion, on peut remplacer les échecs par un jeu qui demande également une grande dextérité intellectuelle comme le *songo* des Beti-Bulu. Le jeu *Questions pour un Champion*, jeu télévisé qui consiste à exercer la culture générale des joueurs est désormais sur ludiciel ; on peut ici le remplacer par nos jeux de devinettes. Pour les jeux d'aventure, au lieu de jouer à Zéna la guerrière ou à Harry Potter, on peut se référer à nos propres mythes. On peut par exemple mettre en scène le mythe épique qu'on retrouve dans l'ethnie duala, du héros Djéki la Njambè. « *La légende narre les exploits extraordinaires d'un héros exceptionnel, Djéki, fils de Njambè mais, dès la naissance après une gestation de plusieurs années marquée de trois fausses sorties, encore plus terrible que lui. Leur antagonisme, la bataille de géants, s'exprime dans des épreuves les unes plus périlleuses que les autres auxquelles Njambè soumet son fils qui, d'une ingéniosité supérieure, en sort toujours vainqueur. La narration nous mène de l'enfance du héros avec les jeux enfantins où il dame continuellement le pion à ses demi-frères, à la maturité où il affronte les redoutables chefs voisins en passant par des tournois virils, véritables combats à mort.* » (ETONDE-EKOTO 1989 :123). Dans ce type de jeux, au lieu de rencontrer des ogres, on rencontrera des *ébibi*, monstre légendaire qu'on retrouve dans les contes des Beti-Bulu ; les héros seront de race noire plutôt que de race blanche ; l'environnement représentera nos forêts, nos savanes, nos déserts, nos marchés, nos villes, etc. Il ne s'agit pas pour nous ici de préconiser qu'on mette les jeux vidéo occidentaux aux oubliettes, mais d'accorder une place de choix aux nôtres. Ce n'est qu'à ce prix-là, par l'élaboration de ces jeux authentiques qu'on pourra éviter que la personnalité culturelle des jeunes camerounais soit définitivement détruite.

Conclusion

Arrivé au terme de cet article sur les jeux vidéo en négroculture et plus précisément au Cameroun, il convient de noter que, les jeux vidéo ou ludiciels sont des supports de communication qu'on ne saurait négliger dans la socialisation de l'éducation de l'enfant qui s'y adonne ; car précisons-le, le jeu vidéo est surtout pratiqué en contexte camerounais, par les enfants et les adolescents de sexe masculin. Vu sous cet angle, nous avons pu constater que cet instrument revêt une certaine ambivalence. En même temps qu'il est susceptible de faire perdre à la jeunesse camerounaise *stricto sensu* et celle africaine *lato sensu* ses valeurs culturelles endogènes, en même temps, elle peut être un bon outil pour lui permettre de mieux cerner l'Occidental ou de mieux le comprendre. Notre souci ici était ainsi de faire l'apologie du jeu vidéo, tout simplement parce qu'il favorise

la solidarité entre les jeunes et brise en quelque sorte les barrières raciales, ce qui est important pour le développement de l'Afrique. De ce fait, nous pensons que la meilleure solution ne serait pas de mettre en quarantaine les ludiciels, mais plutôt d'amener les informaticiens camerounais et africains à développer des ludiciels qui reflètent les réalités de nos terroirs, donc de procéder à une endosmose, afin que les jeunes ne soient pas obnubilés par la vision du monde des Européens, des Américains et des Asiatiques. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que les africains pourront faire du jeu vidéo « *un « bien » culturel* » (GENVO 2008) ; c'est-à-dire l'intégrer dans le « *…processus d'appropriation d'un corps culturel* » (MBONJI EDJENGUELE 2003 :84). Donc, même dans ce domaine, on doit éviter de se coucher sur « *la natte des autres* » (KI-ZERBO 1992).

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Workplace Hazards and Social Positioning Efforts of Male Adolescent Labourers in Suburb Sawmills, Lagos State Nigeria

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Abstract

Young people with low socioeconomic background require resilience to survive in a city with limited opportunities. Unintendedly such efforts sometimes affect their well-being. Such is the case of adolescent dwelling in some urban suburbs across cultures. Based on sixteen face-to-face interviews with adolescent boys working as labourers in suburb sawmills; this paper situates the notion of boyhood and survival into adulthood within a social space. The findings revealed conscious absorption with the notion of boyhood through certain rules of engagement and survival measures. These strategies include self-care practices geared towards achieving a healthy body for contextualised performance in the factory settings. However, this comes with series of consequences as boys lived out the social notions of boyhood and rules of engagement in activities for survival and social recognition. Hence, understanding and targeting the positive survival strategies of this social category of adolescents could be useful to empower and minimise the hazards of working and growing as adolescents in the physical and social spaces of sawmills.

Keywords: *Sawmills, Hazards, urban slums, boyhood, masculinities*

Resume

Les jeunes à faible contexte socio-économique nécessitent résilience pour survivre dans une ville avec des possibilités limitées. Unintendedly ces efforts affectent parfois leur bien-être. Tel est le cas de l'adolescent demeure dans certaines banlieues urbaines à travers les cultures. Basé sur seize entretiens en face à face avec des adolescents travaillant comme ouvriers dans les scieries de la banlieue; Ce document situe la notion de jeunesse et de la survie à l'âge adulte dans un espace social. Les résultats ont révélé une absorption consciente avec la notion d'enfance grâce à certaines règles de mesures de l'engagement et de survie. Ces stratégies comprennent des pratiques d'auto-soins orientés vers la réalisation d'un corps sain pour la performance contextualisée dans les réglages d'usine. Toutefois, cela vient avec série de conséquences que les garçons vivaient les notions sociales de la jeunesse et des règles d'engagement dans des activités de survie et de reconnaissance sociale. Par conséquent, la compréhension et le ciblage des stratégies de survie positifs de cette catégorie sociale des adolescents pourrait être utile de responsabiliser et de minimiser les risques liés au travail et de plus en plus comme des adolescents dans les espaces physiques et sociaux des scieries.

Mots-clés: *scieries , les dangers, les bidonvilles , enfance , masculinités*

Introduction

High cost of living, unemployment and poor housing conditions among other factors are common in the everyday challenges of young people especially those in urban suburbs(Kabiru et al., 2013a, Cubbin et al., 2000). Surviving the everyday challenges in urban suburbs requires the development of certain social relations, strategies and skills for social recognition. However, there are consequences (both intended and unintended) as boys are encouraged to live out the cultural notions of boyhood and appropriate rules of engagement for survival and social recognition purposes. Despite this, available evidence shows that a few studies have focused on survival and social positioning efforts of adolescents in vulnerable spaces (Cauce et al., 2011) in including sawmills in suburban areas.

Sawmills in Nigeria and some social settings in Africa are hazardous physical and social space to work as an adult and adolescent (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). The worse scenario in the Nigerian context comes from medium and small scale industries where workplace hazards and compensations often went unreported or handled in a paternalistic manner (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). With the peculiarities around residing and earning, a living in urban suburbs, there is a need to explore what it means to grow up and survive in sawmills as adolescents. The context, nature and physical space of sawmills create differential survival options for the boy and girl child even as they work and live within and around their immediate physical environment (Horn, 2000). However, among the various studies on the conditions of a sawmill in Nigeria, no study has focused on the situation of these adolescents and what it means to live, work and survive in urban sawmills in Nigeria.

Empirical evidence has shown a continuum of coexistence on the influence of social structural factors and how social actors employ their individual agency in negotiating life challenges and associated outcomes (Kohli and Meyer, 1986, Shanahan, 2000). Hence, this paper situates the notion of boyhood by interrogating the view of adolescent boys working as labourers in suburb sawmills. Particular focus is on their survival strategies including self-care practices aimed at productivity enhancement and the unintended consequences such actions could have on their survival into adulthood. The overall aim of this paper is to contextualise the variations that exist within a given context for the boy child and how such variations could shape decisions and survival into adulthood. From a relational approach to masculinity and well-being (Courtenay, 2000), the study situates the meanings and experiences of 16 adolescent labourers within the spaces of urbanism and slum sawmills, in Lagos State, Nigeria. The paper proceeds by focusing on

the urbanism and boyhood experiences. This was followed by a contextual overview of sawmills and work safety challenges in Nigeria. The methodology adopted in generating the empirical data came next and followed by a presentation of the findings. The paper ended with a discussion of the implications of these findings and a conclusion.

Masculinities and Boyhood in urban slums

The question of who and what differentiate boys from girls are paramount to gender studies (Gardiner, 2013). Thus, as a social construct, gender provides a framework to understand boys and girls for whom they are by focusing on the roles of cultural beliefs, norms and values. Through this approach, rich body of theoretical and methodological approaches have emerged to account for the existence of multiple masculinities and femininities among boys and girls within similar and different cultural settings.

The existence of multiple masculinities and femininities is an indication of the heterogeneity that exists even within a given cultural context. Also, it indicates the active role of individual agencies in interrogating cultural prescriptions and expectations. Pleck et al. (1994) argue that boys and girls adopt the notions of masculinity and femininity from their cultures in a co-constructor manner that provides the opportunity for relative flexibility and diversity in orientations within and between genders. By utilising individual agencies, boys and girls can process and deploy attitudinal dispositions and context relevant orientations in relating to and resolving life events (Messerschmidt, 1993). Social actors require this form of active involvement in constructing and reconstructing their social realities for several purposes. However, this does not occur without some degree of variations. There are gender differences as boys become masculine in orientation they become more susceptible to practices including health-related ones that could undermine their well-being (Courtenay, 2000). Such orientations are perceived useful and needed partly for adaptation and surviving social and physical challenges including crime (Courtenay, 2000) and other forms of life challenges in the sub-burbs. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) pointed out, masculine roles and norms are contingent on varying socio-contextual factors and are fluid rather than static. Through this perspective, this study explores how adolescent employ their masculinities in responding to the survival challenges of working and living in sawmill community.

As a physical space, suburbs are characterised by poor physical environment and housing conditions that impact on well-being and network of social relations (Cubbin et al., 2000, Sawyer, 2014). Historically, small and medium sawmills in Nigeria are often located in sub-burbs with poor physical characteristics (Akachuku, 2000, Fatusi and Erhabor, 1996). Also, these sawmills double as factories and communities where people with similar socio-economic activities earn their living and reside. The typical sawmill in Lagos Nigeria is often located close to the ocean. The few habitable areas are sand filled

or filled by sawdust-bye products of woods. Through this process, spaces are created for wood processing, temporal or makeshifts rooms for habitation as well as limited spaces for recreation. All these among other factors make the environment uniquely hazardous to healthy living. Over the years, sawmill communities in Lagos have a history of recurrent episodes of fire outbreaks. The recent of such occurred on April 2nd, 2014 at Ebute Meta (Akinkuotu, 2014). From empirical studies on the influence of environment on behaviours (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, Bronfenbrenner, 1986), contexts and relationships shape the experiences and activities that make the boyhood phenomenon as a lived reality. Thus, the uniqueness of each environment has consequences for the inhabitants. As such, the experiences and activities that make the boyhood a phenomenon are better appreciated within contexts. Ironically, in Nigeria, no study has explored the experiences and uniqueness associated with earning a living and residing in sawmills communities.

Studies have shown how privileges and marginalisation within space and time influence the growing experiences and obtainable socio-economic activities, and health outcomes (Cubbin et al., 2000) among various social categories. Without relegating individual agency in the outcome of life events, Wolch and Dear (2014) argue that the geography of a social setting has telling effects on career choice, friendships, and obtainable economic and social activities within and amongst different social categories. From a relational constructionist position, growing up as a boy in sawmill communities would be very challenging as experiences and orientations of who and what a boy could do are shaped by structural and network of relations. The next section provides additional details on the nature and operation of sawmill factories in the Nigerian context.

Sawmills and Work Safety Challenges in the Nigerian Context

Nigeria as a country has been afflicted with many preventable occupational hazards that serve as a reminder that occupational health and safety is undermined (Adeogun and Okafor, 2013, Ezenwa, 2001). Series of preventable hazards have occurred over the years. For instance, the leakage of domestic gas on the 14th of April 2008 at Kaduna Refinery that resulted in an explosion and intense tongue of fire killing five people and causing secondary accidents, as well. Series of repeated fire outbreaks have occurred in sawmills with devastating effects on workers and residents around these sawmills in Lagos State, Nigeria. Despite the colossus loss associated with these fire outbreaks, marginal efforts have been directed at ensuring the safety and health of those working and living around sawmills in Nigeria.

As a place to earn a daily living, employment consideration at sawmills is based on paternalism, and physical look is not minding the age of the job seeker. This does not imply that employers or owners of sawmills are unaware of the labour laws and factory

safety acts. Rather, it is the dominance of fragile monitoring framework and the desire to maximise profits. Similarly, attitudes also influence the implementation of compensation for labourers that suffer hazards in the course of their employment (Ahiauzu, 1984, Bamidele et al., 2010). While the legal environment contributes in great dimension, such factory practices have concomitant effects on worker's expectations and dispositions towards hazards as well as the obtainable safety nets in the event of any hazards (Bode et al., 2000, Fatusi and Erhabor, 1996). With the fragile framework of action, working in sawmills may prove quite challenging for male adolescents. This may also be associated with the social preference for masculinity in deciding on the nature and quality of productivity that is expected from boys compare to girls working in sawmills.

The nature of work in sawmills creates high plausibility of workplace hazards especially in a social context where adherence to minimum safety measures is far from standard practice. Sawmill workers in Nigeria are exposed to work-related and environmental hazards and avoidable deaths in some cases (Osagbemi et al., 2010, Fatusi and Erhabor, 1996, Bode et al., 2000). The situation is complicated by the use of obsolete machines and equipment, poor working conditions, poor safety practices, inadequate monitoring, workers' negligence and poor work posture (Osagbemi et al., 2010, Bamidele et al., 2010). The growing industrial and technological activities with inadequate monitoring and flagrant disregard for the law have increased the vulnerability of the average factory, unemployed youths that are seeking a living by all means (Ezenwa, 2001).

Work practices and safety observation are crucial to ensuring safety and minimization of workplace hazards. Safety culture has different meanings across cultures and within work environments (Zhang et al., 2002). The literature is filled with different interpretations and meanings of safety culture. Two among these interpretations appeal more to this study: "The safety culture of an organization is the product of individual and group values, attitudes, competencies, and patterns of behaviour that determine the commitment to, and the style and proficiency of an organization's health and safety management" (Zhang et al., 2002). Safety culture as "shared values (what is important) and beliefs (how things work) that interact with an organization's structures and control systems to produce behavioural norms" (Zhang et al., 2002). In Nigeria, safety culture at the factory level in particular, especially among small and medium scale industry, seems elusive (Ezenwa, 2001). The international labour organization has suggested factory safety recommendations with details on what the safety standard should be. In reality, a deviation from these standards has been the case while the results are hazards with grave consequences.

Despite the availability of best practices and the promulgation of laws that will ensure their enforcement, often in practice, organizations and employees /workers deviation has been a regular pattern (Kouabenan, 2009). At the individual and organisational level, risks analysis and prevention is associated with some factors. Some of the factors include individual beliefs and prevailing cultural practices in the workplace (Kouabenan, 2009). Ironically, in the literature, there is a marginal focus on the essentiality of beliefs in understanding hazards occurrence and prevention (Kouabenan, 2009, Guldenmund, 2000). In the Nigerian context, where religious beliefs and practices are held in high esteem including workplaces (Ahiauzu, 1984, Adogame, 2010), the tendency to construe the occurrence of work hazards as an ordinary occurrence remains high.

By the International Labour conventions, every employer of labour is required to make the workplace conducive to the employees and others having any business within an organization. The labour laws specify the rights and privileges of the employer and employees, including the need for the employer to present in clear terms, the possible occurrence of hazards or risks and ways or measures of avoiding them in the workplace (Baram, 2009). However, in practice, deviations from this expected norms and values are also a frequent occurrence in small-scale sawmills in Nigeria (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). Presently in Nigeria, the enforcement mechanism of the factory laws in the small-scale sawmills seems frail. Some of the pitfalls include employers' claim of ignorance on certain aspects of the provisions of the ordinance, laws, code or decree. Desperate job seekers are more interested in getting the job than worry about the effect on their health (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). The "man-must-die" syndrome is usually the posture. However, when the realities of the new situation begin to dawn on them, they refuse to discuss it with the employer for fear of losing the job (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). As argued by Kouabenan (2009), an explanation for these deviations may also not be far from cultural beliefs and safety practices that may also vary with time and space.

The provision and efficient utilization of factory tools or equipment may ensure safety but not the absolute removal of injury or hazards. The possibility has been accounted for in the factory act under which an employer may be exonerated if the case of professional negligence can be established in the event of mishaps or hazards in the course of employment. The same also applies to the employer when there is established evidence of negligence in providing minimum safety measures in the factory or workplace. Beyond the mere recognition of the fallibility of human and negligence either consciously or otherwise, there is a need to understand the underlying cultural assumptions beliefs or practices that may be influencing workers and employers disposition towards work safety measures. While there are benefits in toeing this direction, cultural understanding of safety practices and patterns does not possess all the needed information that may be relevant in achieving a holistic prevention of work hazards and work safety promotion. However, exploring the reactions and interpretations of work hazards and the plausible direction of seeking redress may be useful in averting the occurrence of work hazards within a factory setting that operates far from the minimum standards.

Methodology

Research design

Empirical data is derived from a qualitative exploratory stance in investigating the notions of boyhood and survival strategies of sixteen adolescent labourers in slum sawmills in Lagos state, Nigeria. The exploratory qualitative approach provides an opportunity to interrogate and understand social realities from the viewpoints and experiences of social actors. It also provides an avenue for understanding the context and rationale for the evidence provided without which would have been difficult (Charlton and Barrow, 2002).

Study Setting

Ebute Metta, the study location, is one of the largest timber yards in West Africa and has a long history of fire outbreaks (Akinkuotu, 2014). Sawmills in Ebute Meta are largely small scale, a feature of sawmills in the West African region. In response to industrial developments and expanding demands for quality wood, a considerable number of sawmills have been established in Nigeria, and these provide employment for many people (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). Geographically, the rainforest areas in the South western part of Nigeria have a thick presence of quality wood making it sustainable for saw milling activities. The largest concentration of sawmills is in Lagos, Ekiti, Osun, the Cross River, Ondo, Oyo, Ibo, Edo, Delta, and Ogun states. Together, they account for over 90% of saw milling activities in the country (Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010, Bamidele et al., 2010).

Sawmills in Nigeria and some social settings in Africa are hazardous physical and social space to work as an adult and adolescent (Fatusi and Erhabor, 1996). The situation has grown worse with the instability in the political economy cum the absence of monitoring and implementation of factory safety practices and compensations in the advent of hazards. Structural, factory based (organisational) and employee's oriented factors contribute in diverse dimensions to the current state of the industry in Nigeria (Fatusi and Erhabor, 1996, Bello and Mijinyawa, 2010). Without a doubt, worse case scenarios exist in a number of African settings where neo-liberalism and crave for profiteering have contributed to the vulnerability of certain social class, gender and age as well the compromise of workers' safety and well-being. These scenarios are diverse based on contextual and historical factors. The diversities are also observable from the publicity attracted and the management of these crises over the years. Work hazards and compensation in the Nigerian sawmill industry often go unreported or handled

in a *paternalistic manner(Ahiauzu, 1984)*. This creates a sense that the provision of organization statements on safety practices does not translate to the existence of safety culture. However, the context, nature and physical space of sawmills create differential survival options for a boy and girl child even as they work and live within and around their immediate physical environment.

Recruitment Procedure Data Collection and Analysis

Sixteen face-to-face interviews were done among adolescent labourers. The interviews were conducted with the help of two field assists. Both assistants are male postgraduate students in the department of sociology and anthropology with working experience in social research among adolescents. Before the data collection, the research assistant were trained with the interview guide and asked to role-play. Despite my familiarity with sawmills in the study location, to gain the rapport of potential participants, we spent four days interacting with three adolescents within the communities and shared the study objectives with them.

The interaction took place on an open football field in the evenings after they had close from the sawmills where they work. This provided the informants more time to ask questions about the study and relay the information to potential participants. Through this interaction, two additional participants were recruited for the study. Subsequently, the five participants referred us to other adolescents with similar characteristics. On the overall, sixteen interviews were held among adolescents working in the sawmills within the community. All the interviews took place in preferred locations and after working hours. Weekdays were busy, and Sunday was considered more appropriate by the interviewees. Thus, ten of the interviews occurred on Sunday, while the remaining six were held late evenings on Fridays and Saturdays. All the interviews were audiotaped, transcribed and translated from Yoruba to the English language.

The data analysis was done using a thematic approach. At first, all the transcribed and translated interviews were read several times to understand the data with a sense of –depth. This helped in coding the data deductively based on a relational approach to masculinity and how the adolescent labourers adopt their masculinities in negotiating an identity, survival and meaning-makings within the spaces of urban slum sawmills. Through this process, similar patterns were identified and categorised into themes as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). Without losing participants' voice, the thematic presentation of the findings was supported with extracts from the interviews and to provide a context for the participant's positions.

Findings

Boyhood within the physical and social spaces of urban slum sawmills require conscious awareness and active engagement with the norms and strategies for survival. This is essential to cope with the challenges and depressing nature of sawmills as workplace and living areas. The emerged themes speak in a diverse but interrelated manner to the experiences of these adolescents within sawmills as a sub-burb community. From the analysis, the four themes of interest include the notion of boyhood, rules of engagement and survival measures; self-care practices geared towards a healthy body; performance enhancers and possible health consequences; and survival into adulthood, and the 'man must die syndrome.'

Participants' Profiles

The socio-demographic characteristics of the 16 interviewees revealed similarities in parents' socio-economic status. The average age at which the participants started working in sawmills was 13.5years. This low average age of the participants prompted further questions on their years of schooling and future aspirations. From the responses, poor academic performances and access to education was a problem prior to their search for employment at sawmills. Only three out of the interviewees disliked schooling due to physical punishments and the view that both educated and non-educated would end up working for money. As such, an early start will bring them the needed money. Ironically, the average labourer at sawmills works for 10 hours per day and earn a daily wage that is about 7 US Dollars. From the narratives and based on the erratic power supply, the average wage per day vary and could even amount to zero income on occasions when there is a total outage or load shedding of power supply. On such occasions, the interviewees will engage in footballing and table tennis with the hope of returning to work without further delay.

Due to poor wages and low socio-economic background, a higher proportion of their incomes is expended on feeding with little left for clothing or savings through daily contributions known as *Esusu*[1]. It is worthy to note that the poor income and survival challenges notwithstanding, three of the interviewees claimed to have girlfriends. Also, six among the remaining participants already had their first sexual experience. Smoking and drinking is also common among sawmill workers and a few of the participants. Two of the interviewees admitted to smoking but were reluctant to disclose whether they smoke marijuana, cigarette, or both. However, they argued that smoking help in reducing their worries and stimulate their spirits. On the average, each interviewee has worked or lived in sawmills for a minimum of two years. All the adolescents work

1 *An informal system of savings common in many communities within south western Nigeria. See OSUNTOGUN, A., ADEYEMO, R. & OSUNTOGUN, A. 1981. Mobilization of Rural Savings and Credit Extension by Pre-Cooperative Organisations in South Western Nigeria /LA Mobilisation DE L'Epargne Rurale ET L'octroide DE Credit DE LA Part D'Organisations Pre-Cooperatives Dans LE Sud-Ouest DU Nigeria Savings and Development, 247-261. for more details.*

as auxiliaries to the machine operator and other older or senior workers in sawmills. On few occasions, four among the interviewees that were aged 18 years of age served as assistant machine operators. A predominant responsibility of the interviewees was loading and off-loading of timber and planks. Only one of them is involved in packing and dumping of sawdust. The hope of leaving the Sawmill was dim. However, almost all the participants pray against hazards and miraculous financial breakthrough to enable them settle for a brighter tomorrow.

Sawmills as factories and residential areas: entry and exit rationale

Despite the existing variations in the participants' narratives, individual patterns and consistency emerged in the rationale provided for seeking a living in slum sawmills. Entrance and exit routes are diverse for current and potential inhabitants and labourers in the sawmills. Starting with the entrance, situational factors including the social inequalities and the perceptions of sawmill as a promising source of earning a living and relatively affordable space for living stimulated the move or relocation of some of the adolescents to sawmill communities and factories. For some of the interviewees, the survival challenges associated with high poverty level, the high cost of living and low socio-economic background are critical push factors to search for a living at the sawmills.

Life is difficult, but as a boy, you just have to search for a way out so that you do not die of hunger. My parents are indigent, and there is none around to assist, so I need to work since I do not want to steal

Among the five participants who shared deprivation, experiences are those whose parents or relatives reside within the sawmill communities. The other group includes those whose means of livelihood and residence are within sawmills, but whose parents are living outside the sawmill. This latter category consists of adolescents that are school dropouts and lack meaningful supports from their significant others.

However, there are also those whose desire for early freedom and the need for financial independence from parents or relatives are critical determinants.

At the initial stage, I thought it would be easy to make cool money once I start working here (sawmill). Unfortunately, the money is not easy to come by, yet I do not want to return to my parents because I want my freedom (Adolescent aged 17)

Interestingly, the narratives of some of the adolescents in this study pitched them within the category of young minds in search for a living and future due to socio-economic pressures. Interestingly, some of the participants also perceived their labouring efforts as part of their social obligations to their parents. To these interviewees, there is

an urgent need to support their poor parents and reduce the burden of living in urban areas. Hence, the motivation to work and live in the sawmill community. However, with time and mixed experiences, the factors that shape the move to work or live in sawmills expand as social life, and other contextual challenges emerge. This promotes individualism and personal determination to overcome the everyday challenges in sawmills settings. The daily routine includes early resumption at work, limited time for personal hygiene and craves to make more money. Paradoxically, the daily efforts of keeping soul and body together make them susceptible to work hazards that could cause partial, permanent disempowerment or death in some cases.

While no one desires early death, a male child can only die once. Therefore, a boy must go out there and hustle

Work hazards in Sawmill, Perceived Negligence and cultural beliefs

Work hazards are routine occurrences at Sawmills. This includes minor, major and death in some occasions. With a minimum of two years working experiences, the interviewees described work hazards as a normal occurrence that has the influence of both physical and spiritual forces. Against this cultural perspective, the physical dimension to hazards occurrence lies in the nature of the hazards and their association with the use of obsolete equipment in the logging of timbers. Some the interviewees argue that some hazards be preventable events through the provision and right use of modern equipment. Unfortunately, such equipment is lacking despite that sawmill owner and labourers are aware of the hazards and the need to promote safety at these factories. While some of the interviewees also sympathise with some sawmill owners who have left the business due to the high cost of operation and poor returns on investments, provision of safety measures is inevitable and varies from one sawmill to another.

In contrast to the sympathetic disposition towards some sawmill owners; four among the participants argue that many owners be insensitive to the plight of their workers. Moreover, what is paramount to such employers is how to reduce and save costs at the expense of lives and safety of those working for them. With some years of working in sawmills, it could be possible for some of the participants to have observed the indifference in the disposition of some sawmill owners to safety practices. This may be having ripple effects on workers' disposal to safety measures in their daily tasks. From a binary position, it could stimulate fear and panic as workers may adhere to the safest form of practice to avoid any mishap. In contrast, it could also encourage Lukewarmness and vulnerability to hazards.

I think they (sawmill owners) see you (labourers) as voiceless and vulnerable since many of us working here (sawmill) are from a low-socioeconomic background

Some ogas (sawmill owners) will curse and abuse you as nobody. No wahala (no problem) for omo boy (the boy child)

Some of the interviewees belittled the passive attitudes of sawmill owners towards the provision and enforcement of adequate safety measures as well as discretional implementation of compensation in the course of an accident. Only a few owners provide gloves, dust mask, goggles/face shield and fall protection equipment.

It is true that some sawmill owners are reluctant in providing some needed safety measures like gloves, shield and others. However, they are not the only ones at fault. Some greedy employees have stolen such in the past and on some occasions and for some reasons; some employees hardly comply thereby complicating the situation.

The possible frustrations that come along with the view that employees (sawmill workers) are from the low ebb of the society could promote low adherence and disloyalty among the labourers. Low adherence to safety practices promotes the vulnerability to different hazards that are capable of predisposing sawmill workers to various forms of health problems. The interviewee confirmed a frequent occurrence of conditions such as arm injuries, eye problems; cold, catarrh and electric shocks among sawmill workers. For some of the participants, these conditions occur partly due to negligence and inadequate safety measures.

In the same vein, one of the employees also expressed dismay in the negligence and passive dispositions of some machine operators towards complying with safety standards in the Sawmills. Thus, the effectiveness of safety measures and hazards prevention also depends on other factors like the quality of materials and perceived the usefulness of the available measures.

Some operators are carefree and will not check for leakages or naked electric cables on the machine. Through such negligence, many inevitable deaths have occurred on many occasions.

The perceived relevance of and adherence to safety standards in the workplace did not stop some of the interviewees to invoke a cultural belief that the emphasis on the inevitability of certain events in the life of any individual. This position could be described as a soft determinism towards hazards occurrence as some them emphasised safety adherence as a useful practice. From this soft predetermined worldview, some of the interviewees expressed the view that work hazards are sometimes difficult to avoid except through prayers and adherence to safety standards. In support of pre-determinism, four among the interviewees described ori (inner head)[2] and evil machinations a critical determinant alongside with negligence of workers.

2 *Ori inu is a Yoruba worldview that emphasis the place of predeterminism in the occurrence of events in the life of an individual. In the same vein, as a philosophical view, ori is critical to the occurrence of good and evil in the lifetime of an individual and it is one's ori that helps in creating a distinction in the patterns of occurrence from one individual to another.*

Some hazards are questionable and beyond ordinary explanations. In this year alone, I have seen two cases of electrocution that are not just explainable.

As a boy, you just have to believe in prayers and spiritual matters to avoid some evils especially the evil machinations of those around you.

Despite this latter emphasis on spiritual forces causing some hazards, a consensus among the participants was the need for urgent efforts at curbing the worrisome situation of hazards in sawmills.

Survival and the rules of engagement in the sawmill

Surviving boyhood within sawmills consists of exposure to prevailing norms and values; the inculcation and normative demonstration of these values in everyday activities. Within time and space, boys are expected to adopt and utilise traits that will qualify them for higher responsibilities associated with being a man. To scale through the boyhood stage into adulthood, it requires conscious efforts, determination to adapt to certain norms and practices that characterise male adulthood. The narratives of the participants reveal how adolescents within sawmills struggle and compete to look like older males within the community. This involves emulating certain rules of engagement, which include frowning, developing thick and baritone voice, ruggedness and fearlessness.

Behaving like a girl cannot fetch you anything in life. You have to be hard as a boy and face life challenges whether good or bad.

In addition to the hardness of the mind is the need for a hard or bold look. Maintaining a bold face is essential and functional for many reasons. One of such reason is to show to others that you are someone that is serious. By this disposition, it will be frightening for exploiters and those around to cheat or look down on your physical strength. It also helps in confronting issues and people that ordinarily you keep mute when in their presence. Providing a further explanation of the need to maintain a bold face, a participant described how his smiling face in the past has been misconstrued as weakness.

You have to talk in certain ways if not people will keep on treating you like a small boy

These rules are aimed at modifying the physical look and the mind even though dissimilarities may exist between individual beliefs, feelings and prevailing rules of engagement. However, survival of the fittest is the rule of the game. From the narratives, physical strength is essential for performance and respect. For the adolescents, all efforts

are thus required to achieve a scaring physical fitness.

You need much power (physical strength) to survive the challenges of working in sawmills. It is when you have enough strength that you can work.

With the nature and quality of productivity that is expected from labourers within sawmills, physical strength as a rule of survival attracts a high premium. How then is this achieved? Enhancement of performance is normative and possible with substance use, quality feeding and building of the muscles. The poor wage that labourers in the sawmills earn might have influenced their definition of good food as eating heavy meals that take more time to digest. Ironically, substance abuse and building of muscles coexist in the everyday practices of male residents in the sawmills. Three among the interviewees gave a vivid description of the relative ease at which substance like marijuana is easier to afford than getting a balanced meal. In their opinion, many male adults in sawmills consume marijuana at different degrees to maintain a level of boldness and cope with the stress of their work and dating.

People consume much fish (marijuana) in this place during break time and after work. I do not take it, but some of my age mates working in that sawmill over there does. I am afraid of its future consequences on my health.

Boys take some of those things so that they can talk to a girl or fight a boy to win over his girlfriend.

Similar to marijuana use is the consumption of herbal mixtures of different types. These mixtures are perceived as beneficial in keeping the body in good shape. There are herbal mixtures with water, and there are those that are mixed with dry gins and other alcoholic drink. Interestingly, there is a preference for the herbal mixtures with alcohol. An explanation for this preference may be associated with the psychological effects of alcohol and the bitterness of some of these herbs. In the narratives of one of the interviewees:

Herbal mixtures are very nice, and they work for different purposes. The very common ones are to enhance your performance (sexual) when you meet with a girl, and there are those to help your body and wade off infections.

Self-care practices geared towards performance enhancement and healthy body

Self-care practices and performance enhancement emerged dominant in the participants' narratives. Throughout the interviews, individual survival and success were hinged on resilience and cultural beliefs. The interviewees described the body as a given object that houses the spirit and the soul, which requires regular and adequate maintenance. Without proper care, living becomes threatened as the strength to support activities that will guarantee profitable returns reduce.

Work, rest and give your body what it needs to keep your spirit and soul together

As stated earlier, keeping a healthy body also includes consumption of traditional medicines like herbal mixtures. Participants also consume synthetic drugs through self-medication. The consumption of caffeinated drinks and drugs with caffeine was widely reported. Through experience, such drugs and drinks help in lifting the mind and quick relief from aches and stress. Some these drugs are sold by medicine vendors who hawk these drugs around sawmills and within the community as a whole.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper situates the notion of boyhood by exploring the view of adolescent boys working as labourers in suburb sawmills. Particular focus is on their survival strategies including self-care practices of enhancing productivity and the unintended consequences such actions could have on their health. The paper's overall aim is to contextualise the variations that exist within a given context for the boy child and how such shape the decisions and survival into adulthood. Empirical qualitative data is derived from face-to-face interviews with adolescent labourers in commercial sawmills in Lagos state, Nigeria. Sawmills covered in this study are factories and place of residence for a high proportion of the suburban population in Lagos State, Nigeria. A theoretical phenomenological stance guides the data generation as well as interpretations.

Empowering adolescents and youths in Nigerian suburban communities requires concrete and directed efforts. With the early entry into the labour and contextual rationalisation of such efforts among adolescents in this study, the findings support other studies. Child labour was widespread in different contexts and communities in Nigeria (Omokhodion et al., 2006, Fetuga et al., 2005). However, suburban communities are largely marginalised in diverse ways including inadequate social amenities and limited employment opportunities. Marginalisation of suburban communities has grave consequences on the larger society and not the communities alone. As an open and interactive sub-system, suburbs like sawmills provide essential services to the larger society. One of the functional roles is the provision of timbers for different purposes, sources of employment and income for diverse social categories and a relatively affordable place of residence for urban dwellers with low social, and economic status (Aiyeloja et al., 2013). The covert roles include pollution in various forms (Oguntoke et al., 2013, Oloruntade et al., 2013) and social space for learning and transmission of social vices.

Sawmills as factories and residential areas provided mixed expectations and outcomes for the limited number of adolescents that were interviewed in this study. The incongruence between life events, personal desires and expectations, emerged vividly in the results and experiences of the adolescent labourers. The adolescents adopted different but related strategies in adapting to the social expectations and norms that separate boyhood from girlhood. The appropriate response to challenges and opportunities

stimulate entrance into higher responsibilities and social acceptability. This also sustained the resilience to look forward to the future by working harder to keep body and soul together. As factories and residential physical and social space, prevailing careers within the immediate environment could alter the career aspirations of these adolescents and other youths in the communities. This possibility has been established in a Kenyan study on career aspirations of youths in suburban slums (Kabiru et al., 2013b).

Besides career aspirations, there are possibilities of developing values and practices that may be unhealthy to the adolescent or their peers and their communities (Kabiru et al., 2013b). In this study, the rationalisation of marijuana consumption by some of the adolescents despite the health implications is worrisome. This finding supports existing studies on the influence of environment and social behaviour including smoking and alcohol consumption among adolescents (Rowe et al., 2013, Sznitman et al., 2013, Acuda et al., 2011). Public production and consumption of marijuana in Nigeria is illegal. Studies have shown how different factors keep aiding the production and consumption of marijuana among youths in Nigeria (Acuda et al., 2011, Mamman et al., 2014). Unfortunately, the growing rate of substance abuse creates a dilemma for some of the participants in this study as they struggle between what is attractive and personally beneficial as a survival strategy. This also supports other findings on substance abuse among adolescents in Nigeria (Mamman et al., 2014).

The search for a living at sawmills also implies exposure to different work hazards. Some these hazards cause incapacity and sudden death in some cases (Osagbemi et al., 2010). Prevention of hazards is collective and requires timely and adequate provisions and adherence to safety measures. Ironically, there are deviations as employers fail to provide these safety measures while some employees are negligent in complying with expected safety practices. This supports other studies that safety in small and medium scale sawmills in Nigeria remains a challenge as many hazards have occurred over the years (Bamidele et al., 2010, Osagbemi et al., 2010).

However, the cultural beliefs that some work hazards are inevitable as expressed by some of the participants call for more sensitisation on workplace safety. This worldview is synonymous with the position that an adequate provision of safety measures and effective adherence does exclude absolute exclusion of hazards. While this may be true for certain natural events, hazards in sawmills as reported by several studies are preventable or predictable. Unfortunately, the unwillingness to accept compensation responsibilities among sawmill owners and the prevailing cultural beliefs about life events as expressed through other avenues will keep on propagating the view that caution and carefulness are insufficient measures of avoiding workplace hazards. In the literature, De Santis et al. (2007) argued that work 'safety culture can be evident through the actions and inactions of personnel at all levels of the organization no matter how robust the systems and the engineering are in that organization.' The absence of adequate safety measures or the indifference of sawmill owners towards 'healthy factory' may be synonymous with worker's indifference to their safety at

work. This may be an indication that such factory owners are not expecting any occurrence of work hazards or are optimistic that such occurrence may be minimal.

Ability to adapt is a requisite survival for any living organism. Sawmills as a sub-system have its norms and values similar to the larger social system but with possible particularities. The prevailing norms and values within sub-systems also change depending on developments within and around the larger system. Through this continuum, social actors adopt strategies that are useful in navigating through the opportunities and challenges within and around their various spaces. The adolescents in this study confirmed the existence and perceived relevance of norms and values that are required for daily survival and growth into adulthood. This requires understanding the common forms of survival and redefining these measures in interacting with others around and within sawmills. Through this process, language, appearances and attitude among other behavioural traits are modified. The rules of engagement are hazy, and changes as the adolescent spend more years in sawmills. Unfortunately, both useful and harmful practices transmitted through this process. However, whether an adolescent will acquire beneficial or harmful practices also depend on other factors such as career aspirations, religious beliefs and practices and a network of support including neighbourhood and housing types.

At the individual level, survival in sawmills requires determination and doggedness as there are moments of despair and lack of income. From the participants' narratives, there are many events and life outcomes that labourers face on a daily basis. Erratic power supply remains a major threat to regular income. The problem of power supply in Nigeria has lingered for many years with devastating effects on small and medium scale organisations and the economy at large. While there are ongoing efforts at improving power generation and distribution in Nigeria, the experiences and effects of power supply problem will differ for individuals with the same social setting. From the narratives of the adolescents in this study, interruption or power outage creates opportunities for leisure and starvation if the problem lingers for days. However, the resilience to face each day as it comes and move on with life helped in one way or the other. In this same direction and as stated earlier, substance abuse becomes rationalised as some adolescents take to marijuana consumption as a way of coping with daily challenges and performance enhancement. Ironically, substance abuse and alcoholic consumption in adolescence has proximate health effects in adulthood (Chassin et al., 2002, Bachman et al., 2013) and dating aggressions (McNaughton Reyes et al., 2014).

Among the participants, reliance on self-care including a medication is expected due to inadequate income, poor or absence of social amenities in suburban communities. Self-care practices are rationalised initiatives taken by social actors in resolving or adapting to the needs around them (Denyes et al., 2001). Self-medication is common among adolescents and other social categories in Nigeria. Structural, community and individual factors account for the widespread of this practice (Omolase et al., 2007, Sapkota et al., 2010).

To some of the participants, self-care practices such as medication and consumption

of substances qualify as proactive steps in sustaining productivity and healthy body. Self-medication encourages drug abuse and with possible negative implications for health. However, with inadequate income and absence of medical aid or free health services, it is predictable that individuals would engage in self-care practices including medication and consumption of herbal mixtures as espoused by the participants.

The findings from this study are limited based on the research approach and focus on the experiences and survival strategies of adolescent labourers in suburb sawmills. With an emphasis on workplace hazards and survival in sawmills, other issues such as their sexual and reproductive health are not covered. A mixed method approach could have provided additional insights and generalizable findings with the study context. Despite the limitations, this study is first amongst others that will focus on adolescent labourers as a social category and their boyhood experiences as workers and residents in sawmill factories and communities.

In conclusion, this paper presents the notion of boyhood among adolescent labourers in suburb sawmills, Nigeria. Sawmills as factories and place of residence for adolescents provide opportunities, and that warrants the appropriation of individual resilience for survival and social positioning. Through this process, male adolescent labourers are socialised into norms and practices that promote self-care practices aimed at improving performance and maintaining healthy bodies. Unfortunately, prevailing work hazards and inadequate compensations within the sawmill industry in Nigeria are disastrous to the aspirations and quality of labour force within the industry. Resilience at the individual level is critical to positioning and survival in slums and hazardous workplaces. Nevertheless, unending struggle to earn a living could stimulate substance abuse, alcohol intake(Mugisha et al., 2003), and the use of marijuana and herbal concoctions to enhance performance. These have implications on the well-being and survival of young people into adulthood(Kabiru et al., 2013a, Sommers, 2010). With the absence of effective monitoring framework, the vulnerability of sawmill employees to preventable hazards may continue alongside with poor pay package. Sustainable measures that are commensurate with the increasing workplace safety challenges are required(Tucker and Turner, 2013). The urgency of protecting vulnerable young people seeking a living in urban slums is much required(Sommers, 2010).

Competing interest

The author declares to have no competing interests.

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